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be prosperous" (Judges xviii. 5). We must remember the promise, "Ask of Me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8). Then shall we not, on the one hand, yield to an Athenian restlessness after novelty; nor, on the other, attempt to strain old wineskins with new wine. We shall affectionately cling to the old principles, and have both eyes and ears open for all new methods that may be worthy, wise, and workmanlike.

WILLIAM JOSEPH SMITH.

Review.

Troja: Results of the latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy, and in the Heroic Tumuli and other Sites, made in the year 1882*; and a Narrative of a Journey in the Troad in* 1881. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, Hon. D.C.L., etc., etc. Preface by Professor A. H. SAYCE. London: John Murray. 1884.

THE great work achieved by Dr. Schliemann, during a space of more than the ten years of Troy's primeval siege, has a special interest for us, as a part of the recovery of the monumental history of the Eastern world. Students who have nearly completed the term of human life have lived through three distinct periods of unquestioning belief, critical scepticism, and patient research, which has gone far to prove that, as the brothers Hare taught in "Guesses at Truth," it is not second, but first and third thoughts, that are often best. To that "boyish enthusiasm" for classical legend, which glowed in the very words by which Mr. Lowe affected to deride it, the "tale of Troy divine" was a reality, and even scholars accepted as a chronological epoch the date assigned to it by Eustathius, which we now learn, from Professor Sayce's Preface to "Troja," is curiously consistent with a train of reasoning from monumental evidence. The site of Priam's city had been preserved by the unbroken tradition of its later Greek occupants (with but one attempt to question it by an ancient grammarian), till, just a century ago, a French traveller, *who never visited that site*, invented another to suit his ideas of the topography of the Iliad. It was characteristic of the criticism of the revolutionary age that the novelty of Lechevalier's hypothesis secured its general acceptance, and, till the epoch of Dr. Schliemann's researches, nearly all our maps of the Troad distinguished an imaginary "Troja Vetus" from the "Ilium Novum" of the Greeks, who claimed theirs as the true site. Nay, even scholars came to assume that this "Ilium Novum" was a name used by ancient Latin writers; and some, who should have known better, have been surprised to find that the one simple name of ILIUM, handed down from the ILIOS of Homer, always marks the one site recognised by the consent of antiquity, with the sole

exception referred to, which gained factitious importance from its adoption by the great geographer Strabo.[1]

Meanwhile, the growing spirit of sceptical criticism had assailed both the integrity of the Homeric poems and the reality of the traditions which they have embodied in the most perfect form of poetry. The attack was aided by a special weakness in the position then held; we mean, the utter want of any scientific conception of the worth of mythical tradition, and the tendency to treat it on what is called (from the ancient grammarian who used the method) the "euhemerist" plan of rejecting all that seems improbable, and accepting the residuum as the original kernel of fact—a process well described by a great scholar as "spoiling a good poem, without making a good history." We have seen the method applied to the highest of all writings, with results which in a less sacred matter would be ludicrous. But because we have no certain test by which to "divaricate" the fiction from the fact, does it follow that the poetical legends of antiquity are all fiction, containing no element of fact? The very statement of the question exposes the fallacy; for, as there is no test *in the poetry itself* to prove, so is there none to disprove, a basis of historic fact; and the whole history of epic poetry attests that—as, for example, in the lays of Charlemagne—its subjects have been largely chosen from the heroic deeds and signal fortunes of men and nations; deeds and fortunes often first recorded in that form. And now, quite apart from all archæological researches, a sound criticism of the earliest sources of Greek history, and of the relations between the primitive nations of Greece and of the opposite coasts of the Ægean, has marked the north-western angle of Asia Minor, on the shore of the Hellespont, as the very ground where we might expect to find such a collision between the kindred races (for kindred they were, as they appear in Homer) as would give rise to the great legend of the Trojan War. Moreover—and it is a striking sign of the convergence of the great researches of our time to very unexpected points—we are now able, with the greatest probability, to trace the civilization of primeval Troy to that Hittite[2] empire of Western Asia, which meets us in the earliest books of Holy Scripture and on the old Egyptian monuments. In the war of Rameses II. (the Pharaoh who oppressed Israel) with the Hittites, celebrated in a contemporary Egyptian poem, the latter number among their allies Dardanians, Mysians, and other peoples of Asia Minor named in the Iliad; while, above a century later, the same names appear among the invaders of Egypt under Rameses III., with the very remarkable difference of the omission of the Dardanians and the appearance of the Teucrians (*Tekkri*), corresponding to the traditional change in the occupants of Troy. In short, before asking what the site itself has to reveal, we have a mass of independent evidence to the existence of such an empire as that of Priam, to the reality of such a war as that sung by Homer. This is the judgment of the veteran historian Von Ranke; and, as Duruy puts it, with characteristic French neatness, in his "Summary of Universal History": "A fact certain, if we are content to accept it in its general form, is the war which for the first time brought Greece into collision with Asia."

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[1] As our limits preclude any discussion of this part of the question, it must suffice to inform those of our readers who may not be familiar with the controversy, that the site contended for by the grammarian Demetrius, followed by Strabo, has nothing to do with that invented by Lechevalier, and that the former had been almost universally rejected by modern criticism even before its complete disproof by Dr. Schliemann.

[2] On this vast field of new discovery our limits forbid more than a passing reference to Professor Sayce's invaluable Preface to "Troja."

Granted, the more moderate sceptic may say, and did say down to a dozen years ago ; but was not Troy so utterly destroyed as to forbid the hope of its rediscovery? "Troja fuit" has long been a standard grammatical example of the perfect tense for that which has ceased to be, and Lucan's "etiam periere ruinæ" was echoed by an Oxford scholar and Chancellor of the Exchequer in defence of the public purse against a modest appeal by the Society of Antiquaries. It was a remarkable coincidence that Mr. Lowe gave this rebuff, and lamented that the spirit of Herodes Atticus had *not* survived to our days, in the third year of Dr. Schliemann's excavations at his own expense, and within a week of his finding the first of the famous "treasures" that attest the wealth of primeval Troy (June, 1873). A very different estimate of the fallacy involved in the poet's hackneyed phrase had been formed long before by the boy, not yet eight years old, to whom his father, a humble pastor in Mecklenburg, gave the Christmas gift of a "Universal History," with a picture of the conflagration of Troy. "Father," he exclaimed, "if such walls once existed, they cannot possibly have been completely destroyed ; vast ruins of them must remain, but they are hidden away beneath the dust of ages ;" and from that moment he resolved that he would one day dig up Troy. This was in 1829 ; and about twenty years later, just as Henry Schliemann was beginning to reach the turning-point in that marvellous course of self-denial and preparation which he has related in his "Autobiography," Layard showed the world, in the signal example of Nimrud, the secret of those mounds which ages had neglected to test by the simple method of excavation : simple, and seemingly "so easy" (like the egg of Columbus), but all depends on a rare gift of knowing both where and how to dig. It was therefore with as much justice as grace that Dr. Schliemann dedicated his great work "Ilios" (to which "Troja" is a supplement) to Sir Austen Layard, as "the Pioneer in recovering the lost History of the Ancient Cities of Western Asia by means of the Pickaxe and the Spade."

We trust that most of our readers are acquainted with the autobiographical record, prefixed to "Ilios," of the hard and persevering course by which Dr. Schliemann rose from utter indigence to the mastery of the knowledge and wealth which gave him at once the qualifications and the means for the work which seemed absurdly out of his reach when he devoted to it his future life. It was in 1868, at the age of forty-six, that he was first able to satisfy his longing to visit the island of Ithaca, the Peloponnesus, and the Plain of Troy ; and his comparison of the localities with the perfect knowledge he had acquired of Homer, and with what modern scholars had written about the site, led him to decide for the view held, among others, by the high authority of Grote, namely, that the Greek colonists of the historic Ilium were right in claiming to occupy the very ground on which Homer's Troy had stood. That ground is a raised plateau on a ridge running westward from the Mysian Olympus, and terminating in a higher hill overhanging the course of the Scamander. In that hill, which bears the Turkish name of HISSARLIK, "the fortress," and which was unquestionably the Acropolis of the historic Ilium of Greek and Roman times, Dr. Schliemann recognised the Pergamus of Priam. It stands about three miles from the Hellespont, in the very position of those primitive cities that were built near enough to the sea for commerce, but far enough to be removed from the sudden attacks of pirates, with an eminence forming the fortress to which the inhabitants around it could fly for shelter. How exactly the site answers the indications of the "Iliad," is an argument for which we must be content to refer to the exhaustive discussion in "Ilios ;" but far more important than all minute details is the consideration, urged by

Professor Virchow, with his combined power of poetic imagination and scientific accuracy, that this hill, commanding the whole plain of Troy to the range of Ida in the background, and looking out over the Hellespont and the Ægean to the distant peaks of Samothrace, is the very centre of the whole scenery of the Iliad. "It is in vain to dispute with the poet his knowledge of the place by his own eyesight. Whoever the 'divine bard' was, he must have stood upon the hill of Hissarlik, and have looked out thence over sea and land. In no other case could he possibly have combined so much truth and nature in his poem" (Preface to "Ilios," p. xv.). Very happily does Dr. Schliemann choose his motto for "Troja" from a saying of Von Moltke that "A *locality* is the fragment of reality which survives from an event long since past;" and as such this spot was recognised by the reverent belief of Greece, from the time when Greek guides led Xerxes up to sacrifice at the little temple of Athena on the hill, to the visit of Alexander, whence dated the special greatness of the Greek city. But between these dates we have a signal witness to the opinion of Greece. In a passage of Plato,[1] which is specially interesting for its recognition of the Deluge as the catastrophe from which the history of human civilization is to be traced, he makes the first stage the patriarchal system, like the Cyclopes of Homer; the second, that in which men gathered for safety in cities among the mountains, as Homer describes Dardanus building Dardania in the foothills of Ida; the third, still following Homer, is that in which they ventured down from the hills and built sacred Ilios in the plain: "For we say that Ilios was founded by a removal from the heights into *a large and fair plain, on a hill of moderate elevation, watered by several rivers that flow down from their sources in Ida;*" on which the comment of so great a scholar as Professor Jebb is doubly valuable for reasons that we cannot stay to discuss: "If Plato had wished to indicate Hissarlik, as distinguished from Bounarbashi" (the site invented by Lechevalier), "*he could scarcely have described it better.*"

Here then Dr. Schliemann began his preliminary work in 1870; and in the three following years, in company with his wife, a Greek lady as enthusiastic for Troy and Homer as himself, he pursued those systematic excavations which were made known to an admiring world, ten years ago, in the letters from the spot, which must always have what Renan has happily called "the charm of origins."[2] Much that he wished still to do was postponed, chiefly through difficulties with the Turkish Government; and meanwhile he opened, with equally brilliant success, another field of Homeric research in his excavations at Mycenæ (1876). In 1878 and 1879 he renewed his work at Hissarlik with the great advantage of the company of Professor Virchow and the French Orientalist, M. Emile Burnouf; nor should the fact be passed over, that some of his most interesting discoveries were made under the eyes of officers of the British fleet stationed on those coasts. The chief work of this second exploration was the further laying bare of those remains in the very heart of the hill, significantly called the "Burnt City," which, in the remains of weapons and implements, treasures of the precious metals and objects of art and commerce, all bearing the marks of a mighty conflagration, answered well to the Troy of the Homeric legend, and was evidently a city that had been sacked by enemies and burnt with fire.

Here, however, at once, arose two difficulties; but of the kind that

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[1] Plato, "Legg," p. 682. The passage of Homer about the building of Dardania and Ilios is in the "Iliad," xx. 215-218.

[2] "Troianische Alberthümer;" translated into English as "Troy and its Remains." John Murray. 1875.

always attend the progress of discovery, where new light throws back unexpected reflections on preconceived ideas. One of these was architectural. Certain critics of Dr. Schliemann are for ever fond of displaying their own cleverness, and making a factitious show of opposition, by contrasting the brick ruins of the "burnt city" with Homer's "well-built" Troy, with its "wide streets" and its palace of Priam of polished stone, whose spacious halls were surrounded by fifty chambers for his sons and fifty for his daughters. Now Dr. Schliemann was himself the first to point out the discrepancy, and to give its true solution. He had laid bare in the hill of Hissarlik, not the ruins of one city, but a series of successive strata of habitations, lying one upon another, and crowned by the remains of the historic Greek Ilium. Between the last and the "burnt city" of Troy were interposed no less than three of these strata, presenting the remarkable phenomenon of a civilization inferior to that of Troy itself; and thus strikingly corresponding with the barbaric invasions which are known to have overspread the Troad in the meantime. If then, as we can now no longer doubt, the Greek bard or bards of the "Iliad" celebrate an ancient catastrophe, the tradition of which had survived upon the spot, the city whose fate gave rise to it lay buried far out of sight beneath the *débris* of successive habitations; and the architecture of Homer's Troy, like its social life, is the creation of poetic imagination, having for its type that of the poet's own age. As Virchow puts it: "The Ilium of fiction must be itself a fiction;" and the Troy discovered by Schliemann is not, could not be, the actual Troy described by Homer (which never was actual, but imaginary), but *the primeval city whose fate gave birth to the Homeric legend.* Disappointing as this result may have been to his hopes of finding *Homer's Troy*, Dr. Schliemann was the first to recognise it. At the same time, there remain a number of singular parallels, which were pointed out in "Troy and its Remains," between the objects discovered in the ruins and those described in Homer; which can only be accounted for by the persistence of social customs and religious ideas among the kindred Aryan races, which have succeeded one another on the spot. Thus, for example, it is now certain that Dr. Schliemann was right in his bold identification of the peculiar two-handled vessels found in all the strata with the δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον of Homer, and of the owl-like idols and female vases with the "owl-faced goddess Athena," who is now shown to be derived from a Chaldean divinity worshipped by the Hittites. For further particulars of this remarkable link between the East and West we must refer to Professor Sayce's Preface. Among the new discoveries in "Troja" are two edifices, which show the exact type of the Greek temple; and the square pilasters, called "antæ," which in Greek architecture have only an ornamental use, are here found in their original constructive form of balks of timber facing the ends of walls.

The other paradox which staggered Dr. Schliemann had regard to the extent of the Troy which he discovered. In the hill of Hissarlik, and the raised plateau of which it crowns the end, he saw the exact type, both of a primitive Greek city, and of the Homeric Troy, crowned by the Pergamus of Priam, with its temple of the goddess. But the plateau, when tested by sinking shafts—the method by which the explorer shows his special skill in *taking samples* before committing himself to excavations—yielded nothing but remains of the Greek period alone. He was forced therefore, with his characteristic readiness to give up preconceptions for facts, to accept the strange conclusions that, instead of Hissarlik being the Pergamus or citadel, with the main city on the plateau, the primeval Troy was confined to the hill alone, and that the city which held an empire in Asia Minor, and withstood the united force of Greece,

was no larger than Trafalgar Square or Lincoln's Inn Fields! This little hill-fort must have been expanded by Homer's imagination into the lofty Pergamus, with the well-built city of spacious streets on the ground at its foot.

It is to Dr. Schliemann's repeated meditation on this paradox, after he supposed his work to have been finished by the publication of "Ilios," that we owe his crowning labours of 1882, described in the splendid volume now before us. Besides other fruitful results, they have furnished a complete and satisfactory solution of the problem. Besides the one gate of the "burnt city," leading down from the citadel to the plain, which was exactly suited for a small fortress confined to the hill, two others were discovered, leading out from the hill on to the plateau, the only possible use of which would be to connect the citadel with a lower city. Moreover, six large edifices were brought to light upon the hill, of such a character as to suggest that it must have been the sacred and royal quarter alone, just as we know the mounds of Nimrud and Kouyunjik to have been. Nor does the resemblance cease here. Some of Dr. Schliemann's shallower critics heap contempt on a Troy of *brick*, the universal material of early Asiatic architecture in regions where it was available. They might have remembered a passage in which Vitruvius (ii. 9, *seq.*) recites a long list of palaces and other great buildings of this material; nay, even the trite saying of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick. But now Dr. Schliemann has revealed at Troy a striking comment on the primeval method of the Babel builders: "Go to, let us make brick, and *burn them thoroughly*;" for the walls of the gates and other edifices are constructed of *crude bricks* (on stone foundations) which have been *burnt in sitû* after their erection, like one of the stages of the "Temple of Lights" at Borsippa, and the "vitrified forts" of Scotland.

The Pergamus, thus restored to its dignity as a citadel, seemed to prove the existence of a lower city, for which Dr. Schliemann renewed his search on the plateau. We cannot stay to describe his interesting discoveries of a great theatre and other remains of the *Greek* age; but speak here only of the primitive Troy. From the nature of the case, just as at Nimrud and Kouyunjik, no remains of the frail houses of the common people could be expected; and the more substantial materials, especially of the city walls, would be, and in fact are distinctly said by tradition to have been, carried away by the builders of neighbouring towns. There remains, however, an evidence of ancient habitation, fragile but indestructible in its fragmentary state, the *pottery* which Dr. Schliemann justly calls "the *cornucopiæ* of archæological science." Yes, *science* in the strictest sense; for the material and forms, the manufacture, whether by hand or on the potter's wheel, the glazing, painting, and burning of pottery, are all to the qualified student tests of age and race, the discussion of which belongs to experts, and has been ably conducted by our own archæologists, such as Birch and Newton. When, therefore, Dr. Schliemann found beneath the surface of the plateau abundant potsherds precisely of the same character as those which belong to the two lowest strata in the hill of Hissarlik, the inference was irresistible, that this pottery had been made and used by people who dwelt on the plateau contemporaneously with those settlements on the hill; in other words, that the primeval Troy had a lower city, to which the hill of Hissarlik formed the citadel. The whole result can hardly be summed up better than in the words of Professor Jebb, who is a vehement assailant of other parts of Dr. Schliemann's views: "The large city, which extended over the plateau, and had only a few buildings on the mound, would, in this view, be *non-Hellenic and prehistoric*. We are,

as it seems to me, quite at liberty to suppose that *this was the city, the siege and capture of which gave rise to the legend of Troy.*"

Our limits have compelled us to avoid all needless detail, including many matters of exceeding interest. But one word must be added to call the reader's attention to Dr. Schliemann's exhaustive exploration of the "heroic tumuli,"[1] and of every spot of archæological interest on the plain of Troy and in the region of Ida. Besides many matters of great interest, such as the ascent of Ida and the identification of important Homeric and other ancient sites, the one great result has been to bring us back to Hissarlik as the site of Troy by a process like the mathematical method of "exhaustions." To cite once more the impartial authority of Professor Jebb: "Dr. Schliemann has proved that Hissarlik was a seat of human habitation from a prehistoric age. This has not been proved for any place which could claim to be the site of Homeric Troy. Assuming that 'The Tale of Troy' is founded on a central fact—*i.e.*, that a very old town, placed as the 'Iliad' roughly indicates, was once besieged and taken—the claim of Hissarlik to be the site of that town is now both definite and unique. Thus far, Dr. Schliemann's argument is unanswerable." This is like the "Iliad" in a nutshell.

Short Notices.

Granite Crags. By C. F. Gordon Cumming, Author of "At Home in Fiji," "Fire Fountains," "In the Hebrides," etc. With illustrations. Pp. 382. W. Blackwood and Sons. 1884.

We once heard a friend at an anniversary of the Church Scripture Readers' Society make mention of a fact in connection with the work of ladies among the poorest of the middle class. A good lady in his parish called to see a sick person who was lodging in a sort of attic, and represented as very badly off indeed. The District Visitor mentioned her desire to the lodging-house mistress, who came to the door; whereupon the maid-of-all-work was summoned in a loud tone of voice to tell "the *lady* at the top of the house that a *woman* was come to see her." We were reminded of this story as we read an anecdote in the volume before us. Miss Gordon Cumming, with a friend, was leaving some country hotel in California:

Seeing our baggage lying in the dust (she writes), Mr. David, with marked politeness, signed to the conductor to have it stowed away; whereupon the latter, also most politely, turned to an exceedingly shabby-looking hanger-on, saying

[1] The so-called tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and the rest, turn out, to be mere cenotaphs or monuments, of an age much later than the Trojan War; and at the moment when we write we learn that Dr. Schliemann has discovered the tumulus at Marathon to be of the same character: a monument containing no human remains. For the special results given by the tumulus of Protesilaus on the Thracian Chersonese, as tending to prove the origin of the Trojans *from Europe*, we must refer to the work itself.