

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE
TROAD. ON THE SITE AND REMAINS OF CEBRENE.

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THE territory of Cebrenia has been assigned to the northern or right bank of the Scamander by, I believe, all modern writers on the topography of the Troad.

Leake supposes it to have occupied the higher regions of Ida on the west, and the valley of the Menderé as far down as Iné, which he identifies with Neandreia, and he places the metropolis of the territory at Kourshounlu-tepéh (on the upper course of the river), where Dr. Clarke discovered considerable remains.¹ Webb follows the general opinion, and places the town to the north of the Menderé, or Scamander.² These conjectures have been chiefly based on those passages in Strabo which mention that territory in connection with the district of Ilium. The statement in particular, that the long ridge separating the Simoisian and Scamandrian plains "extends as far as Cebrenia,"³ undoubtedly points to the extension northward of this territory, in the vicinity of Balli-Dagh and Bournabashi. This agrees, too, with a passage in Xenophon's account of the second Peloponnesian war, which describes Cebren as situated "on the side of Ilium, next Lectum."⁴ Strabo, in the section preceding that above quoted, defines Cebrenia as consisting for the most part of plains, and as situated "below" Dardania, and nearly parallel to it.⁵ The word *ἵπρό*, used topographically, always denotes *nearer the sea*. We find in the same passage that the territory of Dardania occupied the mountainous tracts at the foot of Ida, and that it bordered on Ilium towards the east.

In framing the above description the geographer, it will

¹ Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 274.

² Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico e presente dell' Agro Trojano, p. 65.

³ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 34.

⁴ Xen. *Hell.* lib. iii. c. 1, § 17.

⁵ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33.

be observed, takes his survey from the shores of the Hellespont, looking southwards. On the other hand, in his subsequent account of the opposite side of the country, near Cape Lectum and along the gulf of Adramyttium, we find that he again mentions Cebrenia as among the territories in that direction. He had previously stated that Hamaxitus was close to Cape Lectum.⁶ He goes on to say, "the Neandreians are situated above Hamaxitus, on this side (*i. e.*, northwards) of Lectum, but more towards the interior, and nearer to Ilium, from which they are distant 130 stadia. Above (*i. e.*, further inland than) *these people are the Cebrenii*; and above the Cebrenii the Dardanii, extending as far as Palæ Scepsis and even to Scepsis."⁷ In the same section he further says, "the country comprised in the districts of Antandria, Cebrene, Neandreia, and Hamaxitus, as far as the sea, opposite to Lesbos, now belongs to the people of Assos and Gargara." The general position of the other districts here named in their order being known, that assignable to Cebrenia on the map will appear by applying to it the annexed diagram.

The statement found in Pliny respecting Cebrene fully bears out this view of its extension to the vicinity of the Adramyttian Gulf, for, enumerating the places on the western coast of the Troad, in a direction from south to north, he says—



"The first place in Troas is Hamaxitus, then Cebrene, and then Troas itself, formerly called Antigonía, and now Alexandria, a Roman colony."⁸

The only other particulars given by Strabo respecting Cebrenia are, that the Scamander divides it from Scepsis.⁹ He explicitly defines the latter district as occupying the higher parts of Ida towards the east.

A comparison of these various notices will show that the territory of Cebrenia lay to the south of Ilium and Dardania; this last district extending towards the east as far as the junction of Cebrenia with Scepsis; that it was bounded to

⁶ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 47.
⁷ *Ib.* § 51.

⁸ Pliny, lib. v. c. 30.

⁹ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33.

the east by the upper course of the Scamander, which separates it from Scepsis, and that its western limits were the district of Neandreaia, in the neighbourhood of Tchigri-Dagh. Consequently, it must have been situated for the most part on the left bank of the Scamander; and the plains of which this extensive district chiefly consisted, according to Strabo, are to be identified with those of Baïramitch, in the fertile valley of the Menderé.

As regards the metropolis of the territory, Strabo merely states there was formerly a town named Cebrene, without indicating its position.¹ That this town was situated in the southern portion of Cebrenia appears probable from a passage in Xenophon, which describes the march of Dercyllidas from Ephesus and Æolis to Cebren *first*, then to Scepsis (Kours-hounlu-tepéh), and lastly to Gergis² (Balli-Dagh). And again, from another passage of the same author, mentioning the reception of Charidemus by "Ilium, Scepsis, and Cebren."³

The above comprises all the information that can be gathered from ancient authorities as to the situation of the city of Cebrene. As these seemed to assign to it a position south of the Scamander, I was induced to search for it in that direction. On arriving at the Turkish village of Turkmanlı, I ascertained that the remains of an ancient stronghold were to be found on the neighbouring hill of Tchali-Dagh ("Bush Mountain"), which furnished building material to all the surrounding villages. This hill is situated three miles S.S.E. from Turkmanlı, and nine miles S.W. by W. from Baïramitch. Ascending its northern slope, I was rewarded by the discovery of a site not hitherto visited, so far as I am aware, by any modern writer.⁴

¹ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις ποτὲ Κεβρήνη.

² Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17, 19, 21.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Webb does not appear to have observed the numerous remains of antiquity in this neighbourhood. "Continuando a scendere la valle dello Scamandro si arriva a Turkmanlı . . . In nessun di questi luoghi ci venne fatto di scoprire reste di antichità, né di applicare la posizione a nessuna città antica."—Agro Trojano, p. 65. Dr. Clarke says, on the contrary, "Before entering Turkmanlı, we observed the appearances of mounds heaped upon the soil, together with a

few granite pillars, some of which were still standing, and other remains denoting the site of some ancient citadel or temple. Various antiquities may be noticed in the whole of this route: they are very abundant in and about the village of Turkmanlı."—Clarke's Travels, p. 124. The granite pillars here mentioned do not appear to have been brought from Cebrene, where all the remains are of primitive limestone or marble and schist. The ancient site referred to is not that described in the present memoir, but other and far less considerable remains close to the village.

As the remains were evidently those of a very considerable fortified town, bearing every mark of the highest antiquity, I could not but at once identify them with Cebrene, "a very strong and ancient place," according to Xenophon's description.⁵

The town walls are from eight to ten feet in breadth, and, where complete, upwards of ten feet in height. They comprise a circuit of about three miles, and are distinctly traceable in their whole extent. Their course is over uneven ground. Facing the N.E. they cross the spur of a hill, upon whose summit is the Acropolis; and then, skirting the edge of some cliffs to the N.W., they descend and take in part of an elevated valley towards the west and south. The walls appear to have been built at different epochs. Those of a part of the Acropolis, and the inner city-walls facing the south, consist, like the "walled Tiryns" (*Τίρυνς τειχιόεσσα*) of Homer,⁶ of irregular masses of rock of a Cyclopean character. Those in the valley, and across the spur on the N.E. side of the Acropolis, are evidently the work of a later age, being formed of smoothly hewn blocks laid in more or less horizontal courses (see Sketch C). The wall in the lower part of the town has been in a great measure covered by the accumulation of soil washed down from the hill, completely filling it up on the inner side, and leaving but two or three layers of stone on the outer. An excavation made by a peasant, in order to construct a stable, uncovered the wall to a depth of ten feet without reaching its base.

Five gates are to be traced in the city walls; the principal ones being situated in the valley. And the remains of a causeway are visible part of the way down the gradual descent from thence to the plain of Bairamitch, in the direction of Bounar-bashi.⁷

Vestiges of ancient buildings are found all over this site, but especially towards the summit of the hill, where there are the foundations of what appears to have been a public edifice, consisting of large square blocks of stones. A rocky

⁵ "Κέβρηνη μάλα ισχυρῶ χωρίῳ"—Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17. Strabo also (lib. xiii. c. 1, § 47), speaking of the Neandreiens and Cebrenians, terms them the inhabitants of strongholds (*τῶν φρουρῶν*)

⁶ Iliad ii. 559.

⁷ Not the better known Bounar-bashi to the north, but a village between Turkmánli and Bairamitch, which, like the former, derives its name from the numerous springs near it.

eminence near this building has been cut away, so as to form a small cliff on its eastern side. There is another excavation at the summit, square in shape, and rather large and deep. Building material seems to have been very abundant at Cebrene, especially towards the east, where there are extensive quarries.

Tombs are found in all directions outside the city walls, except on the summit of the spur; but most of them have been opened, and their material, consisting of white marble, and micaceous-schist slabs, carried away. Some, however, I found intact on the southern and northern sides of the city, and these I excavated. The relics discovered in all showed an early period. Those to the south contained an armed head in terra cotta, resembling that found by Colonel Leake⁸ at Pyrgos, in all except that the highly ancient inscription in front, and the figures on the cheek-pieces are wanting. There were also a light-colored scyphos, with black or maroon-painted pattern, an aryballus, and cones of greenish-colored clay. Besides these fictilia, there were some small gold, silver, and bronze ornaments, and a bronze phiale $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

The tombs on the north side, just below the cliffs and Acropolis, are apparently of a yet earlier date. In one of them I found a large one-handed vase bearing a crescent in relief on the body, and two smaller vessels, all of unglazed earthenware. On the inner surface of one of the side-slabs of this tomb, there is an inscription which has not yet been deciphered.

Other inscriptions have been found in other tombs near this, and in a similar position; and some of the slabs are also worked in reticulated patterns.

During a week's stay at Tchali-Dagh, I obtained from the Yürüks a number of coins found by them on the site itself, and immediate neighbourhood. Amongst 71 that could be deciphered, no less than 25 were of Cebrene, including one picked up by myself in the Acropolis. Deducting 11 non-contemporaneous coins (Roman, Byzantine, &c.), this gives a proportion of 42 per cent. of Cebrenian coinage, against 58 per cent. divided amongst thirteen neighbouring districts and islands.⁹

⁸ Travels in the Morea, vol. i. p. 47.

⁹ The following is a statement of the whole: Cebrene, 25; Alexandria Troas, 9; Gergis, 7; Scepsis, 3; Gargara, 3;

I cannot but consider this as strong evidence in favour of the identity of Tchali-Dagh with Cebrene. The silver coins of Cebrene bear the type of a ram's head, sometimes with the letters KEB or KEBPH; and a punch mark on the obverse. The brass coins also have the ram's head, with or without the letters K or KE; and on the obverse Apollo's head. Another variety bears a female head, with the monogram composed of K and E conjoined (the K inverted), embracing the whole obverse.

The upper part of the hill is composed of primitive limestone, and its base—that is to say, the elevated valley above-mentioned—of serpentine and clay slate. Like the rest of the Ida range, of which it forms a spur, Tchali-Dagh is covered with pine forests, as in the Homeric age; and the Yürüks (mountain tribes) who have their huts on this mountain, are all occupied in cutting the timber of these trees.

The antiquity of Cebrene, mentioned by Xenophon, is further attested by the Homeric epigram: "Another tree sends forth better fruit than thou, O pine! on the heights of many-recessed, wind-swept Ida. There shall the sword of Mars fall upon earthly men, when the Cebrionian men possess it."¹ According to Demetrius of Scepsis, Cebriones, the spurious son of Priam, received his name from the district of Cebrenia, or more probably from the city of Cebrene.² There was a river Cebren, the mythical parent of Cœnone, wife of Alexander Paris; and, according to Demetrius, the sepulchre both of Paris and Cœnone existed in Cebrenia. This river may perhaps be identified with the Iné-Tchai, which has its source in the mountain near Cebrene, and swells into a considerable torrent in winter; traversing the plain of Samonium it falls into the Scamander, near the modern town of Iné.

Neandreia, 2; Æolis, 2; Thasos, 2; Mitylene, 2; Assos, 1; Hamaxitus, 1; Proconnesus, 1; Cyzicus, 1; Cyme 1; Roman, Byzantine, &c., 11; unascertained or illegible, 10; total, 81 coins, all of brass, except 1 of Gargara and 1 of Mitylene, which are of silver.

¹ Homeri quædam Epigr. ex Herodoto do vita Homeri; epigr. Pinus.

² Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1. § 33. Stephanus Byzantinus says, on the contrary, that

the city derived its name from Priam's son; but it has been justly remarked, that if the name of Cebrene or Cebrenia were derived from Cebriones, it would have been, according to analogy, Cebrionia.—See note to Bohn's edition of Strabo, vol. ii. p. 360. The ethnic name, according to Stephanus, was Κεβρηνος, Κεβρηνεύς, and Κεβρηνιος.—Steph. Byz. s. v. Κεβρηνία.

The purely Phrygian, that is, Thracian and pre-Hellenic origin of Cebrene may also be deduced from Strabo's notice in connection with the Troad of a tribe in Thrace called Cabrenii.³ After the immigration of the Greeks into Asia Minor, the Æolians of Cumæ sent a colony to Cebren, according to the statement of Ephorus, as quoted by Harpocrates.⁴

The city Cebren surrendered to Dercyllidas the Lacedæmonian (B.C. 399), who marched from thence against Scepsis and Gergitha.⁵ Charidemus of Orens, the Athenian general, exiled from his country at the demand of Alexander the Great (B.C. 355), was hospitably received by the inhabitants of Cebren, as well as of Ilium and Scepsis, who allowed him to enter those cities.⁶ Demetrius states that there was a continual feud between the people of Scepsis and the Cebrenii, until Antigonus removed both of them to his new town of Antigonía, afterwards called Alexandria Troas. The final extinction of Cebrene as an inhabited town may with great probability be assigned to this event, which took place towards the close of the fourth century before Christ (between the years 306 and 362 ?); for although the Scepsii obtained permission from Lysimachus to return to their country, the Cebrenians remained at their new place of abode.⁷ Strabo mentions Cybrene as a city no longer existing; and in his time, the former territory of the Cebrenians was possessed by the people of Assos and Gargara.⁸

³ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 21.

⁴ Harpocrates, s. v. Κέβρηνα.

⁵ Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16, § 17.

⁷ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33.

⁸ *Ib.* § 31.