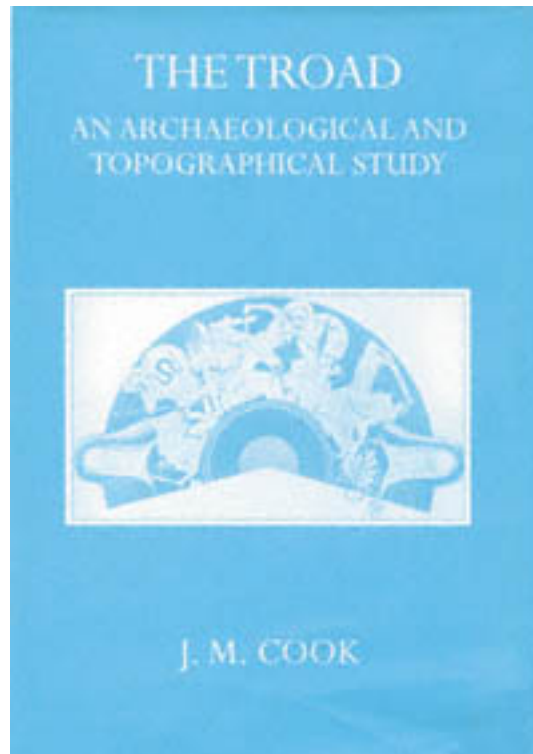




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The Troad

An Archaeological and Topographical Study

J.M. Cook

OXFORD

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Preface

The list of those whose help has allowed this work to be brought to completion is a long one. Especial gratitude is due in Turkey to the Museums and Antiquities Department of the Turkish Government for the permit under which our researches in the Troad were begun, to the kaymakams in different places who expedited our reconnaissances, to the military authorities on the coast, and to the muhtars, schoolmasters, and villagers who provided us with the hospitality, guidance, and information that were indispensable to the field work. Our particular indebtedness to Riza * Ürgüvin of Bayramiç will be remarked in Chapter 1. In Istanbul Dr. Nezih Firatli* and the authorities of the Archaeological Museum most kindly permitted me to study the manuscript catalogue of the former Calvert Collection.

For the opportunity to use unpublished material I am also indebted to the Hellenic Society and its Librarian, the late Joyce Southan (Robert Wood's manuscript diaries), and to the British Museum authorities and especially R.A. Higgins (objects obtained in the Troad by Brunton and Calvert, and Lord Aberdeen's manuscript diary). For sundry advice and information I am indebted to Åke Åkerström, R.D. Barnett, A.R. Bellinger, John Boardman, R.M. Cook (not least for the use of GS maps), N.G.L. Hammond, Anne Jackson, Anne Jeffery, J.G. Pedley, W.H. Plommer, Robert Savage, B.H. Warmington; for information about the Calvert family's tenure of the British consulate to Colin L. Robertson of the Foreign Office Library. G.K. Jenkins and Martin Price at the British Museum have kindly identified difficult coins that I had noted. Hans Heller in particular devoted much time and skill to numismatic identifications; without his help the more detailed of our lists of coins could not have been drawn up. Several experts have helped me with their judgement on the pottery: B.A. Sparkes on the black glaze, J.W. Hayes on the Roman wares (as mentioned in chapter I), Alison Frantz on the Byzantine, James Mellaart on the prehistoric. N.P. Bayne not only helped me with the prehistoric and archaic gray wares, but he allowed me to make use of his Oxford dissertation 'The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia' and of his notes from the Calvert Collection Catalogue and he generously gave me information about his investigations on the

south coast of the Troad. A.W. Lawrence has most kindly provided me with some paragraphs on the Assos fortifications. Joe Helme with some companions from Cambridge spent several days in 1969 reconnoitring sites in the interior of the Troad that we had failed to visit. For the provision of books I am grateful to the staff of nearly a dozen libraries in England, Athens, and the U.S.A.; I am particularly indebted to G.F. Richmond of the Bristol University Library for procuring many of the books for me to study at leisure. To Gordon Kelsey of the staff of the Arts Faculty in Bristol University I owe most of the photographic work done at this end.

The first of these journeys in the Troad was made in company with G.E. and Jane Bean; a good number of the photographs used in this book were taken by Professor Bean, and to him is due the publication of the inscriptions in Chapter 12. The majority of the photographs in the field were taken by my son Nicholas, who also drew some plans of sites. My son Michael has participated at many stages in the work; he has constantly advised and informed me on matters of Turkish language and history, and he provided me with the recondite information on the Ottoman fiscal surveys mentioned in Chapter I. Since 1960 my wife has participated in the work throughout; it would be difficult to say just how much of it is hers.

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J.M.C.
BRISTOL
SEPTEMBER 1972

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Abbreviations

AA

Archäologischer Anzeiger

AJA

American Journal of Archaeology

Ann.

Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene

Ann. épigr.

L'Année épigraphique

Antioch

Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV, 1: F.O. Waagé, Ceramics and Islamic Coins

Anz.

Anzeiger

Arch. Journal

Archaeological Journal

Ath. Agora

The Athenian Agora

Ath. Mitt.

Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

ATL

B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, and M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*

BCH

Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

Bechtel, H.P.

F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*

Bellinger

Troy, Supplementary Monograph 2: A.R. Bellinger, *The Coins*

BM

British Museum

BMC

British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins (references without further qualification are usually to volume *Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*)

BSA

Annual of the British School at Athens

CIG
Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum

CIL
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CVA
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Dessau
H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*

Et. Magn.
Etymologicum Magnum

Ét. num. gr.
L. Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque*

FHG
C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*

GGM
C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*

HN
B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd ed.)

IGA
H. Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*

IGR
Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes

Il.
Homer's *Iliad*

Ist. Mitt.
Istanbuler Mitteilungen

JHS
Journal of Hellenic Studies

Lebas
P. Lebas and W.H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure: Inscriptions grecques et latines*

LSAG
L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*

LSJ
Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.S. Jones

Mém. Acad. Inscr.

Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres

Michel

C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*

Num. Chron.

Numismatic Chronicle

OGI

W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*

Öjh

Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes

Pet. geogr. Mitt.

Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen

PIR

Prosopographia Imperii Romani

RE

Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

RÉG

Revue des études grecques

Rev. arch.

Revue archéologique

Rev. épigr.

Revue épigraphique

Rev. Phil.

Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes

Rhein. Mus.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

Sb. Berl. Akad.

Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin

SEG

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

SGDI

H. Collitz, O. Hoffman, F. Bechtel *et al.*, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*

SIG

W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd ed.)

Sokolowski

F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure*

1
Introduction

A study of the topography of the Troad must begin with either Homer or Strabo; and the choice will indicate the character of the work. This book begins with Strabo, who devoted the greater part of the thirteenth book of his *Geographica* to the subject. When it came to setting limits to the area, Strabo did not conceal the fact that the ancient writers were in complete disagreement with one another. The northern boundary was placed at different points between the Aesepus mouth and Abydos, and the southern by some writers at Cape Lekton, by others as far south as the lower Aeolis. Strabo himself viewed the matter in Homeric terms. To him the Troad was the whole area ruled by the nine dynasties that he supposed to have been subject to Priam; and consequently his Troad has the greatest possible extent, from the Aesepus mouth to the boundary of Ionia. His modern commentator, W. Leaf, held a similar view; and while he felt himself at liberty to exclude the most southerly of Strabo's dynasties and so make Adramyttion the limit of his field survey in that direction, he covered the whole area from the Aesepus to the Caicus in his book *Strabo on the Troad* (1923). The present work deals with a smaller area. In the north it starts at the most southerly possible point, Abydos, which the author of the *Periplus* known under the name of Scylax makes the beginning of the Troad; and down the coast it ends with Antandrus, which takes us much further than the *Periplus* but is spoken of by Herodotus as being in the Troad. No particular justification can be offered for this. At the same time no particular justification is needed, because the term Troad has no precise geographical or political connotations. In fact, it is the Hellespontine region that has tended to form an administrative or strategical district, and at those periods in history the south coast of the Troad has usually been separate from it. I should have liked to carry my survey as far north as Lampsacus so as to include in it the whole Asiatic shore of the Hellespont. But this would have involved the inclusion of a considerable mountain region north of the Koca Çay which is difficult of access, archaeologically almost unexplored, and

unlikely to repay the effort spent in investigating it. With the limited amount of time at my disposal and the complications that would have resulted from such an extension, I have preferred to concentrate on a compact area of this corner of Asia Minor; and the region I have



Fig. 1.
The Troad

studied is fairly well isolated from an archaeological point of view and in fact corresponds to what travellers for nearly two hundred years have regarded as the Troad.

Within the limits of Abydos (or rather, since access to that site is forbidden, Çanak Kale) and the coast near the head of the Adramyttene Gulf a landward boundary had to be envisaged for the field survey. In

the north, circumstances dictated the limit in 1959: from Çanak Kale up the valley of the Koca Çay to Ortaca, thence southward to the Kayali * Dag*, and, further south, from Karincali* to Bayramiç. We had thought of Scepsis as the eastern limit of our researches here, but in 1966 we were tempted into the upper Scamander valley; and in the next two years the area of our survey was extended in a great bulge almost to the head of the valley. It would have been reasonable to take in the whole drainage basin of the Scamander by adding to our area the fan-shaped valley of the Kursak* Çay; and that would have given us a much straighter landward boundary. But here again a conscientious investigation in an area of so many villages would have cost more time than we could afford, and I have limited myself to a couple of quick traverses there and the recording of such information about ancient remains as we have been able to obtain. The most important site there, that on the Künk Tas* Dag, was examined on our behalf by Mr. Joe Helme.

The north and west coast from Çanak Kale to Kulahli* (Gulpinar*) near Cape Lekton (Baba) is a relatively homogeneous one. A fringe said to be of tertiary marks gives a generally straight shore with lines of low cliff and a lack of natural harbours. There are of course little plains where streams reach the sea, and that at the mouth of the Scamander (Menderes) is large enough to support eight Turkish villages. But they are discontinuous; and only in two quite short intervening stretches, between Dardanos (Kepez) and Çanak Kale and between Tavakli* and the Tuzla Çay, is there a coastal strip wide enough to take a road.

The centre of the Troad is a broad basin forming the middle valley of the Scamander, with little difference in altitude between the two towns of Ezone and Bayramiç which stand at either end of it. It drains to the Plain of Troy through a narrow mountain gorge. On the west it is bordered by a granite chain rising to 500 m. (with a relatively easy gap to the coast from behind Ezone), and on the north by slopes leading back to a plateau of volcanic stone generally 300-400 m. high and rising to 900 m. in the Kayali Dag on the east. South of the Scamander is a broken plain-land stretching back to the western ridges of the Kaz Dag. A tributary in the south-west of the basin (Akçin Çay) gives easy access to pine-forested uplands and the crossing of the watershed. South of this is the Geme Dere, which opens in a vale in front of Ayvacik*; in the main this is a thinly populated no-man's-land between the two ridges that prolong the Kaz Dag westward to the coast. The Kaz Dag itself rises to a bare crest over 1,700 m. high separating the narrow valley of the upper Scamander from the coast at Antandrus. The south coast of the Troad has the mountain at its back, and being sheltered from north winds enjoys a mild climate. From Küçük Kuyu eastward there is a well-watered litoral, and west of Assos a bare plateau dropping from a

300 m.-high escarpment to the sea, while between the two is a tangle of eruptive dykes and ravines with difficult communications. From the point of view of habitation the Troad is a land articulated by its mountain masses rather than by its watercourses.

If the geology and natural history of the Troad are regarded as being for the most part beyond the scope of this survey, the reason is not that they are unimportant for the study of human occupation; but the reader can turn to the works of Barker Webb, Tchihatcheff, Virchow (primarily for the Trojan Plain), and Diller (for the southern Troad), to the introduction of Leaf's *Strabo on the Troad* for a handy geological description, and to Schliemann's *Ilios* of 1880 for a geographical account ending with zoology and flora quoted from Barker Webb and Tchihatcheff.¹ Here I have attempted in the descriptive chapters to present the essential features of the landscape, with a selection of photographs to illustrate it, and modern population statistics to add to the pattern of cultivation, so that the reader can form an impression of the geographical setting that corresponds to that of the people who have inhabited the country.

One defect in our knowledge of the country has been unavoidable. We have had to make almost all our journeys in the high summer. This of course has given us the benefit of long hours of daylight and good travelling conditions. But the disadvantage is not confined to the necessity of working in great heat. We have not seen the streams running or the effect of water on the flat land; and we have not been able to judge the severity of winter up-country. We have not seen the spring crops and may have over-estimated the aridity of the upland slopes and plateaux; and we have not seen the peasants at their seasonal tasks, such as ploughing and harvesting, or the picking of valonia and olives in the autumn. It is not only the countryside that sleeps in the summer heat. Human beings are hard to come by in the open spaces, and at times we have lacked the testimony of our ears to add to that of our eyes. There are one or two sites we have discovered to which we can give no name because we could find nobody to tell us. We did have the opportunity to travel for a few days at a later season (the beginning of November) in 1969. But there had been an unusually prolonged drought that year; and though we experienced the bleakness of the Trojan plateau in rain, we saw even less green and less water in the streams than on our summer visits.

Our field research has been spread over ten years. In 1959 I spent over four weeks in the Troad with Professor and Mrs. Bean; that was

¹ For medical observations in the Troad see Virchow, *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie* etc., lxxvii (1879), 174; id. in *Ilios* (1880), 721-6.

approximately the month of July. In early September of the same year I returned for six days with my son Michael to investigate the south coast east of Assos. The subsequent journeys up to 1968, made with my family, all took place in late July and August. In 1960 we paid a flying visit of two days to the Troad, and in 1963 another of six days. In 1966-8 we made successive visits of ten, fourteen, and fifteen days. We were often four or even five people. This had the advantage that we could on occasion split our forces so as to cover more ground, and we could examine sites more exhaustively especially when we were searching for sherds. Finally, my wife and I spent five days in the northwestern Troad at the beginning of November 1969.

In 1959 our travelling was done largely on foot with a cart or pack animals for the baggage. We went from village to village, spending a night in the majority of those we visited; and these arduous journeys in the style of the old travellers formed the basis of our survey of the coastal areas. The majority of our new inscriptions were found that season and studied on the spot by Professor Bean. We also spent a week in Ezine that season, using the town as a base for jeep-assisted journeys in the interior; and it was then that we found the two city sites that were ripe for discovery (Ada Tepe near Akköy and the Asarlik * of Karincali*).

In subsequent seasons we moved about the country mainly by car, resorting to jeeps when conditions demanded it and to the use of our feet to reach our objectives. Travelling on our own in this way we occasionally experienced difficulty in gaining the confidence of the villagers; but as we became more widely known in the countryside the barriers of reticence were broken down. No less perceptible was the language barrier; we could not in the other years converse with the villagers so fluently or on so wide a range of topics as in 1959 and 1966-7 when Professor Bean and my son Michael respectively were of the party, and it is likely that points of interest were missed. The later journeys grew out of one another. That of 1963 had limited objectives: in particular, to find the Rhoeteum ('Palaeokastro') site, and to identify our two new city sites in the interior (or what might or might not be the same thing) to discover the sites of Gergis and Biryti. In these aims we had little success that year; and as I read more of the literature of the subject I came to feel that another visit was necessary. This could not be undertaken until 1966. In that year the former main objectives were achieved, except that Biryti was not found. But much else also came to light and new horizons opened up in front of us, not least through our ripening acquaintance with an antiquary of Bayramiç named Rıza* Ürgüvin (below, pp. 12 f.). Three successive 'final' journeys were called for to visit new sites that we learned of and elucidate the pattern of occupation in the now more extended region

under investigation; and they proved rewarding, though to the end Birytis eluded us.

There are things that we have not though it worth while to attempt. We have taken the prehistoric site of Troy and the public buildings of Assos for granted; we could hardly expect to better the findings of excavating teams who spent many months on those sites. And until the oak forest disappears which it now may well do it seems hopeless to attempt a description of the site of Alexandria Troas. With the urban spread of Çanak Kale and the military zone at the narrows of the Dardanelles conditions for archaeological reconnaissance have not been favourable in the north-east of our region; and our effective survey only begins at Dardanos. Besides this, there are some areas which we cannot claim to have examined closely. The descriptive chapters give a detailed account of what we have visited. But it may be worth while to sketch out at this point the penetration that we have achieved so that the gaps in our coverage may be recognized.

To the north-western part of our Troad, between Dardanos and Alexandria Troas, and inland as far as Ovacik *, we must have devoted the equivalent of at least a month. We have visited all the villages, some of them a number of times; and in most of them we have pressed our inquiries assiduously. We must at one time and another have spent about 30 hours on the Ophryneion and Rhoeteian ridges and about the same on the Sigeum ridge; on the latter at least we doubt whether there is a crest that we have not trodden. There are, however, two stretches along the edge of the Trojan Plain that we have not traversed; and we have done relatively little point-to-point walking in the Tenedian Peraea.

Between Alexandria Troas and Baba (Cape Lekton) we have spent about a fortnight and been to every village of the coast and coastal shelf except Babadere. Our reconnaissance was mainly carried out on foot in 1959. We later returned and made further investigations at Kulahli* and the Tuzla Plain; but an oil leak prevented us from stopping again in the villages further north.

We have spent altogether about twelve days on the south coast. Various gaps left in 1959 were filled in later, and our survey is fairly complete except for the difficult stretch between Assos and Arikli*, where we have succeeded in visiting only Kozlu and the Lamponia site above it. East of Arikli we have gone along the whole coast on foot to beyond Antandrus.

During the equivalent of about four weeks in the inner Scamander basin we have tried to visit every village of the central plain. North of the river we have retraced our steps frequently, calling in more than once at several of the villages; and on the south we have spent two days at Cebren (Çal Dag*). We have spent five days in excursions up the

Scamander valley behind Scepsis where no ancient remains had previously been reported. We have in fact visited less than half of the villages there; but thanks in no small measure to Rıza * Ürgüvin of Bayramiç we discovered a number of interesting sites, and on our last day in the region in 1968 we were in hopes of completing the examination of all the sites known to us in the valley. In the event we were delayed by timber felling in the Kaz Dağı*; and on that day, when he accompanied us for the last time, Rıza Bey took the opportunity to point out to us the other places with graves or ancient remains that he knew of. So our survey was left incomplete. In the following year, however, Mr. Joe Helme offered to examine some sites in the Troad for us; and from him we have detailed accounts of the two major sites we had failed to visit in the valley, as well as of the one important site up the Kursak* valley. In the hitherto unexplored southern valleys of the Akçın Çayı and Geme Dere we have made four or five excursions, visiting a number of villages and finding half a dozen sites of minor importance.

There are three areas in which our reconnaissance is manifestly defective. The largest is the plateau north of the Scamander. Much of this was known to Calvert from the north, and Judeich and Dragendorff made two wide sweeps there in 1896. Following in their footsteps we have been to Ovacık* and the Kayalı* Dağı but our main effort has been in the region between Judeich's two traverses, where we have visited Zerdalli and the Dam Dere, Çatalçam, and Karıncalı*. Apart perhaps from a patch corresponding to the territory of the village of Gökçe, the whole of this plateau should now have been covered at one time or another. The second area is the western end of the Kaz Dağı south and south-east of Cebren, which seems not to have been visited since Wood mounted to the sources of the Akçın Çayı in 1750. By penetrating to Çal Dağı Köyü and Akpınar*, Sarıdoz*, Misvak*, and Kısacık* we have more or less restricted the unexplored area to a mountain core (the hinterland of ancient Cebren), and from what we have heard there is not likely to be anything of more than minor archaeological importance there. The third area is the very broken hill country west of Ayvacık*, which is briefly mentioned below (p. 326 f.). This is a real *terra incognita*; for a long time we supposed that it was virtually uninhabited, and we still know of no road leading into it. We should have liked to attempt a crossing of it. But hasty traverses of this sort can result in more false information than true; and discretion triumphed over curiosity. We have heard of nothing ancient in this area, and think it unlikely to contain a major site.

For the purpose of identifications of sites and for elucidating the pattern of occupation it is necessary to offer some sort of estimate of the

completeness of our archaeological record. We must therefore briefly indicate what we have seen and what we may have missed. We have visited the tumuli that we know of and looked at many Turkish cemeteries. Around the Plain of Troy Spratt's map of 1839 marks upwards of a dozen of the long-disused burying grounds where ancient marbles and column shafts are littered about. We have examined the better-known ones, but not gone searching for those which are not now known to the villagers. Leaving tumuli and burial grounds aside, we reckon about 51 ancient and medieval sites (or places with relics in situ) that were known before we began our survey. Of these there are two that we have not been free to visit (Kum Tepe and the site of Abydos) and another half dozen or so, apparently of minor importance, that we have either failed to reach (or find) or did not know of in time. In the course of our journeys we have heard of some 38 sites not hitherto known (11 from Riza * Bey, the rest from villagers); we have been to 30 of them (the others, mainly Riza Bey's, did not sound worth visiting). In addition we have discovered a number of sites by going to look at crests and situations that seemed to merit inspection. Apart from the Rhoeteian and Sigeum ridges, where we have examined numerous crests and rises, we reckon 55 features that we have deliberately prospected in this way, and they have yielded 14 new sites (mainly RomanByzantine, but also prehistoric). Another 2 sites were discovered accidentally when we happened to see ancient sherds on the ground as we passed by.

In the census for 1940 the number of villages in the whole area that we are concerned with amounts to about 175. We have visited a little over 100 of them.¹ If we reckon that one village in every four visited has told us of a new site, it might be argued that inquiries in all the remaining ones should yield nearly 20 more new sites. But for the most part the villages we have visited are in regions where ancient habitation is most to be expected, and there are other factors that seem to involve diminishing returns. In fact we doubt whether inquiries in the remaining villages would yield more than a small handful of new sites. We are, however, impressed by the fact that about one in every four likely-looking features that we have prospected has yielded a site of some sort; and we suspect that there may be a larger number of sites remaining to be found over and above those that the villagers can point out. The villagers recognize the existence of a site where graves, large worked stones, or Byzantine rubble masonry have come to light in the fields in recent memory. But they do not distinguish ancient pottery from

¹ We have also been to some three dozen mahalles, çiftliks, mills, ilicas*, outlying coffee houses, and military camps, and of course called at wells and fountains that people frequent.

modern, and they pay little attention to surface sherds. We suspect that there may be a few prehistoric sites and a greater number of Roman-Byzantine ones remaining to be found. Air photographs, if they became available, might reveal a certain number of the missing sites; but the pattern of occupation in those epochs is not likely to emerge complete without a thorough traversing of the countryside on foot. As regards the classical cities, there are several remaining to be identified, but we are not sure that there are any sites still to be discovered.

If this study has any virtue other than sustained effort, it may be attributed to certain advantages that I have enjoyed which were not available to previous researchers in this field. First, in a lifetime spent at the Dardanelles until his death in 1908 Frank Calvert explored much of the northern and central Troad, carried out small excavations at many points, and formed an important collection of antiquities. Relatively little of his discoveries was reported on in his learned articles. From time to time he disposed of material, particularly in his London sale of 1877 at Sotheby's, which brought 47 objects into the possession of the British Museum. But the bulk of his collection remained at Çanak Kale; and in 1902, with Calvert's co-operation H. Thiersch compiled a manuscript catalogue of it, which was illustrated with many photographs and gave some details about the sites concerned. This catalogue, which had long been mislaid, was recovered a few years ago and is now in the Istanbul Museum. By the good offices of Dr. Nezir Firatli * I have been able to study it and extract essential information from it about Calvert's discoveries.

Second, my elder son, Michael, spent a number of months in 1964-5 studying in the archives of the Ottoman empire, and concerned himself with the fiscal surveys of Anatolia drawn up in the period of firm centralized rule in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these periodic surveys the villages are generally listed by nahiyes, and the names of the adult males are entered under each village. These important documents have not been utilized at all for topographical purposes. But recognizing the interest of them for my study of the Troad, my son took the trouble to make extracts from two lists in Ankara of the years 1573 and 1574: Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Mudurlugu*, Kuyudu Defterleri no. 67 of 981/1573 (sancak of Hudavendigâr = Bursa) the nahiye of Kizilca* Tuzla, and no. 79 of 982/1574 (sancak of Biga) the central nahiye of the kaza of Ezine. What he did for me was to count and note down the total number of adult males named in each single community. The number of adult males should presumably be multiplied by about three to get an approximate population figure for a village. We have

figures roughly for the southern strip of the Troad (reaching inland to Bayramiç) in the first list, and a central or north-central strip in the second. At first sight the Plain of Troy seems to be included under Ezine; for the names Kalafatlu and Halil Eli occur in the list, and we know of no other villages with these names in the Troad. But other old villages there Yerkelik, Pınarbaşı *, Dümrek, Ciplak*, Kum Köy, Yenisehir* are not listed; so it is possible that for some reason the Trojan Plain (or part of it) was not included in the survey. Thanks to my son Michael I also have some information from earlier surveys which I have used for comparative purposes.

In addition, the fiscal surveys give details of the expected yield of the revenues payable to the timariots by the individual villages; these are expressed in terms of products and their value in aspers. An analysis of this evidence would go far beyond the limits of what can be attempted for this book. But my son subsequently looked at the fiscal surveys on my behalf with certain particular ends in view. His notes show that production of valonia (balamud) was already widespread in the early sixteenth century. The surveys of the years 922/1516 and 928/1522 for the nahiyes of Ezine Bazari* and Behram (the same area as covered in the above-mentioned lists for 1574 and 1573) show some two dozen villages among the products of which valonia appears. These villages seem to be comprised in a region of the western and west-central Troad bounded on the north by Bozköy and on the south by the Tuzla Çay and extending to Sacaklı* and the Pınarbaşı of Bayramiç on the east with Camlica* on the plateau.¹ In these lists there is no mention of olives in either of the nahiyes concerned. In the later survey of 1573 in Ankara olives are entered against two villages in the nahiye of Kızılca* Tuzla (what was previously Behram) Debbaglar* (Tabaklar) north of the Tuzla Çay and Ada Tepe (near Küçük Kuyu); but these were large villages of 90 and 145 adult males respectively, and the amounts involved (20 and 50 aspers) are paltry. On this evidence it would seem that in the sixteenth century olives were not yet established as a main crop in the southern Troad. Of some interest also is an order of 1003/ 15952 to stop the collusion of a revenue collector of the wakfs of Sultan Selim in the kaza of Tuzla and a Christian reis from Molova (Methymna) in exporting various goods from the kaza to the infidels

1 (Istanbul, Basbakanlık* Arşivi*) Tapu Defterleri no. 59, nahiye of Ezine Bazari (pp. 138-94), of 922/1516: balamud appears for Boz Köy, Kemal, Seyh* Eli, Kefenci, Alemsalu*, Agcali* with Kâfir Virani*, Camlica, Bağceli*, Bökdüz, İstanbullu*, Boz Eli, Kebaca Ahmed with Saçaklı, Mavromat, İsraili*, Batak. Ibid. no. 111, nahiye of Behram (pp. 479-510), of 928/1522: balamud for Pınarbaşı*, Debbaglar* (Tabaklar)/Musa Fakih/Otemisli*, Kum Köy, Esekli* Köy, Eymirlü, Cavus*, Ali Fakih, Arpa Köy with Ahi*. Modern valonia production is heaviest in the west coast region, but the spread is similar to that of the early sixteenth century. See below, pp. 210 f.

2 Mühimme, vol. 73, no. 1238.

(i.e. ships from the western Mediterranean), including valonia (the list is wheat, beeswax, several thousand bits of cotton thread, almonds, valonia, gall nuts, and other supplies).

It must be borne in mind that in the Ottoman fiscal surveys a high proportion of the vowels are not indicated at all and diacritic dots distinguishing consonants are often omitted or not clear, with the result that frequently a name could be read in more than one significant form. Naturally there are a great many instances of names in these lists which fit with known modern ones and can be identified with certainty or with high probability. But in cases where no identification is possible it would often be hazardous to transcribe the names in Latin characters; and for that reason we have not attempted to reproduce the complete lists from the 1573 and 1574 surveys.

Another series of Turkish documents not hitherto utilized by archaeologists is the published quinquennial census returns (Genel Nüfus Sayımı *). These give the male and female population of each village, with the villages again arranged by nahiyes. My son most helpfully obtained for me a copy of the 1940 census. For certain purposes I have also referred to a later census list which is available in this country (that of 1955). But I have used the 1940 one as a basis for calculations. It represents a tolerably static period when the countryside had settled down after the removals and resettlement of refugees at the time of the Balkan and First World Wars, and before the great influx of Balkan Turks and Canadian tractors that followed the Second World War. Only the Trojan Plain perhaps lacked a normal population at that time. The 1940 census figures are presented in the Appendix. The census lists have also greatly assisted us in discovering what villages there are in our Troad (many of them are not named on the available maps); and taken in conjunction with the Ottoman fiscal surveys and information derived from the travellers they can shed a new light on the potentialities of the land and the density of habitation in recent centuries. There are difficulties in using these lists. Some of the villages are listed under official names that are not in use locally, and we have been at considerable pains in identifying them. Military concentrations distort the population figures; and the census is taken in October when some of the seasonal labourers may not have returned to their villages. The figures for the towns and for villages which include military posts tend to be inflated.¹ Those for ordinary villages are no doubt correspondingly diminished, but not enough to matter, since the females rarely exceed about 55 per cent of the total.

¹ In 1940 Çanak Kale had 19,385 males and 5,236 females, Geyikli 625 females in a population of 2,279; and at Erenköy, which had 3,527 males and 621 females, it would be better to think in terms of 350 houses and a garrison.

The precise information about the village network which these sources provide encouraged me to present in this work the information that I have collected in the travellers about villages in the Troad and personalities associated with them. I hope this may some day prove useful to local historians; but it is not to be thought of as complete, because I have made no attempt to extend the search to the Turkish archives or sources like the reports of the foreign consuls at Çanak Kale.

I have received a great deal of help from a number of specialists, for which acknowledgement is made in the preface. But there is one aspect of the survey in which such specialist aid has enabled me to enter upon a new field of study. In previous travels in western Asia Minor I had noticed that potsherds of Roman date are more widely distributed in the countryside than those of earlier epochs. But it was in 1959, in our first journey in the Troad, that I began to consider the historical significance of this and to collect samples of the pottery on some of the Roman sites with a view to dating their occupation. It happened that a research student of Cambridge, J.W. Hayes, had embarked on a systematic study of Roman pottery, and I was able to obtain from him precise dates for the samples, and thus for the sites down to the end of the Late Roman pottery in the seventh century. Dr. Hayes' timely assistance inspired me to search more diligently for Roman sites in later seasons, and to try to clarify the Roman and Byzantine pattern of occupation.

Finally, a unique asset to us has been our friendship with Riza * Ürgüvin, jeweller, sometime forestry clerk, schoolmaster, and bank official, an antiquary who explored every village, hill, and slope for many miles around Bayramiç in his youth and has kept his knowledge of them fresh. Our photograph PLATE 55*a* shows him in 1968 treading the high crest of the Dardanian paroreios. When we got to know him we found that the formal framework of his remarkable knowledge of historical topography derived from Strabo at two removes, but much of the circumstantial detail stemmed from local folklore. Contrasted with this was his minute firsthand knowledge of sites and archaeological discoveries in the whole Bayramiç region. Through him we became acquainted with coins and other finds from different sites. It was he who showed us the Karincali* site in 1959. In 1963 he was working in the bank and not free to accompany us. But in 1966 when he had retired from that post he came with us on several excursions, including that on which the Karincali site was identified as Gergis. In 1967 Riza Bey was in failing health and did not accompany us. But when we returned the next year he had been to Izmir* for the cure, and he again accompanied us on several excursions. He likewise escorted Mr. Joe Helme and his companions when they visited sites for us in 1969. In

these later years he entered increasingly into the spirit of our researches and so became increasingly helpful. His patient manner and wide acquaintance greatly expedited our task in out-of-the-way villages. Above all we gained from him a wealth of information about ancient remains, of which we retail the essentials in Chapter 8; but we could not incorporate the minute detail of individual fields and graves which he retains in his memory.

In the spelling of both ancient and modern names I have not aimed at consistency, preferring in the former case to write what I am accustomed to say (e.g. Achilleion but Sigeum), and in the latter what we have heard locally (e.g. `Çal Dag \* Köy' rather than the more correct `Cali* Dagi* Köyü'). Likewise where a village has more than one name I have used that which seemed prevalent, whether it was the official name or not. I have not generally thought it necessary to record the various spellings of place names in the travellers unless a substantially different pronunciation of a name seemed to be implied.

2

Travellers and Maps

1

The Travellers

The Troad might be called a `model' area for topographical study. The fame of the Trojan War was such that it attracted the attention alike of travellers, of geographers, and of Homeric scholars in antiquity; and in particular Strabo devoted a quite disproportionate amount of space to it in his *Geographica*. Since the Renaissance, Troy has again acted as a magnet. As with Ovid, `cura videre fuit'; and the Trojan Plain and its surroundings have been visited by innumerable travellers and scholars, of whom perhaps two hundred have left a printed record of their passage.

I wish I could claim to have noted everything relevant in the travellers' accounts. But many of their books and articles are rare ones which I have only been able to see once; and some of them I saw only in the early stages of this study. In the meantime the scope of what I have regarded as relevant has constantly been expanding; and so in my earlier reading I must have overlooked things that I would have noted if I had come across them later. Being unable to refer back to their actual words I may on occasion have misquoted some of the travellers; but I have done my best not to misrepresent them.

The travellers to the Troad have not been studied in this sort of way before, though full credit must be given to L. Vivien de Saint-Martin for a very substantial survey of visits to the Troad in his collection of travellers in Asia Minor (in vol. iii of his *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, 1846). I cannot hope that none have slipped through the net. And it therefore seems worth while to list the travellers that I have read so that the deficiencies in my coverage may be recognized. Some of these travellers contribute nothing of value. With the others there seemed to be some benefit in briefly stating the range of each individual's activities and so giving a framework for the references to them in later chapters. For scholarly convenience I have tried to give inclusive page references; these have sometimes had to be taken from notes which were not originally made with that end in view, and so will not always give the exact

limits of what is relevant to the Troad. With some of the rarer books I have only been able to give page references to the particular edition that I have seen without knowing whether the pagination is the same in other editions.

I have perused miscellaneous works of the following writers (mostly, but not all, travellers) without finding in them firsthand topographical observations that merit serious attention: Acland, Barth, Brentano, Bryant, Buchholz, Rhys Carpenter, Cassola, Casson, Chenavard, d'Eichtal, Firmin-Didot, Frankland, O. Frick, H. Gelzer, Gemelli-Careri, Hyde Greg, Gruhn, R. Hachmann, the continuator of Hacci Halife (Kâtib Çelebi), Hasper, James Haynes, Jachmann, Jebb, Jongkees, Kinglake, Lenormant, Lenz's own contributions, Paul Lucas, Rose Macaulay, Mahaffy, Menge, Eduard Meyer, Count von Moltke, Major Müller of Göttingen, Muntaner, Nikolaïdes, Count Raczynski *, C. Robert, Ruge, Schuchhardt, von Sybel, Vidal-Lablache, Count Vidua, Walsh, Wakefield, Warburton. The majority of these will not be mentioned further in this book. I have also found nothing bearing on the topography of the Troad in the writings of many well-known travellers, including Arundell, Buondelmonti, Brøndsted, Busbecq, Covel, Curzon, Cyriacus of Ancona, von Diest in his actual travels, Dodwell, Evliya Çelebi, Hamilton, Lear, Lebas, Mordtmann, Ramsay, Sestini, Tavernier, and Tournefort. There are a number of travellers known for observations that they transmitted to others. They include Samuel Lisle, chaplain at Smyrna, and the botanist and consul Thomas Sherard, who seem to have been the first to copy the Sigeum stele (in 1716), another chaplain, Mould, who copied it in 1722, the merchant Willis who copied inscriptions at the Dardanelles, and the distinguished architect Huyot, who made drawings at Assos in 1817.

Within a year or two of Schliemann's announcement of his discoveries at Hisarlik a crop of books and pamphlets began to appear on the subject of Troy; for there were many professional scholars, as well as amateurs, who considered themselves better qualified to judge on Homer than he. These forgotten products of a decade and more of text-thumbing are too numerous to be listed here;¹ and in fact I have made no serious effort to acquaint myself with those that I have not found available. I only hope I have not missed anything of topographical interest in them; at least, the ones that I have seen give me some reassurance. Another period prolific in accounts of travel is the first two generations of the seventeenth century. There it is generally a matter of voyages to Constantinople which are only of marginal interest for the

¹ There are about 70 names of authors of this phase (and over 100 titles of their works) cited by Schliemann in *Ilios* (1880), 187 ff. and *Troja* (1884), 285 ff.; they are there listed in accordance with the views that they upheld on the position of Troy.

present study. I have added considerably to the number of those cited in connection with the Troad, and some interesting new information has come to light; but it seems unlikely that much more would be gained by further search. I have made no attempt to follow up botanists of whose findings the only record is in the literature of their subject, or those who have been concerned with the conduct of naval and military operations. To descend to raw figures, I have noted over 160 scholars and travellers whose works seemed as if they might contain first-hand topographical observations; and in the end I have seen all but two of them (Boscovich and Morey).

In the past hundred years enormous numbers of scholars and tourists have visited the Troad, or at least the Trojan Plain. Schliemann already spoke of over a hundred scholars and antiquarians visiting Troy in a single season; and even in the early part of the nineteenth century the travellers listed here can only have constituted a small fraction of those who made the journey. In June 1816 von Richter remarked that the consul at the Dardanelles provided him with the guide who usually escorted European travellers and knew best how to satisfy their antiquarian interests; this implies that there were more than the three visits we know of in the ten years before that date.

The first of the European travellers in the literature is Pierre Belon (Bellonius), the celebrated naturalist, who travelled extensively in Asia Minor and the Arab countries, whence he returned to fall at the hands of robbers while gathering herbs in the Bois de Boulogne. At the end of August 1548 he visited `Abydus' (i.e. Çanak Kale) and `Troada' (Alexandria Troas) which he mistook for Troy; he recognized Simois and Scamander with some distress in two meagre streams there, and he also remarked remains at Yenisehir * and a large mound which `is possibly the tomb of Achilles' (P. Belon du Mans, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez et choses memorables*, book i, caps. 4-7). Three years later Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois sailed to Constantinople in the suite of the first French ambassador, who had been appointed to the court of Süleyman under Francis I and was at the time returning to his post; Daulphinois saw remains that he took to be Troy and gives a brief account of Çanak Kale (*The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages made into Turky*, book ii, cap. 10, Earl of Oxford's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745), i. 583 f.).

After the establishment of relations between Queen Elizabeth of England and Sultan Murat III in 1580 and the first embassy of 1583, John Sanderson twice (in 1584 and 1591) `put into Troy', without, however, specifying where it was; Richard Wrag of the embassy with the Queen's second present sailed past Cape Yenisehir in 1594 and

noted ruins there, as well as two pyramidal mounds `not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax'; and in 1599 Thomas Dallam, the organ-builder, who sailed with the present of an elaborate hydraulic organ to the Sultan, visited ruins at Alexandria Troas and Cape Yenisehir *, both of which he took to be Troy.¹

The establishment of permanent embassies at Constantinople not only promoted voyages by merchants from western Europe but it stimulated private travel, and a number of individuals sought to visit Troy in the opening years of the seventeenth century. William Biddulph, who set out with a party from England in 1600, visited `Troas', which like Belon he mistook for Troy, but limited his comment on it to quotations from the Latin poets testifying to its ruined state (*The Travels of certaine English men into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea*, etc. (1609) and *The Travels of foure English men and a Preacher*, etc. (1612), the latter (which I have seen) reproduced in Earl of Oxford's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* i (1745), 761-830). In the course of his journey through the Near East William Lithgow visited Alexandria Troas with two merchants of Marseille in the winter of 1609-10, and though sceptical of the detailed identifications proposed by a Greek guide accepted the site as that of Troy; thence from a village called `Extetash' the party sailed to the Castles (Çanak Kale) (*The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations*, etc. (1632) 121-8).

Of greater interest is the visit of George Sandys to Yenisehir and the Trojan Plain, Alexandria Troas, and the Castles. This was in 1610 in the course of his journey to Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine. The seventh son of an archbishop, and later to be a notable of Virginia, Sandys was a man of considerable learning. He correctly identified Alexandria Troas, though he failed to distinguish it from Alexander the Great's `New Ilium' (which from now on took a place in the literature to the confusion of scholars); he noted important ruins at Yenisehir which he took for Constantine's abortive foundation, and he made his topography clear by a sketch map (*A Relation of a Iourney begun An. Dom. 1610*, pp. 19-26 in the fourth ed. of 1637). Thomas Coryate, a scholar and Oriental traveller distinguished by extraordinary powers of memory, visited the `Trojan shore' (Alexandria Troas) in 1613 in a party of fourteen well-armed Englishmen with a Jewish dragoman. The selection from his letters published after he had died in India includes a detailed description of the site and a mention of what we call the Plain

1 (Sanderson) *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II. ix (1625), 1614 (1905 ed., ix. 413), also his *Travels* in Hakluyt Society ii, vol. 67 (1931), 38; (Wrag) *Hakluyt's Principal Navigations* (Glasgow ed. of 1903-5, vi. 107); (Dallam) *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (Hakluyt Society, vol. 87, 1893), 46-50.

of Troy (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II. x (1625), 1813-20; 1905 ed., x. 395-414). The last of this early series of visitors to the Troad was Pietro Della Valle, who saw Alexandria Troas, Yenisehir *, and the Castles in August 1614 at the beginning of his long travels in the Orient. Like Belon he mistook 'Troada' for Troy, and he darted eagerly about the site reciting Roman Virgil: 'hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles . . .' But he also saw something of the rivers of the Trojan Plain, and was able to give substance to Simois and Scamander, of which Belon had complained that they were not sufficient to float a goose even in winter (*Viaggi* (1650), 10-16 in the second impression of 1672).

Among those who sailed through the Dardanelles and made some brief mention of what they saw are Peter Mundy (1611), Stochove (1631), Henry Blount (1634), du Loir (1640), Jean de Thévènot (1655), and Jan Struys (in the 1650s).¹ Of greater value is Guillaume Grelot's guide for the benefit of travellers to Constantinople, which is based on several voyages he made before 1677 (*Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage de Constantinople*, 1681); this gives a detailed account of the coast between Alexandria Troas and the old Castles with the aid of a View of the Hellespont (at his p. 47).

The monotony of these cruising visits is first broken by the cross-country journeying of the little-known traveller DES MOUCEAUX, who about 1668 went overland from the Holy Land and Syria across Anatolia to Smyrna and Ephesus, and continued up the coast to the Troad, Bursa, and Constantinople. He seems to have recognized the site of Adramyttion on the coast at 'Comara' (Kemer) more than 200 years before H. Kiepert made the discovery, remarked hot baths (the Ilica*) and various ancient remains on the way to Altinoluk* ('Papazelay'), and afterwards traversed mountains and valleys through villages not now identifiable (Mirelay, Felampi, and Lerissi on a mountain which is presumably the Cigri* Dag*) to the Kaplica* and Kemalli* ('Comerli'); his description of Alexandria Troas is very brief. His manuscript evidently presented difficulties to his editor; the position of Mirelay and Felampi would fit with Ayvacik* and Ezine. Des Mouceaux's journey is published in *Voyages de Corneille le Bruyn par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales*, vol. v of the Paris 1725 ed., 383-498 (for the Troad 455-62). Rennell marked this route across the Troad as that of Le Bruyn, who in fact passed east of the Troad in 1678 and returning by boat in July 1680 put in only at Alexandria Troas and Baba Kale (*Voyage au Levant*, vol. i,

¹*Travels of Peter Mundy* i (Hakluyt Society ii, vol. 17), 20; *Voyage du Sieur de Stochove fait es années 1630. 1632. 1633* (1643), 209-16 (including a brief account of Alexandria Troas); (Blount) Earl of Oxford's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* i (1745), 521, J. Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels* x (1811), 232; *Les Voyage du Sieur du Loir* (1654), 209-18; (Thévènot) John Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* ii (1748), 793; (Struys, whom I have only seen in quotation) his *Voyages and Travels* (1684), 78.

pp. 501-11 in the Paris ed. of 1725); Le Bruyn gives some drawings that can hardly have been made in the presence of the monuments he depicts.

Jacob Spon of Lyon, more eminent as an antiquary than as a medical practitioner, and George Wheler, who was knighted after his return to England and created a canon of Durham cathedral, visited the Troad at the end of August 1675 in the course of their journey to Greece and the Levant. They studiously examined the site of Alexandria Troas, which Spon took for Troy but Wheler (with Sandys) for Alexandria Troas and New Ilium, then sailed by way of Cape Yenisehir * to a village that they call Kainourio Chorio, whence they proceeded in buffalo carts to the Castles. They seem to have been the first scholars to recognize the site of ancient Abydos. Wheler collected botanical specimens, and comments on the vegetation (*Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 & 1676 par Jacob Spon . . . & George Wheler . . .* (1678), i. 197-209; G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (1682), 66-74). Aaron Hill, subsequently a minor literary figure in London, was apparently sent in 1700 to his uncle Lord Paget's care in Constantinople at the age of fifteen, and claims to have visited the site of Troy in the course of his ensuing travels. He relates that he and an Italian priest traced with their scimitars a long wall among the brambles and at the end discovered Latin verse epitaphs of Hector, Priam, and Hecuba; the verses are those known to us from Ausonius (*A Full and just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in all its Branches*, etc. (1709), 204 ff.). Less adventurous, Edmund Chishull sailed along the coast in 1699, stopping only at Çanak Kale, and remarked on the vanity of 'modern journalists' who pretend to have seen the remains of Troy although in the reign of Tiberius Caesar we are assured by Strabo that there remained not the least footstep of the ancient city (*Travels in Turkey* (1747), 35 f.).

Aubry de la Motraye, a French Protestant who spent about twenty-five years in travel, was at the Castles in 1699, and returned in July 1710 and sailed by way of Cape Yenisehir to Lemnos and Tenedos, whence he visited Alexandria Troas in a pinnacle from a British man-of-war; he examined the site, acquired some interesting antiques which he illustrates, and persuaded the sailors to open a sarcophagus (A. de la Motraye's *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa* (London 1723-, in French at the Hague 1727), i. 162, 305-10 in the London ed. of 1732). The 'sprightly and ingenious' Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, returning with her husband from the Constantinople embassy, put into Cape Yenisehir in July 1718, and her curiosity supplied her with strength to ascend to the place where Achilles was buried; after removing an inscription (the decree for Antiochus I) from the village of

Yenisehir * they sailed to Alexandria Troas `where it is vulgarly reported that Troy stood' (her letter date-marked 31 July 1718 (from the ship *Preston*) in Tunis harbour and addressed to the Abbé Conti, but first published by her in 1763 and evidently relying for observations on books that are not likely to have been available for study on board ship).

In the next half-century the known travellers are few and seem to be all British. But there is a welcome improvement in their scholarly grounding, and they also achieved a deeper penetration of the interior of the Troad. Of Thomas Lisle of Magdalen College, Oxford, little is recorded; but it appears that at some date before 1738 he made a chart of the Trojan Plain, saw the Cigri* Dag* site, and obtained maps of the Marmora and Black Sea, and that he imparted knowledge of his discoveries to Pococke and Wood. Richard Pococke, who later became a bishop of the Irish church, travelled in the Near East in 1737-40. He explored the north-western Troad in late July, apparently of 1740. He ranged as far as Ezine, Kizkulesi*, and the Cigri Dag, and sought locations inland for both Ilium and the Homeric Troy; and he diffidently recognized the tumuli of Ajax, Achilles, and other heroes. Being deterred by fear of bandits from crossing overland to Alexandria Troas, Pococke visited the site from Tenedos. He also studied and illustrated plants that he met in his travels and is said to have planted cedars of Lebanon in the garden of his episcopal residence at Ardracchan (*A Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), 102-10). A Dr. Murdoch Mackenzie is cited by Rennell (on p. 39 of his work to be mentioned below) as having visited the Plain of Troy in May 1742 and described its rivers; his journal does not seem to have been published.

Robert Wood went further than Pococke in the search for Troy. He had travelled in the Aegean and sailed into the mouth of the Menderes in 1742; and in late July 1750 he visited the Troad for ten days on the journey which took him and James Dawkins as far as Palmyra and Baalbek. An account of his discoveries is published as `A Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troade' in his *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1775), 305-42. But the journey is described in greater detail in his manuscript diaries which are kept in the Hellenic and Roman Societies Library in London.¹ Wood attempted to trace the Scamander from its mouth to its source in the hope thereby of finding Troy near the headsprings. Turning up the Menderes at Ezine he went inland as far as Ahmetçeli; then, learning that the sources of the main river were still eight hours away that is twelve hours east of Ezine he transferred his attention to the Akçin Çay and mounted to

¹ Cf. C.A. Hutton, *JHS* xlvii (1927), 102 ff. For Wood see also T.J.B. Spencer, `Robert Wood and the Problem of Troy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* xx (1957), 75 ff.

its source, which he alone of scholars and travellers has seen. He also visited the Cigri * Dag*, Kizkulesi*, and Alexandria Troas, and was the discoverer of the springs at Pinarbasi*. This was altogether the most enterprising journey in the Troad before Lechevalier's, and it is unfortunate that Wood did not publish a fuller relation of it; for it was research of this sort that was needed to confront the geographers with geographical fact and expose the futility of the prevalent arm-chair cartography. It is true that Wood did not take sufficient account of the ancient testimonia for the position of Troy; but Lechevalier's conception of him as quite bewildered in the Troad is belied by the diaries. Both men believed that Troy was to be sought by the sources of the Scamander; and if we view the matter in Lechevalier's terms, Wood's bewilderment consisted in not recognizing the Scamander in the stream that flows from the Pinarbasi springs.

Through the good offices of Wood Richard Chandler, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was commissioned to lead the Dilettanti Society's mission to Asia Minor in 1764 and to edit the resulting `Antiquities of Ionia'. At the end of August in that year he visited the Troad with Nicholas Revett and was at Çanak Kale, the Sigeum ridge, and Alexandria Troas; but this was his first experience of the East, and talk of bandits combined with fear of outrunning his supply lines to deter him from penetrating any distance from the shore. He did, however, recognize the heroic tumuli with greater confidence than Pococke had done, thus partly anticipating the findings of Lechevalier on the Sigeum ridge (*Travels in Asia Minor* (1775), 10-43).

Johann Hermann von Riedesel, the disciple of Winckelmann, may be mentioned here as the first German traveller to report on the Troad. He touched at Baba Kale in 1768 and continued up the coast to Çanak Kale; but he was too astute to be tempted to go searching for Troy, over whose site Alexander had moaned with the words `et campos ubi Troja fuit! He does, however, make some minor observations of interest (Baron de Riedesel, *Voyages en Sicile, dans la Grande Grèce et au Levant* (Paris ed. of 1802), 291-302). François (later Baron) De Tott, a Hungarian employed in the French service, was engaged to supervise the Turkish defences in 1769 and constructed or renovated several batteries in the outer part of the Dardanelles; his narrative has points of interest also, though he did not concern himself with antiquarian matters (in English translation, *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott* (Dublin, 1785), vol. iii).

Modern archaeological exploration of the Troad is justly reckoned to begin with Jean Baptiste Lechevalier, who was comparable to Wood in enterprise and keenness of observation but more fortunate in constructing a theory about the topography of Troy that commended itself

to the majority of his contemporaries. A scholar and man of affairs, Lechevalier was engaged by Choiseul-Gouffier to serve in the Constantinople embassy, and he first visited the Troad in November 1785 on his way to join his patron. On this journey he worked out his system of identifications in the Trojan Plain with Troy itself on the Balli * Dag* above Pinarbasi* and a re-arrangement of the rivers of the plain by which the Menderes became Simois and the Pinarbasi Çay Scamander. In September 1786 he was sent back to the Troad in the company of the artist Louis François Cassas, who had returned to Choiseul-Gouffier from a mission to Baalbek and Palmyra; and when his revolutionary findings had been confirmed with the support of a map Lechevalier made the journey a third time (apparently in February 1787) to go over the ground with the ambassador and his naval suite. On his first visit he had traversed the west coast of the Troad, and on either this or the journey with Cassas he followed the course of the Menderes up to the sources in the Kaz Dag, whose summit he ascended.

After the third journey Lechevalier was dispatched to Moldavia on a diplomatic mission while Choiseul-Gouffier had the `Tomb of Achilles' excavated. In the confusion that resulted from the French Revolution Lechevalier travelled to Britain and was persuaded to disclose in two sessions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in March 1791 the discoveries that he had made in his former chief's interest (*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791) with copious notes by A. Dalzel; his original French text, `Tableau de la Plaine de Troye', in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* iii (1794). In German translation (from the English ed.) *Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja* (1792), with supplementary contributions by C.G. Heyne and others which are excerpted, together with new material, in Dalzel's `M. Chevalier's "Tableau de la Plaine de Troye" illustrated and confirmed' in the same *Transactions* iv (1798). In France, *Voyage dans la Troade ou Tableau de la Plaine de Troye* in several editions, from the second of which a free rendering was published by C.G. Lenz in (Lechevalier) *Reise nach Troas oder Gemählde der Ebene von Troja* (1800) together with supplementary matter including letters from visitors to the Trojan Plain. I have not seen Heyne or the French editions; the latter seem to have been amplified and also to contain extraneous matter).

Julius Griffiths, a doctor, inspected Lechevalier's Troy and its surroundings in February 1786, a few months after Lechevalier's first visit. He confessed that while on reflection he was prejudiced in favour of Lechevalier's hypothesis, he was not forcibly struck by it at the time, notwithstanding the many conversations he had heard on the subject in Constantinople (*Travels in Europe, Asia Minor and Arabia* (1805), 215 ff.). This is in harmony with Lechevalier's own statement that his views

were not favourably received in Constantinople until he returned from his visit with Cassas.

Marie Gabriel Florent Auguste Count Choiseul-Gouffier, a devoted patron of learning and the arts, had made his picturesque tour of Greece in 1776 (apparently with a subsequent visit in (1780-1). The Troad had been included in his itinerary. But it did not come into the first volume of his great folio work *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, published in 1782; and it was the fate of his original observations there to be suppressed in favour of his new findings on the journey with Lechevalier. When he took up appointment as French ambassador in Constantinople in 1784 he had in his entourage a number of young men of diverse talents. The most important work that he initiated was cartographical (below, pp. 46ff.), and he himself accompanied his naval officers on survey work in the north-east Aegean. After Lechevalier's discoveries were confirmed Choiseul-Gouffier made the topography of the Troad the object of most particular study; and if he sought to reserve the findings of his subordinates for his own great publication and failed to give Lechevalier the credit which was undoubtedly his due, we must remember that it was he who organized the expeditions and that his overriding aim was the advancement of learning on a scale and in a style worthy of his munificent patronage. He had penned an essay on the Plain of Troy and its environs before force of circumstances drove him in 1792 to take refuge at the court of Tsar Paul I; and a copy of this work made by a school-teacher while the Count was staying in Hermannstadt came into the hands of Carl Gotthold Lenz, who published it in German together with a number of treatises and letters from scholars of his acquaintance (*Die Ebene von Troja nach dem Grafen Choiseul Gouffier und andern neuern Reisenden*, etc., 1798).

Choiseul-Gouffier was able to return to France in 1802; and thereafter he worked on the second volume of his *Voyage pittoresque*, of which a first instalment, including the southern Troad, was published in 1809, while the main account of the Trojan Plain was still not complete at his death in 1817, and the last part was published by J.D. Barbié du Bocage in 1822.¹ It is not always clear how much is due to the original author. Choiseul-Gouffier certainly changed his opinion on various matters, and additions have resulted from investigations that the painter L.J.J. Dubois made on his account in the field (1814-15); but there is borrowing from at least one work that appeared after the author's death, and not a little is actually attributed to the pens of the editor and

¹*Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782-1822), with a new edition in 1842. In vol. ii of the original edition chapter 13 (pp. 1-176) is dated 1809; chapter 14 (pp. 177-346) cannot be of the same date, Choiseul-Gouffier's death intervening (p. 261); the remainder (part 2 of vol. ii, beginning at p. 347) is dated 1822.

Letronne. It is probably true to say that Choiseul-Gouffier's own observations go little beyond Lechevalier, apart from the excavation of the `Tomb of Achilles' and its eventual recognition as the tomb of Festus; but the numerous drawings and plans, together with the full apparatus of literary testimonia, make of his second volume an indispensable corpus of evidences on the Trojan Plain.

Among other agents of Choiseul-Gouffier may be mentioned the German engineer Franz Kauffer, who was active in surveying the Plain of Troy and much of the interior about 1787 and later completed a map which in the Plain of Troy was superseded only by Spratt's survey of half a century later (below, pp. 46 ff.). Choiseul-Gouffier's excavation of the `Tomb of Achilles' north of Yenisehir * was carried out in 1787 by Salomon Gormezano, the son of Moisé Gormezano who was French consul or dragoman at the Dardanelles. The excitement caused by the discoveries there resulted in visits to the Plain of Troy by Choiseul-Gouffier's doctor, Jumelin, and the artist Louis François Sébastien Fauvel, who had been appointed consul in Athens by Choiseul-Gouffier and was summoned to restore the objects found in the tumulus (below, p. 162), and subsequently by various members of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople.

In the summer of 1788 Thomas Watkins visited Alexandria Troas and the Plain of Troy, and rode 18 miles up country to the foot of Ida, unfortunately without making any notes of this excursion. He is worth introducing into the literature of the Troad if only because he saw Gormezano's cut in the `Tomb of Achilles', whose existence has since been denied (*Travels through Swisserland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands, to Constantinople* (1792), ii. 187 ff.). A visitor of 1792 whose observations hardly survive is the East Prussian Johann Friedrich Usko, for many years Lutheran pastor and Anglican chaplain in Smyrna (see *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift*, March 1799, 234 ff.). Of greater interest are the two visits in 1792 and 1797 to the Trojan Plain of Johann David Åkerblad, who was secretary of the Swedish embassy in Constantinople at the time and was well versed in the current archaeological issues, later playing an important part in the decipherment of the demotic text of the Rosetta stone. He was one of a number of amateurs who made the journey from Constantinople in this decade and reported their findings in letters which saw the light as supplementary matter in Dalzel's miscellany in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* iv (1798) and Lenz's versions of Choiseul-Gouffier (1798) and Lechevalier (1800). References to their writings will be given as apposite in later chapters. Those that I have noted are the brothers-in-law, who travelled extensively in Greece, John Sibthorp, who had succeeded his father as professor of botany in Oxford, and John Hawkins, mineralogist

and geographer they spent two days in the Trojan Plain in September 1794, and Hawkins seems to have spent a further four days there in careful investigations three years later, thus arousing expectations that seem to have remained largely unfulfilled;¹ Robert Liston, British ambassador in Constantinople 1793-6 and 1812-21, who saw the Plain of Troy at the end of his first appointment; and a Pomeranian major in the Swedish service named Helvig, whose visit seems also to have been in 1796. Major Johann Friedrich von Schwartz of Brunswick in 1797 communicated to Heyne his observations on Kauffer's map while waiting in Constantinople to set out for the Troad.

Conscripted as men of science by the provisional executive council of the French Republic in 1792 to make an examination of the current state of the Ottoman Empire, Guillaume Antoine Olivier and his fellow citizen Bruguière journeyed to Constantinople in a French ship, suffering unspeakable injuries to their pride and their stomachs on the voyage, and by December 1793 they had reached the Troad. There they stayed a month and a half and traversed the coast from Çanak Kale as far as Alexandria Troas. After fulfilling their mission in Egypt and Persia they revisited Pinarbasi * and Alexandria Troas with a party in June 1798. The scientific results of their expedition are considered to have been disappointing, for Bruguière, whose remarkable powers of memory enabled him to dispense with the taking of notes, died of fatigue at Ancona on the way home. As regards the Troad, there are a number of pertinent observations about ancient remains; but it is a perverse chance that the travellers who spent the longest time in the Troad should have been the ones with the smallest inclination to be there (G.A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse* (3 vols., about 1801-7, with an atlas), especially i (an 9), 230-65).

John Bacon Sawrey Morritt, Yorkshire gentleman, friend of Sir Walter Scott and purchaser of Velasquez's Venus, and James Dallaway, chaplain and physician to Liston's first embassy in Constantinople, travelled across the Troad in November 1794 in company with a Mr. Stockdale and the ambassador's Viennese or Italian artist. They landed on the south coast under Narli* and crossed to Alexandria Troas, thence to Çanak Kale and Abydos, and to the Plain of Troy, spending four or five days in all. Morritt introduced some of the observations he made on the spot in his controversy with the old sceptic Jacob Bryant (*Vindication of Homer*, etc. (1798) with some sketches, *Additional Remarks on the Topography of Troy*, etc. (1800) without pictures). But a consecutive account of the journey from his pen only appeared with the publication of his letters in 1914 (*The Letters of John B.S. Morritt of Rokeby*, 128-47);

¹ Lenz's Lechevalier *passim*; cf. W. Francklin, *Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy* (1800), 51.

and so he has not had a regular place in the literature hitherto. It appears that while at Pinarbasi * he earnestly entreated the Aga* to allow him to excavate one of the tumuli on the Balli* Dag*. Dallaway, who also anchored for a week at Karanlik* Limani* in the November following, related the journey at greater length (*Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (1797), 323-60). Though archaeologically rather naïve, his account is generally informative.

William Francklin, an East India Company captain, spent four days in the Troad in 1799 with Henry Philip Hope, a younger brother of the well-known collector. The two men made a detailed examination of the region of the Trojan Plain; and Hope made a rough map of the plain, and also bought some bones and relics which Salomon Gormezano was offering for sale as the residue from his excavation of the `Tomb of Achilles'. Francklin's 53-page treatise, like Dallaway's account of the subject, serves to demonstrate the inherent persuasiveness of Lechevalier's topographical system, for these were not literal-minded scholars but sensible and observant men (*Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy made during an Excursion in June 1799*, 1800).

The alliance of Britain and Turkey to counter Napoleon's invasion of Egypt has left its mark on the archaeological record of the Troad. The Earl and Countess of Elgin landed near Yenisehir* in November 1799, and thence rode to see the remains of Troy at Pinarbasi, which they were to revisit in February 1803.¹ Afterwards, at Lord Elgin's request, General Koehler, the head of the military mission, arranged the removal from the church at Yenisehir of the well-known bas-relief and Sigeum inscription which Choiseul-Gouffier had been unable to wrest from the villagers' keeping. This is related in the archaeologically not very informative narrative of William Wittmann, the surgeon to Koehler's mission, who was at Çanak Kale and visited the Trojan Plain and Alexandria Troas (*Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, etc.*, 1803). Another member of the military mission was William Martin Leake, at the time a young artillery officer. His papers seem subsequently to have been lost in the foundering of Lord Elgin's brig *Mentor*; and though he spent several days in the Troad his observations seem to depend more on Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque* than on autopsy (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), 128 (Assos), 272-306). Later he acquired so great a reputation for his topographical work in Greece that his observations in the Troad have been singled out for particular commendation by scholars who were unaware that they were not his own.

¹ For an account of personalities and activities connected with Lord Elgin's embassy see W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (1967).

Joseph von Hammer, later Baron Purgstall, the historian of the Ottoman Empire, went to Constantinople as attaché of the Austrian Internuntius, and he explored the Trojan Plain in March 1800 on his way to the Levant shores and Egypt (where he acted as interpreter with the British mission). The forty-five pages he devotes to the Troad mainly form a diatribe against the critics of Lechevalier's system but contain some interesting first-hand observations (*Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante* (1811), 4-48). On his own profession the first German to give an eye-witness account of the Trojan Plain, he is hardly ever cited in the literature except by von Prokesch, in whose romantic nature his spirited views struck a chord.

Edward Daniel Clarke, with whom von Hammer consorted in Egypt, adopted one or two of his views, but disagreed on Lechevalier's site for Troy; and it was perhaps with his convictions in mind that von Hammer posed his seven 'nuts to be cracked' by opponents of Lechevalier's system. Clarke, a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, had set out from England in 1799 as travelling tutor to his pupil John Martin Cripps. Accompanied at first by Malthus and W. Otter, they traversed northern Europe and Russia; after seeing Constantinople they travelled for a fortnight in the Troad in company with Lord Elgin's painter Lusieri and another artist named Preaux; and they returned to England in 1802 after visiting Egypt, Palestine, and Greece. They collected scientific specimens and antiquities; and after his return, Clarke, who was a scientist of some originality, was appointed the first professor of mineralogy in Cambridge. The tour in the Troad, in March 1801, was an extensive one reaching inland to the site on Kursunlu * Tepe (Scepsis) and the Kaz Dag*. By an early application of sound archaeological method Clarke and Cripps discovered the site of Ilion (below, p. 94) (E.D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, vol. ii, 1 of the London ed. of 1812).

Of no less interest was the journey of Philip Hunt, chaplain and factotum to Lord Elgin in Constantinople, and Joseph Dacre Carlyle, professor of Arabic in Cambridge, who was attached to the embassy to collect manuscripts for a revision of the New Testament. Having visited the Trojan Plain on the way out with Lord Elgin, they arrived for the second time in March 1801, three days behind Clarke and Cripps, whom they seem to have encountered on the spot. They too spent a fortnight travelling in the Troad, and their itinerary was similar; but after visiting the central plain and the Kaz Dag they went south to Assos and returned to the Dardanelles by the west coast. Hunt's journal was published in the first of Walpole's two miscellanies (R. Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 84-140). Carlyle's account of this journey has not been published. But Rennell had access

to it and extracted what imprecise or inaccurate information he needed to confirm his own far-fetched theory about the site of Troy (below, pp. 29 f.).¹ So far as I can judge, Hunt was the more accurate of this pair of travellers.

About the beginning of December 1801 William Gell (according to my unconfirmed note, in company with Edward Dodwell) sailed up the coast as far as Alexandria Troas, and then went overland to the Plain of Troy; there he made various handsome drawings which he incorporated with his observations in a ten-guinea book (*The Topography of Troy and its Vicinity*, 1804). His findings were commemorated in Byron's couplet:

Of Dardan tours let Dilettanti tell,
I leave topography to classic Gell,

where the word 'classic' (said to have been changed from 'coxcomb' after the two men had first met) was replaced in the 1816 edition by 'rapid', with the note that Gell topographized and typographized King Priam's dominions in three days. At the age of 24 Gell was not so well-grounded in archaeological research as he was later to become. He was too easily persuaded of what he calls the perfect correspondence of the present face of the country with Homer's description of it, and no less with Pope's map in his translation of the *Iliad*, which was based solely on his study of Homer's text. He was delighted to see a fallow field, corresponding to that mentioned in the *Iliad*, under Lechevalier's Troy, not to mention evidence of a grassy tuft on the 'Tomb of Hector' there to justify its identification as the one Lucan makes Caesar inadvertently tread on (below, p. 132). But his book is not lacking in interest.

The Earl of Aberdeen (George Hamilton Gordon), who did not believe in Lechevalier's Troy (if indeed he believed in a Troy at all), is identified as the negative and caustic reviewer of Gell's book (in *Edinburgh Review* vi (July 1805), 257-83); he derided Gell's fancies and enlarged on the difficulties in Lechevalier's system, but was not himself too well acquainted with the available literature. His own visit to the Troad, in July 1803 in the company of his brother Gordon and the artist Preaux, is recorded only in his manuscript diary in the British Museum. He spent a couple of days examining the Trojan Plain from an anchorage off the Sigeum ridge near Kesik Tepe, and then went up country to Ezine and Bayramiç. From the latter he travelled in state with Hacı * Osman Hadimoglu*, the Bey of the Castles, to the Sources of the Scamander, ascended the Kaz Dag*, and returned by way of the site at Kursunlu*. After rejoining his vessel he visited Alexandria Troas,

¹ Unpublished letters and journals of Carlyle's are referred to by W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (1967), 286. Carlyle's health seems to have been impaired by his travels, and he died in 1804.

whence he with difficulty carried away a couple of inscriptions. The most interesting part of his diary is that which concerns Hadimoglu *. Two months prior to this I. Leslie Foster had made his plan of the Trojan Plain, which is mentioned below (p. 47). Robert Walpole, a Cambridge scholar and editor of classical texts, in whose miscellanies Foster's plan and several journals are preserved, himself travelled in the Troad in April 1806; but I have found no account of his journey except a note of his visit to Alexandria Troas and of his itinerary from there to Avcilar* in Clarke's *Travels in Various Countries* (ii. I (1812), 155 ff.).

John Cam Hobhouse, subsequently elevated to the peerage for public services with the title of Lord Broughton, travelled with Lord Byron, whom he later attempted to present to the reading public as an ordinary human being. In April 1810 they visited Alexandria Troas and spent seventeen days off the Sigeum ridge waiting for permission for their frigate to enter the Dardanelles. During this time they could not penetrate far inland, but Hobhouse acquired an intimate knowledge of the Trojan Plain, on which, while treating the current identifications with reserve, he wrote at length and informatively (Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey*, etc. (1813), and (with slight additions) Lord Broughton, *Travels in Albania and other Provinces of Turkey* (1855), vol. ii; references in this book are to the latter). Byron for his part made no notes in the Troad and declared himself bored by Hobhouse's 'learned localities'; and he described the Plain of Troy as a fine field for conjecture and snipe-shooting. But later, in his *Diary of 1821*, he was provoked into claiming the superior knowledge of one who had 'stood upon that plain daily for more than a month in 1810'.

A.F. Mauduit, a French architect who was for a short time in the service of Tsar Alexander I, examined the Plain of Troy and more particularly the region of Pinarbasi* in March 1812, and later wrote a book in which he zealously defended the topographical system of his illustrious compatriots, but included much of his correspondence on matters which are hardly even marginally relevant now (*Découvertes dans la Troade*, 1840). Another book, of 180 large pages, which concerns the topography of Troy is that of James Rennell (*Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy*, etc., 1814). Rennell, the energetic surveyor of Bengal, devoted the fifty years of his retirement to the study of geography, and especially that of the world of Herodotus and Xenophon. He does not seem to have visited the Troad. But he read the accounts of the travellers diligently and before 1804 he had found reason to reject Lechevalier's system. Unfortunately he was led by undue reliance on Carlyle and over-precise inference from other travellers' indications to invent a river where none exists and invest it with the ancient name of Simois; and so he placed Troyas we might say,

`falsi Simoentis ad undam'in the angle which his fictitious river formed with the Menderes. Though conflicting with the evidence of all the known maps his ingenious theories could not be ruled out as totally impossible until the publication of Hunt's journal in 1817 showed that his Shimar-Simois was in fact the Kemer (aqueduct) river and entered the Plain of Troy at the south-east corner. Only Robert Hyde Greg, who, curiously, had visited the Plain of Troy, seems to have accepted Rennell's river (though not his situation of Troy);¹ but a posterity which looked at his map and not at his argument conferred on Rennell the distinction of being the founder of the theory that Troy was at Akça Köy ('Thymbra').

Despite the lack of agreement about Lechevalier's theory, interest in the problem of Troy seems gradually to have subsided, and we have relatively few travellers' reports from the years that follow. For the year 1816, however, three visits are recorded, of which two were noteworthy (the other is Firmin-Didot's). Otto Friedrichs von Richter, an orientalist and keen observer who had travelled to Egypt and Syria, spent about six days in the Troad in June before contracting an illness from which he died two months later at the age of 24. From Çanak Kale he went to the Plain of Troy and down the coast to Assos and back (*Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 1822). William Turner was attached to Liston's second embassy in Constantinople and travelled widely in the Near East. He had been to Pinarbasi * and Alexandria Troas on his way out (June 1812); but in November 1816 he paid a longer visit to the Troad, going from Çanak Kale to the Trojan Plain and Alexandria Troas, then to the central plain and the sources of the Menderes, and over the shoulder of the Kaz Dag* to the south coast, and making many interesting observations (*Journal of a Tour in the Levant* (1820), i. 36-45, 414-18, iii. 213-65).

Philip Barker Webb, a young man with developed interests in geology and botany, and collector of botanical specimens, spent ten days travelling in the Troad in October 1819 with a companion of like attainments, A. Parolini. They followed what was becoming a regular route in the early nineteenth century: the Plain of Troy, Alexandria Troas, the interior plain to the Kaz Dag, and Assos. But they broke new ground by penetrating the northern plateau to Salihler, where no Franks had ever been seen before. Barker Webb's observations were of both scientific and general interest (his original text, which I have not seen, is *Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico e presente dell'agro Trojano* (1821),

¹ In his article in *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Second Series, iv (1824), 151-224. Though containing no observations of interest, this article affords an early example of the modified Lechevalier position which was later to be much affected (Troy on the Balli Dag but Scamander = Menderes).

also published in German in 1822; expanded in the better-known French ed. of 1844, *Topographie de la Troade ancienne et moderne*). Two other travellers of this time who copied inscriptions in the north-west Troad are Count Carolo Vidua and H.P. Borrell, the latter of whom also noted coins that he saw in the towns.

Anton von Prokesch, later Count Prokesch von Osten and field marshal, privy councillor, and ambassador, travelled in Greece, Turkey, and Egypt in 1824-8 on leave from the Austrian army. He paid a two-day visit to the Plain of Troy from Çanak Kale in October 1824. With Homer and Hammer as his guides the young traveller diligently went to all the known ancient remains, drank from most of the 26 sources that he counted at Pinarbasi *, and even sleep did not prevent him from continuing to visualize the action of the *Iliad* in every detail (*Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien* iii (1831), 10-117, and especially *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* i (1836), 116-325). At the end of June 1826 he returned to the Troad for three or four days; on that occasion he landed at Assos, where he made a description of the ruins which J.T. Clarke later pronounced accurate, and rode up the coast to Alexandria Troas, returning by way of Ezine. There are valuable observations in this briefer narrative (*Denkwürdigkeiten* iii (1837), 359-402).

The dozen years after Prokesch would be blank if it were not for expeditions prompted by a re-awakening of interest in France in the time of Louis Philippe. On their journey to the Near East and Egypt Joseph François Michaud, the historian and biographer, and his collaborator Jean Joseph François Poujoulat landed in July 1830 at Baba Kale, whence they set off with their party and camel train for the Plain of Troy and Çanak Kale; and in October of the same year they put in again to Baba. While his jovial but elderly companion was hampered by injury, Poujoulat took the opportunity to visit Alexandria Troas on the first visit and Assos on the second. Having been apprised of their archaeological importance Michaud collected potsherds on the ancient sites, but he disburdened himself of them when their bulk became oppressive. Though archaeologically unimportant, the lengthy narrative of this journey contains some interesting incidental information (*Correspondance d'Orient 1830-1831* i (1833), 332-466; ii (1833), 1-50; iii (1834), 248-301). Inspector of public works in Paris and later to be professor of archaeology there, Charles Félix Marie Texier travelled in the commission of the French government with a view to carrying out large-scale investigations of ancient ruins, and landed on the coast of the Troad several times in 1833-5. In 1835 he visited Alexandria Troas and Assos and made some handsome though apparently superficial drawings. For Troy (at Pinarbasi) he depends on

Mauduit, whose work he applauds (*Déscription de l'Asie mineure* ii (1849), 179-207). The Parisian savant and museum curator Désiré Raoulrochette travelled in Greek lands in 1838 and at the end of July he visited Assos, where he was concerned with the removal of the frieze blocks of the temple that had apparently been offered to France by Sultan Mahmud II. He also spent a day examining the Balli Dag * and the Asarlik* (Eski Hissarlik) site opposite, of which he and his architect MOREY were the discoverers. All I have seen in print is Raoul-Rochette's article on the latter in *Journal des Savants*, August 1840, 449-60; I have not succeeded in tracing Morey's *Recherches archéologiques dans la Troade*, said to have been published at Nancy in 1854.

A few months before this, Charles Fellows, traveller in Asia Minor and later the leader of British Museum missions to Lycia, crossed the Troad at the beginning of March 1838. His route lay along the south coast from Edremit to Assos, up the west coast to Alexandria Troas, and across to Ezine; thence to Pinarbasi*, and, for lack of a bridge, back to Ezine in order to reach Çanak Kale. This was his first journey in Asia Minor, when he was better versed in botany and ornithology than in archaeological investigations (*A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor 1838* (1839), 42-81).

The greatest advance in the knowledge of the Trojan Plain resulted from the survey undertaken by Midshipman (later Vice-Admiral) Thomas Abel Brimage Spratt of the Admiralty hydrographical service in company with Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer, professor of classical antiquity in Kiel. They spent a month together there with a portable tent in the high summer of 1839, while the British fleet lay in Besika* Bay in support of the Turks against Mahomet Aly of Egypt; and Spratt's map, covering an area from Alexandria Troas to beyond Erenköy, was drawn up with the use of suitable instruments. Generally speaking, no feature, whether natural or artificial, escaped them; and the remains shown on Spratt's map are recorded in Forchhammer's terse, informative prose. Some of these have not been visited since, or have been revisited only by us. Twenty years earlier Turner had remarked that no satisfactory theory could be proposed about the position of Troy until a complete survey was made of the plain. It is worth remark that those who eventually made the survey did not see reason to reject Lechevalier's system of identifications (for Spratt's map see below, pp. 48f.; Forchhammer, 'Observations on the Topography of Troy', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* xii (1842), 28-44, and with some differences, *Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja*, 1850). It was also Spratt who in 1853 discovered the relics of the Smintheum at Kulahli* (below, p. 228). While the fleet was at Besika and Spratt at hand, in August-September 1839, Major E. NAPIER examined the plain in detail

and sketched a map on the basis of the new determinations. Though not competing with Forchhammer in archaeological understanding, Napier's description of the plain, which he compiled in the garrison library at Gibraltar the following winter, is one of the most informative that we possess ('Remarks on Ancient Troy and the Modern Troad', *United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 289-310; some more trivial observations, including a visit to Alexandria Troas, are scattered about the Third Part for the same year, with a description of the various Dardanelles forts, pp. 233-7). Napier also traced the Menderes up to its sources in the Kaz Dag *.

Gustav von Eckenbrecher seems to have paid three visits from Smyrna to the Plain of Troy about 1840, one being in summer and two in winter. He objected to Lechevalier's Troy on the usual ground of its distance from the ships, and saw reason to place Troy at New Ilium. But he does not seem to have had the gift of taking in what he saw with his eyes, for he invented and transferred features of the landscape to suit his theories; and his argument for having Troy at Ilium depends on placing the known site of Ilium on the southern slopes of the plateau out of sight of the sea (for, he asserts, if the hearth fires of Troy had been visible from the Achaeans' camp Homer could not have failed to record the fact). He found the acropolis of Troy at a place with ancient marbles south of Ciplak*, and so 2-3 km. from Hisarlik* ('Über die Lage des homerischen Ilion', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. ii (1843), 1-49). Von Eckenbrecher later republished his article with alterations to bring it into harmony with Schliemann's findings, and thus established himself alongside Maclaren as the discoverer of the true site of Troy (*Die Lage des homerischen Ilion*, 1875). With this opportunity Charles Maclaren's work may also be mentioned. Maclaren was foundereditor of a Scottish national newspaper and an amateur geologist. As early as 1822 he wrote a treatise demonstrating that Troy should have been on the same site as the historical Ilium; but he had not been to the Troad, and his claim, though soundly based on ancient authorities, seems to have gone for many years unnoticed. In 1847 he at last visited the Trojan Plain; and in 1863, at the age of eighty, he brought out his more widely known book which advanced the claims of Hisarlik at the same time as von Hahn's excavations depressed those of Lechevalier's site. There is more sense in Maclaren's study than in Eckenbrecher's, though his assemblage of modern evidences is more superficial and tendentious than appears at first sight. But his main concern there seems to be with ship space and battle orders, and his own special argument against Lechevalier reads quaintly in our age: in answer to the claim that the northern part of the plain was a bay in antiquity (thus allowing too little space between Hisarlik and the ships) he found that it must

have been land because otherwise there would not have been sufficient grazing for the three thousand stud mares of Erichthonius and their foals. I have not seen his earlier work (*A Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy*, 1822) and regret that my notes of his later one are very incomplete (*The Plain of Troy Described*, 1863).

Heinrich Kiepert, the eminent cartographer of the ancient world and for many years professor in Berlin, was in his early twenties when he undertook the mapping of western Asia Minor in completion of the project begun by Prussian army officers for Sultan Mahmud II (below, p. 49). He mapped the Troad with A. Schönborn at the beginning of 1842, penetrating parts of the interior that had not previously been visited and placing a number of features and villages on the map. Returning to the Troad in June 1888, he examined the site of Cebren and the south coast with Fabricius (see his *Memoir über die Construction der Karte von Kleinasien und türkisch Armenien in 6 Blatt von v. Vincke, Fischer, v. Moltke und Kiepert* (1854); for his later journey see below, p. 41). Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, professor in Bonn and editor of the *Rheinisches Museum*, passed rapidly through the Troad at the end of June 1842 on his tour of Greece; his journal contains a few comments on villages but nothing of archaeological significance (*Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise* (1865), ii. 201 ff.). He also wrote in support of Lechevalier's identification of Troy. The first professor of Latin in Athens University, Heinrich Nikolaus Ulrichs, visited the Plain of Troy in July 1843, three months before his untimely death. His observations have an academic flavour that lends little support to his location of Troy on the hills of Akça Köy ('Über die Lage Trojas', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. iii (1845), 573-608; 'An Excursus on the Topography of the Homeric Ilium' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* v, Second Series, ii).

The most ambitious series of journeys undertaken in Asia Minor in the days of the travellers was that of Peter De Tchihatcheff, who had accustomed himself to travel while serving as attaché at the Russian embassy in Constantinople in 1841-4, and then, after two years of study and a scientific expedition to the Altai, began a series of long journeys in Asia Minor, occupying many months at a time (1847-50, 1853, 1858, and shorter excursions in 1863). He twice visited the Troad: in December 1847 when, suffering from fever, he rode from the plain of Edremit by way of Çetme, Ayvacik*, and Ezine to Çanak Kale, and in April 1849 when he followed a more circuitous route (from Çanak Kale over the mountains to Doganci* and Ezine, across to Alexandria Troas, and down through the villages to Tuzla, then past Assos and along the Kozlu Dag* to Narli* and over the mountain ridge to the upper Menderes valley). Tchihatcheff travelled without intermission and cannot often

have paused to dismount; his itinerary and descriptions consequently abound in errors and misunderstandings, and in archaeological matters he was naïve. But he was an important source of information for the Kiepert's maps. His main publication is *Asie mineure, description physique, statistique et archéologique de cette contrée*: the first part, *Géographie physique comparée* (1853) contains most of what he had to say about the Troad; subsequent parts, in various volumes published between 1856 and 1869, completed only the 'description physique'. His itineraries were published by H. Kiepert, 'P. v. Tschihatscheff's Routen in Klein-Asien', *Petermanns geographische Mittheilungen*, Erg. 20 (1867).

Tchihatcheff refers in his opening preface to his young friend Calvert who accompanied him at Kayseri and on the ascent of the Erciyas Dag * (in 1849); and at this point the name of Calvert may be introduced. The family was English, but seems to have been resident for a generation or two in Turkey; and an uncle, Mr. Lander or Launder, had been consul at the Dardanelles and apparently owner of what was later the Calverts' country house at Erenköy. There were a number of brothers, of whom three seem to have spent much of their life at the Dardanelles, while another was in an influential position at Constantinople. Frederick, who was presumably the eldest, was the proprietor of two farms (one in the Chersonese opposite, the other the so-called 'Thymbra Farm' at Akça Köy in the Trojan Plain); and he was British consul at the Dardanelles from 1846 to 1862. He died in 1876. It was Frederick who excavated a tumulus at Erenköy and believed Troy to have been at Akça Köy. Lord Carlisle in 1853 spoke of him as forming a museum of antiquities; but the activities of the different brothers are sometimes confused, and in this case it seems certain that Frank was the moving force. We hear from Carlisle and others of Frederick introducing European stock and ploughs on the farms and later, in 1871, draining the Batak marsh at 'Thymbra Farm'; he was less successful in trying to acquire the surplus material from the British military hospital at Brunton's sale in 1856. The family traded in valonia and dispensed aid in such forms as medical advice, medicines, and loans. Another brother, James, was acting British consul at the Dardanelles in 1853 and later the American consul there; he also was interested in archaeology, and figures in Schliemann's correspondence. The family continued to live in the Troad until the Second World War.

Frank Calvert also was acting British consul on occasions between 1887 and 1890, and he was American consul for many years. But of the brothers he was the one with the strongest scholarly inclinations. He was known as a collector of geological, palaeontological, and botanical specimens, and some of his collections were taken to Europe for study by experts. In his investigation of the region he discovered the ancient

gold mines of Astyra behind Çanak Kale; and he obtained the concession for these mines (before 1884), as well as for others south of Lapseki, though it sounds as if he derived little profit from them. But his principal interest was in the archaeology of the Troad. If in fact, as Schliemann seems to imply in *Ilios* (1880), 60, it was in 1839 that he pointed out the site on Asarlik * (Eski Hissarlik) to Spratt, he was active from a tender age; for he did not die until 1908, when his age was reported as eighty. But it was in the 1850s and 1860s that he carried out his most important reconnaissances. On a number of different expeditions he investigated sites as far south as the Çal Dag* (Cebren) and Liman Tepe (Larisa), and most of the better-based identifications of ancient city sites are due to him. He had excavations carried out at many points; these were mainly of graves, but he also dug the tumuli traditionally known as of Patroclus and Priam and at Hanay Tepe. He deserves much of the credit for the discovery of Troy. After seeing the outcome of von Hahn's excavation on the Balli* Dag in 1864 and of his own examination of the supposed heroic tumuli there, he acquired nearly half of the mound of Hisarlik* in the belief that it was the site of Troy, and started to excavate there in 1865. He exposed a temple (that of Athena); but lacking the funds required for a large-scale excavation he encouraged Schliemann to undertake the task when he appeared in the Troad in 1868.

Frank Calvert so far surpassed his brothers in scholarship that he has pre-empted the family name in the literature. He reported on his researches in a number of articles (mainly in the *Archaeological Journal*), but always in few words. While they demonstrate in what detail he knew the country, articles of his such as 'Über die asiatische Küste des Hellespont' (in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880) show that he regarded his knowledge as of value only in so far as it was relevant to a problem or an argument; and consequently the topographical information transmitted in his writings and in the catalogue of the Calvert Collection is the barest skeleton of what he must have known. Yet even so he is our principal authority for the field archaeology of much of the Troad. Permanently resident at the Dardanelles, and a familiar figure in the countryside, Calvert had advantages that no other archaeologist in the Troad has enjoyed. In addition he had unusually good judgement. He was much respected by visiting scholars of all nations who came to the Troad. Patriarchal in his physiognomy, he appears in the group photograph of the international conference of 1890 at Troy.¹

Charles Thomas Newton, who was seconded from the British Museum to the consular service for the furtherance of the Museum's interests in the Aegean, visited Çanak Kale at the beginning of 1853,

¹ As in E. Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann* (1969), opposite p. 337.

and made a journey to Alexandria Troas by way of the Trojan Plain and the Cigri * Dag*. He was rapid but decisive in observation; and he rejected Lechevalier's Troy on the ground that there were neither rock cuttings for walls nor, more pertinently, potsherds on the ground like those of Mycenae and Tiryns. His work contains various interesting observations, not least those that he had from Calvert (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (1865), 124-36). Archaeologically less informative, but interesting because of the light shed on the Calverts, is the journal of the Earl of Carlisle, the Whig statesman who spent the summer of 1853 moving between Çanak Kale and the allied fleets that were waiting in Besika* Bay (G.W.F. Howard, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters*, 1854). Another Englishman drawn to the Troad by the Crimean War was the railway engineer John Brunton, who was commissioned to set up a military hospital and selected a site on the coast north of Erenköy (below, p. 61). Brunton published no account of his work there; but a brief sketch of his life which he penned in his old age has been printed as a document of economic history (*John Brunton's Book*, ed. J.H. Clapham (1939), pp. 59-81 for the Troad). There is some light on the Calvert family in this, and also on the excavations that Brunton carried out with 150 men of the service corps at Dardanos, Ilium, and perhaps the Balli* Dag while awaiting the outcome of peace negotiations in the winter of 1855-6.

Of minor importance are reports of several journeys in the years immediately following the Crimean War. Georges Perrot, the learned author of a multi-volume history of ancient art, travelled in the Troad with Léon Heuzey in July 1856 while a student of the French School at Athens. Their route was by the Trojan Plain and up the Menderes to the sources in the Kaz Dag, then back to Çanak Kale over the mountains. Perrot had not prepared himself topographically for the journey, and the interest of the account of it that he was later persuaded to publish rests on the incidental information that it contains ('Excursion à Troie et aux Sources du Menderé', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* viii (1874), 58-74). Nassau William Senior, a political economist and writer of journals, visited the site of Abydos and the Trojan Plain in November 1857. His account would be of no interest if it were not for his report of conversations with Frank Calvert on pithos burials and more general matters (*A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece in the autumn of 1857 and the beginning of 1858* (1859), 154-86). On p. 266 of his *Monnaies grecques* the numismatist who later studied mints of the Troad, Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer, reveals that he climbed to the sources and the top of the Kaz Dag in 1859 and saw pine trees as on the coins of Scepsis; unlike the archaeologists he does not seem to have perceived the interest of noting coins in the places he passed through.

Henry Fanshawe Tozer, an Oxford scholar who travelled in Turkey, visited the Troad with T.M. Crowder in 1853 and August 1861. He gave an account of the second journey, in which they went from Çanak Kale to the Trojan Plain and up the Menderes to the Kaz Dag *. It contains valuable incidental information, and also shows that a reasonable case could still be made out for Lechevalier's Troy (*Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (1869), i. 1-45, with a more speculative appendix on the topography of Troy, ii. 337-57).

Richard Popplewell Pullan, an architect, was appointed to Newton's expedition at Halicarnassus in 1857 and subsequently engaged by the Society of Dilettanti to explore Teos, the Smintheum, and Priene. He first visited the Troad in October 1861, when he spent a week examining the remains of the Smintheum and Assos (see his work, C. Texier and Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor* (1865), 17 ff.). His main exploration of the Smintheum occupied two and a half months in the autumn of 1866; he also speaks of visiting the site of Scepsis at Kursunlu*, which he identified by the coins found on the spot (*Antiquities of Ionia iv* (1881), chap. 3; v (1915), 30 ff.).

It may seem curious that in nearly three generations after Lechevalier none of the numerous visitors to his site on the Balli* Dag seriously considered subjecting it to the test of excavation. But Calvert's diggings at various points in the Troad, though instructive from a topographical point of view, had been directed primarily towards the recovery of museum objects; and prior to the 1860s archaeologists had not thought of the excavation of sites as a means of revealing the history of their occupation. It was in fact at Lechevalier's Troy that the first such attempt was made in the Troad; and the excavator was a pioneer in his aims. Johann Georg von Hahn was Austrian consul-general for Eastern Greece and a man of varied scholarly and antiquarian activities. Accompanied by Julius Schmidt, the astronomer in Athens, and the architect Ernest Ziller, he carried out excavations on top of the Balli Dag in the spring of 1864 and uncovered a citadel whose walls and salients he named after the believers in Lechevalier's system. But it emerged only too plainly that it was a citadel of classical date; and when he trenched on the slopes towards Pinarbasi* von Hahn could discover no trace of the lower town of Troy. In his disillusionment he concluded that there never had been a historical Troy and that the story of the *Iliad* was an old Nordic saga (*Die Ausgrabungen auf der homerischen Pergamos in zwei Sendschreiben an Georg Finlay* (1865), consisting of open letters of 16 May 1864 from Pinarbasi and I June 1864 after he had returned to his post at Syra).

The career of Heinrich Schliemann (1822-90) is well known. To confine ourselves to the Troad, on his first visit he landed at Çanak

Kale on 9 August 1868 and proceeded at once to Pinarbasi *. He quickly made up his mind that Troy was not there, but he spent three days excavating in the citadel and on the lower slopes to prove the point. Hisarlik*, which he next visited, seemed to him a suitable site; he saw the remains recently exposed on the mound by Calvert and concurred in his belief that it was Troy. On this visit, which lasted ten days, he familiarized himself with the country as far as Alexandria Troas (*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 133-226, also in a German edition of the same year). Having been detained by legal proceedings in America in 1869, Schliemann began his excavations at Hisarlik in 1870; and in the ensuing campaigns he uncovered a citadel there with many prehistoric strata, though it was not until the end of his life that the one of Mycenaean date began to emerge clearly. His work on the site is described below, pp. 95 ff. Altogether he visited the Troad for purposes of excavation or study in more than half of the years between 1868 and 1890. He excavated a number of tumuli and trenched on various sites, including Scepsis and Cebren; and he made journeys in the Troad in 1879, 1881, 1882, and 1890. The most extensive of these journeys was that of 1881, when he travelled the whole length of the west and south coasts and across the Kaz Dag* to the central plain (*Reise in der Troas im Mai 1881* (1881), and, with the inclusion of findings of 1882, in *Troja* (1884) and the French edition of *Ilios*). As a topographer he sometimes judged hastily, and on the ground he was too ready to recognize ancient city sites. But he was always keen in observation and generally accurate in the information he gave.

Some of the scholars who worked with Schliemann at Troy will be mentioned later for the investigations that they themselves carried out. But it is to Schliemann's writings that we owe our knowledge of the work of Sophia his wife, who at times shared in the tasks of excavation, and of Émile Louis Burnouf, honorary director of the French School at Athens, who was sent to Troy by his government in 1879; besides making the plans, Burnouf investigated the Trojan Plain and revised Spratt's map of it for Schliemann's use. To Schliemann also we owe our knowledge of the excavation of the `Tomb of Hector' on the Balli* Dag by the English reforming politician and amateur prehistorian Sir John Lubbock (later Lord Avebury), apparently on a visit to the Troad in October 1872. An excursion which caused Schliemann more than ordinary concern was the rapid tour of the Trojan Plain by Ernst Curtius, F. Adler, G. Hirschfeld, B. Stark, and H. Gelzer in September 1871. Disregarding Calvert's arguments, these scholars pronounced that Troy was on the Balli Dag; and their authority not only weighed heavily in the scholarly world but even caused Schliemann to have serious doubts (Calvert's letter in *H. Schliemann Briefwechsel* i (1953), 187;

of the various accounts of their findings by members of the party I have only read Gelzer, *Eine Wanderung nach Troja*, 1873).

Rudolf Ludwig Carl Virchow, the eminent pathologist, met Schliemann in 1875 and came out to join him at Troy for April 1879. He investigated the Plain of Troy with special attention both to its hydrography and to its geography in a broad sense; and he studied the interior of the Troad, though less closely, when he travelled there with Schliemann later in the month. His plans for further travel there the same autumn were frustrated; but he eventually returned in the spring of 1890, when he and Schliemann traversed Mt. Ida. The errors in Virchow's writings on the Troad are not confined to archaeological matters, and seem to be largely due to his reliance on an overburdened memory and on an exceptionally wide-ranging scientific knowledge. But his influence on Schliemann seems to have been beneficial; his observations are often illuminating, and his description of the Trojan Plain was an important contribution to the knowledge of the country (*Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas (Abhandlungen der k. Akademie zu Berlin 1879, phys. Kl., Abh. iii)*, 1880; for his journey of 1890, *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akademie 1892, phys.-math. Cl., 969-82*).

Archibald Henry Sayce, later professor of Assyriology in Oxford, was an adherent of Schliemann's cause, and figures as a contributor in his books. In the autumn of 1879 he paid a brief visit to the Plain of Troy, and his account of it has a certain interest through his having had Calvert as his guide ('Notes from Journeys in the Troad and Lydia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* i (1880), 75 ff.).

The excavations at Assos in 1881-3 brought American archaeologists to the Troad. The leader of the expedition, Joseph Thacher Clarke, who had made an exploratory visit with F.H. Bacon in 1879, and the geologist, Joseph Silas Diller, ranged widely over the southern Troad and made many geological and archaeological discoveries, of which mention will be made as appropriate. Clarke also concerned himself with the site of Neandria, and another member of the team, William Cranston Lawton, reported on a journey up to the Plain of Troy (see mainly in Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881, 1882*). A German architect who joined the Assos team in 1882, Robert Koldewey, who also made an archaeological survey of Lesbos and is best known as the excavator of Babylon, studied the baths at Alexandria Troas in 1883, and in the autumn of 1889 returned to carry out investigations on the site on top of the Cigri * Dag*, whose identification as Neandria he was able to confirm (see below, pp. 204 ff.).

Though Schliemann himself was a truly international figure, it was German scholars who became the most active at Troy, with Dörpfeld completing Schliemann's work on the site in 1893-4. By this time the

aims of archaeological research were changing; and field workers were tending to undertake specific tasks rather than pursue itineraries in search of ancient remains. But there was indeed still scope for itinerants; and a few journeys of this period are recorded. In June 1888 Heinrich Kiepert returned to travel with Ernst Fabricius, who had already crossed the Troad on his way to Pergamon in 1885 and who was, as professor in Freiburg, to devote himself to the study of the Limes. They visited Cebren and investigated sites in the region of Gargara and Antandrus (Kiepert, 'Die alten Ortslagen am Südfusse des Idagebirges', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xxiv (1889), 290-303; Fabricius in *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akademie* 1894, 904 ff.).

Walther Judeich, ancient historian and topographer, made an extensive journey from Troy with the future Romano-German archaeologist Hans Dragendorff; its main object was to supplement Kiepert's map. They were in the Troad for more than a fortnight in May 1896, and much of their route lay over unexplored country. They went up the coast to Çanak Kale, then up the valley to see a site of which they had heard on top of the Kayali * Dag*, and down through the villages to the Kursak* vale and Bayramiç. From there they visited the Kursunlu* site, where they discovered an inscription which clinched the identification with Scepsis, and they inspected the villages south of Bayramiç and the site of Cebren. From Ezine they traversed the plateau as far as Camlica* and examined the Balli* Dag and neighbouring sites; then by way of Neandria to Assos, and eastward to reconnoitre the region of Gargara and Antandrus. If they had been lucky these gifted archaeologists might have been the discoverers of two or three major sites which lay close to their route. As it is, their positive results were relatively slight, and from a topographical point of view their most valuable contribution lies in the blanks that they drew. We have found Judeich's report on the journey invaluable ('Bericht über eine Reise im nordwestlichen Kleinasien', *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akademie* 1898, 531-43; for the south coast sites, 'Gargara und der Altar des idäischen Zeus', *Österreichische Jahreshefte* iv (1901), 111-25). Other Germans who made specific topographical observations in the years from 1880 onward were H. G. Lolling, who copied many inscriptions between Cyzicus and Alexandria Troas in 1880-1, Hubert Schmidt, who as a member of the Troy excavation party in 1894 examined the stones in the Turkish burial grounds of the Trojan Plain, and Hermann Winnefeld who contributed the study of the tumuli in Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion* (1902), Richard Kiepert, the cartographer and son of Heinrich Kiepert, Hermann Thiersch who drew up the catalogue of the Calvert Collection in 1902, L. Burchner who seems to have made personal observations in

1904 in connection with his articles in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, and Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt during the First World War.

The epigraphist Adolphe Reinach travelled in the Troad in August 1910. The account of his journey, published in serial parts, was not complete when he was lost in action in August 1914. What appeared shows him as having traversed the coast from Çanak Kale to the Smintheum in a matter of six days. Besides copying inscriptions, he found some previously unknown remains in the Tenedian Peraea and climbed Kizkulesi * ('Voyage épigraphique en Troade et en Éolide', *Revue épigraphique*, N.S. i (1913), 165-89, 299-324; ii (1914), 35-45).

Walter Leaf, Homeric scholar in his leisure time, was nearly sixty years old when he spent five weeks travelling in the Troad with Frederick William Hasluck in late April and May 1911. Leaf's concern was with the Troad of Strabo and the Homeric catalogue, and the area which he traversed was larger than that covered in this book. From Çanak Kale he went to the Trojan Plain, Neandria and Alexandria Troas, then down the coast to Cape Lekton and Assos; from there by boat, rowed in a calm, to Antandrus, and from the plain of Edremit over the mountain to the upper Scamander and Bayramiç, whence down the valley to Çanak Kale. Leaf's circuit of the mountain land to the north-east is not relevant here; but even within our boundaries the journey was an unusually extensive one, and Leaf went out of his way to visit Cebren and Scepsis, the top of the Kaz Dag*, and the watershed at the head of the Scamander valley. It is necessary to say a few words about Leaf because the two books and handful of articles that he wrote after this journey established him as the leading modern authority on the topography of the Troad and it is to his *Strabo on the Troad* of 1923 that scholars normally refer. Leaf had a clear head and a fine gift of exposition. He could see the essentials of a problem and marshal the evidence effectively; and so he is always worth reading. But he did not have an archaeological training; his investigation of sites was cursory, and he did not realize how inadequate the exploration of the Troad was. So he tended to see the problems as simpler than they in fact were, and he was too inclined to present his assumptions as topographical facts. Leaf was the last of the travellers in the Troad; for the Balkan wars were followed by the era of the two world wars in which considerations of military security precluded unimpeded movement on itineraries such as theirs.

A work of some importance, though not of firsthand observation, is V. Cuinet's *La Turquie d'Asie*, in which the vilayet of Çanak Kale (or, as it then was, the sancak of Biga) has its place in vol. iii (1894), pp. 689-771. Archaeologically Cuinet is preposterous. He was the last scholar by 200 years to place Troy at Eski Stambul, and the only one ever to place the battles of the *Iliad* in the plain of Bayramiç. But his concern was with

contemporary matters. Based on official statistics of about 1890, Cuinet's work is a mine of information on political organization, commerce, production, and the state of education at the time. It would seem that reliable information was more easily obtained for vilayets than kazas; and his local information, much of which must have been acquired by hearsay, sometimes seems inferior to that of travellers who had been on the spot.

There remain a number of archaeological undertakings in the present century which merit a mention. V. SEYK, a Prague architect who seems to have worked under Dörpfeld, was not convinced that Troy was at Hisarlik *, in which he preferred to see the common grave mound of the Achaeans and the corner bastion of their defences. He carried out an excavation of his own in 1906 on the hill of Kara Tepe east of Hisarlik, and uncovered remains of a construction whose palatial character he seems to have overestimated (*Das wahre und richtige Troja-Ilion*, 1926). Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who had played a major part in the Troy excavations since 1882, had planned to excavate the southern tumuli of Üvecik Tepe and Besik* Tepe when he was completing Schliemann's work in 1893 and 1894. But his hopes were frustrated. Many years later, convinced by the arguments of Brückner and others that the historical camp of the Achaeans must have been not at Kum Kale but at Besika* Bay, he joined forces with a scholarly Bavarian business man, Oscar Mey, to carry out excavations in October 1924. Mey trenched in the coastal plain at Besika, while Dörpfeld dug at Üvecik Tepe and, in the last days, at Besik Tepe (Dörpfeld, 'Das Schiffslager der Griechen vor Troja', in *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie Alfred Götze dargebracht* (1925); Mey, *Das Schlachtfeld vor Troja*, 1926). Of these epigoni it was Alfred Brückner, who had taken part in the Troy excavations of 1890 and 1893 and played a major part in the publication of the results in Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion* (1902), who proved the most fertile in imaginative ideas on Trojan topography. So far as I know, neither the German colonel W. von Diest nor the eminent French scholar Charles Vellay made any original observations on the spot to match their lively speculations; Vellay's profound learning nevertheless lends his books a greater value than his conclusions are commonly thought to warrant.

The recent American excavations at Troy were carried out in 1932-8 under the leadership of the Mycenaean archaeologist Carl William Blegen (see below, pp. 98 f.). Journeys were made in the neighbourhood by members of the expedition and two prehistoric sites were discovered. Small test excavations were also carried out by Hamit Zübeyr Kosay* and Jerome Sperling on the four sites of Balli* Dag*, Asarlik* (Eski Hisarlik), Kara Tepe, and the previously unknown

prehistoric mound of Kum Tepe near the mouth of the Menderes (*`Troad'da dört yerlesme * yeri*, 1936). Hans Schleif and Friedrich Wilhelm Goethert were attached to the American mission; the former was engaged in completing Dörpfeld's study of the Temple of Athena Ilias, and the latter returned in 1956 and 1958 to conclude the work for it on the spot. Both examined marbles in the neighbouring Turkish burial grounds. In 1932 Winifred Lamb, best known for her excavations in Lesbos, visited the sites of the Trojan Plain and discovered prehistoric pottery at Besika* Burnu; to her is due a careful study of Schliemann's sherds in Berlin from prehistoric sites in the Troad (*Praehistorische Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 111-31). Since our reconnaissance started Nicholas Bayne investigated the south coast in 1960, finding some new sites east of Antandrus; and in the spring of 1966 Hans Weber studied the surviving remains of the Smintheum at Kulahli*.

2

Maps of the Troad

In our journeys in the Troad we made relatively little use of maps. It became clear that away from the coasts the German ones, which began with H. Kiepert's survey of 1841-2 and terminated with Leaf's adaptation of 1911, were not accurate enough to allow positions to be marked in relation to the visible features of the terrain; and we did not have copies of the modern Turkish maps available for use in the field. The only serviceable survey that we have used on the spot was that of the Trojan Plain and its environs made by Spratt in 1839. We did not ourselves do more than take occasional bearings to establish positions for new sites. In drawing the topographical sketch maps to illustrate this work I have been able to use a British military (GS) map at 1:200,000, which was made in 1941 on a basis of a Turkish map of 1930, and for the Dardanelles coast (with the north part of the Trojan Plain) a British military copy of a French map of 1920 at 1:50,000, which was based on a Turkish one of about 1913. Presumably they all go back to the unpublished Turkish General Staff 1:25,000 survey dating to the years before the First World War. The 1:50,000 GS map looks as though the scale is larger than the field work warranted; but with 20 m. contour intervals it does give a stronger impression of the relief than any other we have seen. The 1:200,000 map has 100 m. (and in some places intermediate) contour intervals. We have occasionally found that minor features on the map do not correspond with what we have seen; little plains tend to be obscured by the spreading out of contour lines, and place names are insecurely anchored on the map. But it does seem to rank as a basic survey and is consequently far superior to everything that preceded it in the interior of the Troad.

Of the maps that I have done out, the small-scale ones such as those in Chapter 10 have Leaf as their base and should not be regarded as very accurate. I have used the GS 1:50,000 map for the coast of the Hellespont and the north part of the Trojan Plain. But I have not had a largescale contoured map of the whole of that plain; and the reader may at times need to refer to Spratt or Schliemann, who mark more than I do and give a much better impression of the south part of the plain. For the rest, I have used the 1:200,000 GS map, and kept to it even when the relief seemed incorrect.

The study of the travellers has involved some research into the cartography of the Troad. Unfortunately the maps are often missing from old books; there are one or two that I have not been able to study at all, and in other cases I have had to work with derivative versions of maps without knowing how faithfully they reproduce their original. Nevertheless a short summary may be useful.

Apart from Piri Re'is' curious but circumstantial nautical charts made for Süleyman the Magnificent soon after 1500,¹ the maps of the west coast of Asia Minor in use until the mid eighteenth century were Italian sea charts or based on them; and they depended as much on ancient data as on modern. Even the rendering of the coasts was schematic. This tradition of map construction reached a sort of consummation in Bourguignon d'Anville's celebrated atlas of the ancient world in the second half of the eighteenth century. D'Anville, as the encyclopedias say, was born and died in Paris; and his productions have an air of scholarly finality that won high commendation from Gibbon. It may be unfair to judge him by his map of the Troad;² for Dallaway remarked of it that d'Anville had here departed from his usual accuracy. But Lechevalier `pardoned him his error' on the ground that he had never set foot out of his birthplace, and so laid his finger on the fundamental fault. In d'Anville's Troad the dominant influence is Strabo, and the geographical advances of the sixteenth century tend to be overlooked. Gargara forms a bold cape with the coast trending northwestward from it to Lekton, and in consequence the west coast of the Troad has lost a third of its length. Mt. Ida threads its way up the middle like the centipede to which Strabo compares it, and the rivers flow outward from a link in the chain which is duly called Kotylos. Only on the Hellespont is any genuine concession made to geographical fact; for there had been perspectives like Grelot's,³ and a plan by a French

1 (In German) P. Kahle, *Piri Re'is Bahrije* (1926-); (in Turkish) *Piri-Reis Kitabı * Bahriye* (Türk Tarih Arastırma* Kurumu Yayınlarından*, no. 2, 1935).

2 Conveniently reproduced in R. Chandler's *History of Ilium* (1802).

3 *Relation nouvelle* (1681) at p. 47. Though useful, Sandys' perspective of 1610 was, as Hobhouse said, `in every respect a fancy piece'.

engineer, de Clairac, as early as 1726, while in 1756 d'Anville had in his hands a detailed chart of the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora.¹ Apart from Abydos and Alexandria Troas, the ancient sites are arbitrarily positioned on d'Anville's map, although Scepsis comes in the right place through the accident of being set on the wrong side of Mt. Ida.²

Unfortunately d'Anville did not apprise himself of the serious investigations that Pococke and Wood had carried out in the Troad, which showed amongst other things the impossibility of his Mt. Ida. Wood penetrated deep into the Scamander basin. His manuscript diary of 1750 shows that he had with him a letter and chart supplied by the previous traveller Lisle; but he took bearings himself, and the map he drew was evidently his own work.³ It takes in the country nearly to Bayramiç on the east and to the sources of the Akçin Çay on the south. Many villages are marked, and ten of them named. Though inadequate for the Trojan Plain, Wood's map renders the physical relief with a fair degree of verisimilitude.

The survey of the region of Troy that was prompted by Lechevalier's journey of 1785 and executed by Lechevalier and Cassas for Choiseul-Gouffier the next autumn, covered rather less ground than Wood's; but it was more precise and detailed. With the excitement engendered by the discovery of Troy, scholars were not slow to point out its imperfections, and it was superseded in a few years by Kauffer's survey; but apart from a serious misunderstanding of the orography at the south end (the Cigri * Dag*) it is usable. The outlines of the coast and some fixed points were taken from Choiseul-Gouffier's new nautical survey which will be mentioned presently. The original Lechevalier-Cassas map is published in *Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791); some modifications appear in the derivative editions of that work. The extent of Kauffer's work in the Troad is not entirely clear. He was engaged in plotting the interior for the nautical survey about 1786-7, and he was sent back to the Troad about the time that Choiseul-Gouffier left for Russia. The map commonly known as Kauffer's and said to have been drawn to the order of Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan Minister, in fact shows that Kauffer had the material for a map of the whole western and southern Troad; for the version of it authorized by Count Ludolf and published by E. D. Clarke and J. M. Cripps in 1803 takes in the Kaz Dag and the whole south coast to Adramyttion; and this predecessor of Choiseul-Gouffier's maps presumably reflects Kauffer's own survey in the interior. But the term 'Kauffer's map' seems commonly to have denoted the survey of the Trojan Plain and its immediate environs only. This

1 *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* xxviii (1761), 318 ff.

2 On d'Anville's Larisa see below, p. 195.

3 In his *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1775); also, with some slight errors in the copying of the names, in versions of Lechevalier's *Description of the Plain of Troy*.

was circulating in copies, and copies of copies, in Constantinople in the 1790s, and it developed the errors and interpolations of a manuscript tradition. Rennell published a copy (that of Hawkins) which he claimed to be more authentic than that of Clarke and Cripps.¹ In general, Kauffer's map of the region of Troy is a competent piece of cartography which gives a strong impression of the physical relief. It held the field until Spratt's survey of 1839.

As regards the Trojan Plain, Kauffer was not alone. There was talk of a survey and detailed observations expected to result from Hawkins's investigations of about 1797. And Dallaway (1794-5), Hope (1799, *ap.* Francklin) and Carlyle (1801, *ap.* Rennell) made sketch plans that have seen the light of publication, not to mention Gell (1801), whose panoramic drawings perhaps provide a more valuable record than his plan; but it is doubtful whether any of these deserves to be called an original survey. The one map that was spoken of as being in any way comparable to Kauffer's is that made by I. Leslie Foster in May 1803 with a small mariner's compass and published by Walpole in 1817.² Compared with Kauffer's map it appears diagrammatic, with little attention paid to the relief. But 53 features are marked; and Foster's accuracy in plotting positions won the approval of Barker Webb and Prokesch, who balanced his merits and defects against Kauffer's.

To turn now to the Troad as a whole, Leake in 1824 gave Choiseul-Gouffier the credit for having provided the best maps; and the comparison of the detail map sections (Plates 8 bis, 13, and 52 in vol. ii of his *Voyage pittoresque*) with the general map at the beginning of vol. i shows how much had been accomplished over a considerable area. The map in vol. i, of 1782, is pure d'Anville. Those of vol. ii are based on a systematic survey by a French naval unit under Captain (later Admiral) L. J. F. Truguet, who was appointed to Choiseul-Gouffier's embassy with a view to building up the Turkish navy. Much of the Aegean archipelago, the Marmora, and the Black Sea was charted in the 1780s, with the ambassador himself on occasion accompanying the surveying team.³ J. Racord is credited by Choiseul-Gouffier with having charted

¹*Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy* (1814), top right on the map plate. Clarke and Cripps's map is *A Map of the Plain of Troy and the District of Ida* (from a survey by Kauffer for his Excellency Count Ludolf), London, 1803. Count Ludolf is said to have accompanied Kauffer in the field; but Choiseul-Gouffier certainly considered the survey to have been carried out on his own account, and to a large extent this must have been so. In fairness to Kauffer we must bear in mind his need for employment after Choiseul-Gouffier had gone into exile.

²*Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, opp. p. 553.

³ The archipelago survey is said to have been supplemented by Gauttier in 1818-19 (published in 1827). H. Kiepert speaks as though it did not add much; but he tended to be severe in judging his predecessors and did not even speak with approval of Choiseul-Gouffier's survey.

the Troad, while Kauffer completed the survey with `trigonometrical operations figuring the terrains with rare precision'.¹ As we have seen, Kauffer was sent again to the Troad about 1792-3; and at a later date, in 1814 when Choiseul-Gouffier was completing his great work in Paris, a painter, L. J. J. Dubois, was dispatched to the Troad to make yet more topographical observations. Choiseul-Gouffier was determined that his map of the Troad should be as perfect as was humanly possible.

The final versions of this survey are those in vol. ii of the *Voyage pittoresque*; earlier ones are Kauffer's map as published by Clarke and Cripps and the derivative map from a similar version of Kauffer which Olivier published even before Clarke and Cripps.² The most serious error in the survey is in the placing of the upper Scamander with Evciler and the sources; here a displacement towards the north-east betrays a scholarly concern to bring the origin of the Scamander into relationship with Demetrius of Scepsis's watershed at Kotylos. But there is also a general foreshortening of the central plain which suggests that the plotting was mainly done from the west end around Ezine; and in fact the Kiepert's maps are much superior in their rendering of the east end of the basin. The southern Troad was surveyed along the coast and only goes skin deep. Of the villages marked on the map in vol. ii of the *Voyage pittoresque* a number have been added from the accounts of earlier travellers (Felampi and Lerissi from des Mouceaux, Narla, Chebna, and other names erroneously located near Cape Baba from Dallaway (see below, p. 226 n. 2), and perhaps from Gell some names up the coast from Baba, though there is no good reason to suppose that Gell had a better authority than a different copy of Kauffer's map). The transcription of names in Choiseul-Gouffier is tolerably accurate. The derivative versions (including even Clarke's Kauffer) are less so; we find Kaloukli and Hatoukli for the village of Balikli *, Souterelli for Butreli, Bormas presumably for Mormat, Hallat for Idallar, Dacchali for Yahsieli*.

The British Admiralty hydrographical survey of the 1830s virtually perfected the delineation of the coasts and has required no serious correction. Confidence in its finality perhaps accounts for the fact that the Balli* Dag* still reigns as the Site of Troy in the 1963 revision. The most valuable by-product of this survey was Spratt's topographical map of the Plain of Troy and its environs, which resulted from a month's work with Forchhammer in the summer of 1839. It appears to have been published by the Admiralty in 1844. I have used two versions of it. The one is Admiralty Chart 1608, which is reproduced at the end of Leaf's

¹*Voyage pitt.* ii. 208.

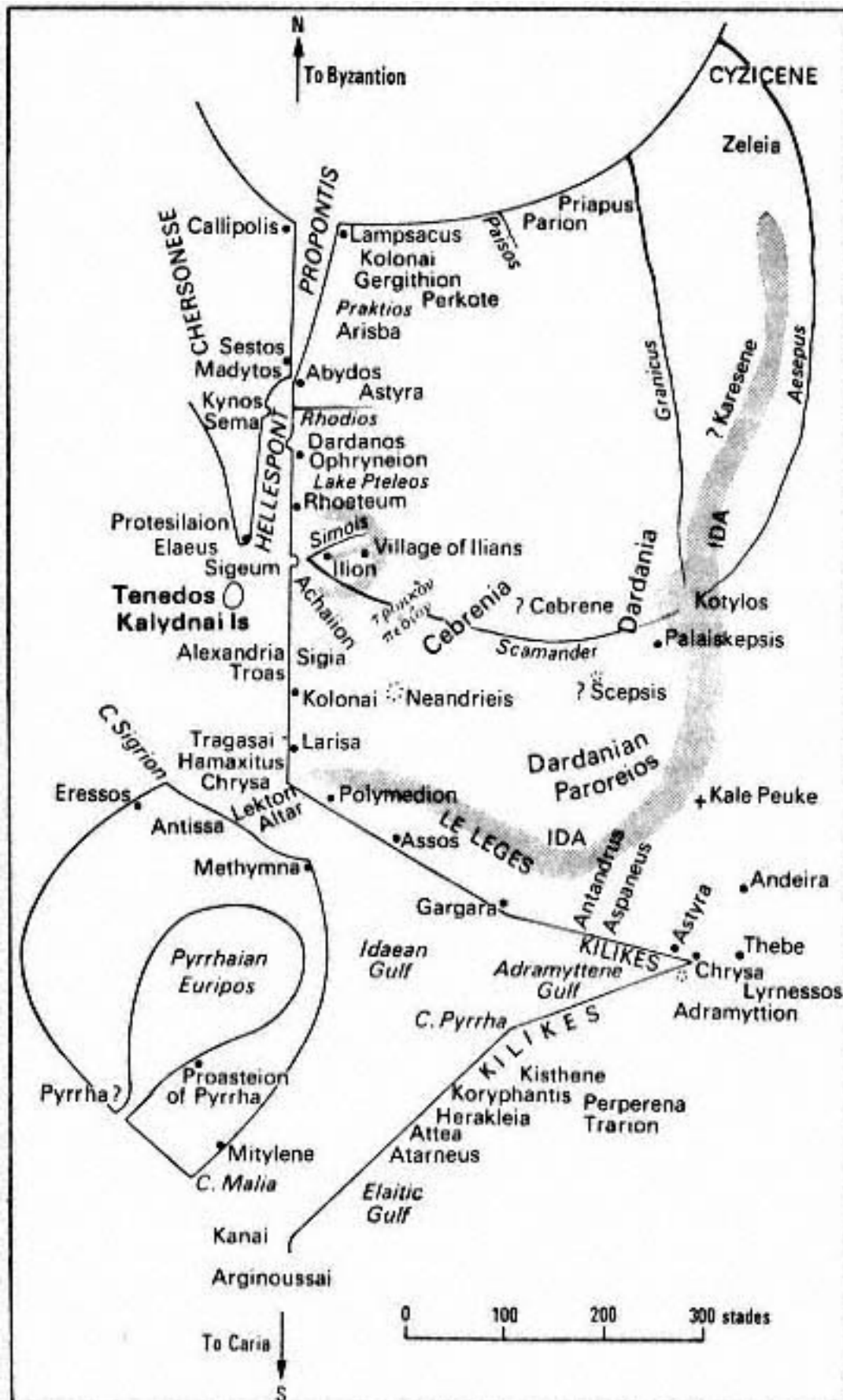
² G. A. Olivier, *Atlas to Illustrate Travels in the Ottoman Empire* (1801), pl. 5. The southern Troad is not included.

Troy (1912); the other an undated version with the sites as determined by Forchhammer. The latter is very fine; and though the identifications are not always Spratt's own, it is to this that I normally refer in speaking of Spratt's Map. Spratt has remained the standard map of the Trojan Plain to the present day, generally in the version that E. Burnouf made for Schliemann in 1879 with some simplification of the detail and changes in the legends.

Simultaneously with this survey the first cartographical enterprise in Anatolia was set on foot by Sultan Mahmud 11, though too late to serve for his campaign against his rebellious vassal Mahomet Aly of Egypt. The interior of Asia Minor was mapped successively by a team of Prussian officers in 1838-9 and by H. Kiepert and two colleagues shortly afterwards. Kiepert himself surveyed western Asia Minor in 1841-2, fitting his own findings to the timed itineraries and astronomical fixes of earlier travellers and obtaining the necessary determinations of the coasts from the British Admiralty. The scale of the whole survey ('Karte von Kleinasien') was 1 : 1,000,000. But Kiepert was courageous enough to map the 'ancient Troas and lesser Phrygia' from his own observation at a scale of 1 : 200,000;¹ and many years later, in 1890, he brought out his 'Spezialkarte vom westlichen Kleinasien' at 1 : 250,000. His son, Richard Kiepert, in 1906 published a 'Karte von Kleinasien' at 1 : 400,000. I have not had these Kiepert maps available for comparison and do not know how much R. Kiepert added on his own authority; some improvements north of the Scamander are due to Judeich. As far as the Troad is concerned, A. Philippson's 1 : 300,000 'Karte des westlichen Kleinasien' of 1910 is derivative, for he did not go there; and so too, except for very minor corrections, is the 1 : 600,000 map with which Leaf illustrated several of his works, including *Troy* (1912) and *Strabo on the Troad* (1923). In general the German maps were important contributions to the cartography of an unexplored country. In the Troad, however, the misfortune of the survey was that H. Kiepert mapped the very difficult interior in January when the weather seems to have been bad and he must have had to rely on guesswork for the areas that he could not see; and he and his successors never realized how conjectural this survey was. They are altogether too confident in the laying down of mountains and watercourses. Leaf saw enough of the terrain in 1911 to enable him to pronounce parts of the German survey as 'still left to mere conjecture' and to write more frankly in a private letter to his wife after his ascent of Mt. Ida.² But this did not deter him

¹*Memoir über die Construction der Karte von Kleinasien und türkisch Armenien* (1854), 83; for his use of the Admiralty survey, *ibid.* 63.

² 'We saw enough of the country round to satisfy us that the maps are quite wrong, but we could not do much to put them right' (C. M. Leaf, *Walter Leaf* (1932), 224).



from reproducing the conjectural relief in detail on his own map, though its smaller scale compelled him to omit many of the villages marked often no less conjecturally on the German maps. Appearing, as they did, in the twentieth century, the more recent of these maps have tended to command much greater respect in the scholarly world than the actual survey could ever have warranted.

I do not recall having seen any map drawn out in accordance with Strabo's indications. But it is important to visualize the region with which we are concerned in the way that Strabo did, even if the outcome of the exercise is to show that Strabo cannot have drawn a map himself. The attempt FIG. 2 was constructed some years before our investigations in the Troad commenced; and I have copied it out without revision; the distances may not always be absolutely exact. Positions marked with points depend on distances that Strabo gives. With no indication of the trends, I have made the coasts as regular as possible, with the whole west coast of the Troad on the meridian of Byzantium (on which Capes Sigeum and Lekton should no doubt lie). The 'centipede' course of Ida has to be quite arbitrarily traced; and I have not attempted to fill in Strabo's Aesepus valley. The most obvious uncertainties are the position of Sigeum in relation to the naustathmos (and so of the Scamander mouth), and the question whether Cebren is north of the Scamander and Scepsis south of it, or vice versa. I have noticed two serious contradictions that appear in the drawing out of the map. Aigospotamoi (south of Callipolis) is said to be 280 stades from Sestos (vii fr. 56, unless the measurement is intended to be from Elaeus), whereas Abydos-Lampsacus is only 170. And the river Karesos is said to flow into the Aesepus, but the Andeiros is said to flow from the Karesene into the Scamander.

3 The Hellespontine Shore

1 Çanak Kale and Abydos

The Asiatic castle that superseded the Byzantine fortress of Abydos was founded by Mehmet 11 Fatih in 1462 and called Kale-i Sultaniye, not (as some of the travellers assert) to commemorate its erection by a Sultana, but, if Piri Re'is is right, because a son of Mehmet was concerned in the building of it. With the sheltered water under the lee of the Nagara * promontory and the difficulty of rounding the point in the upstream direction, the bay here is the best situation for the control of the Dardanelles, and this fort (now known as Çanak Kale) is at the narrowest point of the strait (1,300 m. across). This and the handsome one called Kilid Bahr opposite are what the early travellers knew as the Castles, or, after the construction of Kum Kale and Seddülbahr, the Old Castles. A town quickly grew up on the north-east of the Asiatic castle. Armenian refugees are reported to have been settled there in 1529 (Cuinet); in 1548 Belon saw a 'village' there larger than that at 'Sestos' opposite, and three years later Daulphinois remarked a great market place in front of the gate on the side of the 'bourg', as well as a fair mosque.¹ Early travellers speak of the castles at the narrows as having been called Sestos and Abydos; but the old names were no longer current by the seventeenth century, as is clear from Biddulph, Lithgow, and della Valle (1600-14). The name Çanak Kale has officially replaced Kale-i Sultaniye only since 1890. But it was already current before 1800; and it had become so well established, along with the name Dardanelles in the mouths of Europeans, that in 1838 Fellows could speak of 'Sultana' as a name known only to the map-makers. The new name Çanak Kale owed its origin to the manufacture for sale to passing ships of gaudily painted pottery (what

¹ P. Belon du Mans, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez* (Paris ed. of 1588), 176 f.; Daulphinois, Earl of Oxford's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745), i. 583 f. Both writers gave a brief description of the castle, as also did du Loir (1640) and various other travellers. With the building of the new castles at the entry to the straits in 1659 the Sultaniye fort became known as Eski Natolya (= Anadolu) Hisar. For a brief account of all the Dardanelles forts in 1839 see Napier, *United Service Journal* 1840, Third Part, 233-7.

Pococke in 1740 called `a sort of Delft ware'). The earliest mention of this industry that I have noted is in Chishull, who landed there in 1699; he speaks of the town as large but mean, yet famous for a curious sort of finely glazed earthenware.¹ The production is said to have been in a decline from the mid nineteenth century; but it still continues on some scale to supply the tourist market. Pococke also spoke of the manufacture of cotton and sailcloth, and of boat building, and Michaud in 1830 of morocco leather.

Çanak Kale long maintained a large Jewish community which concerned itself with provisioning ships and providing consular agents for the European nations. Thus Ezechiel Ruser was Dutch, English, and Genoese consul in 1675, while the Tarragano family held the British consulship for several generations until the early nineteenth century and acted for Dutch, Russians, and the Germans as well. Salomon Gormezano, who dug the `Tomb of Achilles' for Choiseul-Gouffier, was son of the French consul or dragoman, and a century later S. B. Gormezano was mentioned by Schliemann as being his agent at the Dardanelles for a time.² These Jews were refugees from the expulsion by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492; they were still speaking Spanish in the later nineteenth century, but according to Schliemann they could only write it in Hebrew characters. There are said to have been few Greeks before the eighteenth century,³ though Lithgow found a Greek barber there in 1609/10. The houses being of wood, fires were frequent and destructive. I have noted reports of them about 1800 (Gell), in 1838 (Fellows), about the beginning of 1857 (Senior), and in 1860 and 1865 (Cuinet); after these last conflagrations the dried marshland to the south was reclaimed for new building. There is now a considerable quarter of the town south of the river mouth.

The population of Çanak Kale was 3,000-4,000 in the 1670s (Grelot and Spon); after this it seems to have increased to 1,200 houses (Pococke) and by the end of the eighteenth century to 2,000 houses (Dallaway, Hunt, and Turner), reaching a population of 10,000. There are also some lower figures for this time; but H. Kiepert spoke of 11,000 in 1842 and Perrot of 12,000 in 1856; Cuinet gives an official figure of

¹*Travels in Turkey* (1747), 36. Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery* (1957), 65 f., gives a brief description of Çanak Kale ware which he dates to the nineteenth century; samples have meanwhile been found in the Saraçhane excavations in Istanbul together with Kütahya wares of the early eighteenth century (*Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* xvi- 1 (1967), 82).

²*Troja* (1884), 11.

³ Cuinet, who had access to the researches (so far as I can ascertain unpublished) of a M. Cabanel on the history of Çanak Kale, says that towards 1740 the Greek community was grouped in a special quarter and consisted of 80 houses; but Pococke in 1740 spoke of 200 houses of Greeks (with 100 of Armenians and 50 of Jews) out of a total of 1,200. Cuinet's population figures for about 1890 are Muslims 3,551, orthodox Greeks 2,577, Armenians 956, Jews 1,805, foreigners 2,173.

11,062 about 1890, the number of houses remaining at 2,000. The 1940 census showed a marked increase to 24,621. But this must have been swollen by garrison troops, for only 5,236 out of this total were female, and the 1965 census figure was 19,391 (over 22,800 in the municipal estimate of 1969).

Cuinet produced information from official sources about the political status of Çanak Kale and the organization of the sancak (vilayet), and about trades and commerce in 1892.¹ The present-day vilayet (or officially `il') consists of a dozen kazas the islands of Tenedos (Bozcaada) and Imbros, Eceabat and Gelibolu in the Thracian Chersonese, and the Anatolian kazas of Lapseki, Biga, Çanpazar, Yenice, Bayramiç, Ayvacik *, Ezine, and the central kaza of the vilayet. The whole of our Troad is contained in the four last-named kazas of Çanak Kale except for a short stretch south of the Kaz Dag*, where the Mihli* Çay forms the boundary of the vilayet of Balıkesir* (kaza of Edremit). Çanak Kale has a small museum whose manuscript catalogue goes back to the 1930s. It contains recently discovered finds, especially those from the Dardanos tumulus and Tenedos, but also some Calvert material. I have not attempted to relate the latter to the catalogue of the Calvert Collection (above, p. 9).² For recent acquisitions see below, p. 394.

Çanak Kale itself does not appear to stand on an ancient site, and we took Dallaway's observation that the keep of the castle was `of the lower Greek age' to be unfounded, though it is to be noted that much earlier (in 1548) Belon remarked on the high central tower as having been there when the Turks captured the place. Ancient marbles and columns were remarked by Chandler in the burial grounds, and truncated columns and an altar of Roman date by von Riedesel; Prokesch visited a spot with traces of walls and two granite columns a little distance up the Koca Çay,³ and Lolling spoke of small columns and Byzantine stones in the villages and cemeteries on the south side of the valley, with ancient graves in the plain.⁴ There must of course have been some Roman habitation at the bottom of the valley. On the coast road about half an hour's ride south of Çanak Kale Schliemann in 1881 crossed `the site of an ancient town marked by millions of fragments of Greek and Roman pottery'.⁵ We have not seen any likely spot for this unless it were at the tile works that the GS map shows 3 km. south of the town. Calvert

1*La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 689 ff., 725 ff.

2 On Calvert stones, some of which are now in the Çanak Kale museum, see *inter alia* A. Reinach, *Revue épigraphique*, N.S. i (1913), 166 ff.; E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlix (1924), 148 ff.; L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), index s.v. `Calvert'. For a reference to traffickers of stones at Çanak Kale in Calvert's time see J. and L. Robert, *RÉG* lxxix (1966), 396.

3*Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* i (1836), 125.

4*Ath. Mitt.* vi (1881), 219.

5*Troja* (1884), 304. He also noted an artificial mound nearby, which was considered to be a heroic tomb.

reported the remains of a Genoese settlement exposed on the strand some distance south of the Koca Çay mouth;1 the waterfront here is now built up.

The river Rhodios appears on Roman coins of Abydos; and following Strabo, who speaks of the Rhodios as flowing between Abydos and Dardanos (xiii. 595, § 28), modern scholars have had no difficulty in recognizing in this the ancient name of the present-day Koca Çay. Tchihatcheff in 1847-9 actually noted that the river had preserved the name `Rodos-tchai'.2 But this must have been an antiquarian revival, because earlier travellers seem to have known no name for it other than `Çay', and before that, in Nicephorus Gregoras3 and the sixteenthcentury sea charts, the river here is named Simois.4 It is not in fact clear that the name Rhodios had any genuine tradition behind it even in ancient times. For in another passage Strabo speaks of authorities who made the Rhodios a tributary of the Ainios (*leg.* Aesepus?) and thus reveals that the identification was a matter of Homeric geography.5 The Koca Çay (or Sultaniye Su according to Calvert) winds its way down the valley in a ribbon of oleanders and retains pools of water in high summer (we should doubt whether Schliemann can be right in saying that it is never without running water). We have not made an archaeological investigation of this valley. But the site of Gâvur Hisar is described below (p. 290 n. 2); and there is a kale near Ortaca, which we have not visited.

We have twice looked through the jewellers' shops in Çanak Kale and have seen bronze coins of the following Greek cities:

Abydos	3 (or 2)	Scepsis	2 (or 3)
Lampsacus	1	Cebren	3
Dardanos	2	Alexandria Troas	
Ilion			2
		Hellenistic	
Hellenistic	1	colonial	1
Roman	1	Gargara	1
Birytis	1	Antandrus?	1
Neandria?	1	Cardia	1
Gergis	1 (PLATE 63c)	Cyzicus	1

We noted a bronze of King Seleucus I or II (*obv.* helmeted head of Athena: *rev.* bull r., legend above illegible, below ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ).

1*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 33.

2*Asie mineure* i (1853), 213.

3 xxix. 7 (Bonn ed. iii. 227), Scamander and Simois flow out on either side of Dardanos.

4 Daulphinois and du Loir make the Koca Çay the Simois, no doubt following the charts; and in a note in his edition of Xenophon's *Hellenica* of 1569 Leunclavius claims that he sailed in the Hellespont and saw the mouth of the Simois a mile south of the Dardanelles castle. The identification seems to have the authority of Ptolemy.

5 xiii. 603, § 44. See Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.* vi (1881), 217 ff.; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 152 f.

Roman and Byzantine coins were not numerous, old Turkish silver was commoner. We also noted two silver obols (?) with *obv.* forepart of boar, *rev.* millsail (cf. that at Lapseki, below, p. 389).

The position of Abydos has always been known. The place remained an important toll station through Byzantine times, with Venetians and other westerners already established there in the twelfth century before the Latin conquest;¹ it fell to the Ottoman emir Orhan in the mid fourteenth century after he extended his rule over the territory of the Karesi dynasty. Avido (vel sim.) appears on the sea charts in the sixteenth century; but the fortress had evidently been superseded by Kale-i Sultaniye, and Abydos was no more.² All modern authorities (except, by some curious chance, the German maps and Admiralty chart) are agreed that the site of the ancient city was on the west side of the promontory south of Nagara * point, with its acropolis on the conspicuous table-topped hill of Mal Tepe which appears in Leaf's and Blegen's photographs.³ The travellers' accounts of between 1675 and 1830 tell us of considerable remains of walls, ruins of buildings and debris on the site, including abundant pottery and bricks or tiles; and more than one sector of ruins was noted.⁴ Half a century later Schliemann remarked little to be seen on the site,⁵ though Calvert was able to report foundations of buildings exposed by the sea.⁶ The lack of more recent information is due to the fact that the coast north of Çanak Kale has been a military area, foreigners being closely watched and in the present century generally excluded.

E. D. Clarke in 1801 noted several granite pillars between Abydos and Çanak Kale. Fellows saw three terracotta figurines from a tomb at

1 Cf. W. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (1891), 15 f. Fortifications are said to have been erected at Abydos by Manuel I, but the bridge referred to him can hardly have been across the Dardanelles (*Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Hist. grecs* ii (1881), 541 f., poems of Theodore Prodromos).

2 A mention of the 'modern village of Aidos or Avido' on the site is found in an article by no less an authority than Calvert (*Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 199 n. 1); but a glance shows that the note is an editor's interpolation derived from a contemporary dictionary of ancient geography.

3 *Strabo on the Troad*, pl. 7a-b; Troy i (1950), figs. 24-5.

4 See in particular Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman* i (1801), 234; Wittmann, *Travels in Turkey* (1803), 72; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque* ii. 2 (1822), 449, pls. 57-8 (a plan with some ruins illustrated); Prokesch, op. cit. i (1836), 325 (with reference to an account in his *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien* iii. I, which I have not perused); Michaud, *Correspondance d'Orient*, ii (1833), 46 f. Spon and Wheler were the first to find and examine the site. Other travellers who give information about it are Motraye, Tournefort, Lechevalier, Morritt, Hobhouse, and von Richter. Leaf's argument about the position of the site (his pp. 117 ff.) is proved right by the study of the travellers.

5 *Ilios* (1880), 133, and similarly Lolling.

6 *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 32, referring also to neolithic implements and Greek and Roman graves exposed in the cliffs of Nagara. Calvert more surprisingly seems in 1857 to have told Senior of a chair (perhaps of Xerxes) and an inscription found there.

Abydos.¹ Calvert acquired a Persian bronze weight in the form of a lion with an Aramaic inscription;² and he also had in his collection various finds from tombs at Nagara * (site no. I in Thiersch's catalogue). These included a striped vase lid and other archaic and classical wares, a Hellenistic lagynos, figurines, lamps, and lead weights of Abydos. But we know of no finds that shed light on the foundation or origins of the city, and from the paucity of coins of Abydos in the jewellers' shops we should suppose that the site is not productive of antiquities at the present time. Abydos was, however, a substantial city, paying a tribute of four talents in the Athenian league.

2 Dardanos

The plain of the Koca Çay is closed on the south by a range of hills which rises directly from a narrow coastal strip to reach heights of 300 and 400 m. and so acts as a barrier to communication with the neighbouring valley of Kalabaklı*. This valley also forms a coastal plain, with the village of Kepez (Hamidiye) on a low crest north of the stream. It seems to be somewhere in this vicinity that Pococke and d'Anville's mid-eighteenth-century chart marks a convent of dervishes; but possibly this is the same as the teke or 'Mönchskloster' in the Koca Çay valley near Saraycık* where Lolling saw the stone Lebas-Waddington 1743 o in the garden.³ On the southern rim of the plain 2 km. south of the lowlying projection of Cape Dardanos (Kepez or Kephez Burnu, the Cape Barbieri of the earlier travellers)⁴ is the site of the ancient Dardanos on a dominant flat crest about 50 m. above sea level. The top forms a rough square of about 200 m. side, but of irregular outline on the west. It is about 200 m. north of the main road, and is admirably placed to control the passage by land along the coast. The crest is now called Sehitlik* Batarya from the fighting in 1915; it was known to the travellers as Mal Tepe, but the name Fort Dardanos seems also to have been current before the First World War. In 1959 our Greek-speaking taxi driver from Çanak Kale knew of the hill as Dardanos, and that name has now attached itself to the newly discovered tumulus 1 km. to the south.⁵ The site is 9 km. by road from Çanak Kale and about 13-14 km.

¹*Journal* (1839), 81 (one, of Cybele, is illustrated).

²*Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 199 f., from a field on the ancient site. L. H. Jeffery and R. D. Barnett have kindly identified it as *British Museum Guide to Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (1922), 171 (wrongly said to be from Abydos in Egypt), *Corpus Inscr. Semit.* ii. 100, no. 108, pl. 7. A. T. Olmstead takes the weight (26 kg., about a talent) as evidence of a financial reorganization in the Daskyleion satrapy (*History of the Persian Empire* 158).

³*Ath. Mitt.* vi (1881), 220 (Inci* Baba Teke on the GS 1 : 50,000 map).

⁴Not (as sometimes written) Kefez, but from Greek *Κήπος*. Pococke says the Turks called the cape 'Kepos-bornou'.

⁵And in 1968 to a new camping site of Dardanos Tümülsü.

(or, as Strabo says, 70 stades) from the ancient Abydos. The modest plain of Kepez must have belonged to Dardanos, and the range of hills to the north of it must have formed the boundary with Abydos. Sehitlik * Batarya looks equally down the coast to southward. The terrain is more accidented there and the hills gradually close in on the shore to form a coastal ridge. The White Cliffs (Akyarlar)¹ would provide a southern limit for the territory of Dardanos, which would thus have had a waterfront about 6 km. in length.

The site of Dardanos was visited by Wittmann in 1799,² if not by Pococke sixty years before.³ Olivier looked for it too close to the cape and finding nothing surmised that the ancient city must have lain inland. Brunton, the engineer in charge of the British military hospital at Karantina, camped his men out on the 'plains of Troy' and proceeded to carry out excavations about the beginning of 1856. His own life story only specifies a party detached from the main body to dig at Novum Ilium;⁴ but the British Museum register lists Brunton's objects under the proveniences Old Dardanus, Dardanus, Troy, and Novum Ilium. I take the first two of these entries to represent Sehitlik Batarya with its environs. Apart from three early fifth-century terracottas⁵ Brunton's finds from there are not important; they include a terracotta pipe from an aqueduct. Calvert carried out excavations at Dardanos, the date and precise position not being recorded. He found some undistinguished vases, archaic East Greek plates which were broken and lost in transit, and inscriptions (Calvert Collection catalogue, site no. 5); and the British Museum acquired a couple of vases from there in Calvert's sale of 1877 (in the register 1877. 9-30. 4 and 9; a small Corinthian round aryballos with palmette ornament, of perhaps 600 B.C., and a Black Figure plate with lion and bull, hardly Attic and perhaps of the mid sixth century or later).⁶ Before 1880 the Turkish military governor, Cemal Pasa*, was induced by Schliemann to excavate the site, apparently without any worthwhile result.⁷

Schliemann reported only 60-90 cm. depth of deposit above the bedrock in Cemal Pasa's trenches; and we found it no more than that

1 On Spratt's map 'Tachi Branchi' (i.e. Bianchi), = white stains. Hunt refers to Akyar as being on the other side of Erenköy, but this must be a slip. Calvert noted house foundations of uncertain age in the water there (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 34).

2 *Travels in Turkey* (1803), 72 f.; he noted fragments of bricks on the ground, with stones and rubbish.

3 *Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), 104. Motraye in 1710 had thoughtlessly taken Dardanos to be at Yenisehir*.

4 *John Brunton's Book* (1939), 68 f.

5 R. A. Higgins, *BM Terracottas* i, nos. 563-5. For references to pithoi and other finds see S. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery* (pp. 120, 135, and 388 in the second edition).

6 A burial in a huge pithos, excavated by bee hunters near Dardanos and comprising some smaller vases recovered by Calvert, is reported in *Arch. Journal* xvi (1859), 3 n. 1.

7 *Ilios* (1880), 134, *Troja* (1884), 305. Schliemann later spoke of Cemal Pasa as throwing obstacles in his way (*Troja* 258).

in a long trench recently cut by a bulldozer on the crest of Sehitlik * Batarya. Like Schliemann also, we saw no traces of walls there. Tile fragments are numerous, the cover tiles being of the semicircular Aeolic (i.e. 'Sicilian') and not the angular Ionic ('Corinthian') type. Leaf, who visited Dardanos in 1911, spoke of the soil being full of sherds of indistinguishable pottery; and he is right that it is full of sherds. On visits in 1959 and 1966 we saw a lot of grey ware, and we brought away a large number of samples of it on our second visit after D. H. French had reported Troy VI pottery there.¹ Troy VI and archaic grey are often very difficult to distinguish in the field. But we feel doubtful whether there is prehistoric on the site. For Dr. Bayne, who examined our specimens, recognized no Troy VI among them; he dates them mainly to the seventh century (characteristic being kantharos fragments and a closed vessel with wavy line decoration), with a few fragments of the sixth. On our later visit conditions were very good for sherding, and we inspected a large quantity of pottery on the site. There was no true Geometric ware, but we saw fragments with thin glaze like that of late eighth to early seventh-century Attic oil amphorae. The archaic included open lamps, striped ware, and rosette and bird-bowl fragments (the former with purple and white stripes on the interior) (two scraps PLATE 3a right). The classical pottery included Red Figure bell crater fragments, a fifth-century cylix foot and skyphos fragment, and a variety of fifth-fourth century types. Hellenistic is abundant. We noted fragments of West Slope cups, fish plates, kantharoi with spurred handles, worn amphora stamps (a triskeles and the end of a Cnidian stamp), half-glazed ware, and several bits of late Hellenistic red glaze. This seems to give a good range through the last three centuries B.C. There was also Roman red, including a stamped Arretine foot ([V]ALERII) of the early first century after Christ and a Candarli* ware bowl rim of about the second century. The only architectural fragment that we saw was a 7 cm. high ovolo in plaster (PLATE 7b).²

The flat crest of Sehitlik Batarya was clearly the acropolis of the ancient Dardanos. On the south-west the ridge continues at a not much lower level, and here and on the seaward slope we found coarse pottery continuing to be dense for a distance of some hundreds of metres. The ancient city must therefore have been of considerable extent. There are steep banks separating the fields on the seaward slope that suggest lines of fortification, but they do not link up with one another. Leaf in 1911 remarked a few squared stones still remaining on the south.³

¹*Anatolian Studies* xiv (1964), 37.

² Dr. Robert Savage of the Department of Geology in the University of Bristol kindly identified the material for me; on the surface it looks like the so-called 'Phocaeen tufa' common in the Pergamon region.

³ His account of the site, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 150 ff., with a distant photograph pl. 9a.

In late 1959 a tumulus was discovered in the broken terrain about 1 km. south-west of the site, and excavated by Rüstem Duyuran. The corbel-vaulted complex consisted of an entrance corridor, vestibule, and tomb chamber with three stone couches. The burials range over a long period from the fourth century through the Hellenistic; and they were accompanied by a wealth of furnishings including jewellery, toilet objects, vases, lamps and figurines, a stringed musical instrument, coins, and inscribed bronze funerary urns. These are now in the Çanak Kale museum.¹

The position of Dardanos is fixed by its proximity to the cape where the narrows of the Dardanelles begin and the exact correspondence with Strabo's distance from Abydos; and the site at Sehitlik * Batarya is the only one between Abydos and Ilion that shows continuous occupation from early Greek to Roman times. Tradition assigned the foundation of Dardanos to the eponym of the Dardanians; and since in the Athenian tribute lists the city appears as an independent

ally and not as one of the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις*, it was probably not a foundation of the Mitylenaeans. But the earliest pottery on the site seems to be approximately contemporary with that from the Mitylenaeon settlements on the west coast of the Troad. On the evidence of finds there is no reason to suppose that it was less Greek than its neighbours. It was a place of modest importance paying about a talent in the Athenian league, and its bronze coins did not circulate widely.²

The total population of the villages in the hinterland of Kepez, which we should expect to correspond to the territory of ancient Dardanos, was 1,986 in the census of 1940. Strabo (xiii. 595, § 28) speaks of Dardanos as being so negligible that the Kings kept transplanting it to Abydos and restoring it; and no doubt this is based on at least one historical incident. But the finds referred to above will not admit of any considerable lacuna on the site during the three Hellenistic centuries; and there are also a number of testimonies to the political independence of Dardanos.³

1 R. Duyuran, *Anatolia* v (1960), 9 ff.; the inscriptions, Zafer Tasliklioglu*, 'Dardanos sehri* tümülüsde yeni bulunan Grekçe kitâbeler', *Tarih Dergisi* xiii, sayı* 17-18 (Istanbul, 1963).

2 Hellenic bronzes of Dardanos are not rare at Troy at least, nine (including one of Augustus) came to light in the American excavations (cf. L. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 109). But in the course of our journeys (in which admittedly we have not inquired for coins at Kepez) we have seen only two of Dardanos at Çanak Kale and one possible at Bayramiç.

3 e.g. member of the Ilian confederation shortly before 202 B.C. and in 77 B.C. (L. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 31 ff., 19 f.); negotiations with Rome and independent action in 190 B.C. (Livy xxxvii. 9 and 37); 'liberated' after Apamea (id. xxxviii. 39); coinage under Augustus and later.

3

The Villages North of the Simois

South of Akyarlar a line of seaside cottages stretches along the bay and threatens to reach the bathing beach by the new Tusan motel. This is called Karantina from the former quarantine station there (in 1969 we found the place renamed Güzelyali). There are two small gasometers at the north end. Between Karantina and the motel the coast projects in a flat delta (PLATE 2b) on which Brunton erected the British military hospital during the Crimean War; Gwyn Williams has remarked that Brunton's name, with that of the hospital and the date 1856, can be read on a stone in a disused fountain by the motel.¹ The Turkish government disclaimed any interest in the hospital buildings after the war ended, and all that was movable was removed by Brunton; but presumably the subsequent establishment of a quarantine station there was not entirely fortuitous. There is nothing left of the hospital now. A little further south in the vicinity of the motel there were recently ruins of a steam-driven corn mill dating back to 1890.²

A road continues to the Tusan motel. But here the steep tertiary ridge, 200 m. and more in height, directly overhangs the shore; and there is no exit for a road along the beach. The main road turns inland at the delta and climbs obliquely up the pine-clad mountain slope to emerge on a shelf nearly 200 m. up at the head of the Derin Dere ravine. In reaching this point it traverses the ancient settlement site that Calvert claimed as Ophryneion. A kilometre further along the shelf it passes through Erenköy (19-20 km. from Çanak Kale), where the long descent into the open valley of the Simois begins.

Erenköy is a nahiye. It is presumably the village where Spon and Wheler went ashore after passing the new castles in 1675 and hired solid-wheeled wicker carts drawn by buffaloes which marched to Çanak Kale 'in great state upon the Grand-pas'. The village was a Greek one of 100 (Spon) or 200 (Wheler) houses. They called it 'Kainourio Chorio', which sounds a descriptive term and suggests that it may not have been long established at the time.³ From Pococke on the

1 In his *Turkey* (1967), 184. We looked in vain for it. The hospital was the model thousand-bed one, with spacious double-ward units, modern sanitation, and fan ventilation, which was designed for the War Office by Isambard Brunel to supersede the Scutari hospital and shipped out from England for erection in the spring of 1855. Brunton was one of Brunel's assistants.

2 V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 728. Cuinet also mentions a larger-scale one built in 1882 on the coast apparently a few kilometres further west for grinding the grain imported from overseas, which had failed because of the high cost of transporting the flour by land and the heavy duty on reshipment (other writers of the time speak of the high cost of camel transport, and the even higher harbour dues which for instance made it less costly to send goods overland from Assos to Baba for shipment from there). We have seen no trace of Cuinet's larger mill along the coast, but the only possible positions would have been the Tavolia bay and In * Tepe.

3 *Voyage d'Italie* (1678), i. 206 f.; *A Journey into Greece* (1682), 73.

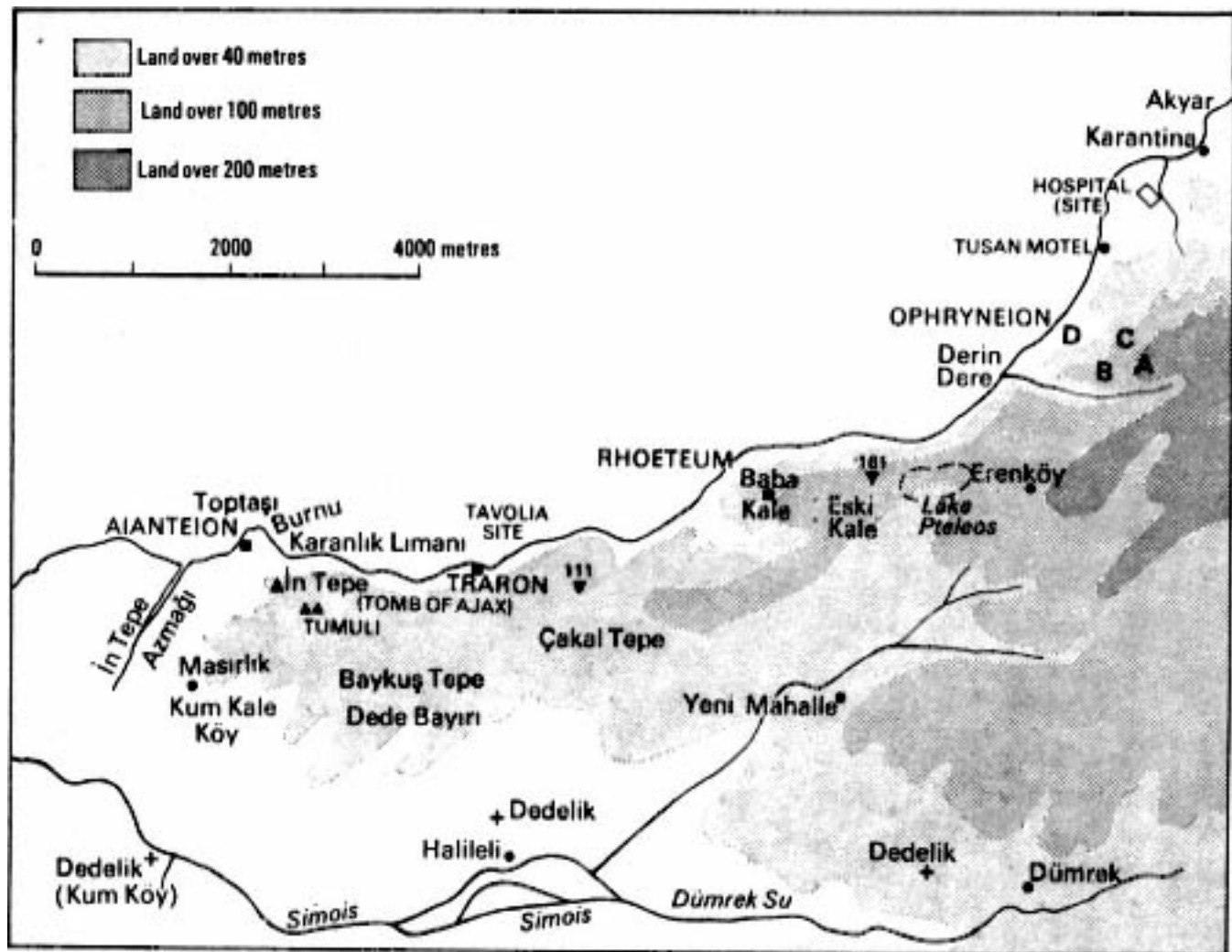


Fig. 3.
The Hellespontine Coast

travellers speak of the place as Gâvur (= infidel, i.e. Greek) Köy but constantly use another name of uncertain meaning, 'It * Gelmez' ('Telmesh' in Pococke).¹ D'Anville's mid-eighteenth-century chart, however, shows 'Renn-keui', and from Lechevalier (1785) onward the name Erin or Ren Köy is commonly found. Barker Webb received it also in the form 'Fren(k) Köy' and took it to be a corruption of the name Ophryneion;² and later the Greek church authorities there usurped that name (below, p. 113). By a crowning blunder Erenköy was some years ago awarded the official name In* Tepe, which belongs to the tumulus that we call the Tomb of Ajax. The village has flourished. In 1816 it had 200 stone houses (Turner) and a resident secretary of the Russian consul to attend to ships held up by the wind (Richter). The Calvert brothers had a country house there, which they seem to have inherited from their uncle, Mr. Lander (or Launder) the British consul, who in 1839 (Napier) had lived there more than ten years.³ It no longer exists, and the villagers only remember Madame Calvert's garden. Kiepert reported 200 houses in 1842; we were told locally that the number was much larger before the Greeks left in the present century. The Greeks were replaced by Turks from Crete and Macedonia. After this the 1940 census population showed 621 females (out of a total population of 4,148, which implies that the garrison was very large). Apart from the garrison buildings and four large modern blocks of flats which serve for married quarters, there are at present some 350 houses with about 1,450 inhabitants.

On this coastal stretch corn, fruit, and a little cotton are produced, with some pasturing; and Schliemann spoke of liquorice being dug there in February 1873. But the principal harvest is of grapes, of which a million kilos are said to be exported annually to Tekirdag* for making wine.⁴ The heights around Erenköy were covered with pine and oaks

1 'Dog doesn't come'. Choiseul-Gouffier's editor followed Dubois in making It Gelmez a separate village west of Erenköy, but in general the travellers seem to be agreed that this was an error (we note below a report of ruins of a Greek village of Baba Kale west of Erenköy, p. 78 n. 2). Calvert, who knew the place well, applied the name It Gelmez to the ravine on the north (our Derin Dere) and interpreted it as meaning 'inaccessible to animals'; but it seems to be generally understood that 'it' can only mean 'dog'. Richter explained the name as referring to the character of the inhabitants of the village, that not even a dog could pass through unplundered! Cuinet took the name as meaning 'infidel' (the Bayram doesn't arrive, but he cites it as 'Yol Gelmez'). The forms 'Et' (meat) in Raczynski* and 'At' (horse) in von Prokesch are solitary variants in place of the usual It'. The name is quite unknown locally, but the present-day inhabitants are not native.

2 Less convincingly, von Richter claimed Erin as a corruption of that name.

3 Lord Carlisle said it had belonged to the Turkish Aga*, but according to Newton it was built by Mr. Launder. Welcker spoke of the Mr. Lander who was living there in 1842 as the consul's son. There was a Greek han in the village then.

4 It was the wines of Tenedos that deserved the travellers' warmest commendation. Olivier, for instance, judged that the red would pass as Bordeaux and the muscatel (praised by many of the travellers) was equal to the best Frontignan. But that of Erenköy was also

(footnote continued on next page)

until shortly before 1850.¹ We saw some unimportant ancient marbles in the village, and the well-known inscription of Ilion which was seen by many travellers in the Halileli burying ground and subsequently removed to the Calverts' house in Erenköy (below, pp. 390, 395, no. 1). Von Richter noted a Corinthian capital and a relief with a draped man and a child.² The ἀρχαῖος inscription Lebas-Waddington no. 1743a was also copied in a house here. We were shown a bronze coin of Birytis, which, however, was said to have been found in a grave at Hisarlik * (Troy). 'Just above' the village was a small mound which Frederick Calvert excavated; it was of earth mixed with stones containing chance pieces of pottery and boar's tusks, apparently not sepulchral.³

To the west of Erenköy the ridge sinks to a saddle connecting it to a coastal range that continues to the true In* Tepe (Tomb of Ajax). On the north of the main road here, directly under Erenköy, there is a trough of fertile ground which is bordered on the seaward side by a natural bank (PLATE 1 a and c); we shall return to it later. Beyond this the ridge rises to a wooded crest 160 m. above the sea. The main road passes south of it and descends to the Kum Kale road fork 3 km. from Erenköy. Since 1966 a new mahalle of Erenköy has sprung up just east of the fork, with 20 cottages of Yürüks who have forsaken the mountain for a settled life; as yet it has no other name than Yeni Mahalle.

Halileli (Halilli Köy) lies a little south of the branch road to Kum Kale. The earliest mention in the travellers is in Lechevalier. But, whether or not it is the Halileli of the 1574 fiscal survey⁴ (above, pp. 9 f.), it seems to be one of the old Turkish villages, because the great cemetery beside it was so long derelict that Lechevalier and his followers could take the stones there for ancient ruins. Turner remarked only 20 huts in 1816 (presumably it had been hit by the plague of the immediately preceding years). Welcker in 1842 spoke of it as a 'ziemlich ansehnliches Dorf', but in 1857 Senior reported Calvert as saying that it had only three houses! The population in the 1940 census was 476. This is a key village because the inhabitants are native and so familiar with the local toponymy. On our visits we have seen a number of marbles in the village, though not nearly as many as Prokesch. The most interesting one, recovered from the old mosque, is a fragment of a little white

(footnote continued from previous page)

enjoyed. Schliemann was, however, exceptional in finding that the wines of Yenisehir*, Yeniköy, and Erenköy excelled even the very best Bordeaux (*Troja* 7). At the present day Tenedos wines are marketed all over Turkey; but we know of no wine manufactured in the Troad, unless possibly at Ezine.

1 Calvert, *Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 295.

2 *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (1822), 458.

3 *Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 295.

4 Halil Eli and Doger* Beg* with uninhabited land of Kozlica* (126 adult males).

marble cornice with lotus and palmette on the cyma above a bead and reel, and dentils carved below (PLATE 2a).¹ Other pieces that we saw were an Ionic column base of unknown provenience, a late Ionic capital from Dede Bayiri * (2 km. to the north-west), and an acanthus leaf of a Corinthian capital from Arap Kale (further away to the northeast). On the north side of the village is a huge field with ancient stones lying scattered all over it; this is the old Turkish burial ground where Lechevalier and others located the Temple of Thymbraean Apollo. The remains will be mentioned in the next section.

We have seen 40 coins in Halileli, all said to have been found locally; we list them separately from the villages of Troy because the high proportion of pre-Roman bronzes is unusual and could possibly be significant:

Ilion

Hellenistic	4
Roman	2
Sigeum	3 (one 11 mm., PLATE 3c, 2)
Larisa Troadis	1 (10 mm., PLATE 3c, 4)
Elaeus	1 (11 mm., PLATE 3c, 3)
Lysimachia	1 (17 mm., PLATE 3c, 1)
Cyzicus (female head: tripod)	1
Chios?, Hellenic	1
Maroneia (forepart of prancing horse r. MA*: grape bunch in square PΩ)2	1 (12 mm., PLATE 3c, 5)
Alexandria Troas Hellenistic (Bellinger A 179)	1
colonial (one of Commodus)	3
Parium, colonial. (CGIHP)	1
Unidentified Hellenic Pegasus?: mill- sail incuse	1 (8 mm., PLATE 3c, 6)
bee?: grazing horse r. ΣΟΛΟ3	1

¹ Vertical ht. 8 cm.; front to back on top surface 12 cm. Probably fourth-century. For the carving of two different kinds of palmette along with the lotus on such mouldings (from the Temple of Athena at Priene onward) see P. W. Lehmann, *Samothrace* iii (1969), 178 f.

2 Dr. Martin Price's identification.

3 The coin blew away while being photographed in the village street, and the *obv.* type had not been noted.

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Imperial (one of a Severan empress, one Volusian, one Maximian)	4
Plated denarius, mid-imperial	1
Constantinian types	9
Early Byzantine	1
Byzantine?, scyphate	2
Ottoman (silver)	1

The valley at Halileli is broad and open. It is bounded on the north by the coastal ridge which continues to the Tomb of Ajax, and along the south bank of the Dümrek Su by the steep escarpment of the Trojan plateau (PLATE 8*b*, looking west). With Ilion located at Hisarlik *, the identification of the Dümrek Su with Strabo's Simois is inescapable; and the valley around Halileli is therefore his Simoeisian plain.¹ Whether the name Simois had survived into Hellenic times in local toponymy is less certain; it could have been a problem of Homeric scholarship in Demetrius' time. The Dümrek Su generally carries a trickle of water in summer at the bridge on the main Izmir* road (PLATE 8*b*), though, like Schliemann, we have seen it dried up there. Lower down, at the entry to the Scamander plain it is stagnant. Above the bridge the valley of the Dümrek Su contracts; and the Turkish village of Dümrek with its basalt houses appears to be situated in a mountain valley. Relatively few of the travellers visited Dümrek. Turner remarked on the ferocity of the inhabitants, who in 1815 cut off the head of their Imam in a fray which resulted in 15 or 16 deaths; and Barker Webb noted the dedication to Pompey, *CIG* ii. 3608 (*Troja und Ilion* 470, no. 58), there. We noted no antiquities in the village itself, but 1 km. to the west there is an old burial ground with ancient stones that some of the travellers visited (see below). Dümrek is well populated (459 inhabitants in the 1940 census) and has a copious fountain. The name of the village and stream has been variously rendered. Pococke spoke of the 'Gimbrick-Chaie' and recognized it as the ancient Thymbrios; Barker Webb called the village 'Gheumbrek' and identified it with Gergis. Lechevalier and (in his first essay) Choiseul-Gouffier followed Pococke

1 In the sixteenth century the Simois was recognized in the Koca Çay at Çanak Kale (above, p. 55). But as early as 1742 reasoned speculation on the subject had started (presumably among literate Greeks of the neighbourhood), for in that year a Dr. Murdoch Mackenzie remarked of the Dumbrek river that it 'is thought to be the Simois' (quoted in Rennell, *Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy* (1814), 39). This brief observation is unusually interesting; it not only suggests that there may have been learned speculation on the spot (of which the travellers tell us nothing), but it implies that Ilion, which Strabo placed in the angle between the Simois and the Scamander, may have been imagined to be in the vicinity of Hisarlik.

in making the stream the Thymbrios. Maclaren accused Lechevalier of prejudicing the issue by artfully rendering the modern name as `Thymbrek' instead of `Dumbrek'; he at least had not noticed that Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. `Thymbra') cites the form *Δύμβριος* here on the excellent authority of Hellanicus. Thymbra and the river Thymbrios will be discussed later (pp. 117 ff.). The valley is described by Schliemann;<sup>1</sup> but his explanation of the name Dumbrek as `don barek' (= abode of ice) has not been well received.

The new road to Kum Kale passes through Kum Kale Köy on the brow overlooking the Scamander plain. This is a new village founded by Turks from Bulgaria in 1934. It had 391 inhabitants in 1940, and by 1959 it had grown to 360 houses. The 1955 census gives an alternative name Misirlik *, but the villagers say that the name is Masirlik* and applies to the region, not to the village. The plain in front of Kum Kale Köy (PLATE 6b) is now well cultivated; we have noted sunflower, cotton, melons, maize, wheat, beans, and chick peas (nohüt), with scattered valonia oaks, while vines are planted on the slopes. In 1959, when we were in this region north of Troy at the beginning of July, we saw numerous flashing roller birds (or possibly bee-eaters). It was presumably these migrants that Burnouf remarked when he was at Troy in 1879 and took to be the Homeric kymindis;² Miss Sylvia Benton tells me that a better name for them would be kerylos. The village of Kum Kale Köy contains few ancient stones; but at the fountain called Nacak Cesme* (dated 1948) on the east of the village we recently noted several marble blocks and a plain garland sarcophagus of granite which was recently brought from Kum Kale (where it had been seen by Barker Webb and H. Kiepert).³ There was also a broken sarcophagus lid lying nearby, with traces of large letters on the edge; but it measures 98 cm. across and cannot belong to the piece just mentioned. The predecessor of this village was Kum Köy, which in Schliemann's time consisted of a few miserable huts on the edge of the plain by the Kalafat Azmagi*, inhabited only in the harvest season, and with its kalyvia on the slope to the north.⁴ Near where the old village stood, opposite the point where the Dümrek Su joins the Azmak, is another long-abandoned cemetery that was known to some of the travellers. Schliemann (following Burnouf) remarked granite columns and pottery on the ground and placed Polion there (see below).

1*Ilios* (1880), 73 ff., with a long passage quoted from Virchow.

2*Ilios* (1880), 113.

3*CIG* ii. 3639, add. p. 1130. Length 205 cm., 79 cm. across, ht. about 65 cm.; letter ht. 35 mm. The visible text evidently reads

τῇ γυναικί μου Μαξίμα καὶ τέκνοισ[ς] μου. [ἐὰν δέ τις
ἔτε]ρον | πτώμα ἐπεισβάλῃ δώσει τῇ συμβιώσει [τ]ῶν χαλκίων πρόστηι μου | ✕ [β?]φ

. For the provenience see below, p. 390. Brückner, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 475, no. 116, lists it as an inscription of Ilion.

4*Ilios* 81 f. with fig. 20, 103; *Troja* 343.

4

The Old Turkish Burying Grounds

The three old Turkish burial grounds or dedeliks that have been mentioned above are extensive areas of level ground strewn with ancient granite and marble pieces which are often deeply embedded in the ground. Each is adjacent to an old Turkish village. Lechevalier took the big one near Halileli to be the site of the Temple of Thymbraean Apollo, and was at first followed by Choiseul-Gouffier and other travellers.¹ Von Hammer, who in 1800 thought he could recognize remains of the temple *in situ* at the ruin of a Turkish prayer-house there, sought to derive the name Halileli from the Greek Helios and drew E.D. Clarke (and later Prokesch) to the same view; but von Richter pointed out that it comes from the Turkish personal name Halil.² The Dümrek dedelik was discovered by Francklin in 1799 in a grove of stately fir trees and recognized by him as a superb temple of the Doric order dedicated to some sylvan divinity;³ Hunt in 1801 took it for the remains of a small Doric temple in the gloomy pine grove.⁴ The remains near Kum Köy were visited by von Hammer and Hunt (loc. cit.) and thought to be on the site of Ilion. It was, however, not long before visitors to the best-known of these dedeliks (that at Halileli) began to perceive that the stones did not comprise ancient buildings *in situ*. In fact Hawkins had already noted the absence of foundations on the spot and surmised that the stones had been brought from outside to mark the graves in a Turkish burial ground.⁵ Dallaway, Morritt, and von Hammer conceded it was a burying ground as well as an ancient site; and Hunt, Lord Aberdeen, and Turner all regarded it solely as a burying ground. Clarke remarked that the remains seemed to be of ten temples rather than one (Richter more conservatively distinguished two in 1816), and Choiseul-Gouffier's editor spoke of remains of more than twenty different buildings brought from all over the plain (and especially Ilion).⁶ Thereafter only the occasional traveller like Fellows or Welcker (the latter apparently following H. Kiepert) supposed that there were foundations *in situ*. The Dümrek dedelik was also recognized as a Turkish burying ground by Turner in 1816, and it then almost completely disappears from the literature. The Kum Köy 'site' died harder. Forchhammer still regarded it as an ancient site, though

¹*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 22 f.; Lenz, (Choiseul) *Ebene von Troja* (1798), 81 ff.

² Hammer, *Topographische Ansichten* (1811), 26 f.; Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 84 ff.; Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (1822), 458.

³*Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy* (1800), 11 f. ('Thimbreck Muzarlick'; the name might have led him to suspect that it was a cemetery).

⁴ Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 105, 102.

⁵ See Walpole 104 note.

⁶*Voyage pittoresque* ii. 2 (1822), 423.

admitting that most of the stones had been brought there from Ilion;¹ and Burnouf and Schliemann, who noted inscriptions and sculptures there, considered it to be the site of Polion. But in general these dedeliks were forgotten, though it now appears that H. Schmidt recorded the stones in the Halileli and Kum Köy ones in 1894 and Schleif and Goethert searched for architectural pieces of the Temple of Athena Ilias in all three.² It is clear that many of the marbles had been transported from the site of Ilion. In this connection we may note that in 1873 Schliemann uncovered a depression of 112 by 76 ft. on the hill top by the temple at Hisarlik * and surmised that the Turks had excavated it several hundred years previously in order to extract stones for sepulchral monuments.³

At the Kum Köy dedelik our notes add nothing of substance to existing accounts (the fullest is in Prokesch)⁴ and Schmidt's list as cited from the Troy log-book of 1894; the latter contains 2 inscriptions (we saw one on a base which was quite illegible), 17 architectural pieces, 3 sculptures, 35 column pieces. Schleif and Goethert recognized 6 pieces from the Temple of Athena Ilias.⁵ We saw nothing that would support Schliemann's belief that this is an ancient site.

At Halileli the stones are scattered over a huge field on the north side of the village. They must have been exceedingly numerous; for of column shafts alone Francklin remarked over 150 pieces. Already in the 1790s material was being removed from there for use elsewhere (Liston and Dallaway), and inscriptions were carried off for Lord Elgin and others.⁶ Prokesch still saw 'hundreds' of pieces in 1824.⁷ In 1839 Napier remarked only a few broken shafts and two or three slabs of marble remaining; and this was our first impression on entering the field. But it is illusory. Schliemann copied 5 inscriptions;⁸ and Schmidt is said to have listed 156 pieces in 1894 (5 inscriptions, 38 architectural pieces, 6 sculptures, 107 column fragments). Without knowing of this we estimated the number of pieces still surviving in 1968 as 150. Schleif

¹*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 39 f. His version of Spratt's map also marks the Halileli burying ground as the Temple of Thymbraean Apollo.

²*Der Athenatempel von Ilion* (1962), 21, and 5-9. Schmidt's catalogue seems to have been known to Schleif (before 1945) but not to Goethert.

³*Troy and its Remains* (1875), 226 f.

⁴*Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* i (1836), 207 ff.

⁵ A fragment of a metope of the Athena Temple was removed from here by Schliemann and dispatched to Berlin (*Troja* 199 f., *Troja und Ilion* 431 f.); Schliemann's copies of inscriptions *Troja* 233 ff. It was from a house in the village that Hunt removed the Metrodorus decree for Lord Elgin.

⁶ Cf. Hunt's letter in *The Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton, Countess of Elgin* (1926), 330.

⁷ Described in detail, his pp. 146 ff.

⁸*Troja* 231 ff.

and Goethert record eight pieces from the Temple of Athena Ilias (in addition to one noted by Schmidt which they could not find).

Our notes include the following:

1. A fragment of an inscription, evidently funerary and apparently not known (the letter groups ἀρείοτῳ and ἀλλότριον θε(ῶναι) seemed legible).
2. A marble fragment with the toes of a small statue for insertion in the base (max. width of toes 9 cm., PLATE 7c).
3. Numerous column drums, some of granite (of different sizes), the majority of marble; of the latter the majority are Doric, but there are also normal Ionic and cabled shafts.
4. A plain Ionic column base on a plinth, similar to the one in the village.
5. Three relics of large Corinthian capitals probably of Roman date.
6. Three fragments of Doric architraves.
7. A fragment of a Doric frieze 35 cm. high, with a triglyph and a metope filled with a carved flower.
8. A fragment of the rosette frieze of the interior of the Temple of Athena Ilias, the rosette in the form of a phiale mesomphalos (PLATE 4b, the stone on the left; this is Schleif's 'Halileli 1', his p. 8, pl. 14a 1. Like him, we did not see Schmidt's other piece).
9. Fragment from a small building with a geison directly surmounting dentils.
10. Several Doric cornice blocks with mutules (Goethert-Schleif, p. 8, noted three pedimental geison fragments from the Athena Temple here).
11. Two slabs of ceiling with beams and coffers in one piece and carved flowers in the coffers (Goethert-Schleif recorded three here); one PLATE 4b, right-hand stone (their no. 3).
12. Two fragments of plain sima with lion's-head spouts, ht. c. 18 cm. (not from the Athena Temple, which had a carved sima, cf. Goethert p. 22), one PLATE 4a.
13. Fragment of a white marble monumental relief slab c. 117 cm. broad with ram's heads carved on either side, PLATE 7a (cf. Hunt *ap.* Walpole 109, a 'sculptured marble with festoons of flowers suspended from ram's heads' seen at Pinarbasi * in 1801).
14. Fragment from the arch of an arcade, smoothly finished on the soffit.
15. Lid of a granite sarcophagus.
16. Byzantine window mullion (διαχωριστικὸς κίων).

By way of contrast, the dedelik among the pines near Dümrek seems to contain no blocks from the Athena Temple;1 and we know of no description of any of the stones there. They cover a strip 100 m. long beside the road 1 km. west of the village. We noted them as follows:

1. Several unfluted column shafts, including granite (2 of diam. 30 cm., one of 26 cm.).
2. Polygonal Doric column shafts (one of diam. 60 cm., several of diam. 65 cm.).
3. A Doric column shaft 2 m. long and 60 cm. diam., half the circumference fluted, the other half polygonal.
4. A fluted Doric shaft 65 cm. diam. and nearly 2 m. long.
5. Several fragments of Doric column drums of 13.5 cm. between the arrises (and so not quite large enough for the main order of the Athena Temple).
6. A fragment of a fluted engaged Doric column.
7. Fragments of an Ionic column drum (diam. 65 cm.) and a smaller shaft (diam. 46 cm.).
8. Lower part of a Corinthian or floral capital

1 Goethert-Schleif, p. 5; the fragment of sima that Goethert places at 'Dumbrek-Thymbra' (his p. 22) was in fact at 'Thymbra Farm' at Akça Köy.

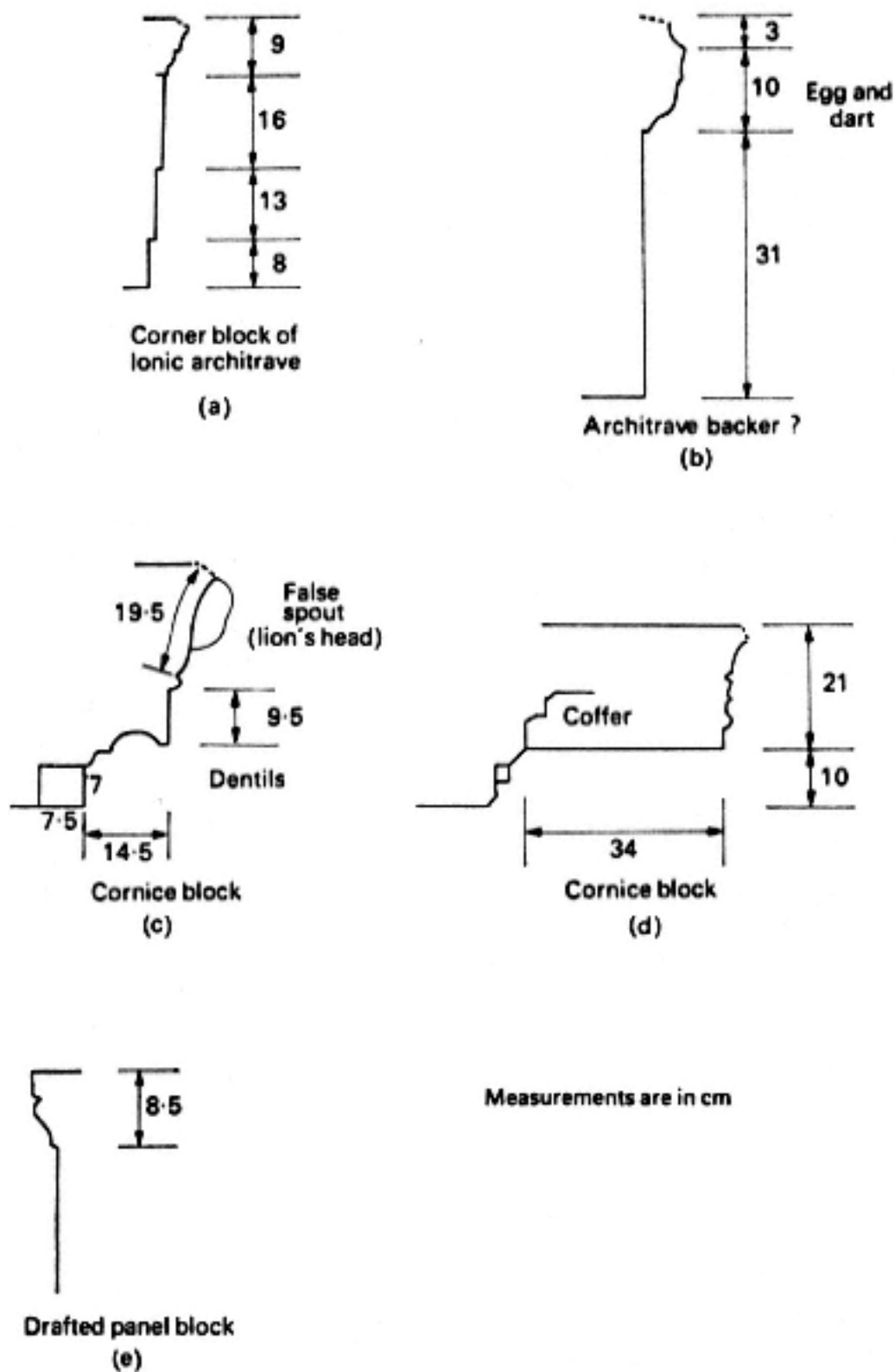


Fig. 4.
Architectural Pieces in Dümrek Burying Ground

(diam. at bottom 40 cm.). 9. Corner fragment of a Doric frieze (ht. 50 cm.). 10. Four Doric frieze blocks: two of ht. 43 cm. (one with two metopes and two triglyphs), one of ht. 55 cm. with two metopes and one triglyph). 11. Overhang of a large Doric cornice with gutti. 12. Corner block of an Ionic architrave of ht. 46 cm., section FIG. 4a. 13. Architrave backer (?), ht. 44 cm.,

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section FIG. 4b. 14. Ionic cornice block with false lion's-head spout, section FIG. 4c; PLATE 5a. 15. Ionic cornice block, the modillions treated with great simplicity, section FIG. 4d; PLATE 5c. 16. A small Ionic cornice fragment with dentils 4 cm. wide. 17. Fragment of a block with drafted edges, visible breadth 110 cm., pres. ht. 28 cm.; dowel holes on top. Section FIG. 4e; PLATE 5b. Dr. W. H. Plommer kindly tells me that nos. 14, 15, and 17 look fair Hellenistic work. 18. Various mouldings. 19. Several large slabs from a big circular foundation. 20. Numerous ancient squared wall or foundation blocks. 21. Late Roman base of a small column from a balustrade, and a fragment of a similar column. 22. Five window mullions from a large early Byzantine church.

Here again we saw no sign of an ancient site in the valley or on the crest to the north. We noted that there are not only no pieces from the Temple of Athena Ilias but no inscriptions of Ilion at this dedelik, and the distance from Ilion is about 7 km. So we are not entirely inclined to agree with Forchhammer in his assumption that these stones came from the site at Hisarlik *. It seems that at least ten different constructions are involved. There is no particular reason to expect that the Late Roman and Byzantine ones were erected at Ilion, which had by then entered a decline; and we should consider it possible that some of the Hellenistic architectural pieces have come from Kara Tepe (Kallikolone, pp. 110 ff.), which seems to have had a sanctuary and is not much more than 1 km. away from this burying ground. The Dümrek dedelik is the one place in the Trojan region where we have received the impression that there may have been shrines or buildings with some architectural embellishment in the Trojan countryside. There are of course, as Spratt's map shows, quite a number of Turkish burying grounds in the north-western Troad, and we could not attempt to examine them all. But we have been at pains to investigate the three in the Simois valley because of the claims that have been made for them in the past.

5 Ophryneion

Pococke placed Ophryneion north of Kepez because of the difficulty of finding a sheet of water to correspond to the lake Pteleos that Strabo's text names after Ophryneion; this is now untenable. Olivier looked in vain for traces of the city; and the first scholar to assign it a possible position was Forchhammer, when in 1839 he identified it with the site then called Palaeokastro (our Baba Kale) about 3 km. west of Erenköy.¹ Forchhammer's identification was upheld by Schliemann on the double ground of relative proximity to the Simois marsh and the alleged discovery of coins of Ophryneion there; and it was accepted by Dörpfeld

¹ This site had previously been taken for Rhoeteum, cf. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque* ii, pl. 19.

and others. But before Newton visited the Troad in 1853 Calvert had discovered traces of ancient occupation, together with bronze coins of Ophryneion, on a hill the other side of Erenköy and had placed the city there. The difficulty we have felt is that while Forchhammer and Schliemann's site in fact occupies a suitable crest littered with Hellenic potsherds and must have been a city, Calvert's Ophryneion has at first sight no visible nucleus for a classical Greek city. But we believe nevertheless that Calvert's identification can be proved correct.

Strabo speaks of Ophryneion and the grove of Hector there (xiii. 595, § 29), and his text then continues

καὶ ἐφεξῆς λίμνη Πτελεῶς (he is of course going down the coast towards Sigeum, so Lake Pteleos should be south-west of Ophryneion). This has caused great difficulty. As Calvert rightly observed, there is no lake in this hilly country,¹ and we should have to go a long way beyond Erenköy, and (to be honest) a long way even beyond the Palaeokastro site to find a marsh in the Simois valley.² On the other hand, Calvert saw what he believed to be traces of an ancient mole at the foot of his Ophryneion site; and this inspired him to propose the reading of λιμὴν in place of λίμνη, making Pteleos the harbour of Ophryneion.³ The emendation also appeared in Meineke's text of Strabo about the same time.⁴ There are, however, grave difficulties in this interpretation. We have not seen any trace of a mole under Calvert's site, nor did the old village field guard Hasan of Erenköy know of any such, except in a position too far to the north to be underneath the site, and we saw no reason to regard what we did see as being ancient (see below). In any case, if there was such a mole as Calvert claimed,⁵ the harbour that it shielded would to an ancient writer have been that of the city itself and not one to be mentioned under a different name and as being further down the coast. If Strabo

wrote λιμὴν, he must have been referring to a harbour somewhere on the rough coast between Ophryneion and Rhoeteum; and this seems most improbable. Thus the emendation of the text, which could only be justified on the ground of resolving the problem, merely serves to transfer the load elsewhere.

In 1966, on our third and final expedition in search of the Palaeo-kastro site, we traversed the whole length of the ridge west of Erenköy,

1 Leaf follows Calvert, but with a characteristic difference, when he writes 'there can never have been any lake on these hills' (*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 155).

2 Schliemann and Virchow recognized Lake Pteleos in the winter marsh west of Halileli, which puts it so far west that it is under their Rhoeteum site rather than after Ophryneion, and probably closest of all to Ilion! To obviate this difficulty Thiersch suggested that the 'old Trojan' Ophryneion had originally been in that vicinity close to Troy (*Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 249 ff.); but Strabo is speaking of the only Ophryneion known to us, the historical one between Dardanos and Rhoeteum.

3 *Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 295 f.; cf. Leaf, loc. cit.

4 Cf. his *Vindiciae Straboniana* (1852), 207.

5 The mole is marked on Admiralty chart 1608 directly under the site, but on information supplied by Calvert himself.

and in so doing we emerged from the trees at the east end opposite the village. In front of us we saw a natural basin with a perfectly level floor on which the heat haze shimmered in such a way as to create the impression of water. The view is given in PLATE 1a, where Erenköy is at the top right-hand corner. When we inspected the basin more closely we found the flat floor banked up slightly by a ridge on the seaward side and estimated its surface as perhaps 400 m. broad and double that in length (PLATE 1c). It seemed to us almost self-evident that this was a silted-up lake. And therefore, though we saw oaks, olives, and mulberries in place of the elms that would substantiate the ancient name, we confidently identify it as Lake Pteleos and regard Calvert's Ophryneion as established. On this assumption we proceed to treat Ophryneion separately from the coastal ridge to the south-east, which we can now regard as the Rhoetean coast-line.

The Ophryneion site lies 1.5 km. from the centre of Erenköy and just north of a precipitous ravine with banks of oolitic drift in which Calvert discovered remains of various creatures of the pliocene. The ravine (recognizable by the scar in the pine forest on PLATE 1a-b) is marked as Koca Dere on the 1 :50,000 GS map but known locally as Derin Dere; in 1860 Calvert called it 'It * Gelmez'; but in 1902 he applied that name to the site above it, and so did Newton in 1853. Calvert is virtually our sole authority for the site. Newton visited it when he stayed with him, and his information at points seems more precise than Calvert's, which probably depends on recollections of some years' standing; but Newton did not have much grasp of the lay-out in the pine forest. Schliemann did scant justice to the site; and Leaf was content to quote from Calvert.¹ Calvert published an extract from Brunton's plan of the area with much detail of ancient remains marked on it, and this has helped us to follow him on the ground. But curiously it is vitiated by an error of nearly 90° in the course of the Derin Dere, and I therefore do not reproduce it. Reference is here made to FIG. 3, which is based on the 1 : 50,000 GS map.

Above the road is a peak of crumbling rock at over 200 m. above sea level (A on FIG. 3). It is formed of points with pits (whether cisterns or excavations) between them, and has a steep bank (presumably the cutting of the old earth road) on the side towards the higher ground. To westward there is a continuous steady slope down the ridge and across the main road to the spur at B. Calvert noted that a wall 6 ft. thick could be traced all round the top; all we could see in 1959 was a single course of long blocks and some fallers on the north-west, with the

¹ Calvert, *Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 291 ff., with map opp. p. 287; some further remarks in *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 244 f.; Newton, *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 132 f.; Schliemann, *Troja* (1884), 305; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 153 ff.

odd scrap of black-glaze pottery, and ten years later we saw nothing. Calvert also noted Roman buildings with part of a coarse mosaic in this vicinity, and Newton remarked terracotta water pipes in the bank of the ravine on the south-west, and two platforms with wall foundations, pieces of marble, and Hellenic pottery; on one of his platforms was a very long stretch of wall with rubble filling between the faces. Coins both Roman imperial and Greek were found in this area. According to Calvert the former ranged from Tiberius to Arcadius; of the latter fourteen were of Ophryneion, and there were also bronzes of Sigeum, Neandria, Gergis, and Assos. The two last are a little surprising, and Newton's note is different: 2 of Sigeum and 3 of Ilion along with the 14 of Ophryneion on his upper platform, and 2 bronzes of Neandria and 1 of Ilion on his lower one. Calvert also mentions bronze arrow-heads and part of a terracotta mould (face of Apollo) found here. It was presumably in this area, or that where he marked 'foundations' (C on FIG. 3), that he reported the destruction of a building of fine hewn blocks in road-making shortly before 1902. We found tiles and amphora fragments near the road at C. On the spur at B Calvert remarked nothing, and we have seen no foundations, though it could be one of Newton's platforms; there has also been a good deal of trenching there,¹ and no deposit has been brought to light. Yet this is the one place on the whole site where we have picked up good archaic and classical sherds: two bits from the shoulder of a jug with linear decoration and purple stripes (PLATE 3a left), rims of an East Greek Orientalizing plate and a striped dish, fragments of a bowl of birdbowl form and of a Proto-corinthian or Corinthian kotyle, an archaic grey-ware handle, a scrap of Black Figure, black-glaze sherds (including ribbed vase, fourth-century kotyle, and fishplate), and a piece of red wall plaster.

Down the hill we have made lengthy traverses both along the beach and a short distance up the slope. On a shelf at D about 30 m. above sea level, where Calvert again marks numerous foundations of buildings, we found blocks and wall traces, with fragments of classical glazed tile and black-glaze sherds of the fourth century descending into early Hellenistic. Along the beach we saw few potsherds and those mostly modern, but remarked an ancient amphora foot or two; at a couple of points we noted wall ends in the bank and Roman or Byzantine sherds. Calvert evidently saw more on the beach, to judge by the foundations that he marks. In particular he recognized his semicircular mole under the water, and his map seems to show it directly under the other remains; bronze fishhooks and netting needles were also found near there, and apparently Byzantine coins. As remarked above, there is no

¹ In 1969 we found that the seaward tip of the spur had been cleared to make a belvedere, and stone exedrae were being constructed; the workmen told us that a gazino was planned.

trace of a mole in this position now; and it seems to us that the small flattened hill with remains that Calvert remarked by his mole must be the one that we noticed near the Tusan motel. Now, we learn from Calvert's criticism of his map that the remains on the shore were marked by Brunton in a position up the coast near the hospital; and it was there that the old field guard Hasan in 1959 spoke to us of old remains and pithoi washed ashore. It seems to us that, despite Calvert's express statement, everything points to the remains and mole (if such it was) being up the coast where the motel now is (PLATE 2b); and strangely enough Calvert himself in 1879 referred to the mole as being near the former hospital.¹ It seems most probable that what Calvert took to be the port of classical Ophryneion was in fact remains of late antiquity lying outside the limits of the classical city on the north. The classical site is not easy to place. By the fourth century it reached down to the shelf above the beach at *D*. But in earlier times it may have been a more compact town around a fortified acropolis at *A*. If Newton was right about the coins of Ilion, there must still have been

occupation or cult up above in the third century B.C. or later. As Calvert perceived, the brow (~~ὄρος~~^{ὄρος}) of the hill above the ravine well explains the origin of the name Ophryneion.

Calvert's exploration extended to the ancient cemetery, which lay mainly between the Derin Dere and Erenköy but with a few graves under the acropolis on the west. He reported earthen jars and a few stone sarcophagi, and finds of archaic animal-style vases, a piece with a female head in Red Figure, and a neck (now in the British Museum) with a dedication to Aphrodite Chrysostephanos. He also spoke of wells sunk in the rock on the edge of the ravine and containing pottery fragments (black-glazed and painted) and what might be spindle whorls and loom weights. In the Calvert Collection catalogue may be remarked (nos. 653 ff.) fragments of a Corinthian cup with animals and East Greek Orientalizing plates of about 600 B.C., other archaic figured ware, Attic vases, a late archaic terracotta sima, a terracotta figurine of a seated goddess, and bronzes of Christian date.² The catalogue does not indicate from what part of the site the finds came, but no doubt the vases are mainly from the graves. To these we may add other finds of Calvert's which are in the British Museum (a Corinthian quatrefoil round aryballos of the first half of the sixth century and three little round late Red Figure lekythoi, 1877. 9-30. 2 and 34, 36-7), and in the same museum some 'lacratories' given by Brunton (1856. 12-8. 36-41).

¹*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 34.

² Add the fragment of an archaic plate, J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1882-83* (1898), pt. 1, 182, fig. 43.

We know of no prehistoric here apart from Calvert's mention of celts of serpentine and other hard stone which he found in the neighbourhood. The known finds from the site and graves do not seem to go back much beyond 600 B.C., but we lack a good sherding ground. For the state of the site in Hellenistic times there is no evidence. Strabo (xiii. 600, § 39) speaks of the whole coast up to Dardanos as belonging to Ilion (that is after 188 B.C.); and in a geographical context in which he is aware of Ophryneion this probably implies that the place then belonged to Ilion rather than Dardanos; but it can hardly have been absorbed into Ilion before Rhoeteum was annexed to Ilion in 188 B.C., so presumably Ophryneion either retained its independence till then or had been absorbed into Rhoeteum. Calvert found coins of Ophryneion abundant on the site, and Schliemann seems also to have found specimens on the neighbouring Palaeokastro (Baba Kale) site (below, p. 81); otherwise these coins are rarely encountered.¹ The territory of the ancient Ophryneion could well have been no greater than that of the modern village of Erenköy (it must have been considerably less extensive on the west), and for comparative purposes we should guess the twentieth-century population as 1,400. The restoration that gives Ophryneion a tribute figure of five talents (greater than Hamaxitus) in the assessment of 425 B.C.² therefore causes us some concern. At Ophryneion, as at Dardanos, an Athenian landed property is epigraphically attested in the Hermocopid stele of ten years later.³ Calvert sagely remarks that it is impossible to identify the grove of Hector which Strabo mentions as being in a conspicuous situation. In 1959 we spent a couple of hours traversing the hill crests to the east and south of the Ophryneion site without finding anything ancient.

6

The Rhoetean Coast

We now turn westward to the ridge which stretches from our Lake Pteleos to the Tomb of Ajax. Our besetting difficulty here has been toponymy; and we must begin by establishing the relevant modern place names so far as we can, bearing in mind that the only villagers who are native and preserve local traditions are those of Halileli. The one name that is universally recognized both on the spot and on the GS maps is Çakal Tepe. In Choiseul-Gouffier's time the name Çakal was widely applied along this whole stretch of coast, and to some extent it still is.⁴ But Çakal Tepe now denotes a square table-topped hill north of

¹ Cf. L. Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque* (1951), index s.v. (two at Troy (one now to be added from Bellinger), and in a Troadic hoard); I believe I have seen one in the Troad, but have no note of it.

² *ATL* i (1939), 157.

³ *Hesperia* xxii (1953), 288; xxv (1956), 311.

⁴ 'Çekalli' appears in several places here on the 1 :50,000 map; and we heard the name Çakal Deresi applied to the little gully by our Lake Pteleos.

Halileli which is nameless in the archaeological maps and in the literature. It is marked on the 1:50,000 GS map with an altitude of III m. and appears as the dominant feature in our photograph from Baba Kale (PLATE 6a).

To eastward a neck of high ground connects Çakal Tepe to the loftier, wooded ridge which the 1:50,000 map marks as 'Eski Kale' (161 m. altitude on top). Down to 1911 scholars knew a site in this region called Palaeokastro (Forchhammer and Schliemann's Ophryneion site). The Greek name Palaeokastro is no longer recognized; and 'Eski Kale', which evidently translates it, seems to have been imprecisely placed on the early twentieth-century survey, with the result that the summit of the ridge is now officially so called.¹ The Palaeokastro site is in fact on a spur at the far end of the ridge. It seems to have no generally accepted name at the present day. Two young field guards of Erenköy whom we met in 1966 called it Baba Kale,² and that is the name that we shall use. But Baba Kale means nothing to the villagers of Halileli, where the only name known for a site in this direction is 'Arap Kale'. There seems to be no doubt from what they say that our Baba Kale is the site that Sperling and Blegen call 'Kukumagu * Tepe'. That name is not recognized in Erenköy. At Halileli we found that the name was known, though normally in the Turkish form Baykus* Tepe (= owlpen);³ but it is west of Çakal Tepe. Blegen also gives another name for a site on this coast, Çoban Tepe; the name is completely unknown, but we were able to identify the site (below, p. 83).

West of Çakal Tepe the ridge stretches 3 km. to İn* Tepe. This is what in part or whole is called Baykus (Kukumagu) Tepe. On the 1:50,000 map 'Baikosh Tepe' is marked on the southern slope, which the villagers of Halileli in fact call Dede Bayiri*; but the placing of names on these maps is always imprecise.

On the coast north-west of Çakal Tepe is a small headland and tiny bay which Calvert called 'Tavolia' (presumably a Greek name). This name is quite unknown now; but we discovered the place, which we reckoned to be 1 km. from Çakal Tepe and 2 km. from İn Tepe. To the east of this the coast bends in and out as far as Eski Kale and appears to form several little bays; but a steep escarpment some 60 m. high rises

1 In our earlier visits to Erenköy we obtained no response to our inquiries about Palaeo-kastro-Eski Kale. But in 1966 an educated official there pointed out the 161 m. summit to us as Eski Kale, while freely admitting that there was no kale there. The name is not known in Halileli or among the peasants of the region, and presumably derives from the modern map.

2 They also told us of ruins of a Greek village of the same name further west; we did not have time to go there. Calvert mentions a village of 'Konykiöi' somewhere apparently west of Erenköy (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 34); this is otherwise quite unknown and may be a printer's misreading of 'Koumkiöi' in his manuscript.

3 Baykus = Greek [~]κουκουβάγια = kukumagu*.

continuously from the beach and makes it a desolate shore (PLATE 6a). We have not been along it east of Çakal Tepe. To west of the headland at Calvert's Tavolia the contours become gentler; and a shelving beach, backed only by a bank a few metres high, runs continuously to the flat projecting point of Toptasi * Burnu.¹ Above this, on the last spur of the ridge, is the tumulus called the Tomb of Ajax, which is still known locally as In* Tepe despite the fact that that name is officially transferred to Erenköy. Beyond Cape Toptasi is the mouth of the In Tepe Azmagi*, a creek that likewise retains its old name. The anchorage there was called Karanlik* Limani* (= concealed harbour) by Lechevalier and a long series of travellers after him, including not only Spratt and Forchhammer in 1839 but Sibthorp and Hawkins who anchored there in 1794. Schliemann, however, insisted that Karanlik was the bay east of Cape Toptasi and Calvert did the same in his 1902 article (though not in that of 1879).² At Halileli we understood that Karanlik Limani was at In Tepe. But at Kum Kale Köy we were told that Karanlik was east of Cape Toptasi, and when we reached Calvert's Tavolia bay we discovered that the little patch of cultivated land there has usurped the name. To Calvert Karanlik Limani was definitely west of the Tavolia headland, so we can recognize two different stages in the migration of the name. In fact the names on this whole shore have been fluid: Kum Kale (Köy), In Tepe, Karanlik, Çakal, and Palaeokastro-Eski Kale have all drifted, Tavolia and Çoban Tepe have disappeared, and Kukumagu* Tepe does not seem to be what it was a generation ago. On the other hand, we now have names not previously heard of, such as Masirlik* (already on the 1 : 50,000 map), Dede Bayiri*, Arap Kale, and Baba Kale. And this is by no means entirely the result of the changes of population.

Knowledge of the Palaeokastro (Baba Kale) site goes back to Dubois in 1814-15; on Choiseul-Gouffier's map it is named Rhoeteum.³ Forchhammer, however, took it for Ophryneion; and he was followed by Schliemann, who rejected Calvert's placing of Ophryneion beyond Erenköy, and by the German scholars generally. Calvert, however, held to the identification of the Palaeokastro site as Rhoeteum, and he was followed by Leaf. Brief descriptions of the site are given by Schliemann and Calvert,⁴ and a photograph, presumably of this site,

1 This name appears in Choiseul-Gouffier and the GS map, and is still in current use.

2 *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 240 f.; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 36.

3 *Voyage pitt.* ii, pl. 19. Hence in Leake.

4 *Ilios* (1880), 59 f., and *Troja* (1884), 305; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 34, and *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 242 ff. Cf. Judeich, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 532; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 155 ff. For remains in the neighbourhood see Newton, *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 133 f. (mentioned seriatim below).

by Blegen (his Kukumagu * Tepe).¹ Leaf claims his pl. 9*b* as the Site of Rhoiteion, but in fact it is a view of the other end of the Eski Kale ridge from spur *B* at Ophryneion. As we eventually discovered, Baba Kale is on the extreme westerly spur of the long ridge, where it is easily overlooked among the pine trees. It falls sharply to the sea; and on the west it descends to a deep valley (PLATE 6*a*), while to the south it slopes down more gently. On the east, where it springs from the higher ridge, access is barred by a rampart of earth and stone fill some metres high, which has been pierced for a gun emplacement since the travellers saw it. The traces of a circuit wall have been noticed by Calvert, Schliemann, Judeich, and us;² Schliemann recognized two towers, and we thought we could locate the gate near the east end of the south side. The crest inside the circuit is about 250 by 135 m. by our measurement. Both Calvert and Schliemann saw traces of buildings within this citadel; they also saw remains of a town on the slope outside it (Schliemann says on the south and Calvert on the west). Calvert remarked a broad straight mole under the site, visible only on calm days (we did not have a calm day); and Newton spoke of a headland 'a little in advance of the site' with Hellenic burials in jars.³ According to Calvert the coast here is especially prone to landslides. Calvert also spoke of a cemetery with cist and tile graves, the finds being mainly Roman; and the catalogue of his collection (under 'Rhoeteum') lists Roman vases including a sigillata plate.

Schliemann remarked that the deposit on the ground inside the circuit was 90 cm. deep. Judeich and Dragendorff noted Troy II pottery and the American party from the Troy excavations in 1935 recognized Troy VI-VII. In 1966 I made a note of burnished handmade sherds, though none of the samples I brought home was recognized as such. Among my samples of monochrome ware Dr. Bayne has noted a dinos rim with an impressed pattern best matched at Antissa and in Troy VIII, which he dates to 700 B.C. or perhaps rather earlier (PLATE 3*b* top), and one or two other fragments of early bucchero of perhaps 700 B.C. In his judgement none of my material is of the second millennium. In general the pottery on the site is archaic and classical. Archaic painted wares are particularly abundant. Besides the fragments from an East Greek Orientalizing fruit dish with griffin protomes (PLATE 3*b* left)⁴ and a lekanis with an animal band (PLATE 3*b* lower right)⁵ we

¹Troy i (1950), fig. 27; cf. Sperling, *AJA* xl (1936), 123.

²L. Bürchner found the remains practically unrecognizable in 1904 (*RE* s.v. 'Rhoiteion' 3).

³Somewhere here also, at 50 minutes from Erenköy, Newton saw red pottery and building stones at a fountain.

⁴Presumably of Aeolic manufacture; the only known example of an East Greek dish of this form with decoration of griffin protomes has been recognized as Aeolic (E. Walter-Karydi, *CVA München* vi (1968), pl. 276. 3).

⁵Similar to local ware cited below, p. 121 n. 4.

noted striped ware, and fragments of a plain 'Naucratis' chalice and of an Attic lip cup. The fifth- and fourth-century black glaze included cylix feet and fragments of ribbed cream jug and Corinthian-type kotyle. We picked up a bit of tile with classical glaze, but nothing Hellenistic unless some of the poorer scraps of black glaze descend into that epoch. On the evidence we should question whether this site continued to be occupied much after 300 B.C.; certainly it lacks the Hellenistic wares that are characteristic of the Dardanos and Gergis sites. By way of contrast we picked up two Late Roman C red-ware bowl rims¹ and a glass bowl or cup foot. Calvert remarked that few Greek coins were found on the site but imperial Roman ones were common. Schliemann seems to have understood that coins of Ophryneion were found there, for he said that the coins leave no doubt of the identity of the site. Since Rhoeteum does not seem generally to have struck coins, Ophryneion would in any case have been the nearest mint.

Baba Kale is similar in size and situation to the west coast sites that will be described later (Yenisehir * and the Coloniae, Larisa, and Hamaxitus sites); and the finds are also very similar. We should not hesitate to regard it as an early city site; and since Ophryneion is now fixed at Derin Dere, Baba Kale should be the citadel of Rhoeteum. It is evidently near the eastern limit of the Rhoetean territory, and it does not seem to have developed into a Hellenistic city.

Towards Çakal Tepe the ridge becomes bare and sun-drenched (PLATE 6a), and continues so to In* Tepe. At an hour from Erenköy and a few minutes' walk from the sea Newton saw the ruins of an old Byzantine church of St. Athanasius measuring 66 by 57 ft., with fragments of columns and capitals of the Roman period; surprisingly, he noted that coins of Sigeum had been found there. We cannot place this, and I am inclined to suspect that his notes must have been confused.² The table top of Çakal Tepe looks the best situation for an ancient city on this whole coast. In 1959 we assumed that it was the Palaeokastro site and had no difficulty in divining where the circuit wall must have run. But the sandy crest completely lacks any deposit, and we found nothing except a scatter of nondescript sherds on the more sheltered south and west slope. In fact, all the way from Çakal Tepe to Kum Kale Köy and In Tepe there are occasional sherds on the ground, some of which look as if they might be ancient. But there is no site. The ground is riddled with pits which have been dug in search of the shrapnel from the naval bombardment of the Turkish defences in 1915. A short kilometre south

1 Dr. Hayes dates them about the second half of the fifth century, comparing Antioch 941-3.

2 The known chapel of St. Athanasius was on the Sigeum ridge (below, p. 166).

of Çakal Tepe is an area of slightly rising ground, partly ploughed in 1959, where we noted a black-glaze sherd and some bits of indeterminate coarse pottery; it cannot be an ancient site, but might be that of the nineteenth-century çiftlik marked on Spratt's and Schliemann's maps.

West of Çakal Tepe the crest of the ridge inclines gently down to westward. At the end above the Tomb of Ajax there are some small tumuli which are partly at least formed of loose stones. We only saw two in the vineyards which now cover the crest; but three have been counted in the past.¹ In 1882 Schliemann excavated them in a day to a depth of 1.5 m. before being stopped by Cemal Pasa *, and was surprised to find no pottery in them. These tumuli do not seem to have been noticed by any of the travellers until the summer of 1839, when Spratt and Forchhammer, and independently of them Napier, discovered their existence. They were not seen by such diligent observers as Lechevalier and Cassas, Kauffer, Hawkins, Hobhouse, and Dubois. We can only suggest that they made their appearance shortly before 1839, and that they were probably stone heaps resulting from the clearing of the ground for cultivation.² A capacious cave is reported somewhere to the south of this. Major Helvig called it 'Andekin' (= hendek-in?) and opined that it must have served to hide the Achaeans when the fleet sailed away to Tenedos.³ It is presumably the same cave that was examined by the American Troy mission near Yeni Kum Kale Köy in 1933.⁴ The villagers of Kum Kale Köy to whom we addressed ourselves knew only the cave of In* Tepe (i.e. the visible vault of the Tomb of Ajax); but an elderly man recalled that there was one near the village which is now covered up.

Forchhammer and Schliemann placed Rhoeteum in the vicinity of the Tomb of Ajax and the ridge to the east of it; and they adduced ancient remains to justify their claim. But their indications of such remains are both individually and mutually self-contradictory; Calvert recognized no site on the ridge here,⁵ and after making several traverses along the ridge we can say with assurance that there is nothing that could be called an ancient habitation site.⁶

1 In *Ilios* (1880), 104 and on the map the number is four; but it is three *ibid.* 648 and in *Troja* (1884) 262, and mentions in other writers are of three. We could not examine the tumuli closely because women were labouring there without male escort.

2 Napier, *United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 297, in fact spoke of one tumulus and two smaller stone piles.

3Ap. Lenz, (Choiseul-Gouffier) *Ebene von Troja* (1798), 122.

4Troy i (1950), 10.

5 This is evident from *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 243.

6 Forchhammer, *Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 39, speaks of stones, tiles, and pottery on the hill between In Tepe (Tomb of Ajax) and the Azmak, but his version of Spratt's map marks the site of Rhoeteum on the crest *east* of In Tepe with the clue 'tumuli, pottery & c.' (we should hazard the guess that the pottery Spratt noted was from testis in use when the ground

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The site that Calvert did know and draw attention to was at a place called Tavolia on the coast some distance east of Cape Toptasi *.1 He spoke of a little bay with a mole and the remains of a small settlement near it, and a great ancient cemetery extending westward along the shore and southward on the slopes above the sea. The potsherds on the settlement site included prehistoric hand-polished ware comparable to that of the earliest Cities of Troy. Calvert's description of the situation requires some augmentation. The bay is very small, perhaps 150 m. across; but in the hollow is a tiny plain with cotton fields and a cottage, and on the west rises a steep headland, not prominent but precipitous towards the sea, with the ground sloping gently down from the summit on the landward side. When we saw it from the escarpment further east we had no difficulty in recognizing the headland as the hill which was visited and photographed by the Americans (their `Çoban Tepe') and which they reported as yielding Troy I and VI pottery as well as late classical sherds.2 We picked up one or two sherds of handmade burnished ware corresponding to Calvert's prehistoric and the Americans' Troy I. There is fairly abundant ancient pottery (including tile and amphora fragments) around the headland and extending westward along the ridge for several hundred metres; so there is no doubt that this is Calvert's settlement site. The cotton pickers in the fields could tell us no name for the spot save Karanlik*; and they claimed that the headland

(footnote continued from previous page)

was cleared for cultivation and the tumuli were piled up; what Forchhammer noted towards the mouth of the Azmak is of Roman date and does not concern Hellenic Rhoeteum). Schliemann in 1868 (*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 207 f.) spoke of numerous fragments of tiles and pottery on the highest hill of Cape Rhoeteum and marked them on his accompanying map on the crest east of the Tomb of Ajax. But he was taking his information from Spratt. In *Ilios* (1880), 104 he again speaks of numerous traces of 'an ancient city, probably Rhoeteum' 250 m. east of the Tomb of Ajax; but in the meantime his new map (Burnouf's of 1879) was completed, and there the remains, which appear very substantial and are coupled with the name Rhoeteum, are marked much further to the east along the north-west edge of what is clearly Çakal Tepe, while another set of remains is marked on the flat point north of the Tomb of Ajax and named Aeanteum (cf. his p. 103). Thiersch argued on the assumption that Schliemann must have discovered a site on the ridge where Rhoeteum is marked (*Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 249.) It seems to me quite clear that the case is the contrary. Schliemann's difficulty was that having assumed from Spratt's map that there was a suitable site on the ridge east of the Tomb of Ajax he found himself after the 1879 campaign lacking anything that could correspond to Strabo's location of Rhoeteum *ἐν τῷ λόφῳ*; and no doubt the remains shown at Çakal Tepe are not of a site discovered in that position but Calvert's Tavolia site raised to a position that would fit with Strabo. If Schliemann had actually discovered such a site he would surely have mentioned the fact.

1*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 34 ff., *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 239 ff. For the name Tavolia (or Tamolia, which is the only form that he gives in his earlier article) he hesitated between a modern etymology (*τὰ βόλια* = round stones or clods of earth) and a corruption of an ancient name. The first notice of the site in fact seems to be in Napier, who remarked a promontory on this coast with an abrupt cliff, strewn with pottery though lacking any traces of buildings (*United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 297).

2Troy i (1950), figs. 28 and 35, with sketch-map fig. 415; text p. 15. It is visible as a small bump beyond the near headland in our view from Baba Kale (PLATE 6a).

had no name though they seemed to speak of it as 'Tek Top' (= single gun?).¹ The owner of the sunflower field on the headland knew no name. He told us that no wall foundations come to light in the ground. We neglected to inquire about a mole.

Calvert took his Tavolia bay to be the port of Ilion (Aeantium),² arguing that the distance from Ilion to In * Tepe is too short for the 25 stades that Ps.-Scylax gives from Ilion to its port,³ and that there could be no satisfactory harbour there or anywhere else west of Tavolia.⁴ But the distances on Calvert's little plan in his 1902 article do not seem to be accurate. The beach at In Tepe in fact is about 24 stades from Hisarlik*; and at the same time we find no lack of evidence for a harbour there (see below). Thiersch accepted part of Calvert's argument but preferred to regard Tavolia as the joint port of Rhoeteum and Aianteion.⁵ This is an economical hypothesis; but, as we shall see, Aianteion must have been by the landing stage at In Tepe.

Leaf saw 'no difficulty in finding a name for the Tavolia site'. He identified it with Polion, which Strabo tells us was founded by the Astypalaeans of Rhoeteum towards the Simois in a position ill adapted for defence (hence its early destruction):⁶

πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν Ἀστυपालαιεῖς οἱ τὸ 'Ροίτειον
κατασχόντες συνώκισαν πρὸς τῷ Σιμόεντι Πόλιον, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Πόλισμα,
οὐκ ἐν εὐερκεῖ τόπῳ· διὸ κατεσπάσθη ταχέως

(xiii. 601, § 42). There seem to be three serious objections to this identification. First, Tavolia is on the coast and separated from the Simois valley by the Rhoetean ridge; unlike Rhoeteum itself it does not even have a view towards the Simois. Secondly, the settlement site is on the 'Tek Top' headland, and that is very far from being an indefensible

situation.⁷ And finally Strabo's *πρῶτοι* has a meaning. He is speaking of the successors on the ground to Priam's Troy, which in his view was at the Pagus site on the ridge south of the Simois (below, pp. 109 ff.): first came Polion by the Simois, and then the new Ilion at the tip of the ridge (Hisarlik). Fallacious as it is, Strabo's argument must surely require a position closer to the Trojan ridge than Tavolia. Schliemann came nearer in placing Polion at the Kum Köy burial ground.⁸ But there does not seem to be an ancient site

¹ We saw a relic of some heavy machine in a pit on top.

² In his earlier article he contended that this was the harbour actually used by the Achaeans, whose ships must therefore (in his opinion) have been far fewer than Homer makes them out to be.

³ Ps.-Scylax in fact says 25 stades from the sea (see below, p. 182).

⁴ Calvert may well be right in denying that there could be a regular harbour in what he calls Karanlik* Limani* (i. e. the shelving beach east of Cape Toptasi*) his surprising statement that boats have to be drawn up on a rock shelf is justified, for in 1969 we saw four large fishing boats sitting high and dry on a seaweed-carpeted ledge at the foot of the 'Tek Top' cliff.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 246 ff.

⁶ *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 156 and 198.

⁷ Calvert fails to mention the headland, and his readers might well assume that the situation was not a strong one. Leaf had not seen the coast here.

⁸ *Ilios* (1880), 81 (Burnouf), *Troja* (1884), 343. Above, p. 67.

there. When we saw the moulding, PLATE 2a, and a number of classical bronze coins at Halileli we were tempted to wonder whether there might not be an early site in the vicinity of the village. But we have heard no word of one; and while the mention of Polisma suggests that something still existed at Polion in Hellenistic times, the implication in Strabo is that Polion was destroyed before the Aeolic Ilion was founded in Lydian times, so it is not clear whether a fourth-century site would meet the need.

Before considering what the settlement at Tavolia amounted to we must take into account the cemetery, which seems to have stretched for a great distance to the south-west. This was one of the most notable cemeteries in the whole Troad, both in its extent and the richness of its furnishings. It was excavated in part by Calvert but for the rest by Greeks digging illicitly. Calvert speaks of limestone sarcophagi and slab-lined grave shafts, sometimes stuccoed and painted inside. Pithoi, which were apparently the earliest of the burials, were, he said, commoner than tile graves (which were later). The finds ranged from the sixth century to Roman. Coins were numerous; the majority were autonomous Greek and Roman city issues, especially of Ilion; Roman were not so rare as Byzantine.¹ Thiersch was evidently not present during the digging; but he speaks of the great majority of the finds being of the fifth and early fourth century B.C., and he gives details from Calvert of a notable tomb, evidently fourth-century, which was opened in 1887.² Calvert had a collection of objects from these graves which is altogether too big to list here (site no. 24, 'Tavolia', in Thiersch's catalogue). The photographs include Ionic wares of the late sixth century, much fifth-century Attic with Red Figure lekythoi and especially pelikai, Phoenician blue and yellow aryballoi, and a great range of classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines. The time span seemed to me late sixth century to Hellenistic, not Roman; but Calvert's not too rare Roman coins must be borne in mind. In traversing the slope about 1 km. west of Tavolia in 1967 we noted the glazed foot of a large classical Attic vase and a fragment of the wing of a marble statue, presumably a sphinx marking a grave (PLATE 7d). In arguing against Calvert's view that this was the cemetery of Ilion Thiersch made the point that the richest and most numerous graves are of classical date, whereas Ilion was a place of no importance before the time of Alexander the Great. We may add that there is every reason to believe that the coast as far as In * Tepe belonged to the Rhoeteans until their incorporation in Ilion in 188 B.C. (see below).

¹*Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 242.

² Ibid. 248, with n. 1 on the tomb, which has misleadingly entered the literature as being near In Tepe, Th. Reinach, *Rev. arch.* 1891, i. 289 ff.; for the terracottas especially D.B. Thompson, *Troy*, Suppl. 3 (1963), 62, R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967), 149 (bibliography).

The finds in this cemetery might lead us to expect that the settlement at Tavolia flourished from archaic down to Roman times. But though hurried, our sherding on the headland and the crest to westward yielded a distinctly different picture. Apart from a little handmade prehistoric, we picked up hardly any potsherds that we judged earlier than the late fourth century, in fact only a fragment of grey ware which might be either Troy VI-VII or archaic, and a scrap with subgeometric linear decoration (both on the summit of the headland). We did not see a single piece that we could date to the classical era. The bits of black glaze that we found, including a fine fragment of West Slope ware, seemed to be late fourth-century and Hellenistic; and the bulk of the pottery spread over the site was tile and amphora of approximately Hellenistic date. We should suppose that there was at most a small site (perhaps a sanctuary) here in archaic times, and that the large settlement dates to the time when the site on the hill at Baba Kale was abandoned (above, p. 81). We thus imagine that there was a shift of the urban population of Rhoeteum to Tavolia about the beginning of the Hellenistic era,

and should not be surprised if it was the latter site to which Strabo referred as *πόλις ἐπὶ λόφῳ κειμένη*. Curiously, Aelian (*HA* xv. 26) has the Rhoeteans driven from their site by a plague of centipedes.

Unexpectedly, we can give a name to the `Tek Top' headland. The one ancient name that we know on this stretch of coast is Traron, the hillocks or promontory from which the ashes of Locrian maidens killed on their way from the Rhoetean shore to Ilion were said to have been cast into the sea.¹ Presumably the place itself was one that could be pointed out by the ancient antiquarians; for the charade was acted in early Hellenistic times. Çakal Tepe is the most dominant crest here; but it is set back from the coastal escarpment, which itself is nowhere precipitous; and the `Tek Top' cliff is the only feature on the whole of this coast which could be imagined as suitable for the purpose.

Surface relics of antiquity have been noted by travellers between the Tomb of Ajax and Cape Toptasi *. Olivier in 1793-4 found fragments of pottery and bricks (what he calls the one certain evidence of an ancient settlement) and placed Rhoeteum there;² as we have seen, Forchhammer noted stones, tile, and pottery there; and Schliemann spoke of the ground as being strewn with fragments of ancient pottery and sculptured splinters of white marble, and placed Aianteion there.³ These observations are fully justified. In the fields and near the shore between the mouth of the Azmak and the cape we have found bits of marble revetment slabs,

¹ Lycophron, *Alex.* 1159, scholia ad loc.; cf. Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 392 ff., Brückner in *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 571.

² *Voyage dans l'empire othoman* i (1801), 235.

³ *Illios* (1880), 103. A view from the Azmak, Leaf, *Troy* (1912), pl. 1.

a marble tessera from a mosaic, late tile, and fairly abundant pottery. We noted a Thasian amphora foot and some worn scraps of black glaze; but the great bulk of the pottery was of Roman date with good imperial red glaze and Late Roman red dominant. The latter descends to the fifth or sixth century.¹ There can be no reasonable doubt that this is the settlement at the harbour

περὶ τὸ Αἰάντειον

where in the second half of the first century after Christ Apollonius of Tyana, according to his later biographer,

found many ships at anchor and took passage in one of the big ones;² and the harbour should be the Αἰάντιος λιμὴν where Licinius' fleet spent the night before the battle against Crispus in 324.³ Pliny also mentions a place of this name: `fuit et Aeantion a Rhodiis (sic) conditum in altero cornu, Aiace ibi sepulto' (NH v. 125);⁴ and A. Wilhelm has restored the name on the Chabrias base:

[οἱ στρατι]ῶται οἱ ἐν τ[ῶι Αἰ]αντε[ῖ]ωι τῶι [ἐν Ἑλλησπό]ντῳ σ[υμμαχ]εσά[με]νοι.

⁵ These evidences justify us in placing a harbour town of Aiantion here in Roman times, with perhaps a small iskele from about the fourth century B.C. on. But there was not a Greek city here. This is confirmed by the ancient testimonies: the whole ridge as far as the original Tomb of Ajax on the cape evidently belonged to Rhoeteum,⁶ and the definite article that preceded the word Aiantion in the Chabrias decree indicates that we are not dealing with a city. The truth lies midway between Robert, who would have an independent city of Aiantion, and Leaf, who declared the notion of a town of Aiantion 'mythical'. The anchorage has continued to be used. Sibthorp and Hawkins anchored there in September 1794⁷ and Dallaway in November 1795, and the GS 1:50,000 map marks 'Pasha landing stage' on the west side of the cape. With all this evidence available it seems possible to dispel the long-established current belief that there was never a harbour there.

Rhoeteum is perhaps the most puzzling of all the cities in our region. On the evidence at Baba Kale it seems to go back at least to 700 B.C.

1 Dr. Hayes has kindly identified samples as follows: 1. Candarli * ware, Loeschke type 26 rim, probably second century. 2. As Antioch (*Antioch* iv. 1) 967, fourth-first half of fifth century. 3. As Antioch 943, about late fifth century. 4. Smaller, as Antioch 941-4, about late fifth-early sixth century. 5. Similar to 2 but smaller. 6. Normal Late Roman C dish base.

2 Philostratus, *Vita Ap. Tyan.* iv. 13.

3 Zosimus ii. 23-4.

4 Cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* 156.

5 Anz. *Akad. Wien* 1947, 190 ff. (non vidi); cf. L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 9 n. o, *Hesperia* xxx (1961), 79 ff. This seems to indicate an Athenian landing about 375 B.C. to assist Philiscus, the lieutenant of Ariobarzanes, but not to imply any sort of abase there.

6 This is demonstrated not only by the constant association of the tomb with the Rhoetean coastline (e.g. Mela i. 96, `extra sinum sunt Rhoetea litora, Rhoeteo et Dardania claris urbibus, Aiace tamen sepulchro maxime inlustria', and the references in Leaf's *Strabo on the Troad* 157) but by Strabo's statement that Augustus returned the statue of Ajax to the Rhoeteans (xiii. 595, § 30).

7 Their letters to Liston (*ap. Dalzel, Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.* iv (1798), Lit. cl. 112 and 115 according to my notes).

(above, pp. 80 f.). It is said by Strabo to have been founded from Astypalaea, but it was one of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις surrendered by Mitylene in 427 B.C. The restoration which gives it the unusually large tribute assessment of eight talents in 425 B.C. is most persuasive,¹ and the finds in the graves at Tavolia would suggest considerable prosperity. But the city never minted bronze coins. It would be tempting to infer that after the time of Alexander Rhoeteum was in a decline (the citizens could have suffered serious injuries when the Macedonians under Calas took refuge there in 335 B.C.) ; but at least L. Robert has found a couple of mentions of its citizens in third-century documents of other cities.² The modern population of the Rhoetean territory is not easy to estimate. Allowing for the new Kum Kale Köy and a part of Erenköy in addition to Halileli and Dümrek, we might reach a figure of 2,500. So Rhoeteum could have been quite a flourishing little city in classical times. But it seems clear that when the Greek cities in the Troad settled down in the third century after the big synoecisms, Rhoeteum, like Ophryneion and Scamandria, failed to equip itself with the installations of a Hellenistic city.

The conspicuous mound of In * Tepe (= den barrow), which is recognized as the Tomb of Ajax, stands to a height, varying according to the aspect, of between 25 ft. (Choiseul-Gouffier, 20 in Hunt) and 60 ft. (Francklin and Prokesch); its top seems to be at an elevation of 40 m. above sea level. The level-headed Hobhouse remarked on it as the spot where visitors who were determined not to be disappointed of their due share of enthusiasm might most legitimately indulge their emotions. Nevertheless the existing tumulus is a construction of Hadrianic date, the original Tomb of Ajax having been closer to the sea and washed out by it (when bones of a man of eleven cubits stature were said to have been recovered); it had a sanctuary and statue of Ajax the latter returned to the Rhoeteans by Augustus after it had been removed by Mark Antony.³ Schliemann thought to recognize the relic of the original mound still rising to a height of a metre on the right bank of the Azmak close to the shore, and near by he found a 'mutilated marble statue of a warrior, draped and of colossal size'. He sank a shaft in the remains of this lesser mound, which he says consisted of pebbles with a large number of fragments of marble sculptures, and he struck the rock at 2.5 m.; the bones that he found were identified by Virchow as equine.⁴ Winnefeld later conjectured that Schliemann's mound was a 'Trümmerhaufen', perhaps from the shrine of Ajax.⁵ The great tumulus of In Tepe seems to have been recognized as the Tomb of Ajax in 1740 by

¹ATL i (1939), 157.

²Ét. num gr. (1951), 10 n. o, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 19.

³ The relevant passages are Pausanias i. 35 and Philostratus, *Her.* (ed. Kayser) 668, for the statue Strabo xiii. 595, § 30. Cf. Schliemann, *Ilios* 652 f., where the passages are quoted.

⁴ Ibid. 103 and 653.

⁵ In Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 543.

Pococke, who noted some broken pieces of marble about it; Carlyle and Mauduit have diverged from this view, the one being 'extremely sceptical' (*ap.* Hunt), the other making it the Tomb of Festus;¹ Dörpfeld's far-fetched speculations, on the other hand, belong rather to the realm of Homeric topography. Lechevalier and Choiseul-Gouffier have described and drawn the internal circular structure with its rubble vaults;² and drawings down to Schliemann show wall remains on top, supposedly of a shrine.³ The stones were robbed for the building of a causeway across the plain, as it is said, by a Turkish commandant about the year 1770. In his eagerness to identify the monument Choiseul-Gouffier discovered that the Greeks called it 'Aiant-Tepe'; but Prokesch found that it had no need of a name because it is inscribed on the pages of history. It was in this vicinity that Prokesch succeeded in locating the tamarisk of the Doloneia which von Hammer had imagined at the bottom of the Dümrek valley. Since 1966 the tumulus has been dug over and planted with vines; but the cavity of the fractured vault is still visible. Like Üvecik Tepe, which also has an internal structure, In * Tepe preserves its shape well.

The In Tepe Azmagi* (on the right in PLATE 6b) is a creek protected by a sand-bar but (as in Forchhammer's and Calvert's time) connecting with the sea; small fishing boats can be seen in it at the present day. But with its high banks and canal-like course it looks like a former river mouth, and it could well be that in the past the Menderes has flowed out this way. It is still quite a broad ditch where it passes under Kum Kale Köy. Calvert spoke of the Dümrek Su overflowing into the In Tepe Azmagi, and in that case flood water from the Menderes would have reached it by way of the Kalafat Azmagi; but it may have been aided by an artificial ditch mentioned by Virchow (*ap.* Schliemann).⁴ Virchow dug pits in 1879 and detected particles of 'syenite' sand which he believed must have been brought down from the interior basin of the Troad, and therefore by the Menderes; and finding pieces of fired tile or brick ('Ziegel') in the deposit he concluded that the Menderes had had its mouth here in historic times.⁵ This of course lent conviction to the view already advanced by some earlier scholars that the Homeric Scamander passed down the east side of the plain.⁶ We are chary of

1 Mauduit seems to have placed the Tomb of Ajax on the Sigeon promontory because he read Pliny's 'ubi classis eius steterat in Sigeo. fuit et Aeantion' with the stop after the word 'steterat'; but see the text quoted below, p. 181.

2 *Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 20, 101, and 107 f.; Lenz, (Choiseul) *Die Ebene von Troja* (1798), 76 ff., and *Voyage pitt.* ii. 304 f., pl. 26. Cf. Winnefeld, *op. cit.* 543.

3 For these cf. Dallaway, *Constantinople* (1797), 337, and Clarke, *Travels* ii. 1 (1812), 82 (his sketch by Lusieri).

4 *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii (1902), 240; *Ilios* (1880), 75.

5 *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 146 ff.

6 Cf. *Ilios* (1880), 92 f.; Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 618. As regards this so-called 'Eastern Theory' of the German scholars, which Leaf firmly rejects (*Troy* (1912), 34 ff.,

(footnote continued on next page)

accepting Virchow's conclusion for two reasons: one, that Mey observed the same phenomena at Besika * Bay, where there is no question of a Scamander mouth (below, pp. 170 f.); the other, that floods like those of 1874 that Calvert describes¹ might well scour out a bed and fill it in again.

The north end of the Plain of Troy (PLATE 6b) is now well cultivated, except for the lagoon and river mouth belt west of In* Tepe;² and we suspect that the changes in drainage and the flow of water may have been considerable. Communications were improved in 1966-7 when Kum Kale was connected to Kum Kale Köy by a motor road that is now in disrepair. The wooden bridge that carried generations of travellers over the old main arm of the Menderes near Kum Kale seemed to have vanished before 1959, when we crossed the river by a ford; there is now a small concrete bridge over this arm, and a much longer one spanning the broad arm of the river which diverges to the east. This second arm, the Tuzla Azmagi*, by which the lower course of the Dümrek Su is intercepted, was said by Dörpfeld to have been formed since 1895;³ but the outlet is not likely to have been a new one because the name goes back at least to Hunt and Carlyle in 1801 ('Tous-Lazma'). This now seems to be the main arm of the river (PLATE 9c, looking upstream from the new bridge), and the old one close to Kum Kale has decayed. The water in the Tuzla Azmagi under the bridge is not salty to the taste. East of this lay the lagoon that has commonly been identified with the Stomalimne.

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384 ff.), it does seem possible to say that in Strabo's (or rather, Demetrius') time the river flowed towards Kum Kale; arguments from Homer are fascinating but more precarious, and I have not attempted to digest all the literature on the subject.

¹*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 36 f.

²In addition to Virchow's detailed observations on the hydrography of the plain, there is a readable account in *Ilios* (1880), 73 ff. For other references see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 162. For the view that the coast of the Hellespont has suffered erosion rather than being advanced and for information on the formation of inlets and lagoons see Calvert, op. cit. 31 ff.; for the edible mussels that bred in the Tuzla lagoon and gave it its Greek name Alphadonia, ibid. 37, *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 240 n. 1 (and for great numbers of these shells in the prehistoric at Troy, *AJA* xxxix (1935), 11).

³*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 614.

4 The Trojan Plateau and Scamander Plain

This chapter must inevitably begin with Ilion; and that will be followed by the rest of the Trojan plateau and the inner part of the Scamander plain with its confines. The Sigeum ridge on the west, where not a single ancient site or tomb has been identified with certainty, is left to the following chapter. Before we turn to Ilion a word must be said here about Homer and topography. It is only at Troy itself that the archaeologist can make contact with the historical event of the Trojan War. Tumuli have been excavated in the hope that they might prove to be heroic, and Mey and Dörpfeld dug for remains of the Achaeans' camp (below, pp. 170 f.); but it seems clear now that nothing can be hoped for from such operations. The difficulty with Homer is that of knowing what truth there is in his facts, figures, and topographical clues. And this difficulty is so serious that on a strict view of the matter it could be said that to the modern topographer of the ancient Trojan Plain he is not a primary source. His value is an indirect one. In general, the ancient scholars who concerned themselves with Trojan topography regarded Homer as historically accurate and believed that anything that conflicted with his account must be false; and consequently the text of Homer is an essential control for the understanding of their arguments. But we cannot do more than recognize what the ancient scholars pointed out as the Homeric topographical features.

Of modern scholars who have concerned themselves with Trojan topography since archaeology became an accurate instrument of study Schliemann was the wisest. As his judgement matured he came to recognize that `Homer is an epic poet, and no historian; he writes with poetical licence, not with the minute accuracy of a geographer.'¹ And consequently he did not seek for perfect correspondence with the text of Homer but approached individual problems empirically, using the range of ancient authorities. Unfortunately his later writings after the

Illios (1880), 93.

1882 campaign show a perceptible hardening of his attitude; and after the revelation of the Sixth City of Troy had offered a more convincing Homeric setting, his successors progressively narrowed the outlook. If Homer, in Wilamowitz's phrase, was Schliemann's 'Hausgott', to the next generation he was the Word. After Schliemann the emphasis was on the historical topography of the Trojan War; and the reader may sense an underlying assumption that Strabo is human and liable to error but Homer is infallible and never nods. The difficulties with which the ancient scholars were faced in their topographical reconstruction have not been taken into account; and in the present century the assumption has generally been that there is a single true and complete solution of the problems which can be reached by the application of scholarly ingenuity (as with Dörpfeld and Brückner), of sturdy common sense (as with Leaf), or of stringent logic (Vellay). The question that is not asked is whether there ever was such a solution.

In these two chapters on the Plain of Troy relatively little will be said about these problems. But Strabo's description of the physical relief and his argument about Old Troy are clarified by our discovery and confirmation of Spratt's site of the 'Village of the Ilians' (below, pp. 109 ff.); and if the identification of Achilleion, and therewith of the ancient 'Tomb of Achilles', is accepted, the problems of the 'Achaeans' Camp' will be set on a different footing (below, pp. 185 ff.).

1 Ilion (Troy)

The site of Ilion occupies the north-west corner of the low tertiary limestone plateau south of the Dümrek Su, with the ground falling sharply to the plain on west and north. The Hellenistic-Roman city on the plateau was extensive; at its north-west extremity a mound about 200 by 150 m. across, which rose some 6-8 m. higher than the adjacent plateau and some 30 m. above the plain, formed the acropolis of the ancient city.¹ This inconspicuous mound seems to have received scant notice from scholars until Calvert turned his attention to it in 1864; and the lack of a suitable eminence for the Homeric Troy was held to be an objection to the placing of Troy at the site of Ilion. But the mound is in fact the Bronze Age Troy.² The present-day tourist site, consisting

1 Its crest was just under 40 m. above sea level.

2 That is to say the 'historical Troy'. Strictly speaking, we should not call it the 'Homeric Troy' (or better the 'Homeric Ilios'), for we cannot dismiss the possibility of an aoidos having visited the Plain of Troy and envisaged some other situation for Priam's city. In the same way we cannot speak of a particular river of the plain as 'Homer's Simois'. We can, however, identify the Simois and Troy of Strabo.

From at least the eighth century B.C. Greeks of the East Aegean understood that during what they regarded as the age of the heroes a fortified settlement was besieged and captured by Achaeans in the area that we call the Plain of Troy. Incorporated in the epic tradition as

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of the now fenced-off mound and the necessary installations south of it, is officially called `Truva' (from French `Troie'), but the local people speak of it as `T(i)rova' *. The village that lies a few hundred metres to the north-east is Tevfikiye, sometimes called Asarlik* (or Hisarlik*) after the ancient site; it seems to have been a Circassian settlement built about 1885 with stones from Schliemann's excavations.¹ The mound of Troy has generally been known as Hisarcik* (Choiseul-Gouffier's and Spratt's maps) or Hisarlik (von Hammer and Turner), with a preference now for Asarlik (in the vernacular Hisarlik, already heard by Welcker in 1842). In company with Herodotus and Hellanicus, Schliemann refers to the mound proper as the Pergamos. The name Old Kalafat(li)* was in use at the end of the eighteenth century; like Hisarcik-Hisarlik*, it perhaps applied not only to the mound but to the whole of the ancient site, which then began to be recognized and known to scholars as Ilium Novum or Recens. Some of the travellers about 1800 also referred to the site as that near the village of Ciplak*, which is in fact 2 km. from Truva but was marked in the wrong position on the original Lechevalier-Cassas map. The profusion of names has in the past given rise to some misunderstandings. Studying convenience rather than correctness we shall normally refer to the Truva site as `Hisarlik'.²

The first person to notice an ancient site here seems to have been Kauffer, presumably in 1793; he took it to be Constantine's abortive city at Sigeum, and, unsatisfactory as it was topographically, this notion won acceptance at first.³ But in October 1799 Major Helvig was writing: `die Lage von Neu-Ilium bleibt, wie ich schon geschrieben,

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known to us are names belonging to the general geographical setting, among the most notable of which are the Hellespont, R. Scamander, Mt. Ida, and islands such as Tenedos and Lesbos. The geographical situation was therefore not in doubt, and we have in the Homeric epos an assemblage of stories of exploits of Achaeans in a particular region that was located outside the Achaean dominions. If anyone were to make a serious attempt to impugn the historicity of the Achaean attack on the region indicated, he would need to take up a position on the topographical issue. He could argue that names such as those here mentioned already existed in the stories from which our *Iliad* was formed and that Greeks of the eighth century or earlier assigned these names to geographical features of a particular region of the north-east Aegean in order to establish a topographical setting for the epos. Or alternatively he could argue that the names already existed on the ground in the region under review and that the stories were remodelled to fit into the geographical framework to which the names belong. The objections to either view seem very grave. I have consequently assumed that the region that we call the Troad was an original location of stories of the Trojan War and that a citadel there was attacked by Achaeans. The archaeological evidence suffices to identify the citadel as that of Hisarlik.

1 Population 378 in the 1940 census, 160-80 houses reported in 1959-60. A large mosque was being built in 1969.

2 I cannot understand the name `Nerveda Kharabessi' (Ruin of Nerveda) that is marked here on the GS 1:50,000 map.

3 So on copies of his map, and orally from him in Schwartz (letter of December 1797) *ap.* Lenz, (Choiseul) *Ebene von Troja* (1798), 119; also in Hobhouse. For Constantine's city see below, pp. 158 f.

an dem Berg, wo auf der Karte Tchiblak stehet.¹ Åkerblad had previously found an inscription mentioning Athena Ilias near Ciplak * and thought the site of New Ilium might extend that far, though he took the principal remains of the city on the spot to be the stones near Kum Köy (the dedelik, p. 67). Von Hammer in 1800 likewise placed Ilion at the Kum Köy dedelik, and he took the `Ciplak' site (i.e. Truva, his `Eski Hisarlik*') to be the `Villa Iliorum' (Pagus Iliensium). But the next year Clarke, who followed the trail of coins of Ilion to Old Kalafat, identified the site there with certainty;² and thereafter it appeared as Novum Ilium on the maps. Indeed Choiseul-Gouffier or his editor spoke of it as a unique fixed point in the topography of the Trojan Plain. Clarke's identification was soon reinforced by the discovery of inscriptions. The maps in the *Voyage pittoresque* show that Clarke's Old `Callifat' was in fact the site of Ilion; but Schliemann misunderstood the situation, and so Clarke has been credited with an erroneous identification.³ This was unfair to the one person who applied sound archaeological method to the problem.

Kauffer was able to trace the outline of the outer wall circuit, which, he reported, the Turks were then demolishing.⁴ Von Hammer noted that stones were being dug up on the site for the restoration of the castles; and Clarke found the Turks raising enormous blocks of marble on the citadel. Forchhammer could still easily recognize the acropolis, the theatre, foundations of a bath, an aqueduct, and the circuit wall at Hisarcik* in 1839.⁵ Welcker, who was not observant in the field, saw much less than Forchhammer in 1842; but in fact by 1853 the above-ground remains seem to have been slight, and Newton noted rather that the presence of buried walls was indicated by irregularities of the ground surface.⁶

In the winter of 1855-6, when the fighting in the Crimea had died down, J.C. Brunton, the engineer in charge of the British military hospital at Erenköy, carried out excavations with his 150 men of the works corps at Dardanos and Ilion (above, p. 37).⁷ At the latter he uncovered the ruins of a temple with a Corinthian capital weighing over three tons. But his best discovery was a house with coloured plaster and an oval polychrome mosaic with a boar hunt. In his enforced absence the mosaic was taken up and relaid in the floor of a village

1 In Lenz, (Lechevalier) *Reise nach Troas* (1800), 258. The other relevant references in that volume 178 ff. (Lechevalier) and 233 f. (Åkerblad).

2 *Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 102.

3 e.g. *Ilios* (1880), 20, 188, wrongly supposing that Clarke was identifying Troy.

4 *Voyage pitt.* ii, pl. 19, pl. 35 (possibly modified in accordance with Dubois's findings in 1815).

5 *Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 39.

6 *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 131.

7 *John Brunton's Book* (1939), 68 ff.

church, whence he was unable to remove it. Brunton does not name the place, but from Perrot's report on his journey of July 1856 we learn that the church recently decorated with a mosaic from Ilion was at Kalafat. Unfortunately the conclusion of peace negotiations prevented Brunton from proceeding to uncover more of the site. About this time also, according to Schliemann, a hoard of 1,200 silver staters of Antiochus III came to light on the north edge of the hill on the property of two Turks of Kum Kale.¹

After seeing the results of von Hahn's excavations on the Balli * Dag* in 1864, Frank Calvert turned his attention to Hisarlik* and acquired a field on the north part of the mound, comprising a smaller half of its surface, with the intention of excavating for Troy there. The idea seems to have newly come to him then, for he still adhered to Lechevalier's system in 1856² and his name figures on the plan of the Balli Dag site among the faithful after whom von Hahn called different features of the citadel ('Calvert Nische'). In 1865 he began to excavate at Hisarlik. He cut four trenches and recognized remains of the Temple of Athena and the 'Lysimachian' wall. He did not penetrate deep enough to expose the prehistoric habitation levels, which lay several metres under the surface; but according to Schliemann's account of 1868 when he saw the trenches open, Calvert had proved that the hilltop was 'formed of the ruins and debris of temples and palaces which succeeded one another over long centuries'.³

Schliemann came to the Troad with an open mind in August 1868, and he began by trenching for a couple of days on Lechevalier's site on the Balli Dag. But the results were unsatisfactory; and he was promptly convinced by Calvert's discoveries and arguments that Troy was at Hisarlik⁴ and planned to start excavations there as soon as possible. He was detained in America in 1869, but arrived to make a preliminary excavation in April 1870,⁵ and in 1871-3 he carried out three major campaigns totalling nine and a half months with 80-160 workmen, on which he reported in a book composed of a series of dispatches.⁶ The stratification in the mound was perplexing. But in the course of his

¹*Ilios* (1880), 19 (the discovery about 25 years previously).

²*Arch. Journal* xvi. 1 ff.

³*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 175; cf. Calvert in *The Athenaeum*, no. 2454 of 7 Nov. 1874, pp. 610 f.

⁴ See the preceding note for the references for Calvert's own statements and for Schliemann's acknowledgement after his first visit ('après avoir attentivement examiné à deux reprises toute la plaine de Troie, je partage pleinement la conviction de ce savant [sc. Calvert], que le haut plateau d'Hisarlik est l'emplacement de l'ancienne Troie et que la susdite colline est le site de sa Pergame').

⁵ For this campaign see *Ilios* (1880), 20, and in more detail in his letter of 21 April 1870 in *H. Schliemann Briefwechsel* i (1953), 163-8; cf. E. Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann* (1969), 252 ff.

⁶*Trojanische Altertümer* (1874), with a French translation *Antiquités troyennes* (1874); an English version with far fewer illustrations, *Troy and its Remains* (1875).

work Schliemann succeeded in identifying four successive strata or 'Cities' in addition to that of the Hellenic Ilion, and he claimed that the Homeric one was the burnt stratum (the second from the bottom) in which he discovered the great treasure at the end of the final season. Apart from the inconclusive objection that if there was a deep bay in the lower part of the plain in Homeric times there would not have been room for the battlefield, the obstacles to a completely satisfactory identification of Hisarlik * with Troy were two. The first was the smallness of the prehistoric settlement, which seemed hardly to extend at all on to the plateau on the south as Calvert and Schliemann expected it to do. The second was that, immensely deep though they were, the prehistoric strata brought to light yielded only remains of extreme antiquity and the cultures seemed too primitive for the Troy of the age of the heroes. The first objection still remains as a minor embarrassment to scholars. The second was a serious difficulty to which the solution was far from obvious; the second-millennium strata on the top of the mound had in fact been sliced off in antiquity, with the result that occupation of an appropriate date was lacking there and the Homeric Troy was not to be found where Schliemann was looking for it. On his visit of September 1871 Curtius with his four companions declared in favour of the Balli* Dag*, and not Hisarlik (above, pp. 39 f.). And with his habitual deference for the opinions of professional scholars Schliemann was brought to doubt whether Hisarlik could after all be the site of Troy; he even went so far that autumn as to carry out excavations at 'Thymbra Farm' at Akça Köy, where Frederick (not Frank) Calvert believed Troy to be. His good sense quickly restored him to belief in Hisarlik, and thereafter he seems never to have departed from it; but we shall find this uncertainty reflected in his subsequent excessive preoccupation with depths of deposit on other sites in the Troad (cf. p. 214).

Schliemann regarded the campaign of 1873 as his last on the site. But it was not in fact long before his thoughts turned back to the Homeric citadel and he began to negotiate for a resumption of work there. The Turkish authorities, however, had been estranged by his removal of the treasure to Athens; and when finally he did obtain a permit in 1876 his plans were frustrated by the Pasa*, Ibrahim*, at the Dardanelles. When Ibrahim had been transferred elsewhere, Schliemann succeeded in carrying out two major campaigns in 1878 and 1879. In the latter year the Plain of Troy was studied in conjunction with Burnouf and Virchow, and the largest of the tumuli of the neighbourhood were opened. Closer inspection of the strata at Hisarlik enabled Schliemann to recognize two further 'Cities', one in the prehistoric (temporarily making his burnt 'Homeric' city the third from

the bottom), the other (the Sixth) a 'Lydian' city which preceded the Greek settlement and received its distinctive epithet in recognition of supposed pottery connections with Etruria and Strabo's statement that the historical Ilion was founded in the time of the Lydians (xiii. 601, § 42). The stratification in what we now recognize as the prehellenic had by this time taken shape, and Schliemann felt his work to be complete. After the 1879 campaign he wrote the book that was intended to be his final work on Troy and can justly be called his masterpiece.¹ In 1881 he was content to travel in the Troad and assure himself that there was no prehistoric site there with deposits comparable in depth to those at Hisarlik *. But the smallness of the Homeric city continued to perplex him, and in 1882 he again resumed excavation with W. Dörpfeld and J. Höfler as his architects. Dörpfeld's skill in tracing walls and unravelling confused strata began to manifest itself, and close inspection revealed that the burnt stratum was after all the conclusion of the Second City. With less justification Schliemann allowed himself to accept as proved the existence of a lower town of 'Homeric' (Troy II) times south of the citadel. At the same time he completed his researches in the Troad by excavating the remaining tumuli and making tests on more outlying sites. In 1884 a supplementary book on Troy was published in English and German.²

It seems to have been the perversity of his detractors and the hope of finding a cemetery to confute them that goaded Schliemann into his last burst of activity at Troy. As early as January 1887 he was writing to Calvert about preparations for another season's work, and in the autumn of 1889 he returned for a great campaign, which, after a winter recess, continued until the beginning of August 1890.³ The number of successive Cities was now raised to nine by the division of the former Seventh (and latest) City into three strata. But at the same time Mycenaean pottery, now familiar from Schliemann's excavations in Greece, was recognized by Brückner in a newly uncovered sector of the Sixth ('Lydian') City on the south-west flank of the mound; and consequently Schliemann was confronted with the need to reconsider his conclusions about the Homeric city. This was in fact the long-delayed proof that Hisarlik was Troy. But death prevented Schliemann from resolving the problem as he planned to do the next year; and he never saw the great fortifications of Troy VI uncovered. It remained for Dörpfeld to

¹*Ilios, the City and Country of the Trojans* (1880), with a German ed. dated 1881.

²*Troja*. The book in French called *Ilios*, translated from the English, was published in 1885 and took in the results up to 1882.

³ Cf. his *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890* (1891), and (in an abbreviated English version) in C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (1891), 323-49. The objects from his excavations at Troy and in the Troad that Schliemann presented to be housed in Berlin are published by H. Schmidt, *Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer* (1902).

complete the task in two campaigns, in 1893 at Madame Schliemann's expense, and in 1894 with funds provided by Kaiser Wilhelm II. Dörpfeld uncovered a long stretch of the Sixth City on the south side of the mound, with its fortifications and with substantial houses on the shelf behind; and he identified it with the Homeric one. The Seventh City was recognized as having two strata, VII1 which still contained Mycenaean pottery, and VII2 which was post-Mycenaean. The Eighth City was the Hellenic Ilion, and the Ninth the Roman. The definitive publication of these last two campaigns appeared in 1902.¹

With the great advance in the study of the Greek Bronze Age in the next generation or so, it began to appear that the stratigraphy of Troy still presented problems, and the stock of pottery securely assigned to the individual strata was felt to be insufficient. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had left unexcavated patches for future investigators; and in 1932, as field director of an expedition from Cincinnati, Blegen entered upon a series of campaigns of 3-4 months each in seven successive years. During some of these seasons sites in the vicinity of Troy were also examined, and small excavations were carried out on four of them. The results of the American excavations on the mound at Hisarlik * have been published in detail.² The principal strata were recognized with many subdivisions. The First and Second Cities (Troy I and II) are now securely assigned to Early Bronze Age I-II, the Cities III-V to Early Bronze Age III (dated about 2200-1800 B.C.), and Troy VI with its different civilization to the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age down to about 1300 B.C. Dörpfeld's Troy VII1 is recognized as being in effect a later stage of the Sixth City after a destruction which is attributed to an earthquake; but to avoid confusion the old numbering has been retained, and this stratum is called Troy VIIa. It is this Troy VIIa, a crowded settlement which after a relatively short life succumbed to fire, which is considered by Blegen to be the Homeric city. Troy VIIb had two stages, of which the first still fits stratigraphically in the ambit of Troy VI; it was destroyed at the end of the Bronze Age. Troy VIII is now the Greek city of archaic and classical times. It is considered to have been settled about 700 B.C., though some scholars would date its beginning rather earlier (below, p. 101); and on the evidence of their discoveries the American excavators believe that it enjoyed a moderately active existence in the seventh and sixth centuries but declined into stagnation in the fifth and fourth. With its revival at the end of the fourth century begins Troy IX, the Hellenistic and Roman Ilion.

Blegen has summarized his findings in a modest volume, *Troy and the Trojans* (1963). The skeletal material from the excavations, the coins, and the terracotta figurines are published in three supplementary

1 W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*.

2 *Troy*, 4 vols. (1950-8).

volumes of *Troy*. The Doric temple of Athena, studied but not fully published by Dörpfeld, is now the subject of a book by F.W. Goethert and H. Schleif.¹ The minor excavations of the American mission at neighbouring sites are most fully described in a booklet in Turkish by Hamit Kosay * and Jerome Sperling.²

The main HellenisticRoman site on the plateau, of which the mound of Hisarlik* formed the acropolis, is very imperfectly explored. The large theatre against the north slope was examined by Schliemann, who found a stage 197 ft. broad and apparently of Roman date and estimated the capacity of the cavea at over 6,000. The original construction presumably goes back to the establishment of the panegyris of Athena Ilias at the end of the fourth century, when Malousios of Gargara made a benefaction for the purpose.³ Schliemann was able to trace (or at least restore in plan) the outline of the outer city wall, which was about 3.5 km. long and enclosed an area of about 1,200 by 800 m.⁴ Inside the circuit the depth of deposit is reported to be variable, but generally 2 m. deep and in some parts much more. Schliemann cut over 20 trenches there between 1873 and 1882 in the hope of establishing the extent of his prehistoric cities; and A. Götze made some substantial soundings during the campaigns of 1893 and 1894. The results of these are summarized by Dörpfeld.⁵ Remains of Troy II pottery seem only to have been found in the immediate proximity of the citadel mound, and there is no significant evidence of a lower town of that date. Remains of Troy VI were discovered over a more considerable area, though without any sign of an outer circuit wall. Little trace was found of a Hellenic, or even Hellenistic city on the plateau there. But in Roman times there was evidently a built-up town with handsome buildings. Some late graves were also found inside the circuit.⁶ The American mission also cut numerous exploratory trenches on the plateau in the early seasons and found abundant traces of late Hellenistic and Roman occupation. The agora was tentatively identified to the

¹*Der Athenatempel von Ilion* (1962); for the sculptures, B.M. Holden, *The Metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion* (1964). For other buildings of the Greco-Roman period on Hisarlik see especially Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 201 ff.

²*Troad'da dört yerlesme* yeri* (1936).

³Schliemann judged the architectural structure to be of Roman date, with only temporary buildings in use before then (*Troja* (1884), 211 ff.); and trenching by the Americans in 1932 seemed to show two periods in the stage buildings, the earlier one being early Roman or possibly late Hellenistic (*AJA* xxxvi (1932), 447). But there must have been something on the spot to match up with the Malousios inscription (for which see most recently L. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 21 and 39).

⁴The original plan, *Ilios* (1880), plan 2; a new one made in 1883, *Troja* (1884) at end, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), pl. 2, p. 235. For the circuit on the north cf. Blegen, *AJA* xxxvi (1932), 446 f.

⁵*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 234 ff.

⁶For graves at Troy see especially Winnefeld, *ibid.* 535 ff.

south of the mound, with a basilica-like building to the west of it and mosaics below. To the east of the theatre a sanctuary area dating to Hellenistic and Roman times was explored; and in this part of the site mosaics were uncovered (one with an inscription dated to the fourth or fifth century after Christ).¹ In the south part of the plateau a cremation cemetery of late Troy VI was excavated.²

The area is now cultivated fields with oak groves inhabited by squirrels. Surface potsherds and other debris are relatively abundant and in general of Roman date, and we found them still abundant on the south side of the circuit by the Ciplak *Kalafat road. If the whole area was built up, Ilium must have had a substantial population in Roman times at least. Schliemann estimated the ancient population variously at 100,000, 70,000, and 40,000-50,000. We should prefer to confine our calculations to the modern population of the territory controlled by Ilion. Briefly we should estimate that the 1940 census gives the following figures: for the assumed territory of classical Ilion (with the plateau to Kara Tepe but not the south part of the plain) perhaps 2,000; for that of Hellenistic Ilion after the absorption of little neighbouring towns under Lysimachus³ about 5,000; after the incorporation of Rhoeteum and Gergis in 188 B.C. perhaps 16,000 on the assumption that the territory extended unbroken from the Sigeum ridge to the Kursak* Çay valley. The Trojan Plain was certainly under-populated (especially in the south and west) in 1940; and we should feel that the figures for the Hellenistic might be 1,000 or more higher in normal times.⁴ Against our modern estimate of 2,000 for the territory of classical Ilion we may set the probable figure of two talents tribute in the assessment of 425 B.C. a sum that may be compared with the equally probable figures of three and four talents for Larisa and Hamaxitus respectively.

When Blegen inspected the site at the beginning of the Cincinnati Troy excavations he made the interesting observation that the northeast of the site was 'not a wealthy part of the city to judge by the remains'.⁵ In the traverses we have made in the east of the circuit we

¹ These discoveries were reported in Blegen's annual accounts of the excavations; see especially *AJA* xxxvi (1932), xxxviii (1934), and xxxix (1935).

² *Troy* i (1950), 8 ff.

³ This will presumably have added the Sigeum ridge (Sigeum and Achilleion), the south end of the Trojan Plain (Balli* Dag* site), and perhaps the eastern plateau as far as Ovacik* (below, pp. 113 ff), but presumably not Scamandria. For the paper suggestions of scholars see the references given in Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 8 n. 2.

⁴ The inscription of Ilion, *CIG* 3599 (Michel 731, Brückner in *Troja und Ilion* (1902) 585) is potentially of great importance because it seems to give a calculation of 3,000 people to be fed at a public feast; but we do not know whether women and children were counted or whether the date was before or after 188 B.C.

⁵ *AJA* xxxvi (1932), 446.

have noted only coarse pottery, with none of the fine Roman sherds which litter the ground all over the western half of the site; and we are prepared to believe that the western half, which is less exposed to the winds that sweep across the plateau, may have been the more favoured residential area. The surface finds are in general of Roman date. We have not seen fragments of Hellenistic roof tiles which would contradict Demetrius of Scepsis's statement that in the early second century B.C. the roofs in Ilion were not tiled;¹ on the other hand, we do not know of any authority for Leaf's assertion that no roof tiles have been found of earlier than Roman date.² In Roman times Ilium was a city of repute. Before that, if we think away the festival of Athena, the place does not stand out in the literary and other sources as one of the more important cities; two Ilians appear in Hellenistic inscriptions of Athens, and three in those of Rhodes, with an occasional professional man elsewhere.

As we have remarked above, the beginning of Greek (presumably Aeolic) occupation at Ilion seems to date about 700 B.C. or somewhat earlier. In the latest survey of Geometric pottery it is said that the earliest datable vases of Troy VIII 'are bird-kotylai of Rhodian type, c. 720-700; but some sherds with semicircular decoration may be older'.³ In his Oxford dissertation (see Preface) Dr. Bayne puts forward the view that the grey ware and sparse Geometric in Troy VIII could go back a good deal earlier than 700 B.C. but would not necessarily represent Greek settlement at that stage. We must provisionally accept a date in the second half of the eighth century for the beginning of Greek settlement on the site.

As regards the end of occupation, Schliemann believed that there were virtually no Byzantine coins found on the site and that the latest issues were those of Constans II⁴ (and Constantine II), and in fact that the site was in decay in the fourth century and abandoned by the fifth.⁵ This was a commendable attempt to determine the end of occupation. But the evidence we have collected suggests that his date was pitched too early. One statistic is provided by the catalogue of the Troy excavation coins.⁶ In this we find nearly 120 coins covering the fourth century to A.D. 395, a dozen covering the half century to 450, six of the period 457-518, and one of Justinian; the four and a half centuries that follow are represented only by a single coin of the early ninth century—a sufficient indication that city life had come to an end. But more can be

1 Strabo xiii. 594, § 27.

2 *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 146.

3 J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968), 376. Calvert had archaic as well as prehistoric and classical pottery from Hisarlik * in his collection; but it does not help in this connection.

4 Evidently not the Constans of the Heraclian dynasty; he may have meant Constantius II.

5 *Ilios* (1880), 612.

6 A.R. Bellinger, *Troy, the Coins* (Supplementary Monograph 2, 1961), 155 ff.

derived from the abundant surface pottery. On one of our later visits we were able with the help of Dr. Hayes to obtain a statistic based on ninety good dating sherds among those which littered the ground over the western half and centre of the site south of the citadel of Troy. Hayes's list is as follows:

12 sherds of coarse wares and Hellenistic black glaze

2 sherds of Eastern sigillata

1 fragment of first-century A.D. lead glaze ware

3 North African (Late Roman B) sherds, all from fourth-century dishes (Hayes also refers me to a dish of the same ware with stamped decoration in the Istanbul Museum dating about A.D. 400, Troy site cat. no. 33. 137, to be published in his forthcoming book)

2 fragments of B i type amphorae (early straight-grooved variety) of about late fifth-early sixth century

12 sherds of Late Roman C (the latest being rims of about Antioch (*Antioch* IV 1) 944-7 and dating around second quarter-middle sixth century)

the remainder Candarli * ware (with possibly a few local Candarli-type pieces), almost all of well-documented Candarli/Pergamon types and representing all phases of the ware from late Hellenistic to the third century and after.

This series, Hayes remarks, evidently runs unbroken from the Hellenistic to the sixth century. On the other hand, unlike the Late Roman material from the Akköy (Skamandros) site (below, p. 276), it definitely ends in the sixth century; and we can therefore confidently claim that occupation on the site of Ilion did not continue beyond the reign of Justinian. But, though it had no doubt started to decline in the fourth century, it did survive well into the sixth.

Schliemann in his excavations found reason to believe that a Byzantine monastery (perhaps even bishopric) and fort had stood on the mound of Hisarlik*;¹ and there is mention in Blegen of Byzantine intrusion there, together with a great L-shaped trench cut for a building that he thought was never completed.² Schliemann dated the installation to the 'earlier part of the Middle Ages'. But there seems to be evidence pointing to later Byzantine times. In contrast to the almost complete gap in the numismatic material between Justinian and Basil II, there are in Bellinger eight coins covering the period between about A.D. 1000 and the capture of Constantinople in 1204, and ten from the following hundred years before the Troad fell to the Turks;³ and Hayes has drawn my attention to a small group of Byzantine

¹*Troja* (1884), 224 f.

²*Troy* iv (1958), index s.v. 'Byzantine'.

³ Calvert reports that he had a few Byzantine coins from Hisarlik (*The Athenaeum*, no. 2454 (7 Nov. 1874), p. 610). My 1959 note on the site of Ilion was that there were few Byzantine coins (no further details).

glazed bowls in a ware related to Megaw's 'Zeuxippus ware',¹ presumably of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, which was found in the American excavations at Troy (now in the Istanbul Museum), and to an amphora of about the same date found 'on the site of ancient Troy', which entered the Field Museum in Chicago in 1894.²

L. Robert has assembled the known proveniences of bronze coins of Ilion.³ Apart from Pergamon and Tenos, they are all in the close vicinity of Troy. Despite the panegyris, the bronzes of Ilion do not seem to have travelled freely; for outside the circle of Troy and its adjacent villages we have only noted specimens in the shops at Çanak Kale (one Hellenistic, one Roman) and Bayramiç (one, probably late Hellenistic), and in the field at the Balli * Dag* (one early Hellenistic), Yeniköy (Crispina), and the Dam Kale (middle Hellenistic p. 280). This barely carries them beyond their own territorial limits. We must have seen a hundred bronze coins at Ilion and in the adjacent villages, not counting the forty at Halileli which are listed separately above (pp. 65 f.). The majority were Roman of Ilium, and Roman imperial and what I noted as 'Constantinian' types. Of the latter I noted bronzes of Diocletian, Licinius II (Cyzicus mint), Constantius Chlorus, Constantine I (Sirmium), Crispus (Rome), Constantine II (or Constantius II), Constantius II (Antioch and Cyzicus), Valens, and Honorius (Cyzicus). Other bronzes that I made notes of in 1959 were:

Ilium 13 mm., similar to Bellinger T 114 (Augustus), the monogram not the same

Ilium 21 mm., as Bellinger T 129 (Flavian)

Ilium 20 mm., as Bellinger T 230 (Julia Domna)

Abydos 17 mm., as *BMC* 59 (Hadrian)

Alexandria Troas 22 mm. (colonial, *rev.* Marsyas)

Scepsis, apparently 'Scamandria' type (at Kum Kale Köy)

Elaeus? (owl standing r., *rev.* legend in wreath)

Methymna? 15 mm. (helmeted head of Athena, *rev.* vase)

Eresos 16 mm. (*obv.* head of Hermes in sun helmet r. E R|E S|A: *rev.* standing figure [R W|M A], restored by G.K. Jenkins after a specimen in the British Museum). *PLATE 9b*.

Chios 15 mm., as *BMC* 104

Alinda (Caria) 17 mm., as *BMC* 8 (early second century B.C.) *PLATE 9a*.⁴

2

The Plain in front of Troy

We have traversed the flat plain in several directions. But what is of archaeological interest lies on the edges, and we shall therefore not describe the plain as a whole. In this section we are concerned with

¹ See *BSA* 63 (1968), 67 ff.

² No. 24. 431 in the anthropological collections.

³ *Études de numismatique grecque* (1951), index s.v. 'Ilion'.

⁴ I am greatly indebted to Professor H. Heller for identifying these coins at Ilion.

the part of it between Troy and the river to the south. At the foot of the plateau, separated from the circuit of Ilion by the Ciplak * stream, is the modern village of Kalafat, shown in PLATE 9d from the south end of the site of Ilion, which was founded in this position by Turks from Bulgaria in 1928.¹ We have seen nothing of interest there. The old village,

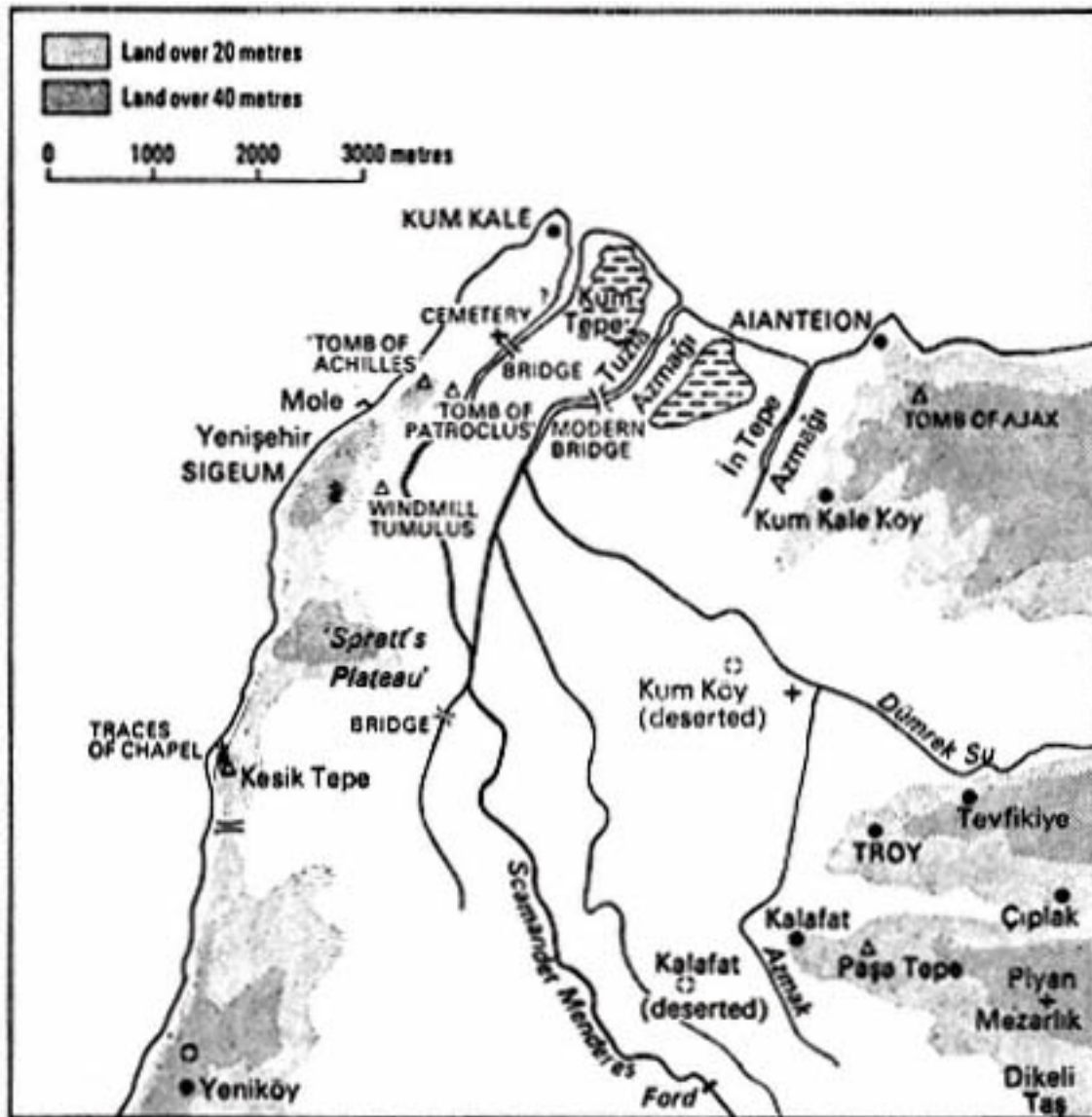


Fig. 5.
Sigeum and Troy

which was Greek and generally called 'Callifat(li)' by the travellers, lay 1 km. away in the plain towards the Menderes. It could be the Kalafatlu of the 1574 fiscal survey with only six adult males (above, p. 10). In 1801 Clarke saw bronze coins of Ilium there and Gell three of Alexandria Troas with a feeding horse. The village was large and prosperous (Gell); but in 1816, when 200 inhabitants had been

¹ Population 238 in the 1940 census; 130 houses in 1968. Like Ciplak, it has a pretty new minaret.

carried off by the recent plague, it was in ruins except for a dozen houses (Turner).¹ There were some 30 houses in 1856 (Perrot), and Schliemann later got workmen from there. In 1878 or 1879, he reports, two villagers and two Circassian bandits were killed there in an affray. Schliemann remarked numerous stones of Ilion in the cemetery.² The newly built church, according to Perrot in 1856, contained mosaics from Hisarlik *, among them no doubt that discovered a few months earlier by Brunton (above, pp. 94 f.). But Brunton's was not the first; for Newton reported in 1853 that a coarse tessellated pavement had been discovered at Kalafati* itself and the Greek villagers `were cutting it up into squares to pave their church with, as if it had been so much oilcloth'. Schliemann speaks of the church as having a wooden steeple.³

East of the place where Newton's mosaic was found were rubble wall foundations (one being 60 paces long); and fragments of marble and coarse Roman pottery littered the earth around for several acres.⁴ Presumably it was the site of a Roman villa. North of the mosaic Newton noted a small mound flattened on top, with black Hellenic pottery. Though probably rather more than five stades from the outer circuit of Ilion, this mound seems likely to have lain close to the road leading from Ilion to Alexandria Troas (see below) and should therefore come into consideration as a candidate for Strabo's `Tomb of Aesyetes'.⁵ Unfortunately Newton does not give any very clear indication of its whereabouts, and the terrain is now confused by the hummocks which have grown over the ruins of the old village; so we did not make any search for the mound. The villagers of the modern Kalafat could not tell us where the church used to be.

The plain in this sector is productive. We noted cotton (as in Turner's time), and sunflower, maize, and wheat; it is good cattle land. White poplars and willows line the river and the dykes. Virchow remarked that sand prevented the Menderes from wandering eastward in this part of the plain. There is now an artificial embankment close to the

1 So also in *Voyage pittoresque* ii. 2 (1822), 432 (depending apparently on Turner as well as Dubois).

2 *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 206 f.

3 *Ilios* (1880), 105.

4 *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (1865), 131 f.

5 xiii. 599, § 37; for references see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 176 and 185. The difficulty is that in the *Iliad* this tomb should be nearer to the Achaeans' Camp than Troy is, while Strabo objects that it is practically as far away (from the camp on the Hellespont); scholars have felt that this demands a position not south of a line west from Hisarlik. But Strabo also says that it is by the road from Ilion to Alexandria Troas, which presumably led southward. Schliemann postulated two tumulia Homeric one north-west of Hisarlik, and a Strabonian one to the south (Pasa* Tepe, below, pp. 107 f.); but this does not reconcile the two requirements in Strabo if the camp is placed on the Hellespont to the north. Von Eckenbrecher's solution was simpler; he declared that a mound actually exists and marked it in a suitable position on his Homeric sketch-map, but eased it southward on his Strabonian sketch-map. See also below, p. 188.

right bank of the river with a cart track along the top; the latter runs from the main road near Hanay Tepe past a modern tile factory to the embankment, which it follows to the Kum Kale road near the new Menderes bridge. The ford of the Menderes is south of the old village of Kalafati * (PLATE 8a). Virchow has described the plain here, with the crossing to Yerkesik, which ran along firm ground in April of 1879.¹ This could have been the line of the road to Alexandria Troas; but there is no known relic of a bridge over the Menderes in this part of its course, unless we are to look for evidence of one in Wood (below, p. 393).

3

The Trojan Plateau

Ciplak* is 2 km. east-south-east of Truva. In 1816 it was a village of 'ferocious' Turks with 30 houses (Turner) which were said to be built with the ruins of Ilion.² Hunt and Prokesch remarked a great variety of marbles, and Choiseul-Gouffier had inscriptions from there. Schliemann reported that the mosque, with its minaret, was constructed in 1873 with stones from his excavations.³ Its successor, we understood, was built in 1956; but we saw ancient stones in the debris in 1968 when an elegant new minaret was being erected.

South of Ciplak is a rolling terrain with fields and scattered oaks, which ends at the former Batak marsh. An old Turkish burial ground was reported by the travellers among the oak trees to the south of the village. E.D. Clarke had a name for it, 'Beyan Mezaley'. Prokesch, who was not good on trees, remarked a conspicuous clump not only of oaks but of figs; but, like Richter, he had mistaken the place for Hammer's 'Eski Hissarlik' site (our Hisarlik*-Troy), where (since Hammer identified the site as Strabo's Village of the Ilions)⁴ the Fig and the Oak could be considered appropriate. From Choiseul-Gouffier onward we hear of numerous architectural pieces from ancient temples there, including shafts and capitals of the three orders, granite columns, architraves, and triglyphs, several inscriptions, and (according to Clarke) stelae, cippi, and sarcophagi; Goethert and Schlieff recognized two pieces there from the Temple of Athena at Ilion.⁵ In the neighbour-

¹*Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), especially pp. 107 ff. and 116 f. See also Forchhammer (with Spratt's map, on which detail is marked).

² Cf. the drawings on pl. 38 of *Voyage pitt.* ii. The 1940 census population was 495 (200 houses in 1959).

³*Troy and its Remains* (1875), 257 (and 220 f. for houses at Ciplak and a belfry at Yenisehir* in 1872). Although Schliemann had engaged a guard at Hisarlik, the new access of building material evidently inspired the villagers to extraordinary efforts.

⁴*Topographische Ansichten* (1811), 24.

⁵ For the remains mentioned in this paragraph the authorities (with page references given to facilitate identification) are Choiseul-Gouffier (*Ebene* 83, *Voyage pitt.* ii. 427, pl. 37), Morritt (141), Dallaway (340), Clarke (88), Hunt (105), von Richter (459), von Prokesch (i. 151 f.), Fellows (74 f.), Forchhammer (*JRGS* xii. 40), von Eckenbrecher (39 f.), Schliemann (*Troja*

(footnote continued on next page)

hood Choiseul-Gouffier noted seven standing columns of marble and granite, which he supposed to be in position. Richter and Forchhammer (the latter of whom saw five) remarked one (or more) as being upside down, and Schliemann took the four he saw to be the corner stones of a modern sheepfold. Choiseul-Gouffier thought to identify these relics south of Ciplak * with the Temple of Aphrodite in which Lucullus spent a night, and perhaps also a Temple of Heracles; and Morritt and Dallaway recognized a city site. But since Hawkins in 1797 travellers have generally been agreed that the stones had been brought from Ilion. Von Eckenbrecher, however, placed the citadel of Troy there (above, p. 33), and Sayce recognized two Hellenic or Graeco-Roman cities (one being Strabo's Village of the Ilions).

There are in fact two different positions here. The one is on the level crest something over 1 km. south of Ciplak. Here there is an old Turkish burial ground similar to those described in the last chapter. It still bears the name that Clarke noted; we received it as `Piyan Mezarlik*'. As at Halileli, the stones are scattered over a large area; and they seem almost as numerous, but they are more weather-beaten and less interesting. We had to contend with a rainstorm and the impatience of our guides; and all I could note was a number of column shafts (Doric, Ionic, and cabled), a corner block of a small pediment, a block with base mouldings from a circular building, a piece of a ceiling coffer, part of a triglyph-and-metope frieze block, and a carved fragment with a few letters of a late Roman or Byzantine inscription.

The other position is perhaps 500 m. away on a lower crest facing southward. This is evidently where the travellers saw the standing columns. Now only one stands, and the place is called Dikeli Tas* (already so named on the GS 1:50,000 map). But we saw four or five prostrate shafts in the vicinity, two of them lying in a modern mandira on the south slope of the crest. All are of granite. On the west side is a well; and over the whole area there is a scatter of potsherds with glazed ware which seemed to us Turkish rather than Byzantine. A man on the spot told us that there are foundations in the ground, and our guides from Ciplak claimed the site as that of a very old village. It might well have been a çiftlik. There is no trace of an ancient site here or at Piyan Mezarlik.

Further west along this crest south of the Ciplak stream is the notable mound of Pasa* Tepe. Schliemann took it to be both Strabo's Tomb of Aesyetes (not Homer's) and Homer's (but not Strabo's) Batieia (Skipping Myrine's Tump). His wife excavated it in 1873 and found potsherds which he classed as both prehistoric and archaic; he again

(footnote continued from previous page)

27), Sayce (75), Goethert-Schleif (5-9). Turner (iii. 222) misunderstood Clarke's name for the burying ground, as well as mistaking its position (his word `viran' = ruins).

dug there in 1890 and found a skeleton and a rough stone stairway.¹ The mound is covered with scrub. We noted that a pit seemed recently to have been dug in its hollow top, but our guides from Ciplak * (to which this land belongs) told us that nothing had been found in it. We saw a few sherds which were quite indeterminate but certainly did not look prehistoric. On the evidence this might be a mound of archaic date, unless the prehistoric sherds attributed by Lamb to the 'Tomb of Priam' really came from here. From Pasa* Tepe the broad ridge continues on the level to the top of Kalafat village less than a kilometre to the west. Schliemann speaks without conviction of a site on this crest with fragments of sculptured marble and potsherds which he recognized as modern.² We too saw bits of modern pottery and nothing that could be called a site.

About 2 km. east of Dikeli Tas* towards the main Izmir* road we have inspected two hills, of which the lower and more southerly one has a mound-like appearance; the northern one, which is the most conspicuous feature of the plateau west of Kara Tepe, is called Deli Kez Tepe on the 1:50,000 map. We found both hills natural, but we noted a little modern pottery and tile on the southern one and find that the map seems to mark a hamlet of Hasanlar Obasi there. The settlement must have been short-lived because we have neither heard talk of it nor seen any mention of it in the travellers. From here the plateau sinks gently to Akça Köy and Hanay Tepe, which will be treated in the next section.

The limestone plateau east of Troy forms a steep escarpment on the north over the Dümrek Su, with its crests and spurs making a broken edge opposite Halileli (PLATE 8b). Eastward it slopes up to Kara Tepe, while at the same time the whole is tilted gently downward from the escarpment on the north to the Kemer valley. The one stream course (that which Rennell magnified into his Simois, above, pp. 29 f.) is quite insignificant and its valley is hardly noticeable until it approaches Ciplak. The plateau is dry, and parts of it are covered with scrub; but wells can be sunk and crops can be produced.³ At the present day the

¹*Troy and its Remains* (1875), 301; *Ilios* (1880), 108 f., 656-8; *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja 1890*, 24. Cf. Schachermeyr, *Ath. Mitt.* xli (1916), 380. Schliemann's sherds from this tumulus in Berlin were associated by Winnefeld with Troy VI-VII (*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 545, where the Greek sherds that Schliemann picked up on the spot are regarded as surface finds). On the other hand, W. Lamb saw sherds that she considered archaic but no prehistoric from this tumulus in the Berlin material (see below, pp. 133 f.).

²*Ilios* 108 f. (with sketch-map from Burnouf).

³ Cf. Virchow, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 65, where the Sigeum and Ciplak ridges were said to be fit for cultivation but ploughed only at intervals of six or ten years. On our last visit in November 1969 we perceived that the whole area west and south of Sarcali* was more extensively cultivated than we had thought on our summer visits. We have noted especially grain fields and vineyards.

plateau supports a fair-sized village, Sarcali *, on the north edge where the main road crosses the escarpment. This does not appear on Spratt's and Schliemann's maps and is probably under 100 years old (the inhabitants could not tell us precisely). Originally named Hamidiye, it was called Sarcali or Saricali in the early part of this century, and that name continues in use though before 1940 it was changed to Gokcali* on the ground (as we were told) that the local shrubs have blue flowers, not yellow. The 1940 census population was 440 (170-80 houses in 1966). We have seen no antiquities in the village except a dedicatory inscription from a church with the date 1834.

We know of the following sites and ancient remains east of the main road: a crest on the north edge of the plateau where Spratt and Forchhammer noted stones and potsherds, the hill of Kara Tepe on which foundations have twice been excavated, a site further back near Ovacik*, and the Roman aqueduct over the Kemer Su. We shall describe these in turn.

Spratt's map marks 'Broken Pot, Stones &c', with the title 'Pagus Iliensium', in a position near the north edge of the plateau a couple of miles west of Kara Tepe; and Forchhammer refers to their finding fragments of bricks (i.e. tiles?) and pottery among stones a mile (or in German a quarter of a mile) west of that hill. After his first visit to the Troad in 1868 Schliemann drew up a map based on Spratt's, and on it he marked this site as Gergis; but his itinerary shows that he did not go near the place.¹ The one other person to notice this site on the map was Leaf, who accepted Spratt's identification; he confidently speaks of it as being on a 'bold bluff' on the west side of the main road (our PLATE 8b), but he too did not go near the place.² Thinking that Leaf might have had some ground for making so explicit a statement about the position we began our search on the heights to the west of the road and inspected all the crests to a distance of a kilometre or so, but without result. We then crossed and examined the wooded spurs on the east side of the road until we emerged on top of a flat dome-shaped hill which stands back from the edge of the plateau and is 1 km. or less from the main road. It is the highest crest of the ridge in this sector, but we could not easily discover its name (it may be Çil Tepe). We did not see any worked stones or foundations but found fairly abundant surface pottery and tile. This included fourth-century or early Hellenistic black-glazed flat tile, several amphora feet, a little grey ware (perhaps Hellenistic), a couple of Hellenistic-looking rims, and a fragment of late Hellenistic red ware. The position corresponds well to that marked on Spratt's map and must be his site. The site is unusual in yielding Hellenistic rather than Roman.

¹*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 158 f.

²*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 178.

Kara Tepe¹ is a detached hill of a beautiful regular shape when seen from the south-west; covered with pines, scrub-oak, and arbutus, it is a black hull riding the plateau. Its top is a narrow ridge 175 m. long (Kosay *-Sperling) and 680 ft. above sea level (Spratt); it is three



Fig. 6.
The Trojan Plain and Environs

quarters of an hour's walk from Sarcali*. Approaching it from the south end we saw what we took to be a bit of a terrace wall and a scatter of nondescript tile and pottery. On the crest we saw nothing save pits in the ground where presumably the excavations had been. Forchhammer

1 Other forms of the name in the literature are Kara Yur (Forchhammer, Schliemann, and commonly), Kara-Yourouk (Acland), Kara Yüin (Eckenbrecher), Karagön (Kiepert), Kara Yo (1:50,000 map), Karajuju (Brückner); Kosay and Sperling give Kara Yiv (= black stripe) as an alternative to Kara Tepe, but we heard only the latter. A view of the hill in Blegen, *Troy i*, fig. 40.

in 1839 remarked indistinct remains of houses or towers;¹ and Virchow in 1879 noticed the foundations of an ancient building, perhaps a temple.² In 1906 Seyk dug for Troy there and uncovered traces of what he interpreted as palatial buildings and a peripteral hexastyle temple measuring 20 by 15 m.³ Trenches were also dug by Kosay * and Sperling in 1934. They discovered sturdy foundations of a temple measuring 26 by 12 m. on the hill top, with bases for octagonal wooden columns in the interior. Though apparently primitive in its architectural design, the building was not of an early date; for the accompanying tiles and pottery were fourth-century-Hellenistic. Faint traces of occupation were also remarked on the slopes.⁴ It seems then that the hill was crowned by a substantial rustic shrine, of which we suspect that architectural remains may still survive in the Dümrek dedelik (above, pp. 70 ff.).

Spratt and Forchhammer recognized Kara Tepe as the Kallikolone (= Belmont) of which Strabo speaks, and the site to the west of it as his *ἡ πόλις Ἰλίου* (Pagus Iliensium) which he claimed was the 'old foundation' of Ilion (i.e. Priam's Troy).⁵ Their identification of the former has been widely accepted, though some scholars have sought to distinguish a 'true' Kallikolone (i.e. Homer's as opposed to Strabo's) and place it at the lower end of the Simois valley⁶ (or, as Leaf, at the Ophryneion site!), while Virchow, who failed to descry Kara Tepe from Hisarlik*, preferred the distant egg shape of the Ulu Dag* for both Homer's and Strabo's Kallikolone.⁷ But Spratt and Forchhammer's 'Pagus' site escaped attention and the Village of the Ilians continued to be placed at Akça Köy⁸ or up the Kemer valley;⁹ only Leaf found Spratt's site

1 In his *Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja* (1850), 23.

2 In *Ilios* (1880), 72.

3 *Das wahre und richtige Troja-Ilion* (1926). For a critical assessment of his findings see Brückner, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1927, 7 ff. Brückner had his own similar 'Grosstroja' theory, for which see Vellay, *Controverses autour de Troie* (1936), 13 ff. Vellay inclined towards Seyk's findings. But it does not now seem worth while to reconsider the case against the Hisarlik-Troy equation.

4 *Troad'da dört yerlesme* yeri* (1936), 21 ff., figs. 10-10a. The one prehistoric sherd there noted is perplexing.

5 In *Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 40 and *Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja* (1850), 23.

6 Dörpfeld's positioning of it at the west end of the Rhoetean ridge (on his map, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), pl. 1) does not seem to have been argued by him, but his case was stated and rebutted by Schliemann in *Troja* (1884), 281 f.

7 Virchow was greatly impressed by the beauty of the serpentine mountain of Ulu Dag which he ascended; but it is nearly eighty (as opposed to Strabo's forty) stades from Troy. He denied that Kara Tepe is visible from Hisarlik; but it is quite plainly visible provided that one looks for it below the skyline, and Kosay and Sperling saw it. Schliemann at first agreed with Virchow (*Ilios* 71 f.), but only as regarded the Homeric Kallikolone; later he rejected the Ulu Dag altogether in favour of Kara Tepe (*Troja* 281 ff.).

Prior to Spratt's survey Kallikolone had been placed on the east side of the Trojan Plain, around Hisarlik (Francklin, von Hammer) and (after the identification of Novum Ilium) in the vicinity of Akça Köy (Rennell, Choiseul-Gouffier).

8 Choiseul-Gouffier, Schliemann, and commonly.

9 Von Eckenbrecher, and Dörpfeld's map.

well placed.¹ It seems to us that Strabo's directions are perfectly clear, and that there can be no doubt about the matter.

Following Demetrius of Scepsis, who knew the terrain, Strabo (xiii. 597) speaks of a great neck of land, like the middle stroke of what is evidently a lunate epsilon, which runs inland and separates the plain of the Simois from that of the Scamander; Ilion, he says, is at the tip of this neck, whereas the 'old foundation' (the Village of the Ilions) lies between the beginning of the two arms (*ἀγκῶνες*) which run out to encircle the two valleys and together compose the semicircle of his letter epsilon. This is far from being a perfect description of the terrain; but in so far as there is a ridge here corresponding to Strabo's 'neck', it must be the escarpment running from Hisarlik * by way of Spratt's 'Pagus' site to the dominant height of Kara Tepe.² The Village, Strabo continues, is 30 stades from the modern Ilion (i.e. Hisarlik), and ten stades further on (at 40 stades from Ilion) is the Kallikolone hill, which is only five stades from the Simois. Kallikolone, then, is fixed near the north edge of the plateau by its proximity to the Simois, and it should be 40 stades from Ilion. Kara Tepe is 8.5 km. from Truva by our reckoning (speedometer and walking time) and (as near as we can estimate) the same on the 1:50,000 map; this would give about 45 stades, and the north end of the hill directly overhangs the Dümrek Su at a distance of not much more than five stades. Spratt's 'Pagus' site we reckon to be about 33 stades from Truva. But both these distances would be about three stades less if measured from the nearest point of the outer circuit of Ilion. We see then that Kallikolone is in the right position, and that, with Hellenistic occupation corresponding to the date of Demetrius, Spratt's site fits perfectly with the data for the Village of the Ilions. Spratt's site also has the necessary qualification of presenting gentle slopes that a man could easily run round, to match Strabo's

statement that, unlike the modern Ilion, the 'old foundation' *ἔχει περιδρομήν*.³

The one discrepancy in Demetrius' topography is his statement that in contrast to Ilion, the 'old foundation' is near to the plain of Thymbra

¹Strabo on the Troad (1923), 178.

² See especially Leaf's discussion of the passage (op. cit. 173 ff.), which is in general sound. His inclusion of the Sigeum ridge in the southern arm is perhaps questionable (it would almost complete a circle); and he is mistaken in claiming that Demetrius placed the Fig in the Simois valley (the Scamander plain, Demetrius says, is the Trojan plain *par excellence*, being the wider of the two and containing the principal landmarks from which we must conclude that he included the plateau around Ciplak* in the Scamander plain).

³ The reference is of course to Hector's pursuit by Achilles round the walls of Troy. Leaf objected to Demetrius that the circuit of Hisarlik is not difficult; with his watch in his hand he walked round it in eleven minutes. But he also had his tongue in his cheek, for he knew that what Demetrius was referring to was the outer circuit of Ilion with its steep northern scarp (Strabo on the Troad 185 f.).

and the river Thymbrios (presumably the Kemer Su). This is the reason for the prevailing identification of the Village of the Ilians with Akça Köy. But the figure for the distance from the Simois is a precise one which should take precedence, and the Kemer valley has neither a 'neck' nor a suitable hill for Kallikolone. Demetrius cannot have studied the topography from Kara Tepe, or he would have perceived that the point where the Thymbrios enters the Scamander plain is not at all near; at Ilion, on the other hand, it would be easy to imagine that the 'neck' which separates the Simois and Scamander valleys was a narrow one, because the site does seem to be on the tip of a long spine.

The hill of Kara Tepe is detached on all sides. But behind it the ground presently rises again to the higher eastern plateau, whose general elevation is 300 m. and more. This is in fact the upland drainage basin of the Kemer Su, reaching back nearly to Camlica * and Salihler. Our sole authority for the region is Calvert, who had finds from graves at several points. His discoveries will be mentioned below (p. 283). But one site faces towards the Trojan plateau and merits attention here. Site no. 18 in the Calvert Collection catalogue is 'Ovadschik', with a note by Thiersch as follows: the excavations, conducted by Calvert himself, were of a cemetery near the high Yürük village of Ovacik* on Kizil* Kaya between the upper Kemer Su and Dümrek; the graves lay west of the peak named, close to the beautiful spring, which still flows. The finds listed (nos. 682 ff.) consisted of a Red Figure aryballos (head of Hermes), a white ground lekythos (not illustrated), a fluted blackglaze 'cream jug', and various terracotta figurines. My note of the two vases illustrated was late fifth century B.C., while the terracottas seemed to range from late archaic through classical to an early Hellenistic 'Tanagra' statuette. Calvert also had terracottas of a sphinx, rider, and draped female from three different 'Gräberplätze' at Adakelis* (his 'Adagelisi'), which seems to be 2-3 km. south-east of Ovacik village (below, p. 283 n. 2). Ovacik itself is at the far end of a little plain, which drains southward to the Kemer Su and is bordered on its west side by the southern spurs of the Kizil Kaya. It produces cereals, valonia, fruit, and olives, and has sheep and goats; and the country around is well wooded. A jeep-road leads up from Civler past a fire rangers' post to the ridge of Kizil Kaya, whence it descends gently to Ovacik. The village is Shi`ite, and with their traditional costumes and ornaments the women present a handsome spectacle. When we inquired about coins we were shown a dozen old Turkish silver and bronze pieces, an Austrian kreuzer, and a church token of Erenköy stamped *Ἅγιος Γεώργιος ἐν Ὀφρυναίῳ*. For ancient remains we were directed to the Mersin cesme* on the way to Mersin Köy.

The cesme * (fountain) is on the slope between the Kizil* Kaya ridge and the stream to the south. It is not clear whether this is the spring mentioned by Calvert (it is not west of Kizil Kaya, but Calvert's memory may have been stretched). On the knoll above the spring and the adjacent slopes we found a spread of surface sherds in the fields. Down the slope to the south we noted modern pottery and tiles (some glazed and perhaps several hundred years old). Then working round the slope to the west we came upon a bit of a wall corner in heavy masonry, Roman finger-drawn tile, a little poor red ware of late date and a fragment of combed ware, together with a chunk of mosaic with black, green, grey, and white tessellae loosely set in white plaster mixed with ground terracotta.¹ Above this, near the crest of the knoll, we picked up a fourth-century B.C. amphora foot and a few bits of black glaze; the latter comprised three scraps with high-quality glaze, a kantharos foot of late-fourth-century shape with good glaze, an early Hellenistic high-stemmed bowl foot, and three bowl rims of which two had poor-quality glaze and looked early Hellenistic but one might be of the mid fourth century. The people working in the fields denied the existence of a kale hereabouts, or of any remains on Kizil Kaya (we saw none in traversing it); but they spoke of walls underground in the fields where we were looking, and said that coins came to light there. In Mersin Köy, however, we were told that coins were not kept and could see only two old Turkish ones. Mersin is a mahalle of Ovacik* and is likewise Shi`ite; but it is said to be old and to have 50 houses.²

The Mersin (or Mersinoba) site is 13 km. east of Truva and about 330 m. above sea level. It seems clear that there was a small settlement or farm here in early Byzantine times. The classical settlement would appear to have been a small one and probably unfortified; and on the evidence we saw it might date only to the later fourth and third centuries B.C. But the neighbouring graveyard presumably belonged to it, and Calvert's finds here reach back into the fifth century at least. It is consequently not easy to tell whether this was a village of Troy or a little independent city. A possible identification will be considered later (p. 357).

After 188 B.C. the whole of this plateau belonged to Ilion. But the situation before that time is not so clear; and we may pause at this point to consider the evidence of an inscription discovered by Schliemann at the Temple of Athena Ilias.³ In this document Aristodicides of Assos

1 Dr. Hayes has identified our potsherds as three rims and three bases of Late Roman C (the rims roughly as Antioch 941, 943, and 944, and the bases going with these); they date second half of fifth century.

2 The 1940 population of Ovacik, which must have included Mersin Köy, was 127; both must now be much greater.

3 C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), 60 ff.

was granted by King Antiochus, probably the First, some 400 acres of cultivable King's land to be taken from that bordering on either Gergis or Scepsis, and was to attach it to either Ilion or Scepsis. After this he was granted a place (*χωρίον*) called Petra with 300 acres of land near by (in the Petritis), as well as the doubling of his former holding. In the event he did not receive Petra because it was already appropriated. But the king's condition in making the grant was that the King's people (*βασιλικοὶ λαοί*) at Petra should be allowed to live in the place for greater security (*οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκε*) if they wished to do so. The situation of Petra will be discussed later (pp. 126 f., 365 f.); in fact we doubt whether it can have been on the plateau here. But Aristodicides' original grant was attached by him to Ilion; and it was therefore presumably on the borders of Gergis and not Scepsis. With Gergis now fixed at Karincali * the boundary must have been in the country north of the middle Scamander; and it seems most probable that Aristodicides' holding was on the plateau. There would then have been land on the plateau in the third century which was King's land and not city land. Presumably such inhabitants as there were there were not Greeks from the cities, but native and perhaps partly nomadic people like the original Gergithians of this region.

The Kemer Su opens out into a broad valley bottom as it approaches the Plain of Troy. But above that it flows down a narrow pine-wooded valley, and up there it retains big pools of water and some flow in high summer. Von Eckenbrecher marked Strabo's 'Plain of Thymbra' there as though from firsthand observation, but we have seen nothing more than the stream bed at the bottom of the ravine. A road leads from what we call Akça Köy to the village of Akcapinar*, and thence up by Civler to Kemer. Civler (or Civler Oba) is a Yürük village with a coffee house but no antiquities.¹ Kemer is a mahalle of Civler, but Shi`ite. It looks a new and impermanent village, perched on the hillside above the gorge. Five minutes' walk below it the torrent is spanned by the ruined Roman aqueduct which carried water to Ilion. The stream here is flowing from the north-east, and not in a bend as shown on the GS map. The wooded hill country to the south of the Kemer Su here is unexplored; we have heard of nothing from the people of Kemer or Derbendbasi*.

Lechevalier and Kauffer did not penetrate the valley of the Kemer Su. Knowledge of the aqueduct seems to begin with Hunt and Carlyle in 1801; the former speaks of the principal arch as being 35 ft. across.²

1 Population 159 in the 1940 census. The name is rendered with back vowels by Spratt (Juvalah Obashi, meaninglessly rationalized as 'Juvaschlar' on the German maps; Juler Obassi on the GS 1:50,000 map). Eckenbrecher gives a name 'Jurukò-baschi' (i.e. Yürük Obasi).

2 Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 106 f. *Voyage pitt.* presumably derives from Hunt here, and Leake from both.

Barker Webb gives a fine drawing of it at the end of his book. Forchhammer says the aqueduct is 55 ft. wide and rises 92 ft. above the torrent (hence Schliemann's 1868 figures of 18 and 30 m.). Dörpfeld, who gives a good photograph, noticed a head carved on the keystone facing southwest and took it to be of the emperor who provided the water supply.¹ The face is badly weathered, and the photograph we took with a zoom lens shows only the neck in sharp focus; but it looks Julio-Claudian. The abutments of the aqueduct rest on rock, and the thickness from front to back is 1.40 m. (PLATES 10-11). The aqueduct does not keep a straight line for its whole length, the south-east end being slewed round towards south against the bank. On the slope under the village we noticed remains of the terracotta pipeline, whose bore seemed to be between 25 and 30 cm.² The children spoke of a little arch of small stones further upstream. The water was brought from springs on the plateau Tanripinar * and Cakir* Büyüt, as we were later told; the remains of walling near Camlica* that Judeich took to be an aqueduct would presumably be on the line to the Kemer (see below, p, 282).

Two miles downstream from the aqueduct at Kemer, Forchhammer remarked a mill of Ali Bey or Halil Bey;³ it still works when there is sufficient water. Spratt and the maps dependent on him mark 'Ali Bey's Konak' west of Civler, with a Turkish burying ground with marbles and columns nearby; and Dörpfeld marked the Village of the Ilions there. At both Civler and Akcapinar* the villagers assured us that there is nothing above ground in this region. They know of no konak, though they recognize the name 'Ali Bey's Mill'. The ancient name of the Kemer Su will be considered in the next section.

There is one other village in the Kemer valley above its exit into the Plain of Troy. This is Akcapinar on the north of the stream, 3 km. by car from the main road at the Akça Köy çiftlik.⁴ It has a mahalle, Akcesme* Oba, on the opposite bank of the stream (in 1969 this had acquired village status). No antiquities are reported; but we saw marble blocks in the setting of a well (Yeni Kuyu) near the road about 1 km. west of the village, including a Byzantine moulding and the block from a priestess inscription (below, p. 396, no. 2). A village of Eski (Palaio) Akça Köy was known to travellers down to about 1840. When we enquired at Otuzbir we were told that it was the same as Akcapinar, and this was confirmed at Akcapinar itself.⁵ At or near Eski Akça Köy

¹*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 241 f., Beil. 32; Blegen, *Troy i* (1950), fig. 43.

² Main pipes in Troy seem to have had a bore of about 16-30 cm. (Schliemann, *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 239).

³*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 32 f.

⁴ Population 417 in the 1940 census. Its official names in the lists are Pinaroba*, Akçailyas, and Anaroba. The GS map has Pirnar Oba. We seem always to have heard Akçapinar.

⁵ The Spratt-Forchhammer map erroneously places it where Akça Köy ought to be (it is not marked on Admiralty chart 1608); and Eckenbrecher, on the other hand, seems to place

(footnote continued on next page)

Hunt noted a statue of Cybele and various inscriptions,¹ and he placed the Temple of Apollo of Ilion there. Also in the same vicinity he copied a Greek epigram in a Turkish burial ground (possibly that which Spratt marks near his Ali Bey's Konak). It does not sound as if there was an ancient site in this southern part of the Trojan plateau, but the area is still singularly unexplored.

4

The South of the Plain

The Kemer valley was not investigated either by Lechevalier and Cassas or by Kauffer; the bottom end of the stream appears on the latter's map only. But after the discovery of the Roman aqueduct it was recognized as one of the principal watercourses descending to the Trojan Plain. Carlyle called it 'Shimar', and this led Rennell to identify it with the 'Simores' of Sandys and Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu and with the ancient Simois (above, pp. 29 f.); but 'Shimar' was simply a corruption of the name which Hunt correctly received, Kamara or Kemer (= arch, aqueduct). Hunt did not suggest an ancient name for the stream. But subsequent scholars were able to propose a satisfactory identification. Strabo (xiii. 598, § 35) speaks of a plain of Thymbra near the Village of the Ilians with a river Thymbrios flowing through it and discharging into the Scamander by the sanctuary of Thymbraean Apollo; the distance from the Ilion of his day (i.e. Hisarlik *) is said to be fifty stades. Lechevalier and, in his earlier work, Choiseul-Gouffier had identified Dümrek (Thymbrek) with Thymbra and the Dümrek Su with the Thymbrios. But after the site at Hisarlik was recognized as Ilion, anyone who read Strabo was bound to acknowledge that the Dümrek Su was his Simois; and Hobhouse, Barker Webb, and Choiseul-Gouffier's editor recognized the Thymbrios in the Kemer Su. Prokesch and Forchhammer clung to the old identification,² the latter making the Kemer Su the Andrios (followed in this by Calvert in 1856). But in general the Kemer Su-Thymbrios equation prevailed. The objection still occasionally remarked, that according to Hesychius the Thymbrios was only ten stades from the 'ancient city' of Ilios, is not necessarily a valid one;³ for if Hesychius is dependent on Strabo here his reference

(footnote continued from previous page)

it higher up (*Rhein. Mus.* ii (1843), 27). But the position at Akcapinar* fits excellently with the distances given by Hunt (Walpole's *Memoirs* 105 ff.), and also with Carlyle's (*ap.* Rennell, *Observations*, p. xxi) except for his impossible half-hour crossing from the Dümrek Su which was the cause of Rennell's producing his book.

1 Cf. *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 470 f. nos. 64 and 66.

2 More recently Brückner seems to have flirted with it.

3 The relevant passage is

τόπος τῆς Ἰλίου παρὰ τὸν Θύμβρον λεγόμενον ποταμὸν οὕτως
 ὀνομασθεὶς τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως ἀπέχοντα (sic) σταδίου δέκα, ὅπουγε καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος
 Θυμβραίου

may be to Demetrius' *παλαιὸν κτίσμα* (the Village of the Ilians) and not to our Troy at Hisarlik *.

With the name of the river in Strabo goes the plain (*πεδῖον ἢ Θύμβρα*) and the sanctuary of Apollo. A locality called Thymbra had of course to be recognized by the ancient Homeric scholars because Homer refers to it in the Doloneia as marking the direction in which one end of the Trojans' bivouacks pointed (*πρὸς Θύμβρης*) as opposed to *πρὸς ἁλός* , *Iliad* x. 430). But Strabo does not speak of a settlement of Thymbra, and Hesychius refers to it as a *τόπος τῆς Ἰλίου* . Only Stephanus Byzantius speaks of a city of Thymbra;¹ and while he cites Hellanicus for the

form *Δύμβριος* , he says nothing that serves to remove the suspicion that here, as so often, he is conferring the title of city (and therewith the possession of the ethnic which is his special concern) on a place that had no claim to it. The general belief, maintained without discussion by Calvert, Schliemann, Dörpfeld, Leaf, and the numismatists, that there was a classical city of Thymbra in the Plain of Troy, depends partly on Stephanus, but more particularly on the claim that Hellenic bronze coins of a relatively rare series are attributable to a city of Thymbra which is to

be located in the Troad. The coins of this series have a head of Zeus Ammon on the obverse, with the legend *ΘΥ* between rays of a star on the reverse. The reverse type resembles that of Colonaë on the west coast of the Troad, and this could possibly be thought to point to a Troadic origin; but it equally resembles that of Gambrion in the Caicus valley near Pergamon. The attribution of this issue to Thymbra in the Troad goes back to H.P. Borrell, who reported that he procured his two specimens of it (now in the British Museum) during a tour that he made in the Troad in 1825. L. Robert, on whose study I am here relying,² points out that Borrell used to acquire his coins in the towns that he passed through; and in this case we cannot tell whether the two coins were actually picked up in the Troad or *en route* between there and Smyrna. Apart from this, there seems to be only one known provenience of coins of this issue. This is the excavations at Pergamon, in which no less than three specimens were found and no more than nine of all other mints of the Troad.³ In contrast to Pergamon, the excavated sites of Troy and Assos have yielded none, and we have never seen a specimen in our journeys in the Troad or in the shops there. The case for a Troadic origin is therefore unsupported; and that for the Trojan Thymbra seems to be to be weakened by the fact that the deity commemorated on these coins is not the Apollo Thymbraios whose sanctuary,

¹ *Θύμβρα, πόλις Τρωάδος, Δαρδάνου κτίσμα ἀπὸ Θύμβρου φίλου αὐτοῦ. οὗ ποταμὸς Θύμβρις, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀπόλλωνος Θυμβραίου ἱερόν* .
He then gives variant spellings of the name Thymbr(a)ios.

² See his *Études de numismatique grecque* (1951), index s.v. `Thymbra' (to be added there is a reference to his p. 53 n. o).

³*Altertümer von Pergamon* i. 357.

associated in legend with Achilles, was the sole distinction of the Trojan Thymbra.¹

Akça Köy is (or was) on a low hill that forms the south end of the Trojan plateau towards the Scamander plain, with a tongue continuing to Hanay Tepe 500 m. further south. The situation is shown on Calvert's sketch-plan in Schliemann's *Ilios*.² The name Akça Köy appeared on the maps from Lechevalier onward. But though said to be pretty, the village was not populous (Francklin, Gell); and it was abandoned shortly before 1815, whether in consequence of rapacious exactions which drove the inhabitants up into the mountains (Turner) or because of the unhealthy air in the vicinity of the marsh (Choiseul-Gouffier from Dubois).³ It was also called Batak (= marsh).⁴ Francklin saw a couple of granite columns there, and Dubois spoke of antiquities recently removed thence to Pinarbasi *;⁵ Forchhammer noted ruins, principally in the vicinity of Hanay Tepe. Frederick Calvert and his heirs down to the Second World War owned a çiftlik on the site of the abandoned village; they called it 'Thymbra Farm'. In 1853 Lord Carlisle spoke of it as newly acquired; but there was already a çiftlik there in 1839 (Forchhammer). It is now an experimental state cattle farm and passes as the 'devlet çiftligi'*; but it is still known by the name Alibey Çiftligi* that appears on the GS map, and in everyday speech is called Kokona.⁶ Workers' cottages were built there in the 1960s. The name Akça Köy is now barely known locally. We examined the hill for a site in 1959, and again rather hastily in 1967. There is a fair sprinkling of coarse sherds, but none that we could identify as ancient; they may be the debris of the former Turkish village. We noticed one or two worked blocks, though again nothing significant; and we had no difficulty in recognizing the line where a wall might have run round the south side of the hill. But at no point did we see any definite sign of an ancient site, and the farm personnel could show us nothing. As we shall see, this in fact reflects the findings of Schliemann.

On his first visit of 1868 Schliemann remarked that the ground at the farm (Batak) was everywhere strewn with sherds, and that there were

1 The story that Troilus was killed at this sanctuary is as old as Sophocles, if not the Cypria. For the heroic associations see K. Ziegler in *RE* s.v. 'Thymbra'. Cf. Leaf's discussion in *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 179 f.

2 p. 706. The Kemer Su now seems to flow to Hanay Tepe from the south-east, passing south of Harman Tepe; the GS map agrees with Calvert, but Spratt's map shows both arms of the stream.

3 Calvert later said it was depopulated by plague (*Ilios* 719); cf. pp. 104 f. for the devastation wrought at Kalafat, and *Voyage pitt.* ii. 417 for the widespread effect of the plague of 1814 (the majority of the villages are there said to have been deserted).

4 The fiscal survey of 1574 gives Akça/Kefenci with 58 adult males, and Batak with 20; these might possibly be Eski Akça Köy and Akça Köy.

5 *Voyage pitt.* ii. 297.

6 Kokona = old Christian woman (referring to Mme Calvert, who is still remembered in the north-west Troad). No one has been able to tell us who Ali Bey was.

ancient wall traces; in view of the fact that Calvert had discovered a cemetery nearby with rich finds of classical vases he concluded that there must have been an ancient city on the farm site.¹ Frank Calvert himself does not seem to have made any serious investigations on the hill, but he believed that the site of the historical Thymbra was at the farm. He took it to be a walled town, the rock in places being said to show traces of cuttings to receive hewn stones; certain marble blocks on the highest part of the hill above the farm he regarded as belonging to the historical temple of Thymbraean Apollo, together with the fragment of a temple treasure inventory Lebas-Waddington no. 1743d;² and the rich necropolis which stretched to Hanay Tepe he took to be the cemetery of this city. Calvert stressed that this was the historic Thymbra; nothing prehistoric was found there, and the prehistoric town and temple were down at Hanay Tepe.³

The farm site was also commonly held to be Strabo's Village of the Ilions. Schliemann concurred in this view,⁴ while Frederick (not Frank) Calvert, like Ulrichs, placed Troy itself there. In his despondent mood of November 1871 Schliemann decided to test the site in case it might prove to be Troy. His findings may have been coloured by an unwillingness to find that it was. But they seem decisive. The virgin soil was reached at a depth of 18 in., and the presumed line of the fortification was found to be 'pure granulated earth' (elsewhere called 'coarse gravel sand') without any ruins. What goes for Troy, that it cannot have been there because there are no ancient remains, must also go for the Village and for the classical city of Thymbra. The temple above the farm has also not materialized, as Brückner ascertained from Frederick Calvert the younger in the present century;⁵ and the idea that the temple inventory belonged to this place was long ago abandoned⁶. In fact there is no evidence at all for an ancient site at Akça Köy.

Calvert's cemetery is another matter. The finds from the graves dug in 1853 on Hanay Tepe and in its vicinity are spectacular.⁷ Calvert

1Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie (1869), 171 f.

2 In fact there can be little doubt that the inscription is of the sanctuary of Athena at Ilion; cf. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.* ix (1884), 69 f.; Brückner in *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 468, no. 41, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1927, 11. Lolling reports Calvert's saying that it had been in the mosque of the abandoned village of Akça Köy, so there is no reason to suppose that it was found on the spot. Leaf is misleading here (*Strabo on the Troad* 179).

3 In *Ilios* (1880), 719.

4 *Ilios* 108, where Thymbra and the Village are treated as one. He finally put the Village at the farm and the classical city of Thymbra to the east of Hanay Tepe 1,000 yards further south (*Troja* (1884), 345); this seems an improbable arrangement, and 1,000 yards a considerable overestimate of the actual distance.

5 *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1927, 11.

6 See above.

7 Newton, who visited the place in January or February 1853 when Calvert was excavating at and around Hanay Tepe, speaks of the cemetery as being on the banks of the Kemer Su between Hanay Tepe and 'Herman' (now Harman) Tepe, which lies to the east. For his account of the finds see *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 134 f., 355 n. 62.

gave a brief description of them with some illustrations in his account of the Hanay Tepe excavation;¹ and the catalogue of his collection gives fuller details.² The finds in the catalogue include numerous Black Figure animal style vases, both Attic and local (some of or imitating the 'Swan Group'); Red Figure, of which some pieces had mythological scenes;³ black glaze and a medallion cylix; Phoenician glass, classical figurines and bronze fibulae. To these we may add pieces acquired by the British Museum, which include a figured Corinthian kotyle, a plate of East Greek type, 'Swan Group' lekanes, small local polychrome plates and phialai mesomphaloi, Black Figure kotylai and lekythoi, and a bird figurine (1877. 9-30. 8, 15-26, 29, 31, 45-6).⁴ The quantity of figured ware is very great, and in general the finds seem to be of the sixth and fifth centuries. W. Lamb speaks of a white lekythos fragment of the second quarter of the fifth century and black glaze of the fourth and third centuries among the material in Berlin from the top stratum at Hanay Tepe (see below). The grave stelai found by Calvert seem to be classical.⁵

The graves could well belong to a classical city (Schliemann's remark that they 'would belong to poor villagers' is not disinterested).⁶ But there does not seem to be any trace of a city site in the vicinity. Hanay Tepe itself can hardly have been one (see below). Newton spoke of Calvert's graves as extending from Hanay Tepe to 'Herman' Tepe. The latter hill (Harman Tepe) is a few hundred metres to the east (just across the main road), and is evidently where Schliemann in 1884 placed Thymbra. It is a low shield-shaped hill about 200 m. across; but it is no

1 *Arch. Journal* xvi (1859), 1 ff., plate opp. p. 4. He did not at that time recognize the place as Thymbra.

2 Site no. 26 ('Thymbra').

3 Cf. *Ilios* 719.

4 The local animal style ware, related to the Attic 'Swan Group' and found here in some quantity, is briefly discussed by J. Boardman in his *The Greeks Overseas* (1964), 277, with pl. 21a. He assigns it to an Athenian pottery established probably at Sigeum or at Elaeus across the strait, and dates it around the middle of the sixth century or later. Specimens have come to light at Elaeus, Troy, Akça Köy, Yenisehir *, on the Balli* Dag*, and probably also at Dardanos and Rhoeteum (Baba Kale).

5 The stele of Pytha (Lebas-Waddington no. 1743l) is certainly from here (Newton, *Travels and Discoveries* 355 n. 62), and likewise the early-fourth-century one of Theodorus (Calvert Coll. cat., see now H. Luschey, *Ist. Mitt.* xvii (1967), 145 f., pl. 12. 2), presumably also Brithomis (Sayce, *JHS* i (1880), 80). But for Stheneia (LW 1743m, *IGA* 503, Roehl 35. 4, Jeffery, *LSAG* 360, 362) the information derived at first hand from Calvert is conflicting: from Hanay Tepe (Sayce, *ibid.* 79 n. 1, *Ilios* 705 n. 1), but from Cebren (Thiersch in the Calvert Coll. cat. under Cebren, referring to *IGA* 503 in Berlin); LW places it as though it were from the Plain of Troy, but without giving a specific provenience, and of the stone he found at Cebren Calvert himself only remarked 'an inscription which has not yet been deciphered' (*Arch. Journal* xxii (1865), 55). Since the Cebren stone cannot otherwise be accounted for, it is possible that Sayce is in error. Luschey's article cited here is of interest for classical carved stelai of the Troad.

6 *Ilios* (1880), 108, written at the time when he believed that they belonged to the Village of the Ilians.

tell; the rock crops up in places, and what little pottery and tile we saw looked modern. There does not seem then to be an ancient settlement site adjacent to the cemetery, and we are confronted with a phenomenon similar to that already remarked at Calvert's Tavolia (above, pp. 85f). We may also note that Calvert does not speak of coins coming to light in this region; and yet he was assiduous in collecting them, and a coin of Thymbra would have been a piece of evidence that he would not have overlooked. It is of course possible that there was an ancient site on the edge of the plain north-west of Akça Köy. We have not traversed the ground below Dikeli Tas *, and Forchhammer in fact noted traces of ancient buildings above the marsh there.¹ But Forchhammer, like Schliemann, was easily induced to recognize ancient remains; and we can hardly suppose that the Calverts, who were at pains to drain the marsh,² failed to notice an ancient city there. In any case this would take us too far away from the Kemer Su for the name Thymbra to be applicable. So finally, with some reluctance, we reach the conclusion that there was no classical city at the bottom of the Thymbrios valley, and we find no place for a city of Thymbra in the Trojan Plain.

There remains the description of Hanay Tepe. Blegen gives a photograph of the mound.³ It forms the extreme southern tip of the Akça Köy hills with the Kemer Su flowing between banks of willows at its foot. Forchhammer took it to be natural. But Calvert cut trenches in it in 1853⁴ and ascertained that the rock was surmounted by a mound 3-4 m. deep; and in the winter of 1878-9 he made a broader excavation through the tepe with assistance from Schliemann.⁵ In the main the finds went to Berlin, where they have been studied in considerable detail by W. Lamb.⁶ Calvert discovered three main strata. The lowest,

¹*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 40 (also a long-disused but deeply rutted bridge 20 ft. wide, crossing the channel of the Kalafat Azmagi*we were told that there still is an old bridge there). 'Pottery &c.' is marked on Forchhammer's version of Spratt's map on a hill north-west of Akça Köy over the plain, but there is nothing there on Admiralty chart 1608 or Schliemann's map. Hunt remarked three 'tumuli' south of Akça Köy which the guides called 'Mal Tepé, Asarlack Tepé, and Khaina Tepé' (Walpole's *Memoirs* 107). He speaks of the second as being near to Akça Köy, but from his description it is clear that he has confused it with his 'Khaina Tepé' (Hanay Tepe); it must in fact be the 'Eski Hissarlik' hill (our Asarlik*, below, pp. 124 ff.), which is the only feature of this name in the south-east of the plain. When we inquired for Mal Tepe we had the Akça Köy hill pointed out to us.

² In 1871, 250 acres of good land were reclaimed for cattle pasturing, and the warm springs which formed the marsh were discovered (Schliemann, *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 51, *Ilios* (1880), 99 and 108; Virchow, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 21 f.).

³*Troy* i (1950), fig. 39.

⁴ This date is always quoted as 1857, following Calvert's own text in *Ilios* 709. But Newton, Lord Carlisle, and Tozer all separately visited his excavation in 1853, and Calvert's report published in *Arch. Journal* xvi (1859) is dated 1856.

⁵ Reported in admirable detail by Calvert in *Ilios* (1880), 706 ff. A very brief résumé by Winnefeld in *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 548. Cf. Schachermeyr, *Ath. Mitt.* xli (1916), 380.

⁶*Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 112 ff. Cf. also N. Bayne's unpublished Oxford dissertation (see Preface).

on the rock, was a settlement in two phases, the first apparently interlaced with burials, the second surrounded by a fortification. Pits and traces of houses with mud brick walls on stone footings were brought to light. The pottery was Early Bronze Age handmade and largely of Troy I date, but in some ways unlike that of Troy; Lamb also mentions marble figurines of Cycladic type. The second stratum is more perplexing. In 1853 Calvert recognized a deep layer of calcined bones and ash inside a stone enclosure 30 m. across and believed he had discovered the 'common tomb' of the Trojans. But in 1878-9 he found that there was relatively little bone after all; he then recognized brick altar floors and two stone altars, and he took the ash stratum to be sacrificial, the enclosure being regarded as the altar place of Thymbraean Apollo.¹ Lamb, however, interprets the altars as hearths, though there do not seem to have been traces of houses. This second stratum is dated by Troy VI-VII grey (and in a lesser degree Troy V-VI red) ware. The top stratum was of the historical period and consisted mainly of archaic and classical graves (mentioned above), with a few Byzantine and some recent Turkish burials; but apparently Calvert also noted some house traces. We have considered the possibility that these traces belonged to a classical city; but Hanay Tepe itself is too small for a city, and the density of the cemetery seems to preclude such a notion. The prehistoric occupation, on the other hand, seems to have extended beyond the mound, and this could have been the Thymbra of the epic. We have visited Hanay Tepe three times and always noted black prehistoric potsherds (with a little Late Bronze Age grey). The mound has been further lacerated by trenching for earth, and in 1969 we saw some flimsy wall traces exposed at what we judged to be a prehistoric level; in the preceding year there was archaic and classical pottery littered on the ground, but unfortunately we were treated as trespassers on that visit.

A kilometre south of Akça Köy, and about 250 m. south of the Kemer Su bridge, is Otuzbir, where the Pinarbasi * road branches off from the main highway. The name is said to mean the 31st kilometre stone from Çanak Kale (our speedometer gave 33 km. from the centre of the town). Otuzbir has two coffee hanes (the older one, on the east side of the road, deserted in 1969) and a handful of houses; it has recently acquired village status and in 1969 had been officially renamed Tastepe*. Forchhammer spoke of a place 'Baluk' that is marked in this position on Spratt's map (and von Hahn's); we found that the name was known (Ballik*); but it refers to the Balli* Kaya with its bee rock (below, p. 130). No part of the Troad is richer in deserted villages than this; besides

¹ A few months after the excavation Sayce believed that he could detect traces of temple foundations (*JHS* i (1880), 79 f.).

Akça Köy to the north, there is Keler Oba on the east and Tasoba * on the south behind Asarlik* Tepe, with Araplar across the river Menderes, and further west is Yerkesik. From Otuzbir the main road climbs up through pine forest to a pass 200-300 m. above sea level. Above the road here is the Shi`ite village of Derbendbasi*, which is relatively new and has no antiquities.¹ The only site known to the people there is Fila* Tepe,² a high, regular, more loosely wooded peak that rises above the road on the south-west with an altitude of perhaps 200 m. (Schliemann's figure of 68 m. must be an error). This may be the hill that Francklin and Hope climbed in the belief that it was Gargara (the peak of Ida overlooking the Trojan Plain). It is marked (with a site) as Mt. Dede on Admiralty chart 1608 and Schliemann's map, and it is still known as Dede; it must therefore be the mountain opposite the Balli* Dag* of which Fellows in 1838 noted that in Turkish superstition a great man was buried there, the name of the hill (which he does not give) signifying a burial place.³ Kiepert in 1842 remarked a primitive fortification on the hill.⁴ Schliemann saw two collapsed concentric rings of fortification wall about 50 m. apart surrounding the summit. He made excavations in 1882 and speaks of rude unglazed and unpainted wheelmade pottery of a dull red brick colour, perhaps comparable to that of the lowest level on the Balli Dag.⁵ We ascended it in 1959 and noted a few fragments of tile or pithos and of coarse pottery, all quite undatable; but we were able to confirm that there seemed to be more than one collapsed ring wall of poor dry-rubble stonework, some remains possibly of fallen buildings, and two tolerably well squared blocks. We should hesitate to regard this as more than a fort or place of refuge.

Fila Tepe is the highest and most northerly of three rocky hills that form a straight line and are conspicuous on the edge of the hill country here. The most southerly is the Balli Dag. That in the middle is Asarlik. It is close to the Balli Dag; and the two hills, both about 150 m. high, face one another across the Menderes at the point where it enters the plain (PLATE 12, from Asarlik).⁶ Schliemann called the hill `Eski Hissarlik', no doubt from a desire to avoid confusion with his own

1 Population 157 in the 1940 census.

2 Fu(gh)lu Tepe in H. Kiepert, Schliemann, and A. Reinach, Fulah on Forchhammer and Spratt's map (Fulak on von Hahn's).

3 *Journal* (1839), 73.

4 *Memoir über die Construction der Karte* (1854), 59. He placed the ancient Kenchreai there.

5 *Troja* (1884), 270. In a report of 1890 he lists Fila Tepe with other sites which produced grey ware comparable to that in his pre-archaic level at Troy; these included Asarlik (`Eski Hissarlik'), the Balli Dag, his heroic tumuli, and Cebren and Scepsis, and would seem in general to imply an archaic date (*H. Schliemann Briefwechsel* ii (1958), 399). Dr. Lamb does not seem to have seen any pottery in Berlin from Fila Tepe.

6 See Leaf, *Troy* (1912), pl. 2, with the river on the extreme right entering the narrows between the two hills.

Hisarlik * (Troy); and the name has come into regular use among scholars. But all independent authorities, including Calvert and Virchow, call it Hisarlik (or, as we have received it, Asarlik*), except Judeich, whose guide called it `Little Pinarbasi*'. The terrain here is rocky, but there are some fertile fields down in the valley by the river. The hill was pointed out as a site to Spratt by Calvert, supposedly in 1839 (above, p. 36); but it appears that knowledge of it goes back a year earlier to Raoul-Rochette and Morey's visit of prospection from the Balli* Dag*. Raoul-Rochette reported a complete circular enceinte in Cyclopean masonry with a wall 4 m. thick rising 5 m. above the debris and an opening on the north, a less well-preserved lower circuit on the north with its gate on the east, traces of the foundations of buildings, and a flattened rectangular rock surface on top, which he took for the site of a temple. He regarded these remains as of the same age as `Troy' (the Balli Dag site) opposite; and he disagreed with Mauduit's proposal to identify the site as Scamandria on the ground that there were no mouldings, potsherds, or glass on the site.¹ Calvert seems to have dug on the hill top at some time, to judge by the brief account in Sayce, who visited the place with him in 1879.² Sayce speaks of remains of prehistoric buildings and a `Cyclopean' ring wall, within which were a number of curious ellipses of stone which sound like a sort of underpinning of `tumuli'; Calvert's excavations had yielded only two fragments of pottery, said to be prehistoric. Sayce himself picked up some undatable sherds on the spot. Schliemann reckoned that he could recognize an acropolis with its walls preserved to a height of several metres amid their own debris, a lower town with numerous house foundations on the north and east slopes, and a decrepit tumulus of pebbles; the depth of deposit on the site was slight (50-70 cm.).³ His soundings in 1882 yielded coarse, heavy, wheelmade pottery which he compared to that from the bottom level on the Balli Dag, and apparently some fragmentary bronze vessels and four fibulae. Lamb reckoned the grey ware sherds in Berlin archaic, like those from the Balli Dag.⁴ Finally, Kosay* and Sperling excavated on the hill in 1934.⁵ The top they report as a flat triangular area with a fortification wall 3.75 m. thick on the north and east (the rest being precipitous). On all sides their trenching hit the rock directly under the surface. There was no layer of occupation. They found about a hundred sherds in all, a large number of them being from a single large jar; the pottery was corroded and ash-coloured, possibly of Troy VI-VII date.

¹*Journal des Savants* Aug. 1840, 455 f. I have not seen Mauduit on this, nor had access to Morey's account (above, p. 32).

²*JHS* i (1880), 77.

³*Troja* (1884), 269 f.

⁴*Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 111.

⁵*Troad'da drt yerlesme* yeri* (1936), 7 ff.

We can add little to this from our visit of 1963. The hill top is rounded and has some sparse scrub; it is easily approached from the north-east. It is shown in Kosay * and Sperling's photographs.¹ We noted a bank of stones running most of the way round the top, but not on the south-west where the slope is precipitous; at one point in its course we saw a bit of small-stone walling. We picked up four bits of thick pithos and one other coarse sherd. Dragendorff in 1896 thought the supposed walls were natural rock formation.² This is clearly not true of the ring wall. But we suspect that he was right in so describing the supposed house foundations below; Kosay and Sperling remark that the broken ends of the rock layers give a false appearance of walls, and numerous houses with practically no sherds is an unconvincing pattern. There must, however, have been habitation hereabouts. For Calvert at some time excavated near the 'high village of Tasoba* opposite the Balli* Dag*', opening poor graves on the way up and finding a Hellenistic relief vase and Megarian bowl by the village;³ and though we have not been to the now deserted village of Tasoba we ascertained at Otuzbir that it is immediately behind Asarlik*.

Schliemann reckoned that this fortress and that on the Balli Dag, which with Calvert he took to be Gergis, comprised a unit dominating the passage up the Scamander valley. Neither Judeich nor Kosay and Sperling could believe in an ancient town here. The latter took it for a place of refuge in an emergency. Judeich noted a resemblance to Celtic fortifications in Germany and suggested that Fila* Tepe and Asarlik were strongholds built by the Gauls when they came to occupy Ilion in the third century; and A. Reinach supposed that they were fortresses of the Palaiologoi when they were trying to hold the Dardanelles against the Ottomans in the fourteenth century.⁴ Calvert, as we learn from Thiersch's catalogue of his collection, took his site opposite the Balli Dag (which we presume to be Asarlik) to be Petra.⁵ We have not seen the potsherds from Asarlik in Berlin. But we very much doubt whether there is a prehistoric site there; and considering the character and condition of the sherds that we have seen, we should not care to consider archaic habitation proved. What is certain is the Hellenistic pottery from Tasoba, which seems to fit with a small rural

settlement rather than a Gaulish stronghold. The *χωρίον* of Petra has been mentioned above (p. 115). What is relevant for the present purpose is that 'King's

1 Their figs. 7-9 (the walls figs. 8-8b); cf. Blegen, *Troy i*, fig. 38. Cf. also Vellay, *Controverses autour de Troie* (1936), 71 f., with a copy of the simple thumb-nail plan made by Morey and reproduced by Mauduit.

2Ap. Judeich, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 540 f. Judeich recognized a certainly prehistoric citadel, but doubted whether Schliemann's lower town was of the same date.

3 Calvert Coll. cat. site no. 23.

4Rev. *épigr.*, N.S. i (1913), 178 f.

5 Leaf inclined to place Petra at Fila Tepe (*BSA* xviii (1911-12), 290).

people' lived there in the third century B.C. and in the terms of the intended grant to Aristodicides were to be allowed to go on living there if they wished to do so for their own safety. The tertiary rock of the Trojan Plain and eastern plateau does not lend itself to bold formations such as would merit the name Petra. And it is only these hills of the fringe of the volcanic above the south-east corner of the plain that come into question. The Balli * Dag* site looks like a small classical city and seems to have come to an end near the beginning of the Hellenistic era, so it must be ruled out. As positions for Petra the two most suitable situations are Fila* Tepe (Leaf's choice) and Asarlik*, which Calvert presumably had in mind. Of these the former is perhaps the bolder peak, but with its Hellenistic graves Asarlik should have the preference.

The Menderes is crossed by a concrete bridge halfway between Otuzbir and Pinarbasi*. It seems to have had a predecessor called Karaagac* Köprüsü, which, according to the majority opinion in the coffee house at Otuzbir, was a little lower down the stream; but in the nineteenth century the travellers found only a ford here (definitely lower down).¹ The gorge above the bridge looks very beautiful from both ends, with patches of cultivated land beside the river. To the west of the great loop in the middle, south-west of the Balli Dag, the maps from Lechevalier to Philippson mark a village of Araplar, whose name just survives in local memory. Napier marked it (without a name, at point W) on his map as a Turkish village with a few remains and a fountain; Raoul-Rochette in 1838 noted a dilapidated Turkish cemetery and spoke of the village as deserted, but argued that it was the site of Scamandria. The hills on the west side of the gorge (the Kara Dag) have a barer look than those on the east. From Wood in 1750 onward travellers have followed the river-bed in the defile. E.D. Clarke was regaled by the music of shepherds' pipes; Hunt remarked oleanders, olives, and myrtles, and cattle grazing on an island between the currents, Raoul-Rochette flocks with a Greek shepherd as handsome as Paris, Perrot and Tozer speak of plane trees, and Leaf wrote to his wife of glades of oak and olive with nightingales. Forchhammer said that in the flood season the river rises 30-40 ft. above its bed; as we remark elsewhere (pp. 293 f.) it can dry up completely in summer at the lower end of the gorge, so that only some stagnant pools remain; and if it retains any flow in high summer the water is nowadays pumped off in plastic pipes to irrigate the fields.

¹ Hunt (1801), Fellows who in March 1838 had to return from Pinarbasi to the Garlic Bridge in order to cross, Schliemann who speaks of the ford on several occasions, and others. Griffiths (1786) seems to speak as though there was a wooden bridge here, and Lechevalier's original map marks what might be one; but neither Wood nor Kauffer marks one.

From travellers as far back as Stochove (1631) we learn that the Greeks knew the river as Skamandros and the Turks as Mendres (*vel sim.*); it is now called Mendere or Menderes. To Lechevalier and two generations of his followers the Menderes was with diminishing conviction recognized as the Simois, or at least as Homer's Simois. Texier's attempt to dissociate the Turkish name from the ancient one by explaining it as an abbreviation of 'Degirmendere' * (= mill-stream) has the merit of ingenuity, whether or not his own. The course of the river higher up will be described in a later chapter (pp. 291 ff.).

5

Pinarbasi* and the Balli* Dag*

South of the road from Otuzbir to Pinarbasi the volcanic rocks of the interior of the Troad begin. The hillsides are generally barren with only a thin skin of earth. But above the left bank of the Menderes on the south side of the road there are some fields which rise to the low rounded hill crest marked as 'Dede' on von Hahn's sketch-map of the environs of the Balli Dag. Schliemann in 1868 remarked a monument on this crest with an unintelligible inscription which he read as Turkish numerals.¹ There is nothing there now except for a scatter of stones among the oak trees, and the name Dede is forgotten (a peasant to whom we mentioned it pointed to the distant Fila* Tepe). About 300 m. to the north of the road, 1 km. from Pinarbasi, we examined a low tell-like hillock about 200 by 100 m. across. We picked up the occasional fragment of flat tile there, and sherds which included both modern Akköy testi ware and Roman red glaze.² This is presumably the small hill northeast of Pinarbasi on which Schliemann saw a number of granite columns that he supposed to have been brought there from Ilion for the konak of a Turkish Aga*;³ it may also be that marked as 'Garlik (Batieia)' on von Hahn's map and recognized as the Tomb of Skipping Myrine. There was no doubt a Roman farm on the crest.

The road leads on to the village of Pinarbasi, with the Balli Dag (or Balli Kaya, as it is now called) rising gently to the south-east and the celebrated springs (the Kirk* Göz) immediately below to west. These

¹*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 141 ff.; cf. Sayce, *JHS* i (1880), 77 f. (built into a cattle enclosure above Pinarbasi village). A. Firmin-Didot gives a drawing of signs on a stone in the village (*Notes d'un voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817* (1822?), 42). I have not been able to collate the three copies.

² Dr. Hayes has identified a fragment of a grey carinated bowl, perhaps Coan (as *Ath. Agora* v, group F 29-32) and, if so, first century B.C.-first century after Christ; a fragment probably of thin-walled rough-cast ware, mid first century after Christ; a fragment of Candarli* ware, perhaps first-second century after Christ; a fragment of a reeded handle, perhaps North African of the second century; a base of a Candarli ware dish with tapering foot (Hayes's late form 4), third century or later.

³*Troja* (1884), 27 f.

will all be described presently. West of the Balli * Dag* is a lower crest now crowned by the white-washed `depo' to which the water supply of the villages is pumped up from the springs. This may be the position of the tumulus marked on the older travellers' maps and called `Upshan' Tepe by Francklin (better known as the Tomb of Paris), which is evidently the same as the Çoban Tepe of which Calvert reports that it was secretly opened in 1887 and yielded gold and gilt ornaments, a bronze mirror and patera, and an alabaster alabastron, with a dating apparently to the fifth century B. C.¹

Pinarbasi* has its name from the exceedingly copious springs at the foot of the hill (Kirk* Göz). But it is one of the smaller villages of the Trojan Plain. In 1750 (Wood) it consisted of half a dozen huts, and from Choiseul-Gouffier's time on it had 20-30 families, though the mosque had two minarets (Raoul-Rochette). Schliemann numbered 23 houses (8 Armenian, the rest Turkish) in 1868. The population was 200 in the 1940 census. Many new houses and a large coffee house have appeared in the last two or three years; and though small, the place does not look poor. According to Choiseul-Gouffier (apparently in 1787) the çiftlik at Pinarbasi belonged to the Kaptan Pasa* (presumably therefore Hasan, whose well known çiftlik was at Yerkesik, pp. 147 f.); but he also speaks of the Aga* of Pinarbasi, with whom he lodged, and in fact there were two çiftliks there (the Aga's being just north of the village and the other on the south-west). After this the Aga is known by name Hacı Mehmet Bey, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1794 (Sibthorp) and seems at other times to have been absent in Constantinople or residing at Çanak Kale (Francklin, Hawkins); in 1801 he was with the Kaptan Pasa in Egypt, and Gell was entertained in his house by a deputy. Small as it was, his property is said by Dallaway to have brought in the equivalent of £5,000 stg. a year. Hunt says that the çiftlik at which he stayed at Pinarbasi in 1801 belonged to Hadimoglu* (below, p. 309), and this tallies with Richter's information that in 1816 one of the two çiftliks at Pinarbasi belonged to the Bey of the Dardanelles. In that year Turner could not stay with the Aga (who was celebrating a feast) and was entertained at the small farm at Pinarbasi owned by the former Kaptan Pasa (apparently Küçük Hasan, or Hüseyin) who was banished in 1807 after the British fleet had forced the passage of the straits. In 1830 Michaud stayed at the Kaptan Pasa's çiftlik. Napier reported the village degenerated in 1839; in 1842 Welcker stayed in a village guest-room. According to Tozer the çiftlik belonged to an Armenian called Meyerditch at the time of his first visit in 1853, but in

¹*JHS* xvii (1897), 319 f.; cf. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (1891), 86, Winnefeld, *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 541. The finds were confiscated by the government, and Calvert was able to examine them on their way to Constantinople.

1861 there was a Greek landowner (presumably the George Menzous with whom he stayed, and presumably also the same person as the demarch Georgios Mengioussis who entertained Schliemann at Yeniköy in 1868, below, p. 168). In 1881 travellers relied on the hospitality of 'Zachariah's Chiflik', the country house of a rich Christian Albanian on the edge of the village.¹ Nothing seems now to remain of these çiftliks. Hobhouse relates that when he was at the garden (that of the Aga *) by the springs in 1810 he was addressed in Latin by a tattered person of fair complexion who answered to the name Selim and seems to have been a servant of the Aga; on being asked his origin he declared himself 'civis mundi', but Hobhouse took him for a prisoner or deserter from the French army in Egypt who had embraced Islam.

The Balli* Dag* or Balli Kaya (= honey hill or rock), which is seen in the view from Asarlik* on the north-east in PLATE 12, is called by this name because of the inaccessible rock cleft (Ari Tasi*) in the cliff at its south corner where wild bees live.² The name is as old as our first notice of the hill in 1785 (Lechevalier). The summit, about 150 m. above sea level, rises abruptly above a bend in the river Menderes, and bears the remains of a classical citadel, with three barrows forming a line along the crest to the north. It is nearly 2 km. from the citadel down the slope to the village of Pinarbasi*. Choiseul-Gouffier spoke of the ascent becoming so steep that the horses had to be left behind, and it has been asserted that the slope would have been too precipitous for the use of chariots. But Choiseul must have taken a difficult route (perhaps by way of the Bee Rock); for von Hahn spoke of buffalo carts going up to the top, and in 1959 we drove up it easily in a jeep. This is the hill which Lechevalier so brilliantly envisaged as the Homeric Troy. The Pergamos was on the summit, with heroic tomb mounds near by and a lower town stretching to Pinarbasi and the Springs of Scamander at the foot of the hill. The resulting city is beautifully depicted with battlements and red-tiled roofs, and with ploughland and fallow at the foot, in the vignette on Gell's title-page.

We shall take Lechevalier's site in the order 'lower town'burial moundscitadel, followed in the next section by the springs. A bibliography of the site and the springs would include over fifty authors and be little less than a duplication of the list of travellers from Lechevalier onward in Chapter 2. The reader may refer to that list by way of the index. Fine old designs, lending enchantment to the scene, will be found in Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque* (ii, pls. 20 ff.) and in Gell.

¹ Lawton, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 148.

² This is probably the crack that appears towards the left in Leaf's photograph, *Troy* (1912), pl. 2. Kosay* and Sperling give photographs of the hill, their figs. 1-4. Other references in L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 78 n. 4 (3).

In 1750 Wood (in his manuscript diary) remarked that on the rock near the springs there were faint but indisputable ruins of ancient buildings. And the impression given by the accounts of Lechevalier¹ and some of his successors is of considerable remains of an ancient town above the springs and near the village. Morritt noted building traces; Francklin satisfied himself that there had been a city of 40,000-50,000 inhabitants there; though he was a disbeliever in Lechevalier's Troy. E. D. Clarke noted the marks of ancient turrets, as of a citadel, immediately below the Aga's * house; Mauduit seems to have seen foundations of walls up to 100 m. long above the springs, and von Richter numerous stones of a city on the way up the Balli* Dag*. Forchhammer's version of Spratt's map marks an outer circuit wall above the village, complete with Scaean Gates. Finally, E. Curtius, in his Berlin lecture after the famous visit with Adler and others, claimed to have seen extensive ruins of the lower town.² But, as against this, some ten travellers, not all of whom were opponents of the Balli Dag theory, were unable to find anything; and the excavations on the hill have decided the issue in their favour. Von Hahn, to his great disappointment, found the slopes blank at the time when he excavated the citadel in 1864: 'on all sides (he wrote) the ground is in its natural state, untouched by human hands.' Schliemann discovered nothing in 1868 when he cut long traverses across the hillside between the village and the summit and eastward as far as the river, or again when he made tests at the village in 1873;³ and Kosay* and Sperling also found nothing on the slopes when they excavated on the Balli Dag in 1934. Curtius's affirmations, delivered with resounding authority as late as 1871, evidently resulted from over-hasty observation and the lack of any preparation for the study of Trojan topography; recent researches have shown that he was also deceived by similar 'lusus naturae' in Elis and Arcadia. But the error of the earlier travellers is explicable. In the first place, the study of archaeology had not advanced to the point where it would be considered inappropriate for the Homeric Troy to be graced with marble buildings in the classical orders, and the architectural pieces in the village could therefore be counted as evidence. And secondly, here as at Asarlik* (above, p. 126), the geological formation is such that the rock ledges give a convincing imitation of masonry, with a sort of red mortar in the interstices. Lechevalier himself remarked this in 1785,⁴ as also did Olivier and Liston

¹*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 27 ff., (Lenz) *Reise nach Troas* (1800), 143 ff.

² Cf. Schliemann, *Ilios* (1880), 191; H. Schliemann, *Briefwechsel* i (1953), 203 f. (letter to James Calvert), with references in nn. 280-2.

³*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 161 f., *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 43 f., 318.

⁴ 'Nature hath so exactly imitated Art on this occasion, that a very minute degree of observation is requisite for detecting the deception' (*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 25). The misfortune of Lechevalier on Troy was that he became a system familiar to all rather

(footnote continued on next page)

a few years later (Liston even took a sample of the 'mortar' back to Dalzel in Edinburgh); and von Prokesch was much perplexed by the red mortar in the cracks of what he recognized as rock. Von Hahn again remarked on the false resemblance to masonry; and Virchow has described it in detail: 'Der Berg besteht hier ausschliesslich aus dichtem, bläulichem, wahrscheinlich devonischem Kalkstein, der sich übrigens auch auf der Höhe findet, nur dass hier die Schichten aufgerichtet sind und die nackten Schichtenköpfe in langen Linien die Oberfläche durchsetzen. Schon v. Hahn bemerkte mit Recht, dass diese Linien an Mauern erinnern; in der That hat man grosse Mühe nötig, um sich vor einer solchen Verwechslung zu hüten, und ich fürchte fast, dass einzelne Besucher in diesen Irrthum verfallen sind.' The lower town, then, is a mirage.

The three barrows form a line pointing northward along the edge of the ravine. The one furthest from the citadel was selected by Lechevalier for the Tomb of Hector because it was composed of stones. Morritt was at great pains to gain permission to excavate there in 1794, but the Aga * would not agree to his working for more than one night with two men. The 'Tomb of Hector' was, and still is, a loose pile of stones; but Gell insisted that it bore on its top a 'crown of withered herbs', which in summer would be converted into a tuft of grass and so fulfil the scriptures where Lucan speaks of Julius Caesar absentmindedly stepping in the long grass until a peasant warns him not to tread on Hector's ghost.¹ Hunt and Carlyle in 1801 noted foundations of walls of rough masonry by the 'Tomb of Hector', which were about 7 ft. thick and formed a building of irregular plan about 40 paces across; digging among them they found tiles and mortar.² Von Hahn also trenched some circles there in 1864.³ The 'Tomb of Hector' itself was noted by both Lechevalier and Dallaway as looking as though it had already been opened. Lubbock excavated it in 1872; Schliemann reports that he found no ashes or bones, but that numerous fragments of

(footnote continued from previous page)

than an author to be read; and we cannot fairly criticize his opponents for not reading him when so few of his followers did so.

¹*Bell. Civ.* ix. 975-7

securus in alto
gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat.

Gell, *Topography of Troy* (1804), 95, pls. 35-6; Lord Aberdeen's explanation of the significance of the tuft of grass and animadversions on the subject, *Edinburgh Review* vi (July 1805), 278. Lucan's concern is of course not topographical but with the motif of 'data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris'; everything of Troy is extinct, even the Scamander (below, p. 294 n. 1).

²Walpole's *Memoirs* (1817), 108. Classical red stucco is found inside the citadel on the summit.

³*Die Ausgrabungen auf der homerischen Pergamos* (1865), 6.

painted Greek vases of the third century B.C. came to light.¹ Possibly what we have is an outpost of the citadel on the summit; the thickness of Hunt's walls would fit with this. Calvert thought the barrow itself was a stone heap formed of the waste from quarrying; he remarked that such mounds are frequent in conjunction with quarry pits both on the Balli * Dag* here and across the river. Forchhammer in fact seems to have explained all three tumuli in this way.

The other two mounds are of earth and stones mixed. The lesser one is supposed not to have been excavated; the larger one, which is 3 or 4 m. high and 20 m. across, is the one that was generally known as the 'Tomb of Priam'. Calvert cut a trench to the centre and inspected the foundation there which had already been noted by Hunt in 1801; it was rectangular, measuring about 14 by 12 ft., with outer walls of large irregular blocks without mortar and a looser packing of small stones inside.² A few potsherds came to light in the excavation, but no evidence for a burial; and Calvert took the barrow to be the base of a statue or monument, or (as Hunt had suggested) some altar or chapel (shrine). Schliemann also sank a shaft in what he calls the 'Tomb of Priam' and presumably thought to be the same mound as Calvert's. But his map in *Troja* seems to show it as the mound nearest to the citadel, whereas from Hunt and Tozer we gather that Hunt's and Calvert's mound was the middle one; and in fact Calvert later said that Schliemann and he dug different tumuli.³ Schliemann found heavy, glazed wheelmade pottery of a grey or blackish colour, which he compared with that from his seventh (i.e. Aeolic Greek) city of Troy; finding no burial he took these barrows to be cenotaphs or memorials.⁴ It would be most natural to suppose that they are not tombs. But the issue is complicated by W. Lamb's discovery of Late Bronze Age grey ware ('Troy VI-VII'), labelled as from the 'Tumulus of Priam', in the collection of Schliemann's sherds in Berlin. Schliemann himself quite definitely related the sherds to his 'Aeolic' and not his 'Lydian' (Late Bronze Age) stratum; and he was generally careful in such matters. Lamb noted on the other hand that she could not find the prehistoric sherds that Schliemann had reported from Pasa* Tepe (above, p. 108); and yet these were in Berlin because Winnefeld reported that what sherds could still be identified as from Pasa Tepe (Berlin 5607) showed throughout a close relationship with Troy VI-VII.⁵ The answer may therefore be that an error had

¹*Archaeologia* xlv (1877), 35; cf. *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 44 ('not earlier than 300 B.C.'). When later he dug the 'Tomb of Priam' Schliemann attached a higher date to pottery of this sort.

²*Arch. Journal* xxi (1864), 49 f. It is presumably this tomb that Perrot found recently opened in 1856.

³*JHS* xvii (1897), 319; cf. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (1891), 85.

⁴*Troja* (1884), 262 f.

⁵*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 545.

occurred in the labelling before Lamb's visit to Berlin, and that her 'Tomb of Priam' sherds are the missing ones from Pasa * Tepe.

The existence of a citadel on the summit was established by Lechevalier, and has been almost universally acknowledged since Mauduit. It has been extensively excavated since 1864, and the surface observations of the travellers are therefore of little moment. But it is worth remarking that Newton in 1853 rejected the identification with Troy on the ground that there was no vestige of the pottery familiar at Mycenae and Tiryns, and also that while Curtius compared the walls on the Balli* Dag* with those of Tiryns and Mycenae, Virchow pointed out that the stones in the walls there had been shaped with an iron pick and could not be of the Bronze Age. Virchow seems at the same time to have recognized an agora with rows of stone seats.¹ It is generally believed that the first excavation of the citadel was von Hahn's in the spring of 1864; and this may perhaps be the case, though the British Museum inventory shows Brunton's finds of 1856 as coming from Troy as well as Ilium Novum (see below).

Von Hahn's excavation on the Balli Dag lasted for perhaps less than a month; for he began to dig on 29 April and he was back in Syra before 1 June 1864.² He established the outlines of a citadel 190 m. long and up to 100 m. across. It occupies the extreme east angle of the hill, and the ground falls steeply (on the south precipitously) to the river below, except on the north-west where it is set off from the adjacent level crest of the hill by a bank some metres high. Von Hahn noted that parts of the circuit were of rough masonry, but part also was of fairly well-dressed blocks. At the north-west it had an entrance by a well-built passage and an arched doorway which has shallow curved brackets closely resembling those of the main gates at Assos³ and must date about the fourth century B. C. In the interior von Hahn cleared the foundations of a building about 7 m. square with two column stumps at its north end; he took it for a temple. He noted red plaster from the buildings, clay water pipes, a headless draped terracotta figurine, and black-glaze sherds and lamps. He also found 16 bronze coins, apparently all Hellenic, of which Prokesch von Osten was able to identify twelve (see below).

1 Cf. *Ilios* (1880), 55. We have seen nothing corresponding to this 'agora'.

2 J.G. von Hahn, *Die Ausgrabungen auf der homerischen Pergamos in zwei Sendschreiben an Georg Finlay* (1865), with a plan of the site (here FIG. 7); drawings and a plan of 1881 are published in J.T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 149 ff. (the plan reproduced in Vellay, *Controverses autour de Troie* (1936), opp. p. 76).

3 e.g. J.T. Clarke, Bacon, Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (1902-21), 189, fig. 2. For these 'false arches' cf. G.E. Bean and J.M. Cook, *BSA* 52 (1957), 66 n. 30, F.G. Maier, *Ath. Mitt.* lxxiii (1958), 14 n. 28.

Akropolis von Pergamos

Erklärung:

- a Steinbruch
- b Reyerquadern
- c Hegergang
- d } Prokesschranke
- e } Weisse Quadern
- f Sprattlerasse
- h Leakenauer
- iklm } Mandantmauer
- nup } Lagerheit der Burgmauer
- q Felsstufen
- r Künstlicher Felswinkel
- t obere } Ziffermauer
- u untere } Ziffermauer
- v Finlay Polygone
- w Hahn Eck
- x Futtermauer
- y Welcker Vorsprung
- z Curtius Nischenmauer
- aa Gussstein
- bb Brändsted Winkel
- cc Fackhammer Winkel
- dd Lechevalier Viereck
- ee Hydria
- ff Calvert Nische
- gg Röhrenleitung
- hh Grab
- ii Gerhard Mauer



Fig. 7.
Citadel on the Balli * Dag* (from von Hahn)

Schliemann excavated on the hill top both inside and outside the walls in 1868, and apparently again on the inside in 1882.¹ In an area in front of the citadel he uncovered house foundations with plentiful Hellenic pottery, which he took to constitute a lower town comparable in size to the citadel. Curiously, these remains outside the walls escaped our notice, and it is not clear what Kosay * and Sperling saw there. Schliemann confirmed that von Hahn's fortification walls were in two stages, the one of large rough blocks and the other of regular coursed masonry; both are illustrated in his *Troja*. Within the citadel he dug for four hours inside von Hahn's temple and found masses of tiles and pottery (one vase being like those found in tombs of Corinth, so presumably archaic or classical Corinthian). His other trenches, of which one was 25 m. long, revealed two stages of occupation inside the citadel. The later one, in which walls of houses and buildings came to light, contained much Hellenic pottery, prominent among which was black-glaze ware and especially what sounds like fourth-century plates and ribbed ware. Schliemann dated this stratum between the fifth and second centuries B.C. The earlier one, which he found to be the immediate predecessor of the later one without any interval separating the two, contained the remains of a house wall and grey wheelmade pottery. He finally dated this grey ware ninth-fifth centuries,² and Lamb has confirmed that it is archaic and not prehistoric.³

Kosay and Sperling worked on the site in 1934.⁴ They illustrate the outer walls (their figs. 5-6) and remark a thickness of 1.75 m. at one point. Inside the citadel they dug five pits; they found rough house walls and roof tiles, and again fragments of red wall plaster. The pottery here was recognized as fourth century, and they also found two Hellenic bronze coins (see below). They go on to speak of Hellenistic, but apparently not as distinct from the fourth century; and in general they seem to have recognized only a single building level, which was about a metre deep. They did, however, remark a shallower layer with prehistoric directly above the rock; in this they found a fragment of grey pottery which they reckoned could be Troy VI-VII, and apparently another of earliest Troy VI.

Traces of the fortification wall and of house walls can still be seen. In our visits of 1959 and 1968 we noted depressions that we took for

¹*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 169 f.; *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 44, 318; *Troja* (1884), 264 ff.

²For his earlier view cf. *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 44 (nothing earlier than 500-600 B.C.) The shift is part of a general change in his attitude after the 1882 campaign and the excavation of the 'Tomb of Achilles'.

³*Præhist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 130 (the grey ware from Schliemann's 'Tomb of Priam', however, being Late Bronze Age; see above, pp. 133 f.).

⁴*Troad'da dört yerlesme* yeri* (1936), 3 ff.

cisterns both inside and outside the circuit, and red plaster in association with one of the former and with house walls. Our yield of surface pottery was relatively slight. To the archaic period belong some scraps of grey ware, a couple of fragments with painted stripes, and a bit of an open vase with traces of white slip and purple bands outside and in. On this evidence the occupation should go back at least to the early sixth century. The black glaze was mainly from fourth-century bowls and fishplates. Mr. Sparkes pointed out a poorly glazed kantharos stem which might be third century, though it could still be late fourth on the pre-Koroni chronology, and on our later visit we noticed a little bowl rim of early Hellenistic form. We also picked up a single fragment of a half-glazed bowl which we took to be Hellenistic. There was no red ware, and occupation on the site would seem to have been fading out in early Hellenistic times.

Our evidence for occupation in archaic times is in fact confirmed by Calvert's discoveries. The catalogue of the Calvert Collection reveals that he excavated pithos graves outside the citadel (site no. 6, 'Gergis'). To judge by my hasty notes, his finds included two archaic Corinthian kotylai (one perhaps still seventh century), a kotyle of the local 'Swan Group' and two lekanes with swans upside down on the exterior, a plastic bird vase, two classical seated goddess terracottas, and a bronze mirror. We should also expect Brunton's 'Troy' to be this site. And if it were so, we could add from the finds he gave to the British Museum two sixth-century 'Swan Group' lekanes from the site itself, and from the cemetery nearby a black round aryballos, several Black Figure lekythoi and some other poor Black Figure. But it is possible that Brunton followed Frederick (not Frank) Calvert in placing Troy at Akça Köy ('Thymbra Farm') and was excavating around Hanay Tepe; so this evidence is questionable. Calvert's finds do not help with the dating of the end of occupation on the Balli * Dag*.

From the findings of those who have excavated on the citadel it seems fairly clear there are two periods of occupation, the one around the fourth century, the other earlier. Kosay* and Sperling assumed that the earlier occupation was prehistoric. But there is no support for this from any quarter; and we must rather assume that the earlier period is represented by the archaic, which now appears to be abundant and on the evidence of the painted ware goes back to somewhere around 600 B.C. Schliemann in the later stages of his work in the Troad reckoned that the archaic grey ware dated between the fifth and ninth centuries; but this rested on the assumption that, being found in heroic tumuli such as the 'Tomb of Achilles', his grey ware should reach back into the Dark Age (below, pp. 163 f.). Blegen also has suggested a Dark Age date for the Balli Dag grey ware, remarking that it is not impossible that the

inhabitants of Troy after the destruction of their city VIIb2 removed to the Balli * Dag* and maintained a foothold there for several centuries before returning to occupy Ilion.¹ But this again seems not to depend on any material evidence. The site on the Balli Dag was supposed to be Gergis; and Athenaeus (vi. 256) relates that the city of Gergitha (originally Gergina) was founded near the Trojan Ida by descendants of the old Trojan population whom Teucer had transported to Cyprus. It was therefore natural that a Trojan refugee settlement should be sought on the Balli Dag. But we now know that it is not the site of Gergis.

The adherents of Lechevalier's system made much of the fact that no coins were found on the Balli Dag.² This of course ceased to be an argument after von Hahn discovered 16 coins in his excavation there. When we enquired in Pinarbasi* in 1959 we were told that bronze coins and pots do come to light on the Balli Dag but the villagers throw them away. Despite our remonstrations we had no better luck on several subsequent visits. But when we returned in 1968 we were shown five Hellenic bronzes that had been found on the hilltop:

Sigeum 18 mm. <i>Obv.</i> facing head of Athena, <i>rev.</i> owl ΣΙΓΕ	2
Ilion 17 mm. <i>Obv.</i> Athena head r. in circle of dots, <i>rev.</i> Athena Ilias 1. ΙΑΙ, no symbol (PLATE 12 <i>b</i>)	1
Birytis 18 mm. <i>Obv.</i> capped head l., two stars; <i>rev.</i> club ΒΙ ΡΥ in wreath	1
Unidentified 12 mm. (types worn beyond recognition, but not of a Troadic mint)	1

In both its *obv.* and *rev.* types the coin of Ilion corresponds exactly to Bellinger's T 1, which is his earliest issue of Trojan bronze and dated by him 300-281 B.C. When these are added to the twelve of von Hahn's bronzes identified by Prokesch and the two found by Kosay* and Sperling, the resulting table is

Sigeum	5	Ilion	2
Mitylene	4	Abydos	2
Neandria, Alexandria Troas, Birytis,			
Gentinos, Arcadia (?),3 unidentified			
		each	1

As regards the closing date of occupation on the site, the two coins of Ilion and the single one of Alexandria Troas indicate survival into the third century. But the only precisely dated specimen (ours of Ilion) is evidently to be placed very early in that century, and the frequency of

1Troy iv (1958), 147 f.

2 Cf. Mauduit, *Découvertes dans la Troade* (1840), 64. As late as 1874 d'Eichtal was pointing to the absence of coins there as decisive evidence against Schliemann's claim that it was a Greek city site.

3 Cf. L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 80 n. 5.

bronzes of Sigeum suggests by contrast a predominantly fourth-century occupation.

The Balli * Dag* site has not lacked for identifications. The prevailing one since 1864 has been Calvert's Gergis, which, along with Lechevalier's Troy which it supplanted, we now know to be false (see below, pp. 347 ff.). Francklin's Dardania has no historical basis. Scamandria (Leake, Schliemann's first choice,¹ and Reinach) might suit Pliny's `parva civitas'; but Reinach in fact argued for the identification from the assumption that the masonry and red wall plaster indicated Byzantine occupation, and it is the lack of anything Roman or Byzantine at the Balli Dag that rules his Skamandros out. Kenchreai (Brückner) fails for the same reason,² for it is known only in Byzantine sources. Petra (H. Kiepert) is possible; but with its respectable archaic and classical graves and the fairly numerous coins found on the site, the Balli Dag site looks more like a small independent city than a shelter for `King's people', and the occupation on the site seems to be fading out too early (above, pp. 126 f.). The same objections apply to E.D. Clarke's comparison of the site to a pirates' retreat.

The nineteen Hellenic coins from the site ought to offer a clue. Those of Sigeum are commonest. But the site is not Sigeum. On the general principle that the bronzes of a city tend to be relatively numerous on their own home site we might infer that the settlement on the Balli Dag was one that did not strike coins of its own; and in that case Petra remains a possibility, as also is the equally obscure Kokylion (below, p. 322). But we may also consider the lesser cities whose coinage is represented in the finds from the Balli Dag. Two of these are unplaced Birytis and Gentinos. Of them we may say that Birytis minted tolerably strongly (below, pp. 356 f.), and if the Balli Dag site were Birytis we should expect to see more than one coin of the city among the nineteen known to us from the site. Coins of Gentinos, on the other hand, are exceedingly rare;³ and the only other known provenience is Ilion with two specimens.⁴ These two proveniences demand a situation in the immediate vicinity of Ilion and the Balli Dag (and especially of the latter, for the city there would not attract

¹*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 159, changed to Gergis in *Troy and its Remains* (1875), 44.

² Brückner in fact put Kenchreai at either Balli Dag or Fila* Tepe (*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 574).

³ The name is known only from the legend on the coins, the Athenian tribute lists of the first three assessment periods (only 1/12 talent), and the entry in Stephanus Byzantius

(*Γεντίνος, πόλις Τρωάδος, κτίσμα τινὸς τῶν Αἰνείου παίδων. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Γεντίνιοι*).

⁴ L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 77, 80 n. 8, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 108 (the mention in Schliemann's *Troja* which Robert cites seems to be confined to the German edition). For further references to the coins of Gentinos cf. F. Kiechle, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* x (1959/60), 144 (for 29 there read 31).

coins in the way that the Ilian festival did); and it could be that the output of bronzes of the Gentinians was so small and short-lived as to make little impression on the coinage circulating even in Gentinos itself.

The principal reason for placing Gentinos on the Balli * Dag* is that it is the only unidentified classical city site in the vicinity where Gentinos is to be sought; the one other possible location known to us is Mersinoba (above, pp. 113 f.); but that is three or four hours' walk from the Balli Dag where the coin was found. The types of the coins of Gentinos are, on the obverse, a female head which Imhoof-Blumer declared to be a nymph,¹ and on the reverse a bee. The two wonders of modern Pinarbasi* are the wild bees of the Balli Kaya and the amazingly copious springs which flow out of the rock at the foot of the hill and are worthy of a divine patron. These coincidences lend a certain attraction, though no cogency, to the attribution.

6

The Springs of Pinarbasi

The Kirk* Göz (= forty eyes or springs), situated below the village of Pinarbasi, is what Lechevalier in 1785 recognized as Homer's twin springs of Scamander. The very varied accounts of the place found in forty travellers of the hundred years after Lechevalier demonstrate the difficulty of describing a set of phenomena objectively once description has become involved with interpretation. Lechevalier himself oversimplified the phenomena, which on his first visit he evidently saw incompletely (our own experience warns us against blaming him for this); and with the Homeric parallels in mind his followers overlooked a great deal of what must have been there to be described, while his detractors were concerned largely with what was not there. I had been tempted to assume that the springs have changed greatly over the years. But Kauffer's plan of 1787 shows them much as they are now.² Mauduit I have not re-read. Of other scholars who have written at length on the springs, Maclaren prudently preferred to use information at second hand (his difficulty was presumably that he did not know of Mauduit's plan and description at the time of his visit and could not subsequently relate his own observations to them); Virchow seems not to have looked further than the east end, and Olivier and Gell may have done the same; drinking in his excitement from every spring he came to, von Prokesch seems to have lost his way and counted the same line of springs twice over. Rennell had not been to the Troad, and Texier is following

¹ In *Journal internat. d'archéologie num.* xi (1908), which I have not seen.

²*Voyage pittoresque* ii, pl. 20. Cf. also Mauduit's 50 cm.-long sketch plan in his *Découvertes dans la Troade*, pl. 2 (copied in reduction by Maclaren, *Plain of Troy* (1863), 143 f.).

Mauduit. Leake's thermometer was broken, and he evidently lost his notes in the foundering of Lord Elgin's brig.

The plan FIG. 8 was made and modified at different times between 1963 and 1969. Two or three main directions were laid down by

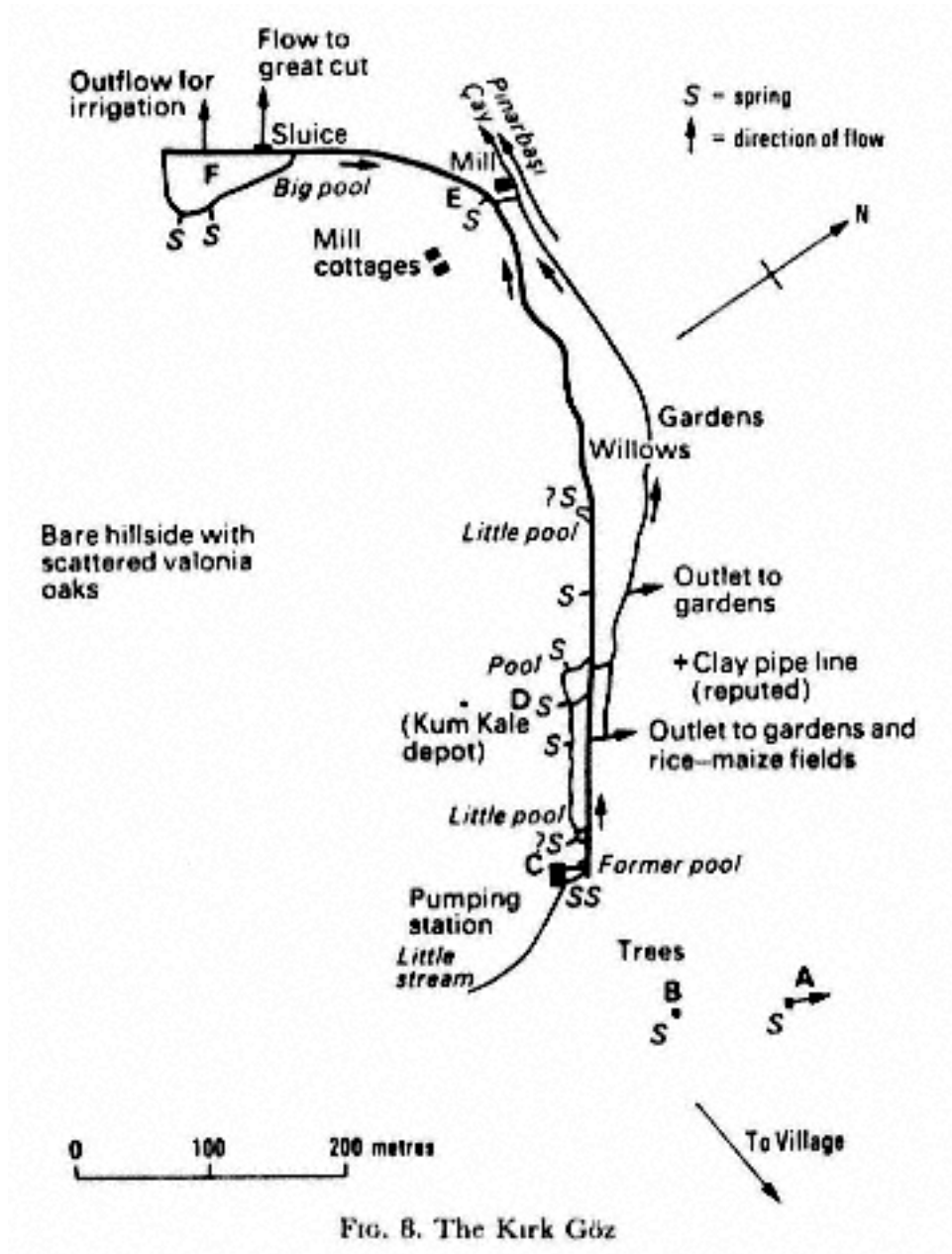


Fig. 8.
The Kirk * Göz

compass. The distances have been paced, except east of point C, where movement in a straight line is not possible (and where intervisibility is also lacking). The minor springs were checked with the engineer in charge of the pumping station; two of those I marked were not confirmed by him and are therefore shown with a question mark. The source A is a pit roughly something over 2 m. square (PLATE 14a). In its sides, conveniently set above the water level, are two long granite blocks and a worn marble slab with cuttings; the women squat on the

granite blocks at their washing. The water oozes up in the bottom in many tiny eyelets, and the resulting overflow trickles away to the north. South-south-west of this, overshadowed by trees, is a second, rather smaller pit (*B*), which does not seem to be used. Of *C* we have to confess a culpable ignorance. In 1959 it was a pool (PLATE 13*a*). But in 1963 it was almost entirely filled in, and a pumping station was built over it; its water now supplies the Pinarbasi * depo on the hill behind and the villages westward as far as Bozköy and Üvecik, yet even so the stream that flows from it to point *E* is still copious. Unfortunately I had made hardly any notes of pool *C*, and recall only a much frequented shallow rock pool of perhaps 30 by 15 m. into which two springs discharged (one being visible on the right in PLATE 13*a*), and in whose sandy floor many tiny eyelets oozed up. My impression was that to the villagers pool *C* was the Kirk* Göz par excellence. From a remnant of the pool that survives in front of the pumping station a cement-lined channel built in 1965 now encases the stream as it flows west-north-west along the base of the low bare hill which Choiseul-Gouffier called Erineos.¹ It receives some water from smaller springs on the left and dispenses water for gardens on the right. In 1969 we saw some new walled garden plots on the left bank. At *D* a depo was built in 1968 to supply water for the new installation at Kum Kale. There are several small pools with families of ducks where the lesser springs issue. On the right the ground becomes waterlogged, and we could not follow the secondary watercourse here.

The mill at *E* continues to be used. There was one in this position in 1864 (von Hahn's plan), and Eckenbrecher speaks of it as being built in 1840.² The bricks of the present building are not that old, but the wooden waterwheel could be (PLATE 15*a*). At the mill a cement-lined channel brings a second stream from (not, as Maclaren says, to) the pool *F* (PLATE 13*b*). As in the time of Mauduit, this big pool is artificially dammed, and on our latest summer visits we saw it deep enough for youths to practise high-diving; its water level is regulated both by a sluice allowing egress to the great drainage cut and more makeshift fencing which controls the outflow for irrigation. There are two great springs above the present high water level; though not comparable to the stream coming from *C*, the larger of them would keep a hundred village fountains running.

We had assumed that the flow from the springs was constant throughout the year. But when we revisited them at the beginning of November

¹ He said that there were no longer any fig trees to be seen but that it was called Incirli* Dag* (= fig hill). Raoul-Rochette, however, was able to recognize from afar the fig trees that he assumed Choiseul-Gouffier had seen. There now are two or three fig trees planted down by the stream.

²*Rheinisches Museum* ii (1843), 19 f.

1969 we found that the flow was less and the water level in the pools lower. The autumn rains had not come that year, and the villagers attributed the weakness of the springs to the prolonged drought.

The principal difficulty in relating our plan to the accounts of the travellers is the existence (before 1963) of two major spring pools (*C* and *F*). To Kauffer and Mauduit the so-called 'bassin des sources froides' was evidently the deep pool *F*; as a pool, *C* seems to have been ignored by them. Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring' is a problem. Before 1963 the villagers congregated at the shallow pool *C*; and it was only after its destruction that we discovered the basin *A* being used for the washing of clothes. The pit *A* corresponds so well in size and in its casing of granite and marble blocks with the accounts of Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring'¹ that we felt no doubt about the identification. But it does not produce any head of water such as the earlier travellers like Clarke and Hobhouse saw spouting up in the 'warm spring'; it now discharges away from the other springs; it lies to one side of the track from the village (which leads directly to *C*), and its distance from the springs at *C* is too great to fit on any supposition with the data provided by the earlier travellers. We have toyed with the idea that *A* was identified by later travellers as Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring' and *C* mistaken by some of them for his 'bassin des sources froides', but that the original 'warm spring' was *C* in an earlier state. Any further attempt at a rational *exposé* of the travellers' accounts would founder on the uncertainty how much of the specific information that each one gives rests on his own observation and how much has been taken from his predecessors. Pictures of Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring' are to be seen in his *Voyage pittoresque* (ii, pl. 23) and Gell's *Topography of Troy* (pl. 26); there is of course nothing resembling either of them now.

The number of the springs has been very variously stated; most commonly 8-10, but also more than a dozen (Michaud), 19 (Raczynski *), about 20 (Hawkins, Lord Aberdeen), over 20 (Sayce), 26 (Prokesch), 34 (Schliemann in 1868), and 30-40 (Leaf, who hankered after a literal interpretation of the indefinite 'kirk'*). Kauffer was said by Choiseul-Gouffier to have counted 40 springs;² but this sounds like a misunderstanding. There are (or were before 1963) innumerable little eyelets (which Schliemann evidently tried to count), but we should say that the number of clearly recognizable heads of water was about 10-12. As we knew the springs before pool *C* was destroyed and *A* came to our notice, the distinctive lay-out was two spring pools (*C* and *F*) which

¹ The formal setting of stone had of course collapsed by the time of the later travellers (cf. Virchow, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde* (1880), 14). Schliemann remarked a marble Doric corona block (*Troja* (1884), 269). Lord Aberdeen bathed in Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring' in 1803.

²Ap. Lenz, (Lechevalier) *Reise nach Troas* 40.

produced the two arms that form the Pinarbasi * Çay; and if their 'warm spring' was at C, Lechevalier and Choiseul-Gouffier's recognition of a pair of sources was not nearly so far-fetched as many scholars have claimed.

Of the temperature of the waters there is no serious doubt. It is true that Choiseul-Gouffier, who was at the greatest pains to ascertain the facts and employed Salomon Gormezano and later Dubois to supplement or confirm his results, insisted throughout that the 'warm spring' gave a substantially higher temperature reading than the 'cold' ones.¹ But more than a dozen travellers with thermometers have at different times found no appreciable difference between them, and we can only conclude that Choiseul-Gouffier was misled by assistants who did not care to disappoint him. With only two exceptions,² all these travellers have reached a figure between 61 and 64 °F. for the general temperature. Virchow's thermometer was graded in tenths of a degree C., tested and declared a 'very good instrument' by the imperial standards commission in Berlin, then retested by the Astronomer Royal in Athens when the Mediterranean climate was reached, and again on his return. His results should therefore be as accurate as any. He read 63.3 °F. (17.4 °C.) in what he took to be Choiseul-Gouffier's 'warm spring', and 62.2-62.6 °F. (16.8-17 °C.) in the rest.³ Such variations as there are at different points no doubt result from contact with the atmosphere. Using an untested baker's thermometer by Boots, which was graded only in degrees F., at the end of July 1968 we obtained a general reading of 62 °F, but 61 at arm's length up the fissure of the larger spring at point F, and up to 65 °F on the edges of the little pool A. At the beginning of November 1969 we again got a reading of 62 °F with the same instrument.

The springs of Pinarbasi are neither hot nor cold, but tepid. Many travellers have found them refreshingly cool; but they have not been so to our taste, and we note that the Aga* and villagers preferred to have their drinking water from the Menderes. Those travellers who did not hear on the spot that the Kirk* Göz steam (or smoke) in winter had only themselves to blame, for the villagers never cease to press the news of this wonder on visitors; and those who have ridiculed the idea should have noticed that not only Lechevalier but winter travellers like Olivier, von Hammer, and E. D. Clarke claim to have observed the phenomenon with their own eyes. The adherents of the Balli* Dag* theory generally maintained that the so-called 'warm spring' gave the impression of greater warmth through being in a deep basin (see, for

¹*Voyage pittoresque* ii. 269 ff. (81.5 and 50 °F. respectively).

² Lord Aberdeen 57 and von Eckenbrecher 59 °F.

³*Beiträge zur Landeskunde* (1880), 14, 16, 23 ff.

instance, Leake). Some opponents of the theory have agreed that to the simple untutored natives of the Troad it might well appear that one source was warm in winter and the other was cold in summer, but insist that the fact that they are proved by the thermometer to issue from the ground at the same temperature rules out any possibility that they could be Homer's Springs of Scamander. If it could be shown that Homer was not primarily concerned with scientific accuracy the case against the identification would be weakened.¹ The temperature of the water is convenient for washing clothes; and women still flock in great numbers to the Kirk * Göz both for that purpose and to rinse their grain before grinding; they do not, however, seem to go to the 'bassin des sources froides' (pool *F*). From what we could gather, the women come from the side of Mahmudiye but not from the villages around Troy. Of all the curiosities of the Troad the Kirk Göz is perhaps the most celebrated; and if we are disposed to look for a natural feature that could have inspired the poetic description, only inveterate prejudice can deny that honour to these springs.

7

The Pinarbasi* Çay and Yerkesik

Below the mill at the Kirk Göz the Pinarbasi Çay seems to form a free-flowing stream. We have not followed it down. Initially it is very fast-flowing. The volume of water in the days of the travellers can be gauged from several estimates: 12 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep (Lechevalier) and 3 ft. deep (Mauduit), 12-20 ft. wide and 2-3 ft. deep (Olivier), 20 paces broad and 1 1/2 ft. deep (von Eckenbrecher), never less than 3 ft. deep (Forchhammer), 3-4 m. broad and 1-3 m. deep (Schliemann 1868). What this adds up to depends on each scholar's personal viewpoint. To Lechevalier and his followers it was the 'limpid Scamander',² to Leaf a little brook 'trickling for half a mile or so till it loses itself in reedy swamps'. The one unprejudiced voice is that of Wood, who saw the stream before the controversy started; he speaks of the springs as forming what is 'no contemptible river in these parts'. With the recent drainage works the plain now seems fairly firm. But there used to be marshes

1 As an opponent of Lechevalier's identification Rennell recognized that the 'circumstance of the one spring smoking in winter, whilst the other does not, is likewise calculated to persuade ordinary people that one spring is warm, whilst the other is cold. But appearances cannot supply the want of warmth, in one, to form a contrast with the other' (*Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy* (1814), 63). Contrast Leake (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), 283 f.): 'It seems sufficient to justify Homer's expression, that a difference of temperature was believed, and that an occasional appearance of vapour over one source was often observed by the natives: for the poet would probably flatter the local prejudices, even if he had examined the fountains so attentively as to be convinced that the warmth of all the sources was the same.'

2 He saw Turks fishing for eels in it.

below the Kirk * Göz, which Olivier and Prokesch were unable to cross. The travellers speak of duck there, and Sibthorp also of coot and snipe. In the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries the course of the stream was diverted to Besika* Bay by way of a deep canal cut through a rock sill. When Lechevalier saw it the canal had recently been opened to serve as a mill stream by Hasan the Kaptan Pasa*, whose çiftlik was at Yerkesik. But Wood saw the canal before that, when it was dry; and opinion was divided among the travellers, some attributing its construction to a Turkish governor or Sultana earlier in the eighteenth century, while the majority were convinced that it was beyond the industry of the Turks and must be a work of ancient times. Lechevalier and others took it to be the aqueduct by which Herodes Atticus had water brought to Alexandria Troas, but there was also support for the belief that it was the

(Scamander) `amnis navigabilis' of Pliny, if not even the Ἡράκλειος ἀνδρός (Heracles' dyke) from which the Scamander was supposed to have received its name (below, p. 167).

Along the course of this canal there used to be four considerable basins of water frequented by fishermen. Forchhammer says that it was navigable by canoes from its mouth on Besika Bay right up to the springs. Napier speaks of leeches being gathered in the basins for sale; he also says that 3-4 miles south of the mill (presumably that near Besika) he observed numerous remains of pipes and water courses leading in the direction of Alexandria Troas. Schede in 1924 spoke of the cutting where the canal crossed the rock sill as 7-8 m. deep. So far as we know, nothing is now visible of this; and there seems to be no clue to the age of the canal.¹ The Pinarbasi* Çay once again flows in its natural direction towards Kum Kale; as the villagers told us, they attempted about 1950 to direct it to Besika but the water insisted on going the other way.

Turner remarked extensive remains of small stones and brick a mile west of Pinarbasi.² At half a league west of the springs Åkerblad had also remarked considerable ruins in 1792, which included an inscription of Ilion and a two-figured sculptured metope.³ This sounds like a Turkish burial ground. Åkerblad brought his metope into Pinarbasi but was prevented by the Aga* from taking it further. He left it in the garden, and he saw it there face-down in the same position when he came back in 1797. Åkerblad in fact speaks only of one figure (a beautifully draped woman); but Morritt, who in 1794 admired the

¹ Significant references that I have noted are Lenz's Choiseul-Gouffier 21 f., his Lechevalier 137 f., 250; Hunt, *ap.* Walpole 135; Napier's main article 292, 309; Forchhammer *passim*; Virchow, *Beiträge* 54 f., 114 ff., and Schliemann, *Ilios* 96 ff., which contains Virchow in translation and other references, including Mauduit and Maclaren; Schede, AA 1929, 360 f.

² *Journal of a Tour* iii (1820), 241. Spratt's map marks `ruins' thereabouts.

³ *Ap.* Lenz, (Lechevalier) *Reise nach Troas* (1800), 230 f. The inscription, also copied by Turner, is CIG ii 3602, *Troja und Ilion* 464, no. 11.

broken bas-relief that he found lying face-down in the garden, speaks of two figures.¹ The metope was seen by Francklin and Hope in 1799, and in 1801 by Hunt, who remarked a warrior with his arm resting on another figure.² Hunt's description prompted Mendel to recognize the Pinarbasi * piece in a weathered metope, evidently of the Temple of Athena Ilias at Troy, which reached the Istanbul Museum in 1882. Gell, however, saw the metope in the Aga's* garden a few months after Hunt; and he gives a drawing of it which shows a man standing in a short chiton with his hand resting on the shoulder (not, as on Mendel's metope, the head) of a lower figure.³ This might fit with Hunt's description; but unless Gell's drawing was quite extraordinarily careless, the piece cannot be that in Istanbul.⁴ Presumably Åkerblad's relief was another metope of the temple of Ilion. And the position where it was found was a ruin field or Turkish burying ground west of Pinarbasi. But Morritt was told by the Aga* that it had been brought by an Englishman from Eski Stambul (Alexandria Troas) and remarked on the man's stupidity in not removing it by boat.

The first mention of a village of Yerkesik seems to be in 1785; the travellers knew it under names like Erkissiqui, which provoked the comment from Jacob Bryant that it was as relevant to Trojan topography as Issiquibo. It was no more than a collection of huts (15 according to Turner in 1816) beside the çiftlik of the Kaptan Pasa* Hasan. This Hasan is one of the most noteworthy figures in the prosopography of the Troad. Danismend*, *Kronoloji*, vol. 3 cites him as Cezayirli (= Algerian) Palabiyik (= scimitar-moustached) Gazi Hasan Pasa; we have not sought for biographical information about him in Turkish sources, and what I have collected comes mainly from the travellers. He started his career as an Algerine corsair, but was captured and spent six years as a slave in Madrid (Watkins). After that he was a waiter in a Gelibolu coffee house, if Hobhouse is right in saying that it was from that station that he rose to one of absolute authority under Sultan Abdulhamid I. In 1770 he was flag captain when the Turkish fleet was equipping for war against the Russians in the Aegean. De Tott, who was commissioned to re-organize the Turkish defences, speaks of Hasan as the only person in the whole fleet who embarked with the intention of making war. He

¹*The Letters of John B.S. Morritt* (1914), 146.

²Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 109.

³*Topography of Troy* (1804), pl. 42, p. 9.

⁴The metope in Istanbul is *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 432, Beil. 50. 2, Goethert and Schleif, *Athenatempel* 25, no. 2, pl. 41 (a barbarian brought to his knees by a Greek warrior, whose hand seems to grasp his hair). The metope is also illustrated, without any mention of its whereabouts, in *Troja* (1884), 198 no. 105. As Goethert perceived, it could be the mutilated metope with 'warriors fighting' that Schliemann had earlier reported finding in his excavations at Hisarlik* but not considered to be worth preserving (*Ilios* (1880), 625).

seems to have encased the hull of his vessel in a belt of iron spikes; and in the battle of Cesme * he engaged at such close quarters with the flagship of Count Alexis Orloff that fire spread from the one ship to the other and both were blown up.¹ Hasan survived; and he followed up this action with an enterprise audacious enough to astound even the resourceful de Tott, in which he drove off the Russian armada that was besieging Lemnos. Thereafter as Kaptan Pasa* he was a commanding figure. He quelled the various rebellions in the Ottoman empire, visiting the insurgents with prompt and horrible vengeance. In the autumn of 1785 Lechevalier was interrupted in his speculations on the Balli* Dag* by the sight of Hasan's fleet entering the Dardanelles under full sail, laden with the spoils of victory over the Mamelukes.² In 1789, being then 70 years of age (Watkins), he was made grand vizier, but he died a few months afterwards (in 1790).

Choiseul-Gouffier seems to speak of Hasan as owning the farm at Pinarbasi* (above, p. 129). But his known çiftlik was that at Yerkesik, where he had a tower or kosk* built in which he could take his leisure while the fleet waited for a wind at the entry to the Dardanelles. Improvements were being carried out there at the time of Lechevalier's visit. Some of the travellers were entertained at the çiftlik. Hasan's favourite is said to have been a lion, whom 'most contemporary travellers had the good fortune of beholding crouched down, and serving as a footstool to this terrific admiral' (Hobhouse); according to Dallaway it was chained after it had killed one of the domestics. Hasan's widow, the Sultan's sister, does not seem to have lived at the çiftlik, though travellers continued to be entertained there by the servants. By 1816, when it was let, the place was reported to be in decay. Prokesch (1824) and Napier (1839) seem to have known the tower, and it is marked on Spratt's survey of 1839; Chenavard spoke of the 'vaste cour' of the former residence in 1843. Yerkesik subsequently became a military farm, being found in that condition by Virchow in 1879;³ but nothing is known of the tower after Spratt and Napier. There is a small çiftlik now called Norvey a few hundred metres west of the ridge where the village of Yerkesik used to be; the farm hands entertained us in the melon fields on our visit in 1968, and consequently we did not see their buildings close up. The çiftlik is approached from the Üvecik-Yeniköy road across sandy ground with loose valonia oak wood.

Despite the obvious presumption to the contrary, Hasan's tower still stands, and in a conspicuous position on the toe of the ridge just above

1 Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque* i (1782), 94. Another account by M. Peyssonel, French consul at Smyrna, in Dallaway's *Constantinople* (1797), 268.

2 It was likewise from the Balli Dag that in 1801 Gell saw the fleet of his successor, apparently Küçük Hasan or Hüseyin, returning from the Egyptian expedition.

3 *Beiträge zur Landeskunde* 57, *Ilios* 107. Yarkesigi* Çiftlik on the GS map.

the plain. But though visible as a speck from across the plain it is not known. The name Yerkesik is also forgotten save by the occasional old man. And no memory of the redoubtable Kaptan Pasa * survives. But the ruin where the lion once roared was not silent when we went there. We found it inhabited by a population of small birds, which were passing the time in mobbing the owl until a hawk was seen hovering overhead. The tower (PLATES 14*b*, 15*b*, 16), is about 12 m. square (not measured) in plan, and built of well fitted stones. The exterior was faced with fine pale grey stucco on which joints were painted in white. There was a basement at ground level approached by a small door on the south. The two main floors had a broad spread of windows on the north and east, which were arched in the thickness of the wall. I seem to have noted the corner turrets as brick-domed. An Ionic capital and a fine ovolo moulding are built into the east wall (PLATE 15*b*) and a carved marble block seems to have served as a threshold in the main doorway at first-floor level on the south (PLATE 16*a*). Just south of the tower is a ruinous foundation with brick-vaulted chambers, which may have helped to give access to the doorway. About 100 m. to the south is a large tomb or cistern with two granite columns lying around. We did not see the sarcophagus of Agathopous noted by Lechevalier and others in the village, nor the other two inscriptions reported by Dubois and H. Kiepert.¹ But we did not make any search.

We have not traversed the edge of the plain between the Kirk* Göz and Yerkesik. To southward the ground rises gently to the crests on which the villages of Mahmudiye and Üvecik are planted. We have heard of nothing from the villagers. We have seen no likely position for a classical site; but we should expect some Roman and Byzantine occupation in this stretch. We have traversed the ground between Yerkesik and Yeniköy without finding anything.

¹ The sarcophagus (from Alexandria Troas) *CIG* ii. 3582. A barber's verse epitaph, *CIG* ii. 3627, re-examined by H. Schmidt in 1894 (*Troja und Ilion* 461 f., no. 24). Pomponia, *CIL* iii. 394, seen by Chenavard in 1843 in the 'grande cour' of the Kaptan Pasa's* former residence. Lord Aberdeen saw three unspecified inscriptions in 1803. Prokesch noted many ancient marbles, including Corinthian capitals, at the tower, and a few letters of an inscription in the entrance (*Denkwürdigkeiten* i (1836), 181 f.).

5

The Sigeum Ridge

This chapter is limited to the low tertiary ridge forming the western edge of the Trojan Plain, with the coastal plain of Besika * on the south and the mound of Üvecik Tepe behind. It is a small area for a whole chapter. But it is here that we encounter the most serious unsolved problem of Trojan topography (Sigeum and Achilleion); and since we shall offer a revolutionary solution to the problem, more than ordinary thoroughness has been demanded both in the field-work and in the presentation of the evidence. FIGS 5 and 6 are the relevant maps.

1

Kum Kale and Yenisehir*

Until very recently the principal mouth of the Scamander was that closest to Kum Kale.¹ Della Valle in 1614 spoke of boats entering the mouth of the Xanthus and Simois and going ten miles up; but it is not clear what he was referring to. Other early travellers speak of canoes of natives at the mouth. Virchow in 1879 observed that fishing boats could enter the river despite two sandbanks at the mouth.² Kum Kale itself seems to be a delta formation, the river having once run out westward to the Aegean; there is a depression south of the castle, and the gardens of Kum Kale used to be there.³ On the cape around the castle are sand dunes which have been piled up by the Dardanelles wind and have no doubt given the fort its name. Kum Kale and the fort of Seddülbahr opposite are the so-called New Castles which were built after the naval disaster against the Venetians in 1656. At the beginning of the present century Kum Kale had a 64-gun battery at the water line. The ruins of the fort were accessible in 1959, but from 1966 onward were closed while the new coastal installation was being set up. In the seventeenth

1 For the mouths and lagoons see above, pp. 89 f.

2 *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 109. Wood rowed half a mile up the river in July 1742 (Hutton, *JHS* xlvii (1927), 112). We have seen no boats here; but there is now no village in this area. Logs are still said to be floated down from the Kaz Dag* (below, p. 293).

3 Ibid. 110; cf. *Ilios* (1880), 104. A photograph from Yenisehir looking down to Kum Kale in Blegen, *Troy i*, fig. 29.

century a village or small town quickly grew up south of the new castle; it was noted by Grelot in the 1670s under the name `Inghi (= Yeni)-issar-kioi'.<sup>1</sup> In 1740 Pococke spoke of a small village by the castle, and of 130 men belonging to the latter who `follow their trades and employs'. The castle was open except in time of war. Subsequent travellers refer to Kum Kale as a Turkish town, with 2,000 inhabitants in 1803 (Foster), 600 (mainly families of the garrison) in 1810 (Hobhouse), nearly 2,000 in 1830 (Michaud) but only 200 houses in 1842 (Kiepert) and 150 in 1856 (Perrot), 1,000 inhabitants (including 700 Moslems) about 1890 (Cuinet) when the place was a nahiye. It seems to have been decaying before 1918. Michaud and Napier give the impression of a flourishing little town around the 1830s. It had a han at which Wood, Chandler, and Turner stayed; but in 1833 Curzon found none, and slept in a new house built by the British consul. Prokesch spoke of three minarets, Schliemann of two. Olivier reckoned the place unhealthy because of the marsh air; Chandler pronounced it mean, but Hobhouse clean. No doubt many other travellers must have mentioned the place in passing.

Mauduit claims to have seen a wall of excellent construction demolished at Kum Kale in 1812; and Forchhammer mentions walls of uncertain date which might be vestiges of an ancient town. Otherwise the travellers saw only scattered antiques: sarcophagi serving as cisterns and two capitals serving as mortars, but brought from outside (Chandler) and more particularly from Alexandria Troas (Napier), marble and granite columns (Prokesch), a Doric column drum, sarcophagus, and marble vase (Perrot), marbles lavished on mosques and fountains, and fragments of marbles and stone tombs dug up in the vicinity (Schliemann). Napier bought a few copper coins of Sigeum there. Several inscriptions have been copied at Kum Kale, but some of them were in transit. Stones were also transported from Schliemann's excavations at Troy for the construction of a new mosque in 1885.² In 1959 we saw some granite column shafts and a plain garland sarcophagus. To the south of the castle we saw numerous modern sherds, evidently on the site of the Turkish town. We saw no evidence for an ancient settlement here.

It is about 2 km. of gentle ascent from Kum Kale to the steep escarpment of Yenisehir *. The bare slope is punctuated by the two tumuli commonly ascribed to Achilles and Patroclus (below, pp. 159 ff.); facing the plain between them and Yenisehir is a whitewashed cottage, which has served as a guard post and seems to correspond to the Orhaniye of the large-scale GS map (PLATE 9c, where the background extends from Yenisehir to (right) `Tomb of Achilles'). There is (or at

¹*Relation nouvelle* (1681), 7, distinguished from Gâvur Köy (Yenisehir).

² Calvert in *H. Schliemann Briefwechsel* ii (1958), 210.

least was when first we came here) little cultivation on this slope. But nineteenth-century travellers remarked vines, olives, and garden walls, and Maclaren and Virchow saw the ridge sown (this could apparently be done at intervals of a few years). Hobhouse spoke of the villagers of Yenisehir * growing cotton and vines and rearing broad-tailed sheep. Near the end of the Kum Kale bridge is the broad hillock with Turkish burials, which after the disappointment of 1787 Choiseul-Gouffier claimed as the true tomb of Achilles.¹ Forchhammer took it to be natural, and we have not noticed anything artificial thereabouts. The hillock is unmistakable, though it now has no cypresses, and it seems unquestionably natural. We saw a couple of granite columns and one or two ancient blocks, but mainly shaped marble Turkish tombstones; this must have been a burial ground of Kum Kale. North of this is an area where we have not moved about freely since 1959. Towards the river mouth should be the prehistoric settlement mound of Kum Tepe. It is described as a grassy tell measuring 100 by 80 m. on the surface and 4 m. high. Kosay* and Sperling cut five trenches there in 1934 and found two main strata of occupation, the later of Troy IVE date, and the earlier of Troy I and pre-Troy chalcolithic. A second mound called 'Babafingo' (?) the print is not quite legible is also reported at 200 m. distance.²

Yenisehir is the cape from which the coast trends north-eastward to the low-lying Kum Kale point. In contrast to the GS maps, Spratt marks the angle of the cape at the north (and not the south) end of the Yenisehir crest. We have not returned there since we became aware of the discrepancy; but certainly in the view from the Chersonese opposite it is the north end of the crest that forms the south entry point of the Dardanelles. The ground here rises steeply from the sea to a flat crest over 60 m. high, which is more than a kilometre long (north-south) and some 300 m. broad. Under its north end is a little rectangular harbour whose L-shaped mole, open to the south, is now sanded up; it perhaps dates within the last hundred years.³ Leaf gives a view of the Yenisehir crest from the south,⁴ and we show it from the north-east (PLATE 9c).

¹ *Voyage pittoresque* ii. 306, pl. 27. Gell, who (according to my notes) speaks of it as a Turkish burial ground ornamented with cypresses (his pl. 16), is there said to have recognized it as the common burial mound of the Achaeans. Napier speaks of an extensive tumulus with cypresses and a Turkish cemetery. On his first visit in 1868 Schliemann spoke of two mounds hereabouts, but apparently on the right bank of the river (*Ithaque* 209). He seems, however, to have been confused, because he assigned them to Patroclus and Antilochus; and he later reported that in 1868 the tumulus of Antilochus had been ploughed in and subsequently disappeared (*Troy and its Remains* (1875), 180), while in 1882 he found another mound for Antilochus (the Windmill Tumulus, pp. 164 f.).

² Kosay and Sperling, *Troad'da dört yerlesme* yeri* (1936), 24 ff.; AJA xxxix (1935), 33 ff.; Mellaart, AJA lxii (1958), 10; *Troy* i, figs. 41-2.

³ It may be this that Schliemann refers to in *Ilios* 72, but it is not marked on any map.

⁴ BSA xviii (1911-12), pl. 16. 2.

The north edge of the crest is an escarpment of crumbling rock, and used to be lined with a row of 7-10 windmills which long served as a sailor's landmark. They also serve to give us our bearings in studying the accounts of the travellers from Sandys (1610) onwards. They have disappeared; but the circular rock emplacement of one at the north-west corner can still be recognized. Old drawings show the village of Yenisehir * lying back from the north edge of the plateau, no doubt to escape the worst of the summer wind.¹ The village goes back to the sixteenth century.² It seems to be marked as a place on Italian sea charts of before 1570. In 1599 Dallam spoke of a 'little scattering village inhabited with Greeks', and della Valle 15 years later of a few Greeks in houses dispersed on the mountain. But in 1631 Stochove remarked more than 200 families of Greeks, and there were 200 or 300 in 1675 (Spon and Wheler). Later figures are in 1842 (Kiepert) 380 and in 1856 (Perrot) 300 houses, about 1890 a population of 1,200 (Cuinet). All travellers down to the early nineteenth century consistently speak of Yenisehir as a Greek village. So also do Michaud, Frick, and Schliemann. Curiously, Prokesch and von Eckenbrecher called it mixed Greek and Turkish, and Cuinet even numbered 600 Muslims. Cuinet is hardly a reliable source in these matters, but possibly there was a sprinkling of Turks there in the nineteenth century.

A number of the earlier travellers call Yenisehir 'Troias' or 'Troiaki' (as opposed to 'Troada' = Eski Stambul), but from Grelot onward it was commonly known as Gâvur (= infidel, i.e. Christian) Köy. The women wore costumes of the Chiot fashion, which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu describes. From Pococke's time there were two churches, apparently of St. George and St. Demetrius, though Michaud speaks of three (Saints James, Spyridon, and George). A new belfry was built in 1872 with stones from Schliemann's excavations at Troy. Prokesch talks of the village suffering damage at the hands of the Kum Kale garrison troops. Travellers seem to have stayed with the orthodox priest; the exception is Curtius's numerous party in 1871, which was accommodated in a coffee house kept by a Mitylenaeen refugee because the priest's guest room was said to be filled with water melons. In 1911 the priest Charalambos combined the functions by keeping a wineshop at the end of his courtyard. The ruins of Yenisehir are substantial. In the south-east is the shell of a church, apparently the one which the travellers supposed to be on the site of the temple of Sigeon Athena. The place was deserted before 1918; and we were surprised to find the relic of an electricity plant in the high fennel scrub that makes the site so difficult to explore. Yenisehir was in the news shortly before its end. A report

1 e.g. *Voyage pitt.* ii, pls. 33 and 46; Gell, *Topography of Troy*, pls. 11 and 13.

2 It is not in the fiscal survey of 1574, see p. 10; but other surveys might shed light on it.

from the Calvert family, printed in *The Times* of 9 September 1911, speaks of its inhabitants as having for three years been afflicted with 'tarantism' (dancing mania). The epidemic started before St. George's Day and continued through much of the summer; and a by-product of it was the discovery of a well in the vestibule of St. George's church. It also spread to 'Thymbra Farm' (Akça Köy) because the Calverts were in the habit of employing girls from Yenisehir * for the bean-picking.

The most prevalent form of the name has been Yenisehir (= new city) since Pococke's time (1740); and Choiseul-Gouffier, followed by Michaud and Ulrichs, declared that this is the true form. But the old name Yanitsari (Janisaries) died hard;¹ and it can also be traced uninterruptedly back from Pococke through more than a dozen travellers to Daulphinois (1551) and Belon (1548); it is cited from personal observation in Leunclavius's Xenophon (1569) and

found in Italian sea charts of before 1570 and Greek portulans dated 1534 (*Γενίσιζαρης*), so that there can be no doubt that the name was commonly understood to mean 'Janisaries' (Yeniçeri); in fact, du Loir (in 1640) is the only one of the early travellers who seems even to be aware of the Yenisehir derivation. Yet that form of the name proves justified; for in Piri Re'is's *Bahriye* of the beginning of the sixteenth century the cape is named five times in the text and maps, and always as Yenisehir.

The evidence for a classical site at Yenisehir will be considered in a later section (pp. 174 f.). But movable antiquities that have been seen in the village may be mentioned here; and they will be followed by the evidences in the early travellers for more massive remains that can hardly have been of Hellenic date. Three well-known stones were seen by travellers at the church (apparently that of St. Demetrius on the south-east crest). One, a decree in honour of Antiochus (presumably the First), was removed from the church by Montagu in 1718.² The others, on either side of the doorway, were the relief with the presentation of infants to Athena³ and the archaic Sigeum stele.⁴ They had come to light before 1716, when Samuel Lisle and Sherard seem to have seen

1 D'Anville declared that the name Cape of Janisaries had been corrupted by ignorant sailors from Yeni Hisari (a manifestly false termination), which referred to the new castle of Kum Kale; and the notion is repeated in Vivien de Saint-Martin and down to L. Robert in 1966; but that castle was only built by Mehmet IV in 1659. It is of course the village at Kum Kale that was called Yeni Hisar Köy (as in Grelot). Not knowing the charts and travellers, Cuinet makes Yenisehir much younger than Kum Kale, which he ascribes to Mehmet II Fatih by confusion with Çanak Kale.

2 CIG ii. 3595. For references see L. Robert, in *Essays in Honour of C. Brad. Welles* (1966), 175 ff., with a photograph on p. 211. The inscription is evidently of Ilion, not Sigeum.

3 *Antiquities of Ionia* i (1769), 1; *Voyage pitt.* ii, pl. 38 top. There was also a fragmentary life-size relief seen by Pococke and Wood, which the former took to be Achilles contemplating the fatal spear. I have not attempted to trace the subsequent history of these stones.

4 CIG i. 8; L.H. Jeffery, LSAG (1961), 366 f.; cf. M. Guarducci in G.M.A. Richter's *Archaic Gravestones of Attica* 165 ff.

the stele. Montagu could have removed them for a small consideration if his ship had carried the necessary tackle. But thereafter the potent charm of its archaic lettering caused the Sigeum stele to become a treasured relic on which sufferers from chronic fevers were rolled.¹ Wood treated unsuccessfully for it in 1750. Choiseul-Gouffier, who was not the first French ambassador to covet it, obtained a permit for its removal; yet even the support of Hasan, the irresistible Kaptan Pasa *, did not avail against the determination of the villagers. Choiseul-Gouffier laments that the distance down to the sea was too great and the village too populous to permit the use of force. But a dozen years later, in November 1799, the people of Yenisehir* were compelled, despite their `extreme aversion', to yield the stele, together with the relief, to a detachment of troops sent by General Koehler at the instance of Lord Elgin.² It was consequently in vain that Richter searched for it at Yenisehir in 1816 and Chenavard in 1843.

E.D. Clarke acquired the sculptured head of a treaty stele among stones at the church in 1801; it shows Athena receiving two figures, of whom the second is Protesilaus.³ Conze took it for Attic. Brückner could not decide whether it was a stone of Sigeum or Ilion; but the piece is now dated to the third quarter of the fourth century, when Sigeum is altogether the more likely to have been receiving neighbouring cities into alliance. In the other church at Yenisehir, that of St. George, a fragment of a late Hellenistic decree of Ilion was copied in 1893.⁴ Von Prokesch noted some `Roman' blocks in wells and buildings at Yenisehir, and Perrot column drums and worked blocks in the walls of houses. Marbles of this sort may have been brought there from the site of Ilion. Forchhammer remarked a great number of deep wells in the rock, which he considered might be relics of the ancient city of Sigeum; both he and Schliemann asserted that the modern villagers preferred to have their drinking water from the Menderes and would dig holes deep in the bed when the stream dried up in summer. I have been able to assemble a number of references to ancient coins seen by the travellers at Yenisehir: Motraye saw Roman bronzes of Ilium and especially Alexandria Troas; E.D. Clarke a bronze of Sigeum; Hunt a double-owl bronze of Sigeum (no doubt the same as Clarke's), some bronzes of the Ptolemies and smaller ones of Alexandria Troas; Barker Webb a number of (`plusieurs') coins of Sigeum; Napier a few old

¹ Boeckh's lemma here is peculiarly insensitive (*CIG* i. 8): `sedili olim fuit ante templi fores otiantibus' (the phrase is taken from Chishull, in whose time it may have been more appropriate).

² Wittmann, *Travels in Turkey* (1803), 66 f.

³ L. Budde and R.V. Nicholls, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (1964), no. 27; *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 462 f.

⁴*Troja und Ilion* 463 no. 6.

coins (he also bought a few copper coins of Sigeum in Kum Kale); Perrot an abundance of coins both of Sigeum and of neighbouring towns like Abydos. At `Sigeum', which must mean either Yenisehir * or Kum Kale, H.P. Borrell remarked the presence of coins of Cebren, Neandria, Ilium, and other places including Achilleion; this perhaps sounds like a local jeweller's stock and not necessarily coins found on the spot by the villagers.¹

There seem to have been substantial ruins at Yenisehir in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for which the evidence has not been assembled. I set out what I have collected in full, because it is necessary to establish what no scholar since Hobhouse seems to have realized that we are dealing with something other than the ruins of Alexandria Troas at Eski Stambul. The Greek Portulan II tells us that Yanitzaris has a castle on the cape on the south-east side of the entry to the gulf; and Portulan VI speaks of a ruined castle on top of the cape.² Belon (in 1548) did not land here, but he described the remains from shipboard: (from the direction of Imbros) `closing in on the point of the mainland called Cavo de Genissari, anciently named Sigaeum, we saw near at hand the ruins of a castle anciently named Caput Gymneseum which show that it is very antique; this we perceived from a distance, for it is raised on top of a promontory. The walls of this castle were made of brick and of strong mortar. Underground there are very great cisterns and great vaults ("caves") such as we were to see when we went to Troy (i.e. Eski Stambul).' He then proceeded down the Tenedos channel to his Troy.³ Sailing from Constantinople in 1594 Wrag passed by `the Sigeian promontory, now called Cape Janitzary, at the mouth of the Hellespont upon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruins of old walls to be seen, with two hills rising in a pyramidal form, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax'.⁴ On his voyage of 1599 Dallam passed by Eski Stambul, which he and his party took for Troy, and then came on to Cape Jenisarie, where he landed and saw the `ruins of the walls and houses in Troy'; he broke off a piece of a white marble

¹ For the reference for Borrell see L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 74 and 84; cf. above, p. 118.

² Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs* (1947), 242 (ii)

ὁ Γιανίτζαρης ἔχει ἓνα καστέλι εἰς τὴν ποῦντα εἰς τὸ ἔμπα τῆς μπούκας τῆς 'Ρουμανίας εἰς τὴν μερέαν τοῦ σιρόκου, 335 (vi) Γιανίτζαρης, ἀκρωτήρι καὶ ἀπάνω του ἔχει κάστρον χαλασμένον.

These portulans seem to go back to an Athens MS. of 1534.

³ *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, book i, cap. v. Daulphinois in 1551 remarked `seven divers ruins and pieces of walls, foundations, columns, pillars, and other monuments of the great and ancient city of Troy'; but the position (sailing up from Tenedos) `along this side between the port of Sigee and the flood Xanthus, otherwise called Scamander' is less intelligible than precise (Earl of Oxford's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745), i. 583 f.).

⁴ Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (Glasgow edn. of 1903-5), vi. 107. In quoting these travellers I have modernized the spelling.

pillar for a souvenir.¹ In 1610 Sandys was rowed from Tenedos 'along the chalky shore of the lesser Phrygia' and set ashore at Cape Ianizary, where he ascended the not very high promontory of Sigeum. This he describes as 'level above and crowned with a ruinous city, whose imperfect walls do show to the sea their antiquity. Within are many spacious vaults and ample cisterns for the receipt of water.'² In 1614, after examining the site of Alexandria Troas (Troada), which (following Belon) he took to be Troy, della Valle went ashore at Capo Giannizzeri to see the 'ruins of that castle or city that Belon speaks of'; he found 'relique di fabriche grandi, con marmi, statue, e cose simili', and noted a few Greeks living in houses contiguous to the ancient 'fabriche', with fountains by the sea.³ In 1631 Stochove noted that on the cape, near the large Greek village still called 'Troyas', there were still old walls and some old vessels of marble like tombs that people take to be the ruins of the ancient city of Troy.⁴ In 1634 Blount remarked 'Cape Janizar, anciently Promontorium Sigaeum, where Troy stood, of which nothing remains to be seen but a piece of an old wall some forty or fifty paces long, hard by the sea, and therefore said by Virgil to have been built by Neptune'.⁵ Struys in the 1650s visited Troy in the 'River of Constantinople'; he found it hard to judge where the town had stood, but remarked an ancient gate of marble, and a 'small village with the foundations of a wall that encompass the town seven times'.⁶

It is evident that the ruins at Yenisehir * were widely mistaken for Troy; Grelot, on the other hand, seems in speaking of Troy to describe the site at Eski Stambul, and that is probably what he marks as Ruins of Troy on his perspective drawing. But he also speaks of Cap Gianizzari with a village (Giaourkioi) locally called 'Troiaiki' (the same name on d'Anville's chart, p. 46); and his drawing shows buildings and a massive-looking fortification of squared masonry on the cape (Cap Sigée).⁷ Spon and Wheler anchored and drew water under the cape and noted that the village was called Tro (i) as; but they say nothing of

¹*Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakluyt Soc. vol. 87 (1893), 49. Dallam, who was no scholar, was evidently content to have two different Troys.

²*A Relation of a Journey* (1637 edn.), 19. His sketch-map on p. 24 shows something south of the windmills, but it is not clear whether a village or ancient remains. He marks the Seat of Old Troy inland towards Ida, but he seems to have had no actual site for it.

³*Viaggi i* (1672 impr.), 15.

⁴*Voyage du Sieur de Stochove* (1643), 212.

⁵*A Voyage to the Levant*, in J. Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels* x (1811), 232, and Earl of Oxford's *Collection i* (1745), 521.

⁶*Voyages and Travels* (1684), 78(?). Mundy, who in 1611 sailed 'up the Hellespont, in which on the right hand we saw the place whereon once Troy stood', speaks of the Hellespont as now called the 'River of Constantinople' (Hakluyt Soc., ii, vol. 17, p. 20).

⁷*Relation nouvelle* (1681) 4 ff., his 'Veue de l'Hellés Pont et de la Propontide' at p. 47. The remains he shows at Yenisehir are of course quite distinct from the new castle at Kum Kale (his 'Natoli-inghi-issar') and its accompanying village.

ancient remains there. Motraye in 1710 took a view of the 'ancient Dardanum' on top of Cape Janitsary, but noted only the village (Guiaourkoi) 'with few remainders of walls almost level with the ground, without a letter of any inscription'.¹ It sounds as though much must have been destroyed in the second half of the seventeenth century, and the building of the new fort and town at Kum Kale could well account for the removal of building material. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote nearly fifty years after her visit of 1718 that she saw the ruins of a very large city there; but almost certainly she saw it in Sandys. Hobhouse in 1810 saw no vestige of these ancient remains at Yenisehir *, for which Forchhammer's deep wells in the rock seem to be the only recent testimony. We have seen nothing of these remains; but the crest at Yenisehir is overgrown now and not easy to examine.

Piri Re'is takes the name 'New City' back to the beginning of the sixteenth century here; and we may wonder to what epoch the brick and marble buildings and vaults belonged. From the description in Belon it must be assumed that they were Roman or Byzantine. Sandys, who had a good scholarly grounding, realized that the site at Yenisehir could not be Troy any more than that at Eski Stambul. He took it to be the new capital that Constantine the Great began to build before he transferred his attention to Byzantium. Kauffer on his map laid down the City of Constantine at the ruins in the position that we now call Troy (Hisarlik*); and Hobhouse found the latter position more appropriate than Sandys's at Yenisehir, though the ruins at Hisarlik had by then been identified as those of Ilion itself. More recently Brückner claimed the heights above Aianteion as the site of Constantine's city.² This depends in so far as 'auf den Höhen' corresponds with the word *πεδῖον* on Sozomenus's phrase 'the plain in front of Ilion beside the Hellespont above (i.e. beyond) the Tomb of Ajax'.³ But it conflicts with the testimonies of Zosimus ('between Troas and the ancient Ilios', and 'visible to those coming by sea up to the Hellespont')⁴ and Zonaras ('at Sigeum, the cape of Troas').⁵ In fact the mention of Sigeum and of the conspicuous situation confronting those who approach the Hellespont

1A. *de la Motraye's Travels* (1732 edn.), i. 305.

2*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 592. Lady Mary had placed the City of Constantine at Eski Stambul with the ingenuous argument that the name meant 'Old Constantinople'.

3*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 3. 2, (Constantine)

ἔγνωκεν οἰκίσαι πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁμότιμον. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδῖον παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἴαντος τάφον, οὗ δὴ λέγεται τὸν ναύσταθμον καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν ποτὲ στρατευσαμένους Ἀχαιοὺς, οἷαν ἔχρην καὶ ὅσῃν τὴν πόλιν διέγραψε. καὶ πύλας κατασκεύασεν ἐν περιωπῇ, αἱ δὴ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης φαίνονται τοῖς παραπλεύουσιν.

4 ii, p. 105, (Constantine)

γενόμενος μεταξὺ Τρωάδος καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἰλίου καὶ τόπον εὐρὺν εἰς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπιτήδειον θεμελίου τε ἐπήξατο καὶ τείχους τι μέρος εἰς ὕψος ἀνέστησεν, ὅπερ ἄχρι τοῦδε ὁρᾶν ἔνεστι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέουσιν.

5 11. xiii, p. 6,

Σιγείῳ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Τρωάδος ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον, ἔνθα καὶ θεμελίους αὐτὸν καταβαλέσθαι φασί.

point to the Yenisehir * ridge. We have no knowledge of any such remains except those at Yenisehir; and nothing is known that could account for the remains at Yenisehir save the City of Constantine. Sandys's identification thus seems quite certain. The gates of the city are said by Sozomenus to have been still visible to seafarers a hundred years after Constantine; and according to Zosimus part of the wall could be seen by those sailing up into the Hellespont half a century later. From the modern passages that are quoted here it would appear that they were still visible to sailors twelve hundred years after that.

Presumably the old Turkish name Yenisehir reflects a Byzantine *νεάπολις*. But the crest of Yenisehir itself would not have sufficed for more than the Palatium of Constantine's new capital. No doubt the plain in front of Ilion, of which Sozomenus speaks, would have been brought into use, with a proper scheme for the control of its waters and the creation of harbours and bridges, not to mention aqueducts to bring drinking water from the springs at Pinarbasi*. The situation would have been one of no less natural beauty than Constantinople, and of greater convenience except from the point of view of harbours.

We have found no traces of ancient settlement between Yenisehir and Kum Kale. Schliemann noted tiles and pottery just south of the 'Tomb of Achilles' on his first visit; he supposed it to be the site of the ancient town of Achilleion, which he later envisaged as extending down to Kum Kale.¹ There is a site there, but it is that of the house and dervishes' teke that Choiseul-Gouffier and other travellers knew (below, p. 161).

2

The Tumuli Near Yenisehir*

We have been at pains to visit the tumuli of the Trojan Plain, not from any sentiment of piety but on the chance that we might find some further clue to the topography. In the vicinity of Yenisehir the known tumuli are three. On the crest overlooking the sea nearly 1 km. from Yenisehir is the one traditionally ascribed to Achilles. Some 300-400 m. south-west of this, by the old road that led up from Kum Kale to Yenisehir, is the 'Tomb of Patroclus'. The third, which seems to have had a succession of discoverers (Pococke, Napier, Schliemann), is the 'Windmill Tumulus' 200-300 m. east of the southern bulge of the Yenisehir crest. The so-called Tomb of Achilles was said by Lechevalier to bear the name 'Dios Tapé' ('Thiol' in Choiseul-Gouffier); Usko and other scholars were quick to correct this to *δύο τεπέ*, and this name seems to have been in use for the pair of mounds for the next half century. Åkerblad received the name Pasa* Tepesi for the 'Tomb of Achilles'; but he was justly dubious

1Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie (1869), 210; *Ilios* (1880), 104, *Troja* (1884), 243.

whether it was an authentic name, though in fact it recurs in Ulrichs fifty years later. Schliemann said that the two tumuli were vulgarly called 'Civin'.¹ We have heard no name for them because there is no village in the neighbourhood.

Homer speaks of the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus being buried in a single tumulus. And the more literal-minded students of Trojan topography have therefore objected to the names being applied to two different tumuli. But this makes nonsense of topography. Alexander is said to have honoured the tomb of Achilles, and Hephaestion that of Patroclus; and two separate mounds must by then have been pointed out. It is not clear how long the traditional names have been attached to these mounds. Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople, is said to have inquired for the tombs of Achilles, Ajax, and other heroes when he visited Troy in 1461-2, but there is no telling what he would have been shown. Belon saw a great mound of earth which he believed to be that of Achilles, but it is not clear precisely where. Wrag more explicitly remarked two pyramidal hills at Cape Yenisehir *, which he thought not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax (above, p. 156). Pococke very diffidently identified the barrows of Achilles and Patroclus north of Yenisehir (thus definitely anticipating Lechevalier), and that of Antilochus to the south (perhaps the Windmill Tumulus). Chandler more confidently recognized the two mounds north of Yenisehir as Achilles-Patroclus and Antilochus.³ In 1785 Lechevalier set the seal on the identification of the two as Achilles and Patroclus. After his excavation of the 'Tomb of Achilles' in 1787 Choiseul-Gouffier allowed himself to be persuaded by leading connoisseurs of art (Visconti and the Abbé Barthélemy) that the finds from the tumulus were of a late date, and he then assigned the tomb to Festus, the favourite of Caracalla. But he won no support for this view. And though a few scholars, like Dallaway, Helvig, Hobhouse, and Mauduit, preferred on the evidence to place the Tomb of Achilles towards the south end of the Sigeum ridge, there has been a widespread acceptance of the two tumuli north of Yenisehir as those pointed out in antiquity as the Tombs of Achilles and Patroclus.⁴ The two tumuli here seem to be alone. Coming up the slope from Kum Kale in 1959 we picked up two scraps of black glaze on low brows that might have been the relics of eroded tumuli. But the terrain

¹Troja (1884), 243.

² Critobulus, *Hist.* iv. 11, 5 (*FHG* v. 1, p. 144).

³ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu went up to the top of Cape Yenisehir to see the place where Achilles was buried; but evidently she is following Sandys, who supposed the tomb to be on the cape.

⁴ Forchhammer, whose observations on the Plain of Troy contain so much of value in so little space, had his moment of aberration when he suggested that the tumuli were water depots or consecrated to the water deities; but it did not prevent him from treating them as ancient landmarks in the usual way.

seems to be confused with spoil from military works; and certainly none of the travellers noticed any others.¹

The 'Tomb of Achilles' was of a medium size. Choiseul-Gouffier gave its height as 29 French (31-2 English) ft. above the original ground level, but only 20 French ft. above that of his own day. Foster in 1803 measured it as 24 ft. on the side towards the plain. Schliemann gave 8·34 m. in 1868, and after his excavation of 1882 he gave 6·50 m. for the vertical depth, but with a maximum of 12 m. on the downhill side. Other estimates are 36 ft. on the downhill side (Prokesch), 41 ft. on the downhill side and 16 ft. on the uphill (Maclaren), and 120 ft. (Francklin). The mound was evidently larger than the 'Tomb of Patroclus', but smaller and less conspicuous than the 'Tomb of Ajax' and Besik * Tepe. It had a house built against its south side when Lechevalier saw it and Choiseul-Gouffier excavated it. A few years later this was a teke of dervishes with annexes and apparently with a built tomb on the top of the mound.² Travellers speak of vineyards there and at the 'Tomb of Patroclus'. Dubois reported in 1814-15 that further excavations had followed Choiseul-Gouffier's and as a result the mound was entirely destroyed.³ But it was irrepressible; for Schliemann's drawing of the early 1870s shows a tump of almost unexampled perfection.⁴ Lehmann-Haupt examined the mound with a lantern on an evening visit in the First World War; it had been trenched for a military installation, but revealed no stratification.⁵ After another World War we found it so penetrated by stone-lined galleries that its shape had become quite irregular; we could see neither stratification nor pottery.

Choiseul-Gouffier's excavation was carried out in 1787 by Salomon, son of Moisé Gormezano, the French consular agent at Çanak Kale. I have attempted to assemble the relevant evidence on the subject, but it is not possible to offer any very precise account of the excavation.⁶ It can,

1 Chandler remarked a third tumulus 'not far off' from the two known ones; but the phrase is not precise.

2 Drawings in Morritt, Gell (*Topography of Troy* (1804), pl. 21), and Choiseul-Gouffier (*Voyage pitt.* ii, pl. 29, pp. 319 ff.); descriptions also in Dallaway, Francklin, E. D. Clarke, Hunt (who discovered the late epitaph *CIG* ii. 3627 on the top). Prokesch noted a turbaned tombstone on the top.

3 *Voyage pitt.* ii. 322 n. 1.

4 *Ilios* (1880), 654, no. 1513.

5 *Klio* xv (1918), 432. Cf. Brückner, *AA* 1925, 234 (naval guns here and at the 'Tomb of Patroclus').

6 Choiseul-Gouffier, (Lenz) *Ebene von Troja* (1798), 60 ff., and later *Voyage pitt.* ii. 319 ff.; a letter of Choiseul-Gouffier and a communication of his doctor Jumelin *ap.* Lechevalier, (Lenz) *Reise nach Troas* (1800), 41 ff., 187 ff.; Åkerblad, *ibid.* 242 f.; letter of an anonymous (based on Gormezano's own testimony) in Dallaway, *Constantinople* (1797), 351 ff.; the same writer and Liston in Dalzel, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.* iv (1798), lit. cl., 63 ff., Hawkins, *ibid.* 117; Francklin, *Remarks and Observations* (1800), 2 f., 45 f.; von Hammer, *Topogr. Ansichten* (1811), 11 ff.; E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* ii. I (1812) 96 f.; Hunt in Walpole, *Memoirs* (1817), 100; Hobhouse, *Travels in Albania* (1855), ii 129 ff.; Mauduit, *Découvertes dans la*

(footnote continued on next page)

however, be asserted at the outset that the suspicion that Gormezano never dug into the mound at all (e.g. in Åkerblad, Gell, and later scholars) proves to be unfounded; for we are not dependent solely on Choiseul-Gouffier's agentsWatkins in fact reports having seen the cut in the summer of 1788.¹ The shaft was sunk from the top of the mound through strata of clay, stones, and sand to a 'granite' block which had shielded a cremation burial in a small rectangular cavity fenced by walls of slight construction (Choiseul-Gouffier *ap.* Lenz). The excavation, apparently conducted by night, lasted two months (Gormezano, reported by DallawayJumelin speaks of 12-14 days); and the excavators were involved in a collapse, from which they escaped with bruises. When the excavation was completed by the discovery of the burial, Kauffer was sent to test the authenticity of Gormezano's report and examine the stratification, and Dr. Jumelin went to Yenisehir * in 1788 and satisfied himself of the genuineness of the discovery.²

The finds in the burial cavity consisted of charcoal and ash, calcined bones, various fragments of vases (among which especially lekythoi), a piece of what sounds like an alabaster alabastron, and some bits of iron and bronze which were variously described. Fauvel was brought to Constantinople to treat the finds, and he succeeded in restoring two lekythoi (presumably Black Figure) and an ornamental bronze figurine group, which was at first taken to be Egyptian but eventually recognized as an elaborate classical mirror.³

Choiseul-Gouffier abandoned the idea that the tomb was that of Achilles, and declared for Festus, the favourite of Caracalla. But this did not satisfy the scholars; and when it became certain that the objects reputed to have been found in the tumulus could not be of the time of Achilles, suspicion centred on Choiseul-Gouffier's Jewish agent.

(footnote continued from previous page)

Troade (1840) *passim*; Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten i* (1836), 193 ff.; Maclaren, *The Plain of Troy Described* (1863), 167 ff. The memoir of an anonymous member of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople, of which Lenz gave an excerpt in his (Lechevalier) *Reise nach Troas* 260 ff., seems too irresponsible to merit attention.

¹*Travels through Swisserland* (1792), 201. Åkerblad's assertion that there was only a hole made in the hope of finding water in fact tallies with Gormezano's statement (*ap.* Dallaway) that the proclaimed purpose of his excavation was to discover a spring. Others, like Hunt, Forchhammer, and Maclaren, have denied that the excavation was carried deep enough to reach ground level; but the stratified depth (22 French (24 English) ft. in Jumelin) is sufficient (Schliemann's figure for the vertical depth of the mound is 6.5 m.). Maclaren's attempt to discredit Gormezano's report of the excavation by finding that it disagreed with Lechevalier's is wilful; Maclaren had read enough to know that Lechevalier was in Moldavia at the time of the excavation and was not well informed.

² The Turkish owner of the house at the mound told Jumelin that since the excavation of the tomb the infidels (i.e. Christians) on the Sigeum promontory had been haunted by a ghost.

³ The objects are illustrated in *Voyage pitt.* ii, pl. 30 (*Troja und Ilion*, Beil. 66 at p. 544). The earlier accounts show discrepancies due to uncertainty in the identification of the corroded metal objects.

Salomon Gormezano, it is true, did later assert that he had been ill-rewarded by the ambassador; and some scholars and travellers were offered pieces of bone, ash, and other bric-à-brac that he claimed to have held back from the contents of the tomb that were delivered to Choiseul-Gouffier.¹ Åkerblad even gives a more malicious tale that an Englishman was told by Gormezano that the bronze figure was not found in the 'Tomb of Achilles' but in a different region of the Troad (the lekythoi were presumably still considered capable of being of heroic times and therefore not impugned). On the other hand, Gormezano seems to have made a good impression on the people who met him, and we hear of him reaffirming the genuineness of his discovery in the 1790s, in 1800, in 1815, and 1824. For what it is worth, Fauvel also confirmed it to Prokesch in Smyrna, and Jumelin reckoned that Gormezano would not have dared to play so dangerous a trick on the ambassador. It seems clear that those most intimately concerned with the excavation did not doubt Gormezano's good faith. E. D. Clarke, who also met him, agreed that Gormezano was honest and respectable, but thought that he might have produced objects from elsewhere in his desire to gratify his patron; and it remains a possibility that they were the contents of a grave at Abydos or some other site which had conveniently come to light at the time of Gormezano's excavation. But the attack on Gormezano arose primarily from an unwillingness to believe that the tomb was not the historical one of Achilles; and that incentive to disbelief in his story has long since disappeared.

Schliemann was determined to re-excavate the tumulus. In 1879 he entered into negotiations with the owner, a Turk of Kum Kale, but was deterred by the high price named. In 1882, however, thanks to the good offices of the governor at Çanak Kale, he was able to excavate it under more favourable conditions.² He was concerned to prove it Homeric (though not, he reckoned, historically that of Achilles);³ and he rejected Choiseul-Gouffier's findings on the ground that the stratification he reported did not tally with his own observations in this and other tumuli, and that Gormezano's shaft had not penetrated to the centre of the tumulus. Schliemann discovered a considerable assortment of potsherds, about which he writes at length. But his description of them is disappointingly external, and reads like special pleading, almost as though to show that pottery that he would have preferred to date to classical times might in this instance be as early as the ninth century.⁴

¹ Hope was naïve enough to buy some of these relics. Liston, who was offered some in Constantinople, was more hard-headed.

²*Troja* (1884), 243 ff.

³*Ilios* (1880), 650 and 655.

⁴ As with the question of a lower town at Troy and of the Springs of Scamander there, this is an issue in which Schliemann's judgement seems less free from prejudice after the 1882 campaign and his association with the fundamentalist Dörpfeld than it had been in 1879.

Reading between the lines, we might interpret the pottery reported as 2-3 pieces assigned to Troy I, a number of fragments of archaic grey ware, much ware with poor dark glaze, and black glaze and striped glaze as from parts of Black Figure vases. Winnefeld, who knew the material, pointed in particular to sherds of careless Black Figure (with an absence of Geometric, Rhodian, and Corinthian) among the pottery from the 'Tomb of Achilles' in the Schliemann Collection and concluded that the tomb was erected in the fifth century; he also adduced the fifth-century finds from the Çoban Tepe burial (above, p. 129) and considered Gormezano's findings verified.¹ This seems to be the most authoritative judgement that we possess, and it was accepted by Leaf as an unwelcome but unavoidable conclusion.² It is not easy to reach a more precise date. The Black Figure sherds have not been published; and of Choiseul-Gouffier's finds I should not care to do more than suggest a date around 480 B.C. with a margin of error of up to 50 years either way.³

The 'Tomb of Patroclus' was reckoned nearly 20 ft. high. Though it also is said to have had a naval gun emplacement in the First World War, it has preserved its shape rather better than the 'Tomb of Achilles'. Calvert excavated it with officers of the British fleet in 1855.⁴ A shaft was dug down to the rock without any result. Schliemann reckoned that potsherds must have been thrown away; and he took the opportunity to excavate this mound also in 1882. He found no sign of a burial but 'exactly the same archaic pottery as in the tumulus of Achilles, though in a much less considerable quantity'.⁵ As Winnefeld pointed out, the pottery is the same, again with similar Black Figure;⁶ and this tumulus should be of approximately the same date as the other.

Schliemann failed to obtain permission to excavate the Windmill Tumulus (his 'Tomb of Antilochus') east of Yenisehir*; for the owner feared for his mill. He therefore contented himself with prodding into its sides, where sherds were opportunely peeping out.⁷ These were again said to be identical with the archaic pottery from the 'Tomb of Achilles'. The Windmill Tumulus now lacks its windmill, but is otherwise perfect. In 1959 we picked up on its edge a sherd from the body of a bowl or large kotyle with a poorly painted, worn, animal frieze and thin rays

¹*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 544 (Winnefeld), 624 (Dörpfeld's attempt to make the data conform to Homer).

²*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 165.

³ As Professor R. M. Cook points out to me, without closer knowledge of the draughtsman's style it is impossible to tell what is accurate in Choiseul-Gouffier's drawings.

⁴ The date is Schliemann's (*Troja* 251). *Senior's Journal* (1859), 179 is the reference for the absence of any finds.

⁵*Troja* (1884), 251 ff.; Schliemann there discusses Homeric 'cenotaphia'.

⁶*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 545.

⁷*Troja* (1884), 16 f., 253 f.

below (PLATE 17*a* middle left). This is probably local ware of the same general character as the 'Swan Group' vases mentioned above (p. 121 n. 4), and would suggest a later sixth- rather than a fifth-century date. There thus seems to be just sufficient evidence to confirm the later sixth-earlier-fifth-century dating of the Yenisehir * tumuli as a whole.

3

The Ridge to Besika*

The crest of Yenisehir runs out south-westward to a narrow neck which links it along the cliff edge to a table-top plateau several hundred metres across in either direction; the two flat crests can just be seen in the background of PLATE 17*b*. The southern plateau, which is about 1 km. from the Yenisehir crest and of the same altitude, was recognized by Spratt and Forchhammer as having traces of occupation, to which we shall return (pp. 175 ff.); there being no villagers to give it a name, we call it 'Spratt's plateau'. Prokesch recognized it as the 'mounded

wall' (*τείχος ἀμφίχυτον*) of Heracles, on which the gods who favoured the Achaeans took their seats to watch the battle. A little distance down the steep seaward slope Lehmann-Haupt discovered an underground spring which had been tapped by long horizontal and vertical shafts; the main horizontal one was reported to have a facing of tiles, which Lehmann-Haupt took to be of recent date.¹ Brückner speaks of Calvert's archaic graves as being on the steep western slope of this plateau (below, p. 177). To the east of 'Spratt's plateau' the natural course of the Pinarbasi* Çay was spanned just above its junction with the Menderes by a stone bridge which appears on the old maps.² Forchhammer reported immense blocks of irregular shape by the river junction, and suggested that it was the site of a small fortress.³ Perhaps the stones may really have belonged to the old bridge. Near the ruined bridge, however, Gell seems to have noticed a tumulus with blocks of stone and Corinthian capitals;⁴ so perhaps it is rather a question of an old Turkish burial ground. We have not been there.

A kilometre or so along the coast from 'Spratt's plateau', where the ridge forms a low waist at Tasli* Burun (PLATE 18*a*, looking south from 'Spratt's plateau'), is a conspicuous mound called Kesik Tepe, in which the travellers mostly recognized the Tomb of Antilochus.⁵ The Greeks

1*Klio* xv (1918), 433.

2 'Boyaci* Bridge' is marked in this position on the GS maps; for a recent discovery thereabouts see below, p. 394.

3*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 39. His notice did not escape the attention of Brückner when he was thinking up his 'Sigeon Gibraltar' theory (see below), and the ruin was recognized as a quay of the south harbour of Sigeum.

4*Topography of Troy* (1804), 15.

5 Height 36 ft. (Prokesch), 15 m. (Schliemann, 1868). It is flat-topped when seen from the north or south, as in PLATE 18*a*.

knew it as St. Demetrius' tepe because of an adjacent chapel where the festival of that saint was celebrated with bonfires lit on top of the mound (Hunt, Schliemann in *Ilios*). The chapel was roofless in 1839 (Forchhammer). Ulrichs in 1843 called the mound St. Athanasius' tepe, and in fact the older maps show a chapel of that saint just south of that of St. Demetrius.¹ Forchhammer declared the mound natural; and so did Ulrichs, who thought it had been artificially rounded off. On his journey of 1868 Schliemann took Kesik Tepe for the Tomb of Festus; but he probed it with Virchow and Burnouf in 1879 and ascertained that it was a natural tertiary hump with never more than 5 ft. of earth on top.² He dug for graves on top without success. He also speaks quite casually of large ruins of a marble temple of Demeter adjoining the tepe, as though they were well known to scholars. What can now be seen is the traces of a small rubble building (evidently the chapel of St. Demetrius) at the north-west foot of the mound, with one large marble block among them (we found no trace of the chapel of St. Athanasius). We noted the mound as barren and stony, with the natural rock showing through on the west side and in a trench on the summit. East of this Spratt's map shows a large marsh (Lisgar, = Ilica); it now seems to be drained and cultivated.

The lowest point of the ridge is an artificial cut about 500 m. south of Kesik Tepe. The profile of the crest is very distinctly shown by a photograph taken from the light cruiser *Dresden* in 1913 shortly before she sailed to the German East Asiatic squadron.³ The cut is a great V-shaped trench, whose bottom at the crossing of the ridge is perhaps 12-15 m. above sea level; on the west the trough descends steeply to the sea, on the east it slopes down gradually towards the flat ground. We guessed its visible length at 400 m. Figures such as are given by von Prokesch (20 fathoms deep) and Forchhammer (100 ft. deepless 10-15 ft. now filled in with earth, 100 ft. wide, nearly half a mile long; repeated by Schliemann) seem excessive. But it was certainly a considerable undertaking. Lechevalier took it to be a protection of the Achaeans' right wing,⁴ Choiseul-Gouffier the 'mounded wall' (propugnaculum) of Heracles.⁵ The dragomen of Çanak Kale explained the cut as a canal to by-pass Cape Yenisehir *. But the travellers were not so easily satisfied. Hunt thought it a torrent bed, Prokesch took it for the

1 Pococke, *Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), map opposite p. 112; d'Anville's chart (p. 46); *Voyage pittoresque* ii, pl. 19. Pococke remarked the mound as very conspicuous from the Tenedos channel and was tempted to prefer it for the Tomb of Achilles.

2 Virchow, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 13; *Ilios* (1880), 669.

3AA 1925, 235, fig. 1.

4 Lenz, *Reise nach Troas* (1800), 124 f., where Lenz confuses the issue by supposing that the canal of the Pinarbasi* Çay is being spoken of.

5 *Voyage pitt.* ii. 330 f.

result of an earthquake. Coming down to earth, Forchhammer suggested that the intention had been to drain the plain of flood water; and this opinion was adopted by Ulrichs, Tozer, and Virchow. It has been brought into relationship with the legend that Heracles dug a course for the Scamander (*σκάμμα ἄνδρός*),¹ and with Pliny's 'Scamander, amnis navigabilis'. Brückner reverted to the canal theory, imagining that in Pisistratid times Sigeum (which he placed on 'Spratt's plateau') had a south harbour entered by this cut.² It is difficult to judge on the practicability of such a project; but presumably the 'Lisgar' marsh would have had to be excavated to below sea level for a harbour and the spoil from it banked up somewhere. Drainage seems the more plausible solution; and if we seek an occasion when the need for *terra firma* in the plain would have been greatest and resources for the task most readily available, the foundation of Constantine's new city would furnish an answer. It seemed to us clear that the work was never completed. The bottom of the existing cut is much too high, and the cut itself too narrow; and the sea bottom in the cove at the end of the cut looks quite clear of deposited mud.

Yeniköy is a village of Turkish refugees from Bulgaria and Roumania founded in 1951. It had 150 houses in 1959 and continues to prosper. The ridge is broad in this part; and while the crest is barren between Yeniköy and Yenisehir *, the gentle eastern slopes here are well cultivated, as they were in Napier's time. In 1959 we saw several ancient blocks which had already reached the new village, with the advantage that the villagers had not forgotten where they came from: in the doorway of the coffee house a marble corner block of a Doric frieze 41 cm. high and 109 cm. long, with two triglyphs and two metopes and the letter H inscribed on the fillet over the end triglyph (said to have been brought from the ruined village of Yenisehir),³ a fragment of a marble cornice with dentils built into a wall (from the old village of Yeniköy), and an unfluted marble column (from the beach at Besika*). Professor Bean noted the following bronze coins:

Ilion, Crispina (<i>BMC</i> 72)	1
Alexandria Troas, pre-colonial (<i>BMC</i> 7-10)	1
Alexandria Troas, Commodus (<i>BMC</i> 70)	1
Alexandria Troas ?, imperial (undistinguishable)	1

The old village, which occupied the crest to the north of the modern one, was Greek from its first mention in Pococke to its abandonment

1 Et. Magn., s.v. *Σκάμανδρος*, Cramer's *Anecdota*, s.v. *Ἐκαμένηδρος*; Eustathius, ad *Il.* xx 73 f., makes Heracles bring forth the river Xanthus.

2AA 1925, 242 ff. This is his 'ancient Gibraltar' of *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1927, 12.

3 The inscribed letter suggests that the building was re-erected in antiquity; and our block had presumably been transported at a later date to the village of Yenisehir before being brought to serve as a doorstep in the new Yeniköy.

about the time of the First World War.¹ It was known as Ine and Neochori, and identified with Pliny's 'oppidum Nee'. According to Hunt (1801) it had 100 families; but Hobhouse (1810) and Kiepert (1842) reckoned 200 houses the latter in spite of the fact that according to Napier in 1839 three quarters of the inhabitants had been swept off by plague a few years previously.² Schliemann spoke of the place as fever-stricken, but none the less a large and beautiful village. Many travellers saw the inscription of C. Marcius Marsus (*CIL* iii. 393) at the church it even on occasion serves to inform us of a traveller's whereabouts; and Calvert copied an Aeolic city decree (Lebas 1743c = *SGDI* i. 317). Prokesch saw granite columns in the village. He complained that the Aga * knew nothing of antiquities. But Schliemann in 1868 found a more archaeologically minded demarch, his host Georgios Mengioussis, who showed him various ancient sculptures of perfect execution which he had discovered in excavations on the bank above the sea; they may perhaps have been from a fountain. It was to this Greek that Schliemann turned for redress when he considered himself cheated by the rascal Topal at Üvecik;³ and if he is the same as Tozer's landowner George Menzous at Pinarbasi* (above, p. 130) we have an example of the growing standing of leading Greeks on this coast. Between the old village of Yeniköy and the great cut Schliemann in 1868 noted a flat hill, 14 m. high, covered with Cyclopean ruins of some great building measuring 166 by 40 m. There is nothing on Spratt's map in this position; and we have traversed the crests here without seeing any remains except those of old Yeniköy itself. Schliemann did not mark this building on the maps in his books; possibly it was an old vineyard wall.

From the old village the ramp of a cart track leads obliquely down the cliff to a sandy beach with trees and an old built fountain that still flows. This was noticed by Hobhouse and von Prokesch. It is now the bathing beach of the younger villagers. Hobhouse spoke of a circular port there. The cliff in this sector is perhaps lower than at Yenisehir*, but steep. Napier remarked numerous antique fountains bordering the sea here. On the way to Besika* Burnu is a fountain with a long cattle trough called Papaz Cesmesi* (PLATE 18*b*); Prokesch remarked a granite column beside it and a lone birch tree. The legend of Hesione's exposure and Heracles' struggle with the sea monster has commonly

¹ I have taken the Kainourio Chorio of Spon and Wheler to be Erenköy because they appear to have sailed inside the new castle at Kum Kale (above, p. 61). So also H. Kiepert, *Memoir* 124 f.

² Napier commented on the threshing with flint-toothed sledges at Yeniköy. These sledges are still used in parts of the Troad, but the new refugee villages of the Trojan Plain have advanced into the machine age. For the flints see below, p. 287 n. 2).

³ *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 215, 222 f.

been associated with this stretch of coast by travellers and scholars.¹ Lechevalier identified the cliffs south of Cape Yenisehir * with Heracles' 'mounded wall', and Choiseul-Gouffier the cliffs around Yeniköy with Hesione's Rocks (but they are not rocky); and Choiseul-Gouffier, J. T. Clarke, and others have taken the promontory of Besika* Burnu for the Agammia of Stephanus Byzantius.² As regards Agammia, Leaf endeavoured to clinch the matter finally. Besika Burnu, he says, 'is the only promontory on the west coast of the plain of Troy the north has no unappropriated site;³ and the bay is the natural sea-gate on this side. Nor is any other ancient name for it known.' This of course assumes that his other identifications are correct, and that he knew all the features of the coast line which for the most part he had not visited.⁴ But even if this were true, he still knew no ancient name for Tasli* Burun or the Kum Kale point; and for the 'Tavolia' headland and harbour he was reduced to ill-considered conjecture (above, p. 84). Assumingas is by no means likely that any authentic knowledge or genuine topographical situation underlay Stephanus' mention of this legendary spot, the difficulty with the identification of Agammia is that there are too many possibilities. Leaf then went on to recognize the 'mounded wall' as the tumulus of Besik* Tepe (to the left in PLATE 18*b*, with Besika Burnu on the right); but for those who wish to envisage the eminence on which the gods favouring the Achaeans took their seats to watch the battle while those who favoured the Trojans faced them on Kallikolone (*Iliad* xx. 144 ff.), Prokesch's level crest south of Yenisehir (our 'Spratt's plateau') must seem better placed for viewing and much more comfortable to sit on. Besik Tepe marks the termination of the Sigeum ridge.⁵

Besika Körfezi (Besika Bay) is a shelving bay with a flat plain behind it. It is sheltered against the prevailing north winds and has running water (or at least it had as long as the Pinarbasi* Çay was diverted there). It was the station used by the British and French fleets at the mouth of the Dardanelles in the nineteenth century. In Piri Re'is it is mentioned

¹ For the story see especially J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1882, 1883*, Pt. i (1898), 209-40; cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 167 f.

Ἀγάμμεια, ἄκρα καὶ λιμὴν περὶ τὴν Τροίαν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν δευτέρῳ· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαμον τὴν Ἡσιόνην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sic) παραδοθῆναι τῷ κήτει κτλ. Cf. Hesych. (Ἀγάμμεια), ἐνθα αἱ παρθέναι ἐξετίθεντο τῷ κήτει.

² By the word 'site' Leaf does not mean an archaeological site. Stephanus does not mention any settlement at Agammia, and (following Virchow and Schliemann) Leaf erroneously supposed that Besika Burnu did not have any ancient occupation.

³ A letter of his from Ezine shows that he only rode from Kesik Tepe to Yenisehir (C. M. Leaf, *Walter Leaf* (1932), 219 f.). Otherwise he never touched the Trojan coasts.

⁴ For Besik Tepe see below, pp. 173 f. Francklin and Hope on their map show an extra tumulus (of 'Protesilaus') in this sector between Kesik Tepe and Besik Tepe. This is an unexplained aberration.

as an excellent harbour under the name Çökertme (= a kind of fishing net). Mey reported three wells at either end of the plain, and Forchhammer ancient remains on the cape at the south end of the bay. Forchhammer did not mark his site on his version of Spratt's map, and consequently we did not think of going there. At the south end of the plain Mey also discovered an extensive Byzantine site with aqueduct, fountain, and church remains. Napier mentions a kosk * near the landing place, which belonged to a rich Turk, Yusuf Aga*, who supplied the fleet with cattle in return for medical aid for his sick daughter.¹ Besika* Bay is separated from the Scamander plain on the north-east by a rock sill whose elevation Mey reckoned at 15 m., and is, as Leaf said, the sea gate of the Trojan Plain. But it received very little attention from scholars until the present century when, dissatisfied with the traditional image of the Achaean host with its 1,186 ships encamped for ten years on the north shore of the Trojan Plain with enemies in its rear, Brückner sought in the early books of the *Iliad* for the proof that the true camp of the Achaeans was at Besika. He first argued his hypothesis in a Berlin lecture of May 1912;² and thereafter he won over Colonel W. von Diest and Dörpfeld to his belief. Oscar Mey had also reached a similar conclusion from his own study of Homer; and in October 1924 Mey and Dörpfeld carried out excavations at Besika. Mey trenched in the coastal plain where the Achaeans' camp should have been; and Dörpfeld with M. Schede worked on the two great tumuli (Üvecik Tepe and Besik* Tepe) that stand like sentinels guarding the bay. The situation is shown in another of the photographs from the sea in Mey's report of his work.³

Mey's main effort was a trench 105 m. long in the middle of the plain, and apparently towards its east side (he speaks of the sea as having come 1,200 m. further inland in antiquity!). At one point 2·5 m. below the surface he found three sherds resembling the prehistoric of Besik Tepe; but generally speaking the pottery he found was in sand at a depth of 1-2 m., and though abundant it was uninformative. He noted that there was both coarse and fine pottery, with a few pieces of grey ware ('Lydian or Minyan'). There were also numerous fragments of 'Ziegel', or, to be precise, of burnt clay of irregular shape, which he took to be

¹*United Service Journal* 1840, Third Part, 48.

² Published in AA 1912, 616 ff.; a second lecture extending his reading of Homer and his topographical speculations is reproduced in AA 1925, 229 ff. I have not studied his main argument in detail. But it seems to me that Brückner and Dörpfeld are successfully rebutted by Vellay according to the rules of the game (*Les Nouveaux Aspects de la question de Troie* (1930), 1-46, and *Controverses autour de Troie* (1936), 123 ff.). Some of Vellay's arguments are farfetched, but his documentation commands respect. There are also some minor works of Dörpfeld and von Diest on the subject (cf. *Philolog. Wochenschrift* li (1931), 36).

³*Das Schlachtfeld vor Troja* (1926), 14. For an account of the work cf. also Schede, AA 1929, 358 ff.

pieces of terracotta hearths. There seems to be no mention of any foundations of buildings. Mey supposed that there must have been a small settlement such as a fishermen's village, or a place where sailors camped while waiting for a change of wind.¹ It would be difficult to argue from his data to a completely satisfactory explanation. But it may help if we consider what there was likely to be for him to find. In 1839, when the British and French fleets were at Besika *, Napier (who was stationed there) spoke of sutlers and traders who had pitched tents and erected a small wooden town of booths on the marshy shore near the mouth of the canal (they quickly disappeared when fever attacked the fleets).² Again, in the summer of 1853, when the two fleets lay for four or five months at Besika, the Earl of Carlisle reported that 'a sort of extempore town has sprung up with shops for potatoes, pipes, Persian carpets and patés of foie gras'.³ Such encampments would leave little trace save broken (and burnt) pottery and bits of hearths. This is not to say that Mey was excavating the debris of 1839 or 1853, or of 1878; we should expect to find them nearer the present shore line. But there must have been other occasions on which fleets lay there, and encampments of this sort seem to offer the best explanation of Mey's discoveries.

Mey also found that the sand at Besika Bay contained the same crystalline and eruptive particles as Virchow had remarked at the In* Tepe Azmagi* (above, pp. 89 f.). Virchow had recognized them as coming from rocks of the interior plain and therefore brought down by the Menderes; and the discovery of pieces of 'Ziegel' in the deposit enabled him to declare that the Menderes had flowed to In Tepe in historical times. The cogency of his argument is weakened by Mey's discovery of volcanic particles at Besika, where the Menderes cannot have had a mouth; and since In Tepe (Aiantion) seems to have been a much-used anchorage, Virchow's pieces of 'Ziegel' can also perhaps best be explained by extempore encampments such as those recorded at Besika.

Mey's excavation did not produce any evidence of the Achaeans' camp having been at Besika. At the same time, the fact remains that for an army with a thousand ships the north end of the Trojan Plain on the narrows is an impossible camping site, and must surely have been so three thousand years ago. For those who wish to regard the Homeric record as substantially accurate Besika Bay must be a very much more

1 The *Black Sea Pilot* (1908), 7, quoted in Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 357 f., speaks of the summer wind from the Dardanelles sometimes continuing for so long that 'it is not a rare occurrence to see 200 or 300 vessels in Tenedos channel or in the other anchorages, waiting a favourable and enduring breeze. With every slight southerly air they get under way, but only to shift from one anchorage to another, and they reach the Sea of Marmara after having accomplished the distance by short stages.' Herod, Pliny Minor, the Greek fleet in 479 B.C., and some of the travellers have experienced considerable delay here.

2 *United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 298.

3 G.W.F. Howard, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (1854), 68.

satisfactory situation provided that it had an adequate water supply before the Pinarbasi * Çay was diverted in that direction. The argument against Besika* is of course a matter of Homeric criticism and not of ancient topography. But it does seem possible to say that the Hellenistic scholars represented by Strabo placed the Achaeans' camp on the narrows and not at Besika; that was not disputed by Brückner and Dörpfeld.

Üvecik Tepe is the greatest of the Trojan tumuli. It is about 3 km. inland from Besika Bay, and set on rising ground so that while it has a maximum height of about 25 m. the summit is perhaps 70 m. above sea level. With its cone still sharply pointed it dominates the south side of the Trojan Plain, and the feast of the Prophet Elias used to be celebrated there with a bonfire in the days of the Greeks. Being alongside the road from their Troy to Alexandria Troas, the tumulus was recognized as the 'Tomb of Aesyetes' by Lechevalier and his followers. Schliemann drove a vertical and a lateral shaft into the centre of the tumulus in 1879 and discovered in it a central 'tower' of stonework founded on what appeared to be a circular enclosure of polygonal masonry.¹ He found potsherds in the centre which he judged to be late Roman, and he identified the monument as the tumulus raised by Caracalla for his favourite Festus, whose death he was suspected of having encompassed so that he could enact Achilles mourning the dead Patroclus. At the same time Schliemann was inclined to agree with Burnouf that the circular enclosure at the bottom was older and perhaps belonged to a shrine of classical Greek times. In his study of the Trojan tumuli Winnefeld pointed to Black Figure fragments and a red glazed sherd with stamped palmettes catalogued in the Schliemann Collection (no. 5601) as coming from Üvecik Tepe, and he even suggested that the polygonal masonry could be of Troy VI date.² Dörpfeld made supplementary excavations in 1924. His aim was to prove Üvecik Tepe to be the Tomb of Patroclus (not of Achilles, because with von Diest he believed that his station was shown by the study of Homer to be on the left of the line and therefore that his tumulus was Besik* Tepe!). But though he found cause to date the circular construction with the polygonal masonry to the time of the Athenian occupation of the Troad in the sixth century, he was obliged to admit that nothing on the spot went back to heroic times.³ In 1959 we saw two pits in the top of the tepe. The sherds around looked modern. This tumulus would certainly seem

¹*Ilios* (1880), 658 ff.

²*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 541 f. The piece of a curved wall (the reputed second circle) adjoining the polygonal circle may be ignored now; it was later found to be built with mortar and presumably to be of the same date as the 'tower' (cf. AA 1929, 360 f.).

³ 'Das Schiffslager der Griechen vor Troja', *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie Alfred Götze dargebracht* (1925), 119 f.

to correspond best to the Tomb of Festus, presumably piled up over a tumulus or monument of classical date.

At Besik * Tepe Dörpfeld could not miss; for the mound was known to be laced with prehistoric pottery. This tumulus (PLATE 18*b*)¹ appears to be about 15 m. high.² The inhabitants of the new Yeniköy are not native, and though they know the old names that we use here they have invented new ones for these features (Sivri Tepe for Besik Tepe, and Yassi Tepe for Besika* Burnu). In the travellers the traditional identification of Besik Tepe is the 'Tomb of Peneleos'; but Dallaway, Helvig, and Mauduit anticipated the German Besika theory by seeing in it the best candidate for the Tomb of Achilles; and Hobhouse, A. Reinach, and the editors of *Athenian Tribute Lists* have also looked in this direction. Schliemann sank a shaft in the tumulus in 1879. He penetrated from the top through 7·8 m. of barren yellow clay and then through 5·4 m. of layers in which clay or white earth alternated with dark vegetable earth containing prehistoric sherds. He noted that the rock to east and northeast had been levelled over a distance more than 200 yards square, and took this to be the site of a prehistoric settlement from which the dark earth containing sherds had been sliced away to provide the layers in the mound. He found some connections with Troy I-II in the burnished ware which formed the bulk of the pottery, but close examination revealed such differences as to suggest to him a different race of people.³ Winnefeld concurred in this, dating the habitation to an interval between Troy I and Troy II when immigrants from overseas to the west could have inserted themselves with their culture in the Troad; he was inclined to date the erection of the tumulus to that time.⁴ At the close of the 1924 campaign Dörpfeld made some small excavations towards the foot of Besik Tepe, in which he failed to discover any outer ring wall such as he had expected to find; he concurred in the theory of a non-Trojan race from the west. By this time Dörpfeld was committed to the belief that Besik Tepe was not only the historic tomb of Achilles (whose station he had transferred to the left of the line), but also that of Patroclus (whom his findings at Üvecik Tepe had left tombless); he therefore recognized the dark earth stratum at 4·7 m. from the bottom as the division between the original mound that covered Patroclus and the tumulus that was completed after the death of Achilles. He

1 A photograph from Besika Burnu, *Troy i*, fig. 36.

2 In general these tumuli were erected on natural rises, and the vertical depth from the top to the rock tends to be less than the apparent height of the mound. Schliemann's figures for this vertical depth are: Besik Tepe 44 ft., Üvecik Tepe 46 ft. 4 in. His external figures for Besik Tepe are 48 ft. 3 in. (Burnouf) and 60 ft. (*Ilios* 665 and 651). He threw the spoil out over the top of these mounds to avoid disfigurement; but presumably the modern sherds we saw at Üvecik Tepe belong to Greek festivals of after 1879.

3*Ilios* (1880), 665 ff.

4*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 544 ff.

conceded that the results achieved at Besika * in 1924 were not decisive and planned to continue the work; but permission could not be obtained. Ten years later the Cincinnati expedition did obtain permission, but in the event could not carry out further excavation at Besik* Tepe.

Schliemann's pottery from Besik Tepe has been studied by W. Lamb.¹ She found the importance of the site to be due to the burnish-decorated wares, which she considered perhaps older than the Early Bronze Age.² In addition to this considerable body of material there were a few sherds that seemed to her to date to later stages of the Early Bronze Age. The material of a later date than this is evidently very exiguous; indeed Winnefeld spoke of the pottery as being early handmade (i.e. Early Bronze Age) 'bis auf ganz verschwindende Ausnahmen'. Lamb noted a base and a few other bits of wheelmade grey ware, either Troy VI-VII or archaic, and a few Hellenic sherds of the fourth-third centuries including a stamped black glaze saucer.

Since there does not appear to be any adjacent prehistoric site (except for the headland at Besika Burnu) it is unlikely that the sherds of handmade pottery have been brought to the mound in earth from outside, and we may assume that the lower part of the mound is a prehistoric tell dating, as it would seem, from chalcolithic times. The upper cone is more difficult to date. It is very improbable that such a tumulus would have been thrown up in Hellenistic times, and it seems safe to assume that the odd Hellenic sherds which Lamb noted were extraneous to the yellow clay. But any date between the Early Bronze Age and archaic Greek times is possible on the present evidence; and so we cannot tell whether the Aeolians who came to settle on this coast saw a broad low mound or a tall tumulus at Besika. In either case, however, they must have been aware of a massive artificial barrow there.

4 Classical Sites of the Sigeum Ridge

The classical sites on the ridge are three: the crest of Yenisehir* (above, pp. 152 ff.), the crest 1 km. to the south of it ('Spratt's plateau', p. 165), and the headland of Besika Burnu at the south end. Recognizing the need for careful survey here we have visited each site twice.

The crest of Yenisehir has already been described, together with its deserted village and such antiquities as have been reported there. We have assumed that the fortifications and vaults seen by the early travellers cannot have belonged to a city of classical Greek times. On our first visit, in 1959, we noticed a single course of wall blocks of uncertain date at the south-east edge below the church, and on the slope close at

¹*Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 124 ff.

² Cf. Mellaart, *Antiquity* xxxiv (1960), 278 (late chalcolithic).

hand we picked up a fragment of ancient tile and a number of scraps of black glaze of fourth-century or early Hellenistic date (one piece of a bowl or one-handler dated still fourth-century by Mr. Sparkes). On our 1966 visit we were fortunate in finding the dense scrub reduced by fire in the north-west part of the site; sherds, both modern and ancient, were abundant there. Among the latter the following finer wares may be remarked: a large fragment of a lekane of the first half or middle of the sixth century, with a linear pattern between purple bands on the lip and an inverted animal frieze on the body, the interior glazed black (PLATE 17*a* above), a sherd from a smaller lekane presumably of local manufacture, with a drop pattern on the exterior and a purple stripe on the black glazed interior (PLATE 17*a* lower left),¹ and an amphora foot with rude rays (PLATE 17*a* lower right); numerous scraps of striped ware; a small fragment of an Attic band cup; a heavy archaic loom-weight and a spindle whorl with a trace of black glaze; a handle and a foot apparently both from Attic fifth-century black-glazed skyphoi, a little black-glaze dinos rim, fragments of black-glaze kotylai of fourth-century form, and two fragments of the second quarter-middle of the fourth century, one with rouletting and both apparently Attic. It is notable that we saw no grey ware. For the depth of the ancient deposit on the site we must turn to previous investigators. Schliemann spoke of the village of Yenisehir * as standing on the ruins of an ancient city with an accumulation of debris six feet deep.² As we have remarked at other points, Schliemann tended to be obsessed by ancient deposits on modern village sites. But in this case confirmation is provided by Sperling, who visited Yenisehir during the Troy excavations and remarked a layer of habitation deposit 2-3 m. thick (including deep strata of the classical period) in trenches on the site.³ He also remarked Troy VI-VII pottery.

More pottery evidence would be valuable. But our sherds seem to warrant some conclusions. 1. The occupation of the site runs at least from early-middle sixth century to the later fourth. 2. The site was occupied from end to end, in the fourth century at least. 3. If we leave aside Sperling's Troy VI-VII sherds, there appears to be none of the grey ware that is so common on the Aeolic sites of the Troad. 4. The finer ware seems to contain a relatively high proportion of Attic.

'Spratt's plateau' is a table top, again with clearly defined edges, and with a surface area that (*pace* Spratt and Forchhammer) we judged to be less than that of the Yenisehir crest; it certainly appears so in Gell's view northwards from Kesik Tepe,⁴ and our PLATE 17*b* shows that it is

1 For this ware see above, p. 121 n. 4.

2 *Ilios* (1880), 72.

3 *AJA* xl (1936), 122 f.; cf. *ATL* i (1939), 547 f.

4 *Topography of Troy* (1804), pl. 19 (on left). A photograph of the plateau, Leaf, *BSA* xviii (1911-12), pl. 16. 1 (*Strabo on the Troad* pl. 10*b*).

not so long from north to south. In 1839 Spratt noted the foundations of a square-blocked perimeter wall at three or four points along the edges of the crest, with a continuous stretch of 100 yards (or 200 ft.) along the north side; Forchhammer, to whom we owe the information, hesitantly took the site for Sigeum.¹ Leaf, who followed him in placing Sigeum here, remarked 'obvious signs of a Greek town the soil is full of sherds, the outlines of walls can still be clearly traced, and at least in one spot are vestiges of the foundations of a large building.'² This sounds very convincing. But Schliemann had denied the existence of a city site here on the precise ground that there was no accumulation of debris at all.³ And Sperling also denied occupation on the plateau,⁴ though the editors of *Athenian Tribute Lists* (i. 548) elicited a further statement from him that the remains on this plateau consisted of a few sherds and one or two stone blocks possibly from Ilion. In 1959 we picked up one fragment of ancient tile and a single glazed sherd on the north slope of the plateau. We found the top quite barren, with no deposit whatever in military trenches near the west edge. Returning in 1963 we examined the south of the plateau more carefully. At points along the south and south-east edge we saw traces of the bottom course of a terrace-like wall. But again there were no ancient sherds, and there was no deposit at all in the trenches and pits that had been opened on the top. Two or three stone blocks (one apparently a relatively modern threshold) lay on the surface, and the few potsherds we picked up hardly seemed ancient. We cannot believe that there was an ancient town on this crest. On the other hand, the slope to the south of the plateau shows a thin scatter of ancient pottery, including sherds from wine amphorae and scraps of black glaze of approximately fourth-century date (with one foot of perhaps about 500 B.C.).

Leaf's 'soil full of sherds' on the top cannot fail to occasion surprise. It was not his habit to notice these things, and he could hardly have chosen a more unsuitable place for making such an observation. But he was quite lacking in archaeological experience, and at that stage of his journey he had hardly seen any sites that would afford a comparison. The best parallel that we know for 'Spratt's plateau' is Çakal Tepe on the Rhoetean ridge with its scatter of sherds on the slopes away from the wind (above, p. 81). The prevailing wind from the Dardanelles often blows wildly day and night along these ridges, and habitations have tended to be placed under the lee of the crests (witness the house at the back of the 'Tomb of Achilles', above, p. 161).

¹*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 39 (the figure of 200 ft. is in his later German version).

²*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 187.

³*Ilios* (1880), 72.

⁴*AJA* xl (1936), 122 f.

Lehmann-Haupt seems also to have visited `Spratt's plateau' under the impression that it was the ancient Sigeum. He could not identify any remains of the ancient town; but when he questioned them about it the military authorities seem to have told him that numerous ancient coins came to light in their fortification works there.¹ He did not himself see any, and we may question whether the military authorities would have noted the find places accurately enough to distinguish between this crest and that of Yenisehir *. We have referred to the underground spring that Lehmann-Haupt saw on the west slope (p. 165); he took it to be evidence for the ancient Sigeum, but what he saw was not classical. The west slope will also have been an ancient cemetery area if Brückner (who likewise believed that `Spratt's plateau' was Sigeum) had any good reason to say that it was on this slope (and not at Yenisehir) that Calvert's graves were.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Thiersch's catalogue, which lists the finds under the entry `Sigeion', does not specify the location of the graves. The finds are in general archaic and classical. They include a high-handled pyxis of sixth-century Corinthian type; an Ionic plate, and a late orientalizzing cup with wild floral ornament consisting of lotus and pentalpha; an Ionic striped amphora of the later sixth century; a chimaera relief of Melian type; plastic vases in the form of a standing woman and a ram's head; an archaic Silenus and classical terracottas, and primitive terracotta figurines resembling archaic Argive (an example of this Sigeian series illustrated by Schliemann in his *Ilios*).³

We believe we have examined every crest and can say with some assurance that the only site on the ridge to the south of this is Besika* Burnu, the `Cape Troy' of the earlier maps. From d'Anville's chart to Spratt and the *Mediterranean Pilot* the name Palaeokastro has attached to this promontory; and in fact both Choiseul-Gouffier and Spratt and Forchhammer recognized some remains there. But Schliemann and Virchow saw nothing ancient not even sherds when they visited the place in 1879; and they assumed that it had received the name Palaeokastro because of a fortuitous resemblance to a castle.⁴ They were followed by Leaf, and in consequence we were surprised to find a site there in 1959. But in fact W. Lamb had noted prehistoric sherds there on her visit of 1932.⁵ The promontory appears from the north in PLATE 18*b*. It rises (at a guess) 25 m. above the sea, and its flat summit measures about 85 by 45 m. It is precipitous on all sides save the east, where it drops steeply enough to a broad isthmus. We saw one squared

1 *Klio* xv (1918), 433 f.

2 *AA* 1925, 242.

3 p. 671, no. 1518.

4 *Ilios* (1880), 107; they noted the foundations of one or two modern buildings. Virchow speaks of Besika Burnu as a bare and steep promontory of shelly tertiary rock.

5 *Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 125.

limestone block in a military trench on top, but no trace of any walling (little would have been needed). On the sandy landward side of the isthmus we picked up a fragment of Hellenistic tile, and sherds on the adjacent beach; it would seem therefore that occupation overlapped the little promontory.

Potsherds are scattered on the precipitous slopes of the headland. Some of them are not easily recoverable, and the success of our sherding in 1959 was partly due to the agility of our military escort. We found less in 1967. Mellaart has examined our prehistoric sherds and reported them mainly Troy I, but with a little second-millennium grey ware. He considered part of our grey ware archaic; and Dr. Bayne recognized some later archaic grey, including a sixth-century bowl rim. To this we may add a jug lip, bowl rim, and handle fragment picked up in 1967. In contrast to the Yenisehir * site, archaic grey ware is relatively abundant here. There were a few fragments of archaic or classical striped ware (one with close-set stripes that looked Geometric or sub-geometric), a glazed cup fragment of the second half of the sixth century, and a bit of an open lamp. We saw a number of fragments of tile with red glaze, probably fourth-century. Black-glaze pottery was abundant. We noted fragments of a 'cream jug', a bowl with rouletting of the first half of the fourth century, a bowl rim, and a couple of scraps with lustrous glaze which looked pre-Hellenistic. We also noted two spurred kantharos handles of the middle or second half of the fourth century, a bowl rim of similar date, and fragments of fishplates, skyphos, and 'ink bottle'. Mr. Sparkes commented on the Hellenistic appearance of much of our 1959 black glaze. In particular he pointed out a kantharos handle of about 300 B.C. (pre-Koroni dating) and a bowl foot with deeply impressed palmettes which is by no means early in the Hellenistic series. We also noticed some relatively modern glazed sherds in 1967, fitting with Schliemann's mention of the foundations of modern buildings. The Hellenic occupation on the site would seem to range from some time in the sixth century (if not earlier) to about middle Hellenistic.

5

Sigeum and Achilleion

From the ancient sources we know of two settlements on the Sigeon foreland; and the problem now is to place them in their correct positions. The two settlements are Sigeum and Achilleion. We must begin with the evidences for them.

Sigeum¹ came into the hands of the Athenians, whether as a new foundation or by capture, in the time of Pittacus; since the Mitylenaeans

¹ Apparently also called Sige (Hecataeus *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v.; Avienus, *Orae marit.* 46); Σιγεῖον as dative of the ethnic in the Ionic version of the Sigeum stele of about 575-550 B.C. (above, pp. 154 f.).

claimed the land there, a war followed, in which Alcaeus played an inglorious part (his shield being captured and hung up in the temple of Sigeon Athena) and Periander is said to have acted as arbitrator. Achilleion seems to have been fortified by the Mitylenaeans in the course of the war. Herodotus speaks of Pisistratus as the person who captured Sigeum, and a chronological difficulty has thus been created. All we can say in this connection is that the pottery from the ridge would fit with occupation dating from the second quarter of the sixth century.¹ For the present purpose we may note that Sigeum continued in Pisistratid hands and Hippias took refuge there. In the fifth century Sigeum was a member of the Athenian league paying a sixth of a talent; and it was under special Athenian protection in 451/50 or later.² From about 355 to 332 B. C. (or later) Sigeum was under the rule of Chares; and it was involved in a dispute with Tenedos, which was evidently concerned with boundaries because the Tenedians based their claim on the arbitration of Periander.³ It was taken by siege and garrisoned by Lysimachus in 302. A decree of Sigeum for a benefactor who lent the city 200 Phocaite staters recently came to light in Corsica. Daux, who published it, suggested a date of 200-150 B.C. on the evidence of the lettering; but he stressed that his dating was very tentative.⁴ L. Robert judges the inscription to be third-century, and not later than the middle of that century; and in justifying his dating he draws attention to the mention of the Phocaite staters and the sobriety of the formulae.⁵ This seems reasonable. Daux took the inscription to belong to a time when, after being synoecized in Ilion, most probably by Lysimachus, Sigeum had recovered its independence. And this again seems highly probable; for Strabo speaks of Lysimachus following up the synoecism of Alexandria Troas by one of Ilion, into which he incorporated the worse-for-wear old cities that surrounded it,⁶ and he also tells us that Sigeum was demolished by the people of Ilion after it had revolted.⁷ It is therefore a working hypothesis that Lysimachus

¹ For the history of Sigeum see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 186 ff.; its prosopography, Daux, *BCH* lxxx (1956), 54 n. 4, 632.

² *Hesperia* v. 360 ff. For the later date (418/17) see now H. B. Mattingly in *La Circolazione della Moneta Ateniese in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia* (Rome, 1969), 217 n. 55.

³ Arist. *Rhet.* 1375b.

⁴ *BCH* lxxx (1956), 53 ff.

⁵ *Essays in Honour of C. Brad. Welles* (1966), 177.

⁶ xiii. 593, § 26. Leaf, following Grote, attempted to refer this synoecism to Alexandria Troas, not Ilion (*Strabo on the Troad* 141 ff.; for more recent references see L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 10, and his rejection of the theory in *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 6 ff.). But Grote's theory involved belief in changes by omission and interpolation in Strabo's text which can now be seen not to have the support of the Vatican Palimpsest of about A.D. 500 (W. Aly, *de Strabonis codice rescripto* (1956) ad loc.), and it may therefore be abandoned.

⁷ xiii. 600, § 39,

Ἀχιλλεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως μνημα, κατοικία μικρά.
κατέσκαπται δὲ καὶ τὸ Σίγειον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλίων ἀπειθοῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἦν ὕστερον ἢ παραλία
πᾶσα ἢ μέχρι Δαρδάνου, καὶ νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί.

The MSS. have ἀπειθοῦντων, but as it stands the text will not make sense without the emendation. The καί before τὸ Σίγειον seems at first sight to imply that Achilleion has also been demolished. But Strabo seems to be saying that

(footnote continued on next page)

incorporated Sigeum (with other old cities of the plain) in Ilion some time before 280 B.C., and that Sigeum afterwards regained its independence for a short time, only to be destroyed by the people of Ilion. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to consider the old supposition that Seleucid tetradrachms were minted at Sigeum.¹

The coinage of Sigeum will hardly have begun before the time of Chares' dominion and may be dated roughly within the limits of the second half of the fourth century. Its bronzes circulated relatively strongly. As we have seen, Clarke, Hunt, Barker Webb, and Perrot recognized specimens on the Sigeian ridge at the village of Yenisehir *, Napier at Kum Kale, and Borrell at one or the other (above, pp. 155 f.). The Troy excavations have yielded many, and specimens have been noted from Ophryneion (p. 75) and near Rhoeteum,² five at the Balli Dag*, and three at Halileli (pp. 138, 65, PLATE 3c), and probably a couple of specimens at Bayramiç (p. 311). Outside the Troad specimens are reported from Olynthos, Thasos, and Peparethos,³ and from Kalymnos.⁴ This permits the conclusion that Sigeum was a flourishing place in the second half of the fourth century. We should expect its site to have been a fairly substantial one at that time, and we should look for evidence of occupation extending between the early sixth century (or earlier) and the beginning of the third century, with perhaps a short period of reoccupation after 281 B.C.

Of Achilleion very little is known. Strabo tells us that it was situated at the Tomb of Achilles (above, p. 179 n. 7), and from him also we learn that it was fortified against the Athenians in Sigeum

(ἐπιτειχισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτυληναίων τῷ Σιγείῳ, xiii. 600, § 39) at the time of the war. It is not clear whether there was a settlement there before the war. Herodotus speaks of Achilleion as a city.⁵

The editors of *Athenian Tribute Lists* restore the name in the lists of the Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις in A 9 and A 10 (425/4 and 421/20 B.C.).⁶ This in itself seems very probable, though it is not quite certain.⁷ There are also very rare small bronze coins of a Greek city with *obv.* helmet or helmeted head of Athena, *rev.* monogram AX, of which two specimens in Imhoof-Blumer's collection came from the Dardanelles,

(footnote continued from previous page)

there still is a small settlement there. His meaning must rather be that Achilleion has sunk into insignificance and Sigeum too has been ruined.

1 See Bellinger, *Troy*, Suppl. ii (1961), 18 f.

2 Newton, *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 134; above, p. 81.

3 Cf. L. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* 106.

4 *BMC Troas*, p. 86.

5 v. 94, ἐπιτειχισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτυληναίων τῷ Σιγείῳ.

6 *ATL* i (1939), 157 f.

7 In A 10 there are two entries (-5- ^{ⓂⓂⓂ} and -6- ^{ⓂⓂⓂ}) to be filled out conjecturally. Ophryneion and Achilleion are rightly considered the strongest candidates, and the names fit with initial letters preserved in A 9; but Kokylion (below, p. 322 n. 1) is a possibility (we do not know the exact form of the name).

one was noted by Borrell at his 'Sigeum' (Yenisehir * or Kum Kale), and another has now been published from the Troy excavations.¹ We have not seen a single specimen in our journeys, but the proveniences point to the immediate vicinity of Ilion. There are two names with the right beginning near Ilion; and consequently scholars have been divided in their attributions, some preferring Achilleion and others Achaïion. It hardly seems necessary to enter into details here, because the matter is beyond dispute. Achaïion was politically subject to Tenedos until Roman times; and even Stephanus of Byzantium, always so prodigal of city status, does not know of it. But not only he² but Herodotus (see above) knew Achilleion as a polis. The coins must therefore be of Achilleion; and with this proof of its standing the restoration of the name Achilleion in A 9-10 is confirmed. It seems likely that Achilleion was one of the places

incorporated politically in Ilion in the time of Lysimachus. But Strabo speaks of it as a ^{κατοικία μικρά}; and this should mean that until the time of his authority, Demetrius of Scepsis in the first half of the second century B.C., it continued to be inhabited as a hamlet subject to Ilion. For Achilleion, then, a site may be sought which shows modest occupation ranging from the early sixth century (or possibly earlier) to at least middle Hellenistic times (and so probably continuing later than Sigeum). It may be expected to be less substantial than Sigeum in its prime, and it should have had a tumulus of some magnitude close at hand at the time when it was founded. In the archaic and classical period Achilleion should resemble other Aeolic sites of the coast, whereas at Sigeum some finds of a more Attic character might rather be expected.

We may now begin with Sigeum and ask in what part of the ridge it is to be placed. The ancient literary sources might be thought to point to the north. But under examination they appear less decisive than expected. A conventional picture has been built up by modern scholars, of two capes (the Sigeon at Yenisehir and the Rhoeteon at In* Tepe) with the two wings of the Achaean camp resting against them and the Tombs of Achilles and Ajax marking the ends of the line. This depends on Pliny (*NH* v. 124-5) and especially on the following words: 'fuit et Achilleon oppidum, iuxta tumulum Achillis conditum a Mytilenaeis et mox Atheniensibus, ubi classis eius steterat in Sigeo. fuit et Aeantion, a Rhodiis conditum in altero cornu, Aiace ibi sepulto xxx stadiorum intervallo a Sigeo, et ipso (in) statione classis suae.' But this is only a part of what Pliny tells us about the Trojan Plain; and while this part is neat and

¹Kleinas. *Münzen* i (1901), 33 f.; Bellinger, *Troy*, Suppl. ii (1961), p. 165, no. 148. Cf. L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 8 f. n. 4 (the reference there denied to Head is *HN* 2 540), 74, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 106 ff.

² s.v., πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιγείῳ .

intelligible, the remainder receives scant credit from scholars (some of it even being demonstrably false). Leaf, for instance, who is as concerned as anyone to uphold the conventional view, is obliged to admit that on the subject of the rivers of the plain `Pliny's words are, I fear, hopeless. . . . We are clearly under the influence of some theorist ignored by Strabo, possibly Apollodorus'.¹ Under these circumstances it hardly seems reasonable to take one part of Pliny's description and treat it as sacrosanct because it fits with a notional Homeric pattern, but to declare what does not make sense on our system to be under the influence of theorists. We cannot place much confidence in Pliny's arrangement; and that is the thread on which the conventional view hangs.

From Strabo we get no such clear picture. Demetrius no doubt knew the terrain. But Strabo did not, and he imagines a single point of the coast on which are concentrated the ruined city of Sigeum, the naustathmos, the `Achaean's Harbour' (with Ilion only 12 stades distant from it), the Achaeans' Camp, the Stomalimne and Scamander mouths, and the Tomb of Achilles, adjacent to which is Achilleion. These are in no certain order. Leaf could paraphrase Strabo in such a way as to fit with his own arrangement, and thus give the impression that all was clear. But the scholar who compiled the Palatine Chrestomathy from Strabo in the ninth century had to keep to the text, and he placed the features mentioned in the following sequence: Rhoeteum, then the Tomb of Ajax, then Sigeum, then the Tombs of Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus, then the naustathmos and the Achaeans' Camp, and then the mouths of Simois and Scamander and marshes and the Stomalimne.² Clearly Strabo did not know the relative position of these features or that

what he calls the Sigean Cape (*Σιγεῖς ἄκρα*) is really a coastal ridge 10 km. long. It could be argued from an earlier passage of Strabo (vii. 331, § 52 Kr.), where Sigeion, the cape of the Troad, is said to be 40 stades from the Protesilaion, that Cape Sigeum proper is Cape Yenisehir * and therefore that there is a presumption that the site of Sigeum must be at or near Yenisehir; and this is worth bearing in mind. But Strabo himself can give no clue to the positioning of either Sigeum or Achilleum on the ridge. He only knew the point of the coast with the various features clustered around it, and that from there it was but a step to Achaiion in the Tenedian Peraea.³

The third authority to be cited here is Ps.-Scylax (95). His *Periplus* is an accurate coastal guide, and of the fourth century B.C. in its present form. Coming down the coast from Abydos he names Dardanos, Rhoiteion, Ilion (at 25 stades from the sea), and by it (*καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ*) the river

¹Troy (1912), 387 f.; cf. *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 162 (‘here we notice a new set of theories’).

²Kramer, vol. iii, p. 549. The passage is based on Strabo's text at xiii. 595, § 31.

³xiii. 596, § 32 fin., *μικρὸν προελθεῖν* .

Scamander; and (καί) in the offing the island of Tenedos with (καί) a harbour (the birthplace of the astronomer Cleostratus); then, returning to the mainland

(καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ) τοίχῃ καὶ ἀγιαλεῖον καὶ κρατῆρες Ἀχαιῶν,
Κολῶναι, Λάρισσα, Ἀμάξιτον καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος κτλ

. (so the MS., which is a *codex unicus*). The two words ἀγιαλεῖον and τοίχῃ were long ago emended to Ἀχιλλεῖον

(Palmer) and Σίγῃ (Gronovius) this would mean that Sigeum was north of Achilleion and more recently Leaf altered

the strange phrase κρατῆρες Ἀχαιῶν to ἀκρωτήριον Ἀχαιῶν 1 (at the same time remarking, perhaps

unnecessarily, that Σίγῃ should be corrected to Σίγειον).2 Leaf's emendation to produce a cape lacks any support; indeed it seems clear that to Strabo Achaion was not a cape (below, pp. 195 f.), and Ps.-Scylax in any case is not in the habit of mentioning insignificant capes. But the other changes create difficulties too. Palmer's restoration of the name Achilleion has a convincing look. But if it comes before Achilleion, Sigeum must be near Kum Kale; and it is badly out of position after Tenedos. More serious, however, is the use of conjunctions. A periplus must be precise, and its usage must be adhered to if misunderstanding is to be avoided. Place names in Ps.-Scylax that are in geographical sequence

follow one another in asyndeton; καί associates or subordinates. Thus in the present passage καί provides the transition from the mainland to the island, and back again to the mainland; and it subordinates its harbour to Tenedos and the Smintheum to Hamaxitus. But Sigeum, Achilleion, and Achaion should be names in sequence, and therefore in

asyndeton. The repetition of the word καί here should in fact link these features together: e.g. τεῖχῃ καὶ ἀγιάλιον

(or possibly κατ' Ἀχιλλεῖον) καὶ κρατῆρες Ἀχαιῶν , all to be looked for opposite Tenedos. This does not lack its own difficulty, that Sigeum was important enough under Chares to merit a mention in the *Periplus*. But

κρατῆρες Ἀχαιῶν at least must stand;3 and the text is once again too uncertain to permit us at this stage to place Sigeum and Achilleion in their relationship to one another on the ridge. As we have argued, there is a certain presumption that Cape Sigeum proper is at the north end. But the name extended for some distance down the coast, for Strabo tells us that the old name of the place where Alexandria Troas was founded was Sigia.4 It seems, therefore, that the question cannot be settled by reference to the ancient texts, and that only the archaeological evidence can be decisive.

1 Not, as Dörpfeld and Vellay misguidedly supposed, ἀκρωτήριον Ἀχαιῶν

2BSA xviii (1911-12), 298 f.

3 The word κρατῆρες has generally been taken in the sense of basins or pools of water such as those along the artificial course of the Pinarbasi * Çay (above, p. 146) or (as Maclaren and Calvert took it) the lagoons and inlets on the Hellespont. Vellay ingeniously relates it to the hollow where Palaephatus περὶ ἀπίστων has the Achaean leaders lie in ambush (*Nouveaux aspects* (1930), 25 f.).

4 Σίγῃα , xiii. 604, § 47.

The ruins seen by the early travellers at Yenisehir * cannot be used as evidence of classical occupation. They seem to have been of too late a date and to have belonged to the new city of Constantine (above, pp. 156 ff.). Of the architectural pieces, sculptures, and inscriptions seen by the travellers in the village of Yenisehir some had demonstrably been brought there from the site of Ilion in relatively modern times, and the majority may be suspected of having come from there. But the archaic Sigeum stele certainly belonged to Sigeum, and so probably did E.D. Clarke's treaty stele now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (above, p. 155). In addition, bronze coins of Sigeum have been seen at Yenisehir by Hunt, Clarke, Barker Webb (who actually remarked on Yenisehir as the only place where coins of Sigeum were found), and Perrot (again a plurality). If such finds, and particularly coins, had been reported at Yeniköy also, we might consider placing Sigeum in the south part of the ridge. But it seems clear that Yenisehir had a monopoly of them; and it is therefore a safe inference that Sigeum is to be sought in the vicinity of Yenisehir and not of Yeniköy.

There are now two possibilities for the site of SigeumYenisehir and `Spratt's plateau'; and the evidence up to this point could fit with either. But Sigeum was a place of substance in the fourth century; and Chares and his guard must have occupied premises in a dominant position. Now `Spratt's plateau' shows some faint traces of classical habitation on its southern slope, but the flat crest is quite barren and was certainly never built up. Yenisehir, on the other hand, was an extensive site and occupied to its extremities in the fourth century. For what it is worth, Pococke took the site for Sigeum, Chandler had reason to believe that the church where the marbles were was on the site of the temple of Sigeon Athena, and Clarke found his treaty stele among the scattered marbles that Chandler had judged to be relics of it. It is round the site at Yenisehir also, and not round `Spratt's plateau', that the archaic or classical tumuli group themselves. Finally, on the crest of Yenisehir there is a depth of classical deposit; the sherds are of the appropriate date with some high-quality wares; and it is noticeable that there seems to be a high proportion of Attic ware among our sherds and a complete absence of Aeolic gray. It is thus Yenisehir, and only Yenisehir, that corresponds to the historical image of Sigeum. In fact, those who placed Sigeum at `Spratt's plateau' failed to inspire any confidence even in their own breasts. Forchhammer was in two minds. Lehmann-Haupt relied on hearsay and confessed to not having seen any of the evidence himself. Brückner was concerned solely with having the site of Sigeum contiguous to his `south harbour'. And Leaf did not have the courage of his convictions; for when he found himself in the embarrassing situation of having to convince his readers that the `Tomb of Achilles' from which Achilleion had its name was

raised in the fifth century over the pyre of a citizen of Achilleion, he forgot for the moment that the Yenisehir * site was his Achilleion and wrote 'Sigeion' instead.¹ Under examination the case for putting Sigeum at 'Spratt's plateau' seems to go by default; and we can regard the identification with Yenisehir as established.

Forchhammer, Maclaren, Schliemann, and the Kiepers placed Achilleion north of Yenisehir. But there is no ancient site there; for, as we have seen, Schliemann's site just south of the 'Tomb of Achilles' is the house and teke of the dervishes, while that of the Kiepers at Kum Kale is the modern location of marbles and sarcophagi brought mainly from Alexandria Troas. And the position, dominated by the crest of Yenisehir and with no land for the inhabitants to live on after the war, is an impossible one for Achilleion. The choice for Achilleion, which was fortified by the Mitylenaeans against Sigeum, thus lies between 'Spratt's plateau' and Besika* Burnu, the one a bare kilometre from Sigeum, the other no less than 7-8 km. away. The lack of any debris on 'Spratt's plateau' is again a disqualification, though not so much so as with Sigeum. The remains of habitation there are certainly much slighter than those on any of the identified Mitylenaeon town sites. And we now have the further difficulty that an Achilleion there would be separated from the 'Tomb of Achilles' by the site of Sigeum. Besika Burnu, on the other hand, shows occupation ranging from the sixth century to about middle Hellenistic, with typical Aeolic grey ware. If it were not Achilleion, we are faced with the problem of what it could be. Agammia has been named (above, p. 169). But Agammia is not spoken of as a settlement. There remains the naustathmos mentioned in the letters of Antiochus, presumably the First, on behalf of Aristodicides of Assos who applied for land in the vicinity of Troy (above, pp. 114 f.). Since the reference there is to a man,

Athenaeus, who was *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου* there ought to be no doubt that a contemporary naval station is referred to. Brückner took it to be the same as the naustathmos (that of the Achaeans) mentioned by Strabo as at Sigeum;² and he identified it with his own 'south harbour' of Sigeum. This does not merit consideration. A. Reinach, who looked with favour on the newly invented Besika theory, opined that the naustathmos of the

¹Strabo on the Troad (1923), 165.

² xiii. 595, § 31, 598, § 36. Brückner had previously placed it at In* Tepe (*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 580). Cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 161 f., where the problems of the naustathmos and the 'Achaeans' Harbour' are discussed. Strabo has a *νῦν λεγόμενος Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν* well inland (at 12 stades from Ilion) which, he says, could be claimed as the Achaeans' naustathmos (as opposed to the one 'now' so called near the Scamander mouth at Sigeion). This must be different from the 'Achaeans' Harbour' known to the later historians as an actual harbour and curiously, according to Livy (xxxvii. 9), outside the 'fauces Hellesponti' (by which he perhaps means the narrows at Abydos). Leaf exaggerates the cogency of his own reasoning when he says that the 'Achaeans' Harbour' must be the In Tepe Azmagi* (his p. 160).

inscription was at Besika * Bay.¹ This is of course possible; and Besika Burnu could then have been a garrison post guarding the naval station. But the naustathmos referred to in the inscription is evidently Seleucid; and so it cannot account for the archaic and classical occupation on the site. In any case there is nothing in the inscription that indicates even that the Seleucid naustathmos was on Trojan territory; all we know is that the commander there had been granted the land at Petra.

It is difficult, then, to see what the site at Besika Burnu can be if not Achilleion; and on balance it seems most satisfactory to place Achilleion there and to regard 'Spratt's plateau' as some sort of proasteion of Sigeum at Yenisehir*. If that is so, Besik* Tepe must be the reputed Tomb of Achilles near which Achilleion was founded.

As a tumulus which could have been ascribed to Achilles at the time of the Sigean War Besik Tepe is naturally a great improvement on the so-called 'Tomb of Achilles' north of Yenisehir; for it was in existence at the time. We can imagine Alexander the Great honouring his ancestor at Besik Tepe while Hephaestion paid a like tribute to Patroclus, perhaps at Kesik Tepe; and, assuming that Üvecik Tepe is the historical Tomb of Festus, we can more readily understand Caracalla's choice of the position, which would have been opposite the supposed Tomb of Achilles. The one difficulty in this arrangement is that it conflicts with the conventional view, which we have seen is derived from Pliny (above, p. 181), by which the reputed Tomb of Achilles on the promontory of Sigeum is balanced by the Tomb of Ajax 'in altero cornu' of the beach where the Achaeans' ships were drawn up. If, however, we are right in thinking that Pliny's picture is an ideal one, the conventional view can be regarded as a figment of Homeric scholarship that was never capable of being satisfactorily reconciled with topographical fact.

There does not seem to be a simple neat solution of these problems of Trojan topography. But perhaps there never was. The position of Priam's Troy was disputed in antiquity, and we know that Hestiaea and Demetrius did not lack followers when they placed it at the 'Village of the Ilians'. Similarly there is no lack of evidence to connect the Achaeans with the coast south of Sigeum,² and it could well be that in antiquity also the position of Achilles' fleet was in doubt. We know that opinion was divided on matters that would have been relevant to the issue whether, for instance, the charioteers who raced from Sigeum where Achilles' ships lay to Rhoeteum drove in the direction of the sea or away from it,³ and

¹Rev. épigr., N.S. i (1913), 180.

² The name Achaiion in the Tenedian Peraea, the 'craters' of the Achaeans in Ps.-Scylax, and the recurrence of Tenedos in such stories as the pretended Achaean withdrawal and Laocoön's snakes (Tenedos or Calydnae).

³ Eustathius, Comm. ad *Il.* xxiii. 358, with the divergent views of *ἡ μάχη* and Aristarchus.

whether the Hellespont (on which, we recall, Homer placed the Achaean camp) extended into the Aegean to include the west coast of the Troad. There would have been a genuine difficulty facing the ancient scholars if the Camp of the Achaeans were traditionally placed on the coast east of Cape Yenisehir-Kum * Kale so as to be on the Hellespont where Homer

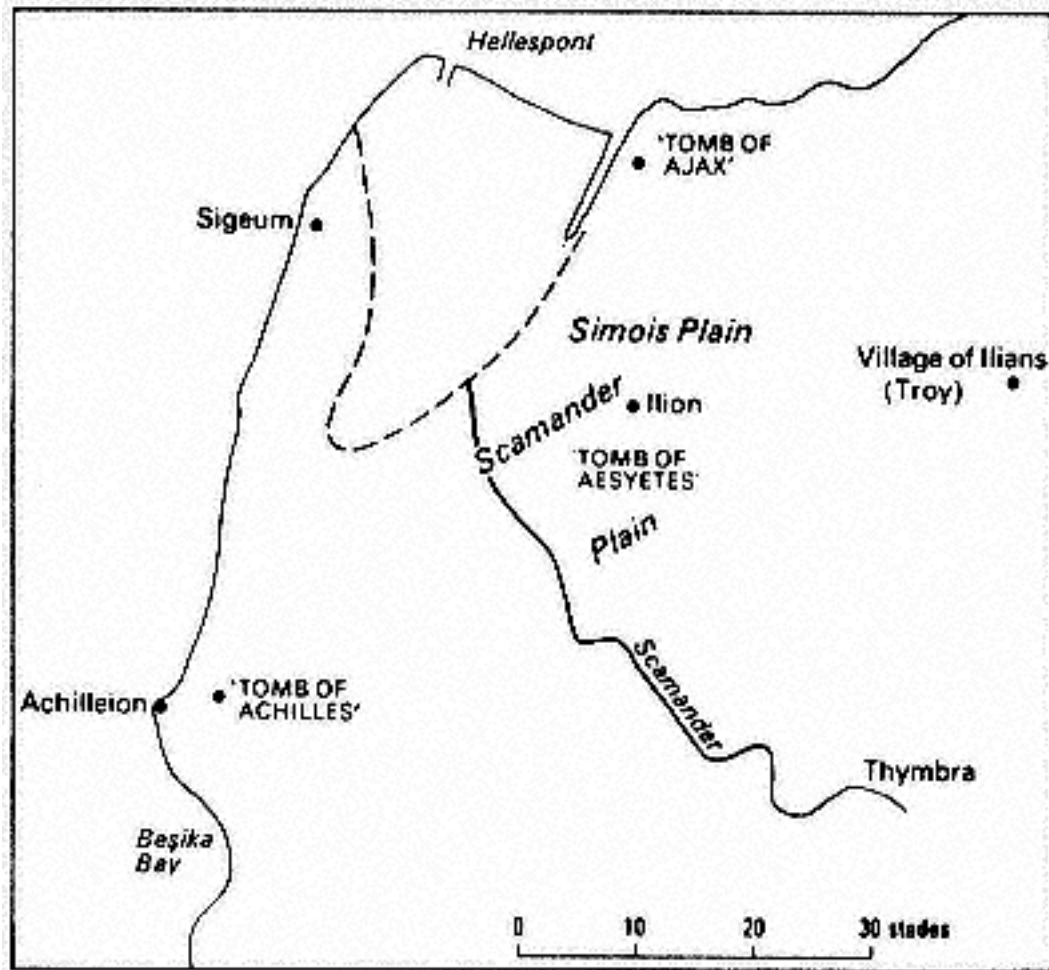


Fig. 9.
Sketch-map to illustrate Strabo's Argument

puts it, but Achilleion and the reputed Tomb of Achilles were in fact at the south end of the Sigean ridge.

If we now look at the matter from their point of view, what has been thought to be studied malice or culpable negligence in Hestiaeus and Demetrius becomes more intelligible, and indeed rational. To take our FIG. 9 as a basis, the upholders of the conventional view that the Achaeans' camp was on the Hellespont proper would not have been inclined to emphasize the distance separating Sigeum from the Tomb of Achilles; Demetrius was one of these, and we find that Strabo has no idea that his Sigean Cape is in fact a long ridge parallel with the coast. But to make sense of the Homeric picture of the Achaeans' Camp on the shore between the stations of Ajax and Achilles it would be necessary for the ancient

scholars to postulate a silting-up process and to imagine that where they saw marshes there had been a deep bay stretching inland; and this is precisely what we find Hestiaea doing. With such a bay there would of course be no room for a battlefield between the camp and Ilion, and the position of Troy at Ilion must inevitably come under suspicion. We thus get a not unreasonable hypothesis that which we are familiar with in Strabo which places the real Troy further east on the plateau, with the Simois plain north of Ilion and on the south the Scamander plain in which Strabo says the main fighting took place.¹ This will help to explain some of the difficulties that we stumble against in reading Strabo, such as the Tomb of Aesyetes of which Strabo tells us that it was by the road from Ilion to Alexandria Troas and yet was no further from the Achaeans' Camp than Ilion was (above, p. 105 n. 5), and the positioning of Thymbra, towards which one end of the Trojan line extended while the other pointed towards the sea.

There are inevitably some differences in the known facts available to the Hellenistic and the modern Homeric scholars notably that they knew where Achilleion was, while we now know where the historical Troy is. But the hypotheses advanced in ancient and modern times have much in common. The ancients too had their 'False Troy' heresy, their problem of the 'Springs of Scamander', their 'No Space for the Battlefield' quandary, in all probability their 'Eastern Theory' (reflected in Pliny's Xanthus and Palaescamander), their ideal arrangement that disregarded geographical fact, and of course their belief in the infallibility of Homer as a historical source; they had their alternative positions for the naustathmos, on which Aristarchus wrote a book;² and they may even have had their 'Besika * Theory'. The arguments are the same because the problems are the same; and the problems are the same because the topographical facts are the same. I remarked earlier that there appears to be no single neat and comprehensive solution to all the problems such as modern scholars have expected to find; there could not be, for otherwise the Hellenistic scholars would have found it.

¹ It seems clear that to Strabo, and evidently to Demetrius, the Scamander plain extended on to the low-lying part of what we call the plateau south-east of Ilion (around the modern village of Ciplak*), thus bringing the main battlefield relatively close up to their Troy (the 'Village of the Ilions') with the line of approach from south of west. For Hestiaea's argument in Strabo xiii. 599, § 36 fin., see my note in *JHS* lxxix (1959), 24 f. n. 21.

² Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 161 f.

6

The West Coast

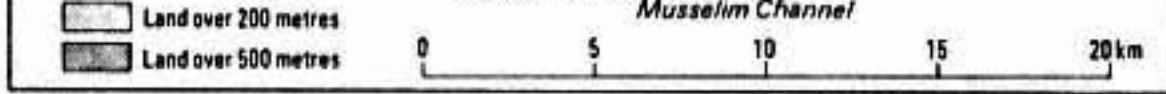
1

The Tenedian Peraea

The phrase `Peraea of the Tenedians' occurs a number of times in Strabo's description of the Troad. His use of it seems to indicate that he is speaking of a mainland territory politically subject to Tenedos, and not simply of the coast geographically opposite the island; and the existence of Tenedian territory on the mainland is in any case confirmed by Aristotle's mention of a recent dispute between Tenedos and Sigeum, in which Periander's arbitration was cited (above, p. 179.) There is no obvious line of demarcation between the Plain of Troy and the Tenedian Peraea. The site on the Balli * Dag* was evidently not of the Peraea; for out of about 20 identified Greek city coins known to have come from the site, not one is of Tenedos (above, p. 138). The modern villages of Mahmudiye and Üvecik are set on crests that overlook the plain, but they face no less southward. I have left them to be treated in this chapter; but Üvecik Tepe and the spur of Yerkesik, together with Besika* Bay, have been included with the Trojan Plain. On the south, where the ground rises, Alexandria Troas itself closed the Tenedians' mainland territory in Hellenistic times, and in my view the boundary was the same in classical times also (see below, pp. 196 ff.). On the east the barren mountain of Karadag* is an effective barrier; Virchow speaks of having crossed it with Schliemann in 1890, but he records nothing ancient there.

The area is something of a basin. On the maps it is shown intersected by a stream that down to Spratt (1839) bears the strange name `Sudlusion'; from several of the travellers' accounts it emerges that this is an error for Sudlu Sou (French pronunciation, and evidently representing Sogutlu* Su = willow brook). It must be small in summer; for we travelled northward from Geyikli to Üvecik without crossing any stream whose name we could inquire, and it is not marked on the GS map; nor is the name known in the neighbourhood now. Virchow applied the name (Sudluch Su) to the broad-mouthed brook just south of the Odunluk iskele; but that is known as Kuru Dere (as on the GS map).¹ Coryate in

1 Gell (his p. 26) speaks of the mouth of the `Sudlusion' as salt marshes and says that the stream had no flow (at the beginning of December).



Area Map A.
The West Coast

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1613 noted the plain as deserted towards the sea because of the fear of pirates, but as bearing wheat and valonia oaks further inland. Wheler in 1675 saw it in similar condition. He remarked on corn, cotton, and sesame, cucumbers and melons of several kinds, and abundance of oaks, with fruit trees and almonds in the neglected places; and he described the plants and birds.¹ Our notes show all Wheler's crops except cucumbers, and in addition maize, some new plantations of olives, and vineyards and pine trees on the rising ground. This must have been excellent agricultural land and a great asset to the Tenedians' economy. At present it has a curious mixture of large and small villages which does not immediately explain itself in terms of the relatively open terrain.

Our survey here was based on inquiries in the villages, and we have been to all of them except Bozalan.² The countryside lacks vantage points for observation, and is not one in which likely sites draw attention to themselves; in fact we have only succeeded in discovering a prehistoric site to add to the Americans' one at Han Tepe, and two Late Romanearly Byzantine sites (Kapiagzi * and Hayitli* Kuyu) to add to Schliemann's probable one near Bozköy. It would be surprising if this is all there are. But the ancient stones in the villages and cemeteries look as if they had mostly been brought from Alexandria Troas; Calvert knew of no site in this whole region; and the only trace of classical occupation that we have seen is at Han Tepe. We have not seen ancient coins in the region.

Üvecik is a flourishing village.³ It is the Udjek of the travellers and the 'Bujek' of Pococke, who saw great heaps of ruins and many broken pillars and pieces of marble.⁴ Our notes show only a Byzantine church window mullion and still surviving the Iobacchus inscription first copied by E.D. Clarke in 1801 (*CIL* iii. 391 = 7073, below, p. 396 no. 3). Between the village and Üvecik Tepe Spratt lays down 'columns and marble fragments' on his map; this no doubt corresponds to Schliemann's 'ruins of an ancient city' 1 km. south of the Tepe (with numerous fragments of columns and sculptured marble, and a long Greek inscription which he could neither copy nor remove),⁵ and is likely to have been an old Turkish cemetery. Napier also in 1839 had remarked an unidentifiable ancient site two miles south of the Tepe, with columns and entablatures and illegible inscriptions.⁶ We have not heard speak of it. South of Üvecik are the modest villages of Kumburun and Çamoba; neither appears to be old.

1 *A Journey into Greece* (1682), 66 f.

2 Population 103 in the 1940 census; it lies between Mahmudiye and Mecidiye.

3 743 inhabitants, of whom 290 female, in the 1940 census.

4 *Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), 106.

5 *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 217.

6 *United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 295.

On the east side are two big villages, Mahmudiye (Yilanci * Bayir*) and Bergaz, with new mosques which rival those of the cities,¹ and a small village, Mecidiye (Aktepe), halfway between. The 1940 census population of Bergaz was 783, of Mahmudiye 592. Only Bergaz is old; it is presumably the Birgos of the 1574 survey, with 53 adult males. We have noted in the village various architectural pieces (including a Corinthian capital), granite column drums and Byzantine window mullions and thorakia, and also the inscriptions nos. 19-21, pp. 401 f. The name must be derived

from the Greek word *πύργος*. We know of no fort there unless that at Kümbet Kocabahçe towards Kemalli* (below, p. 210). But there is a site at Kapiagzi* in the fields 1 km. or so west of the village, where we were shown a Christian lintel block (p. 402, no. 22). In the same field the owner has dug up many granite columns of different sizes and exposed the foundations of walls; among the debris there was a late Ionic capital.

Between Bergaz and Geyikli a side road leads north to a tiny village called Dari*, also old (or at least in existence in 1785 when Lechevalier visited the Troad). By the roadside about 500 m. to the south-west of it is a dervish's tomb called Sogan* Dede ('Gaffer Onion'). A. Reinach visited it in 1910 and noted various fragments of temple architecture with sculpture, mouldings, lion's-head spouts, and a frieze slab with arms that he associated with the Gauls (the latter similar to a fragment with a helmet that he saw among ancient marbles further north, but not on the same scale).² He concluded that there was a temple there, set up to commemorate the defeat of the Gauls. We went to Dari in 1966 and were shown the dedelik, but we saw nothing except two fluted granite columns. It lies on the edge of a large military compound, inside which we could see no ancient marbles. We entered the military establishment from Geyikli the following year and were entertained there, but we could learn nothing of any ancient stones. Sogan Dede seemed to us a Turkish burial spot rather than an ancient site (Spratt in fact seems to mark it as a 'burying ground'), and certainly the architectural pieces in Geyikli, which Reinach associated with his temple, are a very mixed collection.

North of this is Bozköy, a village now small but formerly, it would seem, one of the principal ones in the region.³ In its burial place Pococke saw such a quantity of hewn stones, columns, and pieces of entablature that he judged it to be the site of Ilium (not of Troy, which he supposed to be in the hills between Ezine and the Hellespont).⁴ Wood in his manuscript

1 That of Mahmudiye, shown in PLATE 20*a*, was completed about 1968; it is said to have been paid for entirely from funds raised by the inhabitants.

2 *Rev. épigr.*, N.S. i (1913), 311 n. 2.

3 Population 131 in the 1940 census; Boz in the 1574 survey with 153 adult males (also a Bozeli in the same list with 29, which might be Bozalan).

4 *Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), 106.

diary noted stones which had been used in an old building. In his journey of 1881 Schliemann visited Bozköy (or Bozkizi as he and Reinach call it)¹ and noted numerous blocks, including a marble and a granite threshold, and granite and marble columns with an Ionic and a Corinthian capital, principally at the mosque.² Our observations were similar; we noted in particular a Corinthian capital, an unfluted marble column shaft, and a marble base. According to Schliemann the stones came from a spot marked by a granite column and a thin layer of sherds 1,000 paces south of the village (presumably where Spratt's map marks 'ruins'). Searching in the fields on the gentle slope there we found some granite columns; and it seems likely to be a Late Roman site. We would question whether all the marbles in the village belonged to it, though the granite threshold sounds like something found locally; if Bozköy was the principal village in the region a few centuries ago it is likely that material would have been brought there from Alexandria Troas. Reinach speaks of an abandoned cemetery somewhere, as it would seem, on the east side of Bozköy towards Dari *, which was full of marble and granite column drums and architectural pieces of various kinds (including the frieze fragment with a helmet mentioned above);³ this seems to be a different place from those already recorded. He also mentions as lying between Bozköy and Üvecik a conical 'butte' called Hanay Tepe, which had been broached and yielded abundant coarse red, brown, or black pottery; but his topography in this region is so confused that it is impossible to be certain that he is not speaking of the mound of this name near Akça Köy (above, pp. 122 f.) or perhaps rather of the site next to be described.

Han Tepe is a conspicuous mound on the sandy shore about 4 km. south of Cape Kumburnu. It appears to have no rock base, and its rounded top is about 25 m. across. Gell and Hobhouse remarked a mound which they called Liman Tepe somewhere on this coast near Alexandria Troas, and the latter seems to fix its position as exactly opposite Tenedos.⁴ They took it for the site of Coloniae, which of course has become untenable; presumably their mound (or Hobhouse's at least) was that which is now called Han Tepe; in the past there seems to have been an iskele there, which would help to explain the name Liman Tepe. The Cincinnati Troy expedition discovered the site on Han Tepe and give photographs of and from it; they reported Troy I pottery and some

1 I noted it as called Bozkisi at Pinarbasi*.

2Troja (1884), 308.

3Rev. épigr., N.S. i (1913), 302 f. He was inclined to place the ancient Myrikous thereabouts; but tamarisks are widespread and Stephanus Byzantius' notice of the place is not at all precise

(ὡς ἂν κατασκευῇ Τενέδου καὶ Δέσβου τῆς Τρωάδας). Hecataeus is cited for the phrase εἰς Μυρικήντα τῆς Τρωικῆς (it is not clear that he called it a city).

4Topography of Troy (1804), 24, pl. 7; Broughton, *Travels in Albania* (1855), ii. 88. They also knew another very large barrow (perhaps north of this) called Stamboul-Douk, to which Choiseul-Gouffier, or perhaps rather his editor, finally transferred the Tomb of Festus (*Voyage pittoresque* ii. 2 (1822), 411 n. 3).

classical sherds.¹ In 1959 we picked up mainly prehistoric pottery, of which Mr. Mellaart remarked that a few fragments were of the third millennium, but the remainder were of the second (these are of grey, red, and buff ware). Of classical ware we noted only three glazed sherds, one being black glaze of fourth-century quality; also a fragment which Dr. J.W. Hayes considered to be of a middle-late imperial Roman grooved amphora. We have not been to Cape Kumburnu ('Yükyeri Point'), nor traversed the coast north of it, of which the only mention in the literature is of the house where the Bozcaada telegraph cable is landed.

About 2 km. north or north-west of Geyikli, on the way to Bozköy, we came upon undistinguished sherds scattered in the oak grove at a spot called Hayitli * Kuyu; we noted a granite column and a marble fragment of a late Ionic capital there, and assume that this is a small late Roman or Byzantine site.

Geyikli is the largest village here, and in fact the nahiye. It does not appear under its known name in the 1574 survey, but Wood in 1750 saw in 'Giegly' a 'disfigured bust that had been good'.² In 1801 Hunt reported that the place had contained 150 Turkish families a few years previously, but owing to the exactions of the Aga* the majority of them had removed to Tenedos, leaving only 25 cottages inhabited. In 1830 Michaud found Turks and Greeks mixed, and no minaret to the mosque. The recovery has been complete; in fact the 1940 census gives a population of 2,279, though this must have been swollen by the garrison, and perhaps also by seasonal valonia pickers, because the number of females was 625. Ancient stones are fairly numerous there. Schliemann noted granite columns and sculptured marbles on his two visits of 1868 and 1881,³ and Reinach some inscriptions in 1910.⁴ Besides inscriptions (below, pp. 402 f., nos. 23-4) we have noted granite columns, two uninscribed marble bases, various minor fragments of marble, a Byzantine impost capital, and a thorakion with a peacock in relief. We attempted to take photographs in 1966, but without success because the stone we started with was in the wall of a building which proved to be the police station. Schliemann at first supposed Geyikli to be the site of an ancient city, but afterwards realized that the marbles must have come from Alexandria Troas.

Cuinet reported a spontaneous saltmarsh on the coast near Geyikli, guarded in summer by licensees on horseback;⁵ we made inquiries in Odunluk, but found that the only tuzla known in this region is the harbour at Eski Stambul, from which the adjacent cape seems to have

1AJA xl (1936), 123; *Troy* i, p. 35, figs. 30, 31, and 34.

2 Lechevalier and his colleagues received the name as 'Gheislik'. Otherwise the forms given by the travellers correspond fairly well with the existing name (geyik = stag).

3 *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 221 f., and *Troja* (1884), 308.

4 *Rev. épigr.*, N.S. i (1913), 305 ff.

5 *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 708 f. Cf. Gell (above, p. 189 n. 1).

been named. Odunluk is the iskele for Bozcaada (Tenedos) ; it has a wooden pier and two coffee houses but little else. From there a bad road leads across the pools at the mouth of the Kuru Dere and after crossing another small stream rises to the shelf immediately north of Alexandria Troas. At the head of this wooded rise, in the corner where the ground falls steeply to the stream and the sea, we discovered prehistoric potsherds spread over a small area in 1967. Mr. Mellaart has identified a Troy I inverted-rim bowl, a second-millennium grey ware handle, and a wheel-made grey sherd either second-millennium or Iron Age. We also noted some undistinctive black-glaze and modern sherds. If we had to propose a site for Hecataeus' Myrikous (above, p. 193 n. 3) this would be a possibility. A kilometre or so beyond this is the cape (Tuzla), where the site of Alexandria Troas begins.

There are hardly any ancient names associated with this area. Coloniae, despite Gell and Hobhouse, lay south of Alexandria Troas. So also did Larisa. It is true that d'Anville on his map placed Larisa on this stretch of coast in spite of the clear evidence of the ancient authors to the contrary. But this blunder can be explained by his reading on old sea-charts and applying to the mainland coast a name 'Larusar' which should have been applied to the offshore Rabbit Islands (Tavsan * Adalari*) and read as 'Lagusae'.¹ Olivier accordingly sought in vain for Larisa on this stretch of coast. The one name that merits consideration is Achaiion, a toponym known only from Strabo. The first mention of it is

μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς παραλίας ταύτης (sc. Achilleion and the Tomb of

Achilles) ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀχαιῖον ἥδη τῆς Τενεδίων περαιῆς ὑπάρχον. The other references are in xiii. 603-4, §§ 44, 46, and 47, and may be quoted from Leaf's commentary (*Strabo on the Troad* 168): § 44

Ἀχαιίου τῆς Τενεδίων περαιῆς : § 46

ἔστι δὴ μετὰ τὴν Σιγείαδα ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Ἀχιλλεῖον ἢ Τενεδίων περαιά, τὸ Ἀχαιῖον, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Τένηςδος

: § 47

ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ συνεχῆς ἢ τε Λάρισα καὶ Κολωναί, τῆς Τενεδίων περαιῆς οὖσαι πρότερον, καὶ ἡ νῦν Χρῦσα . . . νῦν δὲ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια συνεχῆς ἐστὶ τῷ Ἀχαιίῳ

Leaf went on without more ado to say that these passages leave no doubt that the Achaiion is 'identical with the promontory of Kumburnu'a conclusion that must have appeared astonishing to anyone who did not know that he had

emended the text of Ps.-Scylax to produce a cape of the name under discussion (ἀκρωτήριον Ἀχαιῖον for MS.

κρατῆρες Ἀχαιῶν).² It is obviously necessary to try to determine what Achaiion was, and Leaf's suggestion must be taken first. The emendation is a long shot, and it is by no means clear that it makes sense of the text (above, p. 183); in any case the author of the Periplus is not in the habit of mentioning insignificant capes such as this. But Strabo mentions Achaiion four times without any

¹Mém. Acad. Inscr. xxviii (1761), 326.

² See BSA xviii (1911-12), 298 f.

suggestion that it is a cape; and in the third citation (§ 46) he refers in one sentence to the cape (ἄκρα) of Sigeum and to Achaiion (in apposition to the phrase ἡ Τενεδίων περὰ) as though it were a region. Clearly Strabo did not regard Achaiion as a cape, and the drastic emendation of the Periplus therefore has no justification.

The first citation (§ 32 fin.) and the third (§ 46) are in fact slightly contradictory, implying in the one case that Achaiion is synonymous with the Tenedian Peraea and in the other that it is a part of it. It is therefore not clear how far we are justified in looking for a site for Achaiion. But scholars before Leaf always did so, and the arguments must therefore be considered. Barker Webb placed Achaiion at Dalyan because of the series of sarcophagi found there,¹ and he was followed by Schliemann who saw a great depth of deposit in a well there.² But the sarcophagi at least belonged to

Alexandria Troas; and the situation conflicts with Strabo's μικρὸν προελλοῦσιν , as well as being separated by some rough country from the agricultural basin of the Tenedian Peraea. If it was a settlement, Achaiion must have been the centre of the Tenedian territory on the mainland; and this would be a most unlikely position for it.

Brückner and Dörpfeld put Achaiion at Besika * Bay at the other end of the coastline;³ they were of course under the inspiration of their Besika theory. Mey's explorations of 1924 have helped to clarify the situation there a little (above, pp. 170 f.); and if a site is to be sought for Achaiion at that bay, it would now seem that there is no alternative to Besika Burnu. Taken by itself, this would fit admirably in relationship to Sigeum. But again the isolated situation in the extreme corner seems unsuitable for the centre of the Tenedian Peraea. Han Tepe is altogether better placed, directly opposite Tenedos and on the shore of the fertile basin. The remains on the mound at Han Tepe are admittedly slight. But more may lie concealed under the sand, and the later Bronze Age occupation would lend colour to the name Achaiion. In fact Han Tepe must have been the Tenedian foothold on the mainland coast.

There remains the problem of the extent of the Peraea in classical times. The quotation from Strabo xiii. 604, § 47, given on p. 195, appears to be a straightforward assertion that Larisa and Colona were formerly included in the Tenedian Peraea, and scholars have therefore assumed that a considerable stretch of the coast to the south had belonged to Tenedos but was appropriated to Antigonos' new foundation of c. 310 B.C., which is known as Alexandria Troas. There are, however, serious objections to this view. One is the infringement of the territorial rights of

¹*Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 91 ('Damian').

²*Troja* (1884), 342.

³*Troja und Ilion* (1902), 570, 574; *Studien A. Götze* (1925), 118.

a still flourishing Greek city, effected, it would seem, as a peaceful act and passing without comment in our authorities. The Diadochi were of course concerned to amalgamate weak cities in synoecisms, but they did not do so by abstracting territory from parties not included in the merger. The other problem is when Tenedos could have possessed Larisa and

Coloniae. Strabo, xiii. 599 f., § 38 and § 39 fin., tells us that the great majority of the ^{κατοικίαι} of the Troad were

Lesbian foundations and cites Thucydides as saying that the region of Troy (^{ἡ Τροία}) was taken away from the Mitylenaeans by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides in the passage cited (iv. 52) in fact refers to the Athenians' appropriation of the coastal cities here, calling them

*πόλεις τὰς Ἀκταίας
καλουμένας, ἃς πρότερον Μυτιληναίων νεμομένων Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον*

and names two of these cities, Rhoeteum and Antandrus, as having been recaptured by refugees from Mitylene and the other cities of Lesbos in 424 B.C. Now, the assessment lists of the Athenian empire for 425/4 (A 9) and 421/20 B.C. (A

10) both contain a mutilated panel headed *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* and Antandrus and Rhoeteum are included in the list (in A 10 clear, in A 9 by inference from the sums in the margin).¹ There can therefore be no doubt that the places listed in this panel are those that had previously belonged to Mitylene; and among these names Island Pordoselene, Hamaxitus, and Larisa can be read or completed with certainty, while other known names of this coast (including Coloniae) can be restored with varying degrees of probability. The little Aeolic towns of the west coast of the Troad, then, were Mitylenaeon possessions before 427 B.C., and after that became members of the Athenian empire. After the empire collapsed they continued free; for it was as autonomous cities that they were annexed by the hyparch Mania at the turn of the century and liberated by Dercylidas.² With the King's Peace in 387 B.C. they will have passed under Persian control as distinct from the offshore islands including Tenedos, and have remained so until Alexander liberated the Greek cities here in 334 B.C. Hamaxitus, Larisa, and Coloniae were absorbed into Antigonos' new synoecism about 310 B.C.; but again prior to that they were autonomous cities, for they had mints and struck their own bronze coins. There is thus no occasion on which they could have belonged to Tenedos; and considering what he has already told us about these ^{κατοικίαι} ³ Strabo must have regarded Larisa and Coloniae as former Mitylenaeon possessions and not Tenedian.

But the text in any case is far from certain. The MSS. in 604, § 47 read not

τῆς Τενεδίων περαιῆς οὔσαι πρότερον , but (Larisa and Coloniae) ^{τῆς}

¹ATL i (1939), 157 f.

² Xenophon, *HG* iii. 1. 13-16.

³ Cf. especially xiii, 599 fin., § 38:

*(Σίγειον) κατέσχον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι . . ., Λεσβίων ἐπιδικα-
ζομένων σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης Τρωάδος· ὧν δὲ καὶ κτίσματά εἰσιν αἱ πλείσται τῶν κατοικιῶν
κτλ*

..... *δίας οὔσαι πρότερον* (one later MS. having *τῆς Τενεδίας*, evidently (as Kramer clearly recognized) by way of restoration). Coraes accepted *Τενεδίας*. But Groskurd conjectured *Τενεδίων περαιάς*, which would be more correct and fit better into the gap of about ten letters; and this has been accepted by Meineke and Leaf.¹ The difficulty, as it seems to me, is that Strabo has just been speaking about the Tenedian Peraea and about Tenedos itself, from which he turns back to the mainland at precisely this point. The relevance of the name Tenedos is therefore so obvious to the reader that it is difficult to see how a lacuna could have occurred; and it seems more likely that the proper name was one that was less obvious in the context and therefore less easy to make out. Historically, as Strabo himself realized, Larisa and Colonae belonged to the mainland possessions of the Lesbians (or, to be precise, the Mitylenaeans). *Λεσβίων περαιάς* could exactly fill the gap; or longer phrases could be found.

On the evidence it seems to me almost certain that Larisa and Colonae were not included in the Tenedian Peraea. In any case the area we have assigned to the Peraea would in itself have been a valuable increment to the resources of the island of Tenedos. The 1940 census population of Tenedos (Bozcaada) was unduly small as a result of the departure of the Greeks, being only 1,892 as against a nineteenth-century figure of at least 4,000. But the Peraea is capable of supporting as large a population as the island. Even if we reduce the figures for the villages there to parity between the sexes, we still reach a 1940 census figure of 4,250 for those that we assign to it.

2

Alexandria Troas

Alexandria Troas was originally founded by Antigonus under the name Antigonía shortly before the end of the fourth century B.C. It was intended to absorb not only the little Mitylenaeon towns to the south (Colonae, Larisa, and Hamaxitus) but also the more substantial inland cities of Neandria, Cebren, and even Scepsis. Its site was therefore from the outset large. It sloped up from the beach, where an artificial harbour basin was constructed, to a crest on the east over 100 m. above sea level; and the area enclosed in the wall circuit must, as Leaf says, have been something like 1,000 acres. The modern name for the ancient site is Eski Stambul, which was already known to Piri Re'is before 1520 (Eski Istanbuluq *). But Piri Re'is says it was known to the Greeks as 'Toroya', and down to Meletius about 1700 it retained the name Troas or Troada (e.g. Belon, Biddulph, della Valle), hence its identification by some of the early travellers as Troy.²

1 Müller's text leaves a blank as in the MSS.

2 With his mixture of Strabo and Turkish toponymy Meletius is difficult to understand

(footnote continued on next page)

Lithgow in 1609-10 spoke of five `scattered bourgs', mainly of Greeks, on the site; but perhaps he is referring to the plain to the north (our `Tenedian Peraea'). According to Belon (in 1548) there were Greeks, Turks, and Arabs living in the neighbourhood, but the actual site was uninhabited because of the sterility of the land and the lack of water; it seems to have been uninhabited in 1640 also (du Loir). The fiscal survey of 1574 lists Istanbuluk *, but as having no inhabitants; it also mentions in connection with it a village of Esek* Virani* (= donkey ruin), which elsewhere appears with 25 adult males. Motraye found no village on the site in 1710. From Lechevalier (1785) onward the travellers knew a tiny hamlet at the north end of the site, which they called Talian or Tolian (i.e. Dalyan = fish-garth) with one or two houses; in 1838 Fellows said it consisted of 8-10 houses, but owing to the extortion of the Turkish agents only two were inhabited. In 1881 Schliemann noted that a considerable village had arisen since his first visit of 1868;¹ we may relate this to Sayce's mention of buildings erected by an Armenian valonia merchant (1880).² On our visits we have found a growing hamlet of perhaps upwards of a dozen houses; its position is now on the shelf just inland from the harbour basin. Travellers from Coryate to Leaf noted animals being herded in the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and several complained of the fierce dogs. In 1764 Chandler learned that bandits had been keeping their horses in the ruins. Watkins found sepoy encamped on the site in 1788, and Walpole Turcomans in 1806. In fact the site is not one naturally favourable to the growth of village communities, though it was evidently suitable for a large city which had a great territory to support it and could afford to equip itself with a water supply.

The site seems to have been relatively open in the days of the early travellers. Belon enjoyed an extensive view, and he remarked a plain with cotton, sesame, and melons; and Lithgow and Coryate seem to have seen cornfields, vineyards, and fruit and olive trees; della Valle spoke of grass and thyme, but du Loir again of cotton, sesame, and water melons. We do not know the surrounding countryside well enough to tell where the cultivation was. There seem to have been some oaks hereabouts in the time of Belon and of Coryate (1613), and by 1740 commercial production of valonia was on some scale (below, pp. 210 f.). Chandler noted cotton as well as valonia in 1764. But after that the talk

(footnote continued from previous page)

here (*μετὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἦτοι τὴν Παλαιάπολιν εἶναι Καρμόπολιν*). This seems to me to be a misunderstanding of Strabo xiii, 594 init. rather than a mention of a (Turkish) town of Eine (Ezine). Meletius' *Γεωγραφία* was published in 1728.

¹*Troja* (1884), 341 f. The Turkish village of `Iskistamboul' to which he went for lunch on his visit of 1868 (*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 220) was perhaps Kestambul (cf. Dallaway's `Iki-Stamboul').

²*JHS* i. 82.

is of nothing but oaks. In the 1790s they formed a thick forest (Dallaway, and Wittman who speaks of dwarf oaks); and a few years later travellers like Gell, von Richter, and Turner were complaining of the difficulty they had in seeing the ruins. In 1826 Prokesch wrote that every traveller must be given the advice to visit Alexandria Troas in winter, and not (as he did) at midsummer: 'Mann irrt im Dunkel der Bäume ohne jede AussichtSpuren auf Spuren von GebäudenHaufen von Werkstückenmanche undeutbare Ruine wie das Wild im Dickigt findend.'¹ Since then the forest has remained unchanged, except that Schliemann noted that between his visits of 1868 and 1881 the trees grew higher and denied the view of ruins which had been visible over their tops. We could not follow Prokesch's advice and have consequently not attempted a study of the ancient remains. If the forest is felled for charcoal future scholars will be better placed to examine them.

The site was planned by Cassas with Lechevalier in 1786, when the forest cannot have been quite so dense as it later became.² A second plan made by Dubois in 1814 seems at first sight less satisfactory;³ and I know of no prototype for the plan mentioned in Miss Macaulay's *Towers of Trebizond*, on which Dean Chantry Pigg in 1880 marked the precise spot where Eutychus fell down. Leaf has attempted a short systematic account of the remains on the site, and gives a select bibliography of the travellers.⁴

From early descriptions, like Belon's or that of Coryate, who used a mathematical instrument to determine the elevation of frontages, it is clear that the ruins have greatly diminished in Turkish times; and many of the travellers bear witness to their destruction. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Sandys and Coryate both lamented the removal of material for use in new buildings at Constantinople, the one in the past

¹*Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 371. He speaks always of walnuts but must be referring to valonia oaks.

² Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque* ii, pl. 39 (cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* 237). Lechevalier spoke of 'thickets' of valonia trees.

³ Ibid. pl. 44.

⁴*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 236-40, pls. 13-14a. To his more important references might be added: P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez* (1588 ed.) 179-83; T. Coryate, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* II. x (1625), 1813-20 (1905 ed. x. 395-414); A. de la Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia and into Part of Africa* (1732 ed.), 306-10 (he purchased *inter alia* two Roman lamps and, curiously, a sixth-century B.C. Corinthian round aryballos, his pl. 24); R. Wood in his manuscript diary (1 August 1750); J.B. Lechevalier, *Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791) 7-10; on the harbour, but not from personal observation or realizing that the present pool seems to be an inner basin, K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio*, Beih. xiv (1923), 200). The Baths of Herodes were studied in 1883 by Koldewey, *Ath. Mitt.* ix (1884), 36 ff. For the aqueduct see below (p. 325 n. 4). The four drawings of buildings with arches in Le Bruyn's *Voyage au Levant* (resulting from his visit of 1680) inspire little confidence. I have not seen the one treatise that has been written on this site, R.G. Boscovich, *Relazione delle rovine di Troja esistenti in faccia al Tenedo* (referred to by Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire des découvertes géographiques* iii (1846), 764 no. 122).

tense, but the other as a matter of daily occurrence.¹ Twenty years later Stochove spoke of two ships coming and going daily, carrying off the stones with which the Sultan Ahmet mosque was built; and in 1675 Spon and Wheler referred to the recent removal of pillars for the Valide mosque. There was evidently no long respite after this. Pococke and Wood speak of demolition after 1730; as the latter wrote in 1750, 'they are daily employed in carrying away everything that is valuable to Constantinople to build the new mosque'. In the winter of 1809-10, Hobhouse tells us, much of the Baths of Herodes was brought down by an earthquake; and masses of ruins of the aqueduct disappeared in the years before 1812 (Turner). But in the years after 1785 the principal complaint the destruction of columns (and, it was said, sarcophagi) set on foot by the Kaptan Pasa * Hasan, who was concerned with restocking the armament of the forts with cannonball of stone instead of iron. This was not in fact Hasan's invention, for in 1718 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu saw prodigious cannonballs being cut on the site; and it outlasted Hasan, for Texier (who was there in 1833) reported that it had been going on for the last twenty years. The cost of procuring iron shot on this scale would have been prohibitive, and stone could be more effective than bad iron. The travellers saw great heaps of these cannonballs a short distance north of the site. We have not seen them, nor could we see or hear of the breastwork there that Napier called 'Fort Italiano' and understood to have been stormed by a Greek landing party in the War of Independence.² The stores of cannonballs may have been dissipated, for there are many to be seen in Odunluk and Geyikli.

The villages of the region also bear witness to the pillaging of the ancient site. Numerous sarcophagi have been carried off for use at fountains. Barker Webb remarked on their removal to Yerkesik and Üvecik, and we know specimens in Kemalli*, Kestambul, Tavakli*, Bergaz, and several in Ezine. The one that Hasan Pasa had removed to Yerkesik, being too deep, was sawn off at the top (hence Prokesch's difficulty with the inscription). The most distant sarcophagi of Alexandria Troas that we know at village fountains are a similarly truncated one at Marmat and the one now at Kum Kale Köy (above, p. 67, below, p. 397 no. 10). Statue bases have also been carried off to the villages to be hollowed out and used as mortars (e.g. at Kocali*, Tavakli, Üvecik, and Bergaz). Ornamental marbles have been built into village mosques or used for monuments in the cemeteries; in Kemalli especially there seems to have been a preference for inscribed ones. An inscribed block of

¹ According to Dallaway the columns of the mosques of Selim and Süleyman came from Eski Stambul.

²*United Service Journal* 1840, Third Part, 181.

Hellenistic date (below, p. 396 no. 5) seems to have been converted into a column base and ended as a well head (most recently in Ezine). Finally a number of marbles have been transported to Bozcaada (Tenedos); and not the least among the predators have been European travellers and sailors, who loaded marbles, and especially inscribed ones, into their vessels.

A historical sketch of the ancient city could not be attempted without a fuller use of the epigraphical material than would be in place here. Alexandria Troas was the see of a bishop in Byzantine times, and Piri Re'is speaks of the infidels (i.e. Christians) leaving the place when the Moslems conquered it. But there seem to be no traces of anything obviously later than Early Christian; and from the evidence as we know it there are scarcely any Byzantine coins found there. At the other end of the time scale it is strange how little trace there is of anything earlier than the Augustan colony. But we have not spent many hours going over the ground and so cannot speak with authority. A couple of days intensive sherding would be the first step towards an understanding of the history of the place.

References to coins seen at Eski Stambul are few. Bronzes of Alexandria Troas, mainly colonial, have been noted there by Spon, Motraye (3 coins, of which one (his pl. 249) was Hellenistic), Chandler (several, including one Hellenistic and one colonial), Barker Webb (one Hellenistic mentioned), and Lord Aberdeen, who seems to remark 16 coins of Alexandria Troas. We were shown the following bronzes at Dalyan in 1967:

colonial of Alexandria Troas	6
Parium, colonial (CGIHP)	1
Roman imperial	6
Constantinian types	6
early Byzantine	1

The Hellenistic bronzes of Alexandria Troas have a relatively modest circulation. But the colonial ones, mostly of the third century, are far the commonest of city coins in the Troad. Without being exhaustive I can say that we have noted specimens at the following places in the territory of Alexandria Troas: Dalyan, Kemalli *, Firanli*, Kösedere, Kulahli*, Bahçeli, Ezine (numerous, as also Schliemann, p. 317), Akpinar* and the Cebren site (including one late Hellenistic; and also Calvert, p. 340), the Pinarbasi* of Bayramiç (3 early Hellenistic); outside its territory, we have notes of bronzes of Alexandria Troas at Troy (very numerous, including 64 in the American excavations alone), Halileli, Yeniköy, Kalafat (Gell), Balli* Dag* (von Hahn), Yenisehir* (Motraye and Hunt), Akköy, Kozlu, southern Troad (Pullan, p. 388), Assos (21 in the excavations), also in jewellers' shops at Bayramiç and Çanak Kale.

L. Robert gives proveniences outside the Troad, including five specimens at Pergamon.¹

The Ilica * outside Alexandria Troas on the south-east may also be mentioned here. The travellers mostly refer to it as 'Lidja', which is the form of the word still used by Greek-speaking Turks; its full name is now Kestambul Kaplicasi*. Basically its bibliography is the same as that for Alexandria Troas. The stream is called Ilica Su, but in the travellers it has names which seem to correspond to Aci* (= bitter) Su or Dere (Aiyeh-Su in Pococke, Ocgyliderry in Wood). The hot baths have been considered particularly beneficial for skin diseases, but also (according to different travellers) for nervous disorders, fluxes, and rheumatism. There are two main sources, of which Cuinet says that one is sulphurous and the other ferrugineous.² Their temperature, to judge by various reported readings, would seem to be around 125-150 °F. Belon remarked three sources in 1548. In the absence of any resident personnel, visitors generally had to fend for themselves, though there was an overseer there in 1710 (Motraye) and in 1839 Napier found an old Turk dispensing coffee and pipes. Welcker spoke of two miserable huts and no shade in 1842, Schliemann of three exceedingly dirty and windowless rooms for lodging the sick. The only company Schliemann had there was a raven and a cuckoo. In July 1959 we found the place nearly deserted; but when we passed in August 1966 it seemed to have larger premises and a flourishing night life, and we later discovered that it has substantial new buildings and is now much frequented in summer.

We noted various ancient marbles and granite columns at the Kaplica*, and remains of vaulted constructions above the stream. The travellers seem to have seen considerable remains of buildings with lofty vaults, and especially the two domed baths that were in use (one of them having its original dome intact).³ Des Mouceaux noted marble-encrusted grottoes and three fragments of columns. Richter in 1816 remarked remains of buildings on either side of the valley;⁴ and many sarcophagi used to stand in the vicinity. On account of the springs, which he noted as salt, Belon placed the ancient Larisa here; and he was followed by Pococke and Choiseul-Gouffier's posthumous text.⁵ Schliemann, who

¹*Ét. num. gr.* (1951) index, 218; *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 94. Add Hasluck's mention of colonial coins of Alexandria Troas as being in fact well distributed in Mysia (*Num. Chron.* vi (1906), 35 f.). There appear to be no coins of Antigonos' original foundation; for epigraphical mentions of ~~Antigonos~~ see L. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 68.

²*La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 710 f.

³ See especially Belon and Motraye.

⁴*Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (1822), 463 f. Cf. Texier, *Déscription de l'Asie mineure* ii (1849) 190.

⁵*Voyage pittoresque* ii. 2 (1822), 438.

found the remains substantial, took the Kaplica * to be the site of an important city only abandoned since late in the Middle Ages.¹

Most travellers down to Schliemann in 1881 saw the trunk of a large draped statue at the Kaplica. Lechevalier saw a young Heracles as well.² Prokesch notes a Roman eagle on a marble slab lying there,³ and Koldewey Hellenic gravestones nearby. Newton remarked that a small bronze mouse in the Calvert Collection was found there;⁴ he associated it with the Smintheum, which, however, lay far to the south.

3

Neandria

The Cigri* Dag* is a granite⁵ mountain forming a conspicuous ridge nearly 5 km. long with tors that punctuate the skyline (PLATE 57a). The slopes are denuded and boulder-strewn, with occasional oaks and hoopoes. It was no doubt the Ida of early travellers like Belon and Lithgow who mistook Alexandria Troas for Troy. The ancient city site occupies the high crest at the north end of the ridge (PLATE 21c), where the map marks an altitude of 520 m. Pococke and Wood knew it under the name 'Chigur';⁶ following Lisle, they identified it with Scepsis, the neighbouring (but lower!) village of 'Eskiupjee' (Üsküfçü) being taken for Palaiskepsis. The resemblance of name, however, led Choiseul-Gouffier to recognize Cigri as Kenchreai; and this identification held the field for half a century. Lord Carlisle, who visited the site in 1853 with Calvert, conjectured that it was the ancient Dardania,⁷ and subsequently Eduard Meyer contrived to locate Coloniae there. But Calvert himself thought of Neandria;⁸ and his suggestion was approved by J. T. Clarke⁹ and confirmed by Koldewey when he worked on the site in August-October 1889 and was able to report that of 24 coins that he found or acquired on the site those of Neandria 'weitaus vorwiegen'.

1Troja (1884), 309 f.

2Description of the Plain of Troy (1791), 7; cf. Choiseul-Gouffier, loc. cit. Immediately after describing the Kaplica Motraye speaks of a statue in a grotto (whose head he carried off and illustrates); but it is not clear whether he had not returned to the city site.

3Denkwürdigkeiten iii (1837), 366.

4Travels and Discoveries in the Levant (1865), 130.

5 So, amongst others, the Assos mission, Koldewey, and Leaf. Virchow seems to call it trachyte (*Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 20), though he recognized the quarries at the north end as granite, or rather (in his view) syenite, (below, p. 209).

6 The 'Criser' of Fellows (*Fournal* (1839), 63) must be an error of notation or copying.

7 G. W. F. Howard, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (1854), 73 f.

8Arch. Journal xxii (1865), 53. He speaks of the district of Neandria as being in the neighbourhood of the Cigri Dag; but the Assos mission understood it as an identification of the actual site, which no doubt was Calvert's contention.

9A Proto-Ionic Capital from the Site of Neandreia (Papers Arch. Inst. America, 1886), with the testimonia for Neandria and the Cigri Dag site; for travellers to the site see pp. 25 f. Spratt visited the site in 1839 and was there attacked by three armed ruffians, whom by great presence of mind he succeeded in eluding (Newton, *Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 130).

It is to Koldewey's investigations that we owe our detailed knowledge of the site. He excavated the temple, made tests in other parts of the site, and dug graves outside the walls.¹

The circuit is 1,400 m. long and up to 450 m. wide; it encloses a fairly level, stony crest, on which the rare bent trees hardly afford any shade. Koldewey speaks of some little springs in the vicinity of the site, which partly dry up in summer, and a stronger one on the ancient roadway 1 km. north of the site;² we saw three along the north edge of the circuit when we visited the site in July 1959. The crest was then populated because horses had been brought up from Kayacik * to graze on the high summer pasture.³ We were reminded of the reverse type of a grazing horse on the coins of Neandria, which has caused scholars to question the identification with the Cigri* Dag* site.⁴ The main fortification, with well-defended gates, has a wall thickness of 3 m. and irregular trapezoidal facing of perhaps late fifth or early fourth century date.⁵ In the northwest part there are remains of a smaller circuit, presumably of an earlier date and mostly of rougher masonry.⁶ Koldewey's plan shows numerous house foundations in the city area. They were stone-built; and in the north-west, where they were densely clustered outside the inner circuit, the outer fortification seems to have passed through the middle of them. In the middle of the site, presumably outside the inner circuit, the plan shows a series of spacious houses regularly arranged on the axis of the site. Koldewey also noted remains of what might have been public buildings, which he hoped to investigate further;⁷ and he cleared the foundations of a sixth-century temple of Apollo which is one of the few constructions in the Troad to have a place in the handbooks of Greek architecture.⁸ We examined the podium of the temple to see if it could throw any light on the question whether or not there was a pteron around the cella. It seemed that the paving slabs in the space between the cella wall footing and the outer edge of the podium were not laid level, and that the edge of the podium had not been prepared to receive columns (PLATE 21*a*, at the south corner); we formed the opinion that there had not been a pteron, and consequently that Koldewey's

¹*Neandria* (51 Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm, 1891), with drawings and a site plan. For the coins, p. 6.

² Op. cit. 6 and 13.

³ We climbed the site from Yavaslar* on the east, and have not been to Kayacik. Our guides said that it was the villagers of Kayacik who owned the site and knew about finds there.

⁴ Cf. Vellay, *Controverses autour de Troie* (1936), 69 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941), index, p. 192; photographs in Blegen, *Troy i* (1950), figs. 32-3. A detail of the inner face here, PLATE 21*b*.

⁶*Neandria*, fig. 9 (at *a*, not *d*, on the plan).

⁷*Neandria* 12.

⁸*Neandria* 23 ff.; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (1957), 131 f.

restoration of three-piece capitals should be correct.¹ As regards the dating of the temple, Åkerström's study of the terracotta revetments now points to the second half of the sixth century.²

Finds throw some light on the history of Neandria. To begin with what we saw on the surface, there were a few buildings with tiled roofs in the fourth century to judge by fragments on the ground. The potsherds have mostly lost their surface because of the acidity of the soil on the rock, and consequently few are identifiable. We saw a sprinkling of archaic bucchero in the middle of the site. The black-glaze fragments seem to be of the fifth and fourth centuries. Mr. Sparkes has assured me that none of it seems to be later than the fourth century, and there can be little doubt that the site was abandoned at the time of the foundation of Alexandria Troas. Schliemann remarked `only here and there I saw a late Roman potsherd and some fragments of bricks of a late date';³ we saw no such sherds, and we are not sure what Schliemann's criteria for Roman were; but later Roman occupation would in fact fit with the pattern we have observed on other mountain sites. There was not enough datable pottery to permit a judgement on the relative dates of the inner and outer circuits. We saw no prehistoric. For the date of the earliest occupation it is necessary to turn to the finds from graves.

The cemeteries have been explored twice. At some date before 1881 Calvert dug there, apparently opening half a dozen shallow graves outside the gate west of the citadel.⁴ And during his campaign of 1889 Koldewey dug 30-40 graves of different kinds (pithos, tile, and cist burials all with cremation and full-length sarcophagi) to the north, the east, and especially the south of the site.⁵ Taken together, the finds include bronze fibulae (Calvert Collection, not identifiable), two scarabs, a range of sixth-century plastic vases (including warrior's-head and female-bust aryballoi, a dove and other creatures, and the Aphrodite *Neandria*, fig. 24), and classical figurines. East Greek vases are represented by trefoil oneochoae, and by an Ionic cup and plate with rays and lozenges which should date about the end of the seventh century. There were several Corinthian round aryballoi which go back into the late seventh century, and some pieces of Attic black glaze including stamped ware of the late fifth or early fourth century. The earliest Greek painted vase was a fine Protocorinthian ovoid aryballos with animals and a hare hunt, which should be of the second quarter or middle of the seventh century (Calvert Collection no. 584).

¹ For the podium, *Neandria* 31. Recent conflicting views, A. von Gerkan, in *Neue Beiträge zur klass. Altertumswissenschaft* (1954), 71 ff., and R. Martin in *Études d'Archéologie classique* i (1958), 121 ff. Most recently A. Mallwitz, *Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968), 135 ff.

² *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (1966), 8 ff.

³ *Ilios* (1880), 57.

⁴ See W. C. Lawton in *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 147. The finds are listed in the Calvert Collection catalogue, site no. 16.

⁵ *Neandria* 14 ff.

There is in addition a wide range of grey ware, which has a considerable time span. Some of it is sixth-century. But there were also graves in which only grey vases were found, and Dr. Bayne has remarked some of these pieces as older than the painted wares. On the evidence especially of a flat-based kantharos (Calvert Collection no. 550) and the side-spouted jug *Neandria*, fig. 20 he concludes that the cemetery was in use from about 700 B.C., or even the eighth century.¹ As we shall see, a date about 700 for the foundation of Neandria seems to fit well with the progression of Aeolic settlement from the coast to the interior of the Troad.

That the Cigri * Dag* site is the focus of the bronze coins of Neandria cannot be questioned. Calvert's identification may have depended on this, though he does not mention it. Koldewey found a preponderance of Neandria coins there; and a handler of antiques of Ezine, whom we met in one of the villages, told us that coins with a horse come from the Cigri Dag. We have seen bronzes of Neandria at the Çal Dag (and also Calvert, p. 340), Ezine (two or more, and also Schliemann, p. 317), and Bayramiç (two or more, p. 310). My impression is that the larger bronzes with the horse are the commoner away from the site, whereas Koldewey found more of the small ones on the spot. Bronzes of Neandria have also been noted at Assos (one in the excavations), the southern Troad (Pullan, p. 388), the Balli* Dag (p. 138), the Ophryneion site (p. 75), and Borrell's provenience `Sigeion'.² Borrell's coin was not necessarily found in the immediate neighbourhood; and it is notable that, apart from perhaps two specimens at Ophryneion, no coins of Neandria seems to come from the northern Troad.

At 1 km. south of the city circuit on the Cigri Dag, on a piece of level ground, Koldewey found a spring with a couple of great plane trees, and half a dozen rock-cut horos inscriptions with *τέμενος Διός* in lettering of classical date.³ In 1883 he saw a pillar with a Hellenistic inscription to Dionysus in the high village of Köselier about 6 km. south of the site;⁴ this might possibly mark the position of a sanctuary, but at the near-by village of Yaylacik* an inscription copied at the mosque has evidently been brought from the site of Alexandria Troas.⁵ Neandria paid only a third of a talent in the Athenian league, as against three talents from Cebren, and we should not expect its territory to be very extensive. On the seaward site Coloniae and Larisa presumably penned it back to its

¹ I am most grateful to Dr. Bayne for permitting me to mention his findings.

² p. 156; cf. L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), index, 229.

³*Neandria* 13 f., figs. 11-16.

⁴*Ath. Mitt.* ix (1884), 48. L. Robert claimed this inscription for Küsedere (below, p. 213), *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 63 nn. 2-3; but maps and census lists show that the two villages are quite distinct.

⁵*CIL* iii. 389. The villagers of Yaylacik did also exploit the site on the Cigri Dag, for J. T. Clarke says that Turkish `masons' from there had unearthed the Aeolic capital that he published (*Proto-Ionic Capital* 3).

mountain. But it did possess a plain, which Strabo names as the Samonian (below, pp. 315f.); and we therefore assume that the plain around Ezine belonged to the Neandrians.

4

The Valonia Villages

Here and in section 6 we revert to a village-by-village survey of the coast down to Cape Lekton.

Kocali * is a small village (192 in the 1940 census) situated 200 m. or more up on the saddle north of the Cigri* Dag*. Most of the travellers from Lechevalier to Reinach knew it by names corresponding to the modern spellings Kocali Ovasi* or Kocoglan* Ovasi (Cocilian in Lechvalier's text, giving an identification with the ancient Cocylum which was accepted by Choiseul-Gouffier and Barker Webb); but curiously, Spratt's map and Newton give a divergent name, 'Kushu Bashi'. This village is presumably the Kocoglu* Obasi* entered with Haci* Veys and Üç Bas* in the 1574 fiscal survey (a total of 40 adult males). Latin inscriptions of Alexandria Troas have been seen in the village (*CIL* iii. 7070, 7077). Wood in his manuscript diary (31 July 1750) records passing between Cigri Dag ('Chigur') and Kizkalesi* to a village called 'Callichilli basi', on the way to Firanli*: in view of the situation this must represent Kocali Obasi. He there copied a base with two Latin inscriptions at some time used as a mortar, which is in fact *CIL* iii. 383/392 = p. 977 (said to have been brought to the Hellespont from Bayramiç!) = 12245/6 (in England).

In the village we noted nothing more than some small granite columns. But less than 1 km. to the west, where the path crosses the rocky watershed at the head of the wild valley above the Kaplica* (Ilica* Dere), is the mortuary of gigantic columns which drew many of the travellers to Kocali. Just east of the breach by which the path crosses the rocky spine lie some long granite blocks and two great columns of the same material. From the head of the pass here the west flank of the Cigri Dag appears as a wilderness of perched and toppled boulders which seems to continue uninterrupted above Kestambul almost to Büyük Alamsah*. Some of them are so impressive that Schliemann took them to be monumental; and there are hillocks which would have afforded admirable strongholds if such had been needed in the region. To return to the quarry, on the north slope of the valley head are the great columns which Newton calls the Seven Sleepers (PLATE 19b). We measured one and found it 11·32 m. long with 1·65 m. diameter at the foot. This agrees with Newton's measurements (37·8 ft. by 5 ft. 6 in.), but is rather less than Tchihatcheff's 11·5 by 1·75 m. and Schliemann's of 1879 (38 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. 6 in. with 4 ft. 6 in. upper diameter), much

less than those that Virchow recorded on the same visit with Schliemann (12·5 by 2 m.).¹ Virchow, who noticed five columns here as against Schliemann's and other people's seven, calls the stone syenite, though he admits that it could also be called 'granite containing hornblende';² but my sample was pronounced granite and not syenite by present-day classification. In addition to the seven columns, which still survive, there are also large squared blocks lying around, which the villagers have been cutting up into wall bricks. We noticed traces of a roadway, which could be new. The seven columns lie ranged in front of the quarry face, which is shown in PLATE 20*b*. These workings were state quarries in Late Roman times; but we have not noticed any trace of buildings in their vicinity to house the convicts or guard. Granite columns from the quarries of Alexandria Troas seem to have been widely exported in Roman times.

Kemalli * is another old village. The name Kemal occurs, coupled with uninhabited land of Karkin*, Akbinar*, and Kilise, and a total of 119 adult males, in the 1574 survey. It is now unequivocally called Kemalli, and has been so named by many of the travellers (des Mouceaux about 1668 called it 'Comerli'). But Schliemann had it as Kemanli, and a succession of English travellers over a long period heard the name in forms resembling Çima(n)li.³ The GS map in fact marks the slope south-west of the village under the name Çimenli Bayır* (= grassy brae); and the crossing of this with Kemalli might account for the variations in the name as rendered locally. The 1940 population was 479. Various ancient stones have been noted at Kemalli: a large Doric capital and a plain marble chair by Newton (the latter already by Prokesch); in addition to these, some granite columns, a sculptured granite block and sarcophagus and marble slabs and columns by Schliemann, together with sherds that induced him to regard it as an ancient city site.⁴ Reinach⁵ noted various architectural pieces in the cemetery, and in 1960 we saw many ancient and Christian stones both there and in the village. Some of the inscriptions at Kemalli have long been known to the travellers, and, like Reinach, we have added others

1 Similar columns have been remarked by the travellers at Eski Stambul (Coryate, 38 ft. long; Spon, 35 ft. by 4 ft. 9 in. (if French feet, about 38 feet by 5 ft. 2 in. English) and two of 30 ft.; Motraye, over 40 ft. by 4 ft. 8 in.). Between Kemalli and the Kaplica* E. D. Clarke measured one of 37 ft. by 5 ft. 3 in., and north-east of Eski Stambul Fellows one 38 ft. 6 in. long; these and the single column of Newton (his p. 128) may be the same. South of Kestambul Schliemann noted nine columns of 11·40 by 1·35 m. (cf. p. 212).

2*Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 19.

3 Chemali (Chandler, Spratt), Chemalé (E. D. Clarke), Chimanli (Turner, cf. Chiamanli in Prokesch), Chemanli (Calvert), and Chimenlai (Newton).

4*Troja* (1884), 340 f. His identification with Hamaxitus rested on a too rigorous interpretation of Strabo xiii. 606, § 51, *τῆς Ἀμαξίτου Νεανδρείς ὑπέρκεινται*. Chandler and Barker Webb had placed Coloniae here.

5*Rev. épigr.* N.S. i (1913), 313 ff.

(pp. 404 ff., nos. 27-42); they are especially numerous in the extensive cemetery area where Chandler and E.D. Clarke remarked inscriptions (as the latter said) 'too imperfect for inserting'. There is in fact a great deal of ancient material at Kemalli *. But the villagers told us that (with the sole exception of a lower part of a grave relief with legs of a man and a boy, which had been found in a near-by field) none of the ancient stones had come to light locally; and we saw no ancient potsherds. No doubt the material has been brought from the site of Alexandria Troas. We also saw bronze coins of Alexandria Troas there. In addition, a villager of Kemalli showed us a worn Attic black-glazed dumpy lekythos of a late-fifth-century form, and a green-glazed paste round aryballos of the Corinthian form with stroke decoration; both were said to come from one grave, but as it was located half-way up the Cigri* Dag* these finds no doubt come from a cemetery of Neandria.

The only site we could learn of in this vicinity is a low hillock at Kümbet Kocabahçe a kilometre or so north-north-east of Kemalli. There are traces of a circuit wall near the foot of the hill, 1·20 m. thick and of rubble with some large squared blocks. Prehistoric pottery is relatively abundant; Mr. Mellaart identified samples as Troy I and early (i.e. Middle Bronze Age) Troy VI (ridged bowls in micaceous grey ware were identified by Dr. Bayne). We also noted scraps that seemed late Hellenistic or early Roman (including red glazed ware) and a little later Roman. No ancient stones appear to have come to light on the site, which is of small extent, and (apart from the prehistoric occupation) looks as if it might possibly have been an outpost of Alexandria Troas towards the Tenedian Peraea (and perhaps a farm site in late Roman times, when of course Tenedos had been absorbed politically into the mainland city).¹

In 1853 Newton stayed at Kemalli in the house of a villager who sold valonia to the Calverts; and the villages southwards to Kösedere are those in which valonia has been the principal product for several centuries. Fellows in 1838 remarked that the people north of the Tuzla Çay were solely occupied with collecting valonia and tending goats. Pococke in 1738 spoke of the export of valonia to Italy for tanning, and Wood in 1750 to Ancona and Venice for use in dyeing; Barker Webb of export to England. As early as 1548 Belon noted that in the neighbourhood of Alexandria Troas a considerable revenue was obtained from the sale of the acorns, which were transported on camel back to centres like Bursa and Gelibolu,² and the Ottoman fiscal surveys attest widespread pro-

¹ For the circumstances of this see L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 10 f.

² *Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, cap. vi, with a description of the collecting. Belon speaks of the fruit of the 'Esculus'; but since he speaks of its use in tanning and not of its edibility, he is evidently referring to the valonia oak (*Quercus Aegilops*). Cf. Barker Webb (*ap. Schliemann, Ilios* 116 f.).

duction (above, p. 10). With the development of synthetic products in recent years the demand for valonia has declined; we noticed kilns as we approached Kocali * in 1968 and learned that the villagers had started to cut down the oak trees for charcoal. We have not revisited the valonia villages to the south of this, but we understand that their economy has suffered a serious blow. The valonia is of course still used locally for dyeing clothes.

At Firanli* (also called Koruktasi* on the GS map) Choiseul-Gouffier acquired a small altar to Asklepios and Koldewey copied a late grave inscription.¹ We saw some ancient and Christian stones in the cemetery and village, including an inscription of a gladiator at the mosque (p. 408, no. 43, subsequently removed to Ezine). We were also shown bronze coins of Alexandria Troas. Firanli must be the 'Fimni' of Wood's map (Feranli in his manuscript diary), and the 'Freneli' of Prokesch with 150 houses (all Turks). The population in the 1940 census was only 239, and the village does not seem to us to thrive greatly. It may be that in other villages the timber roadway of the bridge is taken up for use as scaffolding but at Firanli it is not replaced at night.

The characteristic feature of the terrain from here to Tavakli* is the broad shelf at the foot of the boulder-strewn flank of the Cigri* Dag*, which lies at nearly 200 m. above sea level and drops sharply to the coastal strip. The principal village here is Kestambul. West of it lies Akçakeçili above the little coastal plain of Aktasovasi*. The plain is cut off from the sea on the south by an oolitic ridge that runs southward above the beach as far as the iskele of Tavakli; on the north tip of this escarpment is the classical site of Besik* Tepe, which will be described in the next section. In general the Turkish villages are on the shelf inland. South of Kestambul is the deserted village of Great Alamsah*, and west of this Küçük Alamsah by a stream, from which it is a quarter of an hour's climb to Tavakli high up on the crest overlooking its iskele. South of this the mountain mass pushes forward to overhang the narrow coastal strip. A road northward from the Tuzla plain can conveniently follow the coast as far as the Tavakli iskele; but after that it must either take the east flank of the oolitic coast ridge in the direction of Alexandria Troas or climb to the shelf at Firanli and so to the saddle north of the Cigri Dag. Somewhere behind Tavakli there seems to be a village of Belen (254 inhabitants in the 1940 census); it might conceivably be the 'Belena', 'Labena', etc. of the Italian sea charts,² but Turkish toponymy does not normally have any place in them.

Kestambul is a well-set-up village with a 1940 census population of

1 Lenz, (Choiseul-Gouffier) *Die Ebene von Troja* (1798), 89; *Ah. Mitt.* ix (1884), 48.

2 Cf. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 17. 'Beteno' on Motraye's map, which is not however likely to have any independent authority.

617. It is the Kastampoli of Meletius (about 1700) and presumably the Kastamoni (with 107 adult males) of the 1574 fiscal survey. Schliemann remarked it as a village with 110 houses of Turks and a fountain on which the date was 1777 of our era. He noted marble blocks and column drums, and an inscribed sarcophagus; and believing that he could recognize ancient potsherds he took Kestambul to be the site of Coloniae, which had in fact been more convincingly identified by Calvert (below, pp. 216 ff.).¹ We saw a few ancient and Christian stones, and, like Walpole and H. Kiepert, some inscriptions. One inscription, the curse p. 409, no. 44, which had been copied by Reinach in 1910, was said by our informants to have originally come from a place called Aganin * Bagbasi* 1 km. south of the village. We visited the spot, and found a rocky hillock with no remains on the top but the ruins of what might have been a church at the foot. Near Kestambul a villager was said to have dug up a hamam on his land. It will perhaps have been a Byzantine church or a cistern. We learned of two other hamams, one at Akçaķeçili, and one, which we did not visit, in the plain of Aktasovasi* Akçaķeçili is a small village (194 inhabitants in 1940), and we noted nothing there; but it appears in the 1574 survey with no less than 63 adult males. South of Kestambul, among the shattered boulders at the mountain foot, we were shown the debris of quarrying, with a great granite column lying in its bed; the villagers had been breaking up rocks and columns here. Presumably this is the place half an hour south of Kestambul where Schliemann remarked nine columns.²

Alamsah* is also old. The survey of 1574 lists Alemsah-1* küçük with 44 adult males, and Derecik, also called Alemsah*, with 93. Hunt noted the valley of `Olimichi-ouessi' and Calvert the village of Alamisha. Schliemann tells the story of an attack on (Küçük) Alamsah in 1880, when twenty Greek bandits came up from the coast during the feast of Ramazan and murdered the young son of a Turkish merchant together with his two guardians.³ Reinach noted a few ancient stones, and a large rectangular enclosure built of small stones which he thought might be the remains of a Byzantine reservoir.⁴ We did not know of it at the time of our visit. In the 1940 census Great Alamsah does not appear, though it is still marked as Kebiralemsah* on the GS map; Küçük Alamsah (Alemsahsagır*) is entered with a population of 162. We went as far as the cemetery that belonged to Great Alamsah, where we saw some ancient marbles and more Christian ones; thence to Küçük Alamsah, where we saw late Roman and Christian marbles and two fragments of

¹*Troja* (1884), 310 f.

²*Troja* (1884), 311. Above, p. 209. Dr. M.H. Ballance tells me they are still to be seen in a quarry there.

³*Troja* (1884), 311 (`Alampsa').

⁴*Rev. épigr.*, N.S. ii (1914), 35.

a funerary monument (p. 410, no. 46) in the cemetery, and in the village a solid marble pedestal in the form of a carved cista (PLATE 24c).

Tavakli * may be of more recent origin; it is surprisingly close to Küçük Alamsah*, and I have found no mention of the name earlier than 1849 when Tchihatcheff noted a valley there called `Savakli(sic) Dere'. Its rise could account for the decline of its neighbours. Reinach noted columns and marbles in the cemetery, and others on the house-tops; also a plain garland sarcophagus used for a fountain. In 1959 we found the lower part of a draped female marble statue built into a wall, and saw two fragmentary Latin inscriptions (one p. 410, no. 47, the other *CIL* iii. 7075, which Koldewey copied in 1884 and Reinach could not find). We were told that the inscriptions had been brought from the iskele, to which we then descended. There we were shown the ruins of a vaulted chamber with an ancient stone or two incorporated in it, and in a neighbouring cottage a piece of a marble ambon with birds and fishes in relief. The GS map marks a `Ceneviz cesme'* (Genoese fountain) there, and presumably there will have been a Byzantine church. By the sea, nearly halfway between Kösedere and Firanli*, Prokesch in 1826 noted the ruin of a vaulted chamber with granite and marble columns near by;¹ and this perhaps accounts for the placing of Larisa here on Philippson's map.² The position of Prokesch's ruin is fixed at the iskele by his comment that the hill between the path and the sea some hundreds of metres north of the ruin looked like the site of one of the cities mentioned by Strabo on this coast; for the track never leaves the shore until it turns inland at this point. Without knowing of Prokesch's remark I climbed this dominant crest north of the iskele in 1959 and discovered that it is in fact the south end of the oolitic ridge that begins at Aktasovasi*.

The next village is Kösedere, which does not seem to be identifiable in the sixteenth-century surveys, but is said to have had 300 houses in 1801 (Hunt) and a smoky than in 1816 (von Richter), but only 200 houses in 1818 (Schliemann, 10 being Greek) and 613 inhabitants in the 1940 census; in 1959 we were told on the spot that there were 180 houses and 650 inhabitants, but curiously the 1955 census figure is 947! Schliemann called the village `Kusch Deressi' (= bird valley),<sup>3</sup> but köse here means `bare' or `sparsely timbered'. Kösedere is not, as L. Robert has supposed, the same village as Köseler (above, p. 207 n. 4). The village straddles a stream at its exit from a rocky mountain gorge, and has a sizeable plain in front of it, which links up with that of Tuzla on the

¹*Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 365.

² L. Robert insists against *ATL* that Philippson's siting of Larisa was due to a slip in copying the Kieperts (*Ét. num. gr.* 59); but evidently he did not know of Prokesch's discovery. Reinach seems also to have put Larisa here.

³*Troja* (1884), 311 f.

east side of a low coastal ridge. Kösedere looks capable of being prosperous. It has a good stock of animals, produces corn, beans, fruit, and valonia, and in 1959 had a newly opened lignite mine. We were invited to go up the gorge to see a new olive plantation which had been started by a young Greek-speaking Turk from Küçük Kuyu; and I regret not having done so because on reading Reinach I found that he saw a fountain ten minutes up from the village, with Byzantine blocks with crosses and an inscribed sarcophagus.¹ By the roadside a few minutes to the south-east is a big cemetery where an inscription (of Hermostratus) and ancient stones were noted by H. Kiepert, Schliemann, and Reinach. Hunt remarked on it as having been walled by the Aga * and being unique in this in the Troad;² but walled cemeteries do not seem rare now. We saw Christian stones both there and in the village. In the latter Schliemann noted not only ancient stones but a sherd layer 2-3m. deep; he consequently reckoned Kösedere to be the site of an ancient city, which in view of the predominance of its bronze coins there he recognized as Larisa. We could find no ancient sherds or trace of a site. Schliemann's depth of deposit is puzzling. At Kösedere he could have been misled through reading the stream bank as horizontal stratification; but he in fact speaks of trenches dug for laying house foundations.

While nothing that coins of the Troadic Larisa (with amphora *LA* on one side and a head of Apollo on the other)³ predominated at Kösedere, Schliemann also remarked medieval, Roman, and Greek coins (including a bronze of Assos). We saw a couple of colonial bronzes of Alexandria Troas, several imperial bronzes, and one Byzantine. Of greater interest were two bronze coins (PLATE 24*a-b*) which were said to have been picked up on the site of Liman Tepe, which will be discussed in the next section.

Circumstances compelled us to drive past Babadere without stopping. The village, whose 1940 population was 260, lies in a valley about 4 km. inland. Hunt passed through Babadere in 1801; he remarked that the mosque was a poor one with mud walls, but the noted ancient columns and capitals of different orders, and a few marbles in the cemetery. The jeep road from Tuzla to Kösedere comes this way, whereas a cart track that we took in 1959 follows the coast past the fringe of low hills where are the Liman Tepe site and an iskele for the shipping of valonia. It is at this point that the southern limit of valonia production is reached. The survey of the coast to southward will be resumed in section 6.

¹Rev. *épigr.*, N.S. ii (1914), 36 f. The modern inscription ΠΑ that he mentions there is reminiscent of those on the cistern at Ada Tepe (below, p. 265).

²Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 133 f.

³These details are given in the English edition of *Troja*, p. 312, but not in his *Reise* of 1881 or apparently in the French edition of *Ilios*. This important evidence consequently escaped L. Robert's notice.

Somewhere in this region south of Alexandria Troas the Italian sea charts mark a place called Santi Quaranta ('Coratto' on Motraye's map); this is difficult to locate because there are several likely positions for churches here. A peculiar problem is presented by the names 'Nesrach' and 'Nessourak Keui', which the cartographers planted on this coast. Kauffer's map marks a village of Nessourak-Keui a little south of the Kaplica *; and this appears on Choiseul-Gouffier's chart published in 1809 in the position where we should place Kösedere.¹ Gell, on the other hand, knows a little village, Nesrach Kevi, further south near the Tuzla Çay; and he sailed up this coast in 1801 and gives the appearance of speaking from personal knowledge. My impression of this is that Gell was following a different version of Kauffer's map. But whatever the source may have been, the result was that Choiseul-Gouffier's chart already referred to (his pl. 8 *bis*) shows a second village of Nessourak at Tuzla, and his pl. 13 shows only that one. Subsequent references to both of these villages seem to be derivative. Hobhouse knows of a hamlet of Nezra or Nesrah Keui near the Tuzla Çay, and a Neshrah Keui south of Alexandria Troas, and Barker Webb of a Nesrah Keui midway between the mouth of the Tuzla Çay and Alexandria Troas.² Writing about 1860 in his two articles on the classical sites of this coast, Calvert firmly rejected the name. Of Barker Webb's Nesrah Keui he remarked that no place of that name exists,³ while of the Nessourak of the old French maps he wrote: 'In almost all the maps of this country, this plain is strangely named "Nesorakdereh". Ne-sorar being the Turkish for "What is he asking about?" the compiler of the original may possibly have taken that to be the name of the plain, when, not understanding his question, the Turkish peasant asked for an explanation.'⁴

Calvert's explanation is amusing; and it would not be difficult to find comparable errors, even in our own field notebooks. But there is a difficulty in it. In terms of modern spoken Turkish the present aorist 'ne sorar' ('what does he ask?') is peculiar; we should expect the present 'ne soruyor' ('what is he asking?'). It does not seem certain that the explanation is to be sought in a misconception. Villages do change their names; some probably vanish without record (only Reinach has preserved the memory of Kizilkoy* south of the Tuzla plain, and I believe that none of the travellers mentions Akçakeçili); and the travellers and cartographers were often extremely inaccurate in their rendering of Turkish names (see above, p. 48).

¹*Voyage pittoresque* ii, pl. 8 *bis*.

²*Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 99. Contrary to his habitual good judgement, he took the name to be a corruption of the ancient name Larisa. Choiseul-Gouffier's pl. 13 marks Larisa at the southern Nessourak.

³*Arch. Journal* xviii (1861), 254.

⁴*Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 288 n. 8; quoted by L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 64 f. n. 7.

5

Colonae and Larisa

South of Alexandria Troas there is no continuous coastal ridge corresponding to that between Erenköy and Besika * Bay. But shorter stretches of comparable formation occur where the mountains recede from the coast; and here again these crests were found to provide especially suitable situations for classical towns. Of the two sites that come under consideration in this section our photographs, which were taken in colour in 1959, unfortunately lack definition (PLATE 23c, on the Aktasovasi* site looking north; PLATE 25a, Liman Tepe from the south). The situations are matched by that of the third classical town site on this coast (Hamaxitus, PLATES 23d, 28b), which will be described in the next section.

Aktasovasi is a good arable plain into which flow the Ilica* Su from the Kaplica* and a stream that the GS map calls Zurnaci* (= piper's) Dere. Meletius (about 1700) named a cape Aktasi Kavo. At the south end of the beach the ground rises to a low coastal ridge whose first crest is a hill called Besik* Tepe (= cradle hill). This name is frequently (though not always) applied to flattish crests which fall off sharply at the edges; and since a crest that has had a circuit wall will tend to present such a profile, the name is one of above average archaeological interest. The site on this Besik Tepe was discovered by Calvert in 1859 and visited by us exactly 100 years later. It had been lost in the period between; for in his published description of the site Calvert stated that it was in a northerly direction from Alexandria Troas, and this led J. T. Clarke to reject the identification. The word 'northerly' was obviously a misprint. Anyone who troubles to scrutinize Calvert's article will find no less than five separate indications that south was intended. In addition we may remark that (as Leaf discovered) both names that Calvert gave (Aktasovasi and Besik Tepe) are at home south of Alexandria Troas, and that Thiersch's note in the Calvert Collection catalogue says 'südlich von Alexandria Troas'.

Calvert gave a brief description of the site, which can be summarized here.¹ The slopes of the hill, he says, are abrupt, especially towards the sea. The top is flattened, about 720 paces in length and 230 in its greatest breadth, with some traces of a circuit wall round its edges. He found few vestiges of ancient buildings on top, but remarked stone piles and fragments of black glaze pottery there. The hill rises to a second elevation at the south end with a flat top 200 paces long forming the acropolis; on this Calvert saw the foundations of a square tower and of

¹*Arch. Journal* xvii (1860), 287 ff. Cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 223 f., where relevant passages from Calvert's article are quoted verbatim. Leaf did not visit Besik Tepe, but he photographed it from a distance (his pl. 11b).

a wall on the side facing the lower town. He picked up a small brass coin of Coloniae there. We can only add that faint traces of buildings and circuit wall could still be discerned in 1959, and that there seemed to us to be tumulus just north of the site (PLATE 23c, looking north from the citadel), whereas the tumulus that Calvert tentatively assigned to the mythical Cycnus was on an undulating hill the best part of a mile to the east-south-east.

There is a well in the plain nearby; and we were told that there used to be running water at the beach. Boats could no doubt conveniently be drawn up there.

After discovering the site Calvert proceeded to excavate in the ancient cemetery area to north and east at the foot of the hill. He found stone coffins and large terracotta jars, and at least two tombs. One of the latter contained vases 'of an inferior description'. Another, which had a chamber of squared masonry and comprised several burials, proved more interesting; according to Thiersch's note in the Calvert Collection catalogue it was by the strand. In the fill were found several vases, including a plastic one in the form of an almond, and on the floor sixty vases (including blue and yellow glass vessels), an iron spearhead, and two corroded coins. Thiersch describes as from this tomb Red Figure jugs and a 'Milesian' trefoil-mouthed oenochoe (no. 423 in his catalogue) with two pairs of confronting ducks, which seems from the photograph to be East Greek late orientalizing (probably of the early sixth century). Calvert also mentions as from this tomb a trefoil-mouthed jug with three figures in Red Figure and an incised inscription.¹ Other objects in the collection from Calvert's excavation at Besik * Tepe, not necessarily from the same grave, were two small jugs nos. 424-5 (one in grey ware), a striped ring vase no. 427 (probably sixth-century), an Attic black-glaze bowl no. 428 with stamped palmettes of the early fourth century, and terracottas nos. 431-3, including a throned Cybele with a lion's skin over her breast and a kantharos in her hand. These finds give a range at least from the early sixth to the early fourth century for the burials outside the site.

We picked up potsherds on the site which enable us to extend the occupation a little further. The archaic and classical pottery was of very fair quality, though on the whole our samples did not yield distinctive shapes. We noted a handle of an amphora or hydria with stroke decoration, probably late-seventh-century, a fragment of a bowl of bird-bowl type of similar date, a bit of Black Figure with a bird (PLATE 22c lower right), and one or two scraps which looked seventh-century. The black glaze, Mr. Sparkes tells us, is mainly fifth-century, with skyphoi of both Corinthian and Attic type and a cylix foot; one or two fragments look

1 On neck and foot **†OTPINAE** (in the British Museum, 1877. 9-30. 40).

fourth-century, but nothing later. An amphora stamp found on the site (PLATE 22*d*) was identified by Dr. Virginia Grace as of a type reading ΑΓΠΙΕΙΑ, of which (she kindly told me) there are a couple of examples in the Agora, one (S 11390) coming from a deposit which does not seem to run down later than 340 B.C.¹

There were also fragments of prehistoric. Among our samples Mr. Mellaart noted two sherds of dark burnished ware of Troy I-II date and a bit of Late Bronze Age grey ware with wavy line ornament.

Liman Tepe is marked on the French maps north of the Tuzla Çay, though Gell and Hobhouse seem to have had a mound of that name on the coast opposite Tenedos (above, p. 193). The site was discovered by Calvert on the same journey as Besik * Tepe. As he says, it is of the same formation, but 'comparatively much less striking'. He measured the crest as 320 by 350 paces, and remarked 'some foundations of buildings and the usual black glazed pottery' on top; and he learned that several stone coffins had been dug up by peasants to the north-east of the site.² The crest is lower than Besik Tepe, and the slope towards the beach is gentler (PLATE 25*a*). Visiting the site 100 years after Calvert, we saw no remains on top except a rough rubble house wall exposed in a pit, but we noted that on this relatively small site the traces of classical occupation continue along the edges of the hill. The little iskele used for shipping valonia is in sheltered water some hundreds of metres to the south; but if, as seemed to us likely, the sea in antiquity came further in, there could have been a little sheltered harbour under the end of the hill.

We noted fragments of red wall plaster as on the Balli* Dag* and Ophryneion sites, and fourth-century tile. The earliest Hellenic sherds we saw were a scrap of a glazed tankard of an eighth-century type and a striped fragment that looked distinctly Geometric; here we feel that we are definitely back before 700 B.C. Among the archaic we recognized bits of a Chian wine jar of about 600 B.C. and of a plain 'Naucratic' chalice. Classical wares are abundant; and here again the black glaze, Mr. Sparkes tells me, is mainly fifth-century, with fragments of skyphoi and a stemless cup foot; he also identified a fourth-century one-handled cup fragment. Other classical sherds included a worn scrap of Red Figure and a fifth-century lamp rim. At first sight Hellenistic seemed to be lacking on the site, as at Besik Tepe. But we picked up two small scraps of what could be eastern red glaze of later Hellenistic date and

¹ For the type, A.M. and A. Bon, *Timbres amphoriques de Thasos* (1957), no. 2125 (not Thasian). I have since noted one at Iasus, D. Levi, *Ann.* xliii-xliv (1965-6), 561, no. 55, fig. 6.

² *Arch. Journal* xviii (1861) 253 ff.; quoted by Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 225. Leaf missed the site through taking the wrong road; we did the same in 1966.

a bit of an open vase of West Slope ware with drops in thinned clay (PLATE 64*d* top centre). This creates a doubt whether occupation at Liman Tepe came to an end after the foundation of the new city at Alexandria Troas. But certainly, if (as we believe) there is Hellenistic there, it is very slight in quantity compared with the archaic and classical.

Here again there was prehistoric occupation. Among my samples Mr. Mellaart saw nothing of Troy I or II but found Early Bronze Age III wares; and Dr. Bayne has remarked an early-middle Troy VI bowl handle and other bowl fragments of second-millennium grey ware, with a red-ware stem possibly from an imitation of a Mycenaean cylix.

In Kösedere village we saw two bronze coins that were expressly said to have been found on Liman Tepe; unlike the other bronzes we saw in Kösedere (above, p. 214) these two were Greek city coins (PLATE 24*a-b*). One (19 mm. diam.) is of Hamaxitus or Alexandria Troas (if of the former, as *BMC* 3 but larger). The other, identified by Mr. G. K. Jenkins, is of one of the places called Ptolemais that L. Robert has made his own: 20 mm., *obv.* head of Apollo r.; *rev.* amphora or crater with bird 1. on groundline [ΙΙΤ]ΟΛΕ[ΜΑΙΕΩΝ]. Though ascribed to Ptolemais-Lebedos in the catalogues,¹ this particular rare issue with the name written out in full still seems to be homeless.²

It would be pointless to recapitulate all the arguments for the location of Coloniae and Larisa, because Calvert's discoveries of 1859 virtually resolved the problem. We may pass over Schliemann's over-enthusiastic claim to have found a city site at Kösedere, and remark simply that Calvert alone knew what classical city sites look like; by comparison his successors have been gropers in the dark. Of the three classical cities known to us on the coast between Alexandria Troas and Cape Lekton, there can be no doubt that Hamaxitus lay near the Smintheum and so further south than Liman Tepe; and, as Calvert realized, the two sites that he found must be Coloniae and Larisa. The only possible doubt remaining is which is which.

The ancient texts which mention these classical cities here vary in the order of their citation, and the relative position of Larisa and Coloniae has consequently been a matter of debate. In identifying Besik * Tepe as Coloniae and Liman Tepe as Larisa, Calvert was following Ps.-Scylax's order; but the German cartographers and Judeich followed the order of citation in Diodorus and reversed the positions of the two. It seems

¹*Syll. Numm., Danish Nat. Mus., Ionia*, pl. 18, no. 790; *von Aulock, Ionien* no. 2026.

² L. Robert, *BCH* lxx (1946), 516 ff.; cf. other references for the Ptolemais issues in his *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 16 n.

2. The as yet undisclosed provenience that Robert has at his disposal is apparently for a Ptolemais-Lebedos coin.

possible to decide the matter summarily without recourse to all the testimonia and arguments (they can be found in detail in L. Robert's *Études de numismatique grecque* (1951) between pages 36 and 64).¹ Strabo gives the distances of these places from Troy: (xiii. 589, § 19) Ilion-Colonae 140 stades, (xiii. 620) Ilion-Larisa 200 stades, (xiii. 613, § 63) the naustathmos-Hamaxitus barely a third of 700 stades. This in itself is decisive in favour of Calvert's arrangement, and

Strabo also twice speaks of Larisa as *κατὰ Ἀμαξιτόν*. Further, while Diodorus is not committed to a geographical arrangement, Ps.-Scylax is naming the places in sequence for the benefit of mariners; and his order in the *Periplus* (95), coming down the coast, is Colonae-Larisa-Hamaxitus. Finally, hot springs are mentioned by Athenaeus (ii. 43) at the Trojan Larisa, and the hot springs known in this region are the spectacular ones at Tuzla which were mentioned by

Strabo and other writers under the name Tragasae (below, pp. 222 ff.).² In fact the name *Τραγασαί* is restored in place of MSS. *Παγασαί* with a great degree of probability in Athenaeus' text at this point; but even without the emendation, Athenaeus' mention of the hot springs at Larisa is sufficient ground for placing Larisa close to Tuzla, and so at the Liman Tepe site. Against this overwhelming array of testimonia only strong evidence from the archaeological side could make any impression. But in fact that evidence also is on the side of Calvert. He himself found one of the rare coins of Colonae on the Besik * Tepe site; and it was at the village of Kösedere, in whose territory Liman Tepe lies, that Schliemann later saw bronzes of Larisa (above, p. 214).³

Greek Colonae and Larisa both occupied sites that were inhabited in prehistoric times. The earliest Hellenic occupation we have noted is of the eighth century. We have already considered their political status down to the fourth century (above, pp. 196 ff.), and from the point of view of history they have formed a pair. But after the fourth century they cease to be so. At Aktasovasi* Colonae was too close to Alexandria Troas to maintain any physical existence in the new synoecism. Klarisa, on the other hand, did not entirely disappear. The list of Delphic thearodokoi (hosts of the theoroi on their rounds), dated about 200 B.C.,

1 See also Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 223-6, 246-8; he follows Calvert and treats the problem with good sense.

2 The only other hot springs on this coast are those of the Kaplica* (above, p. 203); but to a Hellenistic or Roman writer they would have been at Alexandria Troas, not Larisa.

3 The only other bronze of Colonae with a provenience is ours in Bayramiç (below, p. 311, PLATE 23a). For the general Troadic origin see L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 81 n. 7. Bronzes of the Troadic Larisa are not quite so uncommon. Schliemann saw (and correctly attributed) specimens at Ezine (*Troja* 339) as well as at Kösedere, and one was found in the Assos excavations; and we have seen specimens in Halileli (p. 65, PLATE 3c, 4) and Bayramiç (p. 311, PLATE 23b). For this coinage and its attribution, which he re-established against the numismatists, see L. Robert, *op. cit.* 47 ff. (with a mention also of a couple of silver coins).

names Hamaxitus and Larisa on this coast after Gargara (see below, p. 342); and this could also be the Larisa which sent theoroi to Samothrace about the same time.¹ From the evidence of the surface pottery at Liman Tepe there is not likely to have been any substantial habitation on the site in Hellenistic times. But we found at least one potsherd that would seem to date from the period after 300 B.C.; and one, if not both, of the coins we saw from the site must belong to the period after the synoecism. When first I saw the coin with the vase on the reverse I took it to be of Larisa itself (whose reverse type is an amphora). And the coincidence is remarkable. But with so little evidence on the ground and no support from the ancient authorities it would be a bold man who would claim this coin as evidence of a third-century refoundation of Larisa under the name Ptolemais.² We must, however, assume that there was at least a hamlet here preserving the old name and capable of giving lodging or a meal to the Delphic theoroi. At Hamaxitus the change of status was accompanied by a change of site (below, pp. 234 f.). But at Larisa we saw no alternative position to Liman Tepe.

6

The Coast to Lekton

Nearly a score of the travellers have visited this corner of the Troad; and what most impressed them there was the springs at the foot of the gorge by the village of Tuzla. The saltpans which gave the village its name lay on the flat ground on to which the stream flows. There is a fertile plain between them and the sea; Leaf speaks of it as six miles long and four miles broad, but we should reduce the estimate of the length at least. To the south the ground slopes up to the plateau behind Cape Lekton (below, pp. 236 ff.). This is a bare country; and trees, where they occur, are pines. Leaf regarded the Tuzla plain as the gateway to the interior of the Troad;³ it might be better to call it a cul-de-sac, for the road (both ancient and modern) avoids the Tuzla Çay gorge and goes over the plateau behind Kulahli *.

1 P.M. Fraser, *Samthrace* ii. 1, 66 f., no. 23. Fraser prefers Larisa Phriconis in the Southern Aeolis; but it is not clear that it had continued to exist, and the question must remain open. See also my note on coins from Buruncuk in *BSA* lxiii (1968), 33 ff.

2 L. Robert has suggested that at the time of the Delphic list Larisa and Hamaxitus were independent of Alexandria Troas, or alternatively were cities united with it in a sympolity (*Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 34 f.). But this is not cogent. The theoroi must obviously at times have had to break their journeys at places that did not have city status; and in this case Alexandria Troas could well have been more than one day's journey from Lesbos or the south coast of the Troad. So the appearance of Hamaxitus and Larisa in the list does not necessarily mean that they were cities. The decisive evidence is that of Strabo, who speaks with the authority of Demetrius of Scepsis in the first half of the second century B.C.; in xiii. 604, § 47, he refers to these town as being synoecized in Alexandria Troas, which (he says) possessed their territory, and in xiii. 613, § 63, to there being no place called Killa at Chrysa-Hamaxitus ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χώρα .

3 *Troy* (1912), 207, for once approved by L. Robert (*Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 65 n. 8).

The village of Tuzla, at the foot of a ravine between the springs and the former saltpans, is evidently old. The name occurs in Piri Re'is (about 1520), and the grand mosque with its cypresses (PLATE 19a) must be of great age (Schliemann supposed that it was originally a Byzantine church, but we did not notice a cruciform plan). In the 1573 fiscal survey Kizilca * Tuzla is the name of the nahiye which comprises the southern Troad; and the same name is recorded, along with Mahram (Behram), in connection with the Ottoman annexation of 1335. The epithet presumably applied to the red rocks from which the springs issue. Tuzla appears as a kaza in a document of the late sixteenth century (above, p. 10). The salt was still being worked at the time of Leaf's visit (1911); and as late as 1881 Diller spoke of the plain as fertile.¹ But in the same year Schliemann remarked only 30 houses in the village; in 1910 Reinach complained that it was reduced to a wretched hamlet, and in the 1940 census the population was 112. In 1959 we were told that the village had been deserted because of malaria; and certainly the mosque was in full decay. But the population was said to be returning, houses were being repaired, and a thermal establishment with a long row of cubicles was opened by the Vali in July of that year. This revival was no doubt connected with the settlement of Turkish refugees from Roumania, who have built a new mahalle a distance away from the stream. By 1966 the old village looked in better shape, the minaret had been reclaimed from the storks and capped,² and the derelict mosque had been provided with a furnished annexe (PLATE 19a). The plain was also being intensively cultivated again.

Pullan saw mouldings from the Smintheum in the cemetery of Tuzla,³ and Schliemann noted granite columns which he took for remains of a city of Tragasae there.⁴ He also saw ancient marble slabs built into the stairs and walls of the mosque. In 1959 we found a carved floral panel and two hitherto unknown Roman cursus inscriptions in the pavement under the great dome (below, pp. 411 f., nos. 49-50). It is at first sight surprising that they remained so long unnoticed; either the floor was covered with carpets or infidels were not encouraged to enter the mosque.

Above Tuzla village on the north is a steep isolated hill marked as Tuzla Tepe on the GS map, with an elevation of 323 m. As we were leaving the village in 1959 we were told that two Germans had recently

¹*Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 200. Prokesch saw it under cultivation in 1826, though the crop had fallen a prey to locusts (as it must also have done in 1881, which Schliemann's 'Reise' shows as a great year for locusts). Leaf in 1911 noted the plain as uncultivated, with deep grass like an English meadow (*Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 33, *Troy* (1912), 207); no doubt it would have been used for grazing.

²In Schliemann's time the müezzín had to stoop so as not to disturb the nest on the minaret; in 1959 none ascended.

³*Antiquities of Ionia* iv (1881), 47.

⁴*Troja* (1884), 313.

climbed it and that there were Byzantine remains there. We later discovered that Hunt and Carlyle ascended it in 1801 and saw some slight traces of building on the way up;¹ but it seems doubtful whether they were the foreigners referred to (at Hisarönü in the Carian Chersonese a 'recent' visit which was related to us with much circumstantial detail in 1960 turned out to be that of Benndorf in 1892; but in that case his baggage had evidently been such as to merit a permanent place in local folk memory).

The salt springs are a few minutes up the gorge from the village. Where they break out the rock face consists of red and yellow strata of volcanic debris, mixed with blue tints.² The water leaks out freely. But at one point by the stream a single jet leaps up at the foot of the rock. It was described in 1801 as being of some feet before it fell to the ground (Hunt), arm-thick and shooting forward man-high in 1816 (Richter), 1·57 m. long and 34 cm. broad at the base in 1849 (Tchihatcheff), apparently only 40 cm. high in 1881 (Schliemann) but 4 ft. in 1882 (Jebb), reduced to 18 ins. (as was said, through interference by mischievous children) when Leaf saw it in 1911; it was not much better in 1959, but it was wrist-thick and woman-high in 1966, when we also saw a second jet not much inferior. Wishing to ascertain the temperature Tchihatcheff plunged his two thermometers in turn into the jet. Both instantly burst; and the recollection of this mishap deterred Leaf from exposing his to a like fate. To judge by the steam Schliemann is right in saying that this spring is boiling; Jebb remarked the feathers of chickens which the villagers had boiled there.³ Cuinet (about 1890) reported the temperature of the springs as varying between 80 and 90°C., but he gives no authority for his statement.⁴ Schliemann records the temperatures of other springs here; his account suggests that there are more springs in the vicinity than we know of.

There is at least one cold spring in the gorge nearby; its water is fresh. In 1959 the hot springs were said locally to be both salt and fresh; but in 1966 we were told that the hot ones were only salt. We cannot say what the truth of the matter is. The hot springs of Athenaëus at the Trojan Larisa are cited in a list of fresh springs (ii. 43; above, p. 220); and this accounts for the reluctance of some scholars to restore the name *Τρῳαῖα* in his text there.⁵

¹ Hunt's observations at Tuzla in Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 132 f.

² Diller in *Report 1881* 198. Cf. also Tchihatcheff, *Asie mineure* i, *Géographie physique comparée* (1853), 335 f., with a drawing (and iv, *Géologie* (1867), 20-4, which I have not seen); Schliemann, *Troja* (1884), 312 f.

³ *Fortnightly Review*, N.S. xxxiii (1883), 525.

⁴ *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 708. He also speaks of the jet as 10 cm. thick and over a metre high.

⁵ Cf. especially L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 59 ff.

The hot stream from the main springs flows through the village of Tuzla to where the saltpans used to be. In late June (1816) Richter spoke of it forming a salt lake at the exit of the gorge; half of the lake was like ice, the other half divided by earth dams into many small pools; in August, he says, the water would have evaporated, and the salt would remain to be collected.¹ Schliemann saw nobody at work there in May 1881; but Leaf's photograph, taken in May 1911, shows the pans under water, and a great pile of the collected salt with two trains of camels waiting to take their loads.² Cuinet, who gives figures of the number of pans and reservoirs, says that the saline occupied 60 sq. km.; but this would cover the whole plain, which was in fact cultivated at the time. Annual production figures are given by Hunt (100,000 bushels of fine white salt), Tchihatcheff (18,000-20,000 kilos (at 44 okes) of finest white salt), and Cuinet (1,558,307 kg. of brown³ salt). In Tchihatcheff's time the concession was let to private speculators, but in 1801 (Hunt) it was rented by Hadimoglu * of Bayramiç.

Salt production here is of long standing. In a recent article Dr. Lütü Güçer has cited early-sixteenth-century references to this tuzla which show that the farming of the state monopoly was bringing in a very substantial revenue.⁴ The salt is spontaneously produced, in that the stream brings it to the plain, and sun and wind dry it out. The identification with the ancient Tragasae therefore admits of no doubt;⁵ for after speaking of Chrysa and the Smintheum Strabo goes on to mention, as inside Lekton and close to Hamaxitus, 'the Alesian plain, which is not large, and the saline of Tragasae, which is automatically fixed by the etesian winds'.⁶ The salt of Tragasae in the Troad, as the references cited by Leaf show,⁷ was of more than local reputation in antiquity; and Lysimachus put a tax on it, but production ceased until he lifted it. From the passage of Strabo just cited and two similar entries in Stephanus Byzantius we learn that the ancient

name of the Tuzla plain was τὸ Ἀλήσιον (or Ἀλήσιον) πεδῖον .⁸

1 *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (1822), 470 f.

2 *Strabo on the Troad*, pl. 15a, p. 246.

3 It is of course white.

4 `XV-XVII Asirlarda* Osmanli* Imparatorlugunda* Tuz Inhisari* ve Tuzlalarin* Isletme* Nizami'*, *Istanbul* Üniv. İktisat* Fak. Mecmuasi** xxiii (1962-3), 104 (720 göleks (presumably pools) held by 14 reises in 1531/2) and 130 (annual revenue of 383,393 aspers in 1521/2).

5 The identification in modern times goes back to Lechevalier (*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 4).

6 xiii. 605, § 48,

χωρὶς γάρ καὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον πεδῖον οὐ μέγα ἐντὸς τοῦ Λεκτοῦ καὶ τὸ Τραγασαῖον
ἀλοπήγιον αὐτόματον ταῖς ἐτησίαις πηγνύμενον πρὸς Ἀμαξιτῶ

7 *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 247 f.

8 The MSS. variants in Strabo and the form Ἀλσιον in Steph. Byz. s.v. Τραγασαί may be corrected with certainty because the primary entry Ἀλήσιος in Steph. Byz. is fixed in his alphabetical arrangement.

The principal monument in the Tuzla plain is the Roman bridge discovered by Prokesch in 1826.¹ It stands about 4 km. west of Tuzla where the plain is contracted by a spur running northward from the direction of Kulahli *. The line of the roadway on the bridge runs 20° east of north. The bridge is illustrated in FIG. 10 and PLATES 26-28a. While we were studying it in 1966 a flock of goats arrived from the stubble fields in the heat of the afternoon; and this fact, coupled with the deep hollowing of the spaces underneath, prompted us to attribute the preservation of the arches to the lack of any other shade in the plain.

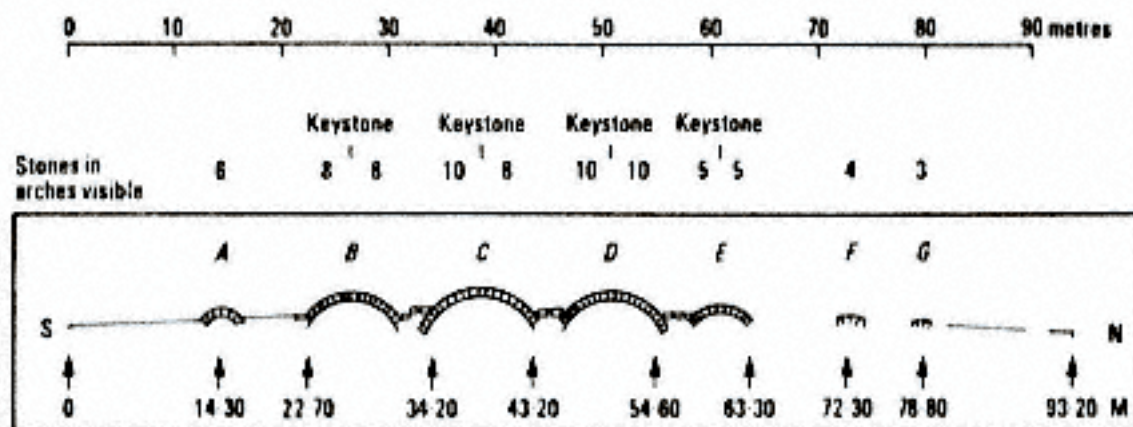


Fig. 10.
Roman Bridge in Tuzla Plain

The river bed, with pools but no flow in August, lies only a few metres north of the ramp of the bridge. We did not doubt that this is the present main bed. But Prokesch and the Assos mission put the river 200 m. or more further north.² We thus seem to have evidence of more than one change in the course of the Tuzla Çay here. The ancient name of the river is not known with certainty; it will be considered in connection with Assos (below, pp. 245 f.).

The drawing FIG. 10 is the best we could do without a level. We were three or four hours on the spot, with several people at work and a 20 m. tape. Many of our measurements differ greatly from Prokesch's. We feel justified in preferring our own, because on the day on which he examined the bridge Prokesch inspected other remains and villages and did over seven hours hard riding, and he had no colleague to help him. Assuming that the ends of the ramp that we saw were the original bridge ends, the over-all length was about 93 m.; and nearly 70 m. of this was carried on arches. The apex of the central arch C seems to rise about 30 cm. higher than its neighbours. The depth of the arch stones is

¹ His account of it in his *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 363 f. Michaud and Poujoulat passed near enough to count four arches in 1830.

² J.T. Clarke, *Report 1881* 130, Lawton, *ibid.* 164, Diller, *ibid.* 200. Prokesch noted a swampy depression at the north end of the bridge; so our present bed must be an old one.

65 cm. Unfortunately, we were unable to feel any of the piers from which the arches spring. The stones on the face of the arches were lightly drafted on the edges. The material seems to be limestone throughout.

The over-all width of the bridge is 6·40-6·50 m. On the soffit of the arches the courses are composed of three, four, or five blocks, the maximum length of a single block being 2·70 m. As the photographs show, each of the main arches has a continuous 'vertical' joint nearer to the west than the east side (staggered in arch C); this presumably reflects the width of the centring. The stones of the arches have dowel holes on top. The sloping ramps at either end have a sunken trough about 30 cm. broad on their west side, perhaps to receive parapet blocks.

About ten minutes' ride north of the bridge Prokesch passed a pretty çiftlik called 'Tarlatschemir' (presumably after the bridge, or 'kemer', in the fields); columns and other architectural pieces were sticking out of the ground here and there. At what would seem to be about 1 km. south of the bridge he noted an ancient building in the plain which we have not seen because we did not know of it in time. He speaks of walls whose foundations formed a square of 156 ft. with the east side bowshaped, and of some marble columns inside. This, he suggests, was a hospitium on the Roman road. The position is of course hardly more than 5 km. from the Smintheum, which was a station on the route in the Tabula Peuteringiana. Somewhere in the hills on the south edge of the plain Reinach in 1910 saw a ruined village called Kizilkoy *, where he noted a few carved blocks, apparently from a Byzantine church.¹

The plateau east of Cape Lekton (Baba Burnu) will be described in the chapter on the south coast (pp. 236 f.), and we may now take the two remaining villages that belong to the west coast. Kulahli*, a nahiye with the official name (now becoming prevalent) of Gulpinar*, was relatively little visited by the travellers. The name seems to have been variously rendered on copies of Kauffer's map (Kura, Kuran, and Kurali) with the result that Choiseul-Gouffier found different names in Kauffer and Gell and marked two separate villages (Kuran and Keur-Ali) on his chart.² The name does not appear in the 1573 survey. Michaud speaks of 'Kiolaflî' with perhaps 100 Moslem families,³ Prokesch of 'Tschulafli', Spratt of 'Kulagli', subsequent travellers of

¹*Rev. épigr.*, N.S. ii (1914), 38 ff. for his observations in this region. His village may have a successor in the Kizilkeçili* of the GS map (97 inhabitants in the 1940 census).

²*Voyage pittoresque* ii (1809), pl. 8 bis. Choiseul-Gouffier's other source for village names in this corner of the Troad (Narla, Tchebna, and Evidjek) is Dallaway, who misleadingly remarked that he landed near Cape Baba (*Constantinople Ancient and Modern* (1797), 323 f.), when in fact Narli*, where his and Morritt's overland journey began, is over 50 km. to the east.

³*Correspondance d'Orient 1830-1831* i (1833), 340.

`Kulakli'. We were told on the spot that the name is from `külâh' (= pointed cap), not `kulak' (= ear); and J.T. Clarke's form `Kinlaclee' (evidently a misprint for `Kiulaclee' with the first vowel modified)¹ suggests that this was the true form in the nineteenth century. The 1940 census population was 552; in 1959 we were told that there were 300 houses. The village lies along the slope 100-150 m. above the sea, with gardens and fruit trees below and the bare hillside above. It is the only place in the Troad where we remember hearing jackals at night, and we note that this also is where Michaud and Poujoulat heard them.²

Various ancient stones and inscriptions have been noted at the village. We saw a badly worn small grave relief with a couple holding hands, two small Corinthian capitals, and some inscriptions (below, pp. 412 f., nos. 51, 53, and 55). The pieces that belong to the Smintheum will be mentioned later. We saw some Roman and Byzantine coins, including several colonial bronzes of Alexandria Troas; also, Bean notes, bronzes of Elaia? (*obv.* prow of ship with head and neck of serpent, *rev.* ΕΛΑΙ in wreath, fourth-third century B.C.), Adramyttion (*BMC* 7-8, first century B.C.), Parium (Augustus, *BMC* 86-8), and Chios (*BMC* 140, third century after Christ). One bronze with *rev.* lyre that I elsewhere noted (in Ezine?) as said to have come from Gulpinar * (Kulahli*) was probably of Hamaxitus.

The route from Kulahli to Baba skirts the bay of Ak Liman and then keeps above the sea to descend on to the low rocky headland. Schliemann speaks of it as a narrow path along rocks overgrown with juniper, oak bushes, and pines, and certainly it does not take carts; but in parts there is a modern kaldirim 5 m. broad, which helps to justify Leaf's description of it as a wide bridle-path roughly paved with large stones. We were told in 1959 that it had recently been repaired. The harbour at Baba seems to have been a terminal for camel-borne merchandise in the nineteenth century and steamers called there. It is protected by a mole of rough boulders where there is shelter from the north wind under the lee of the cape.³ In 1959 there were eight fishing boats belonging to Baba.

The cape is the Santa Maria of the Italian sea charts. In Piri Re'is (of 1520) it is called Emek Yemez Burnu; but the name Baba is at least as old as 1550, being referred to the tomb of a Moslem saint to whom food offering were thrown into the sea by passing sailors.⁴ The cape is called Karanlik* Burnu on the GS map. The fort on the point was apparently

1 Clarke was very conscientious in his English transliteration of Turkish names.

2 Chandler remarked them at Alexandria Troas; and they are reported in the Kaz Dag*. Our notes from the travellers are not likely to be complete.

3 Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), pl. 12a, and p. 228 for the path.

4 See F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (1929), 344 ff.

built in 1726.¹ We were told that there is no water at or near Baba and that the fountain is supplied by clay pipe from a source some kilometres away. The village of Baba Kale is presumably not older than the fort. It seems to have been Turkish, with hardly any Greeks (a baker and a wineshop keeper in 1830 (Michaud) and a single Greek merchant (Clarke) in 1881). But it acquired a reputation for the manufacture of knives and daggers which impressed the travellers from von Riedesel in 1768 to Leaf in 1911. To Riedesel Baba was a little Turkish village, but a generation later it is spoken of as a very small town (Olivier in 1792) and a *gros bourg* (Choiseul-Gouffier). Michaud in 1830 reckoned 2,000 inhabitants; but this sounds excessive in comparison with the 200 houses of Prokesch (1826) and H. Kiepert (1842) and the 150 of Schliemann (1881). The 1940 population was 398. Gell gives views of Baba Kale on the cape.²

We saw two or three ancient stones in the village of Baba Kale;³ but we could not find anything ancient among the abundant modern potsherds there. Prokesch and Leaf assumed that the mole goes back to Hellenic times, and the latter took the harbour at Baba to be the terminal of the road from which the ancient town of Hamaxitus received its name. But this was of course linked to his belief that Hamaxitus was at the cape. As we shall see below, Hamaxitus was up the coast near the modern Kulahli *; and it seems to have had its own harbour there rather than a carriage-way connecting it to a port at Cape Lekton. We do not believe that there is an ancient site at Baba; the situation would have been a most uninviting one for early Greek settlers. The harbour also is an unsafe one in a south wind; Gell remarked this in November 1801 and sailed on to Tenedos, and in October 1830 Michaud's captain would not remain there in windy weather.

The Smintheum was closely associated in antiquity with Hamaxitus, on whose coins the statue of Apollo Smintheus appears.⁴ Lechevalier first remarked the ruins of a temple as he travelled in 1785 from Baba to Alexandria Troas. But to Spratt goes the credit of identifying it in 1853.⁵ Pullan spent three or four days examining the remains in 1861 and returned to excavate the site for the Dilettanti Society in the autumn

¹ So Schliemann, *Troja* (1884), 314, from inscriptions on the fort and fountain (year 1140 of the Hegira). Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten* iii. 360, speaks of the fort as being about 240 ft. square with corner bastions for cannon. It seems commonly to have had a garrison in the nineteenth century.

² *Topography of Troy* (1804), vignette on p. 21, pl. 4.

³ For the Altar of the Twelve Gods see below, p. 237.

⁴ For the Smintheum generally see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 226, 240 ff. For its inscriptions see especially L. Robert, *Anat. Studies* Buckler (1939), 245 n. 1 (= *Opera Minora selecta* (1969), 629); cf. *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 39 f. n. 4.

⁵ His account of his discovery communicated by Leake in *Transactions Royal Soc. Literature*, Second Series v (1856), 236 ff.

of 1866. After two months' work he was able to restore the temple on paper, with some uncertainties in detail, as a 40 m.-long Ionic pseudo-dipteron of 8 by 14 columns; and his findings were published in *Antiquities of Ionia*.¹ What was not revealed quite so clearly by Pullan was the exact position of the foundation that he excavated. Subsequent scholars seem to have looked for it where Spratt's description would lead them, on the level ground at the foot of the slope under the north end of the village; Leaf noted some 'rather large walnut trees' there and went so far as to assert that Pullan never cleared the ground! We could not see anything *in situ* but understood from the villagers that the position is among the gardens on the slope between the end of the village and where Leaf looked. We saw there various architectural and sculptured pieces that were known to Pullan, and the villagers told us of a stone pavement and other constructions under the surface of the ground. In 1966 H. Weber examined the remains, and located the temple at a dairy and oil mill belonging to Ali * Sengoren*, apparently on this slope.² Though below the village, the temple was not in low ground. The altitude has been given as 27 m. on the maps, the result presumably of a misprint in Schliemann;³ 127 m. would seem reasonable.

Unfortunately, not much survives of the architectural remains studied by Pullan. Weber has published the best-preserved capital of the main order and a number of pieces of the sculptured frieze; for these it is sufficient to refer to his description and photographs. To his photographic supplementation of Pullan's drawings we can add pictures of a surviving column base (PLATE 29a-b),⁴ and of a piece of Pullan's 'cymatium with a beautiful honeysuckle ornament on it' (PLATE 29d).⁵ The temple seems from its architecture to be middle Hellenistic, but its exact relationship to Hermogenes is not fully clarified. In the light of his study of the surviving pieces, and especially of the frieze sculptures, Weber proposes a date about the end of the third century B.C.

A battered capital, apparently from the main order of the temple, is to be seen in a field at Çelen Baglari* 1 km. or more from the village on the right of the road that leads down the valley towards Tuzla. Beside it are some squared stone blocks and a marble bucranium base about 90 cm. across (PLATE 29c), with a socket (33 by 43 cm.) in the top, which is similar to the one on the base just mentioned. In 1959 we saw

1 iv (1881), 40 ff.; additional notes published by Lethaby in v (1915), 30 ff. Pullan's observations on his first visit in C. Texier and Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor* (1865), 17 f.

2 *Istanbul Mitteilungen* xvi (1966), 100 ff., pls. 13-16.

3 *Troja* 314 (148 m. for the top of the village, 27 m. for the temple).

4 In the flat ground below the assumed site of the temple. The socket on top is 46 cm. on the side with a deeper circular socket in the middle. Weber discusses the base, and finds the socket unintelligible (op. cit. 107). The lower torus has evidently been chiselled away.

5 Seen in 1959 in the assumed temple area on the slope.

an inscription honouring an athlete (below, p. 414, no. 54) in this field, but it has since been brought up to the village. These stones (but not the inscribed one) were noted by Spratt in a position that he called the 'toe of the ridge' on the edge of the Tuzla plain, which evidently was the same spot. Pullan on his first visit seems to have seen a wall there, which he took for part of the propylaea,¹ and Reinach saw the carved blocks, together with a votive inscription, and suggested that this was the site of one of the other Sminthia that Strabo refers to.² We saw no evidence for a site at Çelen Baglari *. On the west side of the road nearby there is a fountain in which Reinach noted some stones which are of no great interest. To the west of this a conical hill called Pilav Tepe was pointed out to us; a large built brick tomb was said to have been opened there, and gold and other objects found.

Spratt saw much more than we have done in the flat fields (or, as he says, plateau) at the foot of the slope below the temple. 'Two springs of excellent water [he writes]³ rise on the plateau near the site of the temple, one of which issues from a small cavern. Adjoining the temple are some ruins of a large building of Roman times, with walls formed in part of horizontal courses of brick. Further on is an isolated buttress, belonging to another large building. These two ruins are nearly twenty feet high. There are some indications also of a church and small town scattered over the plateau, but without any appearance of town walls. The situation is in a hollow between two ridges. Upon the western ridge there is a road to the sea-coast, which it meets three or four miles to the northward of Cape Baba. Upon this road are five or six sarcophagi, lying on their sides or half-buried in the soil: they are formed of a dark volcanic rock, a species of trachyte, similar to that of Assos, among the ruins of which ancient city we find it used for the same purpose. On the shore where the road terminates are several fragments of the temple, which have no doubt been brought thus far for the purpose of embarkation, and to be used in some modern building.' This is a circumstantial account by a highly trained observer, and it deserves our confidence. We saw nothing of Spratt's remains on the 'plateau' as we crossed to Besik* Tepe in 1959; and unfortunately, knowing Spratt's account only from Pullan's incomplete citation of him, I missed the opportunity of looking for them in 1966 also. For the history of occupation in this area Spratt's article is of extraordinary interest.

Before leaving the environs of the Smintheum I should note that in the flat fields under the temple site we saw fragments of green and Numidian marble revetment which indicate that a luxurious building must have stood there in Roman times. We also saw the big inscription

¹*Antiquities of Ionia* iv. 44.

²*Rev. épigr.*, N.S. ii (1914), 38 f.

³*Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.* v (1856), 237 f.

p. 413, no. 52 there, and a good deal of Roman pottery, both imperial and Late Roman. In 1959 I picked up a fragment of burnished ware which looked handmade; but the situation seemed so improbable for a prehistoric site that I at once threw it away. A short distance away I picked up a similar sherd, which Mr. Mellaart has dated early in the Early Bronze Age. There was then third-millennium occupation below the later temple site. Possibly there was a mound here which in the course of time has ceased to be conspicuous.

Our main problem at Kulahli * was to find a classical site for Hamaxitus; and it eluded us until we turned our attention to the coastline. It is on a hill called Besik* Tepe north of west from the village, beyond Spratt's 'western ridge' and north of the point on the coast where his road terminated. Like the Larisa and Colona sites it rises from the beach to form an escarpment. The level crest can be seen in the background of PLATE 28*b*, with Spratt's 'western ridge' in front of it; also in PLATE 23*d*, looking north up the coast. The GS map marks it with an altitude of 71 m. The length of the crest (north-south) is over 400 m., the breadth about 180 m. Faint traces of a circuit wall can be discerned on the east side (PLATE 24*d*) and on the south-west. We were told of a deep well on the hilltop. There are traces of ancient habitation below the crest, especially at the north end.

We noted on the site a fragment of fourth-century tile and numerous classical sherds, including Chian and Thasian wine amphorae. Among our glazed samples Mr. Sparkes remarked fragments of Attic cylices and a bell crater (PLATE 22*c* left); these, together with the non-Attic black glaze, he assigns to the fifth and fourth centuries, with nothing of a later date. We found a little striped ware and a fair amount of grey (mostly pale and probably earlier archaic); among the latter are bits of a trefoil-lipped jug, a large bowl, a mug, and a kantharos. Some of this pottery should go well back into the seventh century, if not to the eighth. The little fragment PLATE 22*c* top right seems to be from an orientalized dish with a winged creature painted on the outside. On the evidence of the surface pottery this site, like that of Larisa, could have been more flourishing in the fifth century than in the fourth; but the point is not one to be pressed. It seems to have been unoccupied in prehistoric times and again after the fourth century B.C.

The correspondence between this site and those of Larisa and Colona is perfect. There seems to be no other archaic or classical site in the region, and the identification of Besik Tepe as Hamaxitus can be considered certain.

Nearly 3 km. to the south the coast juts out in a little rocky headland whose appearance is that of an ancient site (PLATE 25*b*, from Besik

Tepe); this is Göz Tepe, to which we shall presently turn. The ground in between does not lack traces of antiquity. On the south slope of Besik * Tepe we saw some squared limestone blocks. On the coast below, my 1959 field notebook remarks an iskele, where I saw a granite and several marble blocks that I assumed to have been brought from the Smintheum for shipment to Constantinople. A short distance to the south I picked up early Roman pottery in the fields. On the rough sketch in my notebook the position of this iskele appears to be nearly halfway between Besik Tepe and Göz Tepe; but my note was that it was just under Besik Tepe, and PLATE 25*b* seems to show it close under the hill. Not knowing of Spratt's article, I did not look for his ancient road. But the blocks from the Smintheum confirm the identification of our iskele with the place where his road terminated.

The crest of Göz Tepe rises steeply from the neck that joins it to the mainland. South of it is the bay of Ak Liman, already so named in Piri Re'is, and the foreland of Gök Tepe along whose flank runs the road to Baba Kale. The situation is very clearly shown in Leaf's photograph from Gök Tepe looking northward.¹ Prokesch in 1826 was assured by a shepherd that there were wall traces on Göz Tepe² and thought it likely to be Hamaxitus; he was followed by the German cartographers (their Gök Tepe). Reinach also placed Hamaxitus there, though he assumed that it was moved up to Kulahli* after the synoecism in Alexandria Troas;³ and Leaf placed Hamaxitus at Göz Tepe in his first publication before he decided on Baba.⁴ We found that the promontory is not much more than 100 m. across. We saw a number of squared stones along the edges as though from a circuit wall, and others on the summit; and we later learned that there is a cistern on the site. There were fragments of Hellenistic tile on the ground and potsherds of Hellenistic types including early red-glaze ware. The site would therefore seem to have been occupied into later Hellenistic times. This would have been a fine situation for a garrison post.

With Hamaxitus now fixed at Besik Tepe, the identification of the Göz Tepe site presents no problem. Strabo (xiii. 604, § 47) speaks of *ἡ νῦν Χρῦσα ἐφ' ὧψους τινὸς πετρῶδους ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένη*, and goes on to say that it is at this Chrysa, as opposed to the one beyond Antandrus, that the Smintheum is.⁵ To this we may add the inscription

¹*Troy* (1912), pl. 23. As Leaf discovered, the German maps give the name Gök Tepe to Göz Tepe; and they are followed by Reinach.

²*Denkwürdigkeiten* iii (1837), 362 ('Tschorschtepe').

³*Rev. épigr.*, N.S. ii (1914), 42 f.

⁴*Troy* (1912), 205 f.

⁵ Strabo, of course, maintained that this was not the Homeric Chrysa, objecting that the sanctuary (the Smintheum) is too far from the sea. Leaf refers this remark to Strabo's Chrysa itself (*Troy* (1912), 230); but Strabo specifically refers to the distance to the sanctuary and repeats the word (xiii. 612).

copied by Leaf and Hasluck at Kulahli *, in which οἱ ἐν Χρύσῃ πολεῖται (citizens, that is, of Alexandria Troas) honour a phrourarch.¹ The site at Göz Tepe must be this Hellenistic Chrysa. The Homeric Chrysa is of course intimately bound to the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus.

Leaf at first regarded Ak Liman as the harbour of the ancient Hamaxitus. But when he transferred Hamaxitus to Baba, he decided that Ak Liman would not after all have made a serviceable harbour for a Greek city; and at that point of his argument he declared it unsuitable for anything more than a small fishing boat.² This of course was a necessary concession, because he had later to argue that the Homeric Chrysa was here and not, as Strabo maintained, beyond Antandrus. But when he came to the second argument he doubtless noticed that what Odysseus was sailing was not a fishing smack but a cattle boat; and so he ended by declaring that Ak Liman was a pretty little bay which 'would afford an ideal haven for Homeric ships'.³ His excellent photograph in *Troy*, pl. 23, makes Ak Liman look a beautiful sheltered bay. But having watched the breakers driving on to the beach on a summer afternoon under the lash of the north wind, I should agree that this is no peaceful haven and am inclined to believe that the ancient harbour of Hamaxitus was in the bay to the north where we noticed the modern iskele. In fact Leaf is not the only authority in this matter. J.T. Clarke in 1881 remarked that near Kulahli 'a small cove, constantly sought by fishing boats, provides good anchorage for vessels of no great draught, and, in most winds, fair shelter'.⁴ No one could speak of Ak Liman as a small cove, and we therefore seem to have additional testimony to the iskele under Besik* Tepe, about which my notes are so inadequate.

With Hamaxitus and its harbour placed at Baba Kale, Leaf was bound to postulate a carriage-way northward from there to justify the ancient name (indeed, it was the paved 'bridle path', coupled with the mole at Baba, that lent attraction to his location of Hamaxitus there). The carriage-way from Baba is now no longer needed; and we may assume that the little harbour under Besik Tepe was the starting point of the early Greek road up the coast northward. It would have been natural for Hamaxitus to receive its name if it was the starting point of the Mitylenaeans' carriage-way. The line of an ancient road up Spratt's 'western ridge' is marked by the sarcophagi that he saw there (above, p. 230). All we now have evidence for is the Roman road of the Tabula Peuteringiana, which we have seen at the bridge over the Tuzla Çay; in

¹ See L. Robert, *BCH* 1 (1926), 501 ff. (= *Opera Minora selecta* (1969), 65 ff.). The πολῖται cannot be citizens of Hamaxitus because a phrase like this must refer to an outlying peripolion or village. The honours seem to have been earned; the inscription speaks of a *coup d'État* and wars.

² *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 227 f.

³ *Ibid.* 314.

⁴ *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 62 n. 1.

the other direction the Roman road will have struck inland from the Smintheum to cross the plateau to Assos.

Of Hamaxitus there is little more to be said. Like Larisa and Colonaë it was presumably a Mitylenaeen settlement of the eighth or seventh century and autonomous from 427 B.C. until the synoecism in Alexandria Troas. In the assessment list of 425 B.C. (above, p. 197) the figures of tribute for the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* are mostly preserved, but the restoration of the names alongside is very uncertain. As they are restored in *ATL*, at this time of great increase in the rates Hamaxitus was assessed at four talents, as against three for Larisa, two for Ilion, and a mere 1,000 drachmae for Colonaë. In any case Hamaxitus would seem to have been a little more substantial than Larisa and Colonaë. It does achieve an epigraphical mention, as a city honouring an official of Antigonos in the years immediately preceding the synoecism.¹ It had the celebrated sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus, for which no less an artist than Scopas made the cult statue. Strabo speaks not only of Hamaxitus as a geographical point of reference but of its territory as constituting a region within the framework of the Troad.² And its fourth-century bronze coins seem to have circulated more widely than those of Larisa and Colonaë: Calvert acquired one at the site of Cebren (below, p. 340), and in the course of our journeys we have seen specimens at Küçük Kuyu (p. 257 n. 3, PLATE 22*b*), Ezine (p. 317), Bayramiç (p. 311), apparently at Akköy (p. 275), and perhaps at Liman Tepe (p. 219, PLATE 24*a*). The name Hamaxitus did not disappear after the synoecism. In fact it appears in the Delphic thearodokoi list of about 200 B.C., together with Larisa. But Hamaxitus was the old city name, and the Delphic record probably had an antiquarian flavour. There is therefore no reason to suppose that Hamaxitus was a separate entity from the Hellenistic Chrysa. The decisive fact is that there is no trace of Hellenistic occupation on Besik * Tepe, and nothing earlier than Hellenistic at Göz Tepe.

The occupational history of this little area is unusually complex and merits more than the two and a half days that we have been able to spend at Kulahli*. The greatest weakness in our study comes from not knowing of Spratt's observations in time. But I also regret not having searched more diligently for the prehistoric site. The two Early Bronze Age sherds we saw were close under the Smintheum; and it seems likely that a cult, perhaps that of the Mouse God, was of very great antiquity there. This would be the Homeric Chrysa with the shrine, situated further from the beach than the narrative in the *Iliad* might seem to

1 See *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 35 n. 1.

2 xiii. 606, § 51, along with the territories of Neandria and Cebren, which were also incorporated in Alexandria Troas.

imply, and so causing more concern to Strabo than to us. The Greek cult of Apollo there was certainly older than Callinus in the mid seventh century; for the story of its institution is quoted from him.¹ The Mitylenaeian settlement on Besik * Tepe dates to the eighth or seventh century and seems to have had no predecessor on that site. With a little harbour on the coast below, it seems to have flourished in a modest way for about four centuries until Antigonos incorporated it in his great new synoecism. In Hellenistic times there was a fort on Göz Tepe which had a garrison and phrourarch in time of stress and is known to Strabo as Chrysa; since that is the only site on which we have seen Hellenistic pottery and tiles, it is to be presumed that citizens (of Alexandria Troas) who were at Chrysa lived at the fortification. In Roman times, however, there was no walled town or village. We have noted some evidence of habitation at the coast near the little harbour south of Besik Tepe. But in later imperial times it seems to have been concentrated on Spratt's 'plateau' under the temple; and it is significant that the name of the Roman road station on the Tabula Peuteringiana is 'Smynthium'. As the Elder Pliny had remarked (*NH* v. 123) 'Zminthium templum durat'. To judge by Spratt's mention of a church on his plateau, settlement there may have continued in Byzantine times, to be succeeded eventually by the Turkish village higher up the mountain slope at Kulahli*.

1 See Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 240 ff.

7

The South Coast

1

West of Assos

The corner of the Troad inland from Cape Lekton is a boulder-strewn trachyte plateau which has been cleared here and there for shallow fields; its height above sea level is 300-400 m. It is seen on the right in the panorama PLATE 30, which is taken from above Pasa * Köy and extends from Katirga* Burnu and Assos (upper left) to the plateau of Lekton and the lower valley of the Tuzla Çay (below right). From Kulahli* a stony road leads over it by way of the villages of Koca Köy (Araplar), Bademli, Koyun Evi, Balabanli*, Bektas*, and Bergaz, whence it descends steadily to Assos.¹ The villages on the upland here have a 1940 census population of 1,772; if we add in the figures for Kulahli and Baba Kale and a couple of very small villages towards the Tuzla Çay, the total population in this corner south of the river was then 2,866. The plateau has a barren appearance; and Poujoulat could not imagine what the Turks of the villages here lived on without field, garden, or corner of earth. But when we asked about crops the villagers assured us that `hepsi var' (*nihil deest*). We know of no ancient remains except the odd granite column, but we have not examined these villages closely.<sup>2</sup> Schliemann gives a good description of the terrain in his `Reise' of 1881; but apart from his `Altar of the Twelve Gods' somewhere in this region he remarked nothing ancient.³ Other travellers add nothing: Poujoulat came this way from Baba Kale in October 1830 because the weather was too bad for sailing to Assos, Pullan rode across the grim upland on a

¹ Balabanli and Bergaz are recognizable in the 1573 fiscal survey, with 38 and 78 adult males respectively; and there is also possibly a `Bektaslar'\* with 8 adult males. Pullan remarked one village (unnamed) on this route in 1861 (C. Texier and R.P. Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor* (1865), 17f.), and Schliemann noted three in 1881 (`Paidenli' = Bademli, Koyun Evi, and Araplar). But they must have passed more, because Poujoulat spoke of five or six in 1830 and named four Araba, Vatabli (Bademli ?), Gouiouvéré (Koyun Evi), and Bergasi (*Correspondance d'Orient* iii (1834), 282).

² The fragment of a pancratiast inscription of the Smintheum (J.R.S. Sterrett, *Papers American School Athens* i (1882-3), 71, no. 47) was found in the wall of the mosque at Bademli (cf. L. Robert, *Anat. Studies Buckler* (1939), 245 ff. = *Opera Minora selecta* (1969), 629 ff.).

³ Troja (1884), 315 f.

grey October day in 1861, and Leaf crossed from Kulahli * to Sivrice in 1911; Jebb and Goodwin, with Calvert, crossed it by night on their way to Assos in 1882.

According to Strabo (xiii. 605) the Altar of the Twelve Gods was reputed to have been set up by Agamemnon and was ἐπὶ τῷ Δεκτῷ . Ascending the highest summit of the plateau Schliemann discovered in the middle of a sheepfold a ruin of massive masonry measuring 5·50 by 4·50 m., with fragments of ancient glazed red ware around, and with a well near by covered with a marble slab; he took the ruin to be the altar. We made inquiries at Koca Köy in 1968 in the hope of rediscovering Schliemann's ruin. But the villagers assured us that nothing remains above ground anywhere here; and the terrain, which is unexpectedly broken and wooded west of Bademli, offers no inducement to a cross-country search. Riza* Ürgüvin, who is well versed in the folklore of the Troad, could tell us nothing about the altar, though the mention of Schliemann's journey there elicited from him the information that he paid 40 kurus* a day for a horse (the interest now lying in the smallness of the sum). There is a high spot called Bakacik* üstü known to the villagers of Koca Köy and marked on the GS map at 3 km. from Baba Kale, which is probably a bluff that I saw west of Carsilik* (see below); but Schliemann took two hours and forty minutes to reach his 'altar' from Baba Kale, so it should be nearer to Lodos. In any case it seems more likely that the altar to which Strabo refers was not on the high plateau at all, but down on the point at Cape Baba.

In general the plateau drains to the Tuzla Çay; for its crest keeps close to the south edge. In the west part between Baba and Aci* Dere the descent to the sea is precipitous, and the coast has not hitherto been inspected. In 1959 we took a boat from Baba to Assos. Three or four kilometres from Baba we put in at the small cove of Carsilik, to which, we were told, some Turkish savant had assigned the name 'Old Chrysa'.¹ There is a spring on the beach, and near by the remains of a house littered with tiles; the place was uninhabited at the time. Our informant, an elderly Cretan Turk from Baba, spoke of ancient remains directly above the cove, and I therefore made the arduous ascent of over 300 m. to the crest. There are terrace-like walls among the thorn and scrub on top, with dull grey potsherds of which all I saw were nondescript save for one amphora handle. There may have been a small settlement here, perhaps of late antiquity. Horses were being grazed there, but I could find no human being to make inquiries of.

The next cove on the east, to which I descended from the crest, is called Maden; it has some olive trees and a spring of cold water under a rock, and our Cretan Turk was attempting to cultivate it. Diller, the

¹ This may possibly be a reflection from scholarly speculations such as Leaf's (below, p. 239).

geologist of the Assos mission in 1881-2, spoke of lignite having been mined ten years previously near 'Point Deváy' (Deve Burnu, i.e. Lodos);¹ and this no doubt explains the name Maden (= mine) here. Lodos (= Notos, South-west) Burnu is not a high or prominent cape, but it divides the landscape and the weather. The summer north wind which sweeps round the coast from Baba ceases here; and in late July, like Olivier at the beginning of September, we met an afternoon northeaster raising splashy water on the way to Assos.² The coast also becomes less bare and precipitous to the east of Lodos, and begins to be pine-forested, with olives and fruit trees in the valleys. Schliemann, who was influenced by his placing of the 'Altar of the Twelve Gods', preferred to regard Lodos rather than Baba as the ancient Lekton; and Judeich has followed him.³ But Baba is much the bolder cape of the two and obviously the main projection of the feature that the ancients called Lekton. About 4 km. east of Lodos there is a more open valley called Aci * Dere, with cultivation on the slopes and an olive-oil factory at the beach; but we saw nothing ancient when we landed there.

Further east there is an ancient site called Asarlik*. It is on a promontory, apparently called Dut (= mulberry) Burnu on the Admiralty chart, between two small coves just outside Sivrice Bay. The site has been visited by J.T. Clarke and Leaf.⁴ Clarke in fact surveyed the ruins and made some excavations. But the report that he promised does not seem to have been printed, and knowledge of the site has been confined to a brief personal communication of his which Leaf published together with his own photograph taken on the site. Just north of the crest, whose altitude is about 25 m. above the sea, a stretch of walling survives, which was presumably intended to defend the citadel from the landward side. The wall is built in a heavy loose polygonal and cannot have been much less than 4 m. thick (we could no longer see the inner face which appears in Leaf's photograph). Its appearance is archaic. On the crest

1 In J.T. Clarke, *Report on Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 194. The Turkish mineral survey reports lignite deposits at Baba Kale (perhaps that mentioned here), and at Kösedere (above, p. 214), Bulçemanköy (not known to us), Sazli* and Ada Tepe on the south coast, and Baharlar and Saraycik* in the interior (C.W. Ryan, *A Guide to the Known Minerals of Turkey* (1960), 155).

2 G.A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman* ii (1804), 207. After passing Baba his ship could not make head up the Musselim channel to round the north-east corner of Lesbos and crossed to Petra instead. In later June (1826) Prokesch von Osten, having set out from Molivo (Methymna) in a small boat for Assos and been delayed for some hours when his seamen sighted a sail, crossed with the wind to Baba (*Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 359 f.). J.T. Clarke spoke of the winds in 1881 as being so strong as to make the crossing from Lesbos impossible after 27 July (*Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 20). Other travellers have spoken of delay in putting out from Molivo to cross the channel.

3 *ÖJh* iv (1901), 116 n. 3, arguing from Strabo's distances.

4 (Clarke) *AJA* (Old Series) iv (1888), 293 n. 5. Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 225 ff., with a view, pl. 24; without the view, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 257 f.

we saw a bell-shaped cistern, and boulders which in the spirit of the times Clarke attributed to a sacred grove. We reckoned the maximum dimensions of the site as 180 m. (north-south) and 110 m. (east-west). Clarke noted traces of a town on a lower shelf on the east.

Potsherds on the site are relatively abundant, and they include prehistoric. Among our samples Mr. Mellaart identified a fragment of grey ware and another of red ware, both handmade, which he assigns to the end of the Early Bronze Age about Troy V. There were other fragments of grey ware, of which one was a second-millennium ridged stem, and one at least seemed archaic, and worked flints. Much of the surface pottery seemed Hellenistic, with occasional later Hellenistic red glaze, but not Roman. The black glaze included fragments identified by Mr. Sparkes as coming from a lid of probably sixth-century date, a fifth-century mug and bolsal, and fourth-century ribbed ware.

Clarke's identification of the site as Polymedion need hardly be questioned. Strabo (xiii. 606) speaks of a *χωρίον* of that name on the coast 40 stades from Lekton and, apparently, 80 from Assos; and again (xiii. 616) he speaks of the coast between Polymedion and Assos as being opposite Methymna in Lesbos. It is true that the Asarlik * site seems in fact to be something over 60 stades from both our Lekton (Baba) and Assos. But the situation opposite Methymna agrees, and there is no alternative sitelet alone one that fits the literary evidence for a town defunct by Roman times. In Pliny the place is called Palamedium,¹ and it was there, on the Aeolic coast opposite Methymna, that Apollonius of Tyana re-erected the fallen statue of the hero Palamedes and made a shrine round it of a size for ten people to make merry in.² While not disputing Clarke's identification, Leaf at one time proposed to locate the Homeric Chrysa here, arguing that Sivrice Bay is the only natural deep-water harbour in the Troad. The contention may in itself be correct; but the need for a deep-water harbour for Homeric ships seems to be overdone, and it is unnecessary to complicate the issue with a third Homeric Chrysa when the known one north of Lekton is provided with bays (above, p. 233); Leaf himself became disenchanted with his own theory after discovering on the spot that the Asarlik site lies outside Sivrice Bay.³

1 *NH* v. 123: (after Assos) 'fuit et Palamedium oppidum. promunturium Lectum disternat Aeolida et Troada. fuit et Polymea (Polymedia civitas v), Chrysa, et Larisa alia'. The word 'Polymea' (pollimea R) before Chrysa in Pliny's text could possibly reflect a misunderstanding of a Greek *πόλιςμα Χρῦσα*, for Polymedion is certainly out of place after Lekton.

2 Philostratus, *Vita Ap. Tyan.* iv. 13 and 16.

3 Cf. his *Troy* (1912), 225-7 (the identification proposed), 228 (the same questioned), *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 257 f. (not mentioned). Curiously, Schliemann, also looking for a harbour, had been led to place the Homeric Chrysa at Assos (*Troja* (1884), 318); but Leaf, following Clarke, needed that site for his Pedasos (below, p. 245).

Sivrice Bay is broad and shelving. Unfortunately we could not spare the time to put in there; but from the sea we saw some good land, an oil factory, and traces of habitation. There is, however, no village, and no road to the place even for jeeps. Nothing ancient has been reported by either Clarke and Diller or Leaf. The Admiralty survey, followed by the *Mediterranean Pilot*, lays down a mole looking like a reef at the east end of the bay; we believed that we could espy it just inside the cape. Clarke, followed by Leaf, expressly declared that it is a reef looking like a mole. This may be so; but we note that Piri Re'is in his *Bahriye* of A.D. 1520 speaks of Sivricepresumably the harbouras having been artificially constructed in ancient time.¹ So it seems to be a matter of Clarke and Leaf versus the two sea captains. We have not met an underwater archaeologist who has been to Sivrice. This bay seems the only possible location for Harmatous, a place on the mainland opposite Methymna where the Spartan fleet of 73 ships under Mindarus stopped for breakfast on their long row to the Hellespont in 411 B.C.²

No remains are known in the olive-clad coastal stretch between Sivrice and Assos.

2 Assos

Assos has a commanding situation on a trachyte ridge that deflects the Tuzla Çay north-westward at the point where it reaches within 1,500 m. of the sea. The ridge appears in the left half of the panoramic view from the north (PLATE 30). Its summit is a flat-topped volcanic plug rising 234 m. above the sea,³ which formed the acropolis of the ancient city (the north-west corner with a long-focal lens, PLATE 31b); and in general it is this dark rock of the middle tertiary that was used for the fortifications and buildings of the city. The descent to the harbour is very steep, the gradient averaging almost one in two.⁴ Clarke's observation in 1881 that the harbour at Assos was driving an increasingly flourishing trade was confirmed by Leaf a generation later.⁵ It did not prepare

1 Ed. P. Kahle (1926), ii. 38.

2 Thuc. viii. 101; cf. Leaf. *Troy* (1912), 231 f. It was here that in 1835 the naval schooner *Mésange* with Texier on board put in after vainly searching for an anchorage along the south coast of the Troad; Texier calls it a 'little' creek (Sivridji Liman), *Déscription de l'Asie mineure* ii (1849), 194; see also Leaf, op. cit. 225 ff.

3 For the geology of Assos and its region see J.S. Diller in J.T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 166 ff. The altitude of the summit was obtained by repeated barometric readings.

4 Ibid., section pl. 5; cf. the photograph in Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), pl. 18b.

5 Ibid. 56, and *AJA* (Old Series) iv (1888), 292; cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* 291. It was not, however, noticed by Schliemann in his journey of the same year (*Troja* 321). In 1816 von Richter remarked a couple of cottages there and three small boats at anchor (*Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* 469 f.), in 1826 there were two magazines and a handsome plane tree (Prokesch von Osten, his *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii. 402). In *Investigations at*

(footnote continued on next page)

us for the discovery in 1959 that there was nobody living there except a single gendarme; and being obliged to carry our baggage up the dizzy path to the ridge we found ourselves in accord with the harpist Stratonikus who quoted the

Homeric line Ἄσσον ἴθ' ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἔκηαι .1 Richter too found the ascent 'beschwerlich', being obliged to go on foot through prickly bushes and scramble up rocks. Remains of the ancient harbour mole were noted by Piri Re'is in 15202 and are marked on the Assos site plan outside the line of the modern one.³ On the landward side the descent to the river is steep, though not precipitous; the GS map shows the 100 m. contour crossing the Tuzla Çay a short distance below the Turkish bridge (PLATE 31a).

Large-scale clearance and excavation was effected by the American expedition under J.T. Clarke in 1881-3, with the result that the public buildings of the Greek city have become well known.⁴ On the other hand, the outer fortifications, though well illustrated in the publications, were only very cursorily discussed. Clarke refers to the accounts of previous visitors to the site;⁵ some of them were quite circumstantial. These travellers were simple observers except for Raoul-Rochette, who followed up Texier's work there and was concerned with the removal of sculptured slabs of the temple to Paris. The fortifications and theatre were in a singularly fine state of preservation until 1864 when the Turkish government constructed a roadway down to the harbour and systematically removed a large part of the ancient blocks.⁶

The main fortifications that ran from the acropolis to enclose the city area on the south and east are faced with good isodomic ashlar, as is shown in the photographs of the west side near the main gate (PLATES

(footnote continued from previous page)

Assos (1902) the photographs on pp. 15 and 70 show about half a dozen buildings and a grain warehouse, with ten boats in the harbour; Clarke (ibid., pp. 6 and 9) refers to a Greek merchant Hadjichrestos and his nephew as apparently resident at the port, and also a Greek baker there. Valonia was brought there on camel back for shipment (below, p. 391). Leaf spoke of the harbour as serving for a fairly active commerce in 1911, and his photograph (his pl. 18b) shows five caiques there.

1 Strabo xiii. 610, 'come closer / come to Assos / if you are in a hurry to meet your end'.

2 Ed. P. Kahle (1926), pp. 38 f.

3 For the ancient harbour cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio* Beih. xiv (1923), 246. For an ancient ship of Assos named 'Asklepios' cf. *BCH* lxxxvi (1962) 609 f.

4 The principal publications are: J.T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), and *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1882, 1883*, Pt. i (1898); J.T. Clarke, F.H. Bacon, and R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (1902-21); J.R.S. Sterrett, 'Inscriptions of Assos', *Papers of American School at Athens* i (1882-3), 1 ff. (74 inscriptions in all). For a brief account with plan and good photographs see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 290 ff.

5 In *Report 1881* 5 ff.

6 *Report 1881* 12 f. Richter, for instance, noted vomitoria of the theatre in 1816; he also saw a dozen well-preserved sarcophagi outside the main gate and a couple among trees north of the bridge, with others in use as troughs (op. cit. 468 f.).

32, 33a, 34a, 35a);¹ and though there is a round-arched gate² in the concealed angle in PLATE 33a, the general appearance of the masonry, with its drafted corners and wedge-like lintel corbels,³ seems fourth century.⁴ On the west side, however, in the sector north of the cross-wall, there are contrasting styles of a different character (PLATE 34b);⁵ and at the north end, below the modern village, the round tower with its round-arched door (PLATE 33b)⁶ seems obviously Hellenistic. Professor Lawrence, who had kindly written to me after examining these fortifications in 1969, says that he would date the main circuit not appreciably later than 368 B.C. but well after 398, and the north extension (that to which PLATES 33b and 34b belong) to the Hellenistic era. He has generously provided a statement of his findings, which is printed in the following paragraphs:

Stages in the Fortification of Assos

Joseph T. Clarke, who planned the walls of Assos in 1881-82, was expected to write an accompanying description but did not even supply notes on his drawings, which were published, twenty years later, with a minimum of editorial comment (in F. H. Bacon's portfolio, *Investigations at Assos*). On two plans (pp. 191 and 217) Clarke distinguished six "periods" of masonry in the western walls and five in the northeastern, utilizing the same means of distinction (hatching, etc.) in an incompatibly numbered order, presumably meant to represent the sequence of styles in each respective sector without regard to the other. The possibility of correlating styles between the sectors has since become severely restricted, owing to the destruction of much north-eastern masonry which was not illustrated, so that the differences Clarke observed in it are indefinable. Probably he accepted a false dogma, current in his time, that any change of style must signify a chronological

¹ PLATE 32a, the main gate from outside on the north; PLATE 32b, looking from the main gate up to the cross wall and the acropolis, and showing the restoration work (1968); PLATE 33a, the same stretch looking down from the acropolis slope (1966), and PLATE 34a, a gate in it; PLATE 35a, a drainage outlet here (1959) which I failed to discover later. Clarke gave a very brief description of the fortifications in *Report 1881* 125 f. Prokesch's description, though not always easy to follow, is detailed (op. cit. 383-92 and 397-9), and Clarke says that his measurements are accurate; he gave a measured drawing of the main gate on the west, reckoning the towers 48 ft. 4 in. high (40 courses) and noting a niche and arch over the opening of the gateway (his pp. 390 f.).

² *Investigations* 205, fig. 1 (gate no. 4 on the plan).

³ e.g. *ibid.* 205, fig. 2.

⁴ Cf. R. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941), 175 (late fifth-early fourth century). Schliemann gives the wall thickness as 2.5 m. (*Ilios* (1880), 59).

⁵ *Investigations* 213, 190 (where surprisingly, in view of the joint, the squared work on the left is dated earlier than the polygonal).

⁶ *Ibid.* 189, fig. 1, 213. Prokesch counted 33 courses of 1 ft. 3 in. height still standing and noted the walls as 4 ft.

⁸¹ in. thick, the door 6 ft. 11 in. broad and 11 ft. 8 in. high (Vienna feet); he also noted three of the other five towers here as being round (op. cit. 385).

discordance; to some extent, though, the junctions then visible might, perhaps, have justified his conclusions. His sequence for the western walls, however, suggests that he did not look for that type of evidence. The end of an outer north wall, ascribed to his third period, had already vanished, but the cross-wall, of his fourth period, is still intact at their former meeting-place and makes no provision whatever for a junction, so that it was clearly the earlier of the two.

The cross-wall, which descends to that point from the precipitous foot of the acropolis, must originally have been external, as is its prolongation (of the same build and bonded in) along the south-west scarp of the town plateau (PLATES 32 and 33*a*). Here, too, it seems to have had no predecessor, for a wall in its core merely retained the scarp between the lower-based outward facing and the high-based back; this wall was mistaken for an earlier defensive work because the masonry changes from rectangular to polygonal blocks where the bed steepens,¹ but we now know that fourth-century and Hellenistic builders used stretches of polygonal for anchorage on comparable gradients. Apart from this unsightly, originally enveloped reinforcement, the whole length of the cross-wall and south-west wall is homogeneous, including the main gate with its pair of flanking towers. The only outward apertures in these towers are splayed slits, 71·5 cm. wide externally and remarkably tall, but placed at an extraordinary height (13-14 metres) with the result that the nearest ground that could be seen through them lay beyond the effective range of an archer (PLATE 32*a*); they must, therefore, have been constructed specifically for bolt-projecting catapults, prototypes of which were first demonstrated in war by the Syracusans in 398, as offensive weapons. Evidence outside Sicily does not begin till approximately 371, when a stock of bolts was inventoried at Athens, but a very rapid diffusion is by no means unlikely. Once the principle of the catapult became noised abroad (and Syracuse had no chance of keeping it secret), any competent engineer could make such machines, which would be in demand not less as defensive than as offensive weapons because they could be installed on pre-existing fortifications; if a slit built for archers gave an unduly short range, the catapult might be operated from the flat roof of a tower. The designer of Assos must have expected bolt-projectors to be placed inside each tower, so that they were protected from the weather, and their operators from enemy missiles. Eventually it became universal practice to extend the same benefits to all but the most mobile catapults of the other sort, by constructing towers with windows through

¹ Another retaining wall of identical build (PLATE 34*b*) supports a terrace north of the cross wall or rises behind a few isodomonic courses, which may have been the plinth for brickwork that would have concealed the retaining masonry.

which stones were projected, usually from a height less than that chosen at Assos for slits. At Messene, which Epaminondas founded in 369, windows are preserved in towers on the west, north, and east sides of the town, so that it is reasonable to assume that some, at any rate of the smaller, belong to the original wall, which was said to have been completed in one summer, probably that of 368 rather than 369 or 367. Unlike Marsden, who believes these small windows were intended for bolt-projectors, I think they were built specifically for stone-projectors, which the Phocians are recorded to have used in 354-352 to ambush an army in the field a new purpose, surely, for a weapon I suppose to have been already standard equipment in the more obvious context of sieges. On my view the windowless towers of Assos should be earlier than Messene, at least in principle. Any military architect of Epaminondas' entourage is likely to have been among the most advanced of the age, whereas an obscure principality in the Troad might be reduced to employing one of obsolete expertise because work there would not bring the widespread recognition an ambitious man desired; the possible time-lag should, however, have been quite short, because travellers must have talked of the new expedient windows which, at negligible cost, prolonged the serviceability of stone-projectors and diminished casualties among their crews. On the assumption that windows were first built for stone projectors at Messene in 368, only the most purblind of despots would have accepted the Assos design after 365 or thereabouts; the unknown *terminus post quem* must be long enough after 398 for knowledge of bolt-projectors to have reached Assos, yet before the invention of stone-projectors became publicized, as might have occurred before 368. Even on Marsden's theory the design could scarcely be as late as 354-2, because the existence of bolt-projectors would have led to the construction of windows for the stone-projectors as soon as that weapon came into use.

The *enceinte*, so dated before the middle of the fourth century, described a crescent from the west cliff of the acropolis around the south of the town to the north-east corner, where it turned sharply, apparently to rejoin the acropolis. We can take it for granted that the acropolis had been fortified since archaic times; I think it remained the sole defence along much of the north side until a suburb below was enclosed by the present outer wall whereupon the western beginning of the fourth-century *enceinte* became internal the cross-wall of today. The best-preserved sector of the outer wall includes the round or rather horseshoe-shaped tower (PLATE 33*b*), which is obviously Hellenistic, and there can be little doubt that all the long revetment between it and the cross-wall was also Hellenistic; the diverse styles in the facing, still clearly visible in Clarke's time and supposed by him to indicate distinct

periods, may have been due to masons having come from far and wide to work simultaneously, each gang (as was customary) on an assigned stretch, though another feasible explanation is that the final good sheathing of the rock-scarp was a protracted undertaking, resumed at intervals when funds permitted. Another external wall, which has vanished since Clarke planned it, surrounded the north-east corner of the *enceinte* but was probably a mere breastwork to impede the advance of siege engines; the few analogies are Hellenistic. Except possibly for this lost outwork and presumably for the acropolis, the walls of Assos seem to have resulted from only two programmes of work, during the first half of the fourth century and in the Hellenistic age.'

(A.W.L., 19th September 1969, revised 14th January 1971 to take account of E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*.)

The earliest occupation on the acropolis could be of the Early Bronze Age to judge by Clarke's report of finds under the temple floor.¹ Clarke, followed by Leaf, identified Assos with the Homeric Pedasos, the stronghold of the Leleges in the southern Troad.² The difficulty here is that Strabo speaks of the site of Pedasos as a known one and deserted:

καὶ νῦν ὁ τόπος δείκνυται τῆς πόλεως ἔρημος (xiii. 605, cf. 611, § 59 init.). Demetrius of Scepsis must therefore have had an actual position in mind; and whether or not it was the Homeric Pedasos, it cannot have been the inhabited city of Assos. The identification with Assos depends on the equation of the Tuzla Çay with Homer's river Satnioeis, or rather the two equations are interdependent. But here again we are in the realm of conjecture. It is true that there is no other ancient name that we can assign to the Tuzla (or in its upper course Geme Dere) Çay;³ but Strabo's mention (xiii. 605-6) does not in the least suggest that in his day Satnioeis was the current name of the second river of the Troad.⁴ Leaf begs the question when he says that the name

¹*Investigations* 164 (a number of rude sherds of pottery, all unglazed, and 'several being of the lustrous rubbed variety met in the two oldest "cities" of Hissarlik').

²*Report 1881* 60 ff.; *Troy* (1912), 221 ff., *Strabo on the Troad* 250 ff. Cf. F. Cassola, *La Ionia nel mondo miceneo* (1957), 66 f., with a reference to L. Pareti, *L'epica e le origini greche* (1942), 36 ff. (which I have not seen); the claim there made that the south coast of the Troad was colonized by Greeks in Mycenaean times seems to rest on inference from the epic rather than evidence. Cassola's article 'Note sulla preistoria della Troade', *Rendiconti Acad. Napol.* xxix (1954), 171-204, is concerned with problems of Troy, not of the Troad.

³ Clarke, *Report 1881* 42, remarked that the river was stagnant for almost half the year, but that it provided water for the villagers at Assos in summer when their springs dried up (his p. 26). We have noted only pools of stagnant water at the various points where we have crossed this river in high summer, except in the wet summer of 1968 when it had several feet of water and a sluggish flow below the bridge at Assos as late as the end of July.

⁴ Strabo calls it a χείμαρρος μέγας, which might pass as a fair description of the Tuzla Çay; but when he says that some commentators read ὑπὸ Σατνιόοντι (in *Iliad* xxi. 87), thus making a mountain of it, and others prefer the form Σαφνιόοντι, we can only conclude that we are in the realm of antiquarian research and not of contemporary geography. The reputed Lelegian

(footnote continued on next page)

Satnioeis 'is appropriated by an ancient and presumably unbroken tradition' to the Tuzla Çay. The truth of the matter is that as regards the ancient name of the Tuzla Çay Strabo has failed us;¹ and Clarke's and Leaf's identification of Pedasos must be regarded as an issue of Homeric geography in which they elect to differ from Strabo.

Hellenic Assos is said to have been an Aeolic city founded from Methymna.² The temple on the citadel must have been built in the second half of the sixth century;³ and L.H. Jeffery tentatively dates an inscribed fragment of a column from the cemetery soon after 550 B.C.⁴ We have seen hardly any early potsherds on the site. But the American expedition discovered archaic pithos burials among the later tombs outside the main west gate; and in his unpublished Oxford dissertation on 'The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia' (1963) Dr. N.P. Bayne has discussed the pots found in them. He classifies the grey-ware vases that have been published,⁵ and continues: 'The date of the group of grey wares seems fairly late possibly around 600 or later. Most of the contacts are with Pitane and other late archaic sites, and only the cup of shape 4 (i.e. Fairbanks no. 389) might suggest an earlier date.' On this evidence Assos may have been a later foundation not only than Neandria but also than Cebren. In the fifth century it was a city of modest importance to judge by its tribute of a single talent in the Athenian league (a third of the tribute of Cebren). Sometime in the first half of the fourth century it came into the possession of a banker called Eubulus, who seems to have set up a despotism based on Assos and Atarneus, which his heir Hermias continued to rule until he was betrayed to the Persian king about 345 B.C. The main classical fortifications at Assos may be dated to the time of this despotism; and we learn that the despots withstood at least one siege. In Hellenistic and

(footnote continued from previous page)

sector in the southern Troad, of which Strabo seems to speak as though it lay inland here (xiii. 606), extended as far as Antandrus; so a number of other streams could come under consideration. Conversely, if we accept the Tuzla Çay as the Satnioeis, it is not true that Assos is the only possible situation above it; Mentese *, the Kozlu Dag*, and Ala Kaya would be suitable situations for a hypothetical Pedasos above the river, and Schliemann conjectured that Pedasos was lost in the alluvium at its mouth (*Troja* (1884), 314).

1 An Ἀσσιος ποταμός is mentioned in a curious insertion among excerpts from Strabo in Pal. Heidelberg 129 which F. Lasserre is inclined to derive from the unabridged text of Stephanus Byzantius (*Antiquité classique* xxviii (1959), 47); but this is a very obscure reference.

2 Strabo xiii. 610. L. Robert's notion that there was a Methymnaean Peraea here (*Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 11) can hardly be meant seriously; the evidence of the Tribute Lists is decisive.

3 For the architectural terracottas from the temple, and also from the lower town, see Å Åkerström, *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (1966), 13 ff. (the temple dated about 530 B.C.).

4 *LSAG* 360; 362, no. 10, pl. 70.

5 *Investigations* 293, figs. 1-4; A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Vases in Boston Museum* (1928), nos. 388-90, pl. 41, where also are a sixth-century Corinthian aryballos (no. 384) and a faience one (no. 383). Various archaic terracottas, alabastra of Phoenician glass, and a late Black Figure lekythos are illustrated on p. 291. Bayne also picked up grey-ware sherds on the site.

Roman times Assos seems to have been a flourishing city, famous as the birthplace of the Stoic Cleanthes and for its widely exported stone sarcophagi; and it continued as a bishopric in Byzantine times. The Turkish name of the place, Behram, derives from the Byzantine grandee Machrames, who for a time held the fortress there at the coming of the Turks in 1306.¹ Clarke gives an account of the history of Assos.²

Curiously the name Behram does not appear in the fiscal survey of 1573, but earlier in the century the nahiye itself was so named. In general the travellers found the village a wretched one: miserable and half-destroyed, with villainous inhabitants (Richter, 1816), a miserable Turkish village of a couple of hundred houses (Prokesch, 1826), little to eat and even the Aga * emaciated (Poujoulat, 1830), `but a few sheds' (Fellows, 1838), a miserable little village with no trees, but with a han (Welcker, 1842), 100 miserable dwellings but half of them uninhabited (Clarke).³ The population in 1940 was 381; and without a fountain or shady trees the village has not altered its character. With the advent of Tourism the place is now called Behram Kale, like the village by the old Hittite capital in the Halys bend which is now called Bogaz* Kale.

At Behram Köy we were shown a few bronze coins from the site in 1959, and a larger number in 1968; the latter were in unusually poor condition, as though they were the residue of a stock which had been purveyed to summer visitors. What I could identify on the two visits are as follows:

	8 or 9
Assos, Hellenic (4 noted with rev. sphinx, 3 with bull's head)	
Assos, Roman	1
Scepsis	1
Aioleis ⁴ (PLATE 39a)	3
Late imperial	1
Constantinian types	12
Arcadius	1
Leo I	1
Byzantine (one scyphate?, very worn)	3
Old Turkish	4

Of a dozen unidentifiable Hellenic coins that I saw in 1968 half were effaced by countermarks.

1 Pachymeres v. 26. Below, pp. 373 f. The old Turkish name was Mahram, above, p. 222 (in Greek *Μαχράμωρ*).

2Report 1881 66 ff.; a brief account also in Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 295 ff.

3Report 1881 2; *AJA* (Old Series) iv (1888), 292.

4 18 mm., 12 mm., 12 mm. Apparently all had *obv.* Apolline (or Athena) head r., *rev.* ΑΙΟΛΕ thunderbolt, symbol not clear.

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The American expedition had a rich harvest of coins; and a lot of 270 which fell to their share in the division of finds was published by H.W. Bell.¹ L. Robert has given a helpful breakdown of the city bronzes and a handy distribution map.² Apart from Assos itself with 121 pieces (92 being Hellenic) and Alexandria Troas with 21 (but only one pre-Roman), only five of the Troadic mints seem to be represented (Gargara 2, Larisa (amphora) 1, Neandria 1, Scepsis 1, Gergis 2). Mints not represented include Hamaxitus, Cebren, Antandrus, Sigeum, and Ilion. There were, however, seven bronzes of the short-lived series with *rev.* AIOΛE thunderbolt which has generally been attributed to a koinon of Aeolians, and L. Robert acquired another bronze of this series at Behram Köy in 1963. To this we now have three more specimens to add from the same place. Apart from these eleven pieces from Assos very few proveniences are known for these Aiolo- coins. Robert's latest list is as follows:³ Çal Dag * (Cebren) 2 (below, p. 340), Ilion 1, the market at Balıkesir* (east of Edremit) 2, a merchant of Ezine I (but apparently silver). This makes a remarkable concentration on Assos, though the two specimens at Balıkesir might possibly suggest an extension to the little-known region behind the head of the Adramyttene Gulf.⁴ Apart from the three at Assos we have not seen a single specimen in our journeys in the Troad, and none have been reported at Çanak Kale, Ezine, or Bayramiç, where there is a considerable turnover of local coins.

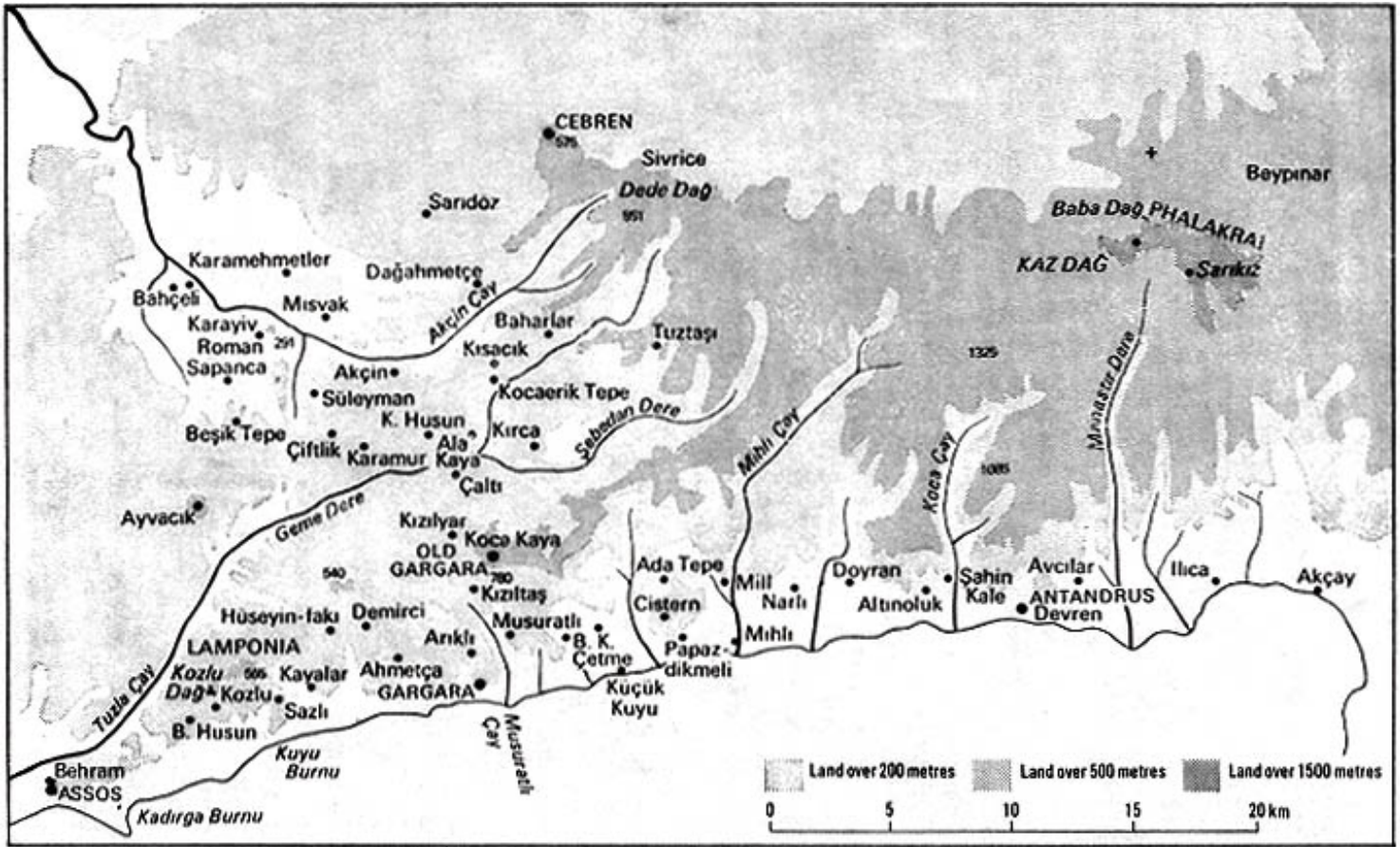
With their legend Aiolo- these coins have generally been attributed to a koinon of Aeolians centred on Lesbos. But the difficulty is that the early Hellenistic koinon on Lesbos was a 'koinon of the Lesbians'; and also, so far as we know, these coins are not reported from Lesbos. Robert sees no objection to regarding the legend as the ethnic of an otherwise unknown Troadic city. But to judge by the proveniences this could only have been on the south coast near Assos, and we have no missing city there. It seems as though the coins must have been emitted at Assos itself. If they could be dated in the mid fourth century, the despotism of Hermias at Assos and Atarneus would provide the perfect topographical setting. But the little omicrons (PLATE 39a) look early Hellenistic, and Imhoof-Blumer claimed that the Athena head on the silver was copied from Alexander's gold staters. So it is perhaps best to think of a little union centred on Assos; the incorporation of Polymedion and Lamponia in Assos might have given a pretext for a koinon. The issue was a short-lived one ('offenbar von nur sehr kurzer Dauer')

¹*Investigations* 297 ff.

²*Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 86 ff.; 244, fig. 2.

³*Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 96 f., 123; Robert's principal discussion in *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 92 ff., with pl. 7. 6-9.

⁴Balıkesir is of course a vilayet and important centre to which coins are brought; but among some dozens of coins in the shops there we have not seen one of the Troad.



Area Map B.
The South Coast east of Assos

according to Imhoof-Blumer), and the Aiole- coins (to judge by the available figures) must have constituted a considerable proportion of the coins that were set in circulation at Assos in the period of their emission.

Somewhere in the vicinity of Assos an entry `Parvus Lucus' appears on old maps. The explanation of this is to be found in the text of Strabo, whose editors read at xiii. 606 (after Polymedion) *εἰτ' ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα* (sc. *σταδίοις*) *ἄλσος μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης* until Tzschucke emended *ἄλσος* to *Ἰσσοσ* (as suggested by Mannert, see Kramer's note ad loc.).

Assos probably had little elbow room in classical times. On the west its territory was presumably limited by Polymedion and a frontier on the plateau with Hamaxitus. On the other side lay Lamponia, whose coinage imitated that of Assos in its bull's-head reverse. The site of Lamponia, if we may anticipate the findings of a later part of this chapter, was on top of the Kozlu Dag *. The German maps have given an entirely false impression of the position of the site in its relationship to the valley of the Tuzla Çay. In fact it looks down into the valley at a distance of not much more than 2 km. from the river.¹ In this position Lamponia should have commanded the passage up the Tuzla Çay (Geme Dere) and so prevented the expansion of Assos in this direction so long as it was an independent city. Lamponia itself was an insignificant city, and we are therefore inclined to suppose that the Geme Dere belonged to the much greater city of Cebren. We know of no ancient site in the hinterland of Assos. Barker Webb in 1819 remarked a ruined castle on the extinct volcano called Mentese* west of the gorge;² no one else seems to have been there.

3

Lamponia and Gargara:
The Problem

The Tabula Peuteringiana shows the Roman road southward from the Dardanelles as leading from the Smintheum to Assos in M.P. xv, and from Assos to Gargara (which is marked out as an important station by two towers) in xxiii; thence to Antandrus xvi, and Adramyttium another xvi. The distances in general seem tolerably reliable here; for of the half dozen other figures in our area only one (M.P. IIII between Alexandria Troas and the Smintheum) is evidently false. And the Tabula therefore should help to establish the position of Gargara. But we must note that measuring the distance along the straight coast east

¹ Leaf corrected the course of the river in the gorge here (*Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 29 and on his map); but he did not know that the site was placed at the wrong end of the Kozlu Dag (Judeich had it right on his sketch-map in *ÖJh* iv (1901), 115, fig. 162).

²*Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 136; cf. Schliemann, *Ilios* (1880), 70. The 1573 fiscal survey lists Kuyumca/ Mentese* with 72 adult males, but there is no village of Mentese now.

of Assos J.T. Clarke and his successors found themselves led further east than they cared to place Gargara, and they therefore considered themselves at liberty to alter the figure M.P. XXIII. Strabo gives the following distances along the coast: Lekton-Polymedion 40 stades, then in 80 stades Assos, then in 140 stades Gargara (xiii. 606). He also speaks in the same place of Gargara as being on a cape (ἄκρα) which with the corresponding Cape Pyrrha closes the inner

Adramyttene Gulf.¹ Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. Gargara) tells us that Old Gargara (Παλαι-γάργαρας) was on the peak of Ida, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* that the people of Gargara left their high site because of the cold and moved down to a plain site. For the position of Lamponia we have no precise clue, so Gargara must be taken first.

The course of the Roman road in this sector is not known. The bridge in the Tuzla plain (above, pp. 225 f.), whose overall width is 6·50 m., shows that it did keep down the coast to the Smintheum at Kulahli *, and from there it would have run without difficulty over the plateau high above the south bank of the Tuzla Çay to Assos; the distance on the modern road, about 24 km., matches the M.P. xv of the table. The American expedition discovered the foundations of an ancient bridge, with piers of lozenge-shaped plan, in the bed of the river directly under Assos.² But their drawing allows only 2·70 m. for the width of the roadway, i.e. a single lane of traffic, so it is not certain that the bridge here carried the Roman highway. If it did, of course, the road must have led up the west side of the river, like the modern road to Ayvacik*. But it has been assumed by all the scholars concerned except Judeich that the main road continued along the coast to the Çetme region, where the maritime plain begins; and certainly, apart from the necessary short cut at the Assos end to bypass Katirga* Burnu,³ a coast route was followed by two travellers on horseback in the nineteenth century. Of the two, one (Fellows in 1838) speaks of an olive-clad valley half a mile broad skirting the sea almost all the way from Çetme to the point where he struck up into wild rocky scenery 6 miles from Assos.⁴ This was not at all our impression of the shore west of the Musuratli* delta, which appeared to us rugged in places when we coasted along it in 1959 and

¹ Leaf translates the word ἄκρα here as 'height', not 'cape'; in terms of geographical fact this is well judged, but the context seems to leave no doubt what Strabo thought it meant.

² J.T. Clarke, *Report 1881* 128 ff., pl. 35; *Investigations* 129 ff. We could not find any clear trace of it.

³ Qadyrga (= galley) in Piri Re'is (A.D. 1520), presumably therefore not (as J.T. Clarke assumed) from katir* = mule (Kadirga* on the GS map). Clarke took this for a corruption of the ancient name Gargara (*AJA* (Old Series) iv (1888), 294 f.). The cape is prominent but not high, and as we shall see the identification cannot stand.

⁴ *Journal* (1839), 45 f. Tchihatcheff also rode this way in 1849, but he passed further inland along the mountain ridge (*Petermanns geogr. Mitt.* 1867, Erg. 20, 25).

looks wild broken rocky scenery from above; and we are inclined to suppose that Fellows did not distinguish in retrospect between this stretch and the coastal plain the other side of Çetme along which he had come the previous day.

The other traveller was Schliemann in 1881. He writes: 'The journey eastward from Assos is very troublesome; lying at first along a narrow path covered with loose stones through thorny bushes. In two hours this path leads gradually down from the heights to the seashore, where I rode all day in the deep sand.'¹ Four hours after leaving Assos he stopped to examine a sulphurous well and reconnoitre an ancient site. After that, he continues, 'the landscape is everywhere highly interesting; for the mountain range sometimes approaches the seashore and overhangs it almost perpendicularly; again it withdraws from it to a distance of one or two miles, and forms splendid valleys planted with olives or sown with grain.' Now the Roman road for vehicular traffic should not have run along the strand, and Schliemann's laborious passage in the sand implies that there was no road line there. We ourselves were told in Küçük Kuyu that there was no coast road to Kozlu (and therefore hired a boat); and subsequently, after noting that the GS map shows a continuous 'village road' along the shore, we confirmed by inquiries at Musuratli * and Behram Köy that no such road is known to exist. The villages west of Musuratli are approached by difficult jeep tracks from the Koca Kaya pass or Ayvacik*.

Judeich evidently explored this country diligently. He saw enough to realize the difficulties of a coast road; and instead of assuming, as other scholars have done, that the figure of M.P. XXIII between Assos and Gargara is false, he recognized that the road would have run partly inland on the 'southern slopes of Ida'.² The question is whether we should not go further than Judeich and doubt whether a Roman road south of the Kozlu Dag* would have been practicable at all. For if it had to leave the beach it would encounter gradients of one in two and one in three in crossing the valleys east of Sazli*. Diller also studied this region. He characterized the coastal plain as displaced between Sazli and Ada Tepe by bold cliffs and deep ravines facing the sea (*Report 1881* 184); and he speaks of 'rugged hills between Kyalar and Ahmájah (Ahmetça), apparently composed of large dykes of trachyte, dipping northward and presenting cliffs towards the sea' (ibid. 212), and 'detached masses along the coast for nine kilometres (from Ahmájah), forming high cliffs separated by profound gorges' (ibid. 192). A curious additional testimony is that of des Mouceaux about 1668. He came westward by way of Altinoluk* and the Mihli* Çay, but at some point after that struck up into the interior, leaving the coast 'à cause des furieux détours qu'il faudroit

¹*Troja* (1884), 320 f.

²*ÖJh* iv (1901), 116.

faire pour la suivre'.¹ The grain of the country is sufficiently apparent in our photographs taken from high vantage points (PLATE 36*b*, looking over Musuratli * to Arikli* and the hills beyond, and PLATE 36*a*, looking across the valley of Ahmetça to Demirci). We discovered a milestone of late imperial date at Ayvacik* (below, pp. 323, 414, no. 56); and though its provenience is unknown, this perhaps lends some support to the notion that the Roman road went up the valley from Assos to the plain under Ayvacik and passed north of the Kozlu Dag* to break through to the coast west of the Koca Kaya on the line of the modern highway.

The distance from Assos to Ayvacik by the present-day motor road is 18 km. on the latest Shell map (but over 20 on earlier issues), from Ayvacik to Küçük Kuyu 24 km.; and this is considerably more than the 36 km. indicated by the M. P. XXIII of the Tabula. But the modern administrative pattern has imposed its own dog-legged route by way of Ayvacik; and when we eliminate the 'Dartschyk Dag' of the German maps which is nothing more than the Kozlu Dag seen from the back (PLATE 38*a*), it becomes plain that several kilometres can be saved by keeping to the south of the Geme Dere. The modern road also winds down the mountain above Küçük Kuyu (PLATE 40*a*), and here again several kilometres could be saved in the descent to the sea by keeping down the Musuratli valley. If Gargara were in this region, M.P. XXIII could be the correct figure.

Strabo's total distance by sea from Lekton to Gargara seems at first sight to be 260 stades; and this would take us approximately to Küçük Kuyu. But it is possible to argue that his distances (40 stades to Poly-medion, 80 to Assos, 140 to Gargara) are all to be reckoned from Lekton or at least Clarke did so.² On that assumption the figure of 140 stades will put Gargara about Katirga* Burnu. Now, Clarke discovered the site on top of the Koca Kaya in 1881 and took it to be Old Gargara; and when Diller discovered another mountaintop site on the Kozlu Dag he did not immediately change his mind, for he admits to having prompted Diller's arrangement of Old Gargara on the Koca Kaya and Lamponia on the Kozlu Dag.³ But on reflection he decided to reverse this arrangement and have Gargara on the Kozlu Dag. This meant emending the XXIII of the Tabula Peuteringiana to a more suitable figure, in this case VIII; but it had the great

advantage that he then had a prominent cape (Katirga Burnu) answering to Strabo's ἄκρα. He also claimed that this arrangement fits better with Ptolemy's relative longitudes. In the abstract this sounds convincing. But if we turn to the actual terrain, Katirga Burnu does not fit. It is about 7 km. from the Kozlu Dag site

¹ In *Voyages de Corneille le Bruyn par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales* v (Paris ed. of 1725), 457.

² *AJA* (Old Series) iv (1888), 293 f.

³ *Ibid.* 298 n. 21; Diller in *Report 1881* (1882), 182 f., 186, 208.

and no nearer to any site that Clarke can offer for the later Gargara, but it is within 3 km. of Assos, to which it must have belonged; and it is too far to the west to face any cape on the south side of the Adramyttene Gulf, so that Clarke was reduced to supposing that Strabo was in error in calling Cape Pyrrha a point of the mainland. He was also involved in a consequential emendation of the distance from Gargara to Antandrus in the Tabula Peuteringiana. Clarke's site for the later Gargara will be considered later, but we may remark here that it does nothing to strengthen his identification; and the Katirga *-Gargara equation evidently weakens under close inspection. Judeich in fact expressed himself decisively against it.¹

Schliemann also found a site near the coast here, that near the sulphurous well four hours east of Assos, on his journey of 1881. He took it to be Gargara, and in re-editing his 'Reise' added that it lay close to a cape;² but he greatly overestimated the distance when he said it was 140 stades from Assos, and his site does not seem to meet the needs of a Hellenistic-Roman city any better than Clarke's. His cape receives some confirmation from the GS map, which gives the name Kuyu Burnu (= well point) somewhere under Sazli*; but from what we have seen there is nothing there that could be called a prominent cape, in fact nothing but little sandy-looking points at the mouths of the little streams. As regards

Strabo's ἄκρα of Gargara, we can say that, like Judeich, we have done our best to study the coastline in the whole of this stretch. East of Katirga Burnu the dominant forms are not the little points or deltas of the streams but the mountain spurs which descend steeply to the beach; the coast itself runs almost in a straight line. So if we reject Katirga Burnu, the ἄκρα of Gargara must in fact, as Leaf saw, have been a spur rather than a prominent cape.³

There remains a last clue in the literature the proverbial fertility of Gargara. Clarke was not slow to avail himself of this. In 1881, when he placed Old Gargara at his site on the Koca Kaya, he remarked on the very rich harvests of the valley to the north of it (the Geme Dere, which seemed to us thinly populated and poor); and when he switched his attention to the Kozlu Dag* site he recognized great potential fertility in the valley to the south of it. It is difficult to judge unrealized harvests like these. But it seems altogether more natural to follow Choiseul-Gouffier and Judeich in referring the exceptional fertility to the coastal plain (now almost entirely olive yards) that basks in the sun under the shelter of the mountain barrier and is watered by the perennial streams of Mt. Ida; and this would imply that Gargara owned the land around the modern Küçük Kuyu. The testimonia for the later Gargara have

¹ÖJh iv (1901), 114 ff.

²Troja (1884), 320.

³For his discussion see *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 259 ff.

now been set out; and they have been discussed at length because they are not only ambiguous but in some points conflicting. They seem on balance to favour a position in the vicinity of the Koca Kaya rather than the Kozlu Dag *. But with a possible site for Old Gargara in either place the final decision must depend on the discovery of a satisfactory low site in one or other of these areas.

4 Gargara

We must now turn to the actual sites that have been proposed for the Hellenistic-Roman Gargara. Clarke's and Schliemann's were under the Kozlu Dag towards the sea. Schliemann discovered his quite by chance, and he speaks only of a granite column with a tumulus behind.¹ Clarke made a more determined search for a Gargara low site, and he was rewarded with an 'extensive field of ruins' about 4 km. from the Kozlu Dag site with 'coarse Byzantine pottery' and 'monolithic andesite columns'. We have not been in search of these sites, but Judeich reconnoitred them 'ohne an Ort und Stelle irgend welche sichere Bestätigung zu finden',² and there is every reason to accept his judgement that Clarke's site is perhaps a village of late antiquity.³ Neither of these sites, assuming that they are two and not both the same, seems to correspond at all to a Hellenistic city.

To turn further east, in his journey of 1896 Judeich discovered a curious rock installation on the greats pur of Ada Tepe (below, p. 265), and this prompted him to seek the later city of Gargara at its foot. He found nothing satisfactory but nevertheless marked Gargara there on the sketch-map with which he illustrated his researches in the region.⁴ Choiseul-Gouffier had also placed Gargara in much the same position on his map of this coast, fixing it at a fountain near a now unknown village of Iné apparently north-east of Çetme;⁵ but he reached this position by simple calculation of Strabo's distances. We in fact noted surface pottery at the foot of Ada Tepe, but the site seemed not to be earlier than Roman (below, p. 265, at Papazdikmeli), and that was the only site known to our informants. In 1888 Fabricius and the elder Kiepert were told of ancient remains at the mouth of the Musuratli* Çay as they were passing through Büyük Çetme. They did not visit the place. But Judeich, who had the information from Fabricius, went to the spot in 1896; and finding only a well on the beach with stones and columns nearby, he assumed that his fellow countrymen had been deceived by the 'Flunkerei' of the locals.⁶ Leaf did not land on this part of the coast. He boldly states that 'on the shore are the remains of a Greek town which

¹*Troja* (1884), 320.

²*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 541.

³*ÖJh* iv (1901), 124.

⁴*Ibid.* 111 ff.

⁵*Voyage pittoresque* ii (1809), 79.

⁶*ÖJh* iv (1901), 123.

are evidently those of Gargara', and cites Judeich as his authority;¹ but he places the site on his map in the position where Judeich had denied that there was one. The editors of *Athenian Tribute Lists* follow Leaf but add to the misunderstanding with the remark that the site is surrounded by a fertile plain.²

In September 1959 we explored this part of the coast. At Ada Tepe we found nothing suitable. The following day we climbed the Koca Kaya, and after examining the site there descended the Musuratli * valley to the sea. Like Judeich, we found the alluvial ground of the delta barren, and we saw nothing worthy of remark at the beach. We could find no human being there, not even when we tried at the Musuratli oil factory at the stream mouth. But we at last made contact when we reached the Ahmetça (not Arikli*) oil factory on the west side of the delta; and we were then taken inland to see a cave at the mountain foot. The mountain seems to be called Zindan (= dungeon) Dag* on the GS map, but we know it only as that of Arikli; it appears to the right in the view down the Musuratli valley (PLATE 35*b*). The 'cave' is evidently a considerable local curiosity. We found it blocked; but it is reputed to be a stone-vaulted passage ('tonel'), and in the bank at its mouth we saw the foundations of a building 70 cm. below the modern ground level. We noted other foundations (some with mortar) near by, and a fair scatter of plain sherds on the slope above. Close by we had the good fortune to find a fragment of a marble inscription in small lettering, which appears to be a city decree or regulation (below, p. 418, no. 60). We could not fix the position accurately among the olive trees. But it would seem to be just inland from the west corner of the alluvial delta and perhaps something over a kilometre west of the Musuratli stream.

A peasant who had been summoned to show us the 'tonel' then told us of a 'Genoese' settlement (kasaba) on the mountain slope above. This proved to be on a shelf perhaps about 150 m. above sea level. Tell-tale piles of stones showed that foundations had been uprooted; and we noticed ancient blocks, though very little of marble. The predominant pottery here was Roman red ware. But we saw half-glazed and other Hellenistic wares and black-glaze fishplate, kantharos, and lamp fragments. Among the few fragments of good black glaze Mr. Sparkes has remarked as fourth century (but probably after the middle of the century) a kantharos foot and the bell crater rim with painted hooks, PLATE 39*b* above. There was nothing that looked earlier than this. A curiosity is a fragment of the roof (with dentils) of a model of a building in reddish clay (PLATE 39*b* below); this might suggest that there was

¹*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 259. He emends the M.P. XXIII of the Tabula to XIII.

²*ATL* i (1939), 477. This is of course true of Judeich's position under Ada Tepe.

a sanctuary on this shelf. Night was falling as we descended to the delta. But over the whole distance of a kilometre or more through the trees we noticed traces of buildings, or of groups of buildings, that had been terraced on the hillside. Surface sherds were not uniformly dense but came in extensive patches; they were evidently of late date, but in the fading light we could not find good dating evidence.

The ancient site here is evidently a major one. But it was a sprawling settlement. It fits excellently with Strabo's description of the later Gargara as on the ἄκρα ,1 and again as οὐκ εἴ συνοικούμενα .2 We have not seen ancient coins in the hands of peasants here. But of four bronzes produced for us at Küçük Kuyu one was of Gargara (PLATE 22a);3 and the following day we saw one of the very rare bronzes of Lamponia at the Kozlu Dag * site (below, p. 263). This provides welcome corroborative evidence. We believe that our site for lower Gargara fits the various testimonia better than any other, and that it is the only site in the whole region that could be a Hellenistic-Roman city. The distance to Antandrus (about 21 km. as the crow flies) fits accurately enough with the M.P. XVI of the Tabula Peuteringiana on what must have been a relatively straight stretch of road. Old Gargara will then have been the site on the Koca Kaya 5-6 km. inland, looking down the little valley at whose foot the later city was set up.

The Koca Kaya, where we can now confidently place Old Gargara, is the highest and boldest peak of western Ida, rising apparently to 780 m. above sea level (PLATE 37b, from the south). We have heard the name on all sides as 'Koca Kaya' (= great rock); and this is exactly the phonetic value given by Diller ('Cojakia-Dagh'), English pronunciation being the Assos style.4 The 'Ocak Kaya' (= hearth or smeltery rock) that is given on the German maps can therefore be dismissed, and so too (though with regret) the 'Hocakayasi'* of the GS map which could so aptly commemorate the schoolmaster Diotimus (below, p. 259). Presumably the ancient name of this peak with its old city site was Gargaros; and it is a natural assumption that this is the Γάργαρον ἄκρον of Homer, the peak of Ida from which Zeus surveyed the battle in the Trojan Plain.5 But we cannot hope to know what was in the poet's mind.

1 'Ἐπὶ' with both gen. and dat. xiii. 606.

2 xiii. 610-11 ('not well-set-up' physically rather than, as Leaf took it, constitutionally).

3 18 mm. The others were one of Hamaxitus (16 mm., PLATE 22b) and two Alexanders (head of Heracles: club and bow Ἀλεξάνδρου).

4 Report 1881 186. Clarke preferred the form 'Qojekia'. Cf. also the strange 'Ojak Goja' on Leaf's map as first published (e.g. in his *Troy*), where Goja (dialect for Koca) looks like a correction of Ojak which Leaf mistook for an addition to the name.

5 Strabo's comment on the subject does not help: speaking of the peak of Ida which Homer calls Gargaron he says

καὶ γὰρ νῦν Γάργαρον ἐν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τῆς Ἰδῆς δείκνυται τόπος, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ νῦν Γάργαρα πόλις Αἰολικὴ

(xiii. 583, § 5). Cf. Judeich, *ÖJh* iv. 122 f.

What we can believe is that the people of Methymna across the strait pointed to this bold peak as the Homeric *Γάργαρον ἄκρον* and that the settlers there felt themselves entitled to appropriate the name. The summit is approached from Kiziltas * on the main road by a broad

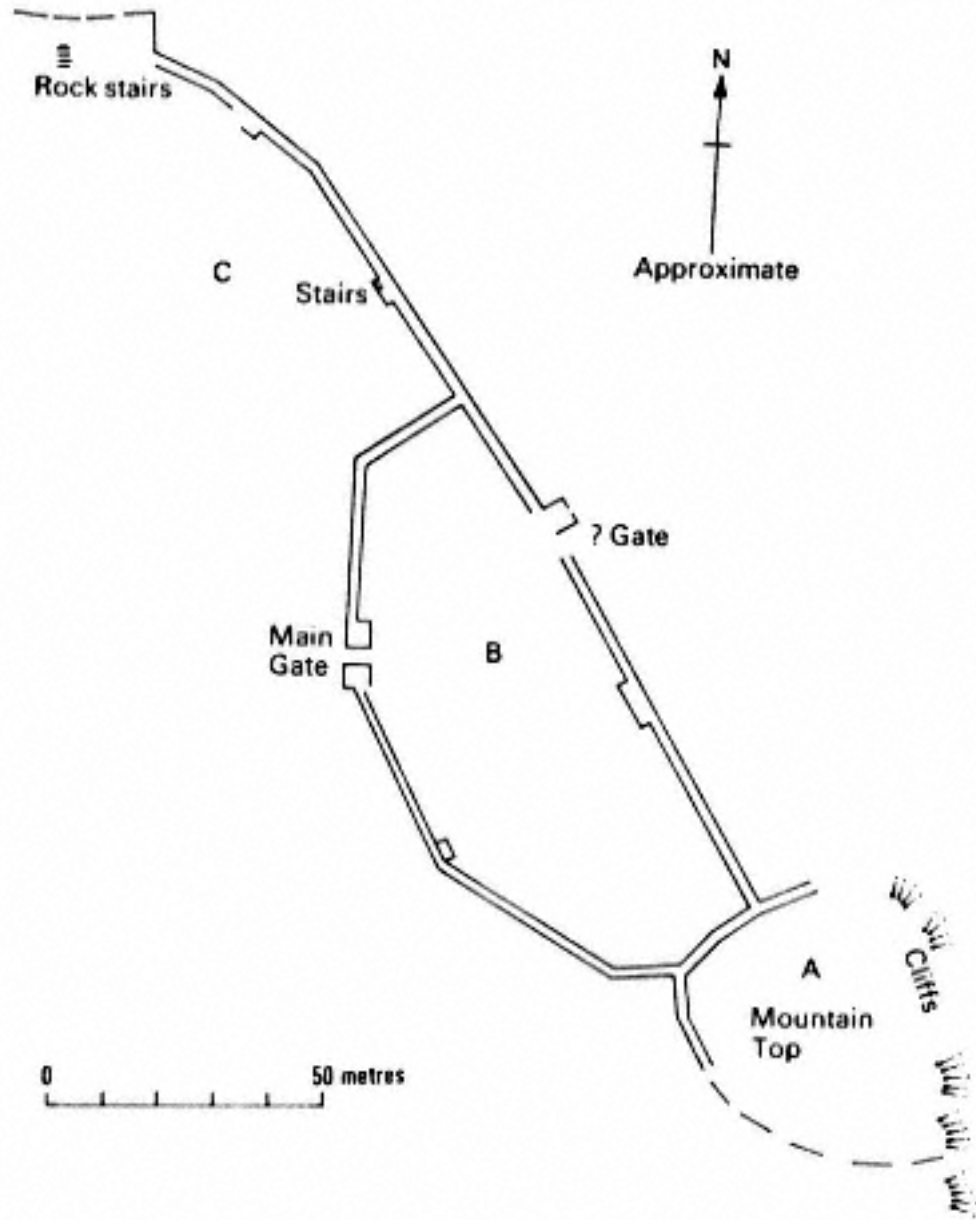


Fig. 11.
Site on Koca Kaya (Old Gargara)

woodcutters' path which leads round the north-west flank to the hamlet of Kizilyar* and then circles the peak in an easy ascent.

We were unfortunate to climb the Koca Kaya on a September morning when cloud draped the hill tops; and the failure of my compass made our directions uncertain. On the summit a roughly semicircular area 40-50 m. across is encircled by the trace of a wall in poor small-stone masonry interrupted by cliffs on the east (A on the approximate plan FIG. 11). Below this a broad ridge slopes gently down

to the north-west and bears the fortifications that I have attempted to delineate in the plan. I should not set much store by the plan because it gives a curious lay-out and it cannot be reconciled with the description of the site that Fabricius noted in his diary.¹ Below the summit the walls I saw run mainly in straight lines and are faced with tolerably well-fitted dry rubble work (PLATE 37a); I noted the thickness in two places as 2 m. and 2·05 m., but Fabricius gives 3 m. We agree, however, on 2·35-2·40 m. for the width of the entrance on the west side. There could no doubt have been a gate where the wall is missing by the tower on the east side. Stairs led up to the parapet on the inside.

Fabricius noted the foundations of a large building on the summit and took it for a temple. We saw some traces there, and also in the rocky interior of *B*. But sherds were very scarce there. In the area *C* there were rather more sherds, and we noted fourth-century tile. But it was some minutes lower down that we saw the clearest evidence of habitation, not only on the south or west, but also in the oak forest on what we judged to be the north-east. We noted in particular fourth-century tile, a Thasian amphora foot, and a number of scraps of black glaze among which Mr. Sparkes has recognized a heavy cup-kotyle rim of the first half of the fourth century and a moulded rim of a fourth-century kantharos. On this evidence it would seem that the fortification was a citadel and place of refuge, while the townspeople lived on the slopes below and so escaped the worst rigours of the exposed situation. It has been thought that they were

still up the mountain in the third century when Aratus wrote lamenting Diotimus who sat *ἐν πέτραις* as schoolmaster at Gargara.² But the later site on the spur above the sea might also be appropriate, assuming that contemporary topography had any place in Aratus' thoughts; and the pottery on the two sites would rather suggest a date in the second half of the fourth century for the removal.

Gargara was an Aeolic city, and according to Strabo founded from Assos.³ It paid three-quarters of a talent in the Athenian league, so it cannot have been entirely insignificant in classical times. It maintained its city status in Hellenistic times. Two of its citizens are commemorated

1 Reported by Judeich in *ÖJh* iv (1901), 121.

2 *Anth Pal.* xi. 437; Steph. Byz. s.v. Gargara. A simple correction unnoticed by Meineke in Steph. Byz.

(*Διότιμον ὅς ἐν τοῖς ὅτι μόνος ἐνί*) will bring the couplet into line with the *Anthology*:

*αἰάξω Διότιμον ὅς ἐν πέτραισι κάθηται
Γαργαρέων παισὶν βῆτα καὶ ἄλφα λέγων*

The corruption *ὅτι μόνος* no doubt arose from the observation that *διότι μόνος* does not scan.

3 xiii. 610; formerly inhabited by Leleges, on the authority of Alcman (Steph. Byz. s.v. Gargara, but this could be nothing more than inference from Homer, as implied in Strabo xiii. 611).

at Ilion for their benefactions to city and sanctuary (c. 306 and perhaps early second century B.C.), though Gargara itself was not among the cities represented at the convention there in 77 B.C.¹ There are also occasional mentions of its citizens in inscriptions of Rhodes, Chios, and Athens. Classical bronze coins of Gargara do not seem to have travelled widely but are not rare.² Strabo tells us that the Kings brought settlers from Miletoupolis to Gargara with the result that according to Demetrius of Scepsis the inhabitants were semibarbarous instead of Aeolic.³ We know too little of the onomastic of Gargara to detect a change, but names of Aeolic type were certainly current in the early Hellenistic. There are rare imperial coins of Gargara ranging from Augustus to Septimius Severus; we have not recognized any on our journeys, but we have seen few coins on this coast except at Assos. L. Robert has promised to complete the history of Gargara.⁴

Gargara is shown as an important station on the Tabula Peuteringiana and may well have prospered in Byzantine times. Though not, like Assos, on the main coastal route for shipping, it could serve as the centre for a number of well-watered little valleys which, under present conditions at least, support the largest concentration of population on the south coast of the Troad except for the extreme east end. In this century, when piracy has long ceased and road communication here has superseded that by sea, a substantial little town, well supplied with shops, has grown up at Küçük Kuyu, occupying the bay between the former iskeles of Çetme and Ada Tepe, with a population rising from under 500 in 1940 to 1,242 in 1955.⁵ The movement to the water's edge is most noticeable here, as also at Akçay at the extreme east end of this coast, and Çetme seems to have declined in importance.⁶ But otherwise the old Turkish villages, which were built inland on the mountain foot to be out of the way of pirates, have held their own. The iskeles, which Clarke remarked as becoming populous at their expense, are now

¹ SIG3 330, and *Troja und Ilion* 451 f., no. XI; *OGI* 444 (cf. Robert, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* 15 ff., 20).

² Two each at Assos, Cebren, and Ilion, and Gargara represented in a Troadic hoard (see L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* index s.v. Gargara; Bellinger, *Troy*, Suppl. ii. 165, no. 154). Pullan acquired two in the southern Troad (below, p. 388); and we have seen single specimens at Küçük Kuyu (above) and Çanak Kale (p. 55), and two or three at Bayramiç (p. 310).

³ xiii. 611. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 261 f., 302 f.

⁴ *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 32 n. 5.

⁵ The earliest mention of Küçük Kuyu seems to be in Cuinet, who remarks that a steamdriven oil press was constructed there by the kaymakam of Ayvacık * in 1887 (*La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 728).

⁶ 'Çipne' *vel sim.* in Choiseul-Gouffier and the later-nineteenth-century writers, but Çetme in Fellows (1838) and Tchihatcheff (1847). It is two adjacent villages, Büyük and Küçük Çetme, the latter with a hot spring or ilica*. Schliemann in 1881 spoke of Çetme as having several timber stores and seeming to ship a great deal of wood. The name Çepne is presumably an assimilation to the Oguz* tribe name found in other Turkish village names.

deserted; instead there are oil factories served by the road. Apart from the `derbend' at Antandrus this olive-planted coastal strip stretches unbroken to Akçay. The villages that we would assign to Gargara had a population of 3,993 in the 1940 census.¹

5
Lamponia

As we have seen, the country west of the Musuratli * valley is very difficult; and in contrast with that further east we know little of the villages here; we visited Kozlu in 1959,² and penetrated nearly to Ahmetça in 1968. After the transverse valleys and dykes mentioned above, the Kozlu Dag* resumes the normal south-westward trend of western Ida with a narrow crest 565 m. above sea level (from the north in PLATE 38a). On its south side is an open valley running somewhat obliquely to the coast, from which it is separated by a ridge which we crossed in coming up from the beach. Sazli* lies at the head of the valley and Kozlu on its northern flank. In Kozlu, which is under the ancient site, we saw a Roman stone sarcophagus serving as a fountain basin, and two coins (one Middle Byzantine and of unknown provenience, the other a colonial bronze of Alexandria Troas with *obv.* Licinianus (i.e. Valerian/Gallienus) and *rev.* grazing horse which was found on the ancient site). The site is on the mountain crest with a lower perimeter descending the ridge on the south-west; southward it looks over the coast to Lesbos, and northward down upon the dale of Ayvacik*, with the gorge of the Tuzla Çay close underneath.

Tchihatcheff seems to have traversed the site in 1849 on his way from Tuzla eastward; for after passing Assos he speaks of riding `auf der Höhe immer zwischen antiken Trümmern';³ and Judeich in 1896 examined the site, which he considered a very ancient one.⁴ But the

1 Ahmetça 982 (perhaps the same as the Ahmedçeler/Yarköyü of the 1573 survey with 38 adult males); Arikli* 292; Kizilyar* 101; Nusratli* 310 (= Musuratli, apparently Muhzarady on Choiseul-Gouffier's map; Nusratlu with 94 adult males in the 1573 survey); Büyükçetmi 640, Küçükçetmi 411, Küçük Kuyu (nahiye) 488, Ada Tepe 769 (145 adult males in 1573).

Arikli appears as `Scraklèi' in Dallaway, but manifestly by a misprint because, like Schliemann later, he derived the name from Herakleia (or Herakleion).

2 In the 1573 survey with 39 adult males; Clarke in 1882 remarked some 30 stone cabins (of Turks except for a Greek bag-weaver) and a small mosque; the 1940 population 256. Tchihatcheff noted the village as `Buzlu'. Other 1940 census figures for villages in this region are Sazli 581, and further east Kayalar 321, Huseyinfaki* 116, Demirci 186 (22 adult males in 1573), and (south-west of Kozlu) Büyük Husun 447. The last-named is Yasin* Oba on the GS map and probably the Osun (or Usun) Obasi* of the 1573 survey with 48 and 40 adult males; Hassunoba on the German maps. Its position is also that of the village with an entrancing view over the gulf that Tchihatcheff noted as named `Schurabak' (= `look over there!') in his itinerary; but the `Sunovassi' through which Walpole passed on a devious route in 1806 (E.D. Clarke, *Travels* ii, 1 (1812), 158 n. 1) would rather be Küçük Husun (Sinoba*) in the Geme Dere.

3 *Pet. geogr. Mitt.* 1867, Erg. 20, 25. J.T. Clarke was mistaken in making him visit Assos.

4 *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 541, *ÖJh* iv (1901) 124 f.; he took it to be Lamponia.

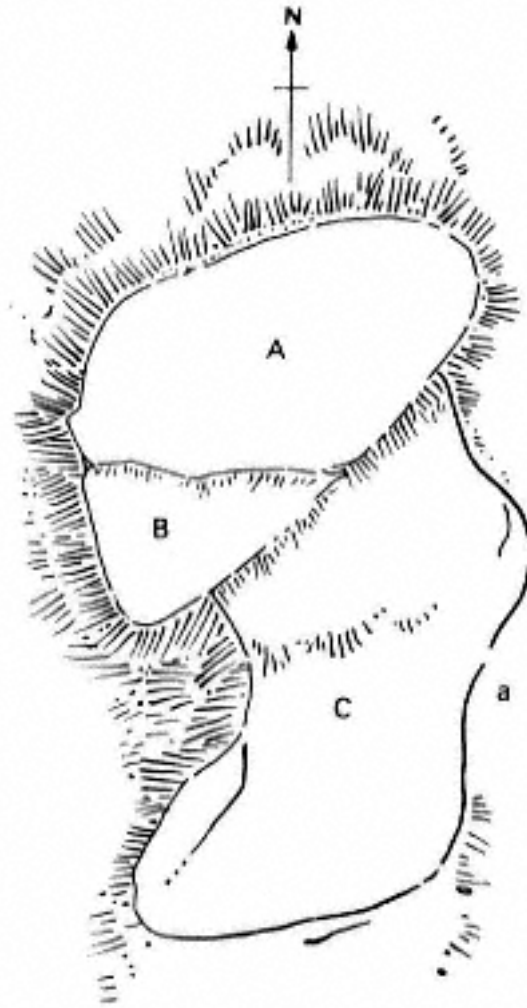


Fig. 12.
Site on Kozlu Dag *
(from J.T. Clarke)

only description of it is that made by J.T. Clarke in 1882.¹ Clarke illustrated his account with drawings of wall faces and a rough plan which was not known to me when I went there in 1959. The plan is reproduced here (FIG. 12). Clarke himself had misgivings about it, for the cliffs and deep scrub were no doubt an embarrassment to so meticulous a scholar. But there is no question of its correctness in general; it makes good sense of what in my notebook was chaotic. The main gate seems to have been on the east side (*a* on the plan). PLATE 38c shows the outer face of the east wall of the lower perimeter (C) with the acropolis cliff behind. The masonry is irregular, and some huge boulders are incorporated in it;² but the blocks are for the most part carefully fitted. Stones are heaped over the line of the wall, so that I could not ascertain its thickness; but again Clarke gives it as 7 m., which would fit with a date in the archaic period before curtain walls began to be punctuated by towers. The outer wall face stood to a great height (7 m. according to Clarke). Clarke calculated the maximum north-south length of the whole site as 800 m. In the lower perimeter we saw very few sherds, but noted some building traces and several irregularly shaped wells or cisterns sunk in the ground; these latter, remarked also by Clarke, were broad enough to enclose a staircase leading down to the water, and have an un-Hellenic appearance which might consort with the tradition of Lelegian habitation inland from the coast in this sector.

On the west we noted the signs of an intermediate enclosure, but again did not see as much as Clarke. He noted that the lower acropolis area (B) is separated from the upper (A) by low retaining walls; but the citadel over C is fenced by a wall 6 m. high where the cliffs of PLATE

1AJA (Old Series) iv (1888), 299 ff., with plan fig. 10.

2 Clarke's measured drawing (his fig. 11) almost confirms his statement that some are 2 m. square on the face (and, he adds, a metre thick).

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38c come to an end. The villagers pointed out a gate to us hereabouts, and said that it used to be arched. On the level crest of the acropolis (A) we noted another cistern similar to those in the lower perimeter, and also a more conventional one lined with white plaster, which seemed to be Roman or later. We also saw large numbers of building stones here, some being more or less squared, and occasional bits of marble. At the west end, where the rock is cut away sheer, we were shown a spot where a statue or relief (heykel) with head and shoulders missing was said to have been found 20 years previously; the villagers told us it was in the school at Ayvacik *, but our inquiries there yielded nothing.¹

We saw very little tile on the citadel. But there is a sprinkling of coarse sherds, with finer ones (incredibly comminuted) along the north edge; we picked up two bits of polished grey ware which seem to be archaic, and scraps of black glaze which Mr. Sparkes assigns to the fourth century B.C. There was therefore a classical settlement here, which (to judge by the fortifications at least) should go back to archaic times. On the other hand some of the pottery looked late, with a few pieces undoubtedly so; and it seems that the site was re-occupied in Roman or Byzantine times. The Roman coin of the mid third century that we saw in the village came from on top here.

The literary evidence for the position of Lamponia is slight. Herodotus (v. 26) informs us that Darius' commander Otanes captured Antandrus in the Troad and Lamponion, and Strabo (xiii. 610) couples Gargara and Lamponia as Aeolic foundations. The bronze coins that have commonly been attributed to Lamponia have a reverse type of a bull's head similar to that on coins of Assos; but a certain identification has been lacking. Here we were fortunate. Calling at a cottage just outside the citadel on the north we were shown a small bronze of this series that had been picked up on the site (PLATE 38*b*).² This of course confirms the identification of the coins as of Lamponia. And since this coinage is exceedingly rare and not likely to have travelled to any extent from its place of origin, it seems certain that Lamponia was in this vicinity, and that in the lack of any alternative it must be identified with the Kozlu Dag* site itself.

Lamponia paid only one sixth of a talent (and later a rather larger fraction) in the Athenian league. The gap in occupation on the site would fit with the assumption that it was incorporated in Assos about the beginning of Hellenistic times. From Strabo we might infer that it had started as a daughter city of Assos, but he does not expressly

1 See below, p. 323 n. 4.

2 Diam. 12 mm. *Obv.* head of a god bearded and wreathed: *rev.* bull's head facing ΛΑΜ, kantharos above (*BMC* 3). The legend is clearly visible.

say so.¹ It is peculiar that Antandrus and Lamponia should have suffered the same fate at Persian hands, but that in the fifth century Lamponia was an autonomous city in the Athenian league and Antandrus a Mitylenaeon possession. Epigraphy and prosopography of Lamponia are non-existent as yet.

6

East of Gargara

The coast east of Gargara appears in PLATE 40*a*, where Küçük Kuyu lines the crescent bay on the right, the massive spur in the middle distance (left) is Ada Tepe (with Judeich's 'Altar of Zeus' crowning its right-hand crest), and the hill over the shore at the back is Antandrus. Set inland against the foot of the Kaz Dag * the old Turkish villages are not conspicuous. But they are well separated and stately, and their average population in 1940 was about 650.² This stretch of coast is almost continuous olive yard, and was so when Turner came this way in 1816.³ In 1794, however, Dallaway remarked shrubs on the lower slopes and vineyards and enclosures on the upper ones, but I think made no mention of olives.⁴ The intensive cultivation of olives here in modern times seems to be associated with Greeks or Greek-speaking Turks from Lesbos (and Crete). Whether it goes back nearly 2,000 years or under 200 I had not been able to discover; but the Ottoman fiscal surveys seem to show that the development is relatively recent (above, p. 10). Kiepert noted that the vegetation was more advanced here than in the Scamander valley, with anemones, irises, lilies, and tulips blooming at the beginning of February. The one other large-scale product seems to be pears. There are considerable mineral deposits along this coast.⁵

1 xiii. 610, § 58. The MS. reading *ἄσσι (καὶ τὰ Γάργαρα καὶ ἡ Λαμπωνία Αἰολέων ἐστίν)*) perhaps needs to be seriously considered since it is now read in the Vatican Palimpsest. Strabo's argument would then be: the authorities tell us that Assos is Aeolic; so Gargara and Lamponia must be Aeolic too because Gargara was founded from Assos . . . (in the ensuing passage on Gargara Lamponia is forgotten).

2 For those west of the Mihli* Çay see above, p. 261 n. 1. In the region of Antandrus (and in the vilayet of Balıkesir*) we note Narlı*, Altınoluk* (= Papazlı*, the nahiye), Avcılar* and Avcılar Kuslar* with 1940 census populations of 577, 978, 860, and 116, which had increased by a further 80 per cent by 1955. Doyran was not a village in 1940 or 1955. East of Avcılar the plain opens out and the population presently increases.

3 *Journal of a Tour in the Levant* iii (1820), 263 f.; cf. Fellows, *Journal* (1839), 42 ff., H. Kiepert (in 1842), *Memoir über die Construction* 59, Tchihatcheff (in 1847 and 1849), *Pet. geogr. Mitt.* 1867, Erg. 20, pp. 5 and 25.

4 *Constantinople Ancient and Modern* (1797), 324.

5 C.W. Ryan, *A Guide to the known Minerals of Turkey* (1960) reports iron near Küçük Kuyu (p. 81), magnetite at Çamoba in the nahiye of Altınoluk (p. 29), silver-lead at Bahçedere near Ada Tepe (pp. 2 f.), a lead-zinc-silver deposit at Maden Dere near Altınoluk, and in the vicinity of Narlı, Altınoluk, Maden Ocak, and Avcılar lead-zinc deposits related to recent volcanic activity, the ore being galena and sphalerite with high gold and silver content (p.

6). These last deposits are perhaps of interest in connection with Strabo's mention of *ψευδάργυρος* at Andeira (xiii. 610, § 56), for which see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923) 284 ff., 326. Andeira is usually placed to the east of Edremit; and it would perhaps be frivolous to relate the testi-

(footnote continued on next page)

Schliemann traversed this coast in 1881, and at every stopping-place he inquired for ancient remains. He heard of nothing before Altinoluk * except for a cistern with steps cut in the rock near the village of Ada Tepe, which he did not in fact visit.¹ This was examined in 1896 by Judeich, who has described it at length and given a plan of it.² The rock on top of the spur has apparently been trimmed, and it has a built and a rock-cut staircase and some yard walls below; but I saw no reason to regard them as ancient. The top surface of the rock, measuring 13 by 15 m. according to Judeich, has been levelled to form a floor with a parapet on the north, as though for a room; and on the south it is cut to form a cistern which had a vaulted roof and, according to Judeich, therapeutic properties.³ On the parapet we saw the deeply incised letters ΠΝ, and the same letters with (more lightly scratched) ΝΕ over the mouth of the cistern; despite their antique-looking forms they presumably date after 1896. Judeich admitted that the cistern and walls were modern. But he judged the emplacement to be an ancient rock altar and gave it the name Altar of Idaean Zeus. He was of course influenced in this by his consequential assumption that the later Gargara lay under this spur and that the worship of Zeus on the mountaintop Gargara must have been carried down here together with the city. With the later Gargara now fixed under Musuratli*, Judeich's identification of an altar loses its force. The only recognizable sherds around the rock were painted and combed fragments of modern Akköy testi ware. If a name were wanted for Ada Tepe, we should suggest the *Κύλλαιον ὄρος μεταξύ Γαργάρων καὶ Ἀντάνδρου* of Strabo (xiii. 612).

In the village of Ada Tepe on the saddle a kilometre to the north we copied an inscription with Aeolic names and patronymics (below, p. 416, no. 58). The stone had been used as a candle-stand in the Greek church at the bottom of the village; so its provenience was not known. At the south-east foot of the Ada Tepe hill, just north of the main road, we went to see a place where tiles and coarse pottery were scattered in the fields over a considerable area; it was called Papazdikmeli. We saw one sherd with traces of red glaze. We were told there of a fountain with large worked stones, unfortunately no longer to be seen, and apparently of a church. This may have been the fountain at which Choiseul-Gouffier placed Gargara (above, p. 255). There was presumably a village or farm of late antiquity here.

(footnote continued from previous page)

monia for it (the goat and the cave, and the roasting process) to three place names found on the maps just north of Akçay (Kizilkeçili* = red goat, Magara* Tepe = cave hill, and Kavurmacilar* = the roasters).

¹Troja (1884), 321.

²ÖJh iv (1901), 111 ff. He noted the altitude as 260 m.; the GS map seems to show it as 350 m. (1,148 feet in the Admiralty chart).

³ `Diese steht im Rufe heilkräftiger Wirkung'.

A couple of kilometres east of this is the Mihli * Çay where the vilayet of Çanak Kale ends. It is a swift stream of Ida and flows strongly through the summer, though the bed can be dry in places when the water is diverted for irrigation.¹ The now growing hamlet of Mihli is not yet a village, and seems not to have been one since 1573 when the fiscal survey showed it as no longer inhabited. We noted an inscription from a Roman sarcophagus at the coffee house in 1959; but our copy went astray, and when we returned in 1968 the stone had disappeared. Hearing of remains of buildings there in 1959, we walked 4 km. upstream to the top water mill (Bas* Degirmen*), which is situated at the point where the Mihli Çay comes roaring out of its gorge. The millers could show us nothing, but referred us to a kilise with inscribed stones high up the mountain valley. We were also told of a church with an inscription in the mountain behind Narli*, and at Narli itself we heard of an inscription in the new hamlet of Doyran to the north-east; it was too late for us to go there. At Narli we were shown an early imperial bronze coin. We were told there that the journey with animals over the mountain to Bayramiç takes six hours. At Altinoluk* (Papazlı*) we were told eight hours, with some argument whether jeeps could go; the new forestry commission roads would make it easy now. Bears are reported in the Kaz Dag* here. Between the main road and Altinoluk ancient tile is scattered in the fields as well as Akköy testi fragments. In the village we saw a number of bronze coins. They were predominantly Roman (though apparently none of Alexandria Troas), with a few Byzantine and several old Turkish. We saw five small Hellenic bronzes; but they were worn and the light was bad, and we could recognize nothing save perhaps the sphinx of Assos on one and possibly the legend ΕΛΑΙ on another.

On the east of Altinoluk there is again ancient tile scattered in the fields. The Koca Çay, also called Sahin* Dere, is another bright stream of Ida. Here a huge isolated cliff-girt crag rising in the fork of the torrent bears a fortification known as Sahin Kale (= falcon castle), seen from the south in PLATE 35c. Characteristically Schliemann was the first to discover and climb it. At the end of a troublesome ascent, mainly (he complains) on foot, he found a medieval fortress which he took to be probably Genoese. His reading of the altitude was 162-8 m.² Dr. N.P.

¹ Schliemann noted it as 90 cm. deep and 18 m. wide in May of 1881 (*Troja* 321). Des Mouceaux found the road bridge broken (about 1668).

²*Reise in der Troas* (1881), 27 ('Tsatschinderessi'), *Troja* 322 (where the altitude 103 m. must be a misprint). H. Kiepert did not hear Schliemann's name for the stream in 1888 and declared it obviously corrupt (but he himself seems to give an equally corrupt name 'Sakhin'); he may possibly have known of the fortification when he passed this way in 1842, but in his desire to deny Schliemann any credit for his discoveries he has obscured the facts (*Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xxiv (1889), 298).

Bayne climbed it in 1960. He kindly tells me that halfway up 'the path passes under a ruined arch, and there are other walls there built of rough slabs with or without mortar. Further up, the path has been obliterated by a rock fall at some time, and the higher buildings can only be reached by scrambling. These do not amount to more than a round tower and two rooms now underground (cisterns or storehouses); the walls are plastered.' Bayne noted nothing earlier than the Turkish era. This result, as Schliemann had remarked, is disappointing; for in my view the rock would have made a fine site for Lelegian Pedasos over the Satnioeis. We were told of yet another kilise in the neighbourhood of Sahin * Kale. Mr. Mellaart told me some years ago that he had seen Troy VI grey and Troy I wares discovered by the schoolmaster of Altinoluk*, but we have not traced the site where they were found.¹

No other prehistoric seems to be known between Assos and Dr. Bayne's Thebe site in the Plain of Edremit. This site, Mandra Tepe, that Bayne discovered and suggests may be Thebe, is a 'long mound which has grown up on an outcrop of rock towards the north-west corner of the plain'. The main occupation is prehistoric, and especially Middle and Late Bronze Age; but Bayne also noted some Aeolic grey ware and later Greek and Roman pottery. To return westward, between the Plain of Edremit and Antandrus, Bayne discovered a long natural hillock called Kilise Tepe at the western edge of the little coastal plain west of Akçay, which yielded chiefly late pottery but also a few fragments of archaic grey ware; this, he suggests, may be Astyra. He examined the rocky hill immediately above the modern Ilica*, but found no trace of the ruins that Kiepert marked there.² Kiepert no doubt was relying on Choiseul-Gouffier, who had apparently placed Antandrus there on his map; and it is unlikely that either of them actually looked at the hill.³ Aspaneus, where the Antandrians disposed of their timber from the mountain, was presumably, as Leaf says, about the former iskele of Avcilar*.⁴ Various place and stream names of this region of Ida are transmitted to us by the ancient writers but cannot be identified.

7 Antandrus

H. Kiepert established that Antandrus lay in the vicinity of Avcilar when in 1842 he discovered in the wall of the mosque there a decree of

1 Cf. *AJA* lxii (1958), pl. 2, no. 6 (Papazli*).

2 For Astyra and Thebe cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 317 f., 321 ff. Leaf's 'Sea of Lydia', however, which purports to be a name for this stretch of coast, is a misunderstanding of the Greek in Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 7 (it is the Thebes Pedion that is in Lydia (or rather perhaps Asia) and not the sea).

3 Op. cit. 297 f.

4 *Strabo on the Troad* 265. The iskele, his pl. 19, and Judeich, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 542, fig. 7.

the Peltenoi in honour of judges from Antandrus,¹ and this enabled him to place the name accurately enough on his 1:1,000,000 map. Returning in 1888 with Fabricius he saw a second document naming Antandrus (honours to M. Aurelius, *IGR* iv. 261), as well as other inscriptions.² In the meantime Schliemann had passed this way in 1881 and discovered not only Kiepert's first inscription (which he took to be unpublished) but also an ancient site at Devrent which he reckoned 1,000 m. in both length and breadth. He noted that the peasants find many silver coins of Antandrus there and claimed the site as Antandrus with 'Devrent' as a corruption of the ancient name.³ The association of the name is no doubt false; for Devrent (or, as we heard it here, 'Devren') is a name which, as Kiepert realized, is commonly applied to defiles;⁴ and in this case it refers to the pass where the hill on which the site is descends abruptly to the water's edge. The modern highway traverses the foot of the hill in a cutting (PLATE 40*b* from the east, taken with a wide-angle lens). But the old road held to the beach. The strategic importance of the position is shown by Leaf's photograph of 1911.⁵

The summit of the hill seems to be shown as rising above the 200 m. contour on the GS map; Kiepert's barometric reading was 215 m. Kiepert climbed the hill with Fabricius in 1888 and saw enough remains of marble and pottery to confirm that it was the ancient city site.⁶ Judeich also examined the hill eight years later; he characterized the city site as divided into an upper and a lower part and not very large.⁷ Finally, Leaf came here in 1911. He ascertained that on the west side of the hill the proprietors, a firm of wealthy Turks at Altinoluk *,

1*CIG* ii. 3568 f. Walpole's manuscript journal of 1806 had reported a Greek inscription placed sideways in the mosque wall (E.D. Clarke, *Travels* ii, 1 (1812), 158 n. 1). Choiseul-Gouffier had had no difficulty in placing Antandrus on his map (*Voyage pittoresque* ii (1809), pl. 8, p. 79), for he noted that 'le village d'Antandros conserve encore son nom sans aucune altération'; from the map itself and his statement that its port is now called 'Lidja' it would appear that he placed the ancient city nearly 10 km. too far to the east. This sort of confusion may have derived from the sea charts, in which ancient and modern names are mixed; cf. Hobhouse (Broughton), *Travels in Albania* ii. 88 f.; 'Antandro and Asso, if the maps are not conjectural, indicate the site of the towns, the ancient names of which they so nearly preserve.'

2*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1894, 904 ff. We also found an inscribed list (on a stone recut in Byzantine times) in the village of Avcılar* in 1963 (below, p. 416, no. 57). Schliemann saw a late funerary inscription and a three-figure relief in Avcılar; he speaks of Greeks resident there, including the wealthy oil merchant Michael Cazazis who seems to have been a landowner and showed Kiepert the Antandrus site in 1888.

3*Troja* (1884), 322 ff. In the villages of Altinoluk and Avcılar he reported many Byzantine, Roman, and Greek coins, with Roman imperial predominating.

4 Persian 'darband', from *dar* (= door), and the verb *bastan* (= shut); commonly 'derbend' in Turkish.

5*Troy* (1912), pl. 20.

6*Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xxiv (1889), 298 f.

7*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 542 f.

had opened tombs and had discovered a statue base which had originally been set up in honour of a priestess but subsequently re-used. He assumed that the western side of the hill had been the cemetery in ancient times, and that the citadel had been on the summit with the 'harbour and mercantile portion' on the eastern slopes.¹ His argument seems to depend on the assumption that the town and the cemetery could not have been on the same side of the hill.

We have visited the site in 1959 and 1968, but we cannot claim to have covered all the ground. It is not easy to examine; for pine forest clothes the crest, scrub the steep upper slope, and terraced olive plantations the flank. The hill is a detached one, rising to a sharp spine 300 m. or so long. The summit is a rocky crag at the north end, from which the spine runs south-south-east to a lower top at the other end. This ridge is only about 15 m. wide in the middle. There are traces of a wall in small stonework along the edges, with a right-angled corner at the south end, and of a tower at the north; and a path may have led up from the east. Clearly this was a citadel of great strength and little amenity. The slope immediately under the citadel on the east is very steep, that on the west is too steep to stand on; Kiepert, who was within a few weeks of his seventieth birthday, found the climb 'etwas mühsam'. Among the prickly scrub and arbutus fragments of tile and coarse pottery are abundant. There is a sprinkling of black glaze. We noted a fourth-century grooved foot with poor rouletting on the inside, a fourth-century plate rim, a fragment of a small bowl of similar date and a couple of scraps of fair classical glaze, two fragments of fishplates of early Hellenistic date, and a fragment of a Hellenistic dish with coarse rouletting; also two fragments of half-glazed bowls. There seemed to be nothing earlier than the fourth or later than about the second century B.C. Below this the east and south-east slopes seemed barren all the way down to the foot of the hill, where stray sherds are encountered. We saw two cist graves cut on the top of a rocky spur just above the road on the south-east.

The south-west slope, to which we gave an hour or two in 1959, seems in fact the more promising. Our guides from Altinoluk * talked much of tombs at the foot. But on the lower slopes we saw various fragments of marble and architectural pieces built into the terraces of the olive plantations, and we noted dense tile and sherds with a few bits of fourth-century and Hellenistic black glaze. We saw a fragment of an inscription (below, p. 417, no. 59) in a terrace wall, and were told of other inscriptions, mosaic, and small finds from there, which had been taken to Edremit. We were able to identify the material in the Belediye at Edremit. The mosaic was plain tessellated and of Roman date.

¹*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 263.

Unfortunately our notes of the two inscriptions went astray; they were not, however, funerary, and one was in a script unknown to me. The main inhabited area of the town would thus seem to have been on the west rather than the east side of the Devren hill. We have seen no trace of an outer circuit wall; and the houses and public buildings may have been loosely dispersed.

Strabo tells us that Antandrus had a mountain above it (*ὑπερκείμενον*) called Alexandraia, where the goddesses were reputed to have come to be judged by Paris (xiii. 606). In view of the interest attaching to beauty competitions in the modern world as well as the ancient Aeolic one, we show the view as one looks inland from the Antandrus hill (PLATE 39c).

Πρώτα μὲν Ἀντανδρος Λελέγων πόλις said Alcaeus;¹ but it is not clear whether this is Homeric allusion or contemporary history. Since Herodotus also speaks of Antandrus as Pelasgian (vii. 42) it has been assumed that the place was inhabited before the arrival of the Aeolians; and in view of Stephanus Byzantius' statement (S.V. Antandros) that it was called Kimmeris and occupied by Cimmerians for a hundred years, it has been assumed also that the Aeolic settlement was not earlier than the sixth century.² We have seen no sign of occupation of this date on the Devren hill. In the fifth century Antandrus seems to have been a Mitylenaeon possession; for its first appearance in the tribute lists is among the newly detached *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* after the Mitylenaeon Revolt.³ Its assessment for tribute then seems to have been eight talents (indeed the editors of *ATL* assign it fifteen in the list A 9); and though this was at a time of sharp increase in the assessment of the allies, the implication is that Antandrus was a place of some importance. This is not surprising; for it must have controlled a very rich countryside, and an estimate of the population in its territory in terms of the 1940 census could be 6,000 and upwards. Its supply of timber and pitch for ship building made Antandrus an important centre during the Peloponnesian War; the Mitylenaeon exiles tried to hold it, and the Syracusans later helped to complete a fortification for the garrison.⁴ This may have been the first occupation of the Devren hill. The coinage of Antandrus also

1Ap. Strabo xiii. 606. Leaf and the editors of Strabo print *πρώτα* and so get four feet of a dactylic hexameter; but *πρώτα* gives an Alcaic line (diaeresis after the fifth syllable not being obligatory in Alcaeus as it is in Horace).

2 H. Kaletsch, *Historia* vii (1958), 38, explains Alyattes' expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia as their expulsion from Antandrus by Croesus when he was his father's viceroy in Adramyttion in the 570s.

3*ATL* i (1939), 157 f., A 10 (421/20 B.C.); no doubt it had appeared in A 9, but the names are lost at the relevant place.

4 Thuc. iv. 52 and 75; Xen. *HG* i. 1. 25. Cf. P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d' Aydin* (1957), 96 ff. for the fleet of several hundred barques built by Yahsi * Bey of Saruhan at Edremit in the fourteenth century. The timber and iron ores of the Kaz Dag* have been exploited from both sides. Cargo boats can be seen loading ore off the Ilica.

seems to begin about this time. The place is mentioned several times in connection with military movements across the Troad. Apart from that, like Gargara, it seems to have little further place in history.¹

¹ Apart from the decree of the Peltenoi and honours to M. Aurelius mentioned above, the only epigraphical testimonies in my notes are: the decree honouring Nicomedes of Cos (late fourth century, *Klio* xxxvii (1959), 66 ff.); mention in the Delphic thearodokoi list (beginning of the second century B.C., below, p. 342); an Antandrian in a list of consuls at Chios (second century B.C., J. Vanseveren, *Rev. Phil.* xi (1937), 328).

8

The Interior

The area described in this chapter is the drainage basin of the Scamander (Menderes) from the head of the valley at Karaköy (officially Mudanya) to the narrows where the river enters the Pinarbasi * gorge below the Garlic Bridge. It takes in the fan-like valley of the Kursak* Çay on the north, and the narrower valley of the Akçin Çay to the south. To this is added the Kayali* Dag*, which dominates the northern plateau, and for convenience, although it belongs to a different drainage system, the Geme Dere (or upper valley of the Tuzla Çay) south of the Ayvacik* watershed. The heart of the region is the plain of the Middle Menderes, at whose two ends lie the towns of Ezine and Bayramiç, 25 km. apart and both kazas.

The classical cities of this region will be treated in the following chapter. But we may briefly set them in position at this point. Scepsis, set on a massive hill at the springing of the plain, dominated the eastern end; and prior to the foundation of Alexandria Troas at the close of the fourth century Neandria overlooked the west end from the rock turrets of the Cigri* Dag (PLATE 57*a*). Neandria has been treated in an earlier chapter (pp. 204 ff.). On the south side of the river there is a considerable extent of fertile land interrupted by the Çal Dag, where the ancient Cebren lay. On the north of the plain the high plateau slopes steadily down to the river, and the cultivation is on shelves and braes. There were two ancient cities in the mountain fringes thereat the east end Gergis crowning a hill, and at the west end a city not securely identified but probably Scamandria.

1

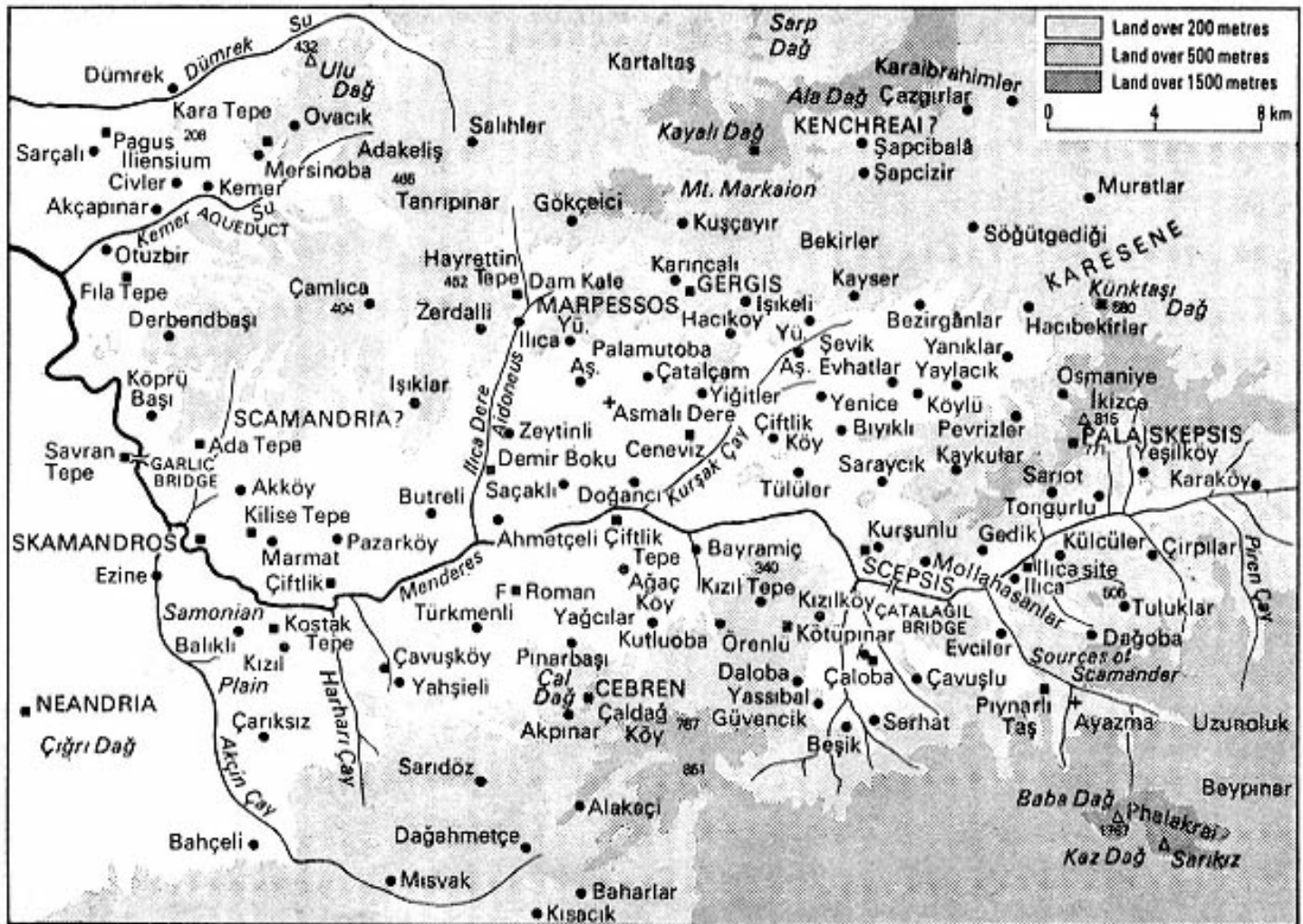
North of the Middle Scamander

The Garlic Bridge (Sarimsak* or Sarimsakli* Köprü, properly Sarimsakci* Köprüsü) carries the main Izmir* highway over the Menderes.¹ It is

¹ The present bridge, of concrete, was built in 1935 and named 'Arslan (= lion) Köprüsü' (*Admiralty Geographical Handbook, Turkey* ii (1943), 499, with a drawing fig. 90). It has obliterated almost all trace of whatever preceded it. R. Wood in his 'Comparative View' (*Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1775), 324 f.) shows a ruined bridge there with six

[cont. on p. 274]

(footnote continued on next page)



Area Map C. The Interior

5 km. from Ezine. Just west of the bridge rises what appears to be a natural hillock surmounted by a flattish mound (PLATE 41a). The crest, measuring about 75 by 40m. across, is surrounded by a poor rubble wall 1.40 m. thick. Settlement never seems to have extended down the hill, but on top we picked up some fragments of Troy VI-VIIa grey and micaceous buff ware¹ and a few scraps of Hellenistic (including a piece of incised West Slope). This was in 1959; a later visit produced nothing. The hill is now called Savran Tepe. The early travellers knew a mound north of Ezine called Sovran Tepe and Ené Tepe, the names supposedly being derived from a sovereign, more particularly Aeneas, who was reputed to be buried there. E.D. Clarke spoke of it as a 'most stupendous tumulus',² while Barker Webb recognized Ené Tepe as a 'monticule' of basalt.³ Choiseul-Gouffier spoke of Sovran Tepe as being at the entrance to Ezine, and his map shows it on the north-west edge of the town, with a cemetery marked where we place the tepe by the bridge.⁴ Fellows also marked 'Enea's Tomb' as adjoining Ezine;⁵ and it seems likely that the Ené Tepe of the travellers is the large flat-topped mound, perhaps about 100 m. in diameter, which is secured against close inspection by being incorporated in the military compound just north of Ezine. But the name Savran Tepe certainly applies now to the hill by the Garlic Bridge, and the Kiepers marked it so ('Sobrar Tepe'). This site, with its traces of Hellenistic occupation, is a possible position for Petra (above, pp. 126f.), though we should prefer to think of it as a guard post of Alexandria Troas.

North of the Garlic Bridge the modern road traverses a beautiful defile before climbing above the right bank of the river to the high pass leading to the Trojan Plain. There is a new hamlet called Köprü Basi * up on the eastern shelf; we saw nothing older than Turkish there.

It is 4-5 km. by an earth road from the Garlic Bridge to Akköy, a well-set-up village whose manufacture of testis (water jars) supplies the

(footnote continued from previous page)

arches which look quite Roman; he took it to be so and in his manuscript diary of 1750 speaks of four main arches and a smaller ruined one at either end (that on the east side being lost), with the ruined ancient piers surmounted by a wooden bridge full a hundred yards long. Napier in 1839 remarked the foundations as apparently Roman with one arch still perfect (*United Service Journal* 1840, Second Part, 291).

¹ The identification is due to Mr. Mellaart and Dr. Bayne.

² *Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 123. On p. 121 he refers to an old cemetery called 'Sarmosaktchy cupré' (i.e. Sarmisakci* Köprü = Garlic Bridge), but independently of the mound.

³ *Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 90, 134.

⁴ *Voyage pittoresque* ii. 286, pl. 19.

⁵ *Journal of a Tour* (1839), 66. He noted that it had been covered with stones and planted with cypresses, and was serving as a Turkish burial ground; if artificial, he says, it is a colossal work. This is presumably also the fine cypress grove and burial ground that was seen by Tozer on his way from Pinarbasi* to Ezine in 1861 (*Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (1869) i. 9), and by Jebb 20 years later.

whole Troad and as far cast as Biga at least;¹ there does not seem to have been any ancient predecessor of this industry such as is attested for that of Akhisar (Thyatira) in Lydia.² Akköy stands on a brow from which the ground slopes gently down to the river.³ In the village itself there are numerous remains of Byzantine church architecture. In 1959 we noted a big window mullion, unfluted column shafts of marble and granite, a small marble column pedestal from some sort of a verandah (similar to pieces that we have seen in Ezine), and in the old fountain a fragment of a sculptured balustrade (thorakion) with a palm tree and dogs. In 1966 we saw more marbles from the demolition of the mosque: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, leaf, and 'Theodosian' capitals (PLATE 42 *a-b*), Byzantine carved blocks, and more sculptured slabs (PLATE 44*b*). Work had started on the new mosque in 1966; in 1968 it had been carried up to roof level, and the mosque was to be completed in 1969 after a pause for the foundations to settle. The only relic that we have seen *in situ* at Akköy is a 'hamam' (the term that the villagers commonly apply to rubble and mortar ruins not recognized as churches); this was by the stream on the north of the village, and might have been a cistern. The Byzantine marbles have all been in the village from living memory, and no one knows where they originally came from; but as we shall see, there is a big Late Roman-Byzantine site near at hand. Though we have spent a good many hours at Akköy and become friendly with the villagers, we have seen very few coins there, and what we have seen were in poor condition; our notes record a Hellenistic bronze of Alexandria Troas (types not noted), a little bronze with a lyre of Hamaxitus (or Mitylene), one with *obv.* tree and altar, *rev.* countermarks (head r., slender vase), three unidentifiable, and several Byzantine and Turkish coins. Clearly there is no site yielding Hellenic coins in close proximity to the village.

At what our carter from Ezine called Akköy Yakasi *, on the gentle slope down to the river, we discovered tiles and potsherds extending over an area some hundreds of metres across (east-west) and over a kilometre from north to south.⁴ The position is north-north-east of

1 692 inhabitants in the 1940 census, now 200 houses (and 819 inhabitants in the 1955 census). The village was not visited by the travellers; it first appears on the old French maps of the 1780s.

2 I have found no mention of the Akköy potteries, not even in Cuinet. The potteries are now in the village; but there are dense patches of testi sherds in the fields towards the Roman site mentioned below. The testis are distinctive, being adorned with comb-drawn wavy-line decoration and sprays in red and white paint; the red pigment comes from Cinarkoy* on the Akçin Çay south of Ezine, and the white from the chalk cliff at Karantina north of Erenköy; the clay is of course local. When weathered, isolated sherds of this ware can be deceptive. There is also a tile factory in the village.

3 On my map I have marked it where the GS map places it; but a position a kilometre or so further west would fit better with our observations.

4 The name Akköy Yakasi means nothing to the villagers, and the area has no distinctive name. The landmark on the site is the lower of the two beton cesmes* in the fields.

Ezine, and the site is intersected by a cart track leading thence. At its southern end it is only a few hundred metres from the Menderes. The situation does not catch the eye, and we only became aware of the site by seeing Roman sherds on the ground as we were driven across it on our way to Ada Tepe in 1959. We have seen no traces of buildings save for banks with stones at either end of the site, and no architectural pieces except a Byzantine window mullion by the fountain; but we noticed a fragment of a marble basin rim and some bits of marble revetment, ancient glass, and, built into the fountain in the middle of the site, two fragment of a Latin inscription (below, p. 399, no. 12) which disappeared with the concreting of the fountain between our visits of 1959 and 1968. The earliest sherds we have seen on the site are of about the first century after Christ. But it is the Late Roman wares that are the most abundant; and unlike Ilion, this site seems to have been flourishing at the time when the Late Roman ware came to an end. This is demonstrated by Dr. Hayes's note on our more identifiable sherds.¹ No doubt the big Byzantine church, whose relics are now to be seen in Akköy village, belonged to this settlement. Whether it was that of St. Tryphon known from an inscription in Ezine (below, p. 396, no. 4) is more doubtful; but it is clear that this site is a substantial Early Christian settlement, in fact the most substantial that we know in the Scamander basin. It will be argued later (pp. 355 f.) that we have here the bishopric of Skamandros that is known from Hierocles and some *Notitiae*.

There is another much less extensive site of similar date south-east (or south) of Akköy, which is approached by a field track leading from the village to the new concrete bridge on the Ezine-Marmat road. The track skirts the edge of the slopes that lead back to the plateau; 2-3 km. from Akköy a gentle rise to the north of it carries a modern farmhouse and, on its south-east side, some relics of a rubble and mortar building; the hill being named Kilise Tepe, this may have been a church. We found no traces of occupation on the crest of this low hill. But in sesame fields behind, where the ground begins to mount again northwards, we found Roman tile and coarse pottery, together with a number of recognizable Late Roman sherds, spread over an area 100m. or so across.

1 1 rim and two other sherds of Candarli * ware, early fabric, about first century after Christ; 1 rim and 1 base of Candarli ware flanged bowls (Hayes's late form 3), second-third century after Christ; 1 rim of Candarli ware dish (Hayes's late form 2), about late second-first half of third century; 1 amphora fragment of third-fifth century; 1 amphora fragment of B i type (early straight-grooved variety), about late fifth-early sixth century; 1 lamp handle, imitation of North African type (Broneer XXXI), probably sixth century; 1 fragment of grey mould-made ware (pilgrim flask?); 1 fragment of glass, probably stem of a 'wine-glass', Early Christian?; 2 rims of Late Roman C bowls roughly as Antioch (*Antioch* iv. 1) 943, late fifth-early sixth century; 5 rims and 1 base of Late Roman C bowls as Antioch 947 and 949, mid sixth-mid seventh century.

Dr. Hayes has kindly examined the Roman ware and dates the occupation from the second half of the second or the third century to at least the sixth century.¹ The villagers of Akköy knew of no finds from the site. But in the adjacent village of Marmat we were shown a plain granite column shaft inscribed (in Greek) with the names of G. Marcius Secundus and Decia Statilia (p. 397, no. 9) which was said to have come to light in the fields above the concrete bridge (and so perhaps not far from Kilise Tepe). Kilise Tepe has most recently been named as the find spot of an inscription of Hellenistic date relating to the construction of fortifications, which came into the hands of Makridi Bey early in the century and is known from references in A. Brückner and L. Robert.² It had hitherto been said to come from Akköy, but in returning to speak of it in connection with our report of our 1959 journey M. Robert has now most helpfully disclosed that the find spot cited by Makridi Bey in his letter to Brückner was 'Kilise tepesi' between Akköy and Marmat. Since a Hellenistic city at Kilise Tepe is out of the question, the stone was presumably brought there from its proper site in Roman or Byzantine times, no doubt for use as building material.

There is one other testimony to Hellenic settlement in this region. In H. Thiersch's manuscript catalogue of the Calvert collection the material is arranged in alphabetical order of sites; and the fourth site listed is 'Berytis', which yielded a number of complete vases from tombs (nos. 36 ff.). They consist of a light grey bucchero kantharos, perhaps seventh-century B.C., and a second coarser kantharos, a simple Proto-corinthian ovoid aryballos, evidently seventh century (and hardly later than the third quarter), and two small Attic lekythoi with scale and palmette decoration (c. 500-fifth century). Thiersch wrote 'Calverts Grabungen an einer antiken Ortslage in der Nähe von Akkiöi nō von Ezine. Gräber. Er vermutet dort das alte Berytis, hat aber diese seine Ansicht noch nicht öffentlich begründet.' This was of course Frank Calvert. There is a disturbing anomaly in Thiersch's account of the finds. At the beginning of the catalogue he remarks that objects marked with an F were found on the property of the late Frederick Calvert, to whose family they belonged; and the Protocorinthian aryballos and Attic lekythoi are so marked. But we know nothing of a Calvert property at Akköy. It would be an easy inference that the pieces came from Frederick's çiftlik at Akça Köy ('Thymbra Farm'), though that of course

1 Late version of Loeschcke type 26b (late second-third century): base of dish as *Samaria* iii, fig. 83. 11 (about third century): small version of Antioch 910 (cf. 922) (late fourth-early fifth century): rim about Antioch 941 (second half of fifth century): a similar rim (late fifth-early sixth century): a piece with wavy combed decoration probably not earlier than the sixth century.

2 *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1927, 11 n. 1; Robert, *Ét. num.gr.* (1951), 29, *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 102f.

has its own entry in the catalogue. But the archaic bucchero kantharos remains; and we have independent evidence for finds near Akköy, because J.T. Clarke of the Assos mission of 1881-3 illustrates a terracotta sphinx of classical date which he says was from 'Aqkieui' which Calvert identified as the site of Berytis.¹ Thus the existence of Hellenic graves near Akköy can hardly be disputed; and we have in fact discovered a classical city site, Ada Tepe, up a valley an hour north of Akköy (below, pp. 351 ff.).

We now continue eastward. Marmat is approached directly from Ezine, to whose central nahiye it belongs.² Besides the inscribed column shaft already mentioned and a truncated granite sarcophagus, apparently from Alexandria Troas, which names the *φορτίγιον* of the emporion as the recipient of fines (below, p. 397, no. 10, PLATE 66), we noted an impost capital and several other bits of Byzantine church architecture in the village, and two early Byzantine coins of unidentified empresses.

The next village, 3-4 km. to the east, is Pazarköy,³ whose position is quite erroneously marked on the German maps (presumably exaggerating the error on the old French ones). It is approached by a jeep road from Marmat. In the village we saw a granite column and a marble block. They were said to come from a 'havuz' 2 km. up the slope to the north, which we proceeded to visit. We were there shown a plasterlined cistern which did not look to be of any great age, and were told of a hamam now filled in. There were a few coarse sherds around, but hardly enough to make an ancient site. More important perhaps are the remains of which we were told, and which we unfortunately did not visit, at the Hacı * Pasa* çiftlik down towards the river. These are said to be covered up now, but they included marble blocks, iron-clamped pithoi and gold, and pottery including plates. From the description we should conjecture that there was a Roman site there.

Beyond Pazarköy the foothills descend to the river, and there is no continuous vehicular road along this bank. The villages that come next in order are approached severally by tracks leading from the Ahmetçeli bridge, and belong to the kaza of Bayramiç. Archaeologically the whole

¹*Report on the Investigations at Assos 1882, 1883*, Pt. i (1898), 183, fig. 44 (the piece is not in Thiersch's catalogue).

² Population 249 in the 1940 census. The etymology is clear from the 1574 fiscal survey, where Mavromat appears (with 52 adult males, whose names, my son Michael noted, are all Moslem ones). The old French maps show Mavromate, and near by another village called 'Bormas-keui' which looks like an unconscious doublet. Makridi Bey and the 1940 census list give Mormat. We heard the name as Marmat until on our second visit to the place we deliberately queried the pronunciation; the exaggerated form that we then heard sounded like 'Mogormat*' (the GS map similarly has Mogomat*!), with the unexpected addition that the name of the village is now Güllüce.

³ Population 188 in the 1940 census, presumably the Bazar of the 1574 fiscal survey with 41 adult males.

of this region has remained unexplored. Wood went as far as Ahmetçeli in 1750; Tchihatcheff seems to have traversed the edge of the plain from Doganci * by way of Ahmetçeli to a crossing of the Menderes near Ezine in 1849, and Virchow and Schliemann cut across from Bayramiç by Isiklar* to the Kemer valley in 1890. But none of them have anything to say; and the Kiepers' maps show that they did not come near here. Judeich reported spending two almost fruitless days in the hill country here in 1896, but a study of his route leaves us in no doubt that he saw little of this riverain stretch. Of the southern fringe here he only remarked that the few ancient stones in the villages seemed to have been brought from a distance (perhaps from Cebren, he suggests, which seems to us most unlikely); the villagers could tell him nothing about them, and he found no inscriptions. We found that, though set among foothills, these villages are not badly provided with cultivable land or noticeably poor.

Butreli, so called on the spot and in the neighbouring villagers, is known to the rest of the world as Pitir* Eli.¹ Apart from a disused fountain with what seems to be old Turkish carving (PLATE 41b) we noted nothing. On the way up to Butreli we examined some hill crests to the right of the track but found them quite blank. At Ahmetçeli we found nothing to note at all.² A few kilometres behind it lies Zeytinli, formerly called Israilli* and Siyarli*.³ The country up here is broken but still not unfertile. In the village itself we saw only an Early Christian impost capital with Ionic volutes and a cross, and a rough limestone stele with Latin names in weak lettering (p. 401, no. 16). Both were reported to come from a place called Demir Boku (= iron slag), which is on a flat shelf between the Ilica* ravine and the Ahmetçeli road 1-2 km. down the slope from Zeytinli. Examining the site we found iron slag scattered in the fields over a wide area,⁴ together with tile, bits of glass vessels, and coarse pottery including some Roman red ware. Two sherds of the latter that we picked up are dated by Dr. Hayes in the late second or early third century;⁵ so, with the capital in the village, we may date the occupation from middle imperial to early Byzantine times. Coins are

1 Population 419 in the 1940 census; in the survey of 1574 btr* (back vowels) eli with 55 adult males, and also among places with rice cultivation. Soutourelli on the old French maps.

2 Population 366 in the 1940 census, not identifiable in the 1574 survey, but marked on Wood's map of 1750 as Amaceli (in his diary 'the miserable village of Camarshilli').

3 Population 247 in the 1940 census, 38 adult males in the 1574 survey (Israillu*); the Sihale (Sibale) of the old French maps and Sijagly of the German ones. The villagers told us that they changed the name to Zeytinli because they were tired of being asked by their neighbours whether they were Jews.

4 Dr. R. Tylecote, who has kindly examined a sample, reports that it is 'an iron smelting tap-slag, containing a few ferrite rosettes and fine long thin wüstite dendrites in a slightly porous matrix of fayalite and a glass phase'.

5 1. Base of dish of Candarli* ware as *Samaria* iii, fig. 83. 11. 2. Flanged bowl fragment Loeschcke type 15.

said to come to light there; but there were none for us to see because, we were told, a fistful of them had recently been sent to Edirne in the hope (unhappily not fulfilled) of obtaining a price for them. At the west end of the site on the edge of the ravine we saw numerous stones from the foundations of a building which had recently been dug out (the field there is called Kilise). We also learned of a place near by with graves which yielded unspecified finds 40 years ago; but, as we were told, now nobody looks and nothing comes out.

The ravine to the west of Zeytinli is the one major valley on the north bank of the Scamander west of the Kursak * Çay. It is called Ilica* Dere.¹ The ilica* (spa) itself is higher up, not far below the junction of the Dam Dere with the main valley. It has no regular personnel, but Riza* Ürgüvin told us that the water there cured his eczema. North of Zeytinli is a village called Zerdalli (i.e. Zerdalili),² approached from Zeytinli by a difficult jeep track which crosses the Ilica Dere and climbs steeply up the wooded mountainside. Riza Bey in Bayramiç told us of three tepes on the plateau here. One, which he had not climbed, was Hayrettin Tepe, of which he told us a story that will be mentioned later; the villagers speak of a kale, but only a natural rock summit, on the lesser Hayrettin Tepe; we climbed it and were rewarded by a hazy view over the ridges to the Scamander plain. Riza Bey's second tepe, Mazilik* Tepe, proved to be further north towards the small village of Gökçe (the Gökçeiçi of the 1940 census with 168 inhabitants) on the watershed west of the Kayali* Dag* we could not discover whether it is a site or not. The third was known to Riza Bey as a site (Asarlik*), and we were told of it also at Zeytinli; it is called Dam Kale, and a broad path leads to it in three quarters of an hour from Zerdalli. It is a small, steep-sided hill rising on the right bank of a narrow pine-wooded glen (the Dam Dere) which leads down to the Ilica Dere. We cannot place it exactly on the map. The top is more or less level for a distance of about 40 m. Here and on the slopes below there are dense traces of buildings, with few sherds to be seen because of the carpet of pine needles. But 100 m. lower down we picked up worn sherds in a field, including two toes of wine amphorae, several bits of black glaze (one being of ribbed ware), and a loom-weight. So far as we could judge, the pottery was fourth-century-Hellenistic, with no sign of Roman. On the hill top we found a bronze coin of Ilion (PLATE 45*b*); it fits best in Bellinger's group beginning with T 69, which he dates 159-133 B.C.³ The site in the Dam Dere is evidently that of a village or small town. In the second century

¹ Lidjek Deressi on the old French maps, which recognized it as a major stream (as also did Virchow on his journey of 1890).

² Also Zerdalilik (zerdali=wild apricot) and by vowel harmony Zerdeli; in the 1955 (not 1940) census (113 inhabitants), apparently not Shi`ite.

³ Troy, Suppl. Monograph ii (1961), p. 29. Our specimen 11 mm.; *rev.* in field 1. snake (?).

B.C. after the treaty of Apamea it must have belonged to Ilion. But prior to 188 B.C. it would presumably have belonged to Gergis, whose site (at Karincali *) should be only about 8 km. away.

The earth of the hill slopes is a vivid red in parts of this central region north of the middle Scamander; it is used with effect in the plaster facing of houses in the villages. Our notes show it as most conspicuous around Butreli, Zeytinli, and Zerdalli. We had at one time kept our eyes open for red earth as a pointer to the position of Gergis; for the epigram

attributed to the Gergithian Sibyl speaks of `red (*ἐρυθρή*) Marpossos' as her birthplace; and Pausanias and Stephanus Byzantius explain the epithet as referring to the colour of the soil in the region of Marpossos.¹ But, as it happened, we fixed the site of Gergis before we discovered the red earth. With Gergis located at Karincali, it is natural to bring this red earth region north of the Scamander into association with Marpossos. Pausanias at the same time speaks of the ground as being terribly dry (*δεινῶς ἀνχμώδης*), and this again fits with the country around Zerdalli.² Of Marpossos itself he tells us two things: that its ruins still existed in Ida, with some 60 inhabitants;³ and that it was 240 stades from Alexandria Troas. The traces of occupation that we have noted on the site and the distance from Troas both fit with Pausanias; and we can forget Leaf's argument that being 240 stades from Troas, Marpossos must have been `near the Bally Dagħ' (which is less than 100 stades from Troas). Finally Pausanias tells us that the river Aidoneus named in the Sibyl's epigram as at Marpossos was distinguished by the peculiarity that it disappeared underground and then bubbled up, only to disappear again. In summer the Ilica* river has been dry where we have crossed it lower down. But the water gushes up at the ilica*, and the GS map marks two water mills 1 km. lower down;

1 Paus. x. 12, where the epigram is quoted; Steph. Byz. s.vv. Gergis, Mermessos. Lactantius i. 6 gives this (his `Hellespontine') Sibyl's birthplace as `in agro Troiano, vico Marpesso, circa oppidum Gergithum'; this correctly describes the situation after 188 B.C. Other references in R. Kiepert, *Klio* ix (1909), 10-13, where the novel suggestion is made that a scholar should look `mit eigenen Augen' for the red earth. The red earth had not in fact gone unnoticed. In his journey of 1890 Virchow remarked low hills of red soil precisely in this region west of the Ilica Dere; but he did not know of `red Marpossos' (*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, phys.-math. Cl. 978). In contrast to his father, who had placed Marpossos at the Kozlu Dag* site in spite of the absence of red earth, Richard Kiepert placed Gergis near Salihler, with Marpossos between it and the Dardanelles near the Ophryneion site (again without the discovery of any red earth). Leaf, who followed Calvert in placing Gergis on the Balli* Dag, noted the name Kizil* Kaya (Tepe) (= red rock) on the German maps above the Dümrek Su and opined that Marpossos was there (this in fact is by Ovacik*, and the earth there is not red).

2 The villagers of Zerdalli presumably have wells. But when we returned parched from our visit to the Dam Kale our jeepman insisted that we should not drink until we descended to the spring in the Ilica Dere. By contrast, the south side of the Scamander from the Çal Dag eastward has copious springs.

3 *ἦν δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ πόλειως Μαρπησσοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια* . The past tense must relate to the time when Pausanias learned about Marpossos, no doubt at Alexandria Troas.

so it looks as though Pausanias' statement applies precisely to this river. We can therefore confidently identify the Dam Kale site with Marpossos, and the Ilica * Dere with the Sibyl's river Aidoneus. Although it must be close to the Ilica valley, the Dam Kale is at much the same altitude as the plateau at Zerdalli, about 300 m. above sea level, and must have been a mountain village. The pine forest prevented us from taking a worthwhile photograph of the site.

We have not penetrated the heart of the mountain land between Zerdalli and Ovacik*. Heinrich Kiepert, who perhaps traversed the plateau further north, speaks of it as a relatively barren undulating upland covered with valonia scrub and containing a few wandering Türkmen villages, with the valleys on the south side cut deeper and carrying more water than those on the north.¹ Judeich went from Ezine up to Çamlıca, but probably not east or north of this. He speaks of a bare highland tilted slightly down towards the south and relieved only by pine trees in the valleys and hollows; in his time it was inhabited by isolated Yürük bands, and with very few exceptions the villages were all on the edges of the plateau: `nirgends sind antike Reste sichtbar, auch den Anwohnern keine bekannt.'² The one exception he found to this last statement was a piece of late Roman or Byzantine walling near Camlica*, which he thought belonged to an aqueduct. This seems likely because the Roman aqueduct in the Kemer valley east of Troy brought its water from this direction. In the village of Kemer we were told simply that the water had been brought from near Camlica. But at Ovacik the Tanripinar* (= god's spring) south of Salihler was mentioned to us as the source, and Rıza* Bey spoke of two sources, the Tanripinar and a spring called Cakır* Büyet just north of Camlica. Rıza Bey, who controls sources of information outside the purview of European scholarship, told us that it was at Hayrettin Tepe that Alexander the Great camped when he cut off the water supply of Troy (he also spoke of tombs of his soldiers there). Legend is the vehicle of antiquarian information; and this story may enshrine some local memory of remains of an aqueduct in the vicinity. At all events Judeich's wall seems likely to belong to the Roman water supply of Ilion.

At the various points where we have penetrated the plateau we have heard talk of Camlica, which with Salihler seems to be the metropolis of the region.³ The villager who showed us the Roman iron-working site below Zeytinli told us that there was one other such `ocak' near

¹*Memoir über die Construction der Karte von Kleinasien* (1854), 58.

²*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 539 f.

³ Camlica appears in the nahiye of Ezine in the fiscal survey of 1574 (48 adult males) and similarly in the 1940 census (population 284).

Camlica * up the valley that runs below Zerdalli on the west (the GS map gives the name Madenocagiustu*, but apparently south-west of Camlica). Near Camlica and Salihler, which lies a few kilometres to the north at the headwaters of the Dümrek Su,¹ Calvert excavated a small cemetery and found a bowl and various terracotta figurines, of which those that are illustrated are Hellenistic.² The distance from Ilion would be about 20 km.

We must now return to the Ahmetçeli bridge, which has recently been constructed in concrete to serve the villages of the north bank, though the ford further west between the Türkmenli road coffee house and Ahmetçeli is still used by motor traffic in summer. From the bridge a track leads to Saçaklı, which is set on a brow with its white mosque serving as a landmark for 25 km. around. It had 32 adult males in the 1574 survey and 392 inhabitants in the 1940 census. Over 200 years ago Pococke had a copy of a late Roman epitaph from `Sajaclee' (*CIG* 3574).³ All we noted in the village was a middle-Byzantine bronze coin, which was, however, said not to have been found locally, and a 10 lepta piece of George I of Greece; and the only site the villagers knew of was Asmalı* Dere in the territory of Çatalçam. The plateau here is set further back; and Çatalçam is approached by a long pull-up from the Kursak* Çay bridge north of Bayramıç, but it is not a village of the plateau like Zerdalli.⁴ The villagers took us to the Asmalı Dere site, and in their enthusiasm to another spot 1 km. east of the village called Kilise Duvarı*, where we saw a very ordinary-looking field wall that was said to be built from the ruin of a chapel. The Asmalı Dere is a little valley that lies between Çatalçam and the villages of Palamutoba⁵ on the west. The site is a short hour's walk south-west of Çatalçam. It is a narrow strip between fields, where foundations with mortar have been exposed and are now overgrown. There is tile on the ground alongside, but the site is not itself large enough to be a settlement. A mosaic is, however, reported, and a considerable number of Byzantine marbles have come from there. Most of them are in the house of the owner of the land on the edge of the village, but a couple are at the mosque. We noted a fragment with a bird, a block from a decorative band with floral scroll work and birds (PLATE 42*d*), a piece of a slender chancel arch with spiral and geometrical motifs (PLATE 42*c*), and three fragments

1 In the nahiye of Erenköy; 312 inhabitants in 1940.

2 Site no. 27 in Thiersch's catalogue. Cf. Virchow *ap. RE* `Troas' 569, no. 43. In this same region north of Camlica he also had terracottas of perhaps classical date from three `Gräberplätze' at Adagelisi (Adakelis*), which is between the upper Kemer stream and that of Tanripinar* (his site no. 2); this seems to be quite near to our Mersin site (above, pp. 113*f.*).

3 *CIG* 3575 was not, as the lemma implies, found in Sacaklı* (see Hunt *ad loc.*).

4 Çatalçam is marked on the old French maps; population 248 in the 1940 census.

5 Population 308 in the 1940 census. Curiously we never heard of this name in our journeys.

of a coping, presumably from a chancel screen, with a dedicatory inscription on the overhang (PLATE 70, below, p. 401, no. 17). On this evidence there seems to have been a pretty Early Christian or early Middle Byzantine church at Asmalı * Dere. In Çatalçam we also saw an early Byzantine (fifth-seventh century) bronze coin.

Much nearer to the Menderes, and approached from Bayramiç by a sandy track along its bank to the confluence of the Kursak* Çay, is the little village of Dogancı*.¹ In high summer we found the villagers in bowers in the fields below the village. They could tell us of no ancient remains; but the people were too far apart for interest to be aroused.

Drawing its water from dry uplands, the Kursak Çay is no rival to the Menderes. In summer we have noted pools in its bed but no flow; and water seems to be obtained from wells rather than fountains. Its valley, up which the Çan Pazar road runs, appeared to us a thinly populated area when we traversed it, and hardly seemed to harmonize with Strabo's description of the Karesene (which we take to be the Kursak-Can-Çan] Dere sleeve) as a flourishing hill-country with many villages (*ὄρεινὴ πολλαῖς κώμαις συνοικουμένη καὶ γεωργουμένη καλῶς* , xiii. 602, § 44 init.). But appearances are deceptive. The complex, fanshaped valley is indeed lacking in well-set-up villages; it has only three with a population of 300. But in fact it contains no less than 25 of the villages in the nahiye of Yigitler*. The average population per village here, 204 as compared with 350 in the central basin and 400 in the upper Scamander valley, is evidence of a small-featured countryside rather than a barren one (PLATE 46*b*, a view from İkizce* north-west-ward to the Kayalı* Dag*).² The only villages we have effectively visited here are Yigitler, recently raised to a nahiye,³ and the Shi'ite community of Karıncalı*;⁴ the latter proved to have a first-class site, now identified as Gergis. The antiquities we have seen in Yigitler were said to have come from that site and will be described later (pp. 347 ff.). We prospected for sites in the valley below Yigitler in 1963. On one hill about 500 m. west of the Bayramiç road we examined what looked like a partly artificial mound and found pithos fragments and floor tile with finger-drawn S pattern scattered for a distance around, presumably Late Roman or Byzantine; the local name is Ceneviz (= Genoese).

1 Population 213 in the 1940 census; Togancı* Eli listed in the 1574 survey as a rice plantation and also as a village with 7 adult males.

2 The figures are the 1940 ones. Across the watershed in the upper Çan valley the 21 villages in the nahiye of Gölcük had an average population of 285.

3 Yigitaliler* in the 1940 census (population 462) and as an alternative name for Behadinlü (45 adult males) in the 1574 fiscal survey. The old name of this village, which is still heard, is Idallar* (Idalla on the old French maps, corrupted to Hallat on Kauffer).

4 Raised to a village with a 1955 census population of 227.

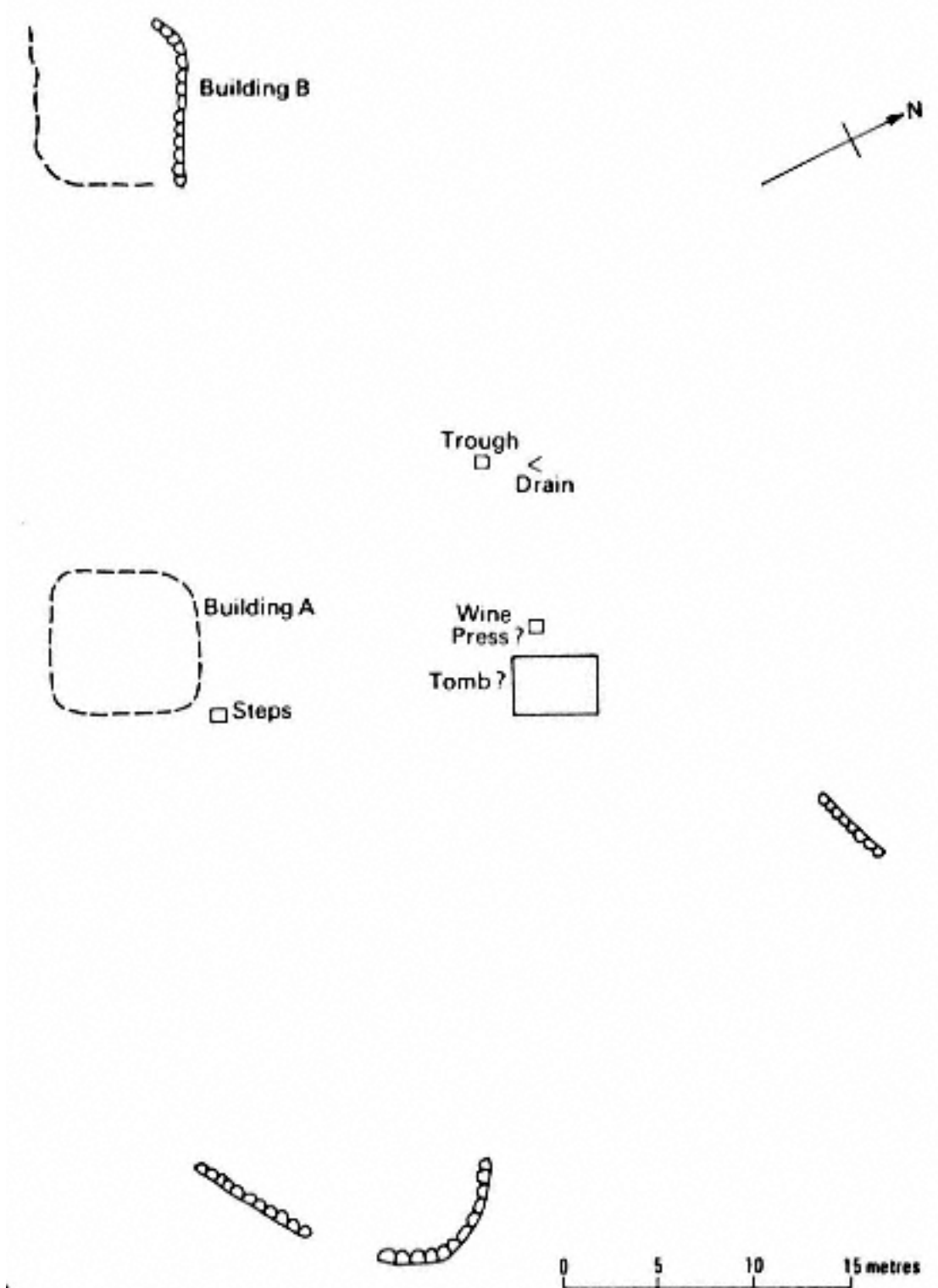


Fig. 13.
Site on Künk Tas *; Dag*

We have not attempted a survey of the Kursak* valley east of the Yigitler* road, and for a long time we believed that it was barren of ancient remains. All we could gather was a report from a villager on market day at Bayramiç that there were stones on the ground at Künk Dagi* near Muradlar on the watershed with the Granicus; and when we travelled down that valley to Çan Pazar we heard of no coins or

antiquities. But Riza * Bey later pointed out three places with ancient remains when we travelled up the Kursak* Dere with him, as well as mentioning various points where he said iron slag was scattered on the ground. Only 2-3 km. north of Kursunlu* Tepe (Scepsis) he reported a fort on a hill named Asarlik* Tepe, which he called a `bekçi' (guardian or sentinel) of the city at Kursunlu (Scepsis). At Osmaniye (Armutlu) on the north side of Ikizce* he told us that Roman graves with bronze bracelets had come to light. And the Künk Dagi* site, which we had imagined to be more distant, was pointed out by him about 6 km. north of Ikizce on a hill to which in fact the GS map gives the name Künk Tasi* and an elevation of 580 m. This hill is a watershed between the Kursak Dere and the Çan valley. Mr. Joe Helme visited it in 1969, and has provided a report on the site with photographs by Mr. Andrew Page. It occupies two high and inaccessible hill tops about 3 km. south of the BayramiçÇan road. The first, which was examined, had a settlement to the south, to judge by the profusion of stones. Of the second, which lies to the south-west of this and is reported to have remains on it, they only heard on their return. Mr. Helme has provided a sketch plan of the main hill top (FIG. 13). In the centre is a pile of stones surrounding a pit (possibly a grave). Close to this is a cutting in the rock which could be a wine press (PLATE 47a), and beyond it a stone trough and a rock-cut channel which might be connected with it. At various points traces of loose stone walls were noted, in two cases forming buildings or enclosures. That marked A is shown in PLATE 47b; close to it was a stone stair of five or six steps. The samples of pottery picked up on the site were of domestic ware, including cooking pots, and of Roman or possibly Byzantine date. It is not clear whether the installations on top were connected with agriculture or metalworking.

Künk Tas* Dag* seems to be the most substantial site up the Kursak valley, and it is evidently of late date. Ancient names that might be relevant here are Kleandria and Gordos at the head of a stream called Rhodios.¹

2

The Kayali* Dag Site

North of Karincali* the plateau is more elevated than around Zerdalli. From what we have seen, the dominant mass is the Kayali Dag, which continues eastward in the Ala Dag and pushes out a hog's-back ridge to the north (the Sarp Dag). Despite Judeich's careful account, the German maps have names and positions here all wrong. The summit of the Kayali Dag is the southern `keep' of this mountain mass; it appears in the background in our view from the south (PLATE 59b). It has a flat-topped crest which falls off steeply all round and is about 900 m. above

¹ Cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 208

sea level. If we seek an ancient name for it, Mt. Markaion πρὸς τῇ Γέργυτι is available.¹ Judeich and Dragendorff in 1896 came from the north (the Koca Çay valley and the gold mines), and from the top of the mountain they descended to Kus * Çayir on the south-west, whence they turned back to visit Sapci*,² thus side-stepping the Karincali* site. They saw nothing in the villages except small unfluted column drums which were used for rolling out the mud roofs after rain. They did, however, visit the previously unknown site on top of the Kayali* Dag*, of which Judeich gives an account.³ We ascended to it in 1959, also from the north.

Judeich noted the summit as a 'ziemlich grosse Fläche'. We reckoned that it must be several hundred metres long and broad, but the oak scrub was so dense as to make visibility nil and movement in a straight line impossible; and our guides did not know the site. The approach to the summit seems to have been from the north-east, where we thought we could recognize a cistern inside the entrance. But, like Judeich, we could not light upon any certain trace of a circuit wall. Like Judeich also, we noted numerous foundations of sturdy house walls. Judeich remarked fragments of unfluted column shafts, which, together with the other remains, he dated to the Roman epoch. We saw a monolithic granite shaft with a base diameter of 41 cm., and would naturally agree with a late Roman dating. But we were inclined to regard the remains of habitation as largely Byzantine. The tiles and potsherds on the ground gave no very clear indication of date, the pottery being all coarse; but it was clear that there was nothing classical or Hellenistic, and we did not see any sherds of wine amphorae or Roman red ware.

Judeich's most notable discovery was the lower half of a relief of Roman date (not illustrated by him), on which was carved a man in frontal view standing on a basis, with a staff in his left hand and a 'Schale' in his right; he took this to be a copy of a cult statue. Further light is shed on this by a marble stele-top 25 cm. in breadth that we saw in Bayramiç, which was shown to us as having been found on the summit of the Kayali Dag (PLATE 46a); this shows Judeich's deity standing beside a seated Cybele or μῆτηρ ὄρεϊα. Evidently there was a cult on the mountain top in Roman imperial times.⁴ From the same spot

1 Steph. Byz. s.v. R. Kiepert placed it in this region but north of the Koca Çay (*Klio* ix (1909), 13).

2 Kus Çayir had 407 inhabitants in the 1940 census; Judeich spoke of it as prosperous. Copper, iron, and nickel deposits are reported near there (C.W. Ryan, *A Guide to the known Minerals of Turkey* (1960), 28, 81, 130). Sapci, with two villages, was very small in 1940, but seems to bulk large in the 1574 survey (3 villages with 126 adult males); it is said by Schliemann to be the source of flints for threshing sledges (*Ilios* (1880), 247). The name should refer to the production of alum.

3Sb. *Berl. Akad.* 1898, 534 f.

4 There is a similar relief in the Çanak Kale museum, but its provenience is not ascertainable.

came two Graeco-Roman gems (one with Artemis or Hecate, the other with a garland attached to an arrow), and a bronze coin of Constantius II with the same types as no. 17 on p. 340 (Cebren).

This site cannot be Marpossos (above, pp. 280 ff.); for it is not in a red earth region, it stands far too high for any river to be associated with it, and the occupation is of the wrong period. The date of the occupation also rules out places known to us from coins or literary sources of the classical era, such as Kokylion, Birytis, Gentinos, and Petieia. In fact we have the unusual phenomenon of a large settlement which seems to have been founded in Roman times on the highest mountain top of the region. The name that suggests itself is Kenchreai, a place of which the earliest surviving notice is in Stephanus Byzantius in the early sixth century after Christ:

Κεγχρεαί· πόλις Τρωάδος, ἐν ᾗ διέτριβεν Ὅμηρος

μανθάνων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Τρώας

.1 It occurs again twice in

the Byzantine historian Pachymeres: in the year 1282 Manuel Palaiologos was imprisoned

ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Σκάμανδρον Κεγχρεαῖς, ἀπανθρώπῳ τινὶ φρουρίῳ

(i. 485), and in 1306 the 'Romans' (Greeks)

ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Σκάμανδρον χωρῶν

took refuge in Kenchreai, though from lack of water they were unable to hold out against the 'Persians' (Turks) (ii. 443). In the second passage the historian is concerned with the gallant exploits of Choeroboscus, and the mention of Kenchreai is not in a topographical context. Presumably Skamandros refers to the river rather than the town of that name, or at least is not narrowly localized. Various identifications have been proposed for Kenchreai: the site on the Cigri * Dag* (similar in name) by many scholars before it was recognized as Neandria, Kizkulesi*,² Hisarlik* (i.e. Ilion) by Tomaschek,³ the Balli* Dag by Brückner, a scholar prodigal of *recherché* identifications.⁴ The only one of these that is possible is Kizkulesi; and though this has a Byzantine castle and pottery of later Byzantine times on the ground, the complete absence of anything Roman or Early Christian there makes us think it likely to be not Kenchreai but the other Byzantine stronghold in the Scamander region of which Pachymeres tells

usAstytzion (below, p. 319). The Kayali* Dag can hardly be said to be *κατὰ Σκάμανδρον*. But its position is suitable as a refuge for the inhabitants of the central basin, and it seems doubtful whether Pachymeres had any precise knowledge

1 Cf. *Suda* s.v. *Ὅμηρος* (one of the alleged birthplaces of the poet). This is presumably distinct from the Kenchreai of George Acropolitas between Lampsacus and Pegae (Karabiga), cf. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie* 18. Presumably this latter one is Lithgow's Cenchrea, though not, as he goes on to say, 'where St. Paul cut his hair'.

2 For references see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 231 f. A. Reinach, who visited the site, also favoured Kizkulesi (*Rev. épigr.*, N.S. i (1913), 319 n. 1). See below, pp. 318 f.

3 Loc. cit. It is scarcely possible that the site of Ilion had changed its name before the time of Stephanus.

4 In *Troja und Ilion* (1902), 574. The occupation on the Balli Dag site is archaic-early Hellenistic and not later (above, pp. 137 ff.).

of the topography. This seems to us the most likely position for Kenchreai.¹

We took a different route to the Kayali * Dag* from Judeich's. We struck up into the mountain from Ortaca, and followed a track which skirted the west side of the Sarp Dag till we reached a saddle on the east shoulder of the Kayali Dag, whence there was an arduous ascent to the mountain top. The path seemed as though it continued southwards in the direction of Bayramiç. We passed no village and met no wayfarers. But the track was throughout a broad, easy one, which must have seen considerable use in the past; and no doubt it was a regular route from the Dardanelles to Bayramiç. Now, in antiquity the Roman road from Abydos southward followed the line of least resistance and went round by the coast; and Xerxes, whose enormous baggage train demanded an easy route with frequent halting grounds, made a detour by Ilion. But for the unencumbered there was a much more direct route across Ida from the Dardanelles to Antandrus. In 424 B.C. the Lesbian exiles crossed from Rhoeteum to capture Antandrus; in 411 Peloponnesian hoplites were brought over Ida from Abydos to Antandrus to expel Tissaphernes' garrison; in 399 the rump of the Ten Thousand crossed Ida from the Hellespont to Antandrus on their way southward, and in 387 the Spartan commander Anaxibius crossed with a mixed force from Abydos to establish a garrison in Antandrus and was ambushed by Iphicrates on the return journey.² We may pause for a moment to consider this route from Antandrus.

At the present day the rough roads of the forestry commission converge to the east of the main massif of Ida. But at Narli* and Altinoluk* on the south coast we were told of a crossing to Bayramiç on a much more direct route to the west of the high ridge (above, p. 266), and a couple of the travellers went this way Turner in 1816 from Bayramiç and Kizil* ('Ghizi') Tepe in stormy November weather to Narli, taking eight and a half hours,³ and Tchihatcheff, who crossed from Narli in April 1849, and (heading for Evciler and Karaköy) reached Cavuslu* in seven hours.⁴ The normal route seems to be by the upper valley of the Mihli* Çay, and the crossing from Antandrus to Scepsis would take eight or nine hours. Schliemann speaks of a crossing from Avcılar* to Bayramiç, also in eight hours.⁵

¹ Of other sites with possible occupation of this time I have ruled out the Ilica* site in the upper Scamander gorge on the ground that water would not have been difficult to procure (below, p. 296), Kötüpinar for lack of defences (p. 307), and the Çal Dag site (below, pp. 327 ff.) on the ground that its ancient name would not have been forgotten.

² Thuc. iv. 52; Thuc. viii. 108. 4; Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 7; Xen. *HG* iv. 8. 35-8.

³ *Journal of a Tour in the Levant* (1820), iii. 261 ff.

⁴ *Pet. geogr. Mitt.* 1867, Erg. 20, p. 25. He speaks of wooded rounded heights, narrow valleys, and clear streams.

⁵ *Troja* (1884), 325.

We should assume that the principal route from Abydos to Antandrus would have led by way of Scepsis and perhaps also by Gergis, and that it would have started by going up the valley of the Koca Çay to take our easy track over the east shoulder of the Kayali * Dag*. But Judeich, who struck up into the mountain earlier in order to visit the gold mines,¹ took a more westerly route and evidently did not know of our track. He declared that traffic from the central basin of the Scamander to the Dardanelles avoided the Koca Çay and followed the next valley to the west (the Degirmen* Deresi). Motor transport and modern asphalt roads have of course put an end to this sort of traffic, and Judeich's statement can therefore not be contested; but our broad track suggests that his knowledge of the routes was incomplete. We are inclined to think that Anaxibius at least came by our track; for the outpost of Abydos called Kremaste, which is mentioned in Xenophon's account of his last stand, can hardly be other than the fortified trachyte crag of Gâvur Hisar which commands a defile of the Koca Çay 16 km. walk from Abydos (PLATE 43).²

3

The Upper Scamander

The site of Scepsis crowns a round hill in the bend of the river above Bayramiç (PLATE 54a). The little we have to say about it will be found

1 For the mines see Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 134 f. (to his references add Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 704, 748 f.). The only gold workings spoken of now are those at Kale Tas* and Kartal Tas.

2 Gâvur Hisar is on the right bank of the stream. It was visited in 1740 by Pococke, who remarked that it was said to have been built in haste and did not appear to be of any great antiquity; Tchihatcheff noted fallen towers. Lolling in 1881 identified it as Kremaste (*Ath. Mitt.* vi (1881), 221 ff.); but Judeich objected that there was no ancient habitation there (*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 532 f.). It is true that the main fortification on top is medieval. But in 1963 we remarked some ancient squared blocks and noted a thin scatter of ancient pottery of classical date continuing down the slope. The latter included a fragment of glazed Ionic flat tile, some grey ware of uncertain date, a fragment of striped ware, bits of wine amphorae, and half a dozen scraps from small bowls *vel sim.* with good quality black glaze: in fact fifth-fourth century occupation fitting with the little we know of the history of Kremaste. The name also fits the site, which seems to overhang the road; and the gold mines of the Abydenes which Xenophon mentions in connection with Kremaste would most naturally be identified as the known ancient workings in the mountain to the south.

The one substantial objection to placing Kremaste at Gâvur Hisar is the distance from the sea, which has the effect of making Iphicrates' night march and the rout that followed the ambush much more long-drawn-out than Xenophon's narrative would lead us to expect. But there is no escape from this difficulty unless a suitable site and gold workings can be found in the immediate vicinity of Çanak Kale; and nothing is known of any such or was known to Calvert. Leaf's conjecture that the mines are to be found in the valley of Degirmen Deresi (Kalabakli* Dere) to the west would presumably have the effect of putting the mines of Abydos in the territory of Dardanos, which is absurd; and when we inquired about gold mines there we provoked nothing but merriment. It therefore seems most probable that Xenophon lacked an accurate firsthand account of the ambush and had no clear notion of the topography.

For L. Robert's claim that Kremaste is named in the Delphic thearodokoi list see below, pp. 342 f.

below, pp. 345 ff.¹ We have not been to Saraycik *, a small village further north, with 32 adult males in the 1574 survey (the inhabitants being noted as `katrancilar'*, i.e. producers of tar) and 205 inhabitants in the 1940 census; Riza* Bey told us that there is nothing to see there, and there does not seem to be anything except the name ('little palace') to account for W. Tomaschek's location there of the *φρούριον Ἀστύτζιον*, where, according to Pachymeres, Theodore Lascaris kept his treasure in the mid thirteenth century.²

Under Scepsis the valley bottom narrows as one follows the river upstream. At II km. by road from Bayramiç, immediately after the Evciler road junction, the route crosses to the north side of the Menderes by a new bridge beside the ruin of an older one (Çatal Agil* Köprüsü), and from then on it continues along the north bank to the head of the valley at Karaköy (33 km. from Bayramiç). Above the bridge it approaches a gorge which hides the upper valley from view so that attention is diverted to the other arm of the river that flows from Evciler. But after some kilometres the valley opens out under Tongurlu, with a little plain on the south bank and maize-growing slopes on the north. East of Scepsis the valley is shielded on the north by a pine- and oak-covered mountain range (the Yaylacik* Dag* of the German maps) which is 500-600 m. high and rises in places to 700 and 800 m. (PLATE 48a). At its east end behind Karaköy the valley is closed by heights of 1,000 m., though a lower crossing presents itself on the north-east; Leaf alone has described this terrain.³ On the south side foothills and little valleys lead back to the massif of the Kaz Dag, which is rarely less than 1,300 m. high here and rises to a bald ridge of over 1,700 m. behind Evciler (PLATE 50a, looking south of east from Kizil* Tepe). Tchihatcheff likened the valleys here to Alpine ones.

Lechevalier and Choiseul-Gouffier took the stream head at the Ayazma above Evciler for the main source of the Menderes; and among the people of the neighbourhood it seems to have been the reputed source of the Menderes or Scamander (Wood, for instance, was told that the Menderes issued from a dark grotto in the mountain and had a warm spring). Tchihatcheff, however, rejected this attribution on the ground that the Karaköy arm, up which he was the first to travel, is the longer and has the more gradual descent.⁴ Virchow insisted on the

¹ Kursunlu* Tepe. The village of Kursunlu on the slope behind has a population of 370 in the 1940 census. Schliemann called it Oba Köy. Ancient stones seen there are mentioned in our description of the site.

²*Zur Hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 18. See below, p. 319.

³*BSA* xvii (1910-11), 267 ff., and *Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 27 f. Unfortunately he was too diffident to attempt a rough sketch-map of his own to show the drainage system above Karaköy.

⁴*Asie mineure* i. *Géographie physique comparée* (1853), 219.

primacy of the Evciler arm; but his discussion of the matter shows that he was not aware of the existence of Tchihatcheff's main arm.¹ The GS map does not help with names. In answer to our question Riza * Bey said that the Menderes has three arms those of Karaköy and the Ayazma, and between them the Piren Çay; he called both the Karaköy and Ayazma arms Menderes, but it was to the latter that he gave the name `Asil\* (= original) Menderes'. It would thus be churlish to deny to the Ayazma its long-established title of Sources of Scamander; but this will not prevent us from applying the term `upper valley' to the Karaköy arm, and we shall in fact be in agreement with Demetrius of Scepsis.

The Ayazma in the mountain above Evciler has been visited by various travellers, most of them on their way to the tops. Its distance from the summit ridge is 3 or 4 km. horizontally but about 1,300 m. vertically. It is not in fact at the head of a valley, but at a place where the road coming up the south flank of the deep valley from Evciler bends in to the mountain to cross a torrent that descends from under the peaks. It was of course the great source issuing from a cave that captured the imagination of the travellers and inspired the drawings in Choiseul-Gouffier and E. D. Clarke. But the torrent itself is a lively little river (PLATE 52a). It here flows out of a rock gorge so high and narrow that like some other travellers we at first took it to be the cavern itself; hence passing under the modern road bridge it falls in cascades to the valley bottom. At the roadside here is a basin in which a pool of almost tepid water issues at the bottom of the rock. This, Riza Bey told us, is the Sirtma* Su, which is bottled in Edremit and widely distributed, being especially good for the kidneys; Leaf said it was sacred to St. Elias and had a great reputation for the cure of fevers.² In 1803 Lord Aberdeen saw several people from Constantinople and no less than 40 from a town (Kula?) 13 days distant in Anatolia, who had come to bathe and drink the water; quantities of bits of rags were hung about the warm spring. Apparently it used to issue higher up the rock but had changed its outlet before Virchow's visit of 1879.

The great source with the cataract is at the back of the gully shown in PLATE 52a; but the approach to it is by scrambling up the bank to the right to a point where the torrent can be crossed. Not knowing that the source dries up in summer we missed the turn back and followed the torrent far up the glen where it gathers its waters, and we only discovered the source on a second attempt. In the cliff face are some lesser openings, and the cave from which the source flows in its season (PLATE 52b) to tumble over moss-grown rocks and down the precipice to the

1*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, phys.-math. Cl. 976 ff.

2 For this spring and the temperature of the sources see his *Troy* (1912), 51 n. I. This spring was the ~~δύσπη~~ proper.

stream. The falls must indeed be spectacular. Virchow gives a powerful description of the place;¹ and their two visits made a strong impression on both him and Schliemann. Schliemann took this to be the place where the three goddesses were supposed to have been judged by Paris.² But we may object that when Strabo said that it was above Antandrus he could not have meant on this side of the mountain (above, p. 270). Virchow went so far as to suppose that these were the Homeric Springs of Scamander, seen by the poet and transferred in his imagination to Troy. But here again we must object that in that case it is strange that the chasm and waterfall have not left their mark on the poet's description.

The northern side of the upper valley of the Menderes has no notable tributaries. The Karaköy arm is formed of two head streams according to Leaf. The south side is the best watered. Between the Piren Çay and the Ayazma river there are lesser streams which flow down past Cirpilar * and Külcüler. With the junction of the Karaköy and Ayazma arms the Menderes becomes a considerable river. We were told that logs are floated down from the Çatal Agil* bridge to Kum Kale;³ and even in August the Menderes above Scepsis flows like a trout-river (which Tozer says it is). West of the Ayazma arm there are minor streams which still retain water through the summer the Cavuslu* Köy Çay, the Kizilkoy* Çay (Hunt's `Yaskebal Chyà', p. 296), and even the Tabaklar Çay on which Bayramiç lies.

At this point we may digress to follow the river downstream. On the left bank below Bayramiç only the Harhari* Çay (Schliemann's `Karkari') near Cavus* and the Akçin Çay seem to have any water in summer, while on the right bank the Kursak* Çay and the Ilica* Dere may have some pools. The volume of water steadily decreases as one follows the river downstream in summer. Some of course is taken for irrigation; but (as Wood learned in 1750) much is lost by seepage through the sand where limestone underlies the bed. At the Ahmetçeli bridge the stream in August is shallow and sluggish but still of a fair breadth. At the Garlic Bridge the flow may be reduced to a trickle a few metres in breadth. When the Balli* Dag* is reached the bed can be bone dry. In this last stretch where the Menderes flows in a gorge the loss can hardly be due to irrigation; and there may be justice in Choiseul-Gouffier's

¹*Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 33-43, with additional remarks in *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, phys.-math. Cl. 972 f. Perrot speaks of the cave as 2 m. broad, 4-5 m. high, and leading 200 paces into the mountain. Various other travellers describe it, but I have not collated their accounts.

²*H. Schliemann Briefwechsel* ii. 358 (letter of 25 Apr. 1890 to Benndorf); from Virchow it appears that the local people were responsible for the attribution.

³ Already noted by Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 720, and Leaf, *Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 35.

suggestion, which had short shrift from the scientifically minded scholars, that the springs at Pinarbasi * are underground streams of water lost to the river higher up now that the controversies are forgotten nothing need be lost by conceding that the water of Lechevalier's 'Scamander' may after all be Scamander water. It is difficult for us to understand the high indignation which the Scamander controversy has generated. The notion that the Scamander, i.e. the Menderes, can dry up in the Plain of Troy is one not easily countenanced by those who have only seen the river in spring or winter; and to those who felt it their duty to rebut his pretensions Lechevalier's light-hearted statement that the Menderes was 'presque toujours à sec' was beyond endurance. The notion of the river drying up has been ridiculed by a number of scholars, and especially Lord Aberdeen, Maclaren, von Eckenbrecher, Virchow, and Leaf. Yet it has been reported dry in the Plain of Troy by Wood in late July 1750, Chandler at several points about the end of August 1764, Lechevalier presumably in November 1785, Sibthorp and Hawkins who found the bed dry both near Kum Kale and under the Balli* Dag* in September 1794, Schliemann on several occasions, and Lawton of the Assos expedition in September 1881; and some of the testimonies have been absolutely explicit.¹ The river still ceases to flow under the Balli Dag in dry summers (we have never seen it without some pools, but we saw it apparently without a continuous stream in July 1959). In the lowest part of its course, however, towards Kum Kale it no longer dries up. Lechevalier would have been the first to understand the reason: the Menderes there is now replenished in summer by the stream from the Pinarbasi* springs (his 'Scamander'), which in the time of the travellers was diverted by the canal to Besika*.

¹ Chandler 'passed it several times without being wetshod' (*Travels in Asia Minor* (1775), 41), on which Rennell commented that 'one must conclude that they passed over on steppingstones' (*Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy* (1814), 74 note b). Schliemann actually wrote: 'I have seen it several times, and the last time in September and October 1878, so dried up that there was no stream at all in the Plain of Troy, nothing in fact but pools of stagnant water. This is by no means a rare occurrence; nay, the villagers of Kalifatli, Yeni Shehr, and Yeni Kioi assured me that in dry summers, and on an average once in three years, there is in August no flowing water whatever in the river in the Plain of Troy' (*Ilios* (1880), 94); cf. *Troja* (1884), 16, where he adds that in the summer drought of 1882 the Scamander was dry by the beginning of July. Lawton wrote that he was 'amazed to find the bed dry' by Pinarbasi in September 1881 (with standing pools haunted by turtles and frogs a few miles further down), whereas above the gorge there had been a swift clear stream (in J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 165; cf. Diller, *ibid.* 182). In addition the fact that the Scamander is said to run dry has been remarked without any claim to personal observation by Stochove, du Loir, Grelot, Morritt and Dallaway, Majors Helvig and Schwartz, Prokesch, and Forchhammer, and denied as a matter of fact divorced from controversy by della Valle, Barker Webb, and, curiously, Forchhammer. Lucan of course exaggerated when he made Julius Caesar cross it 'insecus in sicco', for the dry bed could not escape notice; this belongs rather to the nexus of ideas expressed in the phrase he applies to Troy, 'etiam periere ruinae', or the artistic motif of a ruin torn apart by a fig tree, itself now dead.

In the early months of the year, of course, the river is altogether more formidable in the Trojan Plain. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was nearly drowned in it, and several of the travellers have been in difficulties in the crossing. E. D. Clarke, Gell, and Schliemann's friend Dr. Moss. In 1855 men and horses were lost in attempting to cross it;¹ and Schliemann's foreman was drowned in it in 1883 more surprisingly, in August.² According to Schliemann the Scamander does not normally freeze in winter.³

The upper valley of the Menderes is fertile and well stocked with villages, which are set back towards the 300 m. contour. On the north side, going up from Kursunlu *, are Mollahasanlar, Gedik and Kösel, Sariat, Tongurlu, and Yesilkoy* (Deliler); on the south side, coming down from Karaköy (Mudanya) are Cirpilar*, Külcüler 1-2 km. east of the Ilica*, with Tuluplar (or Tuluklar) and Dagoba* further back, Evciler in its valley bottom at the foot of the mountain, Cavuslu* again back in a side valley and Çaloba (Akçakil) on an upland plateau, then Kizilkoy* with three villages higher up its stream (Serhat, Besik*, Yassibal*). It came as a surprise to us to discover how densely populated this valley is; its 1940 census population is well over 6,000. There is practically nothing to be found in the literature about it. Tchihatcheff rode up it in 1849 and Leaf in 1911, both heading for Karaköy.⁴ Leaf calculated the altitude of the valley floor at Karaköy as just over 1,000 ft. (300 m.) above sea level; the GS map shows it as barely 200 m. Leaf courageously declared that there is no trace of an ancient town anywhere here, but as he seems to have known of only one village (Cirpilar) between Evciler and Karaköy his reconnaissance was not pressed to the limit. We have only been to seven of the villages of the upper Scamander, but we have been fortunate in having the company of Riza* Bey and are consequently well informed about sites there. In addition to those mentioned below there are said to be mine and metal workings at various points.

Between the road and the river south of Scepsis Riza Bey in 1966 showed us overgrown spoil heaps and trenches in a field 8·6 km. by road from Bayramiç and 2·5 km. from the Çatal Agil* bridge; the position is that from which the photograph PLATE 54a was taken. Riza Bey told us that jewellery had come to light there, and also (five years

¹ Maclaren, *The Plain of Troy Described* (1863), 20, quoting an Edinburgh memoir which I have not seen.

² H. Schliemann *Briefwechsel* ii. 394.

³ *Ilios* (1880), 102. J.T. Clarke, however, speaks of ice thick enough to bear a horse and rider (*Report 1881* (1882), 16).

⁴ *Petermanns geogr. Mitt.* 1867, Erg. 20, 25 (passing under Tongurlu and Deliler); *BSA* xvii (1910-11), 267. We ourselves failed to reach Karaköy.

previously) a large block with a lion carved on it. This base (?) block, which we later saw in Yanik Kule Sokagi * in Bayramiç, is hopelessly battered, but had reliefs on two sides; we thought we could recognize traces of a seated figure and (PLATE 45d) of what appeared to be the lower part of a facing lion with its foreleg grasped by a human figure, but we are now not quite certain which way up the photograph should be. In the trenching Roman stone and brick construction had been revealed, but we saw no potsherds and assume this was a tomb. Presumably to the south of this, near a rivulet that he called 'Yaskebal-Chyà' (our Kizilkoy* Cayi*) Hunt in 1801 noted a few scattered fragments of ancient buildings in a Turkish burial ground.¹ At the north end of the Çatal Agil* bridge there is tumulus of earth and stones which has been partly cut away but not apparently penetrated to the centre; Riza* Bey spoke of graves found around it, but we saw no blocks or sherds.

It is not easy to form a clear impression of the terrain in this part. The valley is narrow; indeed for several kilometres above the bridge it is a wooded ravine. Some distance upstream on the south bank of the river is the ilica* of Külcüler 1-2 km. west of the village of that name.² It has its personnel and a city-bred clientele, and manufactures its own gazoz. At the bath house we remarked a doorpost block with a carved cross and two or three marbles, but no ancient remains *in situ*. However, on our next journey up the valley, in 1967, we discovered the site from which these stones must have come. About 500 m. east of the ilica, at 18.5 km. by road from Bayramiç, the river cuts its way past the foot of a dominant hill which rises from the south bank and forms a miniature 'Iron Gate'. Impressed by its appearance we climbed the steep slope to a flat summit, which is about 50 m. across. There are no foundations of buildings visible; but we noticed the trace of a revetting wall on the north side. The ground is densely littered with tiles and coarse pottery such as cooking pots and amphorae, and one fragment seemed to have been red glazed. Among our samples Dr. Hayes has recognized a lid fragment as similar to those on second-third century cooking pots and noted that one or two other fragments could be mid-Roman coarse ware. This judgement receives confirmation from our discovery on the hill top of a bronze coin of Claudius Gothicus with *rev.* Providentia (A.D. 268-270). We saw no one at hand to tell us the name of the hill, and so have called it the 'Ilica* site'; later we discovered that it is called Kilise Tepe. Blocking the road up the valley, this site must have been occupied because of its strategic value.

¹ Walpole's *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), 124. I have given Riza Bey's name for the stream, but it flows down from Yassibal* (Yassibag*).

² Tchihatcheff's 'Tudjular' and 'Tüldjiler'; Güldjiler on the German maps and Gölcüler on the GS one, but the G is simply dialect. I do not recall seeing any mention of the ilica, but it is on the GS map.

Above the gorge we visited two villages of the north bank to make inquiries. At Tongurlu we learned of a kale site on the mountain (Ikizce *) above; this will be described in the next section. Just under the village on the south-east is a dell called Nanalik* (= mintthe plant) where there are three earth tumuli; nothing is known of finds from them, though on our first visit to Tongurlu we were told that Byzantine coins turn up there. Near by, at the foot of the village, a granite column and a couple of carved or inscribed marbles are said to have been dug up; unfortunately the marbles had been built into the village yüz numero. We saw no ancient sherds about, but it sounds as though there may be a late Roman or Byzantine site. The other place, Yesilkoy* (Deliler), seemed to us as wretched a village as any in the Troad; yet it is populous and apparently prosperous, with a pyrite mine up its valley. There is a little plain on the south side of the river here, with the well-set-up village of Cirpilar* at the foot of the mountain. The villagers did not know of any site or ancient coins, but they showed us a marble slab with a fragmentary Latin inscription in a tabula ansata (below, p. 418 no. 61), which was found in a field under the village. There are also worked marbles in the Turkish cemetery by the bridge on the Cirpilar branch road, and Riza* Bey later told us of a tepe with tiles and tombs at the east end of the plain; here again there may be a Roman site.

We now return to the terrain south-east of Scepsis, where there is more elbow room between the river and the foothills of the Kaz Dag*. The principal place here is Evciler in the valley that descends from the falls.¹ We were there told of two positions with ancient remains in the vicinity. The first consisted of graves on the south of the village which yielded both classical and Roman coins: we saw one small bronze of Scepsis, one bronze of Antandrus with countermarks (lion and tripod) on *rev.*, 2 bronzes of Assos, 2 worn bronzes not quite identifiable but not of Cebren or Birytis, one bronze with types not familiar in the Troad (which I forgot to photograph), one imperial radiate, 7 Constantinian. We were also shown a lead weight measuring 5 by 5 cm. with the same civic device of a pine tree as on the coins of Scepsis (PLATE 45c). From this evidence we may conclude that the valley of Evciler was Scepsian and not Cebrenian, and perhaps that there was an ancient village somewhere there. We later heard from Riza Bey of a hill, Bakir* Tepe, near the confluence of the Menderes below Evciler, where there is a lead mine and silver coins come to light.²

1 A nahiye, with 821 inhabitants in the 1940 census; probably in the fiscal survey of 1574 with 41 adult males; 40 houses in 1856 (Perrot,) 100 houses in 1881 (Schliemann).

2 Copper is reported at Evciler, and a small lead deposit at Bahçe Tepe nearby (C. W. Ryan, *A Guide to the known Minerals of Turkey* (1960), 28, 2 f.).

The other site mentioned to us in Evciler is at Pınarlı * Tas*¹ in the Kaz Dag* to the south. From it we saw a dozen worn fragments of terracotta figurines, of which samples are shown in our photograph (PLATE 53a). These seemed to be all Cybele types except for one head of Aphrodite or a worshipper, and another fat-cheeked and perhaps male. Mr. Joe Helme and his companions visited the site in 1969. He speaks of it as a mile or so south-east of Evciler and about 550 m. above the road. The situation is a relatively open and level shelf with the mountainside descending from it steeply to the east and rising steeply on the west, and with traces of a precinct or retaining wall on the east side. There are no signs of a building; but an irregular area measuring some 20 by 15 paces is covered with stones (PLATE 49b) and over the years has been yielding apparently inexhaustible supplies of the terracotta figurines. Mr. Helme found a couple of plain potsherds of fourth-century or Hellenistic forms, and over a dozen fragments of figurines, of which one was a child's head of rather larger format and the remainder Cybele types (samples PLATE 53b). In the figurines from Pınarlı Tas* the goddess seems generally to be seated on a throne; she wears a polos, holds a tympanum in her left hand, and in one case at least seems to have a patera in her right (PLATE 53b bottom). By comparison with very similar figurines found at Troy a date about the third century B.C. seems likely.² In this position directly under the summits of the Kaz Dag we may suppose that the sanctuary was of the Idaean Mother.

Rıza* Bey also told us of two other sites just behind Evciler, one a settlement (not a kale) of late date and the other a kilise, and of another lead mine behind them; but he evidently attached little importance to them.

In a side valley about 7 km. south-south-east of Scepsis is the village of Cavuslu*, which we have not visited.³ Rıza Ürgüvin told us that a double tomb with jewellery came to light a little further down the valley. To the west of this, between the Cavuslu and Kizilköy* streams, we visited a site by the village of Çaloba (Akçakıl).⁴ The ground here is elevated (250 m. above sea level on the GS map); and seen in the dusk, as we saw it, it resembles a northern moor. Just south of the village is a field where numerous fragments of glass are picked up, and beyond this is a fountain at which iron ore and slag abound. On the crest further

1 We give the name as we heard it; we took it to be Pınarlı* Tas (= holly oak stone), but Rıza Bey calls it Pınarlı Tas (fountain stone).

2 D.B. Thompson, *Troy*, Suppl. Monograph 3 (1963), 77 ff., with a discussion of the types; for the dating of our pieces cf. nos. 16 and 26.

3 Population 595 in the 1940 census; listed in the 1574 survey with 29 adult males and also as a rice cultivation.

4 Population 126 in the 1940 census.

south we saw relics of house foundations which had been dug out, and we were told of other wall foundations round about. The tiles we saw were curved and not pre-roman, the potsherds coarse and of late date. Samples of the glass have been examined by Dr. D.B. Harden and dated to late Roman times.¹

The site at Çaloba is not that of an ancient city but presumably of an industrial centre of later Roman times. But the archaeological description is not complete. To the north-east of the fountain the ground rises to a low crest; and this is where electrum hektai have recently been found scattered in shallow earth over an area of an acre or so. We were able to photograph two of them in 1966 and three more later (PLATE 44a).² Altogether there were said to have been 250 of these pieces. We at first questioned whether they had been found widely scattered; but the villagers showed us the ground which was honeycombed with their pits and spoil heaps. And it is unthinkable that a hoard could have been ploughed in, for peasants' eyes are attuned to gold in the ground. The coins must therefore have been deliberately buried at different points and by different people. They cannot have any connection with the iron-working site; several centuries separate the two. The ground where the coins were found is quite bare of stones or of any traces of human occupation. We are tempted to suppose that these coins were soldiers' pay, and that they were buried by mercenaries or raiders who camped on this upland and hid their individual savings in the ground before going on some enterprise from which they were not able to return in force to retrieve them. The cross-Troad route was of course used frequently by bodies of troops between 424 and 387 B.C. (above, p. 289); but the coin with a head of Zeus Ammon (or his son) is assigned a date in the time of Alexander the Great,³ and we know of no operation at that time that could account for the coins. Strangely, Riza * Bey told us in 1968 that occasional electrum coins have also come to light at a kilise site near Besik* 4 km. or so to the south; we have no check on this.

Since the above was written Professor J.F. Healy has kindly provided the following notes on the photographs of the five coins shown in

1 Dr. Harden very kindly informed me that two nearly colourless rims of beakers (or goblets on a stem) are likely to be third or at latest fourth century; a fragment of a dark green base of what he takes to be an unguent bottle in very bubbly glass should be fourth rather than third century; and a base ring from a stemmed cup or goblet is most likely fourth or fifth century (the secondary bulb blown and pushed in up the stem does not appear in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean before the fifth century and is typical of small glass goblets of the early Byzantine period, cf. his article in *Journal of Glass Studies* viii (1966), 75 and fig. 14).

2 Diam. 11 mm. Other specimens we have seen were 1. Apollo head: foursquare incuse. 2. Head of Hermes in petasos: standing lion. 3. Apollo head to l.: foursquare incuse. 4. Apollo head: head of goddess.

3 Cf. J.F. Healy, *Num. Chron.* ii (1962), 65 ff. It also rules out Charidemus' operations.

PLATE 44a and one (his no. 2) mentioned in n. 2, p. 299 above (no. 2). References are to *B.M. Cat. Greek Coins, Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos*.

`1. *Obv.* Head of lion r. (incomplete), possibly struck from a hub. *Rev.* Head of bull r. (*intaglio* rev.). Date c. 460 B.C.

Mytilenaeen Group IId (relief revs.)

2. *Obv.* Head of Hermes r., wearing a *petasos*. *Rev.* Leopard, or panther, r. Date c. 365 B.C.

3. *BMC* pl. xxxiv. 1 etc. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r., with serpent in field. *Rev.* Head of nymph r. Date c. 359 B.C.

4. *BMC* pl. xxxiii. 29. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r. *Rev.* Head of nymph r., with serpent in field. Date c. 357 B.C.

Mytilenaeen Group IIe

5. *Obv.* Alexander/Ammon r. *Rev.* Eagle r. with head reverted. Date c. 330 B.C.

Phocaeen hekte

6. *Obv.* Female head 1. *Rev.* Quadripartite incuse. I cannot as yet give this a precise date since there are still numerous problems connected with the chronology of this series and its relationship with the issues of Mytilene. It probably belongs to a similar period to Group IId above.'

4

The İkizce * Site

When we visited Tongurlu in 1967 we were told of a kale with walls of cut stones on a peak called İkizce behind the village. İkizce is the highest mountain of the Dardanian paroreios north of the Scamander here and we deferred the ascent to the following season. The GS map shows the mountain as having a peak 815 m. high and a spur to the south-southwest to which an altitude of 771 m. seems to apply; and in fact, as the name (= twins) indicates, there are two summits, Büyük and Küçük İkizce, which are shown from the south-east in PLATE 48a (Küçük İkizce, the lower one, being on the left). Consulting with Rıza* Bey, who did not know of the site, we decided on an approach from the north side and took a jeep to the Cemiyet Cesmesi* above Osmaniye (Armutlu). The ascent of Büyük İkizce was steep and nothing came to light on top. The mountain is rocky and covered with pine forest, and there is no visibility. We therefore decided to make an attempt on the southern peak from Tongurlu.

Küçük İkizce proved to bear a fortification measuring perhaps 100 by 50 m. The rough plan (FIG. 14) was made by my son Nicholas. The fortification wall can be traced almost all the way round the top (PLATES 48b, 49a); it stands as high as 1·5 m. on the face, and is in fitted masonry

which in places resembles archaic polygonal. Inside this the ground rises slightly to a summit on the north-east. There are traces of the walls of buildings, probably houses, in the interior, and tiles where the villagers have dug pits; but the pits have not been dug deep enough to reach the occupation level, and there were scarcely any sherds to be found in the carpet of pine needles and oak leaves. Only two distinctive sherds were

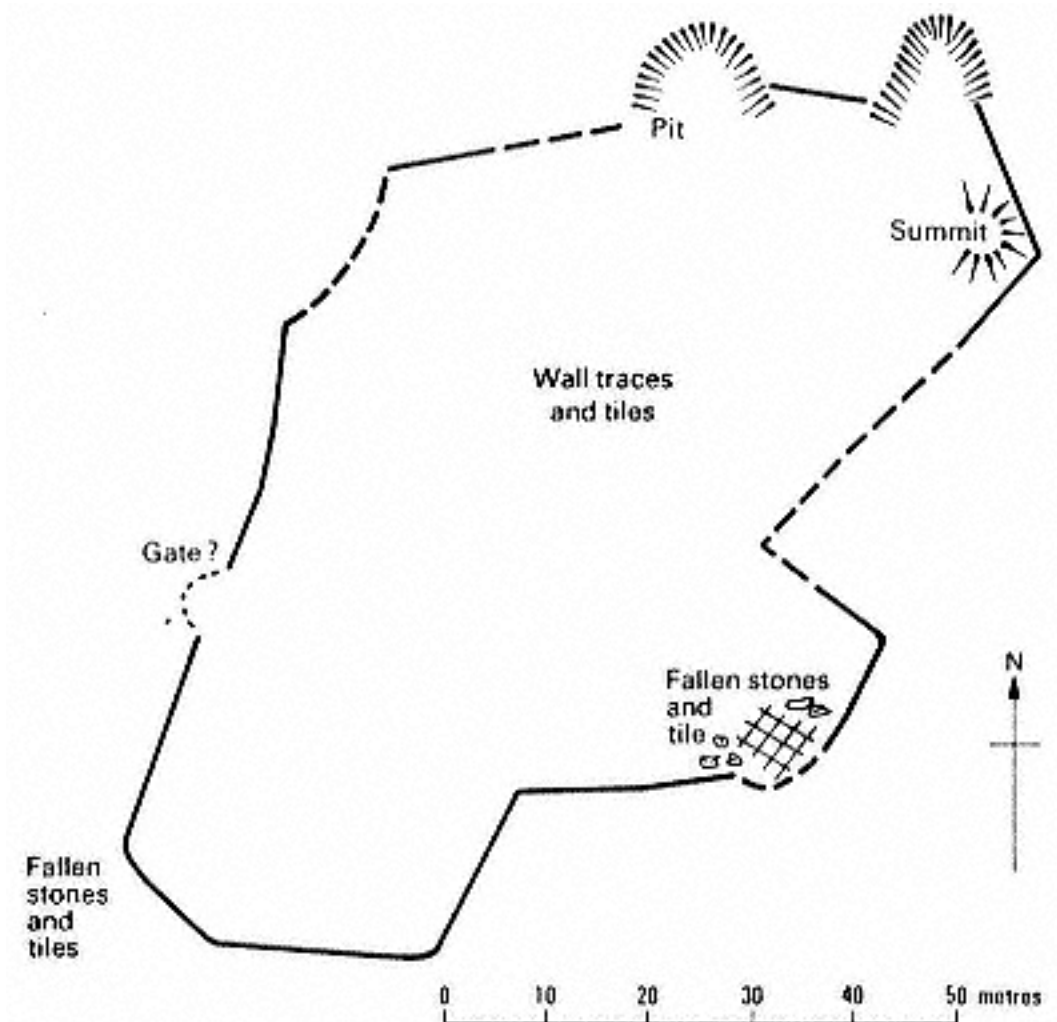


Fig. 14.
Site on Küçük İkizce *.

found. One was the lower part of a black-glaze kotyle of fourth- rather than fifth-century shape. The other is a flattish sherd of red ware with a shallow boss on the exterior and a high polish on the inside (or underside); it is evidently handmade and 'definitely prehistoric' according to Mr. Mellaart, who suggests a date in Troy II or the late Early Bronze Age. On the slope outside the walls are great masses of fallen stones, and there are tiles on the ridge to the south-west. The slope is too steep for carts to ascend without an engineered road. In local tradition the three tumuli in the dell at Tongurlu (above, p. 297) are said to be the burial mounds of the rulers of the kale. In any case its situation is one that

commands the Scamander valley rather than the Kursak * Dere on the north-west.

A name suggests itself for this site. In xiii. 607, § 52, Strabo comes to treat of Scepsis and its history and he begins by speaking of the original foundation, which was called Scepsis until the inhabitants left it for a less elevated situation, after which the old site was called Palaiskepsis. From this passage we learn that the site of Palaiskepsis was visible from all sides (*περίοκρητος*), that it lay inland from Cebren towards or in the highest part of Ida near Polichna, and that it was 60 stades from Scepsis (thus being in the basin of the Scamander, since the water-shed of the Scamander, Aesepus, and Granicus at Kotylos lay 120 stades from Scepsis, 602, § 43). The distance from Scepsis at Kursunlu* Tepe fits exactly, and the description of the location harmonizes sufficiently to allow us on the strength of this passage to identify Palaiskepsis with Ikizce*.

Unfortunately this is not all that Strabo has to say about Palaiskepsis. In xiii. 606, § 51, he seems again to place Palaiskepsis in the same region as Scepsis when he says that the Cebrenians were situated above (inland from) the Neandrians, and the Dardanians above the Cebrenians as far as Palaiskepsis and Scepsis itself; but elsewhere he seems to place it much further inland. In 603, § 45, it is said to be on the left flank of the Aesepus valley in the vicinity of Polichna and Ainea (or Nea) and Argyria, and only 30 stades from the Aesepus itself; and this seems to gain support from the remark in 603, § 44, that the position of Malous, from which the river Karesos (in Strabo's view a tributary of the Aesepus) flows, is between Palaiskepsis and the west coast at Achaiion. Clearly, in this part of the book, where he is not concerned with the history of Scepsis but with the physical geography of the interior of the Troad, Strabo imagines Palaiskepsis as being in the drainage system of the Aesepus.

The two sets of data are irreconcilable, though the difficulty was not fully recognized before the site at Kursunlu Tepe in the Scamander valley began to be identified as Scepsis in the 1860s (below, p. 345). Leaf, who traversed this region of Ida in 1911 and has given the most serious thought to the problem, found an attractive solution. He proposed that in Strabo's text the figure of 60 stades for the distance between Scepsis and Palaiskepsis should be emended to 260, thus allowing the latter to be placed well down the Aesepus valley;¹ he had

¹*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 269 ff., 210 f. He assumed a corruption of *στὰς ἑξήκοντα* to *στὰς ἑκατόντα* (in his original discussion of the problem in *BSA* xvii (1910-11), 276 ff. he had proposed *Ϡξ'*, i.e. 160 stades). W. Aly has argued that numerals were normally written out in words in Strabo's original text as well as in the MSS. (*de Strabonis Codice rescripto* (1956), 242 ff.), but the case is not clear. It would be less satisfactory to have to argue that the error had occurred in the text of Demetrius.

no suitable site for it there, but located it conjecturally in the vicinity of a mountain (Asar Dag *) on top of which A.D. Mordtmann in the 1850s had discovered a site for Palaiskepsis¹ that T. Wiegand re-examined and found to be a Byzantine castle.² The emendation is in itself a plausible one; and at first sight the resulting topographical scheme does work out with some correspondence in detail. But there are serious objections that it does not meet. Leaf's Palaiskepsis will be a long way from the highest part of Ida; and if Strabo really believed that Palaiskepsis was 260 stades beyond Scepsis, it is curious that he should speak of it as above Cebren and bracket it as he does with Scepsis. Two hundred and sixty stades is a long distance in the Troad; it is that from Scepsis to the coast at Alexandria Troas. Historically, an original foundation so far inland for the Scepsians seems surprising;³ and if their original city was so far down the Aesepus it is strange that the Scepsians were able to control the Scamander valley as far as the bend opposite Cebren. Leaf's solution is like a jig-saw puzzle in which the pieces are all made to fit but the resulting picture does not make sense.⁴

The most curious remark that Strabo makes is in xiii. 603, § 45, when he quotes Demetrius to the effect that 'from this Palaiskepsis (evidently in the Aesepus valley) the identity of name was extended to several other

places' (διατεῖναι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν καὶ εἰς ἄλλους πλείους τόπους). Now all Strabo's information has come from Demetrius; and it seems at this point that Demetrius was asserting that there was more than one place called Palaiskepsis. Possibly Demetrius' concern here was not so much with Homeric topography as with the territorial pretensions of his native Scepsis. But, whatever lies behind it, this statement does offer an escape from the present impasse. If there was more than one place of the name, we may presume that the supposed Palaiskepsis in the Aesepus valley, which could be used to bolster a claim to territory there, was a different one from the Palaiskepsis above Cebren. And in that case it is the one above Cebren (which is the one Strabo is referring to in his account of the origins of Scepsis) that is the old foundation of

1 See now his *Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe* (1925), 325 ff.

2 *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904), 274.

3 P. Kahrstedt has argued that Palaiskepsis cannot have been a Greek foundation in this position, while at the same time maintaining that there was more than one place of the name (*Historia* iii (1954-5), 292 ff.); cf. my note on the subject, *Historia* iv (1955), 39 ff., which now seems to me mistaken as far as the position of Palaiskepsis is concerned.

4 Leaf discussed the topography of the upper Aesepus valley and the places mentioned there by Strabo at some length and illustrates it with a sketch map of the river systems (his p. 213) which is in fact directly copied from the German maps. The GS map is quite different. It shows the headwaters of the Granicus system as rising considerably further south and indeed including the place where Leaf marks Polichna. If this is correct, Demetrius' Kotylos, where the three rivers rise, must be 10 km. further south than Leaf shows, and the arguments must be revised accordingly. This is probably right because what Leaf actually wrote seems in some ways to fit better with the GS map than with his own sketch map.

the Scepsians. It must then be this one above Cebren in the Scamander basin that was a city site in early times and ought to be archaeologically recognizable as such. That being so, Ikizce *, as the only known site that can come into question, should be the Palaiskepsis from which the Scepsians moved down to their later site at Kursunlu* Tepe 60 stades away.¹

5

The Kaz Dag*

The principal mountain of the Troad has been climbed by a number of the travellers: Lechevalier and possibly others of Choiseul-Gouffier's suite, E. D. Clarke (who in March had to cut steps up what he called the 'glacier' and leave his companion below the summit), Hunt and Carlyle, Lord Aberdeen, Barker Webb and Parolini, Tozer, Imhoof-Blumer, Schliemann in 1881 (after he and Virchow had been prevented by bad weather in 1879) and again with Virchow in 1890 (when, both being nearly 70 years of age, they not only ascended Sarikiz* in a violent storm but made an almost complete circuit of the flanks of the mountain);² Diller probably in 1881, and finally Leaf and Hasluck. I have not made sufficient notes in reading their accounts and do not attempt to collate them. Leaf gives some photographs.³ The altitude of the highest peak was calculated at 775 toises by Choiseul-Gouffier (in fact it is about 875) and 5,750 ft. by the Admiralty survey; the prevailing figure in the present century has been 1,767 m. or 5,800 ft.

The range is of great length east-west, and the main massif, which is called Kaz Dag, is 20 km. across.⁴ The high peaks are in a crescent-shaped strip (the relic of what Diller called a 'decapitated dome') 2-3 km. long above Evciler (the GS map shows it as 6-7 km. long at the level of the 1,500 m. contour line); and it is only there that the ridge rises bare above the pine forests. Here presumably we have the Phalakrai (= bald heights) which the ancients numbered among the tops of Ida.⁵ The high ridge appears in our photographs PLATE 50*b* (from the east) and 51*a* (on the ridge looking south-west). It can now be reached by rough roads from Evciler, Edremit, Baharlar, and, we were told,

¹ A site in the mountain behind Evciler would fit with Strabo even better than Ikizce; but Piynarli* Tas* is only a sanctuary site, and there does not appear to be any other in a suitable high situation.

² See especially *Troja* (1884), 332 ff. and Virchow's account in *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, phys.-math. Cl. 969 ff.

³ *Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), pls. 2-3.

⁴ The ancient name Ida was evidently much more extensively applied. To Strabo it was a chain winding like a centipede from Lekton almost to the Propontis; and in general usage it seems to have denoted the mountain structure of the Troad as a whole. At the present day the name Kaz Dag is applied to the mountain south of the Menderes and about as far west as Baharlar.

⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. Paris was reputed to have denuded them for ship's timber. Diller gives the Turkish name 'Ciplak'* (= naked), which we did not hear.

Altinoluk *; these are maintained by the forestry commission for lorries to bring down the timber and are traversable only by vehicles with a sufficiently high clearance and low gear. There are no yards for collection, and the loading of heavy sections of tree trunk is laboriously carried out on the roads. Virchow remarked that between his two visits of 1879 and 1890 the government had begun to interest itself in the timber trade. Saw mills had been set up, and beams and planks were being transported on donkey back. With the advent of the lorry the saw mills now seem to have disappeared. Virchow feared that the mountain would soon be denuded of its forests and wrote his account partly to preserve the memory of them. But the timber felling makes little impression on the great mountain.

Tozer and Virchow have described the lower slopes; the former speaks of a mixed forest of plane, oak, chestnut, fir, pine, alder, and arbutus (from Schliemann we may add walnut and lime); and the latter has described the scenery in his account of his journey to the springs in 1879 (above, p. 293 n. 1) and in his article of 1892, pp. 974 f. Türkmen (not Yürük)¹ woodcutters are encamped in summer in the pine belt. Working round to the heights by the track from the east in early August (1968) we noted many of them in the glade above the log cabins of Beypinar*, where their huts brightly roofed with cellophane consorted strangely with their simple household gear. Rugs are made in the Kaz Dag* and sold at the autumn fair in Çan Pazar. In the higher pine belt there are occasional hazels and what look like Judas trees; willow herb dominates the undergrowth there in August, with some brambles, nettles, euphorbia, and fennel, but it gives way to bilberry and bracken near the top of the belt. Above the tree line is bare schist. The ground underfoot is stony, with tufts of grass which is of coarse texture except by the springs, thistles, a very low juniper, and tea sage. August is a month when the flowers are few both in frequency and species. But it is also an unfashionable month for visitors, and our observations seem to add to the recorded flora. On the heights we noted yellow verbascum, white rock scabious, blue and purple violets, white toad flax, low prickly bush with small pink flowers (acantholimon echinus), and at the top of the pine belt campions. Shepherds come up to the high ridge in June or July from villages as far away as the west coast. By the Sarikiz* spring we met a group of young men from Balabanli* who might have been the companions of Anchises in modern dress; their music was not of pipes but of transistor radios.²

¹ So our guides insisted. The name Türkmen seems to apply to those of the nomadic groups whose immigration from the east is retained in memory. Here they seem to live in the mountain all the year round and to be concerned with wood-cutting and wood-work.

² Bademli, Tavakli*, and Kösedere were also named to us as villages from which shepherds come up.

We have been told of several ruins of kilises or monasteries in the folds of the mountain on both the north and south sides. In his ascent from the north E. D. Clarke reported several churches, and huts which he took to be the remains of hermits' retreats, and Tozer speaks of evidence in the Byzantine writers for monasteries and cells there. No doubt Ida, like Latmus, had a considerable Christian community. In the nineteenth century it was infested by robbers and reprobates. Virchow, who did not know of the Christian remains, maintained that the Kaz Dag * has never had inhabitants. He also denied that it has any animals in modern times. We can only retail what we have learned from the villagers of the neighbourhood. They report hares, jackals, boar, badgers, deer, wild cats of some sort, and of course partridge, bears in the main massif only, and leopards (kaplan) only in the west towards Ayvacik*. Springs are numerous and very chill in the high part of the mountain, which still merits its epithet of *πολύκιθαξ* if not also *μυήτις θηρώων*.

There are several peaks which cannot differ greatly in height, with a configuration resembling Tymphrestos and Parnassus. When he spoke of it as ugly and shapeless Leaf was presumably comparing the top of Ida with mountains that he knew with a single pointed peak. The summit said to be the highest, Baba Dag, is at the west end where the high ridge falls sharply to the surrounding pine belt. Its glistening flank (PLATE 51*a*) is smoothed and rippled by wind erosion; and on the ground lie slabs of white marble which could pass as shaped blocks. The summit carries a shepherd's shelter; the sherds there seem to be all modern. From Baba Dag the high ridge bends round north of east, skirting the head of a deep valley (PLATE 51*b*) which apparently leads down to the south coast east of Avcilar* (Manastir Dere on the GS map). East of this is Sarikiz*, which is said to be second in height to Baba Dag; on top of it should be a türbe in a rough stone enclosure. Schliemann was greatly excited by his discovery in 1881 of a white marble slab measuring 74 by 60 by 35 cm. at a distance of 33 m. below the summit; he took it for a relic of the altar of Zeus thrown down by the pious zeal of the first Christians. As remarked, we saw hundreds of such slabs in their natural state on the high ridge, but admittedly none with dowel holes like Schliemann's.¹ The name Gargaros has been generally applied to the highest peak of Ida on the assumption that that must have been the

¹*Troja* (1884), 336 f. Hunt also noted small blocks of marble built into a rude wall on the top of Ida, but there is no reason to suppose they had belonged to an ancient building. Schliemann's cuttings sound improbable (cramp holes on a vertical face being implied); we saw pieces of marble which had been turned or drilled into strange forms by wind erosion. For the peaks see Leaf, *Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 37, with his photographs, pl. 3. See that article also (and Virchow's of 1892) for the discussion of Xerxes' route to the Scamander; we have not been to the 'Portai'.

position which Zeus occupied when watching the battle in the Plain of Troy; but as we have seen, the name is in place at the Koca Kaya (pp. 257 f.). There is no explanation of the name `Garguissa' that Schliemann heard for what he took to be the highest peak.

Schliemann says (I do not know on what authority) that several travellers who have ascended Ida affirm that they have seen thence even to Constantinople;¹ and he himself had Mt. Athos in view from the top. We were less fortunate and found the haze at the top too dense to allow any clear view even of the surrounding countryside.

6

South of the Middle Scamander

South-east of Bayramiç there is a tract of small-featured, mainly low-lying country which belongs neither to the upper Menderes valley nor the central basin. It is approached from Bayramiç by a rough road whose left fork leads to Kizil * Tepe and Daloba (PLATE 50*a*), while the right goes to Örenlü (Viranlı*);² the fork has the rare distinction of a sign-post, but the directions are reversed. There is also a village of Güvencik here at 12 km. from Bayramiç. These are all small villages. Some of the travellers passed through Örenlü (or Oranjou, as Hunt calls it) on their way westward from Evciler, and Turner through Kizil Tepe when going from Bayramiç to Narli*. But only Judeich has visited these villages in search of antiquities; and he found nothing.³ We visited Kizil Tepe and Örenlü in the hope particularly of seeing ancient bronze coins and so ascertaining whether this territory belonged to Cebren or Scepsis; but we saw nothing, and at Örenlü we received the pertinent advice to go to Calobasi* (the electrum hekte village) if we wanted to see coins. The name Örenlü, however, implies ruins; and in 1969 Mr. Joe Helme was in fact taken to see some traces of walls of uncertain date on the south and west of the village. A site of some interest was mentioned to us by Riza* Bey at a place called Kotupinar*, and this also was visited by Mr. Helme and his companions. It is about 3 km. east of Örenlü and less than 1 km. south of the Bayramiç-Daloba road. Set on a ridge that falls sharply to east and west the site is quite extensive. On the north is a low mound with no signs of occupation. Mr. Helme remarked stone piles, a well, remains of a building, and various bits of walls with mortar and tile; but he could find no trace of a circuit wall. Pottery of late date was abundant over the area, some being glazed and evidently Byzantine. Since it appears not to have been fortified, the site can hardly have been one of the Byzantine strongholds known to us from literary sources.

¹ Hunt's guide ventured to point out the Black Sea, and Virchow speaks of Ida being visible from the Galata Tower.

² A Viranlı appears in the 1573 survey with 44 adult males.

³*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 536.

West of this we reach what must have been the territory of Cebren in classical times. J. T. Clarke examined ancient mines in the mountain here east of the Çal Dag *, but he did not ever publish his findings.¹

Approaching Bayramiç from the south-east we prospected the crests near the road. On one rounded hill we noted undistinguished pottery which may all have been relatively modern.

Bayramiç itself is a small market town with the status of kaza situated on a rise at the east end of the Scamander plain. Its altitude is nothing like the 500 feet of H. Kiepert and Virchow; the GS map shows it as under 100 m. It appears in the 1573 fiscal survey as a place of modest size in the nahiye of Kizilca* Tuzla, being divided into two quarters, each with a mosque, and with a combined total of 118 adult males. It gained stature as the feudal seat of a Derebey. The family known to the early nineteenth-century travellers was that of Hadimoglu*, whose head, Hacı* Osman Bey, figures large in the literature of the time; and Hunt and Barker Webb speak as though it had been established in Bayramiç for several generations. But if I have read his diary correctly, Lord Aberdeen had it from Osman Bey himself that he was a native of Bursa, and that he had 'murdered a man and the woman he was in love with, in the act'. In the 1790s Bayramiç was dignified by handsome buildings constructed with ancient stones that this Hadimoglu had brought from the site of Scepsis. The bridge (of 1795/6) in the middle of the town and the mosque (of 1792) beside it (PLATE 55b) stand as memorials of his passion for renovation; a less durable monument, with its gilded woodwork and stained leather hangings, and with an exterior that Turner found large and showy,² is his decaying konak in the west of the town.³ Hadimoglu went on the pilgrimage to Mecca between 1792 and 1795,⁴ perhaps with Mehmet, the Aga* of the Trojan Pinarbasi*, who was away on the hac when Sibthorp went there in 1794. The travellers remarked on the well-cultivated and prosperous appearance of the interior of the Troad after generations of this paternal rule and the deterioration that followed Sultan Mahmud IV's reforms (below, p. 377).⁵

After Hadimoglu accepted the politically hazardous office of Bey of the Dardanelles Castles, Bayramiç was reckoned the capital of all Troas and enlivened by a merry court which he held when, it is said,

¹AJA iv (1888), 317; cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 285. Clarke identified the mines with the ancient Andeira, for which see above, p. 264 n. 5.

²*Journal of a Tour in the Levant* iii (1820), 250.

³ There is a Greek funerary inscription of an Aufidius in the courtyard; but it was in a bad light, and we had already trespassed too much on the owner's time.

⁴ For the dating of Osman Bey's inscriptions see Leaf, *BSA* xvii (1910-11), 275. There is also a türbe said to be Osman's by the mosque at the top of the town.

⁵ See especially Barker Webb's comments of 1819 (*Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 86).

he came there to escape the Kaptan Pasa's * visits of extortion to the Dardanelles.¹ When he escorted Lord Aberdeen to the Sources of Scamander he took an encampment and a retinue of 100 people with him. Hadimoglu* owned a çiftlik at Ağackoy*; and Hunt says a property at the Trojan Pınarbaşı* was his, together with a large part of the Trojan Plain. He is said also to have drawn the revenues of the Tuzla saltworks, which he farmed from the Sultan, and profits from conniving with the foreign consuls in the illicit but time-honoured passage of grain vessels through the Dardanelles. It was he who gave permission for General Koehler to remove the Sigeum marbles (above, p. 155). Tozer speaks of him as the Giaffir of Byron's 'Bride of Abydos',² though it is not clear how far he served as the model. Lord Aberdeen's diary gives the impression of a generous and broad-minded potentate. Hobhouse reported that Hadimoglu was living at Bayramiç in 1810;³ but Turner saw him at the Castles in 1812, and again in 1816 when he judged that his health was failing.⁴ Osman's son, Hacı* Ahmet Bey, had meanwhile been residing at Ezine in feudal grandeur;⁵ and this may have contributed to Ezine's recovery of its old primacy, for in 1826 Prokesch called it the 'Hauptstadt' of the whole Ida range.⁶ But he (or possibly another son) was Mütesellim of Bayramiç in 1816 (Turner, who met him at Evciler collecting his rents); and a hard-drinking great-grandson of old Hacı Osman named Ahmet was still living in Bayramiç as governor in 1861. Tozer relates of the latter that being asked by a zealous English lady reader of Byron whether he had had a great-aunt called Zuleika, he replied that only Allah knew.

If we discount what appear to be rogue figures in Olivier and Cuinet, the population of Bayramiç has been very stable: about 600 families in Hunt (1801), 500-600 families in Turner (1816), 750 (with 4,000 population!) in Kiepert (1842), 800 (with 40 Greek) in Perrot (1856), 620 (of which 120 Greek) in Schliemann (1881); census figures of 2,760 in 1927, 2,967 in 1940, and 4,613 in 1965. There was a large han kept by a Greek in 1816 (Turner). The situation of Bayramiç is the end of a ridge or wedge of high ground just south of the Menderes. With its narrow shopping streets leading off from the shady square of the mosque, it still preserves a coherence that is lacking to Ezine. The hotel, which fronts on to open ground across the road from the square, is simple, but seems to have been built for the purpose; its backyard, with a slanting covered passage from the river bank, may have belonged

¹ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 126 and 174.

² *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (1869), 9 f.

³ *Travels in Albania* (1855), ii. 163.

⁴ Op. cit. 216.

⁵ Hunt (1801) in Walpole, *Memoirs* (1817), 115, Lord Aberdeen (1803), Hobhouse (1810), loc. cit.

⁶ *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 376.

to the han of Turner's day. Between it and Hadimoglu's * bridge is a capacious market compound; and a pine wood in front of the town serves as a summer tea garden. There are quite a number of worked marbles in the upper town, but there is no kale and we have seen no ancient remains. We mention the antiquities we have seen in Bayramiç in our description of the places from which they have been brought, with the exception of one inscription of unknown provenience (below, p. 400, no. 15). The nineteenth-century travellers reported various marbles; but it was generally understood that they came from the site on Kursunlu* Tepe (Scepsis).

Strabo, on the authority of Demetrius of Scepsis, speaks of Cebren and Scepsis as having had a common frontier along the Scamander, which was the scene of fighting (xiii. 597 init.). It is therefore a natural assumption that there can have been no classical city sandwiched between them. Schliemann believed the Kursunlu site to be Palaiskepsis, and (with Barker Webb) sought to place Scepsis itself at Bayramiç; but the identification of the Kursunlu site as Scepsis ruled that out. Since then no scholar has sought to place an ancient city at Bayramiç except Leaf, who conjectured that Birytis lay there as a 'neutral market place' between the two big cities.¹ This extraordinary notion gains no support from archaeological discoveries. We examined the crest without finding any ancient potsherds on the ground; and in view of Riza* Bey's vigilance in such matters we have no hesitation in saying that no ancient remains or graves come to light in the vicinity.

Through Riza Bey's kindness we have in different seasons been able to see a large number of ancient coins that have reached Bayramiç. We have not normally noted Roman (or Byzantine) ones, and we cannot be sure to what extent we may have seen the same coins on different visits. But an approximate list of bronzes is offered, with proveniences where explicitly stated:

Cebren (at a guess) 50 (almost all small, both ram's head/Apollo head and ram's head/Æ frequent); blanket provenience Çal Dag* (Cebren)

Scepsis (at a guess) 30 classical (usually winged horse/tree), one of Marcus Aurelius also noted; said to come from Kursunlu (Scepsis), Çal Dag (Cebren), and Karincali* (Gergis)

Gergis 7 (1966) and 3 (1968, perhaps the same); all from Karincali, see below, p. 349.

Neandria 2 or more

Gargara 2 or 3

Antandrus 1 or 2

Assos 2 or 3, one noted as from Çal Dag

1BSA xvii (1910-11), 274. *ATL* i (1939), 475 approves this suggestion, adding that 'at any rate it could not have been far away'!

Hamaxitus 1 or 2

Larisa Troadis 1 (10 mm., as von Aulock 1555), said to come from Çal Dag *. PLATE 23*b*

Coloniae 1 (10 mm., as BMC 5), said to come from Çal Dag. PLATE 23*a*

Sigeum 1 or 2

Ilion 1 late Hellenistic

Tenedos 1 very small

Alexandria Troas several, both autonomous and colonial

Birytis 2 (1966) and 2 (1968, understood to be the same), small (*rev.* club BIPY in wreath). See below

Dardanos? 1 (*rev.* fighting cock, but *obv.* apparently head r.)

Abydos? 1 (eagle?)

Lampsacus 1 (winged horse)

Parium 1 colonial, first century after Christ (*obv.* head of emperor, legend illegible: *rev.* capricorn with cornucopiae AVGVSTVS DD)

Priapus 1 (*obv.* head r.: *rev.* crab, letter  visible)

Antissa 1 (11 mm., *obv.* male head l.: *rev.* club A N)

Chalcis (island off Lesbos)? 1 very small (*obv.* head r.: *rev.* spearhead X A)

Myrina? 1 (vase in wreath)

Aegae 1

Persian 1. Von Aulock, Nachträge ii (1967), no. 7636.

Undoubtedly many of the coins came from Çal Dag; but we were not sure how reliable it was as the stated provenience of individual specimens. The two coins of Birytis in 1966 were said to have come from Savas* Tepe (between Balıkesir* and Pergamon), but in 1968 from Çal Dag (see below, p. 356).¹ For the coin of Chalcis? see Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 34 f., with the assertion that specimens came to Smyrna with coins of Aeolis and Troad-Mysia; our specimen makes a Carian origin (Chalcetor) yet more unlikely. We have noticed silver coins of Scepsis, Tenedos, Alexander, Lysimachus, and Antiochus.

West of Bayramiç we have done some prospecting on both sides of the Ezine road, with a view partly to ascertaining whether there is any prehistoric in the region. Close to Bayramiç we have inspected several crests on the south of the road with no result. At just under 4 km. from the square of the mosque in Bayramiç there is a flat crest in the space between the road and the river. It has a bank perhaps 15-20 m. high towards the river (PLATE 56*a*, from the east). We found modern pottery and tile in great quantity extending for a distance of several hundred metres; and the site proved to be that of the çiftlik at Agackoy* which belonged to Hadimoglu*.² It is in fact called Çiftlik Tepe. But we also

¹ Savas Tepe was also mentioned to us by an antique-handler of Ezine in connection with coin finds, so there may have been some notable discovery there. We were unable to reach it by car from Balıkesir.

found flint cores and a fair amount of prehistoric pottery on the east side. Mr. Mellaart has identified Troy I black burnished inverted-rim bowls, a Troy I tubular lug, a red sherd probably rather later in date, a little jug probably of Early Bronze Age III; hand-made and wheelmade second-millennium grey and red ware which looks Middle rather than Late Bronze Age, and Late Bronze Age goldwash ware and wheel-made grey ware. We examined another flat crest to the north of the road about 1 km. further on, but without result.

At 7.2 km. from Bayramiç is the junction of a side road which leads to the Ahmetçeli bridge. On both sides of the main road here is a timber depot belonging to the forestry commission, which covers several acres of ground with classified piles of Kaz Dag * pine logs running certainly into four figures of tons; at some future date the place will constitute a strange archaeological site. We inspected a hill on the south here without result, but failed to reach the village of Yagcılar*¹ up a sandy track. A little over 1 km. to the west of this, to the south of the main road, we examined a crest which we had noted from the Ahmetçeli bridge as the dominant feature in this part of the plain; it was quite blank, and so also were two crests on the other side of the road. Hereabouts also we have noted a typical Cebrenian limestone sarcophagus at a fountain by the roadside. At 10.5 km. from Bayramiç the road traverses a slightly elevated but featureless tract. Here we stumbled upon tiles and coarse pottery littering the ground over a considerable area (Site F). We picked up a few fragments of Roman red glaze, which Dr. Hayes says are of Candarli* ware and date to the late second-early third century after Christ.² It is 2 km. from there to the Türkmenli road coffee house, where there are ancient stones including an illegible milestone (below, p. 396, no. 6). West of this we examined some hillocks in 1963 without closely fixing their position. One low mound on the south side of the road nearer to Ezine yielded Roman or Byzantine tile. We have not traversed the flat ground close to the river under Türkmenli, but when we scanned it we could see no likely feature.

On the south side of the plain between Bayramiç and Türkmenli the fields lap back against the skirts of the Çal Dag. The ancient site on the mountain, that of Cebren, is described in the next chapter (pp. 327 ff.), together with its present-day villages.³ We have at different times visited all the villages under the Çal Dag except Yagcılar, though we

1 Quite erroneously placed on the German maps, possibly through a false identification with Choiseul-Gouffier's 'Iaccheli' (= Yahsieli*, whose name they had corrupted beyond recognition). Not in the 1940 census, but in the fiscal survey of 1573 with 36 adult males.

2 Base of a late Loeschcke 26b dish, and three other pieces similar; fragment of a flanged bowl Loeschcke 15?

3 Akpınar* and Çal Dag Köy, with 269 and 159 inhabitants in the 1940 census.

could not stop at Kutluoba.¹ At Agackoy *, which seems to have removed 3 km. southward from its old position in 1892,² we heard of a field with old stones now covered up, including one with a carving of a bird (so doubtless Byzantine); but the ancient site the villagers are familiar with is that on the Çal Dag*. The village known as the Bayramiç Pinarbasi* is that which was called Big Bunarbashi by the nineteenth-century travellers and on the German maps, whether because it actually was so named or with the intention of belittling the other Pinarbasi where Lechevalier had placed Troy. It is a larger and better-set-up village than the Trojan one; but big as it is, its head of water does not stand comparison in volume with the Kirk* Göz.³ The village contains some marbles and late granite column shafts, though not on the scale that Schliemann's and Judeich's observations had led us to expect.⁴ The date on the fountain was read by Schliemann and Virchow as 876 of the Hegira (1471/2). We were shown a number of bronze coins at the coffee houses above the fountain. We noted one of Alexander the Great (Heracles head/club), one of Alexander Severus, two unidentifiable imperial radiates, one (early?) Byzantine, and several (Byzantine?) 'scyphates' and old Turkish. But the most interesting were three third-century bronzes of Alexandria Troas, all apparently with the same types; the best-preserved specimen is illustrated in PLATE 45a.⁵ They belong to Bellinger's series A 104 ff., dated by him to 241-228 B.C.⁶ Found under the Çal Dag these coins suggest that the territory here belonged to Alexandria Troas in the second half of the third century, and therefore that Cebren was not an independent city at that time.

When we inquired about ancient sites a villager led us 1-2 km. southward to see a relief that had recently come to light in the fields. We located it after a short search and brought it into Pinarbasi on a passing ox-cart. There was nothing ancient in the field where we saw the stone, but we later learned that it had been moved a short distance from the original find spot. The relief, in a naiskos, represents Cybele

1 Population 275 in the 1940 census. 'Kuklobassi' on the German maps.

2 Population 498 in the 1940 census; possibly the Agac-i* Kebir of the 1573 survey with 62 adult males, or the Agacluca* of 1574 with 41.

3 Population 560 in the 1940 census; 106 adult males in the 1573 fiscal survey. Schliemann noted only 80 houses (*Troja* (1884), 338).

4 *Troja* 338 f.; cf. his *Reise in der Troas im Mai 1881* 58 f. The remains at the fountain are spoken of as the ruins of an ancient temple and city. Judeich speaks of the village as 'überwiegend aus den Steinen von Kebren erbaut' (*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 540). Both E. D. Clarke and Hunt noted minor relics in 1801; the coins shown to Clarke (*Travels* ii. 1 (1812), 126) seem to have been Byzantine, if that is how we should understand the phrase 'barbarous medals of the lower ages, with effigies of Saints and Martyrs'. By way of contrast, Barker Webb saw nothing ancient here or at Türkmenli in 1819. Schliemann's suggestion in his *Reise* that this was the site of Ainea is omitted from the account in *Troja*.

5 16 mm. On *rev.* the horse l., thunderbolt in exergue, apparently .

6 *Troy*, Suppl. Monograph ii (1961), 89.

seated and holding a tympanum in her left hand (PLATE 54b).¹ A sanctuary under the Çal Dag * here might be the scene of the festival referred to in an inscription of Assos (*ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυβέλλης πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν Κεβέρην* , below, pp. 338 and 344.

Türkmenli is a large village.² Like Clarke and Judeich we saw ancient stones, but have no particular note of them. Saridoz*, an hour's walk to the south,³ had a late inscribed grave relief and a late Hellenistic inscribed base to show Professor and Mrs. Bean when they visited it in 1959 (below, p. 397, nos. 7-8); they also noted other stones including an Early Christian capital built into an old house. At the neighbouring villages of Cavuskoy* and Yahsieli* we have found nothing; but the name Üçkilise (= three churches) associated with the latter in the 1573 fiscal survey suggests Byzantine occupation hereabouts.⁴ E. D. Clarke noted mounds and granite pillars on the approach to Türkmenli from Ezine in 1801;⁵ this sounds like remains of Roman or Byzantine date. More circumstantial in its brevity is Judeich's observation that ancient walls that he saw uncovered in the country between Pinarbasi*, Cavuskoy, and Türkmenli were remains of a Roman building, perhaps a villa, though only a water basin (for the baths?) could be identified;⁶ we heard no word of this, but no doubt it had long been covered over again. If we add in our site F mentioned above, we have evidence of several Roman sites at the foot of the Çal Dag.

Further west towards Ezine there are two more villages on the slope south of the road. Balikli*, the 'Baloukli' in which the old French travellers recognized the ancient Polichna as part of their system of Scepsis identifications, yielded nothing to us save a warm welcome.⁷ But in 1826 a fine headless marble statue of Dionysus had come to light in a nearby field; Prokesch attempted to buy it, but was anticipated by the Aga* of Ezine who secured it for dispatch to Constantinople.⁸ The other village here is Kizilkoy*.⁹ Just south of the village, on the steep

1 Ht. to apex 47.5 cm.; width 43; thickness 16; the panel 34 cm. high and 32.5 wide; relief depth 2.5 cm.

2 Population 937 in the 1940 census; combined with Akpınar*, it appears in the 1573 fiscal survey with 98 adult males.

3 Marked on the GS map but not entered as a village in the 1940 census list; not the same as Nebiler (1940 population 440), which is not on the maps but is said to be west of Akpınar.

4 Cavus*, 339 inhabitants in the 1940 census, 25 adult males in the 1563 survey. Yahsieli, 436 in the census, Uçkilise/Yahsi* Eli with 46 adult males in 1573; 'Iaccheli' on Choiseul-Gouffier's map ('Dacchali' on Kauffer's, 'Jenmischli' on the German ones).

5 *Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 124 (our last mound on the Bayramiç-Ezine road (above, p. 312) could be one of these). Cf. also Calvert, *Arch. Journal* xxii (1865), 53 n. 4.

6 *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 539.

7 Population 224 in the 1940 census; 31 adult males in the 1574 survey. Lechevalier, Hunt, and Turner passed this way without noting anything.

8 *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* iii (1837), 178.

9 Population 520 in the 1940 census; it may be the Kizil* of the 1574 survey with 50 adult males.

bank above the fountain, we were shown rubble and mortar foundations which had been partly robbed out and evidently belonged to a mediumsized Byzantine church; a fragment of a balustrade slab (thorakion) with a carved cross and scroll had come from there. On the fringe of the plain about 1 km. north-west of the village is a broad low rise, which the villagers declared was nameless but were heard speaking of by the Greek name Kostak Tepe. We saw some rough blocks and a cavity where others had been unearthed. A line of wall with mortar runs to the site, evidently the relics of an aqueduct that brought water from the spring below the church. Pottery was littered on the ground over an area 200-300 m. across. Besides Roman or Byzantine tile and coarse ware we noted fragments of Roman red glaze; from the examination of our samples Dr. Hayes kindly informs us that the occupation ranges from later Hellenistic to the seventh century.¹ We were also shown various objects from the site: a Doric capital, an Early Christian impost capital, an unfluted granite column shaft and numerous squared blocks of the same material, a bronze coin of Constantinian types, and fragments of a marble slab with a handsome Latin inscription, of which part bore a later Byzantine *Κτίσις Βασιλῆως* inscription on the back (below, p. 398, no. 11). We also saw in the village a lintel block, probably Byzantine, and a marble base, both of unstated provenience. Though not comparable to the 'Skamandros' site under Akköy, this site at Kostak Tepe seemed to be one of the most substantial Roman-Byzantine sites in the central basin.

7 The West End of the Central Basin

In contrast to the little valleys and hedged fields under the Çal Dag * the open hillsides behind Kizilkoy* have taken on the arid dusty appearance that characterizes the western edges of the plain. The horizon is closed by the rock-turreted granite ridge of the Cigri* Dag, postcard-thin in the summer haze (PLATE 57*a*). The Scamander turns away northward to avoid Ezine, and leaving the sunflower fields it slinks through willows and agnus castus to its mountain gorge below the Garlic Bridge. The flat ground opens out on the left bank of the river so that it might appear that Ezine is situated in a plain of its own. This was perhaps the plain of Samonion which Strabo speaks of as

ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείῳ (x. 472). Leaf pointed out the difficulty of giving the name to the whole central plain, of which the greater part cannot have

¹ A Hellenistic? bowl foot; a red-glaze rim fragment of a late Pergamene Relief Ware skyphos (first century B. C.?); rim and base of Candarli* ware dishes (late second-third century); three fragments of Late Roman C (close to Antioch 940, first half-middle fifth century; Antioch 947, mid fifth century or after; Antioch 949p or similar, end of sixth-first half of seventh century).

belonged to Neandria; and with this we should agree. But the 'plain' that he proposed instead, north-east of the crest of the Alexandria Troas site, seems to be a plateau sloping down to the basin of the Tenedian Peraea;¹ and if Alexandrian, it would presumably have belonged to Coloniae rather than Neandria.

Various travellers have mentioned Ezine (their Ine) with favour, and admired the cypress groves of the Turkish cemeteries; and Prokesch spoke of it as a pearl in its beautiful setting. It is a kaza and market town of long standing, appearing as Edhine² in the fiscal survey of 1574 with four mahalles totalling 139 adult males; in Hacci Halife (A.D. 1648) the name is apparently given as Ineh *. There is a surprising variety of estimates in the number of households given by the nineteenth-century travellers: 800 in 1801 (Hunt), 200 in 1816 (Turner), perhaps 800 in 1826 (Prokesch), 400 (with 2,000 inhabitants) in 1842 (Kiepert), 1,000 (with 40 Greek) in 1856 (Perrot,) 250 in 1881 (Schliemann), and a population of 1,750 (780 Moslem, 580 Orthodox, 260 Armenian, 130 Jewish) about 1890 (Cuinet). Modern census figures are 4,143 in 1927, 4,685 in 1935, 4,096 in 1940, 7,823 in 1965. Hunt spoke of a small manufactory of yellow leather. Ancient marbles, columns, and granite sarcophagi have been remarked by the travellers; Lechevalier reported that the walls of the caravanseray were covered with undecipherable Greek inscriptions,³ and Clarke copied an imperfect one built into it.⁴ We could add our quota, including a battered lion's-head spout and the inscriptions below, p. 396, nos. 4-5. Schliemann remarked fragments not only of sculptures but also of ancient pottery.⁵ We have found nothing to support his claim, and do not believe that there is an ancient site at Ezine to correspond to the identifications proposed by the travellers.⁶

We spent a week in Ezine in 1959 when we used it as a base for journeys in the interior. We did not see ancient coins in the shops, and have

1BSA xvii (1910-11), 270 ff., fig. 4.

2 The dh (i.e. modern Greek δ) sound may be not more than a learned assimilation to the Persian word for 'Friday'; market day (as in Cuinet's time) is Monday and no doubt from time immemorial has been co-ordinated with Wednesday at Bayramiç and Friday at Ayvacik*. It is 'Edhine Bazari'* in the survey of 1516.

3Description of the Plain of Troy (1791), 30. Welcker reported a little Greek han in 1842.

4Travels ii. 1 (1812), 123 (CIG 3628); cf. Hunt ap. Walpole's *Memoirs*, 116, and add CIL iii. 6061 (in the han) and 6062 (in a cemetery).

5Ilios (1880), 57.

6 Ainea or Nea (as part of the system of identifications built round Scepsis and Palaiskepsis at the Cigri* Dag* and Üsküfçü) by Lechevalier, Choiseul-Gouffier, and others; Neandria by Choiseul-Gouffier or his editor (*Voyage pittoresque* ii. 288, pl. 19, with the addition 'et deinde forte Scamandria') and Barker Webb; 'Meandria' by Perrot (confirmed by repetition, but this is in fact a variant of the name Neandria found in some MSS. of Dictys which was corrected by Perizonius); Scamandria as above and by Calvert, followed by Schliemann (*Troja* (1884), 340).

not seen anything to speak of since. But we met a middle-aged collector of small antiques who showed us a handkerchief full of dirty bric-à-brac including many bronze coins, which we had to examine in a bad light. Roman and Byzantine coins seemed to be numerous. Apart from them we noted the following:

Neandria 2 or more

Scepsis ('Scamandria') 1 (*BMC* 4)

Gergis 1 small, said to have been found in Ezine

Hamaxitus 1 (*BMC* 1, but different size)

Assos? 1 (probably as p. 340, no. 3)

Elaia? 1 (*rev.* EAA in wreath), said to come from the direction of Bergama

Chios 1 (*BMC* 346), said to have been found in Ezine

Alexandria Troas 19, mainly colonial with Caracalla?, Volusianus, and Gallienus noted; one Hellenistic (head of Apollo laureate: grazing horse) noted.

Schliemann did better in 1881 (*loc. cit.*). He reported that Ezine was then the principal market, coins being brought there from Bayramiç. He noted that colonial bronzes of Alexandria Troas constituted about a third of the coins offered him, and he acquired specimens of Neandria, Adramyttion, Larisa Troadis, Scepsis (including Roman), Assos, Samos, Pergamon, Nicaea, etc. Leaf saw in Ezine single bronzes of both Biryti and Gergis.¹ It is worth remarking that there is no note of any coin of Ilion in Ezine, and apart from one specimen at Bayramiç (above, p. 311) we have seen none in the middle Scamander basin.

West of Ezine the road to Bergaz climbs to a broad saddle between the Karadag * and the outliers of the Cigri* Dag*. There is a little fountain by the wayside; but generally speaking this is a terribly dry and bare wilderness with the boulder-strewn ground reflecting the sun's heat. It does, however, afford a relatively easy crossing to the west coast, and also a less arduous route to the Plain of Troy than that over the Menderes gorge followed by the main Çanak Kale-Izmir* highway. Leaf quite rightly remarked on this 'low and easy pass' to the west coast and Alexandria Troas.² But he could not forbear to draw historical conclusions from it, and he asserts that by way of contrast traffic seeking the north 'must rise to a considerable height by rough hill tracks on one bank of the river (Menderes) or the other', so that the route itself is made to account for the importance of Neandria and later of Alexandria Troas. In fact, the route from Ezine by Bergaz to the Plain of Troy presents no fatiguing climb except that which it has in common with Leaf's 'easy pass', and it was being regularly used by main-road traffic

¹*BSA* xvii (1910-11), 273 f., xviii (1911-12), 288 n. 2.

²*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), p. xxv. See the map above, p. 190.

when we first visited the Troad. Leaf does not define his easy crossing to Alexandria Troas more closely. But there are two routes: one passing north of Kizkulesi * on the line of the present road, which was followed by E. D. Clarke, Turner, Welcker, and evidently Schliemann (who came back from Kemalli* to reach Kocali*),¹ and the other by Kocali, which was taken by Wood, and by Tchihatcheff (who was heading for Kestambul).

The skyline north of the Cigri* Dag* is enlivened by the rocky spines of Kizkulesi (Siyah Tepe) and Zombak Tepe (PLATE 57*a*, on the right). North-east of them a hill called Ala Dag was pointed out to us as having a village with lignite mines. There are two small villages there, Aladag* and Asaralan with 1940 census populations of 159 and 58. On the east of the Cigri Dag are three small villages Üsküfçü, Yavaslar* nestling under the ridge (PLATE 21*c*), and (not known to us) Sap* (= alum), with 1940 populations of 128, 81, and 170. The size of the villages here indicates how small the pockets of cultivable land are. Üsküfçü and its silver mines were known to the travellers. Pococke in 1740 spoke of silver, lead, copper, iron, and alum at 'Eskiupjee', the mines being worked mainly by runaway Greeks who paid the governor one fifth of the yield; he described the production of alum. Wood ten years later (manuscript diary) met a Tuscan, Antonio Marcanini, who was superintendent of the mines at 'Scuphi'; Lechevalier speaks of 'Eskuptchu', and Choiseul-Gouffier of 'Eski-skupeha' with the mines open but abandoned (with such forms of the name it is easy to see the difficulty of determining whether the place was Scepsis or Old Scepsis); Barker Webb speaks of Maden Magara* (= mine cave) with argentiferous galene. The mines seem, as Pococke remarked, to have been worked with very little profit. We have not been there.

Kizkulesi is a known site, visited by Pococke in 1740, Wood in 1750, and Reinach in 1910.² It seems to be something over 300 m. above sea level. The name was given by the travellers in the form 'Kizkalesi', and we may explain the change from kale (castle) to kule (tower) on the assumption that the tower at the south end has come to appear more dominant as the other ruins have dwindled. But Fellows's name 'Criscool' suggests that our form was already heard in 1838.³ The name (Maiden's Tower or Castle) has its story, which the travellers do not seem to record: as we were told, a princess lived here, and her lover on the Cigri Dag, with a bridge spanning the valley between. Here again we may perhaps postulate a vanished aqueduct. On all sides the ascent

¹*Troja* 340 f.

²*Description of the East* ii. 2 (1745), 108; Wood's manuscript diary (28 July); *Rev. épigr.* N.S. i (1913), 319.

³*Journal* (1839), 63. The other ruined town he mentions in this vicinity, 'Criser', is presumably that on the Cigri Dag.

is steep. Pococke speaks of a ruined castle on top, defended by round towers at the corners, a lower area on the west which was fortified, and a great number of cisterns cut in the rock; Wood mentions two round towers and a room or two. Reinach reports a triple fortification round the summit, with towers and cisterns, and dates it from the time when the Byzantines were struggling against the Turks. He seems to have seen evidence of its having been destroyed by fire. We may have been unfortunate in our guides, for we saw much less than our predecessors; but probably there is now less to see. The ridge on top is narrow and rocky; it seemed to us about 100 m. long from north-east to south-west. A fortification wall can be traced most of the way round the top. It has a drystone face with sharp-edged stones which give an almost polygonal appearance, but there is hard cement in the core. At the north-east end inside the circuit are two underground constructions like cisterns, the one single, the other a vaulted complex with a blue plaster facing. On the south tip is a round tower (or, as the villagers of Kocali * say, windmill) on a square base; this is of poor construction and may have prompted Pococke's remark that the castle was built in haste.

We found a fair quantity of pottery on the top and the upper slopes, and it included a high proportion of glazed and incised wares (PLATE 57*b*). There was nothing earlier than Byzantine, and it seems certain that there was no ancient site at Kizkulesi*. Alison Frantz has most kindly reported on our samples that they form a compact group of the second half of the twelfth century, perhaps running over into the thirteenth.¹ J. T. Clarke took the site to be Kenchreai and Leaf would have it do 'double duty' for both Kenchreai and the classical Kokylion (above pp. 288 f.), but the difficulty is the absence of anything ancient on the site. Choiseul-Gouffier,² however, identified it with the fortress of Astytzion, where, according to Pachymeres, Theodore Lascaris kept his treasure in the mid thirteenth century;³ and this seems the most convincing suggestion.

8 The Akçin Çay

The region south of Ezine is not one of which we can speak with any authority, because we have attempted no village-by-village survey there; and in this and the following section we make no attempt to mention all the villages of the region. The tributary of the Menderes,

1 The relatively fine sgraffito, she says, would keep them as a whole in the twelfth century (any part of it), but the presence also of lines incised with a broad tool points more towards the later part of the century since this technique in the Athenian Agora is associated with coins of Manuel II. The latest pieces could go into the early thirteenth century by Agora dating.

2 *Voyage pittoresque* ii. 289.

3 Pachym. i. 68, ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου (sic) φρουρίῳ τῷ οὕτω πως Μοντεζίῳ ὑποκοριζομένῳ (i.e. the name is a diminutive of *ἄστυ*).

whose broad valley provides the line of communication southward, hardly merits Lechevalier's reproach (the 'hideous torrent that washes the walls of Ine');¹ we must remember that he was concerned to denigrate Wood's 'Scamander'. The stream is known by many names in its course: Samadan * Çay (Riza* Bey, but perhaps by confusion with an arm of the Geme Dere), Bahçeli Çay (Tchihatcheff, Diller, and the German maps), Ezine (Ine) Çay (Dr. Lisle, Pococke, Hunt (Ene Dere), and Virchow), Çınarcık Çay (and what sounded to us like Cınarcig-obaalti*). But Wood, Lechevalier, and Choiseul-Gouffier called it Akçin Çay, and that seemed to us the most widely current general name.² Wood mounted to its headwaters in his search for Troy in 1750; presumably they were somewhere in the mountain that the maps call Dede Dag* several hours north-east of Akçin. Walking up steep rises he reached the murmuring falls and found a source that 'rises a very copious stream which forms a kind of basin at the foot of a very ancient venerable plane tree'.³ His visit was at the end of July, and the stream could not maintain its early promise; he noted that downstream it 'decays till a little below Atchin 'tis entirely lost'. The Akçin Çay seems to have only one noticeable affluent, which flows north from the ridge above Ayvacık* and must join the main stream below Bahçeli. H. Kiepert took Tchihatcheff to task for making this flow from the plain of Ayvacık; but he did not succeed in improving the knowledge of the drainage system because the main arm of the river shown on the German maps as flowing from the Cigri* Dag south to Sapanca would have to cross the part of Tchihatcheff's stream that does exist and then tunnel under the watershed.

The main road from Çanak Kale passes Ezine on the right and takes the east flank of the Akçin Dere to a crossing by Bahçeli. The slopes here are bare and arid in summer (PLATE 57a); but there are some stubble fields and a village or two⁴ on the east, and on the west bank a little pocket of green supports the hamlet of Çınarköy that yields the red pigment for Akköy testis (above, p. 275 n. 2). Towards Bahçeli, the road closes in on the stream, which retains pools of water here in summer and harbours plane trees and the cultivation of corn, sesame, and sunflower in the valley bottom. We have noted especially heavy camel

¹*Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 80.

² We cannot suggest an ancient name for this stream. J. T. Clarke's 'River Cebren' (from Steph. Byz.) is a long shot; and the Andrios (i.e. Andeiros) of earlier travellers is out of the question (since Strabo, xiii. 602, § 44, says that it flows into the Scamander from the Karesene, the Kursak* Çay is a possibility).

³ The quotations are from his manuscript diary. In his published *Essay on the Original Genius* (1775), 323 f. the stream is said to have a shallow circular basin 7 or 8 ft. in diameter and thence to 'drip in a small quantity down a romantic woody cliff'.

⁴ Carıksız*, and Araplar (apparently the same as Arapasireti*). East of this are Çetmi Köy (Cetmiasireti*) and Yenioba, and Karagömlek is also said to be in this region.

traffic in the vicinity of the wells here. E.D. Clarke spoke of both camels and dromedaries in the Troad.¹ But Barker Webb and Tchihatcheff declared that there were only Bactrians (i.e. two-hump). Schliemann quotes the latter without disagreement,² but the drawings in his books, like Gell's and Choiseul-Gouffier's, show only singlehumpers; and that is all there are now. Camels were evidently numerous in the days of the travellers. Prokesch met a train of a hundred in 1824 between Pinarbasi * and Yerkesik.³ Barker Webb in 1819 spoke of them as traversing the Troad with merchandise for Constantinople but did not see them established in the district;⁴ and Newton spoke of the roads in the Trojan Plain as having 'long strings of camels on their way to some far country'.⁵ The modern camel has no such goal; ours ply backwards and forwards between Ayvacik* and Dardanos posing for photographs to passing tourists, for which the fee in 1966-8 was five lire. There were two (or possibly three) strings of four or five camels each that we frequently met on the road. They seem to be survivors of the economy of an earlier age; their load appeared to be camel fodder.

We have prospected several crests on the east side of the valley where the slopes are broken above the camel grounds. But they were blank save for the most northerly one, and there the tiles and potsherds that we saw seemed modern. This sector which lies south of Balikli* and Kizilkoy* is a dry and rather waste plateau with scrub showing in the views from the south and east. It contrasts unfavourably with the oakdotted fields that lie between Karayiv and the Çal Dag*, and we judged that it would have served to divide the territories of Cebren and Neandria. But it may not always have been so; for in 1826 Prokesch seems to have found it not only cultivated but wooded.⁶ The countryside further up the Akçin Çay seems prosperous, and contains fair-sized villages with a mixed economy (Misvak*, Akçin,⁷ Sabadani* Evvel,⁸ and Dagahmetce*, with 1940 populations of 514, 313, 581, and 428). The only one we have visited is Misvak. The villagers there knew of nothing on the spot but told us of Byzantine stones, including reliefs of animals, near Akçin, to which unfortunately our road did not lead.

About 500 m. east of Bahçeli village⁹ we climbed a wooded, roundtopped hill, near whose summit there seemed to be a dede's tomb. The

¹*Travels in Various Countries* ii. 1 (1812), 124.

²*Ilios* (1880), 112.

³*Denkwürdigkeiten* i (1836), 180.

⁴*Topographie de la Troade* (1844), 121.

⁵*Travels and Discoveries* (1865), 124 ff.

⁶*Denkwürdigkeiten* iii (1837), 377.

⁷ Tura Begi/Akca* In* with 70 adult males in the 1573 survey. Wood stayed with the Aga* of Akçin after coming down from the sources by way of 'Barlasa' and 'Shacluchia'. Barlasa will no doubt be Baharlar (Bahaslar in Choiseul-Gouffier), a village of 350 inhabitants (1940 census) which is marked on the GS map up the Geme Dere rather than the Akçin Çay.

⁸ Not on the GS map, but we later learned that it is the same as Tuztasi*, and so not, as we had been given to understand, in the valley of the Akçin Çay. See the map on p. 249.

⁹ Population 414 in the 1940 census; 54 adult males in the 1574 survey.

top itself is slightly dished, presumably by digging at some time; and the bank around it yielded two scraps of approximately fourth-century black glaze, one from a small bowl, the other a vertical handle. There were no traces of walls to be seen, and more surprisingly no other potsherds; so this hardly looks like a regularly inhabited site, and we must resist the temptation to mark Kokylion on the map here.¹ The people of Bahçeli had no knowledge of any remains on the hill or anywhere else in the neighbourhood. All we saw in the village was a colonial bronze of Alexandria Troas. Assuming that stones have at some time been removed, the site on the hill might have been that of a watch tower on the borders of Neandria and Cebren; or it could have been a tumulus.

Behind Bahçeli the main road climbs a barren ridge to the pine forest, skirting a little plain 3-4 km. broad (that of Sapanca), which is dominated on the far side by the cumbrous basaltic mass of the Karayiv (in the foreground in PLATE 56*b*, from south-south-west). This is the Kara Ev (= black house) of the literature; but we heard the name as Karayiv (= black stripe), and find that form also on the GS map, with the altitude given as 291 m. It is marked as the site of Kokylion on the German maps, despite the fact that Diller, who climbed it, reported it devoid of ruins or potsherds.² Diller remarked on the perpendicular cliffs as an obstacle to the ascent; but the thorn hedges are a more serious one. I saw the occasional sherd but none recognizable as ancient, and can therefore confirm Diller's observation. From the top of the hill, however, a flat, slightly raised field catches the eye at the west foot. I was met there by Roman pottery on the surface and talk of foundations under the ground. One of the red-ware sherds has been recognized by Dr. Hayes as from a second-third century dish. The Karayiv is a dominating situation; and the only explanation of the fact that there was no classical city there is that the territory was in the firm possession of Cebren.

The villagers of Sapanca³ compensated for their ignorance of the

1 In Xenophon's account of the Spartan campaign of 399 B.C. (*HG* iii. 1. 16) Dercylidas first won the three coastal places (Larisa, Hamaxitus, Colona), and then received the submission of the

Νεανδρίαις καὶ Ἰλίου καὶ Κοκυλίῳ before assaulting Cebren. Both the situation at Bahçeli and the date of the black glaze would fit well enough. But Xenophon speaks of the three intermediate places as having garrisons, and our site hardly looks substantial enough for what that implies. There is no other testimony to Kokylion unless the name is to be restored in a geographically wide-ranging list in Pliny, *NH* v. 122 (*coccille* vel sim. in the MSS., though *cocylum* is cited (with a question mark in Mayhoff) as the reading of *E*, where it is likely to be copied from Hermolaus Barbarus' printed emendations).

2 In J.T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 212. Leaf paid more respect to Diller's observation and tentatively placed Kokylion at Kizkulesi * (*Strabo on the Troad* 232); the earlier travellers had put it at Kocali* ('Cocilian') from the supposed likeness of name.

3 Population 287 in the 1940 census (70 houses in 1959). I find no mention of this village before the German maps, but the position fits with Hunt's village of 'Sapoory' in 1801 (Walpole's *Memoirs* 125).

Roman site by telling us of another place called Besik * Tepe 2 km. or so south-east of the village. This is on the brow of the wooded ridge which forms the watershed between the Akçin Çay basin and that of the Geme Dere. The ridge seems to be called Cakilli* Dag* (= pebble mountain) on the GS map and to have an altitude of over 300 m. A patch of the north slope has been eroded here, leaving a scarp of soft white rock. At the bottom is a fountain and a fissure in the rock with a deep pool of water behind; at the back, access to the water from above has been made possible by footholds cut in the rock face. On top of the scarp chambers have been cut in the rock, one having an apse and traces of painted plaster. Behind this is a vaulted underground cavern, perhaps a cistern. The sherds that we saw did not seem ancient. To our surprise the flat hill crest above was devoid of any trace of occupation. Presumably this was a little monastery or skete built in times of insecurity.

9

The Geme Dere

Ayvacik* seems to be over 250 m. above sea level; and being situated on rising ground at the foot of the pine forest it is cool and fresh. But for a kaza it is a small town.¹ It may have been insignificant in earlier times, because the only entry in the 1573 survey is of Ayvacik/Merdüm Köyü with a mere eight adult males. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century it had an Aga*, Osman, who boasted his independence of Hadimoglu* (Hunt 1801) and had a fief that in 1826 extended up to Edremit.² In the late nineteenth century it was a kaza stretching as far as Antandrus.³ Figures for its population are 1,000 (or 200 families) in 1842 (Kiepert), 1,820 (1,052 Moslem, 768 Orthodox) about the year 1890 (Cuinet), 1,631 in the 1935 census, 1,308 in that of 1940, and 2,225 in that of 1965. The town is well built; but we have not seen a single ancient stone there, except for an apparently unpublished milestone ranging from Maximian to Theodosius, which stands in the yard of a primary school where the Assos road leads out of the town (PLATE 71, P. 414, no. 56).⁴ In front of Ayvacik is the valley of the Geme Dere, which opens out into a sort of plain north of the Kozlu Dag before narrowing to the gorge that leads to Assos (PLATE 38*a* from near Ayvacik, with the gorge on the right). Even the GS map spreads its contours over this plain; and the German ones have planted a mountain

¹ In 1794 Dallaway called it a poor village on the plain, but at least it had a han (*Constantinople* (1797), 324). Hunt said the han was commodious and had 30 rooms.

² Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten* iii (1837), 379.

³ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 703.

⁴ See above, p. 253. We hesitate to believe that this is the headless 'statue' from the Kozlu Dag site (p. 263); in that case the Roman road would have run along the mountain crest.

('Dartschyk Dag') in it. On top of the Kozlu Dag * is the rambling city site that we have identified as Lamponia (above, pp. 261 ff.).

The valley of the Geme Dere¹ above Ayvacik* was evidently penetrated by J.T. Clarke and Diller at the time of the Assos excavations, when they noted a site near the stream; but otherwise it has remained *terra incognita* to archaeologists, and to cartographers before the modern Turkish survey. Clarke remarked that the valley has very rich harvests of grain. If that were so, we should expect a larger population; but no doubt he was looking to the fame of Gargara rather than the visible crops (above, p. 254). In 1959 the vigorous kaymakam of Ayvacik, who had announced to us his keen interest in archaeology, himself took us up the valley in a hired jeep. His procedure in the field differed from ours but was effective. As we approached a village he blew his whistle, assembled the adult males, and conjured them to disclose everything that was antique. Like Cortes's Indians after the eclipse the villagers hastened to lay their treasures before him, and they escorted us to their sites. My notes of the excursion are as follows.

We went first to a poor village called Çalti² 10-12 km. up the valley on the south side of the Geme Dere. Its altitude is probably something under 300 m. We were shown nothing there save coins; and as at the other places in the valley none of them seemed to be older than Turkish of the nineteenth century. From Çalti we were taken a couple of kilometres to a rock-crowned hill called Ala Kaya on the north bank over the stream. In position it corresponds to Clarke's site, which he said was somewhat west of north from the Koca Kaya (Old Gargara) the actual bearing of our site is 348° (true). On this hill, which rises at a guess 50 m., we saw a scatter of tile and sherds, including one fragment of Roman red glaze, and a sarcophagus cut in the rock. There could have been a farm or small settlement of Roman date there. But the remains are not those of a city, and therefore will not support Clarke's identification, dubious on any grounds, of this site with the ancient Pionia.³ It is not possible to place this hill on the GS map; but somewhere here the word 'Hisar' is marked, presumably referring to the Ala Kaya site.

Our second site was a knoll in the fields called Kocaerik Tepe, under the village of Kisacik*⁴ in broken country about 2 km. north of the

1 I have also heard 'Yeme' (the name is falsely rationalized on the German maps as 'Yirmi Dere' = twenty streams). It is the upper course of the Tuzla Çay.

2 Population 144 in the 1940 census.

3 AJA (Old Series) iv (1888), 318, accepted by V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften* i. 391. But see Leaf's very reasonable discussion in *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 285 ff. For the situation of Pionia see L. Robert's most recent discussion in *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 113. For the coins see below, p. 387.

4 Population 205 in the 1940 census; a name Kisaciklar*, with 39 adult males, appears in the 1573 fiscal survey. From a bearing we took we should have expected the site to be 1-2 km. further west than shown on our map on p. 249.

Geme Dere. There we saw nothing except a stone sarcophagus and a few Roman sherds. In the village of Küçük Husun¹ we found nothing ancient. Finally we visited another small village, Karamur, set on a brow over a little plain of cornfields;² we were there told of tombs on a hillock (Çatal Dam) down in the valley which we had just traversed. Another day we went with the kaymakam to Çiftlik, about 4 km. northeast of Ayvacik *, where there are hillocks with graves and the remains of a building with mortar (perhaps a church). We noted tiles and pithos sherds, but doubted whether they were earlier than Byzantine; coins were reported, but no specimens were produced.

The result of these investigations seems conclusive. In the Geme Dere and the Sapanca-Misvak* area to the north a hard-pressed if hasty search has revealed five or six Roman-Byzantine sites, but nothing whatever of an earlier date. It seems clear that there was no ancient city or indeed habitation on any scale interposed between Cebren and the cities of the south coast in classical times; and with this broad belt of no man's land in between, Greek penetration of the Scamander basin is not likely to have come from the south. The historical implications will be considered further when we come to consider the pattern of occupation in the Troad.

It cannot be proved that the Geme Dere belonged to Cebren rather than Gargara. But we have a pointer in that direction. When we inquired about ancient remains at Ayvacik we were told that a channel in mortar about 70 cm. wide passes along the ridge 2 km. above the town on the north-east, and that it carried water from the mountains on the east (Kaz Dag*) to Eski Stambul (Alexandria Troas). Not having seen it ourselves we have no check on this report. But if we give credence to it and such stories generally have some foundation³ Alexandria Troas seems to be the only place that the aqueduct could have led to; and this would mean that the territory belonged to Alexandria Troas, and previously therefore to Cebren (which was absorbed into it). It is difficult to tell whether the aqueduct which Belon and Wood remarked at Alexandria Troas led from this direction.⁴

1 Population 216 in the 1940 census. Apparently Sinoba* on the GS map, and probably the 'Sunovassi' of Walpole's journey from Kestambul to the Dikeli Dag in 1806 (E.D. Clarke, *Travels* ii. 1 (1812), 158 n. 1).

2 Population 197 in 1940.

3 Cf. the story about Hayrettin Tepe which seems to link up with Judeich's aqueduct near Camlica* (above, p. 282). A more striking instance is afforded by the site of Cnidus at Tekir, where, without knowing of any aqueduct there, Bean and I recorded a local tradition according to which two rival ones were built by aspirants to the hand of the king's daughter (*BSA* xlvii. 184); we had not at the time noticed that Turner saw two aqueducts there in 1815 (*Journal of a Tour in the Levant* iii (1820), 34).

4 Belon in 1548 remarked a wall arm supported by buttresses which led off from the circuit wall in the direction of Ida (i.e. the Cigri* Dag?) at two or three leagues distance, and according to his guides ran for twenty miles to end at the Gulf of Satelia! (*Observations de plusieurs*

(footnote continued on next page)

West of Ayvacik * is a mountain region that has remained unknown to the scholarly world. A few travellers passed along its north edge on the way between Alexandria Troas and Ayvacik. Koldewey and Judeich, both of whom struck southward from the Cigri* Dag*, may have seen more; but we do not know their routes, and they reported nothing. The region would have been better left blank on the Kiepert's maps, which have given an illusory appearance of articulation to it by introducing a non-existent river system with names such as `Sulu Dere' (= stream valley) and `Dereköy' (= valley village) (above, p. 320). It remained for Leaf to complete the physical relief by building up the Sakar Kaya above Tavakli* into the principal mountain of this end of Ida and the cause of a dramatic change in the climate of the coastlands.¹ In fact the Sakar Kaya is no more than a bold spur of the mountain region; for the GS map shows it as only 445 m. high, with peaks further inland marked as 490, 563, 627, 658, 519, and 570 m. What we have been able to see from high vantage points agrees with this impression of a complicated hill country rising to its greatest heights midway between Kösedere and Ayvacik. The GS map marks a network of villages in the interior, of which about a dozen names appear in our modern census lists and one or two are identifiable in the fiscal survey of 1573-4. The mountain country here is therefore regularly inhabited. But the average population of its villages, which is apparently about 130, is the smallest that we have encountered in any part of the Troad. Clearly this is a region with only tiny pockets of habitation, and not likely to have supported a city in classical times. Our inquiries in Ayvacik and Bahçeli have elicited no information about ancient remains or finds.

(footnote continued from previous page)

Singularitez, 1588 ed., 182 top, 183; he does not call it an aqueduct). Sandys repeats this observation without any addition. On their way back from the Kaplica* to the main site in 1750 Wood and his companions also saw a wall line, with piers and intervals between, that led off from the circuit in the direction of the mountains; they recognized it as an aqueduct (manuscript diary). The regularly spaced piers can still be seen outside the ancient circuit south-east of the Baths of Herodes, and the line can be followed for 1 km. or so along a ridge running eastward. We assumed that this could not be the aqueduct that Lechevalier's map shows as entering the circuit from the north; and we therefore felt no doubt that Belon's and our aqueduct must come from the interior of the Troad. But we are less certain now since we see that Spratt's map shows the aqueduct in quite a different position from Lechevalier's.

¹*Strabo on the Troad* (1923), p. xix. It seems to be marked as Çiçekli (Göl) Dag on the GS map, but we did hear the name Sakar Kaya. See the map above, p. 190.

9
The Classical City Sites of the Interior

1
Cebren

The ancient city is on the Çal Dag *, a massive fragment of the western Ida chain that sits detached on the southern slopes of the Middle Scamander valley and dominates a countryside of little streams and hedged fields. The Çal Dag has two round-topped summits about 575 m. above sea level. The southerly one formed the northern extremity of the ancient city. Lower down, a bold crag, Fugla* (Fogla*) Tepe, girt with smooth vertical cliffs round its east end, dominates the western part of the site. The mountain appears from a distance of nearly 20 km. in the view from beyond Karayiv (PLATE 56*b*, on the extreme left). Our plan of the site, FIG. 15, made in 1966, is only a rough one because the broken, tree-studded terrain prevented us from obtaining compass intersections; and the scale is not very reliable. PLATE 59*a* shows Fugla Tepe and (on the right) the slope up to the citadel.

The site was discovered by Calvert not later than 1865; and his identification, which depends on the coins found there (below, pp. 339 f.), has not been questioned; we have found it amply confirmed.¹ The site has since been visited by Schliemann in 1881 and 1882, Fabricius with H. Kiepert in 1888, Judeich with Dragendorff in 1896, and Leaf with Hasluck in 1911. They published brief accounts of it.² Calvert spent a week on the spot and made valuable observations. Unfortunately the description he gave of the site was not merely concise but so meagre as to obscure even the essentials; and in consequence it proved a

1 Curiously, following the belief of an earlier generation, the American Assos expedition placed Cebren at Kursunlu* (*Report on Investigations at Assos 1881* (1882), 182, pl. 4*a*); evidently they did not at that stage know of Calvert's discovery or of his and Pullan's identification of the Kursunlu site as Scepsis. Mannert's belief that Cebren was a maritime city and occupied the site later known as Assos (*GGM* i, p. 69) was prompted by the faulty state of Ps.-Scylax's text (96).

2 Calvert, *Arch. Journal* xxii (1865), 53 ff.; Schliemann, *Reise in der Troas im Mai 1881* (1881), 56 f., and after his second visit *Troja* (1884), 275 ff.; Fabricius, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1894, 912 f.; Judeich, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 536 ff.; Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 171 f.

stumbling-block to subsequent visitors. Of the walls he remarks that 'they comprise a circuit of about three miles, and are distinctly traceable in their whole extent. Their course is over uneven ground. Facing the north-east they cross the spur of a hill, upon whose summit is the acropolis; and then, skirting the edge of some cliffs to the north-west, they descend and take in part of an elevated valley towards the west and south.' Calvert had already spoken of the site as being on the 'Tchalí-Dagh';¹ and this description, read in the light of our plan, can be interpreted as referring to a citadel on the summit at the north-east end of the circuit and wall arms descending to enclose the low-lying west end of the site. But curiously he has omitted all mention of the great crag of Fugla * Tepe, which, in the approach from the west, seems to dominate the site like a citadel; and the result is that his successors on the site all assumed that Fugla Tepe was his acropolis. So none of them thought of looking further than the lower end of the site. Their reactions to Calvert's description differed. Schliemann tacitly reduced the length of the circuit from three miles to two. Fabricius and Kiepert apparently found no incongruity. With his more developed topographical sense Judeich was aware of the difficulty, and he was reduced to postulating an intermediate crest to carry the wall across the slope north of the saddle. It remained for Leaf to iron out the anomalies by transposing the present-day names: Cebren, he says without any hint of uncertainty, 'lay on the Chali Dagħ, a bold spur of the Fula Dagħ'. His retrospective adjustment holds the field, and L. Robert, for instance, indicates to his readers 'the spur where the ruins are';² but the 'ruins' or better, the site extends over the mountain; and the mountain is Çal Dag*, not Fugla Dag.

Now that the misunderstanding is clarified we are in a position to utilize the observations of the various scholars in our description of the site. Calvert, who alone saw more than a fraction of it, estimated the circuit as three miles long; our sketch-plan would yield a figure of perhaps two and a half, but the difference is within the margin of error in our plotting. The citadel on the mountain top will be described later. From its east corner (at *F* on FIG. 15) the circuit wall descends on a slightly ambiguous course to the top of a cliff which renders a fortification unnecessary, and thence drops to the modern hamlet of Orta Mahalle.³ After continuing fairly level along the slope here the wall climbs along the south side of Fugla Tepe. Just east of this we marked

¹ This form of the name (Cali* Dagi* = bush mountain) is the correct one. The slopes of the mountain are covered with dwarf oak and pine.

² *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 16.

³ Both this place and Kalayci* Mahallesi (at 1 km. or more from the ancient circuit) belong to Çal Dag Köy, which is about 1 km. from point *F*. These are primitive communities of the mountain country.

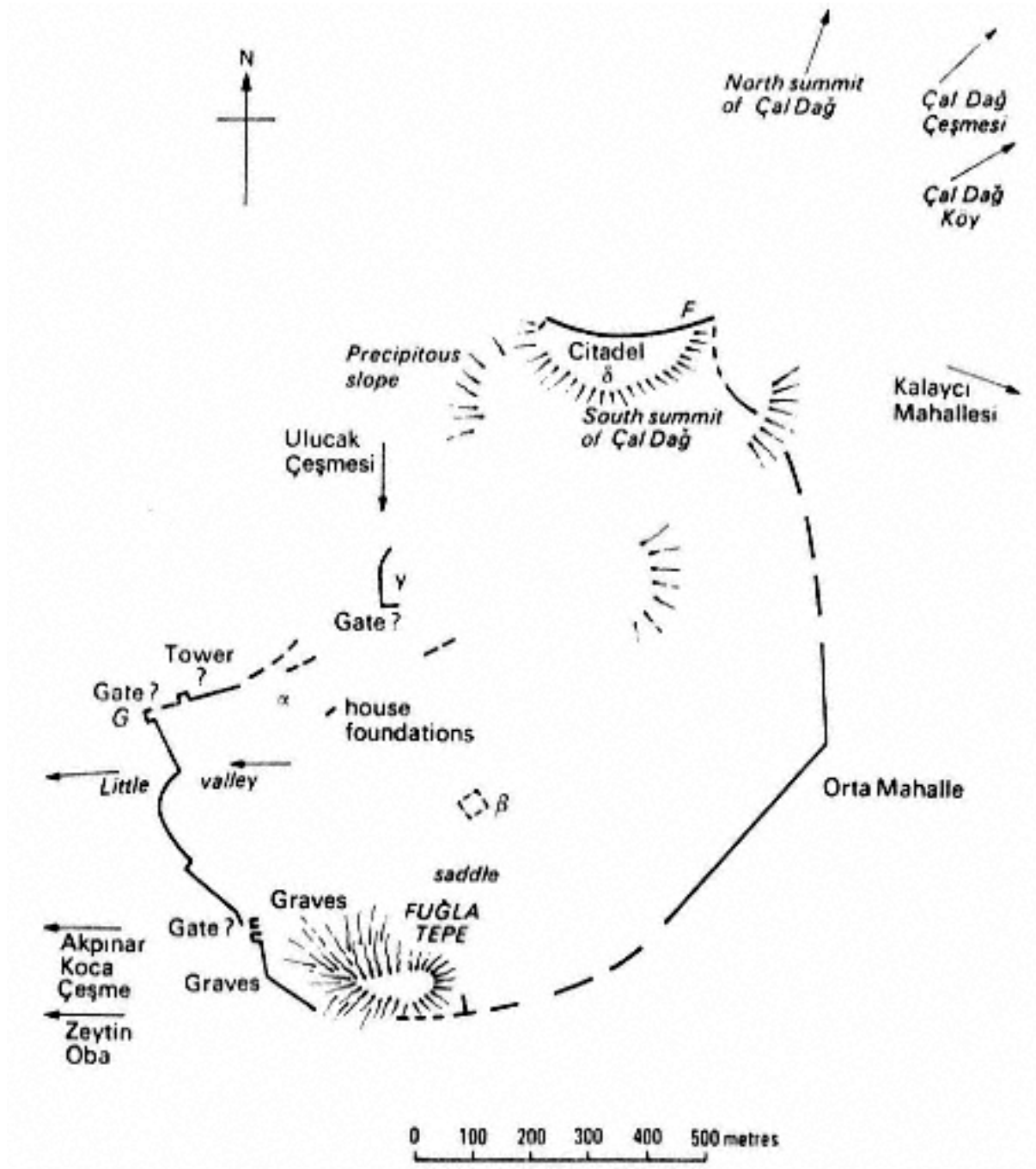


Fig. 15.
Site of Cebren

a spur of wall at right angles to the circuit; but it looks no more than a terrace wall, and there is no sign of an inner wall surrounding Fugla * Tepe.¹ From Fugla Tepe the wall again descends to the north-west until the lowest part of the site is reached in the 'little valley' marked on the plan. Akpınar* village lies some hundreds of metres west of the circuit here, with its satellite Zeytin Oba to the south of it. From the

¹ Fabricius considered that the sheer cliff on the east side of Fugla Tepe had been artificially smoothed so as to be more inaccessible; but if the summit was not fortified, there would have been no point in such laborious scarping.

little valley the wall ascends to a ridge (at *G* on FIG. 15), and then turns up it to climb to the citadel. There are foundations of a tower on the corner, and there seems to have been a gate on its north-west side; this is evidently the angle of which Judeich gives a ground plan (his fig. 5). On our plan a tower is inserted a little to the east of this from a rough sketch I had made in 1959. The wall is relatively well preserved on this stretch. But further to the north-east it becomes faint and then disappears altogether. Somewhere on the slope we noted a wall stretch of rather irregular plan, whose south angle may perhaps have covered a gate (at γ on FIG. 15). Beyond that we saw no clear trace of the wall in our traverses up and down the hillside. To the north-east the slope becomes increasingly steep, and finally, towards the summit, precipitous.

Where preserved, the wall shows sturdy outer and inner faces. At one point on the citadel west of point *F* its thickness was 2:20 m.; but elsewhere it is 2.60-2.80 m. There are hardly ever more than two courses of masonry visible above ground; but Calvert noted that earth has accumulated against the wall, and records at one point a pit dug to a depth of ten feet without reaching its foot. For the most part the masonry is more or less regular ashlar and trapezoidal, with courses that occasionally dip,¹ though we saw some much rougher work at γ on the plan. Fabricius compared the walls to the later work at Neandria, while noting that with a circuit of three English miles Cebren was a substantially larger city. Calvert thought that the regular masonry on the north-east and in the valley belonged to a later epoch than the rougher parts, and Judeich surmised that the north-west corner belonged to an extension of the circuit. It is difficult now to judge on these opinions. But plentiful archaic grey ware could be picked up alongside house foundations in a pit at α on the plan, we noted classical and grey wares on Fugla * Tepe and its western flank, and the occupation of the citadel on the mountain top goes back to archaic times at least. These areas must have been contained in the circuit that protected the population of Cebren at the time of Dercylidas' campaign in 399 B.C.; and therefore the fifth-century circuit cannot have been much less extensive than that which we have traced. The coursed masonry of which the greater part of the circuit consists does not look archaic; but on the historical evidence it is not likely to be subsequent to the late fifth century when Cebren was one of the cities garrisoned by the local dynasts Zenis and Mania.² The apparent absence of towers on the long stretches of curtain would suit a date before the fourth century for the trace.

Calvert noted five gates in the circuit. Schliemann also remarked five, but hardly from personal observation since he saw only a small part of

1 A photograph of the stretch north-east of point *G* in Judeich fig. 6.

2 Xen. *HG* iii. 1. 10 ff.

Calvert's circuit. Judeich remarked three gates in the valley at the west end of the site. Two of them will be those marked on FIG. 15; his third, in the low ground between them, seemed to us more doubtful. The most southerly one, which we should suppose to be the principal west gate, would have given a convenient approach to the great fountain (Koca Cesme *) that rises between Akpinar* and Zeytin Oba. A gate in the position we more tentatively suggest on the north-west at γ would likewise have provided access to the fine fountain on this slope (Ulucak Cesmesi*). There must have been a gate on the south-east giving access to the cultivated land on that side of the city; and we should expect a fifth gate on the north-east where we found the wall trace confusing.

The fountains in the vicinity of the city merit attention because one of them had a part in the history of Cebren. The story is in Xenophon's narrative of the first Spartan expedition to Asia (*HG* iii. 1. 15 ff.). After receiving the submission of the smaller cities of the coastal region Dercylidas marched inland with Cebren as his first objective. The commander of the garrison there was determined to hold the place in the interest of the Persian overlord; and Dercylidas stayed four days outside the walls waiting until the omens should be favourable for an assault. Meanwhile, one of his officers, Athenadas of Sicyon, grew impatient at the delay, and in the hope of depriving the inhabitants of their water supply (τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφαιλεῖσθαι τοῖς Κερβεραίοις) he led his company to the fountain and attempted to block it (τῇ κρήνῃ στήσαι). The defenders, however, sallied out and drove off Athenadas with some loss. As it turned out, this action brought the resistance to an end because the Greek defenders then sent heralds to protest their sympathy for the Greek cause and the commander hastened to follow their example.

There are now three fountains in this part of the Çal Dag*. One is the Koca Cesme near Akpinar; this seems to be the most copious, but, though drinkable, its water is considered coarse by people of refined taste. The second is the good one just outside the site on the north, which the villagers of Akpinar took me to in 1959; they called it the Çal Dag cesme*, but Riza* Ürgüvin insists that it is Ulucak Cesmesi. The third is at the roadside beyond Çal Dag Köy; this to Riza Bey is the true Cali* Dagı* Cesmesi whose water is drunk by preference by the connoisseurs of Bayramiç. This last one is too far from the site to be Athenadas' fountain. Fabricius took the Akpinar spring (our Koca Cesme) to be the one; but he does not seem to have known of any other. The one that the garrison in the citadel would have used is the Ulucak cesme; and being at a high level it might also have served the town by a pipe. This seems to be the point where the threat would have been most effective.

Traces of ancient buildings or terraces can be seen on the saddle around β on FIG. 15, and on the slope to the west and north-west.

Schliemann dug pits at 14 points thereabouts on his visit of 3 July 1882, but he struck rock at 20 cm. or so; he reported grey or black pottery (archaic, see below, p. 336 n. 1) and Hellenic black (or red) glaze ware. Most travellers have remarked the substantial and regular foundations of a large building (at β); we took it to be rectangular but Judeich's plan (his fig. 4) shows it as more complex. On this part of the site Fabricius noted door-posts but a total absence of architectural pieces; and we saw not a single worked marble. Cuinet, who evidently did not visit the site, speaks of an archaic sanctuary, baths, and great stuccoed halls;¹ but perhaps he was mentally transferring to this site the remains at Mannert's Cebren (i.e. Assos). The hog's-back ridge that leads up to the summit of the Çal Dag * seems to be devoid of building traces. At α on our plan we saw house foundations in a newly dug pit with archaic (and apparently some prehistoric!) grey ware extruded. Fabricius noted a deep bottle-shaped cistern on the west slope just inside the circuit. More surprisingly, on the ridge at the north-west angle of the site Judeich traced the outline of a long narrow building of 60 by 10 m., which he took for a stoa; we saw nothing like this, and the position does not seem a likely one for a civic building. On Fugla* Tepe Schliemann, Fabricius, and Judeich remarked beddings in the rock for house walls and on the narrow summit a cistern (6 by 5.50 m. and 4 m. deep according to Schliemann, 5 by 3.5 m. according to Fabricius, its visible depth 5 m. in 1966). We found tiles dense on the ground here as the villagers had been making unofficial excavations; they were of classical form with good glaze. We picked up an archaic grey-ware bowl rim, a number of recognizable sherds of fifth- and fourth-century black glaze, and a few late Byzantine glazed fragments like those at Kizkulesi* (above, p. 319); among these last Dr. Alison Frantz remarks a fine sgraffito fragment of the twelfth century and a rim probably of the early thirteenth.

In 1959 I was shown some open cists on the west slope of Fugla Tepe ('graves' on the plan); we did not see them in 1966, but I believe they were inside the circuit. The villagers of Akpınar* told me that these were graves which they had newly excavated and that they had been lined with stone slabs.² The finds in them were reported as gold ear-rings, a 'wristband' of glass, clay tobacco pipes, and terracotta figurines. I picked up one or two fragments of fifth-fourth century black glaze in the spoil; and subsequently the villagers showed me fragments of kernoi (the 'tobacco pipes') and figurines found there. The former are from ring vases with multiple tiny vessels on the cylinder; there are 17

¹*La Turquie d'Asie* iii (1894), 769.

² Schliemann chanced upon two graves in his soundings, presumably therefore also inside the circuit; one yielded silver ear-rings and various metal objects.

such miniature hydriae from Cebren in the Calvert Collection catalogue (no. 412). The figurines, perhaps all of Cybele, are as follows:

1. Two joining fragments of a seated goddess, from the breast and the side of the throne, the latter ending at the front in a lion. The back open. Pres. ht. 13 cm. Reddish clay with white grits. PLATE 58*b* left.
2. Face from a female figurine, the head hollow. Ht. from bottom edge of stephane to tip of chin 2.2 cm. Fabric and condition as no. 1. PLATE 58*b* upper right.
3. Fragment from the lap and forearm of a figure similar to no. 1. Width across 4.5 cm. Fine pink clay. PLATE 58*b* lower right.

Dr. D.B. Thompson, who has kindly examined the fragments, finds no. 1 closely comparable to her no. 16 in *Troy*, Suppl. Monograph 3 (1963), which she dated to the early third century. The head no. 2 she compares with Tanagras of similar date. Of no. 3 she says that in the Agora she would place it close to 300 B.C. or a shade earlier, but in Asia Minor a later date might be possible.

Fabricius reported that the summit north of Fugla * Tepe was pointed out to him as an ancient necropolis, and that the inscribed grave slab that he copied in Akpinar* was found there. But the summit is in fact the citadel, where there were no graves. What Fabricius may have heard of is graves on the slope beyond.

Outside the circuit we have only encountered graves on the southwest near Fugla Tepe; we saw only cists and lining slabs, and did not then (in 1966) have time to go into Akpinar to inquire about the finds. A hundred years ago, however, Calvert noted that there were tombs lined with marble or schist slabs in all directions outside the circuit. He himself discovered some still intact on both the north and south sides of the city. Those on the north lay 'just below the cliffs and acropolis'. In one of them he found coarse unglazed pottery, which he took to be of a very early date, and another had an inscription on the inside of a slab. There are a number of examples of such inscriptions, which seem to be early fifth-century.¹ The graves on the south side yielded a terracotta warrior's-head aryballos (below, p. 336, under no. 17), a kotyle which has been identified as Protocorinthian,² jewellery, and other finds.³ Finally, Fabricius noted a grave relief of late date with a seated woman and standing girl, built into a house in Akpinar.

1 Fabricius 913 (Diocleidas), Judeich 536 (Milasia), ours at Karincali* (Diphilos, p. 401, no. 18); for Calvert's (Stheneia ?) see above, p. 121 n. 5).

2 See K.F. Johansen, *Vases sicyoniens* 88; it is described in the Calvert Collection catalogue (no. 413), but not illustrated there (see below, p. 337).

3 From the catalogue we note a monochrome crater? with stirrup handles which is said to have gone to pieces in transit (no. 411), the kernoi (no. 412), a terracotta loom weight with a stamped design (Apoxyomenos?, no. 415), a plain bronze phiale mesomphalos (no. 416), a ribbed arrowhead (no. 421). The finds seem to be of archaic and classical date.

There remains the summit of the mountain at the north end of the site. This consists of a bow-shaped crest forming a sort of rampart on the south, while on its north side the ground slopes gently away to form a sort of cavea retained by the outer wall. The wall along the line of this rampart has almost entirely disappeared (perhaps partly buried under spoil); but a citadel wall is the only possible explanation, and Calvert undoubtedly recognized an acropolis here. We saw no trace of buildings *in situ*, and Calvert's mention of foundations of 'what appears to have been a public edifice' towards the summit of the hill is imprecise.¹ But the existence of early buildings in the citadel was certain enough for me to report them to the Turkish Museums Department in 1959. The area inside the citadel was honeycombed with shallow pits dug by the villagers; and the ground was littered with fragments of terracotta, mainly roof tiles but also from fictile revetments. We have also picked up fragments of archaic grey ware, an archaic Corinthian aryballos mouth, and good classical black glaze. In 1959, when the pits here were newly opened, I noted that the area yielding terracottas measured at least 50 m. either way and had the impression that the revetments must have come from more than one building (the variety of types would in any case suggest this). In 1966 there was very little to be seen, and the site seemed to have been completely gutted.

On the south slope below the citadel there are no sherds or traces of walls. There was evidently a blank zone between the citadel and the inhabited town. A similar blank zone may be remarked at Scepsis (Kursunlu *) and the Ada Tepe (Eski Kale) site, though not at the Karincali* site.

The tiles I saw on the citadel were of early type with good-quality glaze, many of them having the milky white slip which seems to date earlier than the fourth century. As regards the architectural terra-cottas, the pieces that we have seen are no doubt only a small fraction of the total loot from the site. We have seen a few fragments still on the ground, a number in the hands of villagers at Akpınar* or in the school there, and others at Bayramiç. Our list is as follows:

1-4. *Antefixes*.

1. Antefix with Gorgon's head bordered by ovolo and dog's tooth. Traces of the semicircular tile end visible. Max. width 34 cm. Dark glaze spots showing through the mud on the Gorgon's cheeks. PLATE 63a.

Prof. Å. Åkerström remarked to me that the ovolo in this position at Cebren is unique. The piece is now listed in his *Architektonische Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (1966), 7 no. 2.

¹ He also speaks of a square excavation on the summit; but possibly he is thinking of the cistern on Fugla* Tepe.

2 (a). Badly worn fragment, apparently with the eye of a similar Gorgoneion.

(b). Fragments perhaps of a similar antefix to no. 1, photographed by Dr. J. G. Pedley on the spot in 1968.

3. Fragment of an antefix of similar form to no. 1 with bead and reel, ovolo, and dog's tooth; traces of black and white paint. Ht. of mouldings and dog's tooth 8.5 cm.

4. Two joining fragments with lion rending a short-tailed animal. Reddish clay with red wash. Pres. length 23 cm. (Now in Izmir * Museum depo) PLATE 62.

Åkerström, op. cit. 7, no. 3. Åkerström compares the antefix fragments with lion rending stag from Klopédi in Lesbos (his pl. 11.5)

5-6. *Chariot friezes.*

5. Fragment with eight-spoked chariot wheel and three hind legs of horses.

Mentioned by Åkerström, op. cit. 7, no. 4.

6. Badly weathered fragment with what appeared to be horses' legs.

7-14. *Banquet friezes.*

7. Fragment from bottom edge with back half of dog under footstool. Grey clay, dark glaze on white slip. Pres. length of animal 11.5 cm. (Now in Izmir Museum depo) PLATE 62.

8. Two joining fragments from top and right side of plaque, with banqueter and two girls seated. Pres. ht. 35 cm. PLATE 61.

Åkerström, op. cit. 7, no. 5a, fig. 1. 2.

9. Fragment with bodies of similar girls.

10. Fragment of similar frieze with two girls' heads. PLATE 62.

11. Fragment from left edge of a plaque, perhaps a standing attendant in a banquet scene. PLATE 62.

12-14. Three fragments with legs and drapery of figures on a couch. PLATE 61.

15. *Fragment of a pediment.*

15. Fragment of a large terracotta relief with a human foot. Reddish clay with white slip on relief surfaces; dark glaze for background and sandal soles, perhaps also for sandal lacings. Pres. length of foot about 13 cm. Thickness of plaque at bottom 8 cm. Max. relief depth 3.5 cm. (Now in Izmir Museum depo). PLATE 62.

Åkerström, op. cit. 7, no. 6, recognized by him as pedimental; the height of a standing figure on this scale would be 110-120 cm.

16. *Incertum.*

16. Fragment of a relief with male head recessed on the front, egg and dart on the back. Dull grey ware. Pres. ht. 10 cm.; thickness about 4 cm. PLATE 63b.

To the preceding may conveniently be added:

17. Warrior's-head aryballos. Not cleaned, but traces of subsidiary painting visible (incised palmette on brow of helmet, painted rosette on cheek-pieces). Ht. 7 cm. (Çal Dag *, from a grave?). PLATE 62.

This is a well-known East Greek type of perfume aryballos, associated especially with Rhodes. Cf. R.A. Higgins, *BMCat. Terracottas* ii (1959), no. 1620. There was also a warrior's-head aryballos from a grave dug at Cebren by Calvert (above, p. 333). About 600 B.C. or early sixth century.

In general, architectural terracottas of the sort here described are dated in the second half of the sixth century. On the evidence of what we saw in 1959 and 1963 Åkerström has pointed out that the friezes at Cebren reflect the North Ionic terracotta relief work best known to us from the Larisa-on-Hermus site, and provide evidence of travelling workshops from that region (his pp. 214 f.). In particular he remarks that our no. 8 is a derivative work, the shrinkage in firing being compensated for by the addition of a taenia at top and bottom (his pp. 199 f.). In a letter to me he suggested that the Gorgon's head no. 1 is of the first half of the fifth century; and in a relatively remote region such as the interior Troad these derivative terracotta friezes might date considerably later than their prototypes in North Ionia. On the other hand, pedimental figures like no. 15 are hitherto only known at the Larisa site and in the acme of the art about 530-20 B. C. (op. cit. 59 f.), and for this piece a sixth-century date seems preferable. Since the tiles and terracottas on the Çal Dag citadel seem to have covered an area too large for a single building, it is quite possible that the remains are not all exactly contemporary.

The grey ware sherds from the site are not without interest. We picked up some quite substantial fragments on the citadel and at the pit α in the lower town. Archaic shapes represented are dinos, various bowls, and a jug with a two-reed handle. Dr. Bayne considers these pieces at Cebren to be sixth rather than seventh century. Three fragments, however, seemed to him prehistoric (PLATE 58a), and Dr. Mellaart confirmed his judgement.¹ They are of pale grey ware, the two arched handle pieces (on the left) being identified as second-millennium 'Minyan' and the ribbed goblet stem (top right) as early-middle Troy VI. Curiously, while the first two were found on the citadel, the goblet stem came from the pit α along with abundant archaic buccheroa context that had seemed almost to exclude the possibility of its being prehistoric. The fourth sherd on PLATE 58a (lower right), from a handle springing in gritty brown ware with a dark polished surface and also from pit α , seems archaic.²

¹ W. Lamb noted archaic but not prehistoric when she examined Schliemann's grey ware sherds from Cebren in Berlin (*Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 111).

² Cf. a Troy VIII example of similar fabric, *Troy* iv, pl. 291. 11, p. 265.

The Hellenic material we have seen from the Çal Dag * would not necessarily go back beyond the beginning of the sixth century. But Calvert's Protocorinthian kotyle (above, p. 333) is undoubtedly earlier; in fact it would be difficult to date such a piece after the middle of the seventh century. The Greek settlement of Cebren may therefore precede that of Assos. As regards the origin of the settlers, it is true that in a surviving ancient tradition Cebren owed its foundation to Aeolic Cyme; but both our testimonia for this are evidently Cymaeans,¹ and we may conjecture that Mitylene had a part in the foundation. As regards the prehistoric grey ware, we are tempted to wonder whether such native pottery may not have continued to be made in the region until the arrival of the Greek settlers; we have some misgivings about a prehistoric site covering both the mountain top and the lower ground at α.2 But further investigation is needed.

The wide diffusion of archaic grey ware on the site indicates that Cebren became quite a substantial place in the sixth century; and by the end of that century its acropolis was adorned with colourful buildings. It was clearly a city of importance in the fifth century, for its normal tribute when it was paying in the Athenian league was three talents as against one each for Assos and Scepsis. Assuming that it included the Geme Dere, the territory of Cebren will have enclosed an area that in 1940 had a population of perhaps 12,000-13,000. As regards the influence that this substantial city exerted on its neighbours, we have noted tomb slabs of the characteristic Cebrenian type (one with the epitaph of a

Cebrenian) at Gergis (Karincali*, pp. 347, 401, no. 18). The sign  that we have found on the reverse of a coin of Gergis (PLATE 64a) could simply denote a magistrate, but it is the special monogram of Cebren; and, for what it is worth, we note also the typically Cebrenian ram's-head device on some classical coins of Gargara.³

Cebren was certainly one of the larger classical cities of East Greece. It had a good riverain plain for agriculture, hill slopes for sheep raising, and a plentiful supply of timber and probably iron ore in the Kaz Dag.

1 Ephorus cited by Harpocration s.v. *Κυβερνα*, *Vita Herod. Homeri* 20; for the attribution of the *Vita* cf. the mentions of Cyme and in particular the phrase of *οἱ ἑτέροι* used in the sense of non-Cymaeans (13 fin., the meaning being that they spread the name Homeros around by talking of him).

2 Our sherds from the pit were put in a separate bag, and I do not believe that any confusion can have occurred. The pit, as I recollect it, was 4-5 ft. deep with a sturdy wall foundation visible at the bottom; it did not look as though a lower stratum had been broached, but I did not inspect it very closely because I did not suspect that there was anything other than archaic there. This is a case where a quite small sounding could be very informative.

3 Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 38 f., nos. 2-4, pl. I. 34-5; L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 32.

Of its political history we know a little. As we have seen, it was garrisoned by the local dynasts Zenis and Mania of Dardanos in the late fifth century and liberated by Dercylidas in 399. Restored to Persian rule by the King's Peace, it was seized in 360, in company with Ilion and Scepsis, by Charidemus, who held it until the satrap Artabazus was at liberty to recover his possessions. In the last years of the fourth century it was absorbed, together with Scepsis, in Antigonos' new foundation that we know as Alexandria Troas. Scepsis was detached from the synoecism by Lysimachus; but, as Strabo expressly states, Cebren stayed in.¹ That should therefore be the end of its history as a city.

Unfortunately the matter is not as simple as it sounds. First, Imhoof-Blumer ninety years ago drew attention to a class of rare coins with the traditional types of Cebren (ram's head/head of Apollo) and the legend ~~Αντιοχίαν~~, and inferred from this that Cebren had been refounded by a Seleucid king; and more recently the two letters *B K* which he had remarked on the obverse of some of these coins have been interpreted as referring to Birytis and Cebren by L. Robert, who noted that on the coins with *B K* a symbol of a club (the known reverse type of Birytis) appears beside the Cebrenian ram's head.² Robert very reasonably claims this as evidence not only for a refoundation of Cebren but also of a synoecism or sympolity between Cebren and Birytis. Secondly, Robert has restored the well-known Delphic thearodokoi list in such a way as to yield the name Cebren in the itinerary of the theoroi, and is thus in a position to argue that the city was physically alive about the beginning of the second century B.C. and had reverted to its old name.³ And finally an incomplete inscription of middle Hellenistic date brought to light in the American excavations at Assos seems to record honours for a detachment of men, with two mentions of Cebren (first, the proclamation is to be made at a festival there, and second, the stele is to be set up there as well as at Assos).⁴ Robert is inclined to date the inscription to the second century B.C.⁵ From all this he concludes that

1 xiii. 596-7, § 33 (quoting Demetrius of Scepsis),

τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς

Σκηψίας, ὅριον δ' εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα· ἔχθραν δ' αἰεὶ καὶ πόλεμον εἶναι
τοῖς τε Κεβρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σκηψίοις, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτοὺς συνώκισεν εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Ἀντιγονίαν,
νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείαν· τοὺς μὲν οὖν Κεβρηνίους συμμεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τοὺς δὲ
Σκηψίους ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπιτρέψαντος Λυσισμάχου

2 For details of all this see Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 16-31. I have not been able to see Imhoof-Blumer's original article or most of the other references cited by Robert in his p. 17 n. 2, and accept without verification that no provenience is known for any specimen.

3 *Ét. num. gr.* 33 f., with references to his own earlier writings.

4 *Papers of American School at Athens* i (1882-3), 7, no. 4 (with facsimile); *Investigations at Assos* (1902), 69, fig. 24. Cf. *Ét. num. gr.* 33. Robert very reasonably assumes that the help was rendered by Assos to Cebren rather than the reverse.

5 Robert also remarks the mention of Cebren in the Sibylline oracles (*Orac. Sibyll.* (Geffcken) iii. 343, presumably of late Hellenistic date).

having been detached from Alexandria Troas and re-established as a city by Antiochus I later than 281 B.C.,¹ Cebren continued as an independent city until some time in the second century.

It must at once be said that M. Robert has made an important contribution to the history of Cebren in bringing together these documents and that the conclusion he reaches is not an illegitimate one. But it is nevertheless a very perplexing one. Fabricius remarked on the absence of any architectural pieces on the Çal Dag * site; and Judeich adverted specifically on the absence of evidence of a refoundation, which he at first discounted and then seems to have reluctantly accepted with the necessary qualification that it must have been short-lived.² Certainly, if the city had not only been refounded but continued independent for about a hundred years, we could reasonably expect to see some relics of monumental buildings and of the architectural orders; and we should look for signs of Hellenistic work in the wall circuit, whether in the masonry (which is pure classical) or in gate courts and towers punctuating the curtain (which are conspicuously lacking). Above all, we should find fragments of Hellenistic pottery such as is scattered on the ground at Gergis and Scepsis. The surface pottery is especially significant. For archaic and classical sherds may remain concealed when overlaid by Hellenistic deposits; but Hellenistic cannot be overlaid by archaic and classical, and the predominance of the latter as surface pottery means that Hellenistic was never there. In effect, in the course of two visits, both of some hours' duration, we have not seen a single Hellenistic sherd.

The fragments of terracotta figurines that we found present a problem of their own. The dating tentatively suggested by Mrs. Thompson (above, p. 333) could well point to the opening years of the third century; but unfortunately this is the period that lies between the incorporation in Antigonía and the presumed refoundation in fact the one period when everyone acknowledges that there was no city at Cebren. The black glaze found in association with them seems, however, to decide the issue. Of these fragments, and indeed of the black glaze from the site as a whole, Mr. Sparkes says that he can see 'nothing that need be later than 323 B.C.' To this we may add the evidence of the coins.

Coins from the Çal Dag site are numerous. Calvert and Schliemann saw many bronzes of Cebren there; and though curiously I saw only two of Cebren as against three of Assos at Akpınar* in 1959, Rıza* Bey

¹*Ét. num. gr.* 21 ('ce ne peut être qu' Antiochos Ier') and the consensus of scholarly opinions assembled in the footnotes to his pp. 18-21. This seems very reasonable because the desire for independence would not be expected to outlast its survival in living memory. The Antioch coins do not seem to be closely datable within the third century.

²*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 539 n. 1; (his article 'Skepsis') in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Festschrift H. Kiepert, 1898) 239 n. I.

was able to confirm that the Çal Dag * is the source of the numerous coins of Cebren that reach Bayramiç. He also pointed out to me bronzes of Scepsis and Assos, and in 1967 single specimens of Larisa Troadis and Coloniae, as coming from there. Schliemann acquired two of Scepsis at the Çal Dag. The most detailed information, however, comes from Calvert. He listed the identifiable coins he acquired there as follows: 1 Cebren 25, Alexandria Troas 9, Gergis 7, Scepsis 3, Gargara 3 (one being silver), Neandria 2, Aeolis 2, Thasos 2, Mitylene 2 (one being silver), Assos I, Hamaxitus I, Proconnesus I, Cyzicus I, Cyme I; Roman, Byzantine etc. 11. To this we can add a few more bronzes that we noted in Akpınar* in 1959 (identified by Professor H. Heller):

- 1-2. Cebren. 9 mm. *BMC* 23-9, pl. 8. 17. PLATE 60.
3. Assos. 9 mm. *BMC* 8-9, pl. 7. 12. PLATE 60.
4. Assos. 10 mm. *BMC* 13, pl. 7. 14. PLATE 60.
5. Assos. 9 mm. As no. 4, but the types smaller. ~~AE~~? PLATE 60.
6. Scepsis. 15 mm. *BMC* 14-16 (but with less decadent branches). PLATE 60.
7. Neandria. 19 mm. *BMC* 8-11, pl. 14.5. PLATE 60.
8. Philip II of Macedon (posthumous issue). 18 mm. *Syll. Copenhagen*, no. 581 ff. PLATE 60.
9. Possibly Mitylene (head of Zeus r.: herm of Dionysus), but hopelessly worn and the identification very uncertain. 17 mm. PLATE 60.
10. Alexandria Troas. 19 mm.  Cf. Bellinger, *Troy Suppl.* 2, p. 96, A 141, pl. 17. Very heavily worn. PLATE 60.
11. Alexandria Troas. 23 mm. Bellinger, p. 128, A 344 (Alexander Severus).
12. Alexandria Troas, 24 mm. Bellinger, p. 145, A 466, pl. 24 (Gallienus).
13. Alexandria Troas. 18 mm. Rev. horse grazing r. COLAV . . .
14. Parium. 18 mm. Augustus or Tiberius. *BMC*, pl. 22. 12.
15. Plated denarius of the younger Faustina. 17 mm. According to Dr. J.P.C. Kent forgery of about the early third century.
16. Constantine I. 14 mm. VN MR.
17. Constantius II. 15 mm. Falling horseman 3? [FEL TE] MP REPARA[TIO·]
18. 16 mm. Emperor spurning seated (?) captive.
19. Constans or Constantius II. 13 mm. VOT XX MULT XXX.

I also saw a few Byzantine coins of which I regret not having made any notes.

The majority of the coins known to have come from the Çal Dag are issues which antedate the foundation of Alexandria Troas. There is a fair proportion of coins of Roman and Byzantine date. The Roman ones are, with one exception, all of the third century and later. Calvert noted nine specimens of Alexandria Troas but without distinguishing between autonomous and colonial; to judge by the proportion in our list they were probably mostly the latter. The only coin which we can assign to

1*Arch. Journal* xxii (1865), 55 f.; cf. Robert, op. cit. 82 ff.

the Hellenistic era is no. 10 in our list; and this coin, which is probably of the first century B.C.,¹ has its obverse design (facing head of Apollo laureate) hopelessly worn down and its reverse design (a cithara) obliterated, so it must have seen many decades of use. It is also notable that while we find coins of cities that were to be absorbed in Antigonos' synoecism, there is none of Ilion, whose coinage only began then. So here again the site of Cebren shows no sign of habitation in the period of the supposed reoccupation in the third and second centuries. A very significant discovery of ours was that of three bronzes of Alexandria Troas of the second half of the third century B.C. in the village of Pinarbasi * in the heart of the Cebrenian territory (above, p. 313). This would imply Alexandrian possession of the territory; and being apparently found locally and not on the Çal Dag*, they perhaps suggest that the settlement that replaced independent Cebren in Hellenistic times was not on the Çal Dag. There is thus a wide range of archaeological evidences pointing to the conclusion that the site of Cebren on the Çal Dag was devoid of all city life in the third and second centuries B.C. It was only in imperial times that the site seems to have seen some return of habitation.

The testimony of Strabo has been discounted by Robert on the ground that so trifling a historical detail as the resuscitation of a city in the Troad would have been beneath his notice: `Je n'aurais aucune hésitation à rejeter sur ce point la valeur d'un témoignage, même formel, de cet auteur. Ce n'est pas à l'auteur d'une géographie du monde tout entier, tel qu'il était connu à l'époque d'Auguste, qu'on peut demander l'histoire précise en tous ses détails et absolument exacte d'une petite ville de la Troade; il n'a jamais prétendu donner celà, et il eût sans doute été scandalisé qu'on le lui demandât.'² But if he was a global geographer, Strabo prided himself on being a historian. His statement that, unlike the people of Scepsis, the Cebrenians remained incorporated with the others in Alexandria Troas is an explicit one and not to be reconciled with the knowledge that for some generations after Lysimachus Cebren had been an independent city. It was not a matter of petty local history in an obscure corner of the world. Strabo would, though for different reasons, have subscribed to Pliny's characterization of Troy `unde omnis rerum claritas'; and there was no region that he studied and described so lovingly as the Troad. Finally, he is not viewing the Hellenistic history of the Troad in a closed perspective from his own lifetime in the Augustan era. His knowledge of it derives from

¹ The silver of Alexandria Troas in the second and first centuries B.C. is securely dated to within a dozen years; but the bronzes cannot be closely correlated with it. Bellinger dates the class of no. 10 to 164-135 B.C., but the fluid style of wreath and hair on the obverse looks to me better matched by first-century tetradrachms.

²*Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 21.

very attentive reading of the work of Demetrius of Scepsis, whom he is actually quoting in the passage with which we are concerned; and Demetrius' observations in the Troad began as early as 190 B.C.,¹ when, as Robert would have us believe, Cebren was still an independent city. What we have here in Strabo is a factual statement which by the standards that we normally apply to ancient authorities is exceptionally well grounded; and we are bound to assume that Cebren did not revive as a city.

The thearodokoi list is of course a contemporary witness to the existence of communities at the beginning of the second century B.C., and more particularly to their physical existence on a scale that would justify a visit from the theoroi or at least provide them with a night's lodging. It listed the people (other than proxenoi) in the various places who acted as hosts to the delegations of theoroi as they travelled round the Greek cities announcing the forthcoming festival. Within

each area to which a delegation (^{θεωρία}) was sent the list of thearodokoi was drawn up in an order which seems roughly to correspond to an itinerary. The 'Ionic' theoria is in large part preserved; it proceeds up the west coast of Asia Minor from south to north, though some irregularities in the order imply that here and there the members may have split up to avoid back-tracking. From Pergamon the list of places runs as follows: Pitane, Canae, Atarneus, Assos, Atramytion, Antandrus, Gargara, then

ἐν Ἀμαξίτω[ι (names of hosts missing)

[ἐν Ἀ]αρίσα[ι - - - -

20 [ἐν .]πε[- - - - -

[ἐν . .⁴ . .]ην[- - - - -

(blurry)

What followed this is missing. The text here is based on the 'editio princeps' of A. Plassart.² L. Robert had the stone examined by a colleague at this point and claimed that the left half of a mu was visible after the epsilon in 1. 20. He ingeniously restored

20 [ἐν K]ρεμ[αστη - - - - -, followed in due course by

21 [ἐν Kεβρ]ην[ι - - - - -

(blurry)

3

Now, Cebren would fit quite well here geographically; for it lies inland from Larisa. But the only Kremaste that can come into question is far

¹ His own statement that he visited Ilion as a teenager about the time that the Romans crossed into Asia (Strabo xiii. 594).

² *BCH* xlv (1921), 8. Plassart's edition was the first comprehensive one of the various fragments that make up the list. An important addition to the 'Ionic' theoria published by Robert, *BCH* lxx (1946), 512. For journeys of theoroi see G. Daux, *RÉG* lxxx (1967), 292 ff.

³ *Études anatoliennes* (1937), 172; *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 34. In the latter the # in 1. 20 has become μ, presumably from growing conviction rather than renewed examination of the stone.

away, in the valley behind Abydos; and it was neither a place of any consequence nor, as it would seem (above, p. 290 n. 2), inhabited in Hellenistic times. It is most improbable that the Delphic theoroi would have visited it. The only circumstance in which they might have done so would be if they crossed the Troad to take in Scepsis and Gergis; and in that case Kremaste would be hopelessly out of position before Cebren. The reading of the name Kremaste must be rejected. But no other name of the Troad will fit in its place, and we must therefore question whether we are looking in the right direction. This naturally will cast doubt on the restoration of Cebren in the following line.

The inscription is not stoichedon. And Robert surprises us when he says that, contrary to his custom, he will insist on an exact calculation of the number of missing letters before the surviving *HN* on the stone in l. 21.1 Such a violation of entrenched caution must have been committed with a purpose; and here it would serve to preclude a reading that must otherwise have commended itself as the obvious one: [𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀇𐀉𐀊]𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀇𐀉𐀊. Robert's insistence is an injunction rather than an argument, for on a stone like this it should need something more than mere calculation to determine that a space judged sufficient for six letters is not sufficient for six letters and an iota. And closer examination of the list shows that Mitylene would be entirely in place here. The islands belonged to the 'Ionic' theoriain fact Cos and Samos appear in their places in the coastal itinerary in the surviving parts of the list and Lesbos is directly on the route from the lower Aeolis to the Troad. It would be strange if the theoroi had proceeded to the Hellespont without calling there to deliver their message. We must therefore return to l. 20. If the name Mitylene is to be read in l. 21, that of l. 20 ought to be another city of Lesbos; for there are no gaps on the mainland coast opposite. And we should therefore look for the mention of Antissa, Methymna, or Eresos at this point. It can hardly be chance that Plassart's text allows the restoration of [𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀇𐀉𐀊]𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀇𐀉𐀊, and that the possible trace of an oblique stroke that allowed Robert to read *M* will agree equally well with a sigma. The two names to be read here are evidently Eresos and Mitylene, followed no doubt by other cities of Lesbos.

The Antioch coins and the Assos inscription are of course evidence of quite different character. The coins speak of political status. An Antioch was conceived and coins were minted to herald its birth. They did not come into use at the old site on the Çal Dag *; for from among perhaps 150-200 ancient coins from there not one of Antioch has ever been noted.² Indeed they do not seem to have come into use in the

1 *Ét. num. gr.* 34.

2 A precise figure cannot be given because we could not ascertain the individual proveniences of the majority of the coins we have seen in Bayramiç (above, pp. 310 f.); but as

(footnote continued on next page)

Troad at all; for, in round figures, of 1,500 ancient bronze coins that have come under effective scrutiny in the region there has not been a single one of Antioch. We should be inclined to surmise that this Antioch was a settlement of exiles at a distance from their old home.¹ The Assos inscription, on the other hand, concerns itself with an actual geographical situation in the Troad; it shows that some activity was taking place at or near the site of Cebren on the Çal Dag *. From this we assume that after the synoecism in Alexandria Troas a village with the old name of Cebren existed in the region of the Çal Dag (and perhaps near the modern village of Pinarbasi*), and that in some emergency such as the onslaught of the Gauls in 216 B.C., when the army mustered by Alexandria Troas was committed to the defence of Ilion,² Assos sent a detachment to Cebren to assist in repelling a possible attack. It seems to us that the lettering of the inscription as it appears in the Americans' drawing would fit well with this occasion, though we should not wish to press the matter if M. Robert insisted that it is second-century.

Archaeological evidence such as has been adduced here is to some extent provisional. Excavation might produce a different picture. But Strabo's statement that Cebren was not a city in Hellenistic times after Antigonos and Lysimachus seems amply attested. In classical times of course it was a city of substance. And if it had been successfully reestablished after 280 B.C. and had continued as a city for several generations, Cebren must have cut some sort of a figure in the Hellenistic world. We should expect some trace of the public transactions of Cebren in inscriptions that would have been set up on the Çal Dag. We should expect to find some mention of Cebren somewhere, in the royal missives of the Seleucids or the capitulations of Apamea, in the surviving documents of the federation of Athena Ilias, in the interchange of missions and courtesies that diversified the relations of the Hellenistic cities, some stray epigraphical mention of a Cebrenian active somewhere as a mercenary, a proxenos, an athlete, a sculptor, doctor, merchant, rhetor, or itinerant dithyrambist, as resident, receiving citizenship, or in the last resort dying in Athens, Rhodes, or another of the great Hellenistic centres. For lesser cities of the Troad, like Rhoeteum, Gergis, and Gargara we have a handful of such testimonies apiece; for the ~~ἡ πόλις~~ like Ilion, Scepsis, and Alexandria Troas we have of course far more. But for Cebren, apart from the decree at Assos, we have nothing.

(footnote continued from previous page)

Riza* Bey and his son indicated, a high proportion came from the Çal Dag, which has been particularly productive in recent years.

1 A dedication of Roman date to Dionysos Kebrenios is known from the neighbourhood of Cyzicus (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVIII (1912), 12 no. 48 = Quandt, *de Baccho* (1912), 134) and might offer a clue.

2 Polyb. v. III.

2
Scepsis

In the 1860s Calvert, who apparently excavated there, identified Scepsis as the site on Kursunlu * Tepe, and R.P. Pullan reached the same conclusion by observing that `of 30 or 40 coins on the site about half were of Scepsis'.¹ Though not adopted by Schliemann, who preferred to place Palaiskepsis there (with Scepsis itself at Bayramiç),² the identification was widely approved, and received confirmation when Judeich discovered a proxeny decree naming Scepsis on the hill top in 1896.³ In any case the Kursunlu site is the only one in the interior of the Troad where a city continued to flourish down to Roman times, and Scepsis is the only city there with such a history.

Kursunlu Tepe is a large isolated dome-shaped hill which commands the approach to the upper Scamander valley and looks down the widening sleeve to the plain at Bayramiç. It rises 200-300 m. above the bend of the river (PLATE 54*a*, from across the river on the south).⁴ On the south side, where the ancient city seems to have extended furthest, there are traces of houses on the slope; and a long terrace can also be seen on the north side. But it is a desolate site. Less than 200 years ago there were evidently handsome ruins visible. But in the last years of the eighteenth century Osman Hadimoglu*, the feudal ruler of Bayramiç, removed almost all that remained above ground for use in public and private edifices of the modern town; and in general the nineteenth-century travellers found the site bare. Only E.D. Clarke in 1801 arrived before the destruction was complete and saw enough on the spot to merit a serious description. He remarked a great marble temple in the Doric order, of which the workmen had removed 100 huge blocks, and other substantial buildings which included a temple and baths, as well as a wall 14 ft. high; and in Bayramiç he was also able to obtain marble statues from the site.⁵ Some minor observations were later made by Pullan, who noted foundations, apparently of a small temple, on the north side and two fragments of the Doric temple (loc. cit.), and Schliemann, who remarked a piece of circuit wall 2.80 m. thick, traces

1 Calvert, *Arch. Journal* XXII (1865), 53. Pullan's observation is in a letter of Nov. 1866 published in *Antiquities of Ionia* v (1915), 32.

2 *Troja* (1884), 274. The travellers from Pococke onwards had looked for Scepsis and Palaiskepsis at the Cigri* Dag*, where the village name Üsküfcü (rendered as Eskiupjee, Eskuptchu, Eski Skupeha) presented attractive possibilities of identification; and d'Anville placed them in the Aesepus valley. Choiseul-Gouffier has Scepsis in the Aesepus valley on his map; he took the Kursunlu site to be Cebren, and was followed by Leake and even the Assos mission.

3 *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Festschrift H. Kiepert, 1898), 231.

4 The GS map shows the top as over the 300 m. contour and the river bed as under 100 m.

5 *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* ii. 1 (1812), 128-32, 146 (163-8, 185 in the smaller London ed. of 1817, 75 ff. in the New York ed., pt. 2, 1813). For his statues see L. Budde and R. V. Nicholls, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, nos. 91 and 94. Cf. also Leaf, *Anatolian Studies* Ramsay (1923), 270-2.

of edifices at various points, and marbles in the village.¹ On his second visit on 2 July 1882 he spent the afternoon excavating but reached the rock at depths of 15-30 cm. In 1896 Judeich remarked that even the little that Schliemann saw had disappeared; but he speaks of a still visible road to the hill top, Turkish wells built of ancient marble slabs (including inscriptions) on the south-east slope, and column drums, entablature blocks, and other ancient material built into houses in the village.² The site was not, however, exhausted. J.A.R. Munro remarked in 1899 that a fire in Bayramiç had created a fresh demand for building material, and the site was again being quarried; and he saw two inscriptions in the village that had been brought from the hill top.³ These documents (the letter of Antigonos and the Scepsian reply) were to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena, which must therefore have been on the hill top, as it was in Dercylidas' time.

We were shown a couple of inscriptions in Bayramiç (one a Hellenistic decree fragment and the other a dedication to Claudius, below, pp. 399 f., nos. 13-14) which were said to have been brought from the site about 1950; we also saw two Hellenistic terracotta figurines and a stone mould for casting jewellery. We have only visited the site once (in 1959), and that hastily as we were in a hurry to reach Karıncalı *; and we found no good sherding grounds. The little grey ware that we saw was coarse and could as well have been Hellenistic as archaic; W. Lamb, however, classed Schliemann's grey ware sherds from Kursunlu* in Berlin as archaic.⁴ Red glaze was present, but we did not notice any characteristic imperial red; taken in conjunction with the scanty coinage of Scepsis in imperial times this might imply that Scepsis cut no great figure in the Roman world. Of the scraps of black glaze that we collected Mr. Sparkes has remarked that one fragment seemed to be fifth century, the rest fourth century and later. This exiguous material hardly justifies speculation on the chronological limits of occupation of the site; all that we can say is that we have not ourselves seen anything that would conflict with a fifth century foundation for this, the New Scepsis. A site has been suggested above (pp. 300 ff.) for its predecessor, which after the removal to Kursunlu was known as Palaiskepsis; but we have no evidence from there for the date of the removal, which Demetrius of Scepsis in fact attributed to the sons of Hector and Aeneas.⁵

¹*Reise in der Troas* (1881), 53 ff., and taking in his second visit, *Troja* (1884), 270 ff.

²*Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 535 f.; *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* 238.

³*JHS* xix (1899), 336; C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), no. 1.

⁴*Praehist. Zeitschrift* xxiii (1932), 111.

⁵ Strabo xiii. 607, § 52. The early history of Scepsis has been discussed by Leaf in different places; cf. *Anat. Studies Ramsay* 272 ff., *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 272 ff. For the subsequent history of Scepsis see the references given by L. Robert and his own capital observations in *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 13-15. For the bishopric, V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften. Kleinasien i* (1926), 392.

There may be talk of a garrisoned ~~ὀχυρώσει~~ in one of Judeich's two inscriptions from the top of Kursunlu * Tepe;¹ but unless it is Riza* Bey's 'bekçi' site (Asarlık* Tepe) 2-3 km. to the north (p. 286), there is no clue to its identification.

3
Gergis

In 1959 we were shown two classical bronze mirrors in Bayramiç, together with the crushed body of a fifth-century bronze hydria (ovolo rim and ornamental vertical handle, but side handles and foot missing); they were said to come from tombs ten or a dozen kilometres to the north.² We went to visit the place, to which the name Karincali* attached; and we were fortunate in being escorted there by Riza Ürgüvin, whose name appears so frequently in our narrative. Our way from Bayramiç lay through Yigitler* (above, p. 284), whence a cart track keeps up along the western slope of the valley. After a few kilometres the track turns left at the foot of a dome-shaped hill and drops to cross a little stream on whose far bank the village of Karincali lies. The dome-shaped hill, which was our objective in 1959, proved to be a classical city site (PLATE 59*b*, from the south). The cemetery from which the classical finds came seems to have stretched along the line of the roadway for about a kilometre towards Yigitler (behind the viewer's right ear in our photograph). We saw good squared slabs plundered from the lining of graves at points along the track and also piled in the village of Yigitler. One lid slab that we examined on the west of the track in 1966 was of typical Cebrenian type with the name of the occupant, a Cebrenian, inscribed in classical lettering (below, p. 401, no. 18). We were also told that on the slope from which our photograph was taken there was a terracotta water pipe line leading to the city site.

The city hill is an outlier of the plateau rising steeply over the Kursak* valley to an altitude of perhaps 400 m. Riza Bey calls it Hacı* Köy Asarlığı*, and no doubt this is its old name; but Hacı Köy, where Riza Bey was schoolmaster many years ago, lies far below in the valley, whereas the newer village of Karincali is close at hand. The hill (PLATE 59*b*) has a flat top whose shelf-like edge suggests the line of a citadel wall, and we were told in 1959 that blocks of a wall had recently been dug up there. The slopes of the hill are covered with sherds; and here, as at Ada Tepe (below, p. 352), tell-tale piles of stone speak of robbed house foundations. We saw no visible trace of a lower circuit, but in the evening light the contours of the ground at the west foot of the hill are suggestive.

¹*Beiträge*, loc. cit.; restoration of the text as honours to a phrourach rather than a treaty with Antandrus, L. Robert, *BCH* 1 (1926), 510 n. 4 (= *Opera Minora selecta* i (1969), 74 n. 4).

² We have also at one time or another seen bits of classical or early Hellenistic gold jewellery from the same place.

And the fact that good black-glaze pottery is found all the way down to the foot of the hill there indicates that the site was extensively occupied in classical times. It was evidently a substantial classical city in a powerful situation.

We saw fragments of glazed fourth-century tiles a sign of affluence in the Troad, and, more surprisingly, of the angular ('Corinthian') form of cover tile, which is normal on Ionic sites, but not in the Troad, where the semicircular hybrid ('Sicilian') form is the prevalent one. Much of the surface pottery was of good quality. Black glaze is relatively abundant; we recognized fourth-century bowl and skyphos rims and fragments of ribbed ware and fishplates. The Hellenistic included three sherds from West Slope cups (both with thinned clay and white paint, and with incision) and bits of Megarian bowls and other relief ware coming down into the later Hellenistic (PLATE 64*d*),¹ and half-glazed ware of the sort common around the second century B.C., together with a sprinkling of eastern red glaze of the late second or first century B.C. Among our finds was the head of a terracotta figurine, presumably of Cybele (PLATE 63*d*), which Dr. D.B. Thompson places in the early second century B.C.² Riza * Bey also told us that he obtained a seated female marble statue at Karincali* about 1933 and presented it to the Çanak Kale Museum; but unfortunately the museum inventory does not go back far enough and we could not identify the piece.

The earliest sherds we recognized were a Black Figure skyphos fragment (PLATE 64*d* bottom right) and two or three bits of Attic black-glaze cylices of about 500 B.C. We picked up a few sherds of grey ware but none with the high polish of the archaic. On this evidence the settlement would have been flourishing from at least the end of the sixth century until perhaps about the end of the second century B.C.

The identification of the site long eluded us, though it seemed certain that it must be either Birytis or Gergis. In 1959 Riza Bey could only tell us that it yielded coins of Philip, Alexander, and Nero and that inquiries in Karincali would not avail. In 1963 we set off without him for Karincali, but were turned back by the military at Yigitler*. There we were given some coins which were said to come from the site (see below); they included three baffling Hellenic bronzes, on one of which cleaning brought to light a small part of the pine tree of Scepis. In 1966, however, our luck changed. Looking through Riza Bey's current stock in

1 West Slope top left and right (the sherd in the middle is from Liman Tepe = Larisa); the two small sherds in the middle row are Megarian.

2 Dated from the photograph. Firm buff clay, hollow backed. Pres. ht. 5.5 cm. Dr. Thompson finds this piece a little harder and less sensitive than her *Troy*, Suppl. Monograph 3, no. 44, pl. 13 (a mid-third-century type probably recast in the early second century) but stylistically not so advanced as her no. 48, pl. 12; the eyes, she says, would suggest the early second century.

Bayramiç we discovered no less than seven bronzes of Gergis and were apprised that they all came from Karincali *. We therefore decided on another expedition. Stout-hearted as always, Riza* Bey came with us and we duly arrived at the village.

The people of Karincali are Alevi (Shi`ite). They are not by any means the only such community in the mountain hereOvacik\*, Kemer, and Derbendbasi\* are also Shi`ite, and we have found them particularly hospitable. But the villagers of Karincali seem estranged from the outside world. Cordial relations were not to be established lightly. But as the long day waned our persistence won through, and it was agreed that we should see one coin before we left. When it came, the coin was a badly worn small bronze with traces of a tripod. But as we turned to leave another villager appeared with a badly worn small bronze, on which the Sibyl's head and sphinx of Gergis were almost identifiable. As we scrutinized it the villagers sensed the occasion and redoubled their efforts. Three more small bronzes were brought, all clearly of Gergis, and finally the larger bronze of Gergis shown in PLATE 64a.

The coins that we know of at Karincali or said to come from there, all of bronze, are as follows:

Gergis 12 (7 in Bayramiç 1966, all small?; 4 small and one large (15 mm., PLATE 64a) at Karincali)

Scepsis 3 (two in Bayramiç, one at Yigitler*)

Cyzicus? 1 (at Karincali)

Uncertain 1 (10 mm., *obv.* head r., either long-haired and bearded, or helmeted;1 at Yigitler). PLATE 64b

Countermarked coin 1 (17 mm., (a) *obv.* and *rev.* Apollo Citharoedus, (b) *rev.* hippocamp l.?, (c) *rev.* *; at Yigitler PLATE 64c)

Constantinian 1 (at Yigitler)

Byzantine 1 (at Yigitler)

Out of a total of 18 coins of Greek cities no less than 12 are of Gergis.

In the belief that the reader will be satisfied with the identification of the site on this evidence we will not review the previous arguments for the situation of Gergis.² What does, however, emerge is that general statements about the provenience of coins can be very misleading. In this case scholars for a hundred years looked in the wrong direction for

1 This might be the same as the little bronze of Scepsis, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (1883), 266, no. 196 (11 mm., bearded head of Dionysus r.: thyrsos with garlands ΣKH).

2 For these see Leaf, *BSA* xviii (1911-12), 286 ff. and *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), 102 ff.; Calvert's identification, *Arch. Journal* xxi (1864), 51 ff. For other proveniences of coins of Gergis, L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 80 f.; cf. also his *Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 108, and add our references to specimens at Çanak Kale (below) and Ezine (p. 317), and to Pullan (p. 388).

Gergis because no less an authority than Calvert had declared that its coins were for the most part offered for sale in the neighbourhood of the Balli * Dag*. If Calvert actually saw specimens from the Balli Dag he was the victim of a freakish chance; for of the 19 Greek city coins known to have come from the site not one is of Gergis (p. 138). But what I suspect he should have said was that the places where he saw most coins of Gergis were the Çal Dag and Troy, and that the Balli Dag lies between them.

The new situation of Gergis fits admirably with the mentions that we have of the place. Xerxes had the territory of the Gergithians on his right as he advanced by way of Troy to the Dardanelles (Hdt. vii. 43). Gergis was paired with Scepsis as a stronghold of the dynasty of Zenis and Mania that we can now see was centred in the upper Scamander basin, and the Aristodicides dossier links it territorially with both Scepsis and Ilion (above, pp. 114 f.). We have also seen that Marpossos, the home of the Gergithian Sibyl, fits into a neighbouring position that corresponds with Pausanias' account of it (above, pp. 281 f.).

From Xenophon's narrative we learn that Gergis had an acropolis and an outer fortification, the latter with very high gate towers which menaced the Spartan force as it approached the city (*HG* iii. 1 22-3). If we imagine this fortification as running at the foot of the hill where a high bank shows in our *PLATE 59b*, the towers would indeed have appeared formidable to those coming up to them. Here, as at Scepsis, there was a temple of Athena on the acropolis, at which

Dercylidas sacrificed. Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. *Γέργις*) says that the tomb of the Sibyl was reputed to be in the sanctuary of Gergithian Apollo; but Pausanias, who writes with some local knowledge, speaks of Sminthean Apollo and of her tomb being in his grove, presumably at the Smintheum (x. 12).

The finds at Gergis are of special interest because of the uncertainties that surround its history; and we did our best to collect dating material on the site, in 1966 as well as 1959. Gergis does not appear in the Athenian tribute lists, and scholars have questioned whether the mountain-dwelling Gergithians were advanced enough to embrace city life as early as the fifth century. It is now clear that the city of Gergis was flourishing then, and that occupation on the site goes back at least to the beginning of that centurythe time when the Persians under Hymaies reduced the Gergithians of the Troad.¹ At the other end of the scale it is clear that the site was not abandoned after the Roman commissioners of Apamea gave the territory of Gergis to Ilion in 188 B.C.²

1 Hdt. v. 122, (Hymaies)

εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας
τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν

2 Livy xxxviii. 39. Dittenberger, followed by Welles, took the mention of the territory of Gergis in the Aristodicides dossier (above, pp. 114f.) as implying that Gergis was already a village of Ilion in the time of Antiochus I on the ground that the land granted might border

(footnote continued on next page)

What is more of a problem is the passage in which Strabo (xiii. 616) speaks of a place called Gergitha by the sources of the Caicus, to which, he says, Attalus transported 'those in the Troad', destroying their ~~ἡρώων~~. This might naturally be referred to Gergis. But the evidence of occupation at Karincali * makes it impossible to attribute so complete a depopulation to Attalus I (241-197 B.C.); and the redglazed ware seems to attest occupation after the time of even the latest kings of that name (159-133). On the present evidence we must of course reject D. Magie's proposal to substitute the name Antiochus for Attalus in this passage, though not perhaps his alternative suggestion that Strabo's notice relates to the obscure place that he calls Gergithion near Lampsacus.¹ But it may be that the action taken was less drastic than Demetrius led Strabo to believe.

Gergis did not cut much of a figure in the Hellenistic world;² and the Karincali site shows no trace of marble buildings in the Greek architectural orders. But it does give the impression of having maintained a fair population in reasonable prosperity, and in particular the fifth-century graves imply some people of considerable wealth. Not least surprising, the finds of classical date suggest to us a city firmly incorporated in the Greek world. It would seem that, whether by deliberate policy or not, reduction by the Persians here resulted not only in a more settled habit of life but in promotion to the ways of Greek civilization. The two of course went hand in hand on the Greek fringes. But I do not recall a site that seems to show such rapid Hellenization, and believe that excavation here would be worth while. When they survive in good condition, as the specimen in a jeweller's shop in Çanak Kale (PLATE 63c), the little bronze coins, of only 1 cm. diameter, show that the people of Gergis did not hesitate to employ first-class die-engravers.

4 The Ada Tepe Site and Problem of Biryitis

When we first visited Akköy (above, pp. 274 f.) in 1959 and inquired about ancient sites, we heard of a hill, Eski Kale, at an hour's walk to the north. A few years previously, we were told, walls there had been dismantled and the stones taken to Ezine for building purposes. But the villagers did not offer to guide us to the site. We proceeded to make inquiries in Ezine and discovered a carter there who had been engaged in transporting the stones. He drove us round by the right bank of the

(footnote continued from previous page)

on the territory of Gergis but not be attached to it. But the implication could equally well be that Gergis was not a favoured city; and in fact the epigraphical mentions of Gergithians at this time (see below) should be decisive.

¹*Roman Rule in Asia Minor* ii (1950), 741 f. n. 29; Strabo xiii. 589.

² L. Robert has noted only two epigraphical mentions of Gergithians away from home (Lemnos and the Aetolians), *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 10 n. o; cf. *RÉG* lxxi (1958), 300.

Scamander (where we chanced upon the Late Roman site, pp. 275 f.) to a little valley leading into the mountain from near the Garlic Bridge. The site is on a spur that descends to the valley. Its position is difficult to determine in the wooded hills; but our recollection is that the approach is an easy one, and at the Garlic Bridge it is said to be only half an hour's walk away.

Eski Kale, or, as we learned to call it, Ada Tepe, is a ridge perhaps about 750 m. long from its foot in the valley bottom to its summit, which is detached from the mountainside at the back; it is about 300 m. broad and on either flank falls precipitously to a ravine. There was an entry at the foot consisting of a sunken way (no doubt used by the carters), with traces of a roadway winding up the bottom of the ridge inside. Our carter told us that before the site was robbed out ten years previously there had been walls of buildings standing a metre high; the stones were mostly rough, but there were some squared ones, and (he said) there were also marble blocks. The destruction had been complete. We could only see piles of small stones and occasional traces of house foundations (one noted as 70 cm. thick).¹ But we did see some scraps of worked marble; and in the middle of the ridge halfway up we found a spot where the forces of demolition had been frustrated (PLATE 65*b*). In a pit there the huge slabs of a fountain were still in position, only the topmost ones having been removed. The draw-basin measured 120 by 65 cm. internally. The slabs are 12-15 cm. thick, and those at the sides are 79 cm. broad and over 2 m. high. Halfway up the left side block is a socket 11 by 17 cm. on the surface and 20 cm. deep.

Ancient potsherds are scattered on the ridge. They thin out somewhat towards the foot of the site, and again very noticeably as one approaches the summit, which thus seems to have stood clear above the town like the citadel on the Çal Dag *. We saw no trace of a circuit wall except for a short stretch of poor irregular work 2.10 m. thick at the top corner of the citadel (PLATE 65*a*). On the slope of the citadel we picked up a scrap of a terracotta figurine. The tile fragments seemed from their profiles to be Hellenistic rather than fourth-century. Amphora sherds were numerous. But the soil is unfortunately corrosive, and the yield of identifiable finer wares was disappointing. We saw nothing prehistoric. A few scraps of black glaze could be recognized; Dr. Sparkes considers that two might be fifth-century, one is a fourth-century bowl rim, and a plate fragment looks early Hellenistic. One fragment of grey ware was picked up; from the heavy wheel marks it might be Hellenistic. No late Hellenistic or Roman red ware was seen. We must, however, emphasize that the condition of the sherds at Ada Tepe was very unsatisfactory.

¹ According to our carter the rough stones went for the making of an olive yard and the cut stones as building material to the villages.

The Ada Tepe site is evidently that of a classical city, coming down into Hellenistic times; but we should judge that it was one of the minor cities rather than the major ones. There can hardly have been another classical city in this region east of the Garlic Bridge; and therefore the fine archaic and classical vases in the Calvert Collection catalogue, which were found in graves near Akköy (above, pp. 277 f.), must relate themselves to the city at Ada Tepe. Presumably this city was established in archaic times. If we seek for an identification, the first name that comes up is Birytis.

Birytis appears in the Athenian quota lists of the first three assessment periods under the name *Βιρύτις ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰδῇ*, with a payment amounting to a sixth of a talent; after that there is no trace of it in the tribute lists save in the over-ambitious assessment of 425 B.C. (A 9).¹ The supplementary phrase *ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰδῇ* is of course introduced to distinguish the place from Beirut under the Lebanon; from a topographical point of view it tells us nothing more than Stephanus Byzantius'

Τρωικὴ πόλις,² for in ancient usage Ida was the mountain of the Troad generally and the similar phrase *ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰδῇ* seems to be used by Herodotus (i. 151) to cover the Aeolic cities of the Troad. The amount of the tribute paid implies that Birytis was relatively small at the time (Neandria and Scepsis paid one talent each, and Cebren three); and the disappearance of Birytis from the lists in the middle 440s might suggest that, like Cebren, it lay comfortably inland out of range of Athenian naval patrols. The bronze³ coins of Birytis, of good size and neither common nor rare, are found at Troy and in the Troad without having any known focus. We may also note that Robert's excellent interpretation of the letters *B K* on coins of 'Antioch-Cebren' could imply that Birytis was a close neighbour of Cebren; but it is difficult to know what construction to put on this (above, pp. 338 ff.). So far there is nothing that in itself points to the identification of the Ada Tepe site with Birytis; but equally there is nothing that conflicts with it.

There is one other possible indication. As we have seen, Calvert excavated archaic and classical graves near Akköy and placed Birytis there. Now, Calvert knew the northern and central Troad intimately and he had unrivalled opportunities of observing the proveniences of coins. It is tempting to assume that he had some positive clue to the identification, and a great deal of inconclusive discussion could thereby be saved. But Thiersch's words in the manuscript catalogue of 19024 give no hint of it: 'er *vermutet* dort das alte Berytis, hat aber *diese seine*

¹ATL i (1939), 246-7.

² s.v. *Βιρύτις*, cf. *Βιρύτιος*.

³ There is said also to be silver (L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 26 n. 2, 30).

⁴ Quoted in full above, p. 277. The catalogue was compiled in consultation with Calvert, who was seventy-four years old at the time.

Ansicht noch nicht öffentlich begründet.' The words that I have italicized imply speculation, not specific evidence. Our own experience in this region perhaps helps us to an understanding here. With the principal ancient cities already firmly identified, we were concerned to relate Gergis and Biryti to the sites that we could discover; for they were the two most important places outstanding. When we had the good fortune to fix Gergis, our attention focused itself on Biryti, which became the prime target of our subsequent researches. Calvert's position was similar. Thanks above all to himself, the other principal cities had been identified, but Gergis and Biryti remained unplaced. In 1864 he persuaded himself that Gergis was on the Balli * Dag*; it remained to connect Biryti with a suitable position where sufficiently early remains came to light, and it was near Akköy that his excavations yielded finds of the appropriate date. Calvert's identification may have been based only on reasonable conjecture.

We come to the crux of the matter. If Ada Tepe were the site of Biryti, then bronze coins of Biryti should be found there (for they are not rare); and in particular the intensive robbing of the site about 1949 should have resulted in a flow of coins of Biryti to Ezine. But there was not a single coin of Biryti in the old pocket handkerchief that we saw there in 1959 (above, p. 317); and a middle-aged antique handler of Ezine, whom we met in 1967, did not even know the Biryti types.¹ Consequently we very much doubt whether the Ada Tepe site can be Biryti. We have of course tried to discover what coins come to light at Ada Tepe, and we have made inquiries not only at Akköy but also at Derbendbasi* and Köprü Basi*; but we have found no one who professed an interest in the site.

For Ada Tepe the next name that comes into consideration is Scamandria (or Skamandroi). With such a name the place should have been close to the river. Pliny cites it in a context that suggests proximity to Ilion but not one that will bear much weight.² There is one document of Hellenistic date, the much-cited treaty of the Ilions and `those living

ἐν Σκαμάνδροις', which Dubois discovered in 1815 in Ciplak* near Ilion and acquired for Choiseul-Gouffier.³ The agreement contained in it seems to imply a sympolity, though not the abandonment of the site where the Σκαμάνδροι lived. Presumably Scamandria continued to exist, though no longer with city status; and Pliny's `parva civitas' could be a fair

¹ In fact he recognized the Cabirus head as of Lapseki (it does occur on gold coins of Lampsacus); but he did not know the *rev.* type of club *BIPY*.

² *NH* v. 124. The actual text in the MSS. is something like `est tam (en) (or iam) et prius Scamandria civitas parva', emended by the editors to `est tamen et nunc' (already in the second hands) or `est tamen ut prius' (Mayhoff).

³ CIG 3597; Froehner, *Inscr. du Louvre* nos. 38-9 (non vidi). Cf. L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 100 n. 7.

statement of its physical survival. This evidence creates a *prima facie* assumption that Scamandria was not far from Troy, and of course it rules out a situation on the territory of Alexandria Troas.

Nearly a hundred years ago Imhoof-Blumer isolated some of the classical or early Hellenistic bronze coin issues that were attributed to Scepsis and assigned them to Scamandria, of which no coins had previously been recognized. Under protest from Judeich, this arbitrary classification won general acceptance; and the topographical problem of Scamandria has thus been further complicated by a connection with Scepsis and Mt. Ida which these coins are thought to imply. H. Kiepert and the numismatists went so far as to place Scamandria at the east end of the interior plain. It is not now necessary to explain the complications of this subject, because L. Robert has given an admirable statement of it in his *Monnaies antiques en Troade* 98-103, while at the same time he leaves the question of a Scamandria mint open. Being sceptical from the outset of the existence of a Scamandria mint I did not trouble to distinguish the types when looking through the coins of Scepsis in Bayramiç, and have consequently not collected the information that might perhaps have clinched the matter. But what I can say is this: on the information at present available to us, a total of five bronzes of Scepsis (not `Scamandria') have been recorded as found at or around Troy; of `Scamandria' five at or around Troy and one at Ezine (below, p. 387). This seems a high proportion of the `Scamandria' coins (which are in general much the rarer), and it might be held to support the notion of a Scamandria mint.¹ But if so, the proximity to Troy would militate against the placing of Scamandria near Scepsis.

`Est' said Pliny of Scamandria. Attenuated as it was, it continued to exist. And it seems to have had a future ahead of it. In Hierocles' ecclesiastical list of cities, which is believed to be of the sixth century after Christ, Skamandros takes its place in what appears to be a continuous geographical sequence as a bishopric² immediately after Ilion and Alexandria Troas, followed by a list of places in Mysia ending with Scepsis.³ If we assume that this Skamandros is the same as, or the successor of, Scamandria-Skamandroi, we must look for a place where there is not only an ancient site but Late Roman occupation and Byzantine church architecture. Leake proposed the Balli * Dag* site; and

¹ If these figures were significant, we should still hesitate to believe in a Scamandria mint. The distinction could well be one of date rather than mint; for few indubitably fourth-century bronzes seem to be found at Troy (about 50 all told in Bellinger, and not one of Neandria), whereas the proportion of fourth-century bronzes seems to be high in Bayramiç.

² It is not clear whether the bishopric can be inferred from Hierocles alone; but the existence of a bishop of Skamandros is confirmed by two later notitiae (see Robert, loc. cit.). The place seems to be attested in the tenth and twelfth centuries (cf. below, p. 374).

³ G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus* 20 f.

this was accepted by A. Reinach.¹ But occupation on the hill does not seem to come down below early Hellenistic, and nothing suitable of a later date has been noted at its foot. It would also seem unbalanced to have two bishoprics in the Trojan Plain and only one for the whole interior basin of the Scamander; and on the ground one cannot seriously believe in a Bishop of the Balli * Dag*. Schliemann, following Calvert, placed Scamandria at Ezine,² and (as Robert forcibly argues) this would fit admirably with the order in Hierocles and the need of a bishopric in the region. No site, whether ancient or Byzantine, is known at Ezine. But we believe that our site under Akköy (above, pp. 275 f.) meets all the requirements for Christian Skamandros, and is the only site that can be considered in that connection. If it is Skamandros, the ancient Scamandria can only be the Ada Tepe site an hour or so to the north. It seems to us that the double identification is almost unavoidable.

We are still left with Birytis; and the only serviceable evidence is that of its coins. Their general provenience is the Troad. Two specimens have long been known from Troy, and Leaf saw one at Ezine and three at Bayramiç.³ In addition, Pullan acquired one among a spread of coins in the southern Troad (below, p. 388). Four additional specimens are recorded from the American excavations at Troy, and three others were collected by the American Troy mission. We ourselves have seen five specimens in the Troad. One was in a shop at Çanak Kale and of unknown provenience (above, p. 55). We saw two in Riza* Bey's shop in Bayramiç in 1966 (above, p. 311); when I drew his attention to the first he declared that it came from the Çal Dag (which was almost a blanket provenience at the time). But when I found a second to add to it he looked more closely and said that both came from Savas* Tepe (between Balıkesir* and Pergamon), and he re-affirmed this in 1967. In 1968, however, his son İlhami* affirmed that they had come from the Çal Dag. It seems to me fair to say that the provenience is unknown. Our total of five specimens is completed by one at Erenköy, said to be from a grave at Hisarlık* (Troy), and one at Pınarbaşı* from the Balli Dag. All this may be summarized as follows: Ilion and Plain of Troy perhaps 11 (the site 7, Troy mission 3, Balli Dag 1); in the shops, Çanak Kale 1, Ezine 1, Bayramiç 5; southern Troad 1. As we can now

¹*Revue épigraphique*, N.S. i (1913), 177.

²*Troja* (1884), 340, *Reise in der Troas 1881* 61. So also on the Assos expedition map in J.T. Clarke's *Report* for 1881, pl. 4a. Other locations proposed by the travellers for Scamandria are by the Scamander mouth (Gell and Barker Webb), at İn* Tepe (Rennell), the Asarlık* (Eski Hissarlık) site (Mauduit), Araplar in the Scamander gorge (Raoul-Rochette), apparently Kalafat (Eduard Meyer), and Bayramiç (Kiepert and the numismatists).

³ For these see L. Robert, *Ét. num. gr.* (1951), 26 f., 78 n. 3(= 2). Leaf in *BSA* xvii (1910-11), 273 f.

see, the relatively large number of bronzes of Birytiis from Troy is significant. Bronze coins circulated very little there before the foundation of the league and festival of Athena Ilias at the end of the fourth century; and the implication is that Birytiis was minting after that. It cannot therefore have been incorporated in Alexandria Troas.

Leaf was impressed by seeing three bronzes of Birytiis in Bayramiç and placed Birytiis there as a 'neutral market place' between Cebren and Scepsis. This is out of the question (see above, p. 310). There is no site for Birytiis in the vicinity of Bayramiç. Since 1966 Riza * Bey has been fully aware of the interest of discovering the focus of the Birytiis coins, and we can say with certainty that in the following three years he obtained no further light on the matter. Consequently we are not inclined to look for Birytiis in the Scamander basin.¹ On the other hand the frequency of coins of Birytiis at Troy is now much more striking than when Leaf and Robert wrote. And this seems to us the most important clue. We are therefore inclined to seek Birytiis in the north-west of the Troad in the close vicinity of Ilion. The Balli* Dag* site is certainly a possibility. But out of 19 Greek city coins from the site only one is of Birytiis, and we should prefer to place Gentinos there (above, pp. 139 f.). In the present state of knowledge this only leaves the Mersin site (above, p. 114). This is a very suitable situation, and the remains are of the right date; but in the absence of any ancient coins from there we are not in a position to press the identification.

¹ After our first announcement of our discovery of the classical city sites in the interior basin L. Robert stated that Birytiis was up the Scamander towards Cebren (*Monnaies ant. en Troade* (1966), 108); he was probably still adhering to the belief that Birytiis was incorporated in Alexandria Troas.

10

The Pattern of Occupation

1

Prehistoric

We have no knowledge of human occupation in the Troad before an advanced stage of the neolithic. On the present evidence the earliest habitation was on the edges of the Trojan Plain at Besik * Tepe and Kum Tepe (both close to the sea), and at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age at Troy itself. It is of course the excavated site of Troy at Hisarlik* that provides our chronological framework during the Bronze Age, and there is no reason to suppose that its primacy among the prehistoric sites is due simply to the chance that it has been thoroughly excavated; there is no sign of any comparable fortified stronghold elsewhere in the Troad, and Schliemann was at great pains to ascertain that there was no other prehistoric site with such deep and dense deposits. But as the map FIG. 16 shows, nearly twenty prehistoric sites are known up to the present. The north-west between the Rhoeteum site (Baba Kale) and Han Tepe had been explored by members of the German and American Troy expeditions; we have found only one prehistoric site that escaped their notice and doubt whether there can be much remaining to be discovered there. At Assos the American mission of 1881-3 reported finding prehistoric sherds; and Bayne has made a survey of the east end of the south coast which resulted in the discovery of his Thebe site. But the search for prehistoric in the rest of the coastlands has been quite casual; and only Calvert, who had carried out his journeys before Schliemann's excavations at Troy made Bronze Age pottery familiar, suspected that prehistoric might be found on the Greek and Roman sites of the region.¹ In the coastal region between Han Tepe and Assos we have discovered half a dozen prehistoric sites, but more or less accidentally as a by-product of our search for remains of historical times. A deliberate prehistoric survey should yield more. On the other hand, in the Scamander basin, where nothing had previously been reported, we have prospected many likely-looking

¹*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1880, 35 f.

features in the hope of finding prehistoric; but we have only discovered three or four sites, and the relative blankness of our map there should mean that such sites really are much rarer than on the coast.

Not every site where prehistoric has been remarked finds a place on the map. We may have erred on the side of caution. Calvert claimed

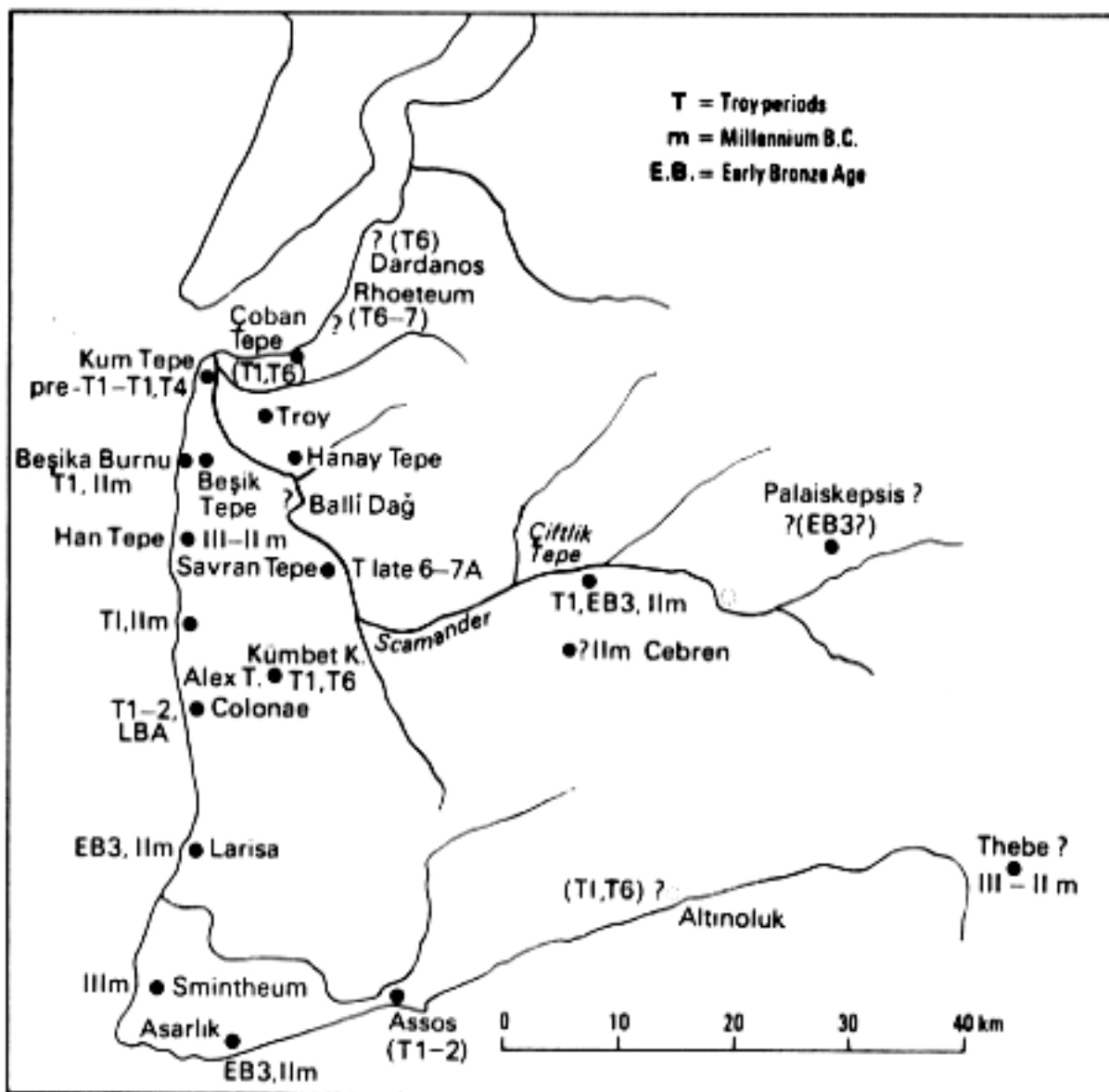


Fig. 16.
Prehistoric Sites

Abydos and Ophryneion on the strength of stone implements or celts that he picked up, and Kosay * and Sperling were inclined to recognize prehistoric pottery on Kara Tepe, Yenisehir*, and Asarlık* (Eski Hissarlık), as well as on the Ballı* Dağ*. Question marks on the map also show that a doubt remains in our mind whether Dardanos, the Ballı Dağ site, Cebren, and the Palaiskepsis site (Ikizce*) are genuinely prehistoric.

In general I have Mellaart to thank for the dating of the pottery, and Bayne has helped particularly with his special knowledge of the monochrome wares. Where possible I have given dates in terms of Troy strata. The air of precision this lends to the map could be misleading; for the material from some of these sites is exiguous, and there is no guarantee that the occupation on a site was limited to the periods identified. It seems clear that along the coast there was widespread occupation from Troy I on; and the impression that the Troy I occupation was maritime in origin can hardly be false. Until 1967 we believed that there was no penetration of the Scamander basin before Troy VI. But the river bed would have provided a broad highway during summer and autumn, and Çiftlik Tepe now shows that there was communication with the interior as early as the Troy I period. The presence of Early Bronze Age III sherds at Çiftlik Tepe hardly constitutes evidence of penetration from the mountain area to the east at that time; at least it is not the beginning of occupation on the site. The Palaiskepsis site would have been much less accessible from downriver, but unfortunately the evidence of sherds there is inconclusive.

2 Hellenic

During Hellenic times the greater part of the Troad was Hellenized. The characteristic form of occupation was Greek cities, though the majority of those on the coast were politically subject to Mitylene until 427 B.C. On the map FIG. 17 only those that were independent before that date are marked in capitals. The change of pattern that resulted from the synoecisms of the Hellenistic age was so great that a single map will not suffice for both eras, and FIG. 17 therefore covers the period down to about 310 B.C.

The earliest Hellenic occupation in the Troad probably goes back somewhat before 700 B.C. to judge by potsherds at Ilion and one or two other sites on the coast (Rhoeteum at Baba Kale and Larisa at Liman Tepe). It is not possible to give any account of habitation in the centuries preceding this. At Troy Bayne believes that Iron Age occupation (not necessarily Greek) goes back far beyond 700 B.C., but Blegen and his colleagues have not recognized this possibility (above, p. 98). On the Balli * Dag* Blegen is inclined to see native occupation of this period in the lower stratum; but the argument seems to depend on what is now proved a false identification of the site as Gergis, and the evidence for the archaic date of the stratum seems quite clear (above, pp. 137 f.). At Colona (Besik* Tepe) and Larisa (Liman Tepe) there was secondmillennium occupation; and it is possible that the sites were still being occupied by natives using pottery of Late Bronze Age type when the

Hellenic settlers arrived. At Cebren we found grey ware sherds which Mellaart and Bayne have recognized as of second-millennium type mixed with normal archaic grey ware in what appeared to be an early Hellenic stratum (above, pp. 336 f.); if this is so, we may suppose that it



Fig. 17.
Hellenic Sites

was still in use among natives of the Troad when Greek settlers came to Cebren in the seventh century.

The three towns of Hamaxitus, Larisa, and Colonae are known to us from several sources of classical date. The Athenian tribute lists, taken in conjunction with Thucydides, seem to show that they were Mitylenaeen possessions before 427 B.C., and we have found reason to reject

the current view that they belonged to Tenedos (above, pp. 196 ff.). We therefore claim them with confidence as Mitylenaeen foundations. With occupation on their sites going back apparently to the eighth century these towns of the west coast should represent the beginning of Greek settlement in the Troad. The sites all rise directly from the beach as though the Aeolic settlement here was originally confined to a narrow coastal strip. We can say with some confidence that there are no more such sites along the coast between Polymedion and the Larisa site; and though we have not examined all the ground between the Larisa and Colonaë sites we feel justified in assuming that there was no other archaic or classical town on this coastal stretch. The gap north of Colonaë seems to indicate that the Tenedians had already staked a claim to the mainland opposite their island by 700 B.C. At Sigeum we have not found evidence of settlement before the early sixth century. But beyond this again Ilion and Rhoeteum, together with Ophryneion, would seem to have been Mitylenaeen possessions of similar date to Larisa and Hamaxitus. With Abydos the Milesian colonial field begins; it is said to have been founded in the time of Gyges, so in the first half of the seventh century.

On the south coast Antandrus ranked as Mitylenaeen in the fifth century, but (to judge by the literary evidence) it seems to have been native settlement in origin. Assos and Gargara were not founded from Mitylene, but from Methymna opposite, and so no doubt also Lamponia. From the fact that the Mitylenaeans passed this coast by we may perhaps infer that Methymna already had interests there in the eighth century. But we know of nothing earlier than about the late seventh century from these sites; and Assos has been fairly extensively excavated. The Methymnaeans may have been slow to establish permanent settlements here; on the other hand, once they were established they seem to have ranked as cities.

The Mitylenaeans evidently did not delay in penetrating the interior. Neandria seems from the pottery to have been founded by about 700 B.C. This put them on the sill of the Scamander basin, and Cebren seems to have followed only a generation or so later. These inland settlements were no doubt too distant to be directly controlled from Mitylene; and it is of course possible that other Aeolians had a share in founding them (the Cymaeans claimed that they were founders of Cebren). They therefore ranked as independent cities. Cebren must have acquired a considerable territory by the fifth century when it was paying three talents in the Athenian league; and since it would seem to have been established earlier than the south coast cities we may also suppose that it controlled the hill country southward to the Geme Dere (see above, pp. 250, 325). We do not know whether there were any other

Greek foundations in the interior. Scepsis almost sounds like a native 'Dardanian' community which became Hellenized early, the process being completed by the settlement of Milesians there. The Gergithians of the plateau north of the Scamander must have been a native people; the evidence on the site of Gergis suggests that they adopted Greek city life about the end of the sixth century. Marpessos, the home of the Gergithian Sibyl, was presumably a subordinate village rather than an independent city, though Pausanias in fact speaks of it as having been a ~~polis~~ ^{polis}; and Kremaste was evidently in the possession of Abydos; but Scamandria may have been a small classical city. There are three places, which cannot be placed on the map with any degree of certainty Birytis, Gentinos, and Kokylion; the first two of these were probably at no great distance from Ilion.

The picture that emerges is one of a network of cities, which is dense near the coast but rather more widely spaced in the interior. They look as though between them they controlled nearly all the land, but the problems associated with this can best be considered in the next section. Being small or isolated, these cities tended to fall into the hands of tyrants or dynasts; and from the point of view of civic development and culture generally they may have been somewhat backward in classical times. But they had a fair portion of good agricultural land and should have enjoyed a modest prosperity. There are difficulties in drawing conclusions from the frequency of coins; but, to judge by the finds, the fourth-century citizens of Cebren and Assos should have been liberally supplied with small change in bronze. Perhaps, like the Rhodians in Stratoniceus, they shopped as though they might die at any minute; at Assos there is also some sign of their building as though they expected to live for ever. With the high pastures of the interior, grazing no doubt was important. Cebren had a ram's head on its coins, and Palaiskepsis was given to Themistocles for wool; Neandria had a grazing horse on its coins. Iron working is mentioned at Cebren in the *Vita Herodotea Homeri* 20. Ida was an abundant source of timber, and the Hellespont of fish. The Troad does not need Lesbos as a focus in the way that the Carian coasts need Rhodes; and with a measure of co-operation the Greek cities on the mainland could have achieved considerable prosperity.

3
Hellenistic

Down to 427 B.C. the greater part of the Troad lay under the shadow of Mitylene, and after that for a time of Athens. Then at the end of the fifth century we find it dominated by a dynasty, that of Zenis and Mania of Dardanos, under the overlordship of a loyal Persian satrap. In the fourth century the times were insecure. There was no league of cities;

and if the imperial power waned the cities tended to fall into the hands of *condottieri* like Charidemus, or Chares at Sigeum, and men like Iphiadas on the Hellespont, or the banker Eubulus and his successor Hermias on the south coast. Nevertheless a precarious balance was maintained; and after Alexander liberated the Greek communities in 334-332 B.C. about twenty cities emerged in our Troad to celebrate their independence by issuing their own coins. For a moment the old world seemed to be restored. At a rough guess, however, we may estimate the combined population of all these cities as under 100,000; and it is easy to understand how individually the majority of them proved too weak to fend for themselves in a world dominated by commanders of professional armies or to function as autonomous cities with democratic institutions and the range of political, social, and economic facilities and services that the new age demanded. In fact they were not viable units in the changing conditions of the time.

The reorganization began when Antigonos founded a new city on the west coast, Antigonía, which was renamed Alexandria Troas by Lysimachus in 301 B.C. Six existing cities were united to form this new super-city: Colónae, Larisa, Hamaxitus, Neandria, Cebren, and Scepsis. Antigonos' original conception was in fact too grandiose, and Scepsis was released from the synoecism under Lysimachus. But FIG. 18 shows how far-reaching the rationalization was. To the north of this, Ilion was selected as the focal point. Under Antigonos its temple of Athena became the centre of a festival and religious confederation; and under Lysimachus some decrepit surrounding cities were incorporated in it (Strabo xiii. 593, § 26). We may conjecture that this was the fate of Birytiis, Gentinos, Sigeum, and probably Achilleion, though the last named at least went on being inhabited in a small way. Beyond the Trojan Plain Scamandria was in due course attached to Ilion in a sympolity; and the aggrandisement of Ilion was completed when the territories of Rhoeteum and Gergis were awarded to it by the commissioners of Apamea (188 B.C.). In the shallow southern strip Assos, Gargara, and Antandrus retained their independence, though it is only at Assos that the installations and transactions of the city come up to the standards of the age. On the west coast Tenedos no doubt retained its mainland territory through Hellenistic and at least Augustan times until it was incorporated in Alexandria Troas. In the north, Abydos of course was always an independent city, and Dardanos generally so; but Ophryneion had perhaps been incorporated in Rhoeteum before 188 B.C. We thus have eight cities in place of the earlier twenty; and a good half of the whole region seems to have been divided between Alexandria Troas and Ilion.

There are a couple of problems of the Hellenistic period that require

discussion. The first is land not belonging to the cities. In Seleucid Asia Minor King's land and Temple land were prominent. The latter hardly concerns us, because, although we know that Athena Ilias did own sacred land whose revenues the Roman publicani claimed as taxable, it was no doubt land that had been donated or acquired in Hellenistic times



Fig. 18.
Hellenistic Sites

and not an old temple estate with its own serf population. King's land, however, did form part of the ownership structure of the Troad in the third century B.C.; for the Aristodicides dossier (above, pp. 114 f.) provides two instances of it. The

first is a place (*χωρίον*) called Petra, which seems to have had a refuge where the king's peasants could live. Unfortunately this Petra cannot be identified with certainty. The name suggests an isolated steep-sided and rocky hill or crag; and with its

signs of occupation that we may infer to be of Hellenistic date Asarlik * (Eski Hissarlik) seems the most likely position; but Fila* Tepe and Savran Tepe (the latter with some Hellenistic sherds) cannot be completely ruled out (above, pp. 126 f., 274). What does, however, seem clear to us is that in the region around Ilion only the Scamander gorge has ancient sites on hills that suit the name Petra;¹ and we should therefore place Petra in that region and suppose that there was King's land in the wooded hill country east of the gorge.

The other area of King's land in the Aristodicides dossier is not named. But the grant, which seems ultimately to have amounted to several square kilometres of cultivable land, was to be taken from King's land on the borders of either Gergis or Scepsis and to be attached to the territory of either Ilion or Scepsis. Since in the event it was attached to Ilion, we can infer, as a matter of common sense rather than legality, that the land selected was on the borders of Gergis and not of Scepsis. This must have been fairly open country; and assuming that it marched with Gergis and Ilion, the land that was granted must have been on the plateau or slopes north of the middle Scamander. Thus, although by the terms of Apamea the territories of Ilion and Gergis became a single political unit, it would seem that down to early Seleucid times at least there was King's land between the two. Unfortunately no boundary stones are known. But we can attempt to circumscribe the region. Abydos certainly reached up on to the plateau, for the old gold mines in the mountain south of the Koca Çay must be those that Xenophon speaks of as belonging to the Abydenes (above, p. 290). Dardanos is connected with the interior both in its name and in the despotism of its citizens Zenis and Mania at Scepsis and Gergis; this is not proof, but a deep penetration of the interior would help to explain how a settlement that was so narrowly constricted on the Hellespont was strong enough to maintain its independence into Roman times. East of Ilion the Mersin site on the plateau at Ovacik* is too Hellenic in its finds to pass as a ~~Neandrian~~ ^{Neandrian} of King's people. On the south-west the city at Ada Tepe, which we have taken to be Scamandria, must have controlled the valley leading up on to the plateau; and we presume that the little settlement of Marpessos at Dam Kale was included in the territory of Gergis. Thus what King's land there was is likely to have been situated around the modern Camlica* and westward from there to the Scamander gorge. East of Gergis, of course, there may have been abundant King's land. For there was no Greek city there, and Strabo, whose authority goes

¹ Apart from the volcanic plugs of the southern Troad and the tors and pikes of the Cigri* Dag* range the contours of the hills in the Troad are generally weathered into well-rounded shapes. The Little Hayrettin Tepe has a rocky bluff on top but nothing ancient; and we have seen no other such rock on the plateau. The Cigri Dag and its northern outliers must have belonged to Alexandria Troas, having been Neandrian.

back to the first half of the second century B.C., speaks of the Karesene as farming land with many villages. But if Aristodicides had opted for land there, he would presumably have attached it to Scepsis.

For the rest of the Troad we are indifferently informed. Presumably Scepsis held the title to Palaiskepsis and so to the upper valley of the Scamander. Cebren and Scepsis are said to have had a common boundary on the river in classical times, and the connections we have remarked between Cebren and Gergis might suggest that they were contiguous also (above, p. 337). Thus the Scamander basin would seem to have been almost solid city land. Finally we find Assians crossing to render assistance at Cebren (pp. 338, 344); and Strabo's `rose' (xiii. 606, § 51 init.) seems to imply that in the first half of the second century Demetrius regarded the territories of Assos and Gargara as joining those of Alexandria Troas (Hamaxitus, Neandria, Cebren) and Antandrus in a solid block. Thus it is unlikely that there were any substantial pockets of land that had not been appropriated by the Greek cities.

The other problem is that of villages. In much of Anatolia the village seems to have been the basic unit of habitation in historical times. T.R.S. Broughton in his survey of Asia Minor has spoken of the villages as being almost indestructible and `having remained in all parts of the country regardless of racial stock, political organization, vicissitudes of conquest, or degrees of culture'.¹ But what he is speaking of is different from anything found in the Troad. The typical villages of much of Anatolia tend perhaps to be larger than those in the Troad, and with a lower density of population they often constitute a more widely spaced network. In antiquity the native villages in a large part of Anatolia were probably more widely spaced still and had established themselves as the standard units of habitation rather than as subordinate elements grouped round city nuclei. In our Troad the situation is quite different. If we look at the region around the Trojan Plain we perceive that there were about five classical cities or towns controlling between them the same territory as some 8-10 modern villages; and just as the modern villagers have their houses in the village, from which they go out to work their land, so presumably the ancient citizens had their houses in the city, to which they returned from their fields. In this set-up villages could not be a system of habitation supplementary to the cities, but only an alternative one. The normal classical pattern here seems to have been one that had little place for villages; and there is therefore no justification for the assumption that the village as we understand the term constituted a necessary element in the pattern of settlement. In fact for the period after 427 B.C. we have some twenty city sites on the ground in our Troad, but only perhaps four or five

¹*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* iv (1938), 628 ff.

subordinate sites that yield certain or even possible traces of classical occupation (Kremaste, the Mersin site (which could have been a city), Marpessos, the Palaiskepsis site, and the dubious hill at Bahçeli). Some of these could have been strong points affording shelter in time of need; the question that we cannot answer is whether they were villages with houses where people regularly lived.

For the Hellenistic period the literary and epigraphical sources apprise us of the *χωρίον* Petra, the *πόλις* (so Pausanias) of Marpessos, the `Village' (*Κώμη*) of the Ilians', a *κώμη* (according to the *Suda*) of Glykeia whence Polemon came, the little *κατοικία* of Achilleion, a place bearing the old name Cebren, and Chrysa (by the Smintheum) where there was a garrison in time of need. We can place three or four of these on the ground, and we should be prepared to recognize the Ilians' Village and perhaps Marpessos as village settlements. We can also adduce traces of Hellenistic occupation on half a dozen other sites. At Larisa, Poly-medion (probably by this time incorporated in Assos), and perhaps Mersin Oba we may have some continuation of settlement on what had been town or city sites; and at Savran Tepe and Kümbet Kocabahçe we have what might be military outposts. But considering the extent of the synoecisms, and, above all, that of Alexandria Troas, the evidence for the existence of what we might call villages is remarkably slight. What we

conclude is that there may have been the occasional *φρούριον* or *περι-πόλιον* such as Chrysa or Kümbet Kocabahçe which could provide protection in need to those who were out of the city working on their land, but there were very few villages in the sense of organized settlements with respectable houses in which citizens lived permanently with their possessions and household equipment. The Hellenistic, here and in Ionia generally, was the age of city dwellers.

4

Roman-Byzantine

To judge by the archaeological evidence there was probably no sudden change in the pattern of occupation in early imperial times. Twenty years ago I noted a phenomenon on the coasts of Caria, that Roman potsherds could be picked up at the heads of breezy bays; unfortunately I did not attempt to date the sherds closely and can only state an impression that early imperial sherds were to be seen. In 1959 I noted the same phenomenon on the coast between the Hamaxitus site (Besik * Tepe) and Chrysa (Göz Tepe),¹ and there again I noted no more than that the pottery looked early imperial. It is possible that we have here the traces of seaside villas, but closer investigation is needed. In any case it does not seem to be a common phenomenon in the Troad, and

¹ See above, p. 232.

with the progress of our investigations I have come to doubt whether it is necessarily distinct from the normal villa or farm pattern of imperial times.

An unexpected phenomenon that makes a stronger impression is the occupation of hilltop situations in advanced imperial times. We did not, as Schliemann did, note any later Roman potsherds on the old site of Neandria on top of the Cigri * Dag*, and are not sure how much weight to attach to his testimony. But we did see such sherds on the old Lamponia site on top of the Kozlu Dag and a coin of the reign of Valerian or Gallienus which had been found on the site; we have seen objects of imperial date and a coin of Constantius from the very high site on the Kayali* Dag; and we discovered a late site on a massive bluff blocking the passage into the upper Scamander valley (the Ilica* site) with a coin of Claudius II on it. The old site of Cebren also seems to have yielded quite a number of late imperial coins. This is so contrary to the normal pattern of the Pax Romana as to suggest deliberate concentration against hostile assaults. In the decade or two after A.D. 250 the west coast of Asia Minor was harried by the Goths. Ilion was sacked by them, and we are told that cities were looking to their defences. The coins of Valerian-Gallienus, in whose reign Ilion was taken, and Claudius II, who earned his name Gothicus by defeating the marauders, perhaps indicate the occasion for this recourse to inaccessible strongholds.

These defensive sites, however, are few in number and only a small element in the changes that we have discovered in the occupational pattern during Roman times; and the changes do in fact represent a transformation. The map FIG. 19 shows at least two dozen new sites with certain occupation of advanced imperial-Late Roman times,¹ together with a considerable number of probables. These are mostly open sites on featureless terrain. The largest of these sites is that on the right bank of the Scamander below Akköy, which we believe to be the Skamandros of the bishopric lists. But the majority must have been villae rusticae or villages. Through the fortunate circumstance that their inhabitants used the Roman red domestic ware and that Dr. Hayes has been so kind as to date samples for us, we have been able to offer some precise datings for these settlements down to the seventh century when the Late Roman ware ceased to be manufactured. Our samples are of course not numerous. But on the evidence it seems as though occupation on these sites tended to begin in the late second or third century and became increasingly heavy in the following centuries. A factor here is

¹ The term 'Late Roman' applies to the pottery which provides the dating for the sites. In the rather broad use of the terms in this book it largely overlaps 'Early Christian' as applied to church architecture and 'early Byzantine' as applied to the coins.

that this red ware was the ordinary domestic pottery of the countryside as well as the cities; and it is not necessary to conclude that the rich were taking up their residence on country estates instead of in the cities. There may have been a drift in the dire times of the third century, and

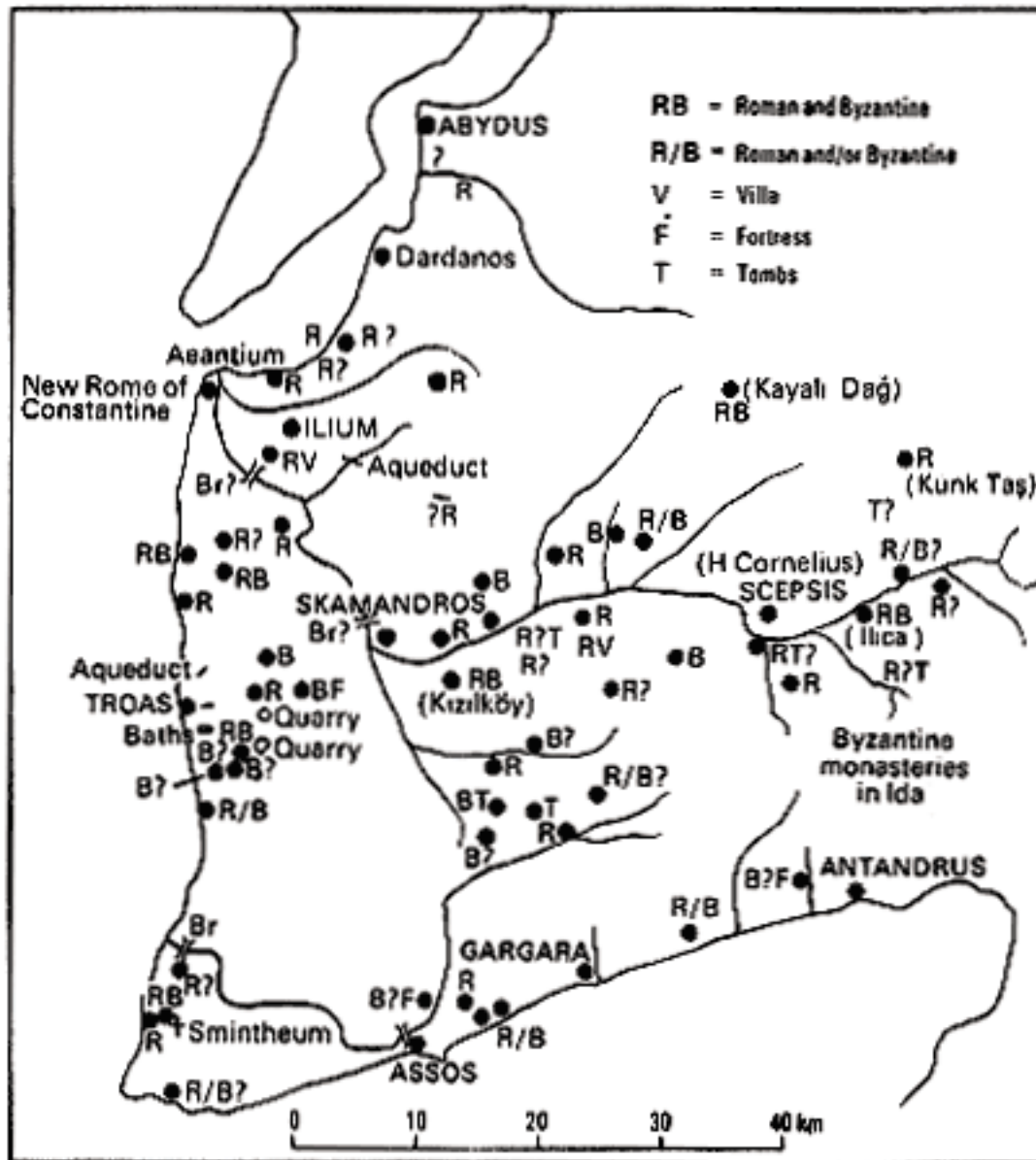


Fig. 19.
Roman and Byzantine Sites

rural settlements may in this way have been detached from the jurisdiction of the cities. But though no doubt impoverished and with their commerce declining, the cities were by no means in decay then. As finds on their sites show, they were still active not only under the sons of Constantine but for a long time after; it is only in the sixth century that Ilium seems to be fading out (above, pp. 101 f.), and the Assos publication shows coins as tolerably numerous down to Arcadius and Honorius (four specimens each), with another ten covering the period to

Heraclius.¹ At Ilion we may assume that the aqueduct was maintained into the sixth century; and evidently commerce was not at an end before then, for the surface pottery at the harbour settlement at Aianteion goes down to the early sixth century.

As we have seen, the main weight of occupation on the rural sites would seem to be Late Roman, and some seem still to have been inhabited when Late Roman ware came to an end in the seventh century. But most of the sites show some trace of occupation dating from the third or late second century, and in a couple of cases from the first century; and on two or three of the sites we have found nothing later than the third century. The packets of sherds that we are dealing with are of course too scanty to permit firm conclusions on the basis of negative evidence. But it is possible that a small site like that on the hillock north of Pinarbasi * (above, p. 128), on which occupation seems to go back to the first century, may have been a modest farm or villa which faded out in imperial times; and some Late Roman villages like that at Kostak Tepe (above, p. 315) may also have begun as rustic villas. This might represent a transition from land holdings of the curial class in the cities to larger concentrations that formed on the estates of later magnates.

Roughly speaking, the fifth-sixth century would seem to be the critical period in which the balance was being tipped from the cities to the rural settlements, which must then, with their increase of population, have acquired the character of villages if they had not already been such. After this the habitation network was one in which the basic element was the village rather than the city. With the decay of commerce the maritime settlements had of course lost their attraction, and the shift was not only from city to country but (as the big Skamandros site shows) from the coast to the interior. Increasing local self-sufficiency is perhaps indicated by the iron slag and fragments of glass vessels that litter some of the Late Roman sites.² As Dr. Hayes suggests, the Late Roman C ware may also have been manufactured in the Troad. The granite columns will have come mainly from the quarries above Alexandria Troas; we have not considered where the marble of the Early Christian capitals and revetments came from. Unfortunately there seem to be very few epitaphs found in the rural areas of the Troad; and it is not possible to apply the sophisticated techniques that are now becoming current among historians of late antiquity elsewhere in the Roman empire.

1Investigations at Assos 310 f.

2 We have mentioned this phenomenon of iron slag at the Demir Boku (Zeytinli) and Çaloba sites only (with one that we have been told of near Çamlıca); but I also observed it at more than one site (including, I think, Scepsis) in 1959, when unfortunately the samples and their documentation went astray. Cf. p. 286.

Only a systematic ground survey could reveal how dense this Roman village network was. Our FIG. 19 marks the Roman and Byzantine sites known to us in the Troad; and FIG. 20 places them in relationship to the Turkish villages in the central Scamander basin, where the modern village pattern is one of very long standing. The Late Roman sites marked there are fewer in number than the Turkish villages. But our reconnaissance has not been exhaustive. On the north side of the river, where we have perhaps been most diligent in tracking down Roman sites, we have probably found out all that the villagers could tell us at

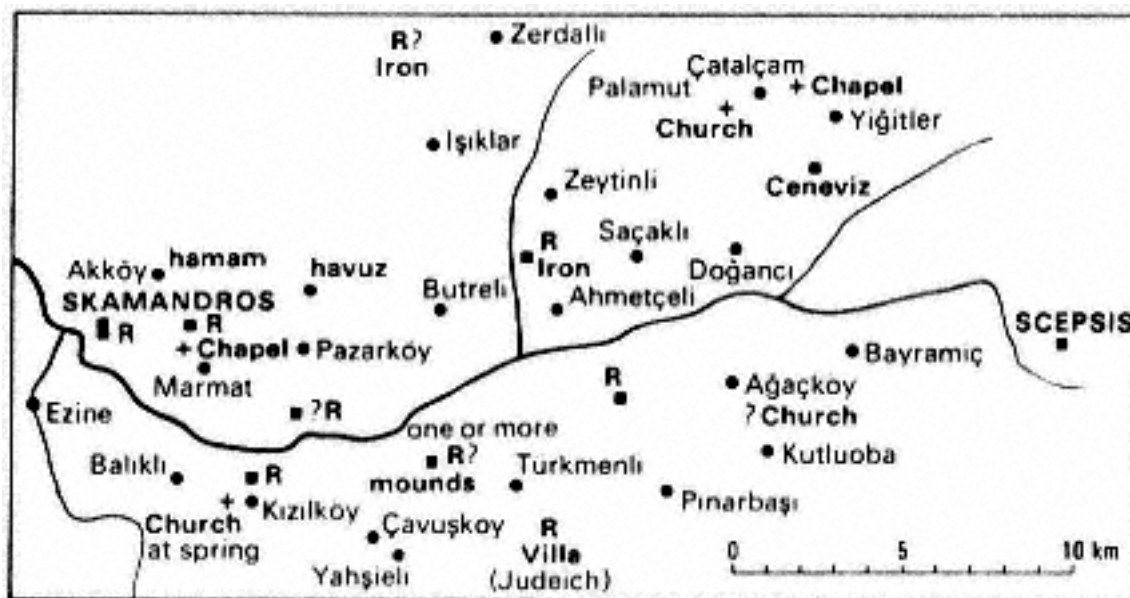


Fig. 20.
The Middle Scamander Basin

Akköy, Marmat, Pazarköy, Zeytinli, and Saçaklı *; but there could be other sites not known to them on their own village territory, and we suspect that the gaps around Butreli and Doğanç* may reflect our failure to make satisfactory contact in those villages. The network of Late Roman villages could well have been comparable to the Turkish one. In the north-western part of the Troad, unfortunately, the Roman pattern has not yet become visible. We know of four sites in the region that we call the Tenedian Peraea; but exploration is not easy there. The crests around the Trojan Plain have been well examined for prehistoric and classical sites. But, apart from Ilion and Aianteion, the two Roman sites that we know (Newton's near Kalafat and ours north of Pınarbaşı*) are both situated at the foot of the slope on the edge of the plain; and neither we nor (so far as we know) anyone else has attempted an intensive search at this level. A week so spent would probably bring out the Roman-Byzantine pattern fairly clearly.

One other observation is prompted by FIG. 19. These Roman sites are not confined to the areas in which Hellenic and Hellenistic sites are

found. Considerable regions, including the Geme Dere and the stretch between Akköy and Yigitler *, show their first traces of human settlement in imperial times. The new sites were presumably agricultural in the main; and we may perhaps conjecture that, as in the western Roman provinces, forest and pasture land were being brought under cultivation at this time. If this is so, the later Roman period was the turning-point in the agricultural as well as the occupational history of the Troad.

Like the sherds, the coins reflect the rise of the villages as against the cities. At Ilion the American excavators found 30 coins covering the period from Theodosius I to Theodosius II and 6 of the Leonine dynasty down to Anastasius at the beginning of the sixth century, but only one of Justinian and one from the four centuries that followed; and at Dalyan (Alexandria Troas) out of 20 coins we were shown there were 19 of imperial and Constantinian (-Theodosian) types with only one that we called Byzantine (early). In the countryside, on the other hand, Byzantine coins are not so rare. Unfortunately I find only too frequently in my notebooks the mention of Byzantine coins without any more precise information. But on our last visits we found that the specimens that we saw in the hands of villagers were nearly all early Byzantine; in fact the only two good middle Byzantine bronzes that we remember were both expressly said not to have come to light locally. Early Byzantine coins, then, are far from being uncommon in the villages. To the same period round about the sixth century belong many of the small marble capitals and carved thorakia that we have seen in the villages. It is difficult to give precise dates to these; and it may be that a proportion of the Byzantine carvings and inscriptions that we have seen are of the succeeding centuries. But we have the impression that churches must have been built in many places around the sixth century. On the archaeological evidence we should consider that period to be one of the most flourishing in the history of the Troad.

With the ending of Late Roman red ware in the seventh century we lose our best source of evidence for the occupational history of the Troad; and we cannot tell how many of the villages continued to be inhabited to the end of Byzantine times. We cannot gauge what disruption the Greek inhabitants of the Troad suffered in the years between the overrunning of western Asia Minor by the Turks after the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and the reassertion of Byzantine power by Alexius I a quarter of a century later; but it appears that Abydos had fallen to the emir Tzachas (Çaka) of Smyrna, and the Byzantine commander later had to recapture it and to capture and recolonize Adramyttion. Abydos of course continued as a key station on the straits; and Assos also seems to have lasted to the end, being the *φρούριον* in which the Byzantine

commander or grandee of the Troad, Machrames, held out for a time with his followers in 1306. The existence of a bishopric is of course no certain sign that habitation was continuing on such sites as Ilion, Alexandria Troas, and Scepsis, though at the first-named we have perhaps evidence of late reoccupation on the Hisarlik * mound. Skamandros, on the other hand, produced not only a Patriarch, Basil, in the tenth century¹ but apparently also a gifted teacher more than two centuries later; for Nicephorus Blemmydes, the tutor of Theodore II Lascaris in the thirteenth century, is said to have learned optics and catoptrics from Prodromus at Skamandros.² We hear of two strongholds in late Byzantine times, Astytzion where Theodore Lascaris had his treasure (above, p. 319) and Kenchreai (a reputed birthplace of Homer in early Byzantine times) where the Greeks from the Scamander region attempted to hold out against the Turks in 1306 (above, pp. 288 f.). On the ground we have the castle on the peak of Kizkulesi* which yields some fine Byzantine glazed pottery of the twelfth-early thirteenth century; the larger site on the Kayali* Dag* that we took to be Byzantine but whose only certain dating evidence is of later Roman times; the Ilica* site dominating the passage into the upper Scamander valley, where the name Kilise Tepe probably indicates Byzantine occupation; Kotupinar* south-east of Bayramiç, and a few Byzantine glazed sherds of similar date to those of Kizkulesi that we picked up on the rocky bump of Fugla* Tepe on the Çal Dag (the ancient Cebren). In the south, besides Assos and perhaps Gargara, there are the impregnable castles of Mentese* and Sahin* Kale, of which we cannot say whether they are Byzantine or Genoese.

5
Turkish

In the second half of the thirteenth century the Selçuk empire in Anatolia disintegrated; the balance of power was upset, and zealous Turkish Gazis broke through to establish themselves as emirs in the coastlands that were inhabited by Greeks. The Troad was included in the emirate of Karesi, who had captured Pergamon in 1302. It was in 1306 that the fortress of Kenchreai was abandoned, and apparently still in the same year that the Byzantine grandee Machrames fled to Mitylene leaving his name to Assos (Behram Köy). We thus have a clear date for the occupation of the Troad by the Turks. Control of the Dardanelles passed to them a generation or so later when the Ottoman Orhan, who usurped Karesi, captured Abydos. Virtually nothing is

1 L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 101.

2 There may be references to the place in the Byzantine historians, but the difficulty is to distinguish the town from the river.

known of the land in the next century or more, though the south must have suffered when Tamerlane came plundering up the coast in 1403. After that, detailed information can be expected from the study of the Ottoman fiscal surveys of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the early sixteenth century the villages would seem to have been numerous but very small, some of them with not more than about half a dozen families.

On the south coast, where it is a question of cultivating a fertile strip, the Turkish villages are set further back from the sea than the Roman (and presumably Byzantine) settlements. Travellers have remarked on their position as being due to the fear of pirates. Though the sixteenth century seems to have witnessed a certain concentration, with some of the very small communities ceasing to be inhabited, the pattern is presumably the original Turkish one dating back to the fourteenth century. In the nineteenth century almost every village had its iskele on the shore, from which olives or oil was shipped, and timber in the east part under the Kaz Dag *; and the iskeles had their warehouses and shop. Now caiques are hardly to be seen, and the village iskele is replaced by the fabrika (oil mill) which is served by the main road. In recent years a small town has grown up on the waterfront at Küçük Kuyu and assumed the status of nahiye; but the old villages are firmly rooted and indeed increasing in population, so a balance seems to be maintained in the changing conditions. On the west coast also the villages are set well back from the sea, and only the small settlements at the iskeles of Tavakli* and Odunluk have broken the ranks. Kulahli* (Gulpinar*) illustrates the recession up the mountain since antiquity (above, pp. 234 f.); the Turkish village enjoys a fine view, but finding no clearly defined situation so far up the slope it lacks the focus that other nahies usually possess. By way of contrast the two Greek villages of Yeni Köy and Yenisehir* sat on the low escarpment with the sea at their feet. In the interior of the Troad there are cases, such as the little plains of Sapanca and Ovacik*, where a Turkish village exists by cultivating the same land as evidently supported a Roman one; but the sites themselves have been moved. The Middle Scamander plain is the most revealing (FIG. 20). Here nearly all the present-day villages are named in the sixteenth-century surveys, and it would seem that basically the village network is the original Turkish one. The distribution of the Turkish villages resembles that of the Late Roman sites, but their position never seems to be the same. Even at Kizil* (above, pp. 314 f.), where the Turks settled by the fountain that had supplied the Roman and Byzantine village, physical continuity was not maintained; for the old site had been fed by an aqueduct and lay a kilometre down the slope. There is perhaps a tendency for the Turkish villages here to be set slightly

further back from the river and on slightly higher ground than their predecessors. They are thus not true successors of the Late Roman-Byzantine settlements; and, as might be inferred from such notices as there are in Byzantine historians of the time, it does not seem to have been a question of the Turks imposing themselves on the existing inhabitants of these coasts but of a change of population. The complete disappearance of the Greek place-names here seems also to argue for a complete change-over.

In the nahiyes of Ezine and Tuzla, which comprised at least the whole central and southern Troad, the 1573-4 survey has no Greek element appearing in the population. No Christians are listed; and the personal names of villagers are all Moslem, even in the village of Mavromat (Marmat) which alone contrives to bear a Greek name. Thus at first sight at least we seem justified in supposing that the Greeks, whom we hear of in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers as inhabiting their own orthodox villages or living in mixed communities, represent a more recent influx. There are said to have been few Greeks in Çanak Kale before the eighteenth century; and the orthodox village of Erenköy sounds as if it may have been relatively new in 1675 to judge by the name (Kainourio Chorio) that Spon and Wheler give. It is true that at Yenisehir * a small Greek community goes back to before 1600, and in 1609-10 Lithgow noted Greeks as in a majority on the coast near Alexandria Troas (Belon in fact had remarked some in 1548). But here we may be dealing with Greek infiltration of the coast from Tenedos and perhaps Lesbos. In the villages of the interior, to judge by the travellers' accounts, penetration was always slight and seems to have been confined to isolated craftsmen, tradesmen, and han-keepers. It was somewhat greater in the towns; according to Cuinet's figures the Greeks were well on the way towards parity with the Turks at Ezine in 1890, but it is doubtful whether he had reliable sources of information. Pococke in 1740 spoke of Greek refugees from the islands working the mines at Üsküfçü, while Perrot in 1856 noted immigrant Greek artisans and professional men from the Epirus in the Troad and elsewhere, and Calvert (*ap. Senior*, 1857) remarked on Greek immigrants from European Turkey. This picture of an influx of Greeks over the centuries gains support from the statistics that Ömer Lütfi Barkan has recently obtained from his wide-ranging comparative study of the Ottoman fiscal surveys. In the liva of Biga, to which a large part of our Troad belonged, the number of Christian (including no doubt Armenian) families is shown as 709 in 1570-80 but only 241 in the previous survey period 1520-35an increase out of proportion to that of the Moslem population; while in the much larger sancak of Bursa (Hudavendigâr), which took in the southern strip, the increase was less but still over 100

per cent.¹ Armenians are found settled in the north of the Troad at an early date, for the name 'Erminio' occurs on the sixteenth-century sea charts at the entry to the Dardanelles, and Armenians are reported at Çanak Kale by 1529 (Cuinet). It is possible that they had been in this region since the time of the Comneni.² Jewish communities like that of Çanak Kale date from after the expulsion from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

In these paragraphs I have assembled various evidences from the travellers which bear on some aspects of social history. I cannot claim any completeness because my interest in these matters only developed in the course of my reading. And in any case it is not likely that the travellers are the only source of such information. But I believe that even this limited survey of the evidence is worth while.

We first hear of a family of Derebeys, that of Hadimoglu * at Bayramiç, at the end of the eighteenth century. But the travellers speak as though this feudal rule had been established for several generations and been reflected in the peaceful condition and prosperity of the land. In the early nineteenth century, when he was Bey of the Dardanelles Castles, Hadimoglu was in effect ruler of the whole Scamander basin. But Sultan Mahmud IV introduced measures to curtail the autonomy of the Derebeys, and in 1819 Barker Webb was already lamenting the state of neglect into which the countryside was lapsing. Two sons of Hadimoglu seem to have been Agas* in Ezine and Bayramiç; and in the travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we read of Agas (squires) at many of the Turkish villages. They were generally people of substance, though the one who received Poujoulat at Behram Köy in 1830 seems to have been living in indigence in a hut. The Aga* of Ayvacik* was a greater grandee; he is said to have owned the south coast to the head of the gulf and to have made a point of demonstrating that he was independent of Hadimoglu. In the Greek villages the priest seems usually to have acted as the principal person until we meet landowners (the one at Yeni Köy apparently with the title of 'demarch') in the second half of the nineteenth century. There were also çiftliks (farms) belonging to notables, like those of Hadimoglu at Agackoy* and the Trojan Pinarbasi*, Hasan the Kaptan Pasa* at Yerkesik, and apparently his successor Küçük Hasan (or Hüseyin) at the Trojan Pinarbasi.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the land had begun to change hands. Though not apparently under their own names, Frederick Calvert had become owner of the çiftlik at Akça Köy, as well as

¹*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* i (1957), 30, table 5. Barkan has made his computations from the surveys by families, not adult males; and he would multiply by about five to reach the total population, whereas the corresponding figure for our adult males would be nearer to three.

² Cf. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (1891), 18.

one in the Chersonese; Layard (according to Hobhouse) had a farm in the Troad; and with a view primarily to excavation Frank Calvert in 1864 acquired part of the hill at Hisarlik *, which he afterwards worked with a Mr. Freeman in charge. By this time the property at Pinarbasi* was in the hands of an Armenian (and later of a Christian Albanian). Greek proprietors also appear. In 1856 Perrot was entertained by one, the corbaci* Yanni, in Bayramiç. The Greeks, he says, had not yet been able to become possessors of land, and it was only by virtue of his special position as the right-hand man of the Turkish Müdür that this Yanni had been able to acquire landed property. But George Mengioussis of Yeni Köy seems to have become a big landowner in the south of the Trojan Plain by the 1860s (above, p. 168), and Schliemann, Kiepert, and Judeich speak of a Michael Cazazis (or Katsatsis) as an oil merchant and landowner in the Antandrus region in the 1880s and 1890s. These men seem to have established themselves as persons not only of substance but of a standing that would have been unattainable in the feudal times. J.T. Clarke in 1881 spoke of the Turkish peasant's 'invincible repugnance' to tilling the soil; and certainly in the western Troad the villagers seem to have been content to subsist from the meagre profits of their valonia production. Clarke repeated Barker Webb's observation in the Troad `desunt manus poscentibus arvis', and conjectured (no doubt mistakenly) that the modern population was only a quarter or even a tenth of the ancient. It was apparently to Greeks that the Calverts lent money; and it is a commonplace among the travellers and archaeologists that the Turks were in recession and the Greeks gaining ground on these coasts (for the Troad, Newton and Calvert (*ap.* Senior) in the 1850s, Schliemann, J.T. Clarke).

We have had the impression that at the present day the land is mainly in the hands of the villagers, as it was in the hands of the Greek cities in classical times. But the çiftlik seems to be endemic. The holdings of Athenians on the Hellespont in the Hermocopid stele and later those of Aristodicides of Assos and others were no doubt of a similar pattern, and so perhaps in origin were many of the sites of Roman imperial date that we have discovered in the countryside. The çiftlik seems now to be a relatively ephemeral form of landholding. That at Akça Köy continued in the possession of the Calvert family until the Second World War, since when it has become a state cattle farm; and there is still a small çiftlik at Yerkesik, where the Kaptan Pasa's* one was succeeded by a military farm. But other çiftliks of the nineteenth century have disappeared altogether, and several of the existing ones that we know are small new ventures, sometimes on marginal land and specializing for instance in fruit or olive production.

The Gulf of Edremit has had a bad reputation for piracy; about 1693

Gemelli-Careri's captain was afraid of sailing by night in the Musselim channel;¹ Prokesch's boatmen fled at the sight of a sail, though admittedly this was during the War of Independence, and J.T. Clarke reported the capture of a small sailing-vessel as late as 1881. The Hellespont has generally been kept clear except when the peace has been seriously disturbed; the action of a phrontistes of Drusus Caesar in destroying pirates' nests there (*IGR* iv. 219) is surprising and perhaps exaggerated. I have noticed mentions of bandits in the Troad in du Loir (1640, near Çanak Kale), Pococke (1740, around Ezine), and Chandler (1764, near Alexandria Troas), though no doubt there must be more. In the time of Hadimoglu * travellers moved about unmolested and with very little escort. After that conditions were not always so secure. Spratt was attacked on the Cigri* Dag*, and Schliemann regularly had the protection of a force of gendarmes, though Calvert on the other hand travelled freely without escort, even when he took Goodwin, Jebb, and some ladies to Assos in 1882. The Kaz Dag was as notorious for its bandits in the second half of the nineteenth century as it had been in the time of Tilliborus (Lucian, *Alex.* 2). Marauding army contingents quartered on the Dardanelles are reported by Brunton (1855-6), and a boatload of Greeks raided Alamsah* on the west coast in 1880. Circassians attacked the village of Kalafat about 1879; perhaps it was the same people who were settled in the new village of Tevfikiye (Hisarlik*) half a dozen years later. This seems to have been a period of considerable settlement of refugees in the region of Troy;² recent massive settlements have been of Greek-speaking Turks from Lesbos, Crete, and Macedonia in Erenköy and especially on the south coast after the 1922 exchange of populations, and of Balkan Turks (especially in the Plain of Troy) before and after the Second World War. These recent immigrants practise agriculture more intensively than the native Turks of the Troad.

There are isolated Albanians (Arnavut) in the Troad who still make their native costumes; but we know of no communities of them, and they seem to be relatively recent arrivals. Of gypsies (tsingani) I seem to have no note, save of a blacksmith whom J.T. Clarke found conveniently encamped in the neighbourhood of Assos at Pasakoy*;³ Clarke speaks of him as a gipsy, but that might represent no more than the Greek word ~~τσίγγος~~ ^{τσίγγος}. Türkmen are found in the Kaz Dag, apparently mainly engaged in the timber felling; they make rugs for sale at the autumn fair in Çan Pazar. The Yürüks who inhabit the plateau north of the Menderes seem to have been partly nomadic until the end of the

¹*Voyage du Tour du Monde* i (Paris, 1719 ed.), 232 f.

² Cf. Virchow, quoted in *Troja* (1884), 353, and Leaf, *Geogr. Journal* xl (1912), 41 f.

³*Investigations at Assos* (1902), 7.

last century (Judeich). Pococke found an encampment of Yürüks near Kizkulesi *, and Kiepert in 1842 spoke of wandering villages of them on the plateau. Most of the villages that we have seen on the fringes, such as Kemer, Mersinoba, Derbendbasi*, and Karincali*, seem to be of recent origin and look little more than petrified nomad encampments; the majority of them are Shi`ite, but they are now ceasing to keep themselves aloof from the world of orthodox Moslems. We understood that they are forbidden to practise their traditional occupation of woodcutting; but we were awakened at dawn by the ring of an axe when we spent a night on the pass below Derbendbasi. Since 1967 twenty families from the mountain have settled at Yeni Mahalle in the plain under Erenköy. It may be that the influx of these Yürüks in the Troad dates mainly to the sixteenth century; for Professor Barkan's table mentioned above (pp. 376 f.) shows 2,066 nomad families in the liva of Biga in 1570-80 as against only 99 in the 1520-35 period.

In Turkish times the villages have formed the basis of the economy of the Troad. In the region of Troy they seem to have been peculiarly unstable. In the area bounded by Dümrek, Kemer, and Pinarbasi* the number of old Turkish villages surviving seems to be six. As against this, nine deserted villages are known; two of these (Yeniköy and Kalafat), which were abandoned when the Greeks left the country, have been successfully refounded by Balkan Turks under the old name but on a new site, while of the remainder all save one (Yenisehir*) were Turkish. There are in addition six new Turkish villages and mahalles in this area dating from different times in the last hundred years. As has been remarked, there seem to be some recently founded Yürük villages on the edge of the plateau north of the Menderes; and the same thing may have happened in other mountain regions of the interior of the Troad. But our information is insufficient. We were astonished when we discovered how many villages there are up the Scamander valley above Bayramiç. Here it might well seem that they must have multiplied since the Kiepert's days. But the German maps here depend on Tchihatcheff's itinerary, and the villages are set on the slopes above the valley bottom, so that his route did not pass near them. In the Tenedian Peraea there seem to be a couple of fairly new villages north of Geyikli, while to the south of this Great Alamsah* has perished, together with Reinach's deserted village near Tuzla; and Tavakli* may be only a hundred or so years old. Otherwise the west coast seems to be unchanged; and the same applies to the south coast and the better-known parts of the interior. Many of these villages are named in the sixteenth-century surveys; and more could probably be recognized if we knew their old names. The total number of villages named in the surveys in the nahiyes of Ezine and Tuzla may be slightly less than the total for

what we should judge to be the same area in the 1940 census; but the increase does not seem to be more than 10 per cent over-all. The big difference is in their population. For this area we count 5,120 adult males in 1573-4, making a total of perhaps something over 15,000 people in the region, as against a round 60,000 in 1940 (or more if the Trojan Plain is included in the 1574 survey). The market towns account for a modest part of the increase, but the villages have increased very greatly. Presumably there will have been a good deal of uncultivated land between the villages in the sixteenth century. An attempt will be made in the next section to estimate the ancient population. To round off that of Turkish times, we may say here that if the 1940 population is taken as a norm and called 100, that of 1965 (as calculated from the provisional gross census figures) would be about 120, that of about 1890 (Cuinet) perhaps under 90, that of 1573-4 not much over 25, and that of 1520-35 perhaps hardly more than 15.1

As regards the modern village communities we have not been in a position to attempt any social survey. What information we have picked up in the course of our journeys was obtained quite incidentally. It can only be a small fraction of the whole and is not necessarily typical. But we have found the incidental observations of the travellers most valuable, and life in the Troad still passes without any written record. In the villages we have generally been in the hands of elders or men of substance, and we have found society still very much governed by tradition. In some of the larger villages, like Akköy which we have visited a number of times, we have met younger men with more modern interests, and not least with the desire for a training in technology; but we have not ourselves sensed any frustration among them. Of natives who had returned to their home village for a summer vacation we happen to have made the acquaintance of young school-masters at Çatalçam and Akköy, an officer of the Izmir * city police in Pazarköy, and university students at the Trojan Pinarbasi* (technology at Ankara) and Agackoy*. The last-mentioned, a girl student in the

1 I hesitate to cite in the main text a figure for 1831, which would seem to be barely 40 per cent of the 1940 one and to imply that there was rapid growth in the 60 years before Cuinet at the time when Calvert and others were drawing attention to the recession of the Turks in the Troad. This estimate is obtained from a Turkish document giving a summary of the results of an unpublished census of 1831 recently published by E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı* İmparatorlugunda* İlk* Nüfus Sayımı* 1831* (Ankara, 1943), of which my son Michael transcribed the relevant details for me (pp. 156 ff.). For the whole sancak of Biga the figures of males are given as Muslims 23,972, Yürüks 4,333, Reaya (non-Muslims) 3,298; in detail (male Muslims), kaza of Kale-i Sultaniye 2,208 (!), Kum Kale 632, kaza of Ezine-i Kazdagi* 2,253, kaza of Bayramiç 3,327. These figures are said to include male children. For the kaza of Bayramiç (the kasaba and its 12 (!) villages) there is a figure of 1,795 male Muslims (on p. 98). Unfortunately it is not always clear what the figures represent; but if we exclude Kale-i Sultaniye, the figure for the rest of our Troad (less the south) seems to work out at a total population of only 12,500 sedentary Muslims as against 28,653 in Cuinet.

Literature Faculty at Istanbul, wore village pantaloons but rode pillion on a motorcycle and came up to speak to us at the coffee-house. She was the only emancipated village girl we have seen in the Troad. In our later visits we have also met several younger men who had returned from factory work in Germany. One had brought with him a German wife, who was suffering from nervous troubles in her new home; he was ready to agree that his first duty was to his wife, but he feared public opinion in the village. We met a pair of strolling puppet players (Karagöz) in the west coast villages in 1959, but have heard of none since.

Few of the villages have electricity, running water other than the fountain, or any drainage; not many have a shop, and cash is in short supply (or at least was so in the earlier part of the 1960s). Cooking is done on charcoal, though the primus stove is proving its usefulness in the coffee-house. Tractors, agricultural machinery, and pumps for irrigation have come into much wider use since the 1950s, but the old flint-toothed threshing sledge is still to be seen. There has been a notable increase of cultivation round the Trojan Plain, and much digging of trenches for drainage and irrigation. There were a dozen windmills at the old Greek village of Yenisehir * in the last century. But otherwise they seem to have been rare; and we have not seen one working or in good repair except up the Hellespont at Lapseki. Watermills for grinding corn are (or were) commoner; we happen to have seen two working, at the Kirk* Göz (Pinarbasi*) and up the Mihli* stream, and Ali Bey's mill in the Kemer valley still operates. The great majority of villages can now be reached by jeep, in summer at least. Camels now seem to be confined to the main road (above, pp. 320 f.); and the song of the solid-wheeled bullock cart, which drew the attention of the travellers as it still does on the Anatolian plateau, has hardly been heard in the Troad in recent years. Houses seem usually to be built by the villagers themselves and occupy a measurable part of their labour in summer; on our later visits there appeared to us to be an increase in building activity. Modern school buildings had generally been provided before that; but in response partly to official stimulus, and still more to the enthusiasm of a self-trained local architect, many new mosques and elegant minarets date to the 1960s (PLATE 20*a*). In the coastal regions almost every village has at least one coffee-house (though of course it is tea that is now drunk there). In the interior, on the other hand, there are quite large villages without one (as Tongurlu and Butreli); and we have not met one among the Shi`ite villages of the plateau. Village football pitches have appeared everywhere in the 1960s, and crowds go to watch Çanak Kale play on Sundays.

6

Population

There is no adequate basis for calculating the ancient population of the Troad. The Athenian tribute lists give an impression of the relative magnitude of some of the cities in the fifth century B.C., though it is difficult to correlate the

425 B.C. assessment figures for the *ἡκταῖαι πόλεις* with the quota figures of the cities that were independent members of the league in the pre-war period. But absolute figures demand a considerable margin for conjecture. Nevertheless, a comparison of ancient and modern is perhaps worth attempting. The most convenient base that we can find for such a purpose is a composite south-central block formed by the four contiguous independent cities of Assos, Lamponia, Gargara, and Cebren. All four paid a regular tribute in the pre-war period, and the territory that they possessed between them can be tolerably closely defined. The aggregate of the annual tribute paid by the four cities was

$4\frac{5}{8}$ talents, and the 1940 census population of the territory that we should assign to them can be reckoned as 20,000-22,000. That gives 4,000-4,500 population in 1940 for each talent of tribute paid in the league. Now my own attempts to establish a ratio in other parts of the Eastern Aegean, and especially the Southern Sporades, had led me to reckon that on an average the fifth-century population per talent of tribute in the quota lists was not likely to have exceeded 4,000; and I should therefore suggest that as a basis for calculating the ancient population the 1940 census will give good measure, and that when allowance is made for the personnel required to discharge all the political, commercial, and professional functions involved in running independent cities, the number of people engaged in production must have been less in classical times than in the present century. This we should in any case expect, because a good deal of the land does not seem to have been brought under cultivation until Roman imperial times. Assuming that the 1940 census provides a not too inaccurate basis for calculating the ancient populations, we can roughly estimate that Alexandria Troas, which was the biggest city of the Troad, may have had a population of up to 30,000, and of 40,000 in imperial times after Tenedos with its peraea was incorporated in it. Assos could have had 4,000 and Gargara rather less, classical Cebren perhaps 12,000-13,000. The corresponding figures for Ilion at different periods have been offered above (p. 100).

There is no reason to suppose that there was an increase in the amount of land under cultivation in Hellenistic times; for archaeological evidence for Hellenistic settlements in the countryside is very slight. But in Roman imperial times there seems to have been a growing rural population with new areas opened up for cultivation. No doubt

the cities were in a decline by the sixth century after Christ; but as we have remarked, the countryside should have been densely inhabited to judge by the number of Late Roman sites and the wealth of granite columns and pieces of Early Christian church architecture that can be seen in the fields and villages. But when we come down to the fourteenth century the population must have been very much smaller. The 1573-4 fiscal surveys seem to yield population figures of hardly more than a quarter of the 1940 ones; and these figures are very considerably larger than those of Professor Barkan's 1520-35 series.¹ If we continue the progression backwards, it seems reasonable to assume that the earliest Turkish population was lessperhaps much less than a sixth of the 1940 population; and since the original Turks of Karesi seem to have been strong enough to drive out the Byzantine inhabitants, it is probable that there had been a very marked decline in numbers during the later centuries of Byzantine rule. The disaster in the late eleventh century when the Selçuks temporarily overran western Asia Minor after Manzikert may have resulted in a serious loss of population which could not be replaced. But from the scarcity of carved stones, inscriptions, and coins we might infer that the decline had started three or four centuries earlier. Various contributory factors can be suggested: plague under Justinian (and later), when whole cities and villages are said to have been wiped out; the Arab incursions of the seventh century, which admittedly were followed by settlement of smallholders in Asia to provide levies for the army; monasticism; transference of population to the Slav borders; and possibly the dispossession of the smallholders in the tenth century. Closer attention to the Byzantine, and especially the Byzantine coarse pottery, might help to elucidate the history of this dark age. But it is likely to remain the most featureless of all epochs in the history of the Troad.

¹ These are of course only gross figures. The increase in the number of families for the middle period of the sixteenth century (i.e. between 1520-35 and 1570-80) is 42 per cent for the whole province of Anadolu; for the sancak of Biga 49 per cent (but barely 15 per cent among sedentary Moslems); for Bursa 81 per cent (and 79 for sedentary Moslems).

11
Miscellaneous

1
The Bronze Coins

I do not recall seeing gold. The electrum coins at Çaloba seem to be an isolated phenomenon (above, pp. 299 f.); and, apart from small old Turkish and occasional Hellenistic royal pieces, silver is rarely met with. But bronzes can often be seen in the villages, though generally there is little market for them. Under Turkish law the purchase of coins is illegal, and two disadvantages result from this. First, they cannot be taken away for cleaning and study at leisure, so that some identifications are lost. And second, there is little inducement for the peasants to keep the bronze coins that they pick up in the fields, while remonstrations that the archaeologist may make do not have much effect if he cannot purchase the coins when they are kept for his benefit. The conditions for examining coins in the field are often unfavourable. Time is usually pressing. Artificial light is almost always weak. There may be an inhibiting presence, as of a gendarme or official; and it is not always easy to spend a long time examining objects that one is not proposing to buy. It also often happened to us that an individual did not care to approach us with coins until we were leaving the village. Under these conditions our notes of coins (excepting those provided by Professor Bean) are generally hasty. It is only with the pre-Roman ones that we have made a point of identifying every mint and, when possible, of recording or photographing specimens that seemed to be of special interest in the context. And at Ezine, Bayramiç, and around Troy I have not even noted all the Hellenic coins that I have recognized. But if the positive information is sometimes defective, the negative evidence is firm. There are a number of mints for which we have been on the watch from the outset; and so we can say that (leaving aside those whose condition was hopeless) in a total of perhaps 600 ancient coins that we have seen in the Troad there were none of Achilleion, `Thymbra', the Antiocheis, and `Achaitai', or Gentinos, and similarly that we have encountered precisely 1 each of Colonae and Lamponia, 2 of Larisa Troadis, 3 of the Aioleis, and 5 of Birytis. The Roman coins have been

hastily and ignorantly inspected; I may have failed to recognize some city mints, and the word 'Constantinian' in my notes is a term which covers a longer period than that of the House of Constantine. More serious is my lack of notes on the date of the Byzantine coins we have seen; on the evidence of our last journeys, when I was more vigilant, I should be inclined to think that the great majority of them were early Byzantine.

In one respect our observations should be of value. We have noted ancient or old coins at three dozen different places in the Troad and thereby broadened the basis for the study of their distribution. With coins, as with sites, there is always an element of chance in what the traveller discovers; and there are factors involved that would make it dangerous to draw inferences from the absence of coins in individual villages. But certain broad conclusions seem justified. Coins in the hands of the villagers are generally said to have been found locally; and the composition of the lots that we have seen bears this out. In general, Hellenic coins tend to be seen in villages at no great distance from the ancient sites, whereas Roman and early Byzantine ones are seen in fringe areas also. This may be illustrated by the comparison of the two Hellenic bronzes seen by us at Kösedere, which (unlike the later coins there) had been found on the Liman Tepe (Larisa) site (p. 219), and of the third-century colonial bronzes of Alexandria Troas which we have seen in a great number of different villages (above, p. 202). The plateau north of the Scamander does not seem to be productive of classical coins. Rıza * Ürgüvin told us that the villages there produce only Roman coins (in which no doubt he would include what we call early Byzantine); and, leaving aside Karınacalı by the Gergis site, we have seen only one earlier coin (the second-century bronze of Ilion that we picked up at the Dam Dere (Marpessos) site). Going further afield, the Gemeni Dere seems to know only Turkish coins; and our inquiries about coins, as well as about sites, have elicited no response at Ayvacık*.

The frequency with which bronzes of the different ancient cities are encountered in part reflects the scale on which they were produced. But another factor is the present condition of their home sites. The sites of Ilion, Scepsis, Gergis, Cebren, and Assos have evidently been productive in recent years, and their coins are met with on the spot and in the channels along which they are trafficked. But the sites of Abydos, Sigeum, Gargara, and presumably Biryttis seem to be dormant at present, and the coins that are encountered must mainly be ones that had travelled abroad in ancient times. It is notable that even so we have seen six or seven bronzes of Sigeum in our journeys (cf. above, p. 180).

The circulation of bronzes in the region is not without interest. Our observations confirm that very few coins of Ilion and the northern

cities of the Troad travelled to the interior and southern Troad. Bronzes of the central and southern cities have travelled more readily to the north; but our evidence comes mainly from the vicinity of Ilion, which from about 306 B.C. was the centre of the panegyris, and from the jewellers' shops of the vilayet (Çanak Kale). The bronzes of Assos, so preponderant on the home site, do seem to have travelled freely in Hellenic times. We have counted at least five from the Çal Dag * and others in Ezine (Schliemann at least) and Bayramiç, two at Evciler in the upper Scamander valley, a probable at Altinoluk*, three from the American Troy mission (though none found in their excavations), and one or more in Schliemann's excavations, one at Kösedere (Schliemann), and proveniences cited by L. Robert which include Ophryneion and Pergamon.¹ The bronzes of another coastal city, Hamaxitus, issued only in the fourth century, seem to us to have travelled relatively freely (above, p. 234). Those of Scepsis are common in the interior and seem fairly numerous at Ilion (assuming that the 'Scamandria' types are of the Scepsis mint, p. 355).² Cebren affords a striking contrast. Though abundant, its bronzes seem to come almost entirely from the home site.³ Cebren ceased minting about 310 B.C.; and the early closure of its mint is presumably a factor here. It may at least help to explain why the coins are not found at Ilion. The contrast with the 'Scamandria' coins is a striking one, and we suspect that it offers a clue to the dating of the latter.

In advanced imperial times the commonest city bronzes in the Troad were the colonial issues of Alexandria Troas, which are very frequent at Ilion and widespread over the whole region (above, p. 202). The popularity of the bronzes of Parium (both Augustan and post-Commodus), already attested at Troy, is confirmed by our findings; we have seen specimens at Lapseki (Lampsacus), Halileli near Troy, Dalyan (Alexandria Troas), Çal Dag, Bayramiç, and Kulahli*. We have not ourselves recognized any coin of Pionia and only know of one from the Troad (American Troy mission).

There is a sprinkling of bronze coins of cities outside the Troad; for

¹*Études de numismatique grecque* (1951), index s.v. 'Assos'. The Ophryneion provenience is perhaps questionable (see above, p. 75).

² Ibid., s.v. 'Scepsis' (including the sites of Cebren, Assos, and Pergamon), 78 ('Scamandria' at Ilion). We have noted bronzes of Scepsis at Yigitler* (from Karincali*), the Çal Dag (Akpınar*), Evciler the last two at least being straight Scepsis and 'Scamandria' issues at Ezine and Kum Kale Köy near Troy. From Troy there are now four in Bellinger (one being 'Scamandria') and four more from the Troy mission (two 'Scamandria'). Pullan also acquired two bronzes of Scepsis in the southern Troad (see below).

³ L. Robert cites only some not very specific proveniences from Borrell (op. cit. 84), and in 1866 Pullan did not see any of Cebren among 30-40 coins at Kursunlu* (*Antiquities of Ionia* v (1915), 32). Our notes show that apart from three in the shops at Çanak Kale we have seen no bronzes of Cebren save at the Çal Dag itself and in Bayramiç where a high proportion of the finds were from there (pp. 340, 310).

the most part we have seen such pieces either in the towns or in the vicinity of Troy. Mints we have recognized are Tenedos, Elaeus,¹ Cardia, Lysimachia, Maroneia, Lampsacus, Parium (several Roman, see above), Priapus, two or three of Cyzicus, and Methymna?, Antissa, Eresos, Mitylene, the island of Chalcis in the Hekatonnesoi? (p. 311), Adramyttion, Elaia, Myrina?, Aegae, Chios (including Roman), Clazomenae, Alinda in Caria, and a Ptolemais (pp. 219, 221).

L. Robert has contributed to the study of the coinages of the Troad in two recent works: *Études de numismatique greque* (1951), pp. 5-100, and *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966) the latter essentially an extended (138 pp.) review-article on Bellinger's volume of Troy coins. Robert has not himself travelled to any extent in the Troad. But in the earlier book he collected references to coins of the Troad in the numismatic literature and many of those in the travellers; and he has added to them in the later one. Not having easy access to the numismatic literature I have been thankful to rely on Robert in many matters. Robert remarked that some references to coins in the travellers must have escaped him; I have added what I have found in treating of the places concerned. One passage that he missed is worth mentioning here, that in which R. P. Pullan listed the coins he acquired in a week's visit to the southern Troad in October 1861.² On this journey, when he first inspected the Smintheum, Pullan travelled only to Baba Kale, Kulahli *, and by way of an unnamed village to Assos. He obtained the coins 'from peasants and others' (the last word perhaps suggests antique-handlers, and therefore that the coins may not all have been found on the spot). From my notes the list of bronzes (with measurements omitted) is: Assos 1, Cebren 3, Gargara 2, Gergis 1, Lampsacus 1, Pergamon various (including 2 silver cistophori), Pordoselene 1, Alexandria Troas several autonomous and colonial, Birytiis 1, Neandria 1, Scepsis 2, Tenedos 1.

We have asked after coins in the principal places to the east of our Troad. In 1967 we noted the following in the clock shop at Lapseki (Lampsacus):

Lampsacus (mainly as von Aulock 1293-5 or as <i>BMC</i> 58)	11
Abydos	2
Parion (<i>obv.</i> facing head, <i>rev.</i> altar in wreath ΠΑΠΙ?)	1
Cyzicus? (<i>obv.</i> bunch of grapes, <i>rev.</i> type not clear KY?)	1
Clazomenae (<i>obv.</i> facing head, <i>rev.</i> ram r.)	1
Lysimachus	1

¹ Not having made careful enough notes, I am not clear about the distinction between issues of Elaeus (in Europe opposite Kum Kale) and Elaia in the southern Aeolis; but I should tentatively suggest that the small bronzes with *obv.* helmeted head of Athena l., *rev.* ear of barley in wreath (PLATE 3c, 3) are of Elaeus.

² C. Texier and Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor* (1865), 21 f.

Roman of imperial date	2 or 3
Constantinian types	5
Byzantine	2

also one silver obol?, worn but like the two seen at Çanak Kale (above, p. 56).

At Çan Pazar, Balya Maden, and Yenice we have inquired for coins without success. At Edremit we neglected to visit the shops. At both Balıkesir * and Biga we have seen several little lots of coins. At the former I recall nothing earlier than Roman and recognized no Troadic coins. At Biga the bronzes were mainly Roman (especially Constantinian) and Byzantine; we noted a tetradrachm of Opuntian Locris and a smaller silver coin of Parion, but the two or three bronzes that might have been classical were in hopeless condition.

Finally, to facilitate reference to the text through the index I give a list of the places in the Troad where we have seen significant lots of ancient bronze coins: Alexandria Troas (Dalyan), Assos, Balli* Dag* (Pınarbaşı*), Bayramiç, Çal Dag (Cebren), Çanak Kale, Evciler, Ezine, Halileli, the Ilion site and neighbouring villages, Karıncalı* (Gergis) with Yigitler*, Kösedere (with Liman Tepe site), Kozlu and Kozlu Dag, Küçük Kuyu, Kulahlı*, Lapseki (Lampsacus), Pınarbaşı of Bayramiç, Yeniköy.

2
The Movement of Stones

This short section is concerned with the movement of ancient stones in the Troad, not as a curiosity, but because the collection of this information can contribute to the understanding of proveniences. Many architectural pieces from the Temple of Athena at Ilion have been recognized among the stones in the old Turkish burying grounds within a radius of 3 km. from its site. The sculptured metopes are most easily traced, and not unnaturally they have been most coveted. Within the last 105 years they have travelled from the site or the burial grounds to 'Thymbra Farm', Çanak Kale, and Berlin (Calvert), to Athens and Berlin (Schliemann), and to Istanbul. One metope of the temple, that in Istanbul, is thought to have been brought from Pınarbaşı 8 km. from Ilion (above, pp. 146 f.). This may be erroneous, or at least the metope seen at Pınarbaşı by the travellers may be a different one from that in Istanbul; but in any case inscriptions of Ilion have been copied at Pınarbaşı, and we saw a relief in the Halileli burial ground that seems to belong to the same series as one noted by Hunt at Pınarbaşı (p. 70). We are inclined to think that a systematic study of the stones in all the different old burial grounds of the Trojan Plain and its environs might result in the identification of quite a number of ancient buildings; and

if we are right in supposing that the Dümrek dedelik for instance has a somewhat different range of stones from the Halileli and Ciplak * ones, it might also help to indicate where some of the buildings stood. Inscriptions of Ilion have also travelled widely, not least to Çanak Kale, France, and England. One large one (above, p. 64, below, p. 395, no. 1), which was examined by more travellers than I can count in the Halileli burying ground between 1785 (Lechevalier) and 1843 (Chenavard), was removed thence by Calvert, not to Çanak Kale where his main collection was, but to the family house at Erenköy; it still survives, though apparently in a different part of the village. Among muchtravelled stones we may cite the Doric frieze block which was recently brought to Yeniköy from the ruins of Yenisehir* (above, p. 167); this probably reached Yenisehir from Ilion, whether directly or by way of an old burial ground, and lettering at the joints suggests that the building to which it belonged had been erected more than once in antiquity. A much used stone is an altar that carried in turn a dedication to the Samothracian Gods, an honorific decree of the Ilian confederation, and a dedication of Diocletian and Maximian, which was copied at Yalova (near the ancient Sestos) in the Chersonese.¹

The site of Alexandria Troas has been thoroughly rifled. Much has been shipped away; and handsome carved and inscribed stones have travelled into the countryside. In the past, sarcophagi and statue bases were taken to serve as fountain basins and mortars in villages up to 20 km. away (for details see above, p. 201). But carved and inscribed blocks also found their way to many neighbouring villages for the adornment of mosques and to serve as gravestones. The limits of their travel by land seem to be Yerkesik in the north, Ezine and Marmat on the east, and Tuzla or Kulahli* to the south. Yerkesik is within shorter hauling distance of Ilion; but Hasan Pasa*, who built the tower there, was particularly engaged in the demolition of Alexandria Troas. Among stones that presumably belong to Alexandria Troas may be mentioned the epitaph of a gladiator at Firanli* (p. 408, no. 43), which Paton (perhaps erroneously) believed to have been copied in Tenedos and which has been removed to Ezine since we saw it in 1959 (finally in Çanak Kale museum in 1971 with Ezine as its stated provenience), and a base with two Latin inscriptions which seem to have been copied in turn at Kocali*, Kum Kale, and in England (above, p. 208); this base had already lost the record of its provenience before leaving Turkish shores and is alleged to have come from Bayramiç. A sarcophagus seen at Kum Kale 150 years ago recently crossed the plain to Kum Kale Köy (above, p. 67); it is taken, surprisingly, as proving the existence of a guild of coppersmiths at Sigeum, but it seems to have come from Alexandria

¹ See J. and L. Robert, *RÉG* lxxvii (1964), 188 f.

Troas.¹ Stones of value were also taken to Çanak Kale from the villages, including an inscription which was reported to have been brought from Kalafat but had been copied by Spratt at Kulahli *.

Behram Köy has its stones from the site of Assos. One decree of the city was noted by Sterrett in a fountain below Pasakoy* in 1881-3.² We have not attempted to trace stones from the site; but there should be some further afield, because Bacon said in 1904 that camels bringing valonia to the iskele there used to return home with a couple of ancient blocks.³ Kulahli and its surroundings have a few stones from the Smintheum, and Koca Köy (Araplar) has one; and there is some material in Bayramiç from the site of Scepsis, mostly brought many years ago. For the rest, ancient worked stones are relatively rare. Of those that we have seen in the villages many were brought to their present position too long ago for any memory to survive. But we have over a dozen instances in which the precise find-spot is still remembered; and in no case is it more than 2-3 km. away or outside the territory of the village. Thus, so long as we are not dealing with the spoils of the great Hellenistic-Roman city sites, which served as free-for-alls, there is a fair probability that carved and inscribed stones seen in the villages have come to light near at hand. This is a conclusion of some importance when we consider the distribution of remains of late Roman and Early Christian buildings.

Ancient stones have a fair chance of survival in the old Turkish cemeteries or when incorporated in substantial buildings such as mosques, though since 1959 the demolition of many village mosques in favour of big new ones has set some of them loose again; and quite a number of the fountain basins and village mortars whose inscriptions were copied over 100 years ago are still extant. But stones less securely placed move about and disappear rapidly. We have not often revisited inscriptions that we have copied; but the experience that we have suggests a formidably high disappearance rate. Several stones that we missed were said to have been removed to places of reputedly greater security; but three that we saw in 1959 were no longer to be found, and two of them were not even remembered by the people on the spot.

3 Ancient Roads

Ancient roadways do not readily catch the eye in the Troad, and we have not been at any pains to search for them. The one whose course is

¹ Handsome sarcophagi in Kum Kale, which had been brought there from Alexandria Troas, were mentioned by Napier (*United Service Journal* 1840, Third Part, 51).

² *Papers American School Athens* i (1882-3), 49, no. 25.

³ See in E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlix (1924), 150.

nearest to being known is the Roman highway of the Tabula Peuteringiana. This is seen at the bridge in the Tuzla plain (above, pp. 225 f.) and the cutting on the shore at the foot of the Antandrus hill. North of the Smintheum its course was perhaps set by the old Mitylenaeian carriage road which seems to have begun under Hamaxitus (pp. 233 f.). Its position also seems clear, if not actually visible, at the iskele under Tavakli *. Between Alexandria Troas and Ilium the length of the road is given as M.P. xvi; and if that is correct the road must have run virtually in a straight line, to judge by the distance on the modern maps. I have argued above (pp. 252 ff.) that between Assos and Gargara the Roman road cannot have passed south of the Kozlu Dag*. In any case, as a route from Ilium to Gargara and beyond the road will have been very circuitous, and it is difficult to believe that those travelling light would not normally have cut across inland on the easy line Bergaz-Akçin Çay-plain of Ayvacik*. From Abydos of course there was a cross-country pack-route to Antandrus, passing presumably by Scepsis and west of the peaks of the Kaz Dag (above, pp. 289 f.); I have suggested that this can still be recognized in the sector north of the Kayali* Dag. Apart from this we have only noted ancient roadways in the immediate vicinity of ancient settlements, the most extended being the approaches to Gergis from the south and perhaps to Cebren on the north-east. We have not noticed Koldewey's ancient road north of the Neandria site, or that between Kemalli* Köy and Alexandria Troas which Schliemann reported as being particularly well preserved.¹ The Roman milestone at the Türkmenli road coffee-house could be on the line of a road joining Scepsis to Alexandria Troas (below, p. 396, no. 6).

The route taken by Xerxes when he crossed the Troad on his way from Sardis to the Dardanelles in 480 B.C. is an enigma. Herodotus speaks of him passing (*παρὰ τοῦ Ἰδίου*) Adramyttion and Antandrus and proceeding with Mt. Ida on his left hand (vii. 42). This has led scholars to suppose that he crossed the Kaz Dag east of the high peaks to descend to the upper Scamander valley; and the rock cutting of the 'Portai' has been plausibly attributed to his crossing (above, p. 306 n. 1). At the same time, if he is speaking precisely, Herodotus should mean that Xerxes passed Antandrus itself, and in that case he must have continued along the coast with the massif of the Kaz Dag on his right. We should accept the crossing by the 'Portai' if there seemed to be a suitable route. But so far as we can judge, it would involve a climb of at least 1,250 m. on steep paths, whereas the route by Antandrus and the crossing under the Koca Kaya (Old Gargara) the route of the modern main road and of travellers since des Mouceaux in 1668 is in general much easier and involves a climb of only 300-400 m. We consequently

1Troja (1884), 341.

feel serious doubt whether Xerxes can have crossed by the 'Portai', and are inclined to think that if the Mt. Ida on the left represents any genuine piece of information it must mean the Cigri * Dag*. But of course it is likely that Xerxes had more than one column of march here.

The Roman bridge over the Tuzla Çay north of the Smintheum is long as well as massive. But this was a matter of choice; the modern road skirts the inner edge of the plain and requires no such bridge, and the bridge over the same river under Assos was much shorter as well as narrower. Apart from this, the Scamander is the only river of the Troad that demands substantial bridges. Below the point where the main headstreams unite there are eight bridges over it at the present day. The highest, the Çatal Agil* bridge, has a ruined predecessor beside it, but it is not ancient. The next four (Hadimoglu's*, which leads across to gardens, the one on the road north from Bayramiç, the Ahmetçeli bridge, and that leading from Ezine to Marmat) seem to have had no predecessors. The Garlic Bridge has long been a main crossing; and the old structure drawn by Wood in 1750 and remarked as Roman by Napier in 1839 seems to have had ancient piers (above, p. 272 n. 1); it would have served the needs of Roman and Christian Scamandria. Of the two bridges in the Trojan Plain the new one near Kum Kale had a wooden predecessor 100 m. long (apparently with no talk of anything ancient) in the days of the travellers and into living memory. It was the only bridge crossing the Menderes in the plain in the nineteenth century. But Wood in 1750 saw and sketched a restored bridge with arched piers which he took to be ancient; the second plate in his printed account of the Troad¹ speaks of it as 'the ancient bridge below Bornabaschi', but on his map it is nearly half-way between Pinarbasi* and Kum Kale. This could possibly be a misplaced predecessor of the Pinarbasi bridge; but the position seems rather to be in the vicinity of the present-day ford of Kalafat where we should expect the Roman road to have crossed the Scamander.² There were of course a number of smaller stone bridges spanning the lesser streams and secondary beds in the Trojan Plain.³ Lechevalier and Napier make the remains of one span the Menderes by the confluence with the old Pinarbasi Su; Kauffer and Spratt, however, mark it on the tributary, and that has general support from the observations of travellers (above p. 165).

1 In *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (1775), 305 ff.

2 For the short route across the plain here, with its protecting sand bank and embankment, see Virchow, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas* (1880), 116 f., 107. Above, pp. 105 f.

3 Cf. Spratt's map and Forchhammer (*Journal Royal Geogr. Society* xii (1842), 40), and Virchow (op. cit. 118 and 109). We have been told in several places that there is no old bridge on the Menderes in the Plain of Troy; but we have heard of one on the Kalafat Azmagi* near the old Kum Köy and one at the Batak south of Dikeli Tas* (above, p. 122 n. 1).

Two unusually interesting finds have very recently been made in the vicinity of the Scamander crossings and are published by Zafer Tasliklioglu * in his recent work *Trakya'da Epigrafiya Arastirmalari** ii (1971). By the Boyaci* Bridge (above, p. 165) a classicizing relief with a stag-hunt at a river ford has come to light (op. cit. figs. 151-2); and a parapet-like relief with a sacrifice, dedicated to the River Scamander by a Roman *curator*, has been retrieved from the river somewhere apparently between Ezine and the Garlic Bridge (op. cit. figs. 130-2). (I take the opportunity to mention here what else relates to the Troad in the work referred to. Photographs of the Scamander are given, as well as of Gulpinar*, Behram Köy, and Kursunlu*, and objects that have newly reached the Çanak Kale museum are published: the latter include inscriptions, both old and new, from Dardanos, Ilion, Assos, and above all Scepsis (notably a decree of isopolity with Parion, op. cit. 204 ff.), a votive relief to Asklepios from Kemalli* Köy (op. cit. figs. 133-4), and a number of votive and funerary reliefs from Ilion.)

4

Earthquakes

Earthquakes are not so common in the Troad as they are a degree or so further south. Schliemann believed that there was evidence for one in Troy II,¹ and the end of Troy VI is now attributed to another.² A family was killed at Ophryneion in the collapse of a house in the fourth century B.C.;³ and Schliemann attributed to an earthquake the felling of a row of Corinthian columns south of the citadel in Troy IX;⁴ Philostratus also speaks of earthquakes on the Hellespont in the time of Domitian.⁵ I have not attempted any systematic collection of the evidence. But I have noted only four mentions of earthquakes in modern times: in the seventeenth century, when the springs are said to have dried up for ten years at the Kaplica*;⁶ in the winter of 1809-10, when parts of the baths at Alexandria Troas collapsed;⁷ in 1861 (Tozer, according to Virchow); and a tremor at Troy in 1882 (Schliemann). We have not heard of any in recent years, and are unaware of the evidence for Blegen's statement (loc. cit.) that seismic disturbances are of frequent occurrence in the Troad.

¹*Illos* (1880), 21.

² Cf. Blegen, *Troy* iii (1953), 331. Strabo also speaks of one reaching as far north as the Troad in the time of Tantalus (i. 58).

³ Demosth. xxxii. 20.

⁴*Troja* (1884), 26.

⁵*Vita Ap. Tyan.* vi. 41.

⁶ Lechevalier, *Description of the Plain of Troy* (1791), 7. Schliemann tells a similar story of the Tuzla (his text gives `Tongla') springs on the authority of Calvert (*Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie* (1869), 200), but perhaps there is a confusion with the Kaplica.

⁷ Broughton, *Travels in Albania* (1855), ii. 85 f.

12

New Inscriptions

G.E. Bean

The following inscriptions were mostly discovered, or rediscovered, by Cook and me in 1959; to these a dozen were later added by Cook in the course of subsequent journeys in the Troad. These latter I have not myself seen, and know them only from Cook's copies and photographs. Few of the texts are earlier than the Roman Empire, and a general impression is received of the strong and wide influence of the Roman colony of Alexandria Troas, on whose territory Latin is, as usual, almost as common as Greek. In the discussion of these inscriptions, especially the Latin, I have to acknowledge the friendly advice of Professor H. G. Pflaum.

1. In Erenköy we saw the inscription published in *CIG* 3616 and *IGR* iv. 216 with faulty line-divisions, and in the case of *IGR* with the omission of one line. The line-division proves to be normal. In lines 11-12 the words

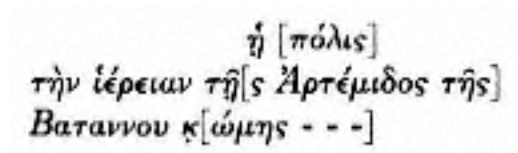
καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πάντας are omitted in *IGR*; in *CIG* τοὺς only is omitted.

2. Akcapinar *, at the well called Yeni Kuyu about 1 km. west of the village, a marble block broken on the right, 0·24h, 0·87w, 0·48th. Letters 27 mm. high. From copy and photograph by Cook, PLATE 66.

vacat ? Η - - - -
τὴν ἱέρειαν ΤΗ - - - -
ΒΑΤΑΝΝΟΥΚ - - -

Line 3. The first eight letters are clear; after them, apparently K. The name *Βαταννου* seems to be quite unknown; in the context we should expect it to be a part of the deity's name or title, and I have wondered accordingly if it may possibly be set beside *CIG* ii. Add. 3695e, the dedication of a temple *Ἀρτέμιδι Σεβαστῇ Βαιανῇ*, copied by Kiepert at the village of Büyük Tepeköy (now Etili), 30 km. north-east of Bayramiç. The epithet *Βαιανῇ*, despite Boeckh's explanation, is undoubtedly surprising. Nevertheless, the suggestion of a faulty copy would not be justified if it were not that the stone is now in the Çanakkale museum;

a hole pierced in it has partly destroyed the word in question, so that all that can be read is ΒΑΙ. . ΝΗ (see the photograph PLATE 72). The hole may not, of course, have been there when Kiepert made his copy, and the reading ΒΑΙΙΑΝΗ may have been clear; but *in the present condition of the stone* a reading Βατ[αν]νη would be very possible.¹ If it might be accepted, our present text might be restored something after this fashion:



I need not add that this suggestion is made with all possible reserve; Cook read Βατάν(α)ν ὁ νύ[ος] αὐτῆς .

3. We give (PLATE 68) a photograph of the inscription Dessau 7191 at Üvecik. In line 4, the name *Iobacchum* has for lack of space been written with the H inside the C, and VM in ligature. In line 6, before IDIO, enough survives to suggest [Au]fidio; the name is also found on an unpublished inscription in Bayramiç (above, p. 308 n. 3.).

4. In Ezine we collated the text concerning St. Tryphon published in Grégoire, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie mineure*, No. 2. In 1959 the stone was lying in a builder's yard, where it seemed unlikely to survive much longer. In line 11 we read βοήθησον ὑμῖν rather than ἱμῖν , but in any case ἡμῖν is certainly intended.

5. Ezine, lying in the street, a column-base re-used as a well-head, broken in several pieces. On the plinth, which measures 0·87 by 0·24 m., are two olive crowns each containing the word ΧΡΥΣΩ in Hellenistic letters. With this we may compare a block in the Çanakkale museum 0·29h, 0·40w, 0·13th with a shallow sinking on top; on the narrow end is written ὁ δῆμος | ὁ Μηθυμναίων and below, in a crown, ΧΡΥ|ΣΩΙ .

It appears that the stone at Ezine was not originally a column-base, but had been recut.

6. Türkmenli, on the road from Ezine to Bayramiç, at the coffee-house on the main road, a granite column more than 1·12h, 0·28 in diameter, roughly inscribed in characters 5 cm. high.



I give what we seemed to read, without understanding it, because the stone appears to be a milestone recording 15 miles, presumably on the

¹ The semblance of a triangular letter before the nu is certainly illusory; it is too close to the nu and is not properly aligned.

road from Alexandria Troas to Scepsis. From its present position (which is not, of course, original) the distance to Alexandria is about 18 English miles, and to Scepsis over 13.

7. Sariduzu *, a few miles south of Türkmenli, found in the neighbourhood and now at the house of Halil Kurnaz, an altar 0·61h, 0·20w, 0·155th, with plain moulding at top and bottom; badly worn relief showing a seated man and in front of him what seems to be another human figure, apparently offering him some indistinct object. Inscription above the relief, with line 1 on the upper moulding. Photograph, PLATE 71.

----- ΚΡΑΙΙΟ -----
Πρόκλος ἡδ' Ἀπόλαυστος
παῖδες πατρὶ φίλῳ
γαμετῇ καὶ Ὀνησίῳ ἀκοίτῃ

Metrical epitaph comprising two hexameters.

Line 1. Apparently [τῷ δεῖνι - -]κρατίο[υ] , or *Κρατίο[υ]* .

8. Sariduzu, at the house of Osman Darici*, a solid block 0·50h, 0·43w, 0·37th, with slight moulding at top and bottom. Upper and lower surfaces plain. On the front an olive wreath on the right and a circular object (mirror?) on the left. Inscription above in letters 15 to 23 mm. high.

Πέλεια
Ἀπολλοδώρου
χαῖρε
 In the wreath: *θαλ-*
λοῦ

The name Peleia, 'dove', is very rare (Bechtel, *HP* 591).

9. Marmat, north-east of Ezine, from the fields near the bridge on the Ezine road, upper half of a granite column-shaft 0·94h, 0·33 in diameter; the stone at present supports the porch of a yard, and the left half of the bottom line could not be cleared. Photograph, PLATE 67.

Γ. Μάρκιος
Σεκοῦνδος
καὶ Δεκία Στατι-
[λία - -] ΠΙΣΤΟ

Line 4. [ῆ] πιστο[τάτη γυνή] *vel sim.*

10. Marmat, in an open space at the west end of the village, a granite sarcophagus of which the upper part has apparently been cut away; original provenience not known to the villagers. Inscription in the lower

half of a tabula ansata, in letters 32 mm. high. Published *CIG* 3592 from a fairly accurate copy, but not understood. The provenience is there given as Alexandria Troas. Photographs, PLATE 66.

 [- - ἀποτεῖσει τῷ προ]-
 νοῦντι τῆς σοροῦ φορ-
 τηγίῳ τοῦ ἐμπο-
 ρίου * ,βφ'

The fine (for violation of the tomb) is to be paid to `the guild of φορτηγοί which has charge of the sarcophagus'. The dead man was no doubt himself a φορτηγός, and committed his tomb to the care of his union. For this practice see especially the inscriptions of Hierapolis; for example, *Altertümer von Hierapolis* 128, No. 195, προνοήσῃ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς σοροῦ ἢ ἐ[ργασία] τῶν βαφέων, and Judeich's note. For the same practice in the Troad see *CIG* 3639 Add. p. 1130, here quoted above, p. 67 n. 3.

A guild of φορτηγοί is known also at Smyrna; for this, and for these guilds in general, see Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor* 841 ff. There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of φορτηγός: in the inscription from Smyrna *IGR* iv. 1414 it is taken to mean `porter'; in LSJ this meaning is not recognized, but only `merchant'. Both classes would be at home in an ἐμπόριον, and both had their guilds, σακκοφόροι at Cyzicus, ναύκληροι καὶ ἐργασταί at Chios (Broughton loc. cit.). The emporium was no doubt at Alexandria Troas, where it seems that our sarcophagus originally stood. LSJ *Supplement* (1968) has a new article under φορτηγός.

The word φορτήγιον is apparently ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. It should denote primarily the hall in which the society met, then the society itself.

11. Kizilkoy *, south-east of Ezine, in a yard, five fragments of a white marble slab, said to come from the Roman site at Kostak Tepe to the north-west. Letters 19 (line 1) and 12 (line 2) cm. high.

(a)

(b)

two joining fragments

three joining fragments

CC

FA

ETERA

FRETENSIS

We have to all appearance:

CO - - c. 4 - - FA

[v]etera[nus leg. X] Fretensis

In the upper line, apparently CO rather than CC.

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11a. On the back of No. 11, part (b); letters 5 to 8 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 67.

† K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ[ι τῷ σῶ δούλ]-
 ω Θεοφ[ίλω? καὶ τῷ]
 κλήρῳ - - - - -
 [κ]αὶ ΠΟΛΥ - - - -
 ΩΤΩ - - - - -
 ΜΚΕΤC - - - - -

12. At a spot called Akkoyyakasi *, on the road from Ezine to Akköy, built into a wayside fountain, two marble fragments each preserving the bottom edge, inscribed in letters 7·5 to 9 cm. high.

(a) - - - - VII · C - - -
 - - - AEF C - - -
 - - - ARBI - - - -
 (b) - - - IO vacat

In (a) we seem to have [leg.] VII C[laudia - - - pr]aef. c[ohortis- -] arbi[tratus? - - -]

13. Bayramiç, said to have been brought from Kursunlu* (Scepsis) about 1951, now at the shop of Y. Duman in Yanik* Kule Sokagi*, a fragment of a limestone stele now 0·26h, 0·26w, 0·105th; left edge only preserved. Letters 9 mm. high. Photograph, PLATE 70.

ΔΙ - - - - -
 ΜΟΝ - - - - -
 ΣΙΝΔΕΛ - - - - -
 καὶ ἐκγόν[οις - - - - -]
 5 ΚΤΑΙΓΕΝΗΜ - - - - -
 καὶ καταχωρί[σ - - - - - τοὺς πρυ]-
 τάνεις καὶ το[- - - - -]
 ΘΗΝΑΙ καὶ ΚΑΤΑΙ - - - - -
 ΠΑΣ καθάπερ ὁ τα[μίας? - - - - -]
 10 καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς - - - - -
 αἱ τε ἐπιστολ[αὶ - - - - -]
 γραφῇ εἰς στ[ήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀνατεθῇ εἰς τὸ]
 ἱερ[ὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς?]

This inscription and the following make a modest but welcome addition to the scanty epigraphy of Scepsis. We have evidently a fragment of a decree of proxenia and/or euergesia, dating apparently after rather than before the period of incorporation in Alexandria. The verb *καταχωρίζειν* in line 6 suggests assignment of the honorand to a tribe,¹ that is a grant of citizenship. His descendants (line 4) are included in the honours.

¹ As in the Scepsian proxy-decree published in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (Festschrift H. Kiepert, 1898), 225. For inscriptions of Scepsis see also p. 394.

Line 13. The sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis of Scepsis was standing in 399, when Dercyllidas made sacrifice there (Xen. *HG* iii. 1. 21), and in it was deposited the important document *OGI* 6 conferring honours on Antigonos. The mention of 'letters' in line 11 suggests that our inscription too may have been concerned with the kings or their generals, but the narrative portion is totally lost.

14. Bayramiç, from Kursunlu * (as with No. 13), a marble slab broken at the bottom, 0·325h, 0·535w, 0·14th, quite plain. Cramp-hole in upper surface at left end. Letters 21 mm. high. Photograph, PLATE 69.

Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέριον
 Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Γερ-
 μανικόν, τὸν εὐεργέτην
 [κα]ὶ σωτήρα τοῦ συμπάντος (sic)
 [ἀνθρώ]πων γένους

Claudius' titles are irregular in the addition of *Αὐτοκράτωρ* and the omission of *Σεβαστός*. Both irregularities are paralleled, and in fact numerous variations in the titulature are found.

In line 3 it seems that the lapicide, after writing *ΣΥΠΛ*, observed that he had omitted M, then wrote it forthwith and completed the word without erasing *ΠΛ*. We cannot suppose a confusion of *σύμπαντος* and *πύμπαντος*, as the latter word has no authority.

15. Bayramiç, in a yard near the primary school, said to have been brought to Bayramiç from an unknown source early in the present century and built into an oven which was recently dismantled, a marble slab 0·47h, 1·61w, 0·11th. Letters 5·5 cm. high, decreasing to 3 cm.

Sex. Terentio Maximo et
 Caesiae C. f. Secundae uxori et
 Terentiae Sex. f. Maximae fil(iae) et
 Sex. Terentio Sex. f. Caesiano fil(io) et
 C. Caesio Sex. f. Terentiano fil(io) ex
 testamento Sex. Terenti Maximi
 h · m · h · n · s

The use of Latin suggests that the stone comes from the territory of Alexandria Troas.

The name Terentius Maximus is not unknown in the east; see *PIR* T 60, 61. Terentius' son C. Caesius presumably came to him with his wife Caesia Secunda.

Line 7. h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredes) n(on) s(equetur).

16. Zeytinli, to the north-west of Bayramiç, brought from the Roman site 2 km. to the south, a rough limestone stele broken in two, 0·65h, 0·44w, 0·11th. On the upper portion, poorly written (PLATE 68),

Iulius
Hesy-
chus
[D]exter

Presumably a tombstone. HE and TE are written in ligature.

17. Çatalçam, north of Bayramiç, from Asmalı * Dere a bare hour to the west of the village, three fragments of a long block 0·10h, 0·23th, perhaps a chancel screen rather than a lintel. (a) and (b) are in a private house on the west of the village, (c) is at the mosque. Letters 53 mm. high. Photographs, PLATE 70.

(a) (b) (c)
†ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον | τοῦτο κ(αὶ) ΛΑΡΕΥ | ΓΟΤς Πατρικίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)

It was not possible to bring the pieces together, but it seems that (a) and (b) join. Whether (b) and (c) do so too is less clear. Cook noted that the last letter of (b) appeared to be upsilon, and the stroke at the left end of (c) could well be the top of that letter; but the resulting ΛΑΡΕΥΓΟΤς is unintelligible to us. Nor is the situation much better if we suppose a gap between (b) and (c). - - ΓΟΤ might then be an abbreviated superlative or title of some kind, with ἐπὶ τοῦ preceding, but no suitable word occurs to me, and ΛΑΡΕΥ remains as baffling as ever.

18. Karincali* (Gergis), by the roadside about 1 km. south of the city site, a marble slab from a grave-cist, 0·90h, 1·92w, 0·12th, inscribed on the inner face. Average height of letters 6 cm. From copy and photograph (PLATE 69) by Cook.

Διφίλο: Προθόξο:
Κεβρηνίο

This is the earliest inscription we have found in the Troad. The copy has ΓΡΟΘΟΞΟ, and the photograph seems at first sight to confirm this, but the form is hardly explicable. I have not myself seen the stone, but I fancy that in reality the long tail of the digamma is crossed by an accidental curved line on the stone.

Placing the inscription on the inside of the cist appears to have been regular practice at Cebren; see above, p. 333.

19. Bergaz, in the village, a block with upper moulding 0·36h, 0·63w,

0·54th, forming the upper member of a statue-base. Letters 5 cm. high in line 1, 3·75 cm. in line 2. Photograph, PLATE 69.

Iuliae Imp. Caes.
Augusti filiae d.d.

Julia accompanied her husband Agrippa to the east (16-13 B.C.), where numerous inscriptions in her honour have been found both in the islands and on the mainland of Asia; see *PIR*2 i. 634.

20. Bergaz, in the village, a large block used as a dibektasi *.

Constant - -
Aug.

21. Bergaz, in the village, fragment from the side of a marble sarcophagus with Gorgons' heads and Erotes in relief. In a tabula ansata (PLATE 69):

δώσει εἰς τὸ
ταμεῖον τὸ
δήμου Ῥωμαίων

(blurry) * ,ε

L. Robert, *Hellenica* xiii. 211, attacking the restoration by J.M.R. Cormack of an inscription at Aphrodisias, [τῷ ταμεῖῳ τοῦ] δήμου Ῥωμαίων, observes: `Le ταμεῖον n'appartient pas au Peuple Romain, mais à l'empereur . . . ; il est le "fisc", transcrit aussi en grec'. It appears from our present text that exceptions must be admitted to this statement at least that ταμεῖον might occasionally be substituted for the normal αἰράριον. Robert observes further: `En tout cas, il ne faut jamais l'article, mais δήμου Ῥωμαίων'. This is evidently directed against Cormack's [τοῦ] δήμου; the repetition of τό, as in our text, is presumably less objectionable, though still unusual.

The beginning of the text was no doubt on the lid, now lost.

22. At a spot called Kapiagzi*, a mile west of Bergaz, lying in a field, a marble block 0·20h, 1·47w, 0·89th, apparently a lintel-block. Letters 3 to 4 cm. high.

† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἰωάννου ἀναγνόστου

The word εὐχῆς is divided by a large cross, and ἀναγνόστου by a small square hole. Building-foundations, no doubt of a church, extend some distance to the west, with numerous granite columns and a fragment of an Ionic capital.

23. Geyikli, in an outer wall of the house of Serif* Ahmet Dereköylü (in 1959), a fragment 0·79h, 0·35w, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 14 to 18 mm. high, larger in line 1.

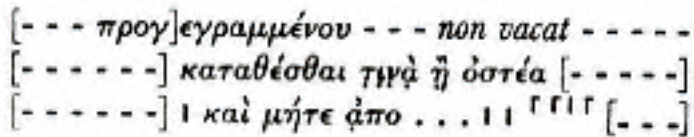
----- N ---
 --vac. FRO --
 --- PIL LEG --
 -- B IVCVNI --
 ---- LIS do --

Line 2. *Fro[ntoni]*?

Line 3. [*primi*]*pil(ari)*.

Line 5. Probably not *do[nato]*, since the inscription appears not to continue beyond this line.

24. Geyikli, in the door of the karakol, much worn by the tread of feet, a block broken on all sides, 0·23h, 0·96w, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 4 cm. high. Said to have been brought from Alexandria Troas.



[- - - προγ]εγραμμένου - - - non vacat - - - -
 [- - - - -] καταθέσθαι γιγὰ ἧ ὁστέα [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ἰ καὶ μήτε ἀπο . . . ἰ ἰ ἰ ἰ ἰ [- - -]

Compare *CIG* 3582 (= *IGR* iv. 246) and 3591 (the latter also from Geyikli) which are similar both in content and in the style of the script. Line 3 seems to be a curse on the violator of the tomb; perhaps καὶ μήτε ἀπό[λαυ]σις?

24a. The milestone republished and discussed by A.J. Reinach in *Rev. épigr.* i (1913), 309-11 is still in the cemetery at Geyikli; our copy serves only to confirm that of M. Reinach. In line 10, NOVILISSIMICAESS, if NOV is indeed, as M.

Reinach supposes, a fragment of the Greek text, [Μαξιμια]νοῦ, it appears that it must have been left unerased to serve as the first syllable of *nobilissimia* curious piece of epigraphical parsimony.

The letter S is in all cases written backwards.

25. Alexandria Troas, among the ruins, a large base 1·45h, 0·66w, 0·66th. Inscription in letters 6 cm. high, badly worn away on the left.

[Matidiae]

MATIDIAE

[divae] Matidiae

O III

DIVAE

[Au]g. fili[ae], divae

AVG SORORI

[Sabinae] Aug. sorori,

VAE

[divi Ner]vae

ANI AVG

[Trai]ani Aug.

G

A ICI DACICI

G[erm]a[n]ici Dacici

PARTHICI

Parthici

D

D

d.

d.

A term of relationship, probably *consobrinae*, is missing at the end, overlooked either in the cutting or in the copying. The younger Matidia was

in fact the great-niece of Trajan; this particular relationship does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

26. Alexandria Troas, among the ruins close to the shore, in a wall beside the road, a block broken on the left, 0·33h, 0·60w, 0·62th, with three fasciae, forming the upper part of an altar. Letters 4·5 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 67.

[ἐπηκ]όω Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ
[χ]αριστήριον
--- ΤΥ ---

The surviving traces in line 3, evidently ΤΥ, presumably formed part of the dedicant's name.

26a. Kemalli *. The dedication to Nero, *CIL* iii. 382, republished by Reinach in *Rev. épigr.* i. 315, is still in the window of the mosque. Our copy confirms that of M. Reinach, except that in line 3, contrary to his confident assertion, we read *trib. pot. I* - -, not *trib. potest. II*. The point after *pot* (POT ·) seemed clear to us on the stone.

27. Kemalli, built in over a fountain, a small altar 0·33h, 0·34w, 0·25th, the left top corner broken away; the relief shows a goblet with fluted stem, bucranium, and sprigs of ivy. Inscription above and below the goblet in Hellenistic letters 11 mm. high. Photograph, PLATE 71.

ὁ φύσει υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
[·]αλλίστης Διονύσῳ
κατὰ πρόσταγμα

Line 2. It is unfortunate that the first letter is lost. In view of the Dionysiac character of the monument we are tempted to restore [Φ]αλλίστης, though the word does not seem to occur either as a proper name or as a common noun. Neither [Κ]αλλίστης nor [Β]αλλίστης, 'dancer', is an attractive alternative. The word, whatever it was, must be the man's name, which is otherwise lacking. He describes himself, rather surprisingly, as a natural son of Dionysus perhaps the offspring of a temple slave-woman?

This is one of the few pre-Imperial texts that we saw in the Troad. Its Hellenistic date is assured by the iota adscript, the short right-hand stroke of pi, and the general character of the script.

28. Kemalli, in the cemetery, a base broken at the bottom, chipped on the left, 0·57h, 0·39w, 0·33th, with plain moulding at the top. Letters 2 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 72.

[τὸ]ν σθεναρόν με Λυ-
[κ]ᾶν καθορᾶς, ὧ παρο-

[δ]εῖτα, πᾶλον πριῶτον
 [Γαλ]λικῶν μονομά-
 5 [χω]ν, δέκατον ΚΑΝ
 ... ΑΥ Ι Ι ΤΩΝ

Statue-base or tombstone or perhaps both of a gladiator.

The name **Λυκάς** is rare (*CIG* ii Add. 1957g), but normally formed as 'hypocoristic' of one of the numerous names beginning **Λυκ-**.

Line 4. A *ludus Gallicus* at Rome is mentioned in the *Notitia Urbis Romae* and the *Curiosum*, cf. Jordan-Hülse, *Topographie Roms* i. 3, pp. 298 f.1

Line 5. **δέκατον** perhaps indicates that it was Lycas' tenth fight which proved fatal, but for the rest I can make no plausible suggestion.

29. Kemalli * cemetery, in a wall, a fragment 0·30h, 1·12w, 0·135th. Letters 4·5 cm. high.

 [- - -] τὴν σορὸν εἰς αὐτῷ καὶ τ[- - - - -]
 [τῷ ἀπ]ελευθέρῳ· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος [τῶν μὴ]
 [προσ]ηκόντων νεκρὸν ἀλλότρ[ιον ἐπι]-
 [βαλεῖ -----]

The stone appears to belong to one side of a sarcophagus, and more may be missing than is restored here.

30. Kemalli cemetery, fragment of a sarcophagus with inscription in a tabula ansata. Photograph, PLATE 68.

καὶ Τιτανία
 Τελεσφορία τ(ῆ)
 μητρὶ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ

Hardly **τιμητῆ**. Both names are rare.

31. Kemalli cemetery, fragment of a marble slab, left edge only preserved, 0·32h, 0·82w, 0·14th. Letters 7 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 67.

ΙΩ - - - - -
 ἀραβάρχη καὶ [- - -]
 λίῳ ἡγουμε[ν - - - -]
 Παρθενοπα[- - - -]

For **ἀραβάρχης**, or **ἀλαβάρχης**, 'controller of taxes', originally a *conductor vectigalis* in Egypt, but occurring also in Greece and Asia, see Dittenberger's note on *OGI* 570. These men were always rich and often

1 I am indebted for this reference to Professor Pflaum.

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distinguished citizens, as for example M. Aurelius Mindius Pollio (*SEG* iv. 520). Alexandria Troas would be a likely centre for his activities.

32. Kemalli * cemetery, a block forming part of an epistyle 0·41h, 1·06w, 0·23th, all edges preserved. Letters 16 cm. high.

vacat IIvir quin[quennalis]

33. Kemalli cemetery, fragment of an epistyle block 0·21h, 0·65w, 0·31th; no edge preserved, but the inscription is complete at the top. Letters 12 cm. high.

- - TITIAO1 - -

Apparently Greek rather than Latin.

34. Kemalli cemetery, fragment of an epistyle block 0·29h, 0·53w, 0·19th. Letters 8·5 cm. high.

- - NI · DOM - -

35. Kemalli cemetery, fragment broken on all sides 0·27h, 0·40w, 0·24th. Letters 6 cm. high.

vacat LVGO - -
- - - VS POL - -

36. Kemalli cemetery, fragment complete only at the top. Letters 8·5 cm. high.

- - R · LIBERT - -
- - NIAE

37. Kemalli cemetery, fragment of a sarcophagus with relief of a ram's head. Inscription on the rim above.

[π]αγαρίστῳ

38. Kemalli cemetery, fragment inscribed in regular letters 5 cm. high.

[- - - τέ]κνοις μου καὶ [- - -]

39. In Kemalli village, lying loose in the street, we saw the stone published by Reinach in *Rev. épigr.* i. 315. As the stone was then built into a wall in front of the mosque, Reinach was unable to observe that it is inscribed also on the back.

- - - ΟΥΥΕ
- - - Ε *vac.*
- - - ΙΥΜ *vac.*
- - - ΡΙΑΝΙΕΤ

Line 1. Apparently -ο *Aug.*

40. Kemalli *, at the house of Serif* Ali Yaman (in 1959), a block 0·56h, more than 0·70w, thickness not ascertainable; the inscription seems complete at the top, broken on all other sides. Letters 17 cm. high in line 1, decreasing to 7 cm. below.

--- VERO ---
 -- SPAN ET NO --
 -- OVITINVEX --
 --- ER · INADM --

Line 2. *Cohors* or *ala Hispan(orum) et No[ricorum]*? But other interpretations are no doubt possible.

Line 3. [agn]ovit in vex[illationem] or something similar.

41. Kemalli, in the open space in front of the mosque, the right half of a stele with upper moulding, 1·35h, 0·37w, 0·16th. Letters 4 to 4·5 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 72.

[ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ
 [-----] ὉΤΕΒΑΛΗCΘ
 [-----] Ε leaf
 [-----] Ι βασιλῆς
 5 [-----] σ]φετέρῃφι
 [-----] ἐκάθηραν
 [-----] ἔργον ἀνυσσα
 [-----] ΑΓΘC ἔτευξε
 [-----] ΕΟΝΤΑ
 10 [-----] γ]ενεὴν Τύριος
 [-----] ΕΝΗC
 [-----] ΤΙΙΕΝΟΙΟ
 [-----] Ἑλλησπόντου

It seems scarcely possible to form much idea of the contents of this poem. The date is comparatively late, as xi has the form Ξ . We might imagine a reference to action by the Emperors (βασιλῆς) in clearing the Hellespont of pirates; but speculation is hardly profitable.

Line 2. There is a letter inside the final O, but not legible.

Line 7. There may be a letter missing at the end.

Line 8. [ᾗ]λγος ἔτευξε ?

Line 12. The third letter is not a gamma on the stone.

42. Kemalli, a fragment in the wall by the mosque, 0·20h, 0·50w.

[ἐνθά]δε κατάκτε
 [- - -]δωρος

42a. At Kemalli * the old cemetery has been ploughed for cultivation, and Reinach's 'Dis Manibus sacrum' inscription is reported (1971). Fragments of inscriptions have been noted in the village; arriving as we go to press, the texts are given here without study (see also p. 394): high up in a house wall

SEVERO · PERTINA
LEVS · LIB · SUBPROC
Hellesp]ONTIAE · TEPERGAMEIA[e?

and in the same wall

OSE
CO
RIB · MILI

43. Firanli*, seen by us in the courtyard of the mosque, but in 1969 removed and said to be in Ezine (and in 1971 in Çanak Kale museum, said to be from Ezine!), a marble base 0·58h, 0·45w, thickness not ascertainable; plain moulding at the top. Letters 15 to 20 mm. high, smaller in line 12. Below the text on the left is a dog, on the right seven palm fronds. Photograph, PLATE 71.

θαυμάζεις με θανόν-
τα τυχόν, φίλε, τὸν Αὐ-
τόλυκον. οὕτως πως
προλαβὼν, σῶσαι δὲ θέλω·
5 νικήσας ἔθανον παρὰ
μοῖραν. Σεβαστιανὴ Αὐ-
τολύκῳ μνείας χά-
ριν. εἴ τις δὲ μετα-
θῇ τὸν βωμὸν δώσει
10 εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον * βφ'.
χέρε παροδίτα
Ἐπιόδισ
dog 7 palms

This is the text published by Paton in *IG* xii. 2. 644 and republished with a commentary by L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* 223, No. 285. Paton had only a copy made by a Greek, X. Gorziatis, who saw the stone on the island of Tenedos; it was thought subsequently to have perished. Robert remarked with justice that it was unlikely to be a Tenedian inscription, but was more probably carried to the harbour of Tenedos from some point on the mainland coast. If so, it has now travelled back to the mainland; but its discovery at Firanli, some five miles from the coast, inspires doubts whether it was ever really in Tenedos. Paton's

information, however, seems to have been definite; he did not see the stone himself.

The previous text was faulty in several places: in line 3, *οὕτως ὅπως* ; line 4, *πρόλαβον ΣΘΑΙ δέ θέλω* ; line 8, *εἰ της* ; line 12, *ἐπιόδιε* .¹

Robert has the credit of perceiving that Autolycus was not a Christian martyr, as supposed by Paton, but a gladiator who died in the moment of victory, either from his wounds or from a treacherous stroke by his adversary. He suggested further that the animal at the bottom must be a dog rather than a donkey, and that the 'bunches of grapes' must be crowns; they are in fact the familiar palm-branches. But the rest of his commentary misses the mark. There is no lacuna in the copy, as he asserts, which might justify understanding *ΣΘΑΙ δέ θέλω* as 'je veux que tu le saches'; nor is his interpretation of *προλαβεῖν* as 'mourir le premier' well judged. The word means 'to get ahead' or 'gain an advantage'; with the new reading *σῶσαι* the situation is now clear. Autolycus had got the better of his opponent, but was generously willing to spare him; the opponent took advantage of this clemency to deal him a fatal blow. For similar cases see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 305-6. *θέλων* for *θέλω* would considerably improve the structure of the sentence, but whether or not intended it is not on the stone.

Line 12. *Ἐπιόδις* , i.e. *Ἐπιόδιος* , in smaller letters, is evidently the name of the dog, 'Roadster'. (Not, as previously understood, 'Rejoice, traveller, on your way'.) For dogs' names see Mentz in *Philologus* 1933.

44. In Kestambol, at the house of Ibrahim Ünlü, is the interesting stone published by A.J. Reinach, *Rev. épigr.* i. 323. The inscription is very legible except in line 1, which was wrongly read by Reinach; but we reproduce the whole text for its general interest.

ἄχραντε σταυρέ, τῶν κλεπτῶν ΑΝΤΕΙΚΑΙ
τύφλωσον κακουργῶν ὄνματα καὶ κραδίην.
αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὀλλοίουσι πάντας ἀνθρώπους,
ἀλλοτρίους καμάτους ἀφερούμενοι.
5 οὔτε τοῦ σοῦ βήματος ἐφίσαντο ὅλως.
δίξον τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν καὶ φόβον δινὸν μέγαν·
ποιήσον αὐτοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βήματος μολῖν,
ἐαυτοὺς ἐσθλίας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυνέκας

Line 1. *ἄχραντ' ἐστ' ἀρετῶν κ' ἐπὶ τῶν ΑΥΠΙΚ* Reinach. On the strength of this Grégoire proposed

ἄχραντε [ἐν]ἀρέτων κὲ πί(σ)των (sic), *[λ]ύπι κα[κῶν]* , i.e. 'Thou who leavest untouched the virtuous and faithful, scourge of the evil'. This ingenious suggestion proves to be wide of the mark. The last eight letters of this line are clearly legible, but we do not

¹ In line 4, *πρόλαβον* seems to be a wrong transcription by Paton of the copy, where the penultimate character was intended for an omega.

know what to make of them. The surface is blank after **ΚΑΙ. ἄντει** might possibly mean `confront', coming either from **ἄντομαι** (which, however, takes a dative) or from **ἄντειμι** (but no such verb is quoted); the resulting trimeter is hardly worse than some of the others. We feel no confidence in this, but have nothing better to offer. The chief gain of the new reading is the word **σταυρέ** ; for the Cross as victorious over **τὰ κακά** see Robert, *RÉG* 79. 346.

Line 4. [δι?] **ἀφερούμενοι** Reinach, unhappily. **ἀφερούμενοι** is of course for **ἀφαιρούμενοι** , `taking away (the fruits of) others' labours'. For this the malefactors are to be brought before the Lord's judgement-bema. For the **ὀργή** of God see Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii. 407.

The stone is said to have come from a spot called Aganin * Bagbasi* 1 km. to the south; that is, as Reinach says, on the road to Tavakli*.

45. Kestambol, outside the house of Hüseyin Özkan, a sarcophagus broken in pieces and rejoined to make a vat for *pekmez*; the two fragments of the inscription are stuck together with (a) on the right and (b) on the left. Letters 4 to 5.5 cm. high.

(a)	(b)
[Αὐρ.] Γελάσιος ἔθηκα	[τ]ὴν σορὸν ἐμαντ[ῶ]
[τε κ]αὶ τῇ συνβίῳ μο[υ]	Αὐρ. Καλλιόπῃ καὶ το[ῖς τέκ]-
[νοι]ς μου· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερ	[ο]ν νεκρὸν ἢ ὀστέα βάλῃ, δ[ώσ]-
<i>vacat</i>	ι τῷ [τ]αμίῳ * ,αφ'

46. Küçük Alamsah* cemetery, two fragments of the moulded base of a funeral monument. Letters 4 cm. high.

(a) εἰάν δέ τις ἀνοίξῃ ω - - -
 (b) νεκρὸν βάλῃ, δώ[σει κτλ.]

(a) Perhaps **ὦ[ν μὴ προσήκει]** *vel sim.*

47. Tavakli, high up and inaccessible in a wall of the house of Mustafa Sert (in 1959), marble block with upper moulding, broken on the left, probably complete on the right.

ANI SABINO	[<i>praenomen, nomen</i>] Ani(ensi) Sabino
LIBET SACERDOTI	[- - - - -]lib. et sacerdoti
ATO D D PISSIMO	[<i>dei nomen</i> exorn]ato d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) piissimo,
AEFIIVIR POT	[?Iivir. quinquennali, pr]aef(ecto) Iivir(ali) pot (estate),
LIB ORNAMENTI	[honorato decuriona]lib(us) ornamenti[s]
RORVMQ ETSI	[- - - - -]rorumq(ue) ETSI
RIPISSIMA F V	[- - - - - pat]ri piissima f(ilia) v(iva) [p(osuit)]

Line 2. Not, of course, *lib(erto)*. [*ornamentis decuriona*]*lib(us)* would fit well, but that the same phrase occurs in line 5 below.

Line 6, ? [*nomine suo libe*]*rorumq(ue)*.

48. Kösedere, built into a wall, fragmentary block c. 0·25h, 0·25w, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 2·5 cm. high.

P. Antistio - -
TELFESTON - -
.. ANN - - -

The inscription was in three lines only; how much is missing on the right is uncertain, but *P. Antistio . f. Ter. Festo* might be read.

49. Tuzla, in the floor of the now disused mosque, a slab of dark stone 0·88h, 0·68w, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 7 cm. high in line 1, decreasing to 4 cm. below. Photograph, PLATE 73.

T. Iunio C. f. Ani.
Montano
III vir. a.a.a.f.f., tri.
mil. leg. V. Mac.,  .
5 Ponti et Bithyniae,
tr. pl., pr., sodali Titio,
procos. provinc. Sicilia[e].
COS.
patrono coloniae
10 d. d.

This is undoubtedly the same T. Junius Montanus who was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 81 (*PIR2* Iunius 781). His grandfather, of the same name and tribe, is known from his epitaph at Emona (Ljubljana), *Ann. épigr.* 1938, 173. His career is one of moderate distinction. Service with *leg. V Macedonica* is likely to have been about A.D. 60, when the legion was still quartered at Oescus in Moesia. Subsequently he attained the consulship, surprisingly enough after a single praetorian command, the proconsulship of Sicily. It is further remarkable that all his posts are senatorial; it appears that for some reason Vespasian had no use for his services, whereas Titus in 81 did not oppose his election as consul.

Line 3. Cf. Pink, *Triumviri Monetales* (1952), 8.

Line 9. A *patronus coloniae* seems to occur at Alexandria Troas under Trajan (?), *CIL* iii. 384.

This inscription and the following were not seen by Schliemann, at the time of whose visit the floor of the mosque was presumably covered with carpets.

50. Tuzla, in the floor of the mosque, a slab similar to the last, 0·89h, 0·70w, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 9 cm. high in line 1, decreasing to 2·5 cm. below. Photograph, PLATE 73.

C. Fabricio C. f.
Ani. Tusco, II vir., augur.,
praef. cohort. Apulae et
operum quae in colonia iussu
5 Augusti facta sunt, trib. mil. leg. III
Cyr. VIII, trib. dilectus ingenuorum
quem Romae habuit Augustus et
Ti. Caesar, praef. fabr. IIII, praef. equit.
alae praet. IIII, hasta pura et corona
10 aurea donatus est a Germanico
Caesare imp. bello Germanico
d. d.

Pliny the Elder, *HN* book I, in his list of authorities, cites Fabricius Tuscus as one of his sources for books 3, 4, and 6. It is likely enough that this is the man whose equestrian cursus we have here; nothing appears to be known of him elsewhere. Apart from his municipal offices his career is military.

Line 3. A *cohors Apula* was not previously known, but has since reappeared in a fragmentary text at Side; see my *Inscriptions of Side*, No. 155. Such detail is unusual in a cursus dating as early as this.

Line 6. Eight years with *leg. III Cyrenaica* in Upper Egypt is a long time, but perhaps not altogether exceptional; the elder T. Junius Montanus served as *tribunus militum* and *praefectus equitum*, in each case for six years.

Lines 6-8. It is known that Augustus held levies of recruits in A.D. 6-7 and again in 9-10, though the present is the first mention of Tiberius in this connection. At the former date Tiberius was away from Rome, suppressing the revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia; the levy referred to in our text should accordingly be that of A.D. 9-10. This fits well with Fabricius' subsequent career: four years as *praefectus fabrum* would make him *praefectus equitum* about A.D. 13-17, and it is evidently in this latter capacity that he was decorated by Germanicus in Germany. It was in fact in the spring of A.D. 15 that Germanicus received the title of Imperator (Tac. *Ann.* i. 58. 5). The *ala praetoria* formed part of the army of Germania Inferior; the present seems to be the earliest mention of it.

Our inscription raises also the constitutional question of Tiberius' *imperium*, but this I must leave to the competent authorities.

51. Kulahli * (now officially Gulpinar*), brought from the Smintheum,

a marble block broken at the top and on the left, otherwise complete, 0·285h, 0·39w, 0·19th. Regular letters 3 cm. high. Photograph, PLATE 68.

 [ἱερασά]μενον Ἀπόλλω-
 νος Σμιν[θ]έος, ἵππῳ δημο-
 [σίῳ τετι]μημένον, ἱερέα
 [τῶν Σεβα]στῶν, τὸν ΠΡΟΣ
 [- - c. 8 - -]νον φλάμυνα

(blurry)

Line 5. ? προσ[ε]λημμέ[ν]ον = adlectum. For a *flamen* of Antoninus Pius at Alexandria Troas see *CIL* iii. 7071.

52. Kulahli *. The inscription published by Lolling from a copy by Koldewey (*Ath. Mitt.* 1884, p. 72) and reinterpreted by L. Robert (*Anat. Stud. Buckler* 246-8) is lying partly buried in a field close to the Smintheum. Koldewey's copy is confirmed as against the corrections proposed by Lolling and rejected by Robert. In line 4 the letters MIN of Σμίνθια are written in ligature with the M and N joined and the middle stroke prolonged upwards. In line 7 ὁδ[ν] , not υ[ἰωνόν] , is certain.

The obscurity remains in line 6, where the stone has ΚΡΙCΕΙ · Ὶ . The text reads:

[νεικ]ήσαντα παίδ[ων | Π]υθικῶν πάλη[ν | π]ανκράτιον Σμίνθια |
 Π[αύ]λεια ἰσοπύθια [e.g. β' | κα]τὰ τὸ ἐξῆς κρίσει Ὶ.

There is room for one letter after Ὶ . Robert showed (op. cit. 239-44) that κρίσις in agonistic inscriptions has the meaning 'age-category' (e.g. τὰς τρεῖς κρίσ[εις, παῖδα], ἀγένειον, ἄνδρα), and is sometimes defined by a numeral (e.g. κρίσεως α', δευτέρας κρίσεως) apparently designating a subdivision of a particular age-group. In the present case it hardly appears that this can be the explanation, because (1) the category of παῖδες is already subdivided by Πυθικῶν , and (2) what numeral could be represented by Ὶ? σ' = 200 is obviously absurd, nor is a correction to E attractive, since the form E is used throughout the inscription, and in any case even five subdivisions seems an improbably high figure. In the parallel text discussed by Robert, op. cit. 245, [κρί]σει is followed, according to Sterrett's copy, by the letters ΓΙΝΡ , which are no less obscure. Robert offers no explanation, apparently suspecting the copies (p. 248); this mistrust was in the present case at least unjustified. It seems that in these inscriptions κρίσει in the dative must be interpreted in some other fashion.

53. Kulahli, from the Smintheum, a block 0·225h, 0·40w, 0·26th, complete except on the right; a moulding at the top has been chiselled away. Very neat and regular letters 5 cm. high.

Ἀγάθων - - -

No doubt the personal name Agathon rather than ἀγαθῶν [δαιμόνων] .

54. Seen by us in 1959 lying in a field at a spot called Çelen Baglari * below the village of Kulahli* by the road to Tuzla, now in the main street of Kulahli opposite the hotel, a marble slab 0·57h, 1·10w, 0·22th, broken on the right, with moulding on all preserved sides. Letters 6·5cm. high in line 1, decreasing to 5 cm. below.

Q. Pellio Sever[o]
bis actionice hieronic[e]
ornamentis decurionalib[us] honorato d.d.

ἀκτιονίκης and *ἱερονίκης* are of course familiar in agonistic texts.

55. Kulahli, from the Smintheum, fragment of a pedimented stele 0·21h, 0·21w, 0·09th, broken on all sides. Letters 11 mm. high, larger in line 1.

[Imp. Caesar divi Septimi Severi Pii Arabici A]diab Parthici Max. Brit. [Max. filius, divi M. Aur. Antonini Germanici Sarm]atici nepos, divi Anton[ini]

[pronepos, divi Hadriani abnepos, divi Traian]i Parthici et divi Nervae ad-

[nepos, M. Aur. Antoninus Pius Felix Aug. Parth. M]ax., trib. pot. XV, imp. II, co[s. III],

5 [pater patriae, procos., splendidissimo populo C]ol. Aug. Troadens. [s.d.] [- - - - - o]b
religionem sanct[am] [- - - - - pr]ovinciae quam ICO - - - - -

We appear to have the beginning of a letter from Caracalla to the colony of Alexandria Troas. For the restoration *splendidissimo populo* cf. Dessau 7191 (No. 3 above). The date is A.D. 212; whether the letter may have any reference to the *constitutio Antoniniana* of that year the surviving fragment seems too scanty to determine.

56. Ayvacik*, in the yard of the primary school, a milestone 1·40h as now visible, 0·61 in diameter in the middle, the inscription wretchedly worn and illegible. Original provenience not known. Read from Cook's photographs. Photograph, PLATE 71.

Constantinum
(5 lines illegible)
7 Αὐρ. Οὐαλέριον
Μαξιμιανόν

10 ddnn. Impp.

Gal. Val. Ma[x]i[m.] et
M. Val. F. Constantino (*sic*)
DD . . VCIV. VRVILIV
FM SOFIAEΛIA - -
15 NERANO Imperatori
Aug.
ddnn. Imperatori(bus)
Fl. Val. - - - - -
et Fl. Vale. et Fl.
20 Theodosio
[in]victo PSSA

This milestone, like so many others, has been reinscribed a number of times, and evident traces are visible, especially around line 16, of at least one other inscription erased. The recognizable Emperors range from Maximian (lines 7-8, in Greek) to Theodosius, a span of some 100 years.

Line 12. *Constantino* is clear, but presumably Constantius is meant, with the names Flavius Valerius inverted.

Lines 13-15 are particularly obscure. Line 13 appears to begin with two D's written backwards (as in line 17), and to end with a name such as Urbilius (Urbilius), which is perhaps possible though not attested. *Sofiae* in line 14 is also clear, but equally obscure. In line 15 an I has perhaps been added above after R (unless it is part of an erased text), but NERIANO is no more intelligible. With *Imperatori Aug.* following, it should be the name of an Emperor; the only possibility that occurs to me is [Nu]meriano, but the first letter does not seem to be M, nor are the names elsewhere divided between lines.

In lines 18-19 we have apparently Valentinian and Valens; since Gratian is not mentioned, the date will be 364-7. Theodosius was then added afterwards in larger letters.¹

Line 21. A final problem is posed by the letters PSSA, which appear certain but are unintelligible to me.

The letter L has the familiar form , but the same character is apparently used also as a mark of abbreviation, e.g. in lines 17 and 19.

This milestone must have stood on the road which led round the coast of the Troad from Lampsacus to Troy, Assos, and Antandrus; it is unfortunate that its original position is not known, as otherwise it would give a clue to the line of the road in this region. The Peutinger Table gives 24 miles from Assos to Gargara; measured along the coast this figure is considerably too high, and the road is likely to have run inland, especially as the coast is steep and difficult for road-making, so that it

¹ The latter part of line 18 I cannot read. After VAL. we might read *et*, but Gratian is never, so far as I know, mentioned before Valens.

may have passed not far from Ayvacik *. It would be possible to imagine that M IX is written on our stone to the left of line 1, but it is a miserable scrawl, nor is this the normal place for the number of miles; if written at all, the figure should be on the lower part of the stone now buried.

57. Avcilar*, close to the site of Antandrus, in the yard of the house of Ferhat Altindag*, a white marble block recut as a Byzantine *thorakion* so that only the left edge of the inscribed face is preserved; 0·45h, 0·11w, 0·54th. Letters about 1 cm. high, but variable. Photograph, PLATE 67.

	Δικαι[- -]		Μεγάριστο[ς]
	[Ἡ]ρωίδ[ου].		Μεγαρίστ[ου].
	Δίφιλ[ος]		Διαγόρ[ας]
	Λευκίο[υ].		Τιμάνορ[ος].
5	Ποτάμω[υ]	15	Ἡρώδης
	Διοσκουρί[δου].		[? Αἰ]νιάδου.
	Με[γ]άριστ[ος]		Βαθύλος
	Πόσσιδο[ς].		[Χ]αρμίδου.
	Πυθαγόρα[ς]		[? Ἰ]ατρος
10	Ἑρμογένε[υς].	20	[Δ]ιφίλου.

The block, in its original form, was not a stele but apparently formed part of a wall or anta, perhaps of a temple. The ten names, with patronymics, were not carved all at one time, as is shown by the varying sizes of the letters; we have no doubt a list of officials entered year by year, very likely a list of priests of Antandrus. The style of the script, and the spelling *Λεύκιος*, suggest the first century A.D.; this Lucius is the only Roman name in the list.

Line 16. Probably [Αἰ]νιάδου or [Οἰ]νιάδου. Other names are possible, e.g. [Φα]νιάδου, [Ξε]νιάδου, but space is short for two full-sized letters.

58. Seen in 1959 at the village of Ada Tepe, west of Antandrus, now in the Çanakkale museum, a small white marble altar broken at the top and on the left, the upper surface hollowed out. Inscription on the upper part of the face; letters 2 cm. high in lines 1-2, 2·5 cm. in lines 3-4. Cited and illustrated in Cook, *Archaeology in Western Asia Minor* (1960). Photograph, PLATE 72.

[- - -]αρος
[Ἰ]ατρίαιος
[Α]στύθαιτα
Σκαμανδροφάεια

Apparently a funeral altar, perhaps of husband and wife. Lines 3-4 are in a different script from lines 1-2, and seem to have been added afterwards; neither part can well be later than the third century B.C.

Line 2. *Ἰατρίαιος* = *Ἰάτρου*. Patronymic adjectives are familiar in Aeolic; see especially *IG* xii Suppl. No. 127, from Eresus (*Λυσίαιος, Ανδρίαιος*, and many in *-εῖος*) and Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* 119-20. No doubt we have a similar case here, formed from the same name which occurs above in No. 57, line 19. The name in line 3 appears to be unexampled. For the second element in *Ἀστυθαῖα* we know of no parallel, nor do we understand its meaning. *Σκαμανδροφάεια*, though also unexampled, is normal enough; names in *-φάης* are familiar, and *Σκαμάνδριος* occurs, not unnaturally, a number of times in the Troad; see Robert, op. cit., 64 n. 5, quoting the present inscription (and evidently taking line 4 to be the patronymic), with other names in *-φάης*, and 66. *Σκαμάνδριος* has appeared again in the early tumulus tomb recently discovered near the site of Dardanus.¹

In line 1, among the many names ending in *-ασος*, it is tempting, in the Lelegian country, to restore *[Πήδ]ασος*.

59. Antandrus, in a terrace wall on the west side of the acropolis hill, fragment of a white marble slab, broken at the top and on both sides, 0·34h, 0·31w, 0·23th; dowel-hole in the under surface. Letters 2·5 cm. high.

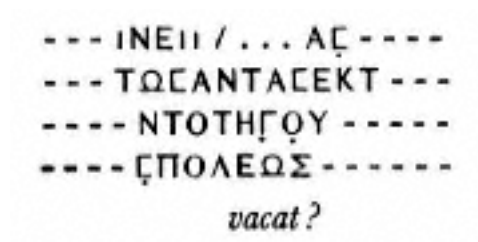
44
 ΥΜΕΝΟ/
 ΟΙΝΟΥΒ
 ΑΙΔΙΝΕΙΚΗΙ
 5 ΑΣΚΑΙΑΑΓΥ
 ΙΚΗΣΑΣΙΝΑΡΙ
 ΊΣΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ
 ΦΕΙΝΚΑΙΓΥΜΝΑΔ
 vacat?

The clue to the interpretation of this fragment may be afforded by a passage in the inscription *Milet* i. 7 = Sokolowski 49B, line 10 (regulation of an athletic festival): *καὶ συνδιοικεῖν καὶ τοὺς γυμνασιάρχους*; parts of these words appear to occur in lines 6 and 8. I take it that we have a portion of a document regulating the details of a particular religious festival conducted, wholly or partly, by the persons named in lines 6-7. The previous lines refer to particular offerings to particular deities: *ΑΑΓΥ* in line 5 is apparently *λαγύνους*, 'flagons', and *ΟΙΝΟΥ* in line 3 is no doubt *οἶνου*, 'wine', (rather than a proper name, e.g. --- *θοῖνου*). We may tentatively restore *[λαγύνους] οἶνου β'* and [e.g. *τέσσερ]ας καὶ λαγύ[ρους οἶνου e.g. β']*. In line 4 we seem to have the name of a deity in the dative.

¹ The inscriptions were published in *Istanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* xiii, nos. 17-18, p. 167. For the tomb see above, p. 60.

The aorist participle in line 6 shows that the reference is to a particular occasion that is, we have not a sacral *calendar* and the dative case suggests that the persons named (whether or not they are identical with the gymnasiarchs of line 8) are to receive rewards or privileges, possibly for supplying at their own expense the wine etc. for the festival. But the details are hardly recoverable.

60. Found at the foot of the mountain west of the Nusratli *Cayi* which we identify with new Gargara, a sliver of limestone 0·095h, 0·16w, 0·035th; no original surface preserved except that carrying the inscription. Neat and regular letters 1 cm. high, rather worn. Photograph, PLATE 72.



Line 3 fin. ΓΟΥ, ΕΟΥ or ΕΘΥ. τῆς θυ- is perhaps most likely.

The careful script, combined with such indications of the nature of the content as the fragment offers, are suggestive of a civic document of some kind. For the character of the text the chief clue is the verb or participle in line 2; whatever this may have been, it is evidently somewhat out of the ordinary.

61. In Cirpilar* in the upper valley of the Menderes, found in a field below the village, a fragment of a marble slab 0·11th, inscribed on the raised upper part of a tabula ansata. Letters 50 (line 1) and 36 (line 2) mm. high.

M PLAETC- - -
L PLAETO- - -

Presumably Plaetorius.

Appendix:
The Turkish Census of 1940

Populations of Towns and Villages in the Troad

- without brackets
- names entered in the 1940 census
- ()
- names found in census lists other than the primary names in the 1940 census
- []
- names in current use not found in the census lists

Misprints recognized in the 1940 lists have been corrected, and a few ortho-graphical changes have been made.

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE)

CENTRAL KAZA OF ÇANAK KALE

<i>Çanak Kale city</i>	24,621
<i>Central nahiye</i>	
Belen	278
Isiklar *	279
Karacaviran	667
Kemel	427
Kepez (Hamidiye)	395
Kursunlu*	617

Özbek	489
Sariceli*	429
Saraycik*	474
Sigirli*	255
Ulupinar*	113
<i>Erenköy nahiye</i>	
Erenköy (In* Tepe)	4,148
Civler	159
Ciplak*	495
Degirmendere*	363
Derbendbasi*	157
Dümrek	459
[Sarcali*] Gokcali*	440
Halileli	476

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (*cont.*):

CENTRAL KAZA OF ÇANAK KALE (*cont.*):

Erenköy nahiye (*cont.*):

Kalabakli *	194
Kalafat	238
Karapinar*	144
Kizilcaviran*	261
Kum Kale Köy (‘Misirlik*’)	391
Kusköy	458
Okçular	377
Ovacik*	127
[Akcapinar*] Pinaroba* (Akçailyas, Anaroba)	417
Salihler	312
Tevfikiye (Asarlik*)	378
Yagcilar*	301

*Kirazli** *nahiye* includes

Ortaca	479

Serçiler	316
KAZA OF AYVACIK	
<i>Ayvacik* city</i>	1,308
<i>Central nahiye</i>	
Ahmetçe	982
Ahmetler	171
Akçin	313
Baharlar	350
Behram Köy	381
Budaklar	91
Bilallar	159
Büyük Husun [Yasinoba*]	447
Cemallar	101
Calti*	144
Çakmaklar	53
Cinarpinar*	122
Demirci	186
Ericek	175

Huseyinfaki*	116
Ilyasfaki*	223
Karamur	197
Kayalar	321
Kecikayasi*	178
Kirca*	74
Kisacik*	205
Kizilyar*	101

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (cont.):

AZA OF AYVACIK (cont.):

Central nahiye (cont.):

Kozlu	256
Kulfal	88
Küçük Husun [Sinoba *]	216
Misvak*	514
Pasakoy*	569
Pirnardere*	109
[Esekli*] Saidiye [Merkepli]	384
Sapanca	287
Sazli*	581
Süleyman	236
Sap*	92
Sabadanievvel* [Tuztasi*]	581
Tamis*	459
Tartasik* [Dartiseyh*?]	192

Gulpinar nahiye*

[Kulahli*] Glpinar	552
Ahiler	50
Babadere	260
Baba Kale	398
Bademli	303
Balabanli*	235
Bektas*	318
Bergaz	511
Çam	86
Çamkalabak	47
Kestanelik	70
Kizilkeçili*	97
Koca Ky [Araplar]	253
Koyunevi	152
Ksedere	613
Kuruoba	206

Naldöken	142
Tabaklar	55
Tasbogaz*	86
Tuzla	112
<i>Küçük Kuyu nahiye</i>	
Küçük Kuyu	488
Ada Tepe	769
Arikli*	292
Büyük Çetme	640
Küçük Çetme	411
[Musuratli*] Nusratli*	310

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (cont.):

KAZA OF BAYRAMIÇ;

<i>Bayramiç city</i>	2,967
<i>Central nahiye</i> (after 1940)	
<i>Agackoy *</i>	498
<i>Alakeçi</i>	252
<i>Akpinar*</i>	269
<i>Çal Dag* Köy</i>	159
<i>Cavus*</i>	339
<i>Dagahmetce*</i>	428
<i>Daloba</i>	257
<i>Güvencik</i>	177
<i>Kizil* Tepe</i>	140
<i>Kizilkoy*</i>	231
<i>Kutluoba</i>	275
<i>Nebiler</i>	440
<i>Pinarbasi*</i>	560

Türkmenli	937
[Örenlü] Viranli*	151
Yahsieli*	436
Yassibag*	254
<i>Yigitler* nahiye (after 1940)</i>	
Ahmetçeli	366
Bekirler	230
Bezirgânlar	213
Biyikli*	161
Cazgırlar* (Mursalli*)	115
Çatalçam	248
Çiftlik	154
Dogancı*	213
Evhatlar	147
Gökçeici	168
Hacibekirler*	194
Hacikoy*	232

[Zeytinli] Israili* (Siyarli*)	247
Isikeli*	135
Kaykular	325
Kayser	105
Köylü	190
Kursunlu*	370
Kuscayir*	407
Osmaniye [Armutlu]	147
Palamutoba	308
Pevrizler	259
[Butreli] Pitireli*	419

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (cont.):

KAZA OF BAYRAMIÇ (cont.):

*Yigitler * nahiye* (after 1940) (cont.):

Sacakli*	392
Saraycik*	205
Sogutgedigi*	415
Asagi* Sapci*	125
Yukari* Sapci	136
Asagi Sevik*	119
Yukari Sevik	110
Tülüler	196
Yaniklar*	194
Yaylacik*	210
Yenice	283
Yigitler [Idallar*]	462
add (from Gölcük nahiye after 1940)	
Karaibrahimler	280

Muratlar	500
add (new villages after 1940)	
Karincali* (1955)	(227)
Zerdalilik (1955)	(113)
<i>Evciler nahiye</i>	
Evciler	821
[Çaloba] Akcakil*	126
Besik*	100
Cavuslu*	595
Cirpilar*	538
Dagoba* (Karincali Oba)	225
[Yesilkoy*] Deliler	432
Gedik	500
Köseler	199
Külcüler	344
Mollahasanlar	176
[Karaköy] Mudanya	637
Sariot*	145

Serhat	446

Tongurlu	293

Tuluklar	211

Gölcük nahiye omitted

KAZA OF EZINE

<i>Ezine city</i>	4,096

Central nahiye

Aladag*	159

Akköy	692

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(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (cont.):

KAZA OF EZINE (cont.):

Central nahiye (cont.):

Arasanli *	140
Arapasireti*	410
Balikli*	224
Bergaz	783
Bahçeli	414
Bozeli	129
Camlica*	284
Cariksiz*	169
Cetmiasireti*	187
Cinarkoy*	93
[Asaralan] Hisaralan	58
Karadag*	232
Karagömlek	136
Kayacik*	193

Kestanbul	617
Kizil*	520
Kiziltepe*	86
Kocali*	192
Köseler	255
Küçük Burun (Yenioba)	178
Marmat [Güllüce]	249
Pazarköy	188
Sarpdere	128
Sap*	170
Üsküfçü	128
Yavaslar*	81
Yaylacik*	306
<i>Geyikli nahiye</i>	
Geyikli	2,279
Alemsahsagir* = Küçük Alamsah*	162
Akçakçili	194

Belen	254
Bozalan	103
Bozköy	131
Çamoba	145
Dari*	140
Firanli*	239
Kemalli*	479
Kumburun	522
Mahmudiye (Yilancibayir*)	592
Mecidiye (Aktepe)	188

(VILAYET ÇANAK KALE) (cont.):

KAZA OF EZINE (cont.):

Geyikli nahiye (cont.):

Pinarbasi *	200
Tavakli*	549
Üvecik	743

(VILAYET BALIKESIR*, KAZA OF EDREMIT)

Altinoluk* nahiye

Altinoluk [Papazli*]	978
Avcilar*	860
Avcilar Kuslar*	116
Narli*	577
Sebedani* Sani	221
Tahtakuslar*	334

The detail maps in this volume do not cover the central nahiye of Çanak Kale. They also do not cover the north-eastern part of the nahiye of Erenköy (In* Tepe), and the villages not marked on the maps are in that part of the nahiye. In Ayvacik* central nahiye Pirnardere* is said to be on the east of Ayvacik. In Gulpinar* nahiye Kuruoba has not been traced. In Bayramiç central nahiye Nebiler is said to be west of the Çal Dag*. In Evciler nahiye Köşeler is near Mollahasanlar. In Ezine central nahiye Arapasireti* and Cetmiasireti* are north and north-east of Cariksiz*; Karagömlek is reported to be somewhere in the same general region; Kiziltepe* has not been traced; Yenioba is south-west of Kizil*. In Altinoluk nahiye Avcılar Kuslar and Tahtakuslar seem to be north-west and east of Avcılar; Sebedani Sani (the second) is untraced but presumably back in the mountain. In addition to these villages whose names do not appear on the detail maps there are a number which are shown on the maps as floaters, their position being known to us only approximately.

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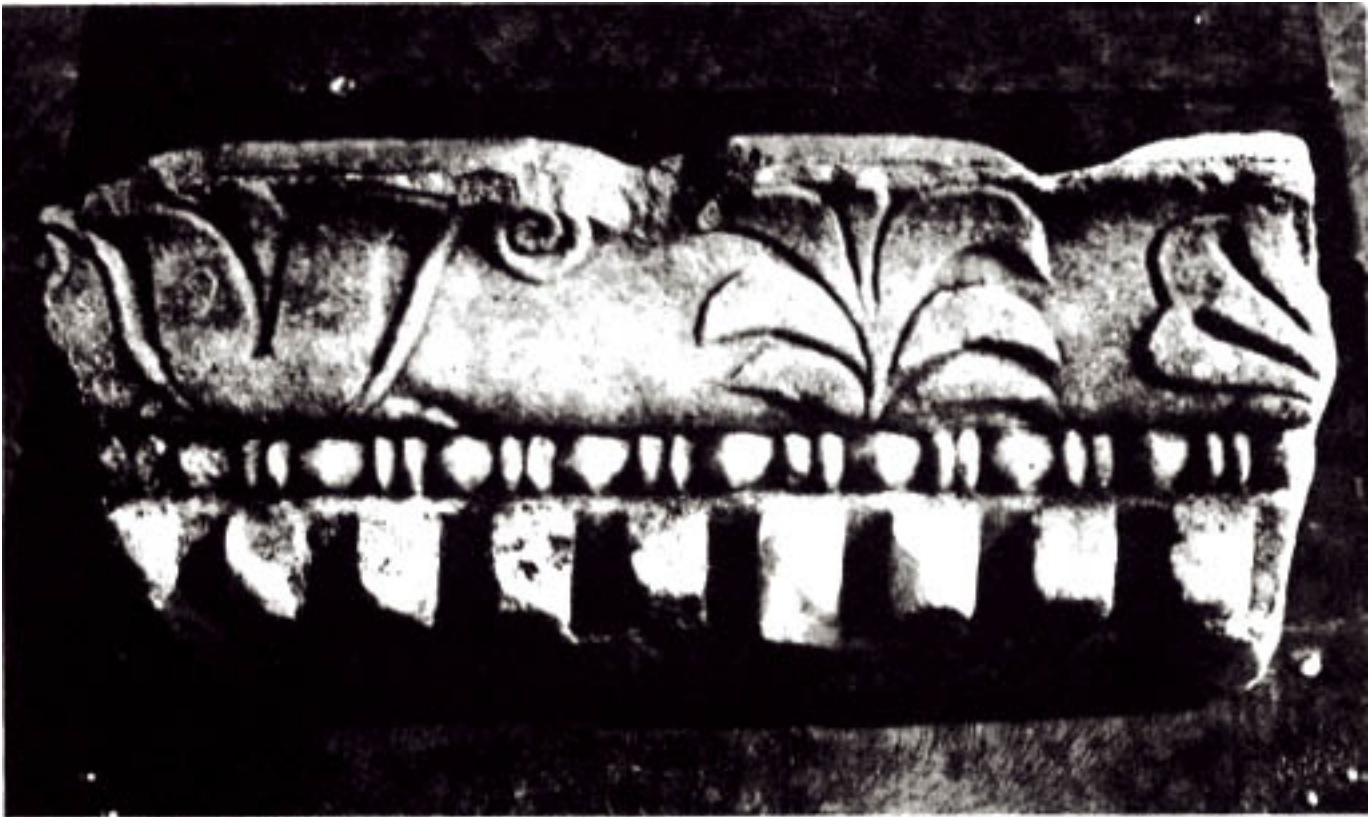


Ophryneion and `Lake Pteleos'

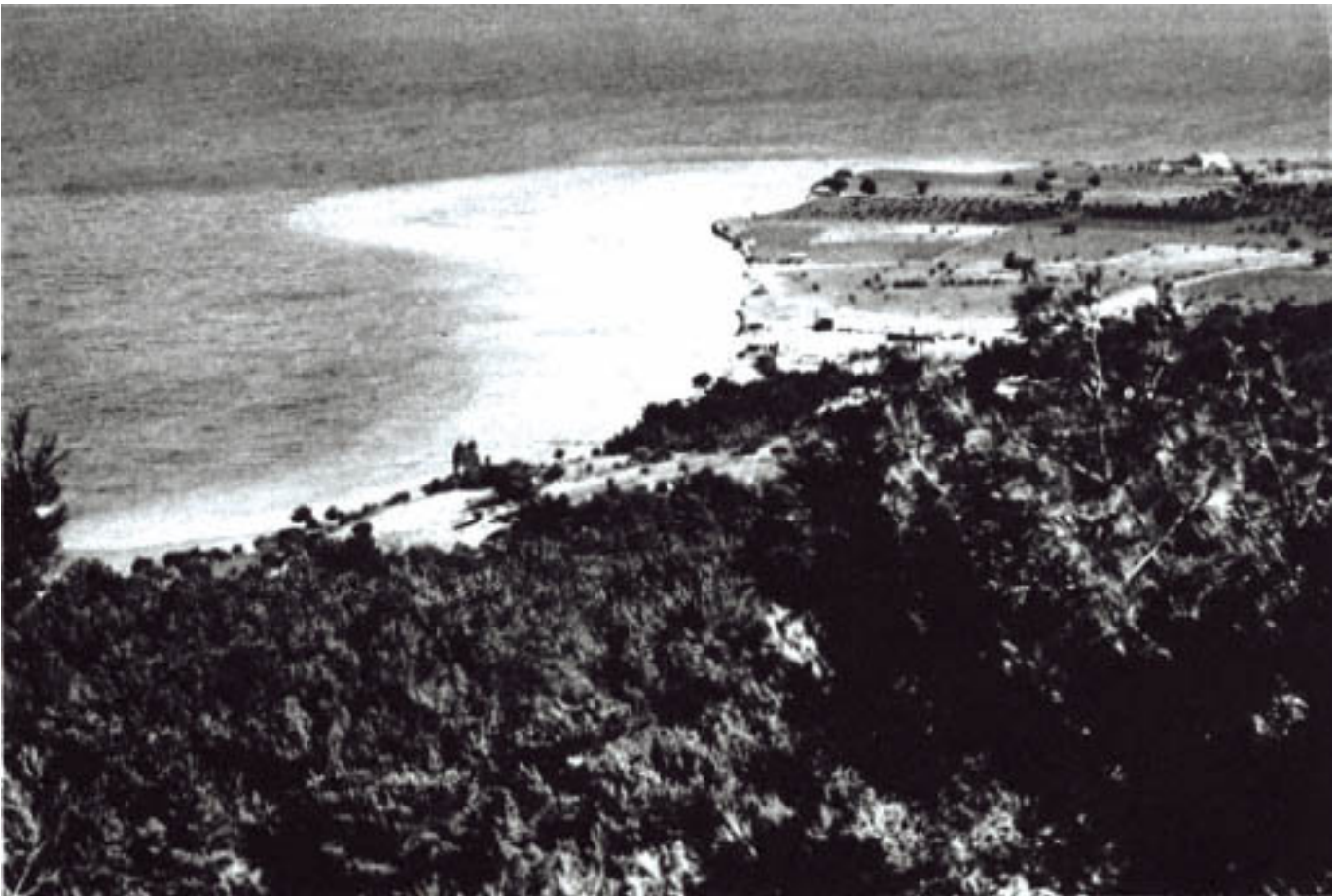
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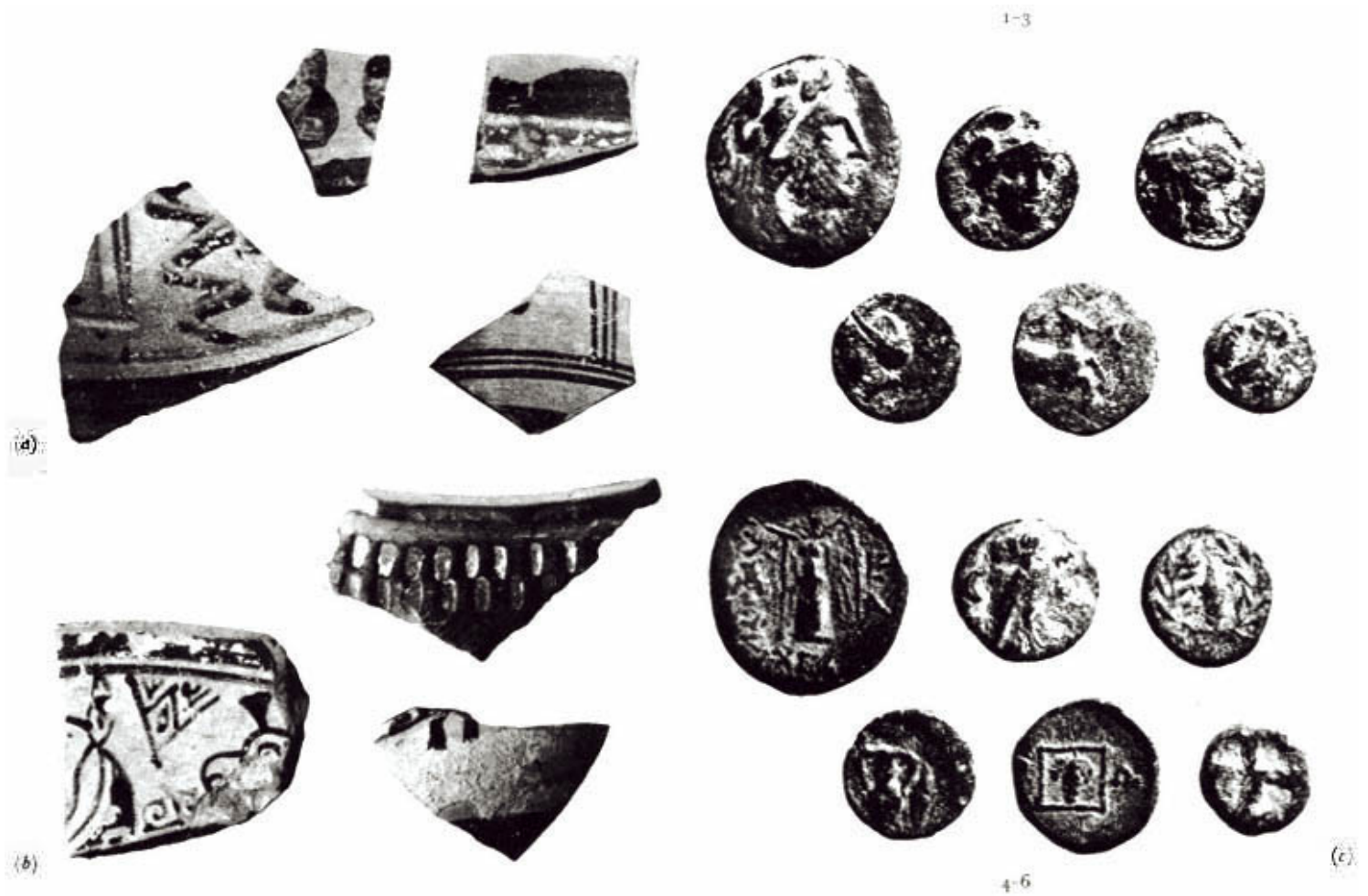
(a) Marble Moulding at Halileli



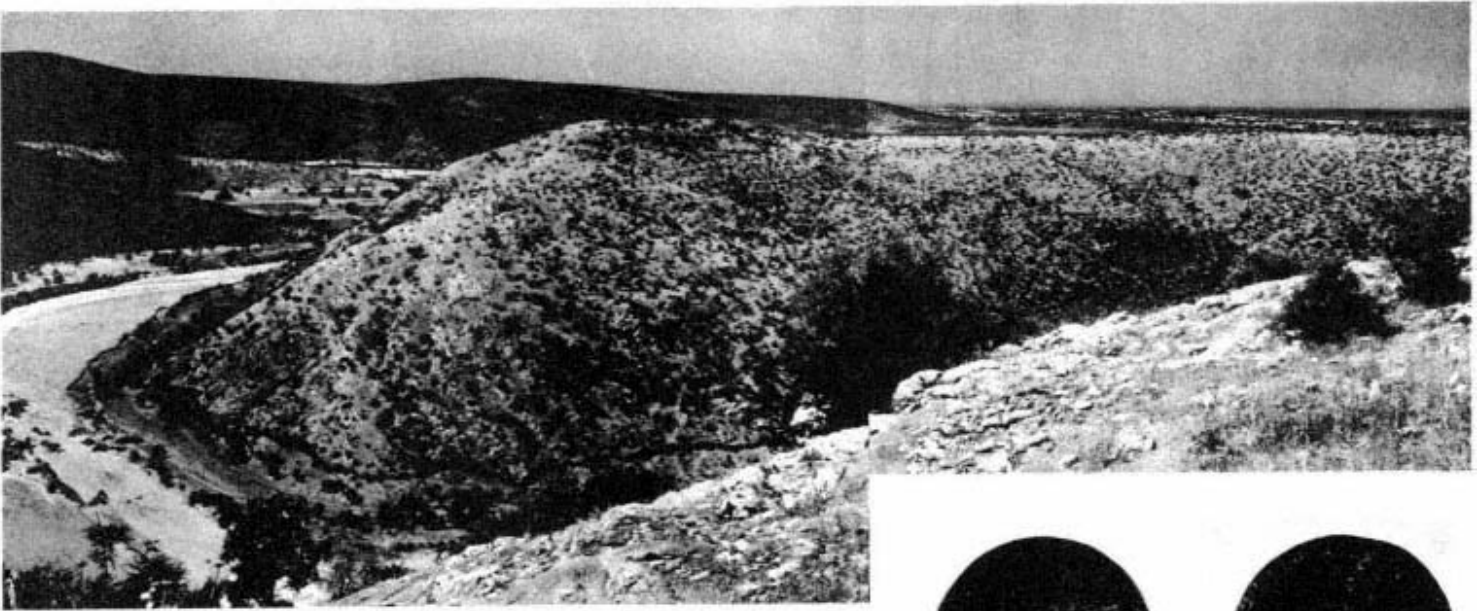
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Sherds from
(a) Ophryneion (left) and Dardanos (right),
(b) Baba Kale,
(c) Coins at Halileli



The Balli * Dag*, and Coin from the Site



(a) Pool C



(b) Pool F

The Kirk Göz



(a) Pool A at Kirk * Göz



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(a) Mill Wheel at Kirk Göz



(b) Hasan Pasa's Kosk

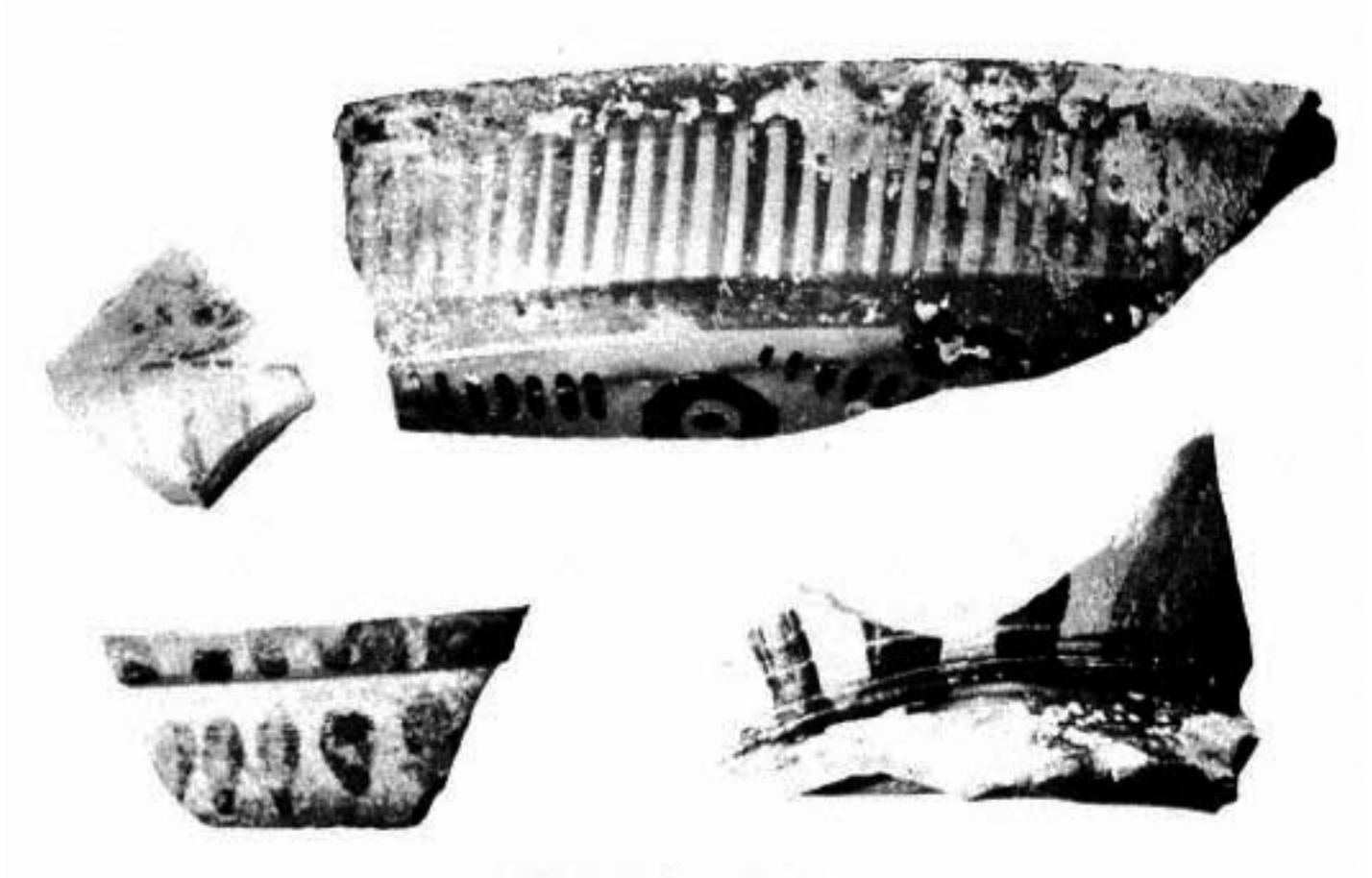


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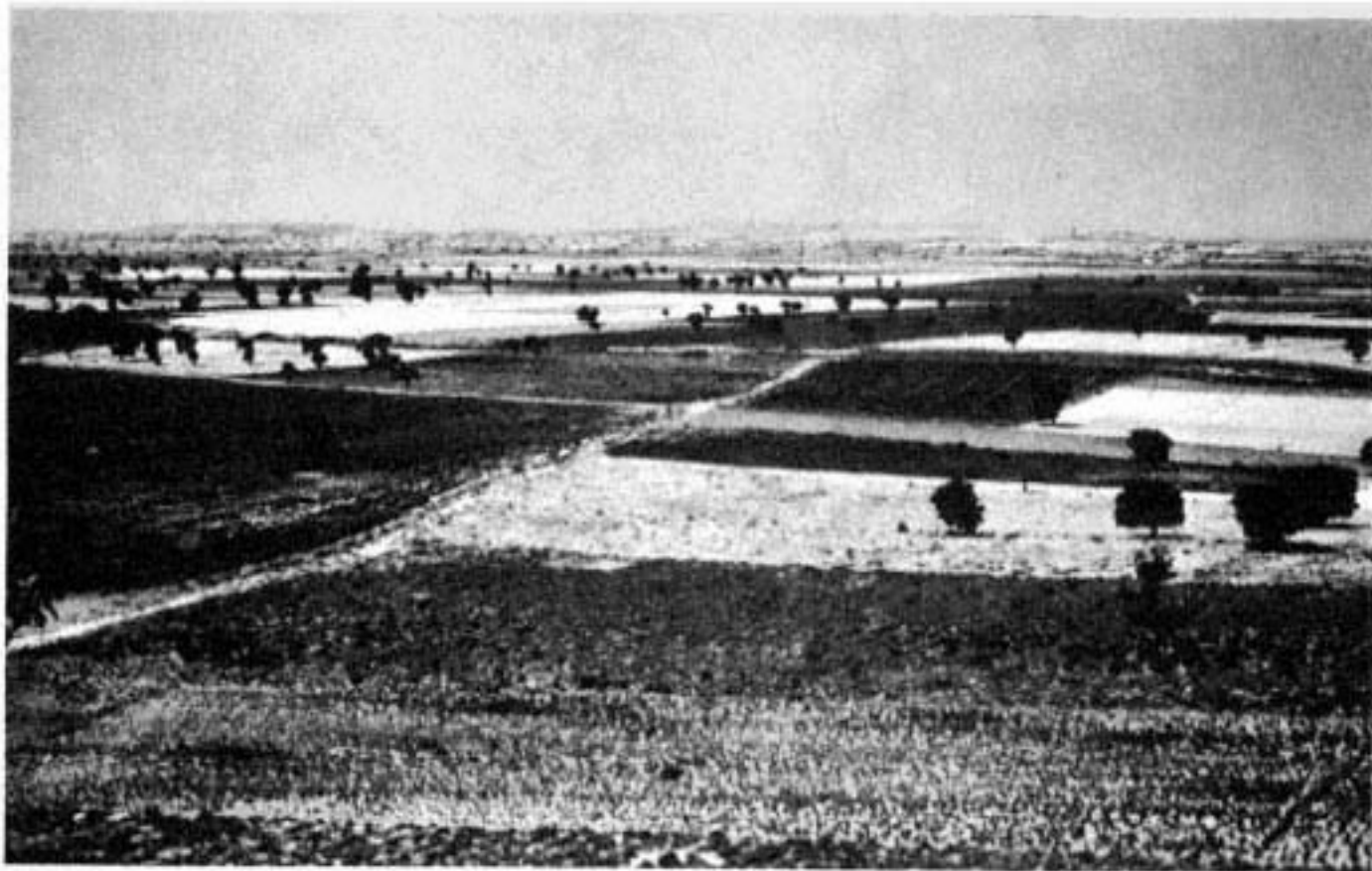


(b)

Hasan Pasa's Kosk



(a) Sherds from Yenisehir *



(b) Sigeum Ridge from 'Tomb of Ajax'

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(a) Looking south to Taşlı Burun



(b) Looking south to Beşika Burnu

(b) Looking south to Beşika Burnu

Sigeum Ridge

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(a) Mosque at Tuzla



(b) Quarry near Kocali *

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(a) Mosque at Mahmudiye



(b) Quarry Face near Kocali



(a) Temple Foundation



(b) Fortification Wall



(c) View of site from Yavaşlar

Neandria



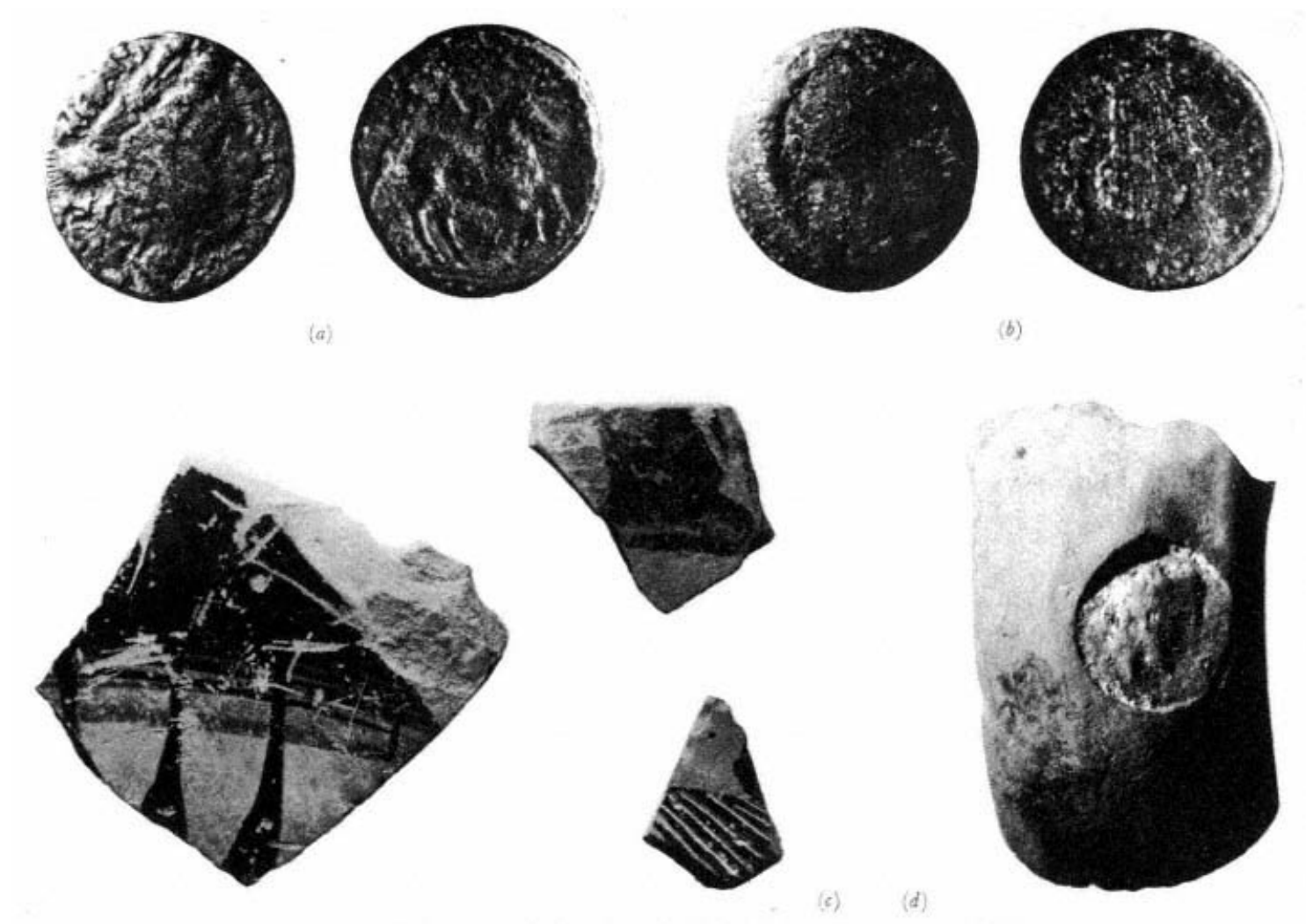
(a)





Architectural Pieces in Halileli Burying Ground

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(a-b) Coins of Gargara and Hamaxitus,
(c-d) Sherds from Hamaxitus and Colonae



(a-b) Coins of Coloniae and Larisa



(c) Site of Coloniae



(d) Site of Hamaxitus from South

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(a-b) Coins from Larisa Site



(c) Marble Cista at Alamsah *



(d) Wall at Hamaxitus

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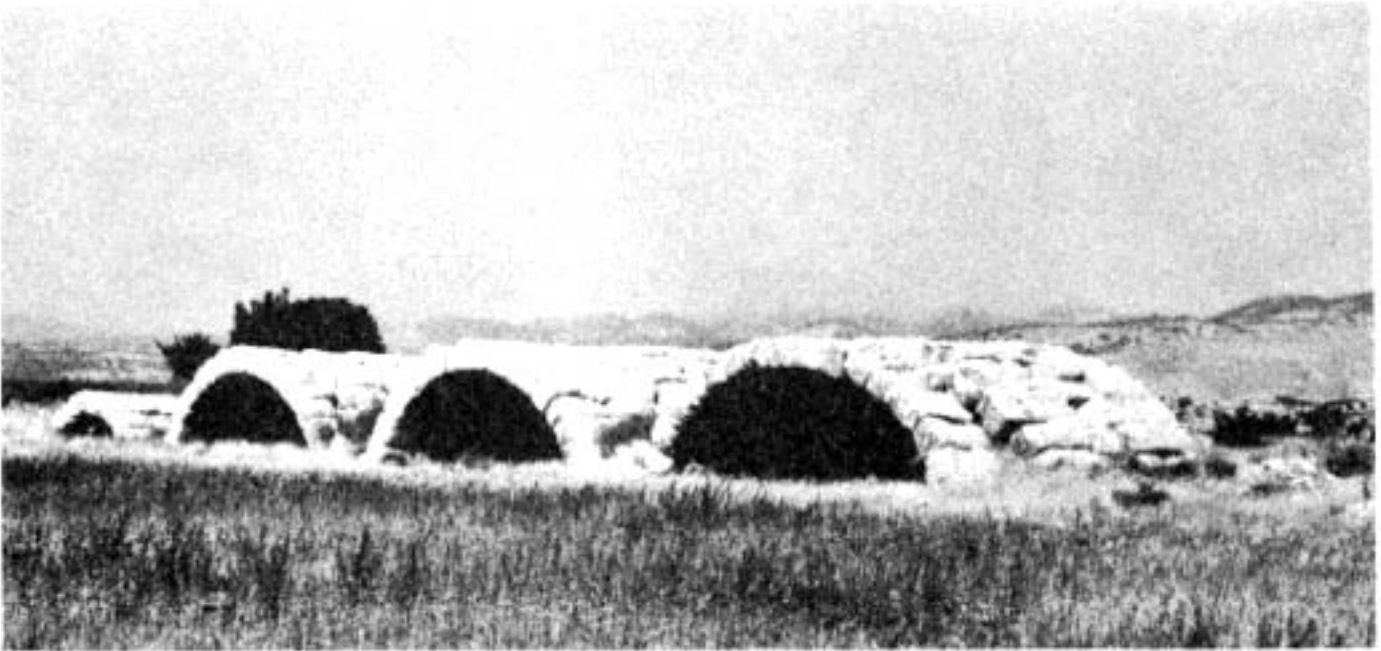
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(a) Site of Larisa from South



(b) View to South from Hamaxitus Site



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)

Roman Bridge in Tuzla Plain



(a) Roman Bridge



(b) Hamaxitus Site from Kulahli *

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(a-b) Column Base

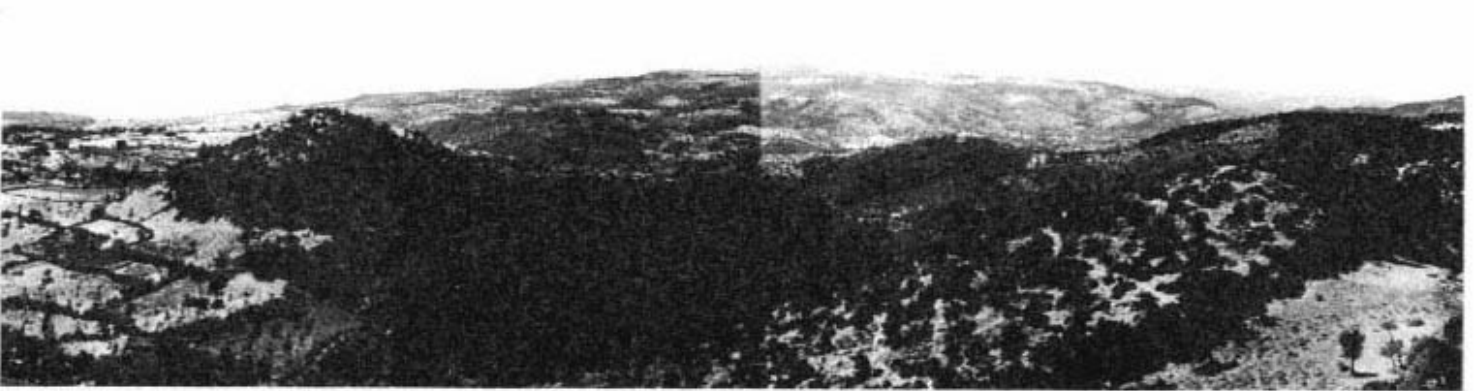


(c) Bucranium Base



(d) Cornice

Marbles of Smintheum



Continuous View over Assos and Lekton Plateau



(a) Turkish Bridge over Tuzla Çay





(b) North-west Corner of Acropolis

Assos

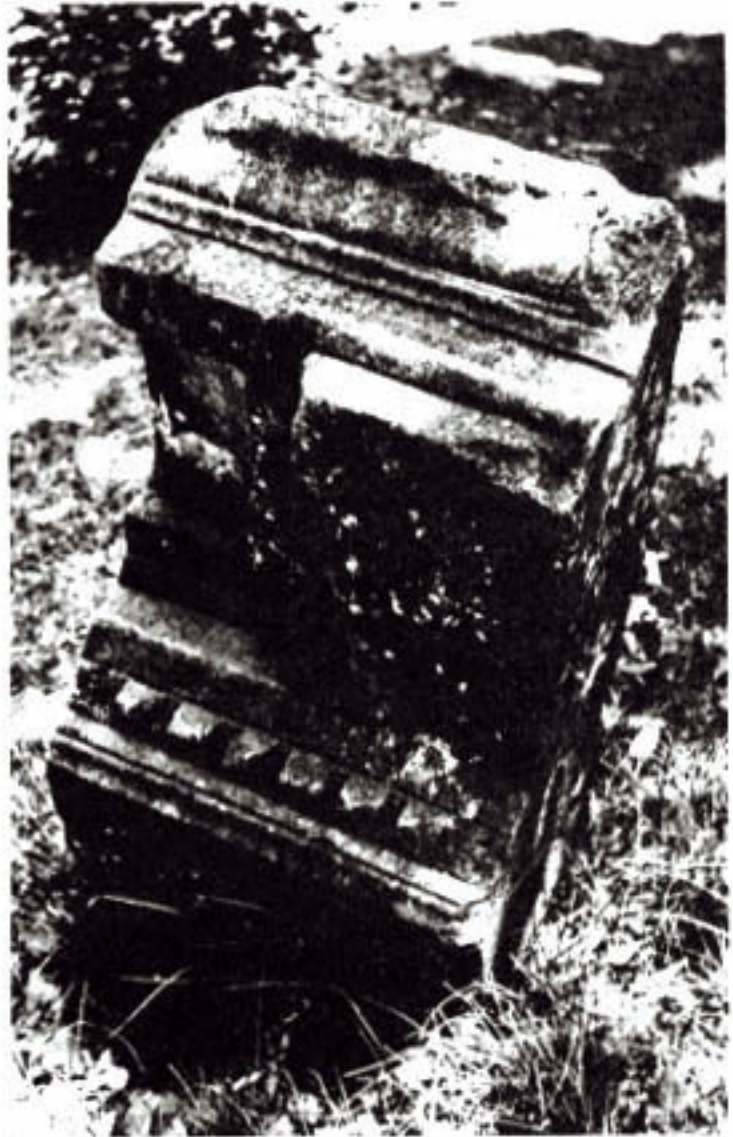
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(a)



(c)



(b)



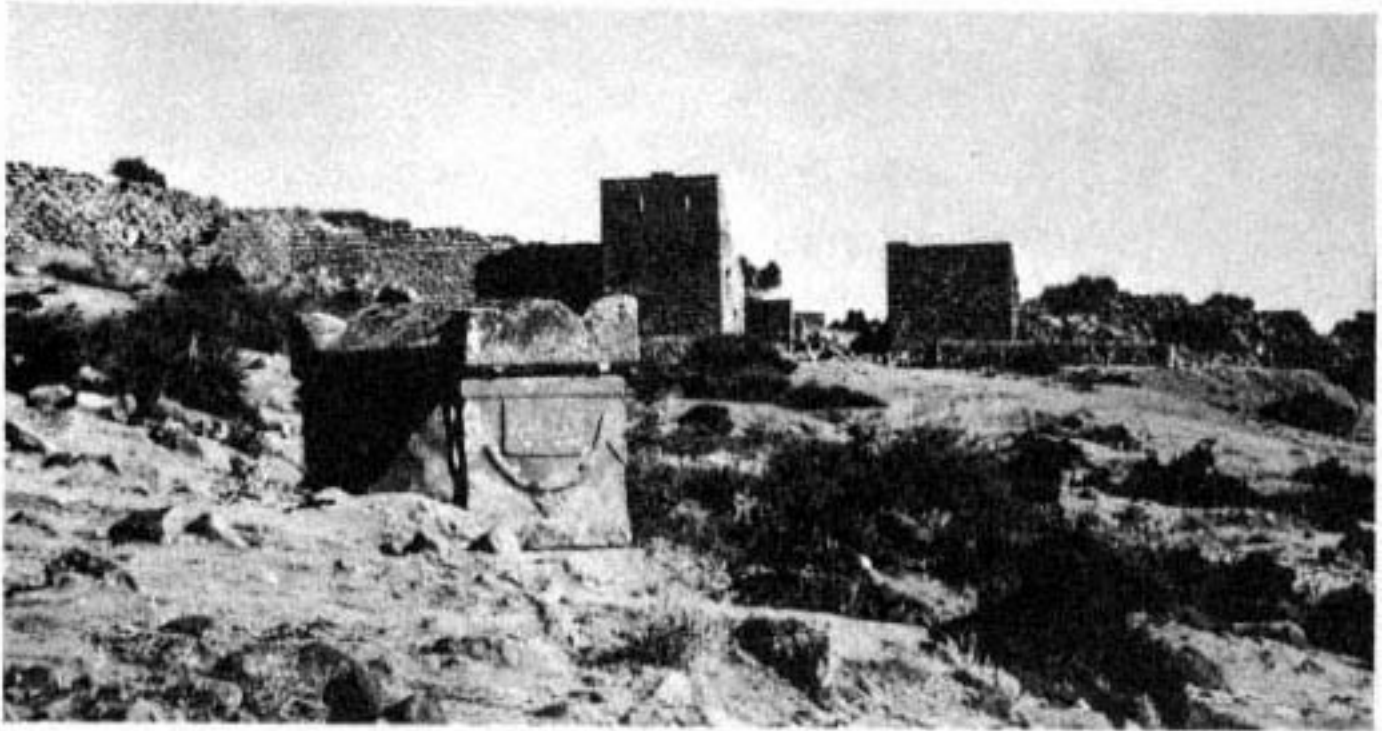
(b)

Architectural Pieces in Dümrek Burying Ground

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(a) Main Gate from North



(b) Acropolis from Main Gate

Assos

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(a) View from Acropolis to Main Gate



(b) Round Tower on North

Assos



(a) Gate in Cross-Wall





(b) Walling on West side

Assos

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(a) Assos, Culvert in Fortification



(b) Musuratli * Valley



(c) Sahin* Kale



(a) Valley of Ahmetça



(b) Valley of Musuratli

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(a) Fortification Wall





(b) Mountain from South

Koca Kaya (Old Gargara)

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(a) Mountain from North



(b) Coin from Site





(c) Fortification on site

Kozlu Dag * (Lamponia)

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(a) Coins of Aiolois



(b) Objects from New Gargara



(c) Mountain behind Antandrus



(a) View over Küçük Kuyu





South Coast of Troad

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(a) Garlic Bridge and Savran Tepe



(b) Fountain at Butreli

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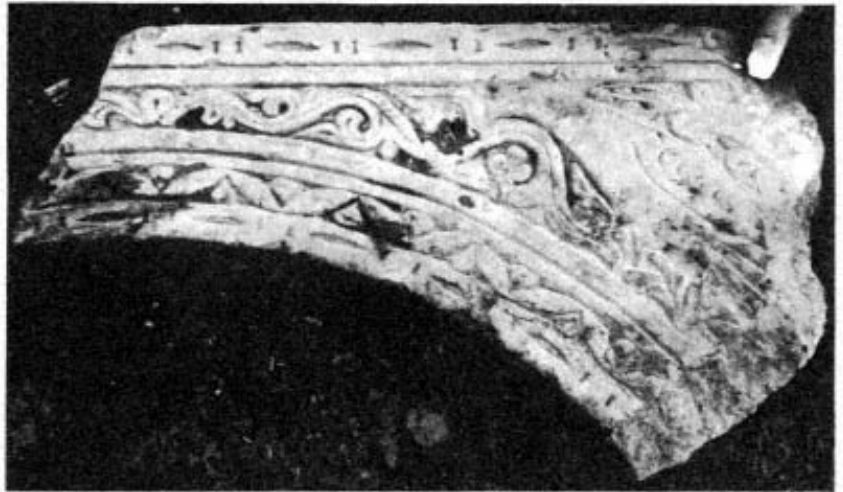
(a) The coast at Rhoeteum



(b) The Scamander Mouths from 'Tomb of Ajax'



(a)



(c)



(b)



(d)

(a-b) Byzantine Capitals at Akköy
(c-d) Byzantine Carvings at Çatalçam



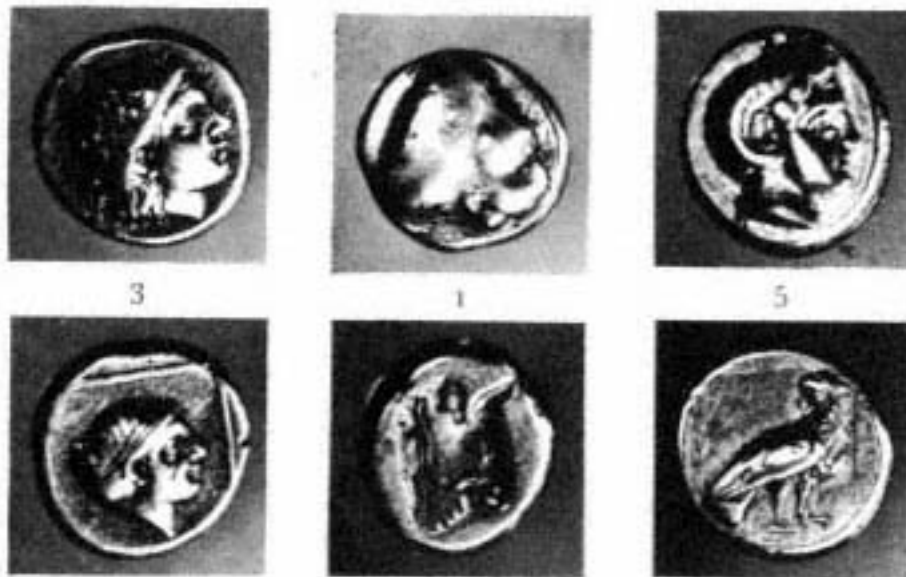


Gâvur Hisar from South

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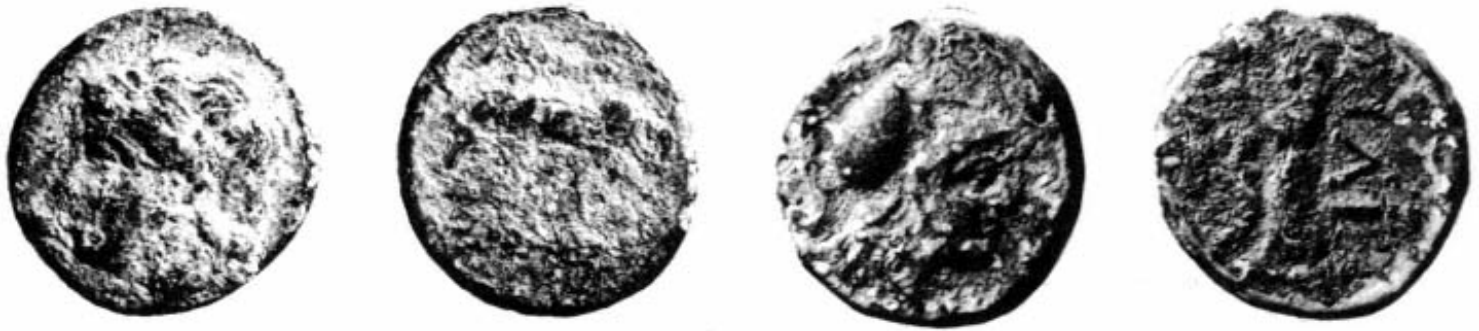
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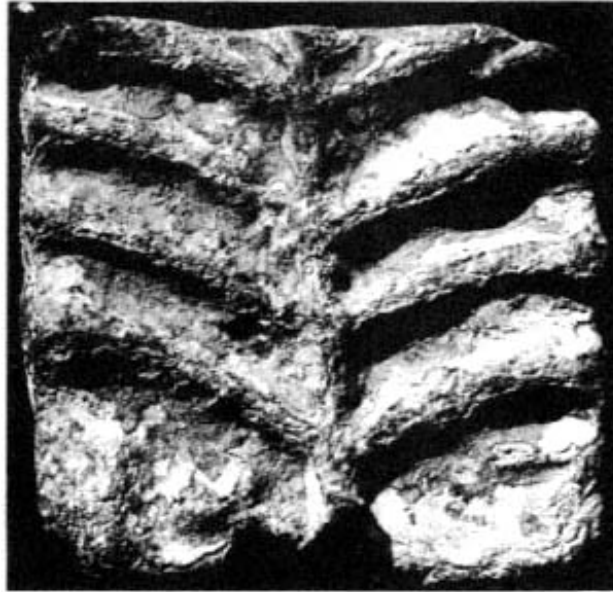
(a) Electrum Hektai from Çaloba



(b) Byzantine Carving at Akköy



(a-b) Coins from Bayramiç Pinarbasi * and Dam Kale



(c) Lead Weight at Evciler



(d) Sculptured Base in Bayramiç



(a) Head of Stele from Kayali * Dag



(b) Kursak* Valley from Ikizce*

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(a)





(b)

Rock Cutting and Building Remains on Künk Tas * Dag

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(a) View of Mountain



(b) Site

Ikizce

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(a) Ikizce, Fortification Wall



(b) Sanctuary Site at Piynarli * Tas

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(a) From Kızıl Tepe



(b) High Peaks from East

(b) High Peaks from East

The Kaz Dag

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(a) Baba Dağ from North-east





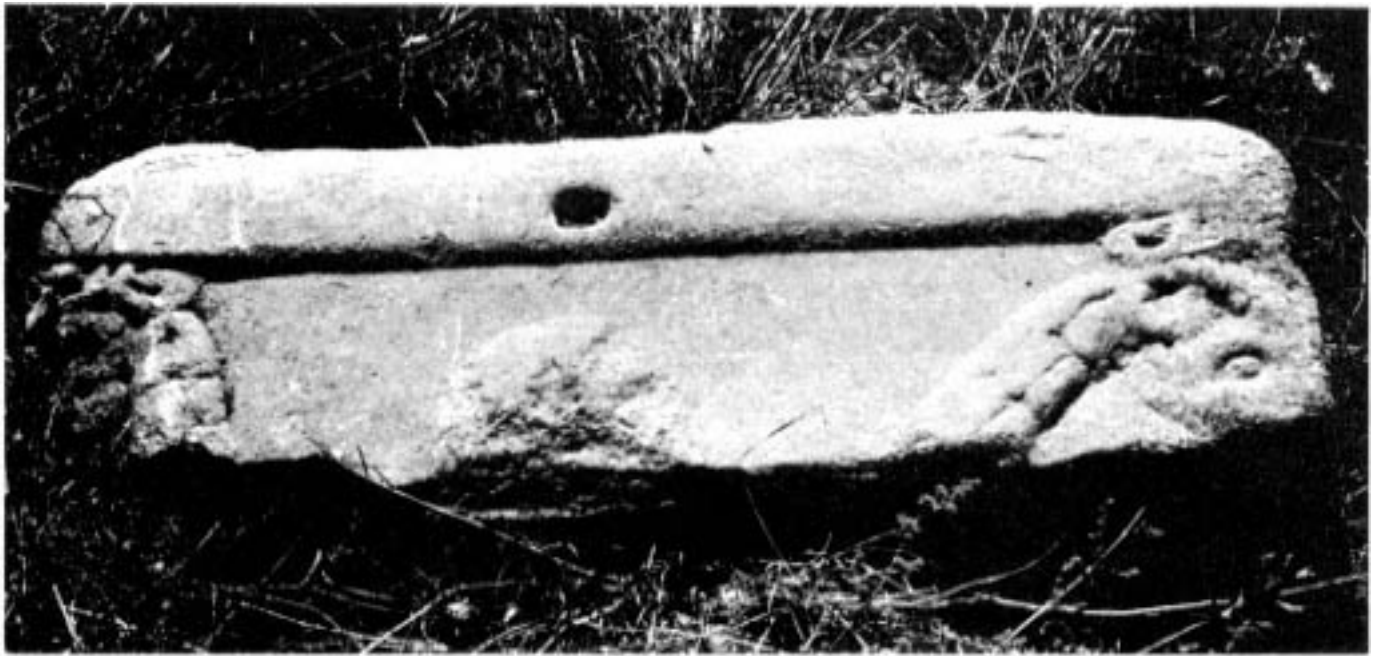
(b) View to South from Baba Dağ

The Kaz Dag

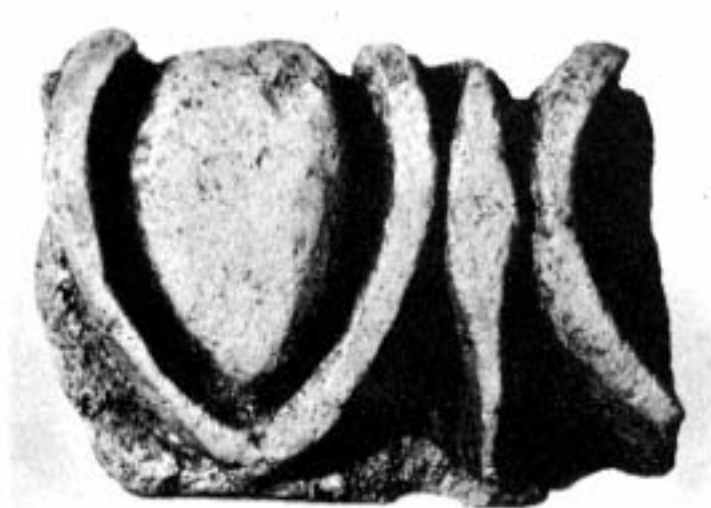
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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(c)



(d)

Architectural and Sculptural Fragments from Northern Troad

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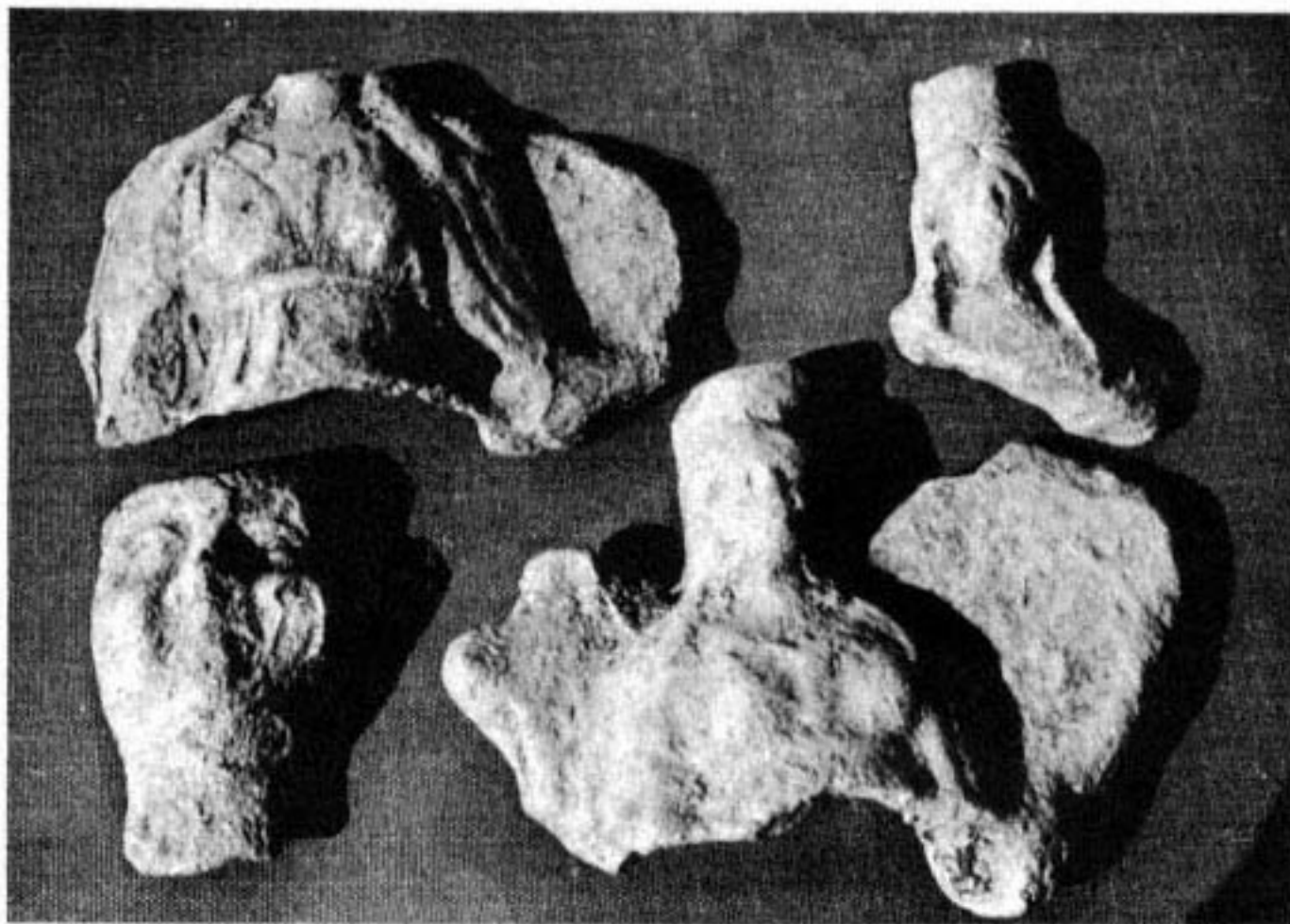


(a) The Torrent



(b) Source of Scamander

The Ayazma





Figurines from Piynarh * Tas

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(a) Site of Scepsis from South



(b) Cybele Relief from near Bayramiç Pinarbasi *

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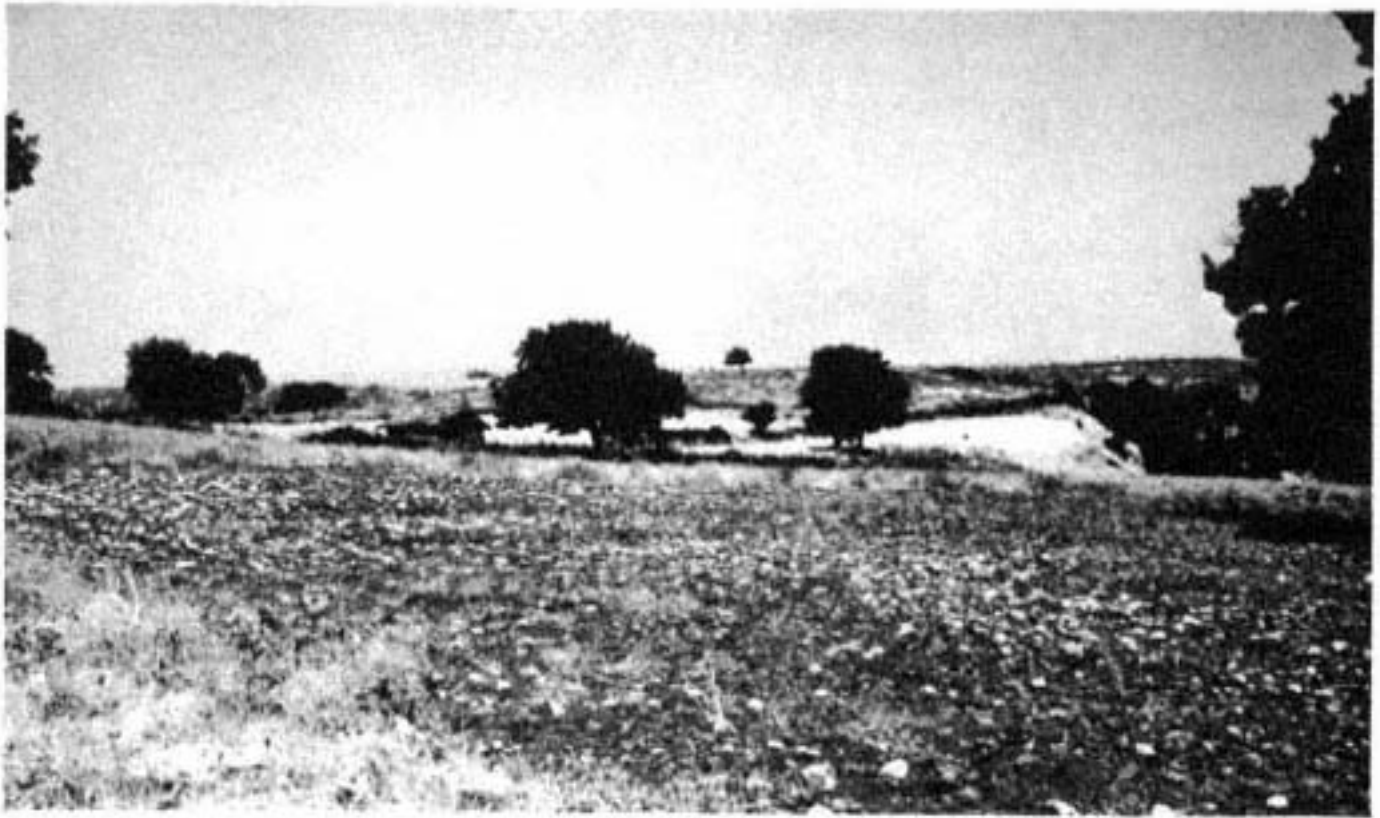
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(a) Riza * Ürgüvin



(b) Bridge and Mosque of Hadimoglu* at Bayramiç



(a) Çiftlik Tepe



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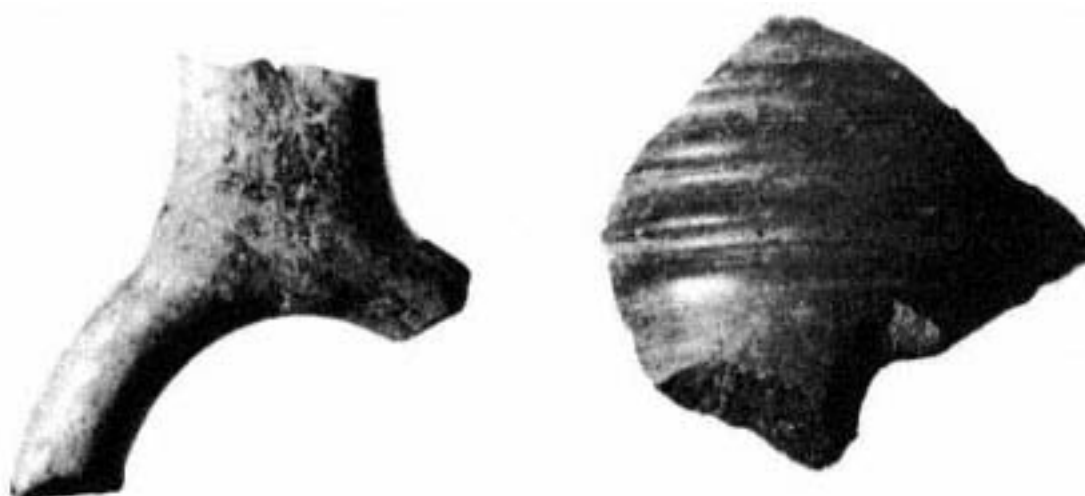
(a) Cigri * Dag (Neandria) and Kizkulesi* from East



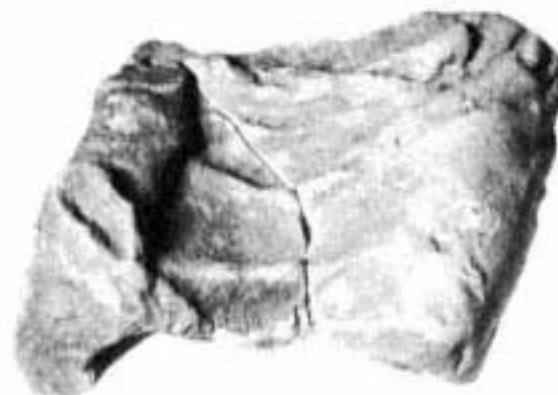
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(a)





Cebren (Çal Dag) (a) Sherds and (b) Figurines from Site

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(a) Site of Cebren (Çal Dag)



(b) Site of Gergis (Karincali *)

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Cebren. Coins from Site



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Cebren. Terracotta Revetments from Site



(a) Ford of Scamander



(b) Simois at Bridge

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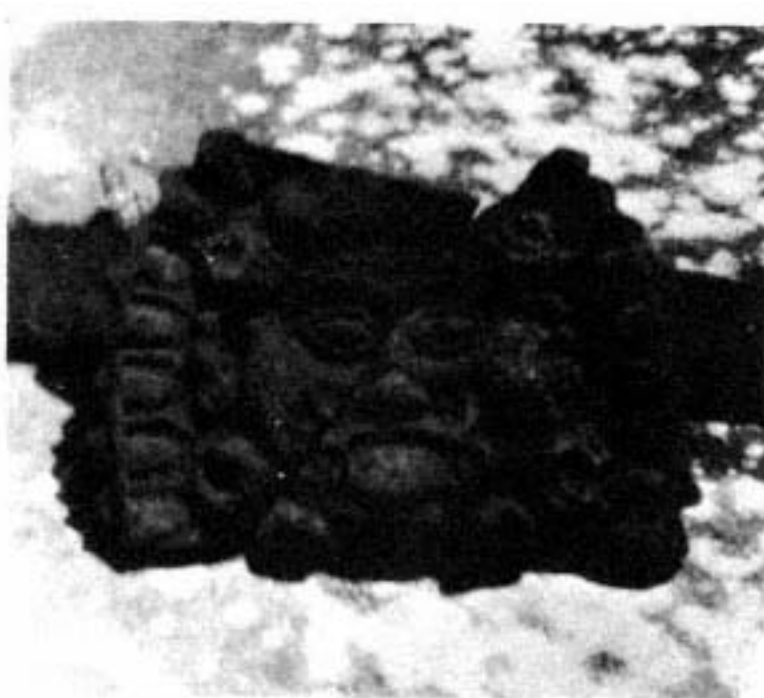


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Cebren. Terracotta Revetments and Aryballos from Site

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(a-b) Cebren. Terracotta Revetments from Site



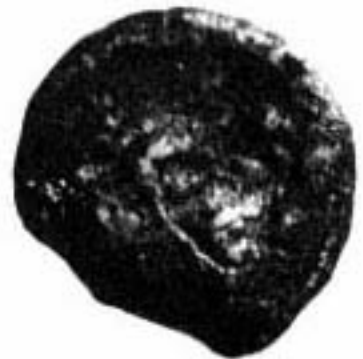
(c) Coin of Gergis



(d) Figurine from Gergis Site



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Gergis. Coins and Sherds from Site

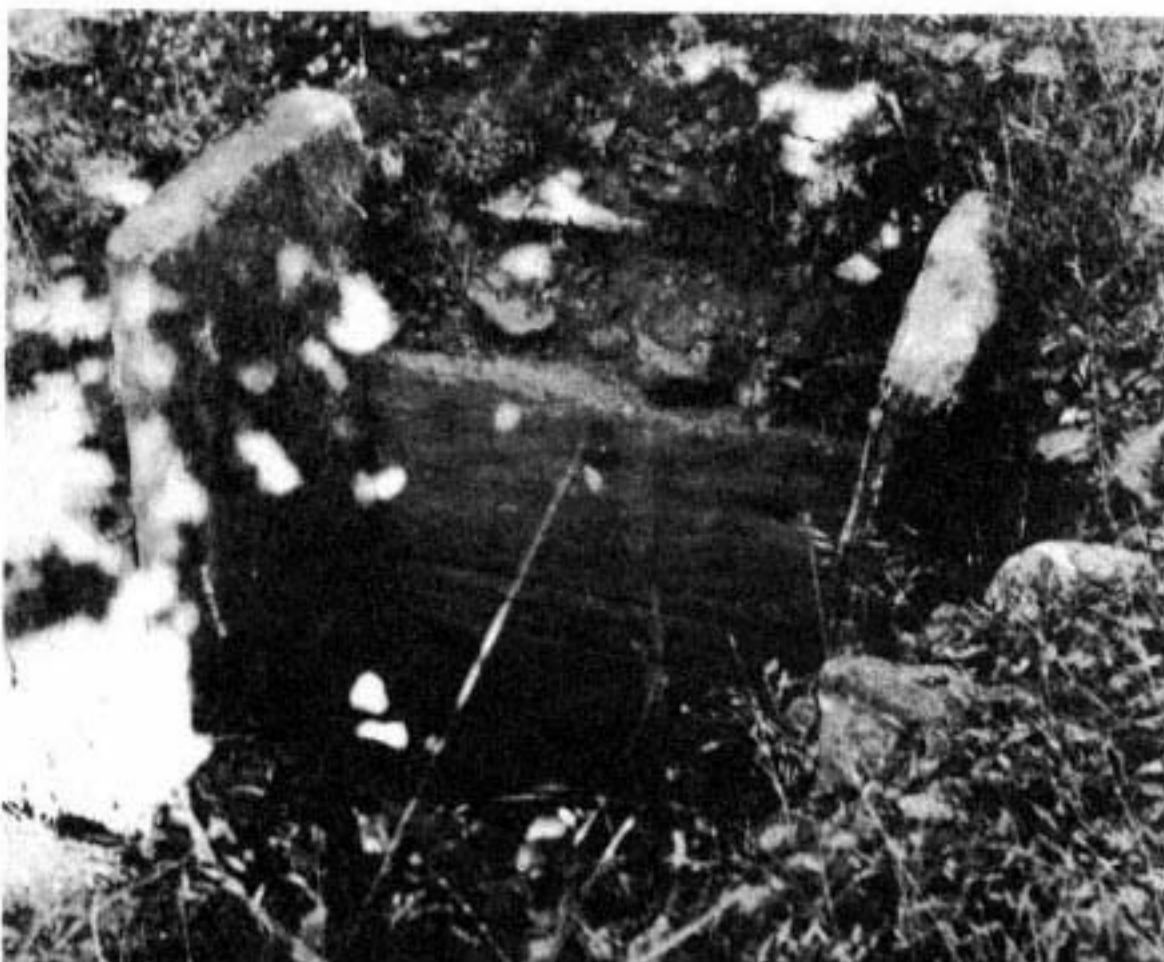
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(a) Fortification Wall of Citadel





(b) Fountain on Site

Ada Tepe Site

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10 (Detail)

Inscriptions of Troad

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Inscriptions of Troad



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Inscriptions of Troad



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Inscriptions of Troad

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(a)



(b)

(a-b) Coins at Ilion



(c) Tuzla Azmagi *



(d) Kalafat from Ilion

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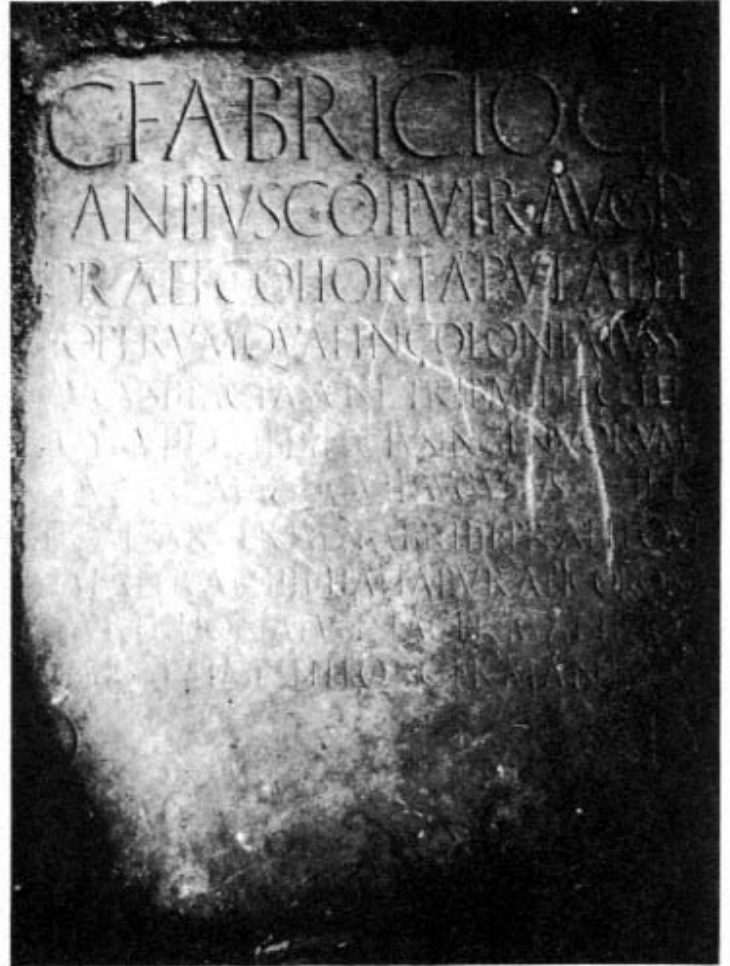


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Inscriptions of Troad



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Inscriptions of Troad



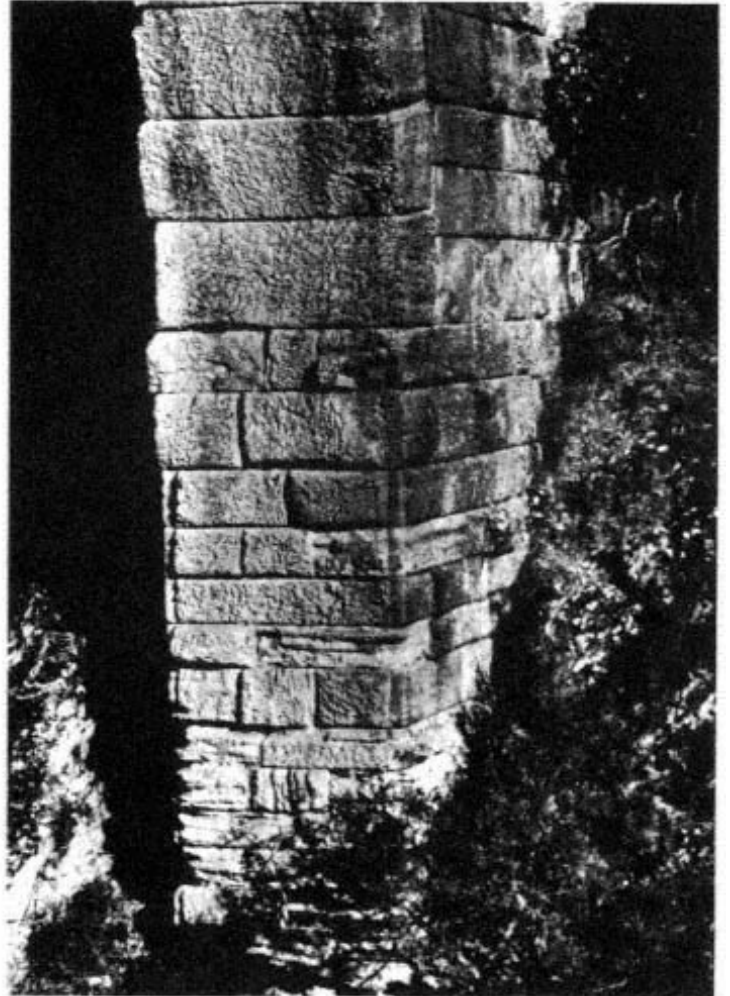
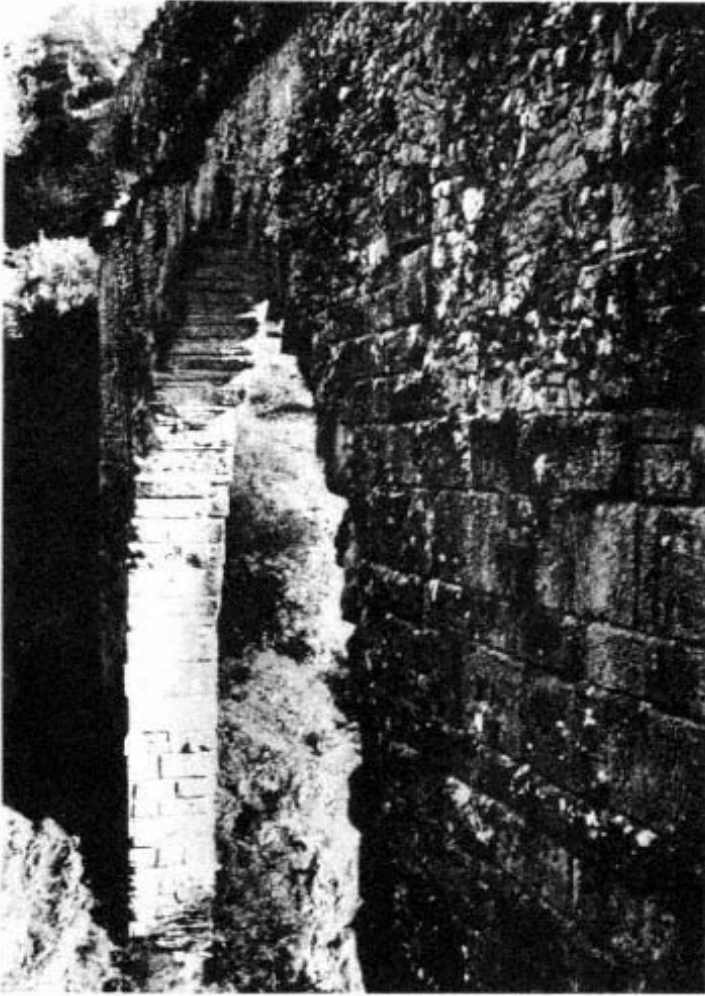


The Kemer Su Aqueduct

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