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The discovery of material remains from the recent or the ancient past has always been a source of fascination, but the development of archaeology as an academic discipline which interpreted such finds is relatively recent. It was the work of Winckelmann at Pompeii in the 1760s which first revealed the potential of systematic excavation to scholars and the wider public. Pioneering figures of the nineteenth century such as Schliemann, Layard and Petrie transformed archaeology from a search for ancient artifacts, by means as crude as using gunpowder to break into a tomb, to a science which drew from a wide range of disciplines - ancient languages and literature, geology, chemistry, social history - to increase our understanding of human life and society in the remote past.

Mycenae

Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90) published *Mycenae*, an account of his archaeological excavations of the ancient Greek cities of Mycenae and Tiryns, in 1878. Schliemann's astonishing finds revealed that the cities had a historical reality outside Homeric epic. His excavations uncovered many priceless treasures, most famously the 'death mask of Agamemnon' and the shaft graves, filled with pottery, carved stones, skeletons, gold, jewellery and weaponry. He also uncovered much about the layout and architecture of the two lost cities. The volume is generously illustrated with images of artefacts, maps and charts. It is introduced by W. E. Gladstone, who gave Schliemann the political assistance necessary for the excavations to take place. Schliemann's discoveries were met with wild enthusiasm, and while today his methods of excavation are deplored and many of his conclusions thought to be ill-founded, he is rightly credited with the discovery of the lost and ancient Mycenaean civilisation.

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Heinrich Schliemann
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Mycenae

*A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at
Mycenae and Tiryns*

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN



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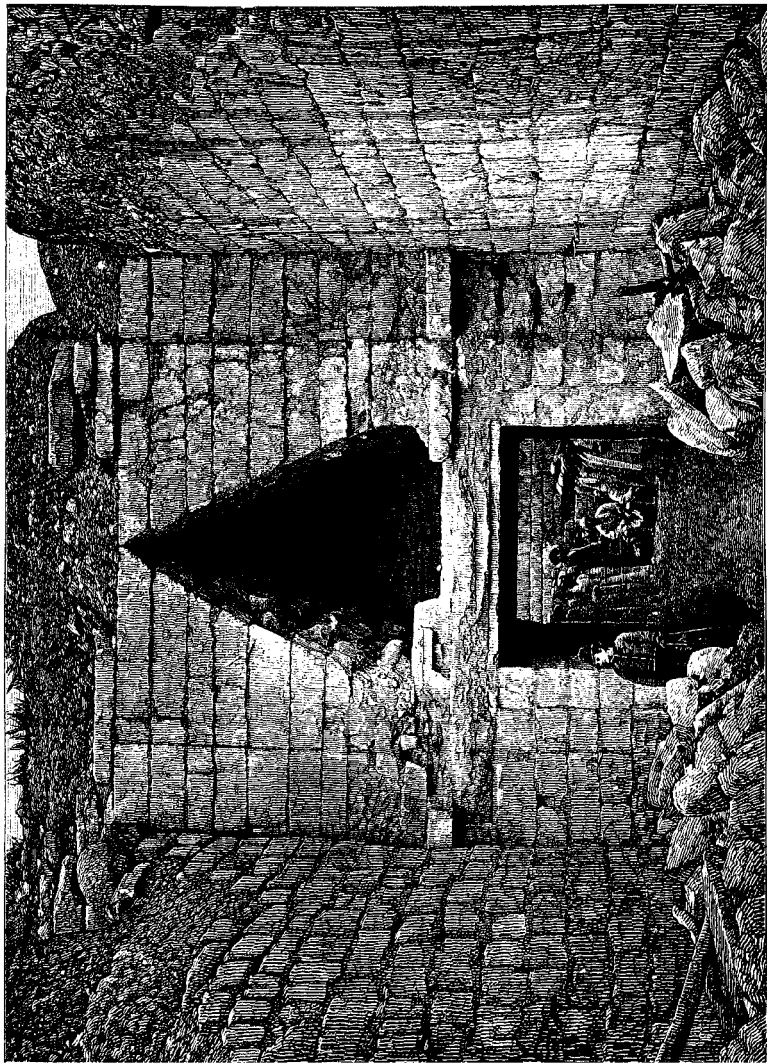
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PLATE V.



THE TREASURY CLOSE TO THE LIONS' GATE. Excavated by Mrs. SCHLIEMANN. *Frontispiece.*

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MYCENÆ;

A NARRATIVE OF RESEARCHES AND DISCOVERIES
AT MYCENÆ AND TIRYNS.

BY DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN,

CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :
AUTHOR OF 'TROY AND ITS REMAINS,' 'ITHAQUE, LE PELOPONNESE ET TROIE,
AND 'LA CHINE ET LE JAPON.'

THE PREFACE

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

MAPS, PLANS, AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

*REPRESENTING MORE THAN 700 TYPES OF THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE
ROYAL SEPULCHRES OF MYCENÆ AND ELSEWHERE
IN THE EXCAVATIONS.*

LONDON :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1878.

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Ἐπὶ δ' ἐγδοῦπῃσαν Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ
 Τιμῶσαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσιοι Μυκῆνης.
 HOM. *Il.* XI, 45, 46.

Πρὸς ἡμῶν
 κάππεσεν, κάτθανε, ἡμεῖς καὶ καταθάψομεν
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.
 ÆSCH. *Agam.* 1552-1554.

ᾧ τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ
 Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἐξεστί σοι
 παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὦν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί.
 Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἀργὸς οὐπόθεις τόδε,
 τῆς οἰστροπλῆγος ἄλσος Ἰνάχου κύρης
 αὕτη δ', Ὀρέστα, τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ
 Ἀγορὰ Λύκειος· οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὄδε
 Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναὸς οἷ δ' ἰκάνομεν,
 φάσκειν Μυκῆνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὁρᾶν
 πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε.
 SOPHOCLES, *Electra*, 1-10.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,
IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS KIND ASSISTANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT,
THIS ACCOUNT OF DISCOVERIES
MADE AT MYCENÆ AND TIRYNS, TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE
THE POEMS OF HOMER,
IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
Dedicated
BY
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

IT has been with much reluctance that, at the persevering request of Dr. Schliemann, I have undertaken to write a Preface to his Mycenaean volume. I have managed perhaps, though with long intermissions of the pleasant labour, to maintain a tolerable acquaintance with the text of Homer; and the due establishment of the points of contact between that text and the remains from Mycenæ is without question one of the essential aims, to which comment on this work requires to be addressed. But I have a horror of all specialism which travels beyond its proper province; and in this matter I am at best no more than a specialist, probably, too, not one of very high pretensions. I have not that practised skill, that comprehensive outlook over the whole field of Hellenic, and other than Hellenic archæology, which has conferred upon Mr. Newton his well-earned fame. The just conclusion from these premises appears to be, that I ought to have declined a charge *quod ferre recusent humeri*.* But there was, in ancient poetry, a Destiny stronger than the will of gods. To me, on this occasion, Dr. Schliemann is the vicegerent and organ of that Destiny. In view of the splendid services which he has conferred upon classical science, a power, that thrusts argument out of court, brings me to perceive, that I cannot but accede to his desire. I have however given the reader fair warning where and why he should be on his guard;

* Hor. *A. P.* 39.

and I shall make all the use I can of the landmarks laid down in the report which Mr. Newton, after an ocular inspection of these remains, published in the *Times* of April 20, 1877; and of the valuable papers of Mr. Gardner in the *Academy* (April 21 and 28). I believe that the interest, excited by Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, has been by no means confined to classical scholars. I shall therefore endeavour to be as little technical as possible, and to write, so far as may be, for a circle wider than that of the persons among us who are acquainted with the Greek tongue.

When the disclosures at Tiryns and Mycenæ were announced in England, my own first impression was that of a strangely bewildered admiration, combined with a preponderance of sceptical against believing tendencies, in regard to the capital and dominating subject of the Tombs in the Agora. I am bound to say, that reflection and a fuller knowledge have nearly turned the scales the other way. There are indeed, not only gaps to be supplied, but difficulties to be confronted, and to be explained; or to be left over for future explanation. Yet the balance, I will not say of evidence, but of rational presumption, seems as though it might ultimately lean towards the belief that this eminent explorer has exposed to the light of day, after 3000 years, the memorials and remains of Agamemnon and his companions in the Return from Troy. But let us endeavour to feel our way by degrees up to this question, gradually and with care, as a good general makes his approaches to a formidable fortress.

I find, upon perusing the volume of Dr. Schliemann, that the items of evidence, which connect his discoveries generally with the Homeric Poems, are more numerous, than I had surmised from the brief outline, with which he favoured us upon his visit to England in the spring.

1 He presents to us the rude figures of cows; and

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upon a signet ring (No. 531) and elsewhere, cow-heads not to be mistaken. He then points to the traditional worship, from the first, of Hera in Argolis; and he asks us to connect these facts with the use of *Boopis* (cow-eyed) as a staple epithet of this goddess in the Poems; and he might add, with her special guardianship of Agamemnon in his interests and his personal safety (*Il. I.* 194–222.)

This appears to me a reasonable demand. We know that upon some of the Egyptian monuments the goddess Isis, mated with Osiris, is represented in human figure with the cow's head. This was a mode of exhibiting deity congenial to the spirit of an Egyptian immigration,* such as might, compatibly with the text of Homer, have taken place some generations before the *Troïca*. But it was also a mode against which the whole spirit of Hellenism, according to the authentic type of that spirit supplied in the Poems, utterly revolted. We find there a Hera, who wore, so to speak, the mantle of Isis, besides carrying the spoils of one or more personages enrolled in the Golden Book of the old Pelasgian dynasties. Nothing could be more natural than a decapitation of the Egyptian Isis, not penally but for her honour. She might consequently appear with the human head; but, not to break sharply with the traditions of the people, the cow-head, and even the cow figure, might nevertheless be retained as symbols of religion. And the great Poet, who invariably keeps these symbols so to speak at arms' length, in order that he may prevent their disparaging the creed of which he was the great doctor, might nevertheless select from the bovine features that one which was suited to his purpose, and give to his Hera, who was never a very intellectual

* Since this Preface was put in type, the fragments of an ostrich egg, originally mistaken for an alabaster vase, have been tested and verified. This object seems to afford a new indication of prehistoric relations between Mycenæ and Egypt.

deity, the large tranquil eye of the cow. The use of the epithet for Hera in Homer is not, indeed, exclusive, and I admit that he may have inherited that use. But, though not exclusive, it is very special; and this speciality is enough to give a sensible support to the doctrine of our famous explorer.

2. The buildings improperly called Cyclopean, and still more improperly endowed with the alternative name of Pelasgian, have long been known, more or less, to exist in Argolis; but Dr. Schliemann has thrown some light on what I may perhaps be allowed to call their diversity of style. He admits three forms found in this kind of building. I have objected to the current names, the first because it does not inform; the second because it misleads, for these buildings have no true connection with the Pelasgian tribes. What they indicate is the handiwork of the great constructing race or races, made up of several elements, who migrated into Greece, and elsewhere on the Mediterranean, from the south and east, and who exhibit an usual, though perhaps not an invariable connection with the Poseidon-worship; a worship, with which the Cyclopean name is, through the Odyssey, perceptibly associated, and which is one of the main keys, as I have long been persuaded, wherewith in time to unlock, for Hellenic and Homeric regions, the secrets of antiquity. The walls of Troy were built by Poseidon; that is, by a race who practised the worship of the god. How far those walls conform to any of the minuter points of the descriptions of 'Cyclopean' architecture by Dr. Schliemann, (pp. 42, 123), I cannot say. But if he is right, as seems probable, in placing Troy at Hissarlik, it is important to notice that this work of Poseidon had a solidity, which bore it unharmed through the rage of fire, and kept it well together amidst all the changes which have buried it in a hill of rubbish and promiscuous remains. And

of course the modes, used by the very same race in the business of building, could not but vary much with the circumstances of each case, and especially with the material at hand. I am tempted, at least until a better name can be found, to call this manner of building Poseidonian. At any rate, whatever it be called, I note it as a point of correspondence between the Poems and the discoveries; admitting at the same time that the matter is not sufficiently developed to warrant me in laying upon it any considerable stress.

3. The beehive-like building, which is rather loosely called the Treasury of Atreus, presents to us over the doorway (p. 43) two enormous slabs, one of them supposed to weigh from 130 to 135 tons. I only refer to them for the sake of reminding the reader that, as I think, we must be prepared, in this and other matters, freely to recognise the hand of the foreigner at work; who brought with him into Greece attainments, not to be despised, of material civilisation. More pointedly I wish to observe that in the interior of the Treasury, from the fourth course upwards, there are visible (p. 44) in each stone two bored holes, and in many of them the remains of 'bronze' nails still existing. Similar holes, it appears, are found (p. 45) in the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos. The purpose of these nails, says our author, could only be to attach to the wall what in one place he calls the bronze, and in another the brazen plates, with which the whole interior was once decorated. On the secondary question, what was the exact material employed, let me here observe that of brass those ages knew nothing, and that bronze, particularly in that stage of material development, was wholly unsuited for sheeting. But, as to the structural point, we have here a remarkable point of contact with the Homeric text. For in the palace of Alkinoos, king of the Phaiakes, a splendour as of sun or moon dazzled the eye, for the walls

were of *chalkos* (*Od.* VII. 86, cited p. 44), which I hope I may now boldly translate copper – a metal unlike bronze (*a*) in being readily malleable, (*b*) in being throughout the Poems most usually lustrous, a character which I do not suppose we should assign to bronze. On the other hand, the comparative softness of copper was not well suited for the nails, so bronze might very well be employed. Nor does this conjunction of the two metals, pure and mixed, in the same work, carry us away from the text of Homer for his wall-sheets of copper in Scherie were crowned with a cornice of his dark *kuanos*, which I take to be bronze. This copper sheeting is a feature of the supreme Olympian Palace (*Il.* I. 426, *Od.* VIII. 321), built by Hephaistos of the skilful mind. I think I could show that it also adorned the palaces of Menelaos and Odysseus, and could point out, moreover, why all this is in accordance with the distinctly foreign and eastern character of the embellishment – but an exhibition of the evidence would lead me into too great length; and I note only for the present purpose the remarkable correspondence of the archæology with the Poems.

4. Passing from architectural to movable objects, I observe that Dr. Schliemann found both knives and keys of iron in Mycenæ, but that from their form he assigns them to a later and strictly historic period. Old Mycenæ, therefore, in accordance with Hissarlik, has afforded us, up to the present time, no remains of this metal. In the Poems it is freely mentioned, but as a rare and valuable substance, used where great hardness was required, and for objects comparatively small and portable; except, indeed, in the case of the Gates of Tartaros (*Il.* VIII. 15), where the Poet could dispose of as much material as he pleased. The aggregate quantity, then, was small; and the instruments were likely to be carried away on the abandonment or destruction of a city. Its absence may therefore be accounted for, in part by its value, but also, and more

especially, because it so readily corrodes.* Therefore, although we cannot here establish a positive correspondence, neither have we any occasion to admit a discrepancy.

5. Neither need we, I think, suppose any variance between the chariot, as our author found it on the second tombstone of the Acropolis (p. 84), and the Homeric picture. True, he finds a wheel of four spokes, and the Olympian car of Hera had eight (*Il.* V. 723); but this diversity of structure is probably introduced, like the diversity of material, by way of divine distinction, and to show the superior elaboration and strength of the vehicle.†

6. We have at Mycenæ the *Agora*, or place of Assembly, in full agreement with the Poems on the two points, first of its circular form (pp. 338, 339), and secondly of the smoothed horizontal slabs, bounding the circle, on which the Elders sate. I do not dilate upon these, as they are fully noticed in the text: but I shall return to the subject, in connection with the situation chosen for the tombs, and the inferences which are to be drawn from this important circumstance.

I will now hazard, before proceeding further with my list, one or two general remarks on the works of art and ornament, referring again to the reports of Mr. Newton and Mr. Gardner, as the most trustworthy comment on the text of our author concerning them.

First, I have to offer some reflections on the general

* In the remarkable Museum of the Royal Academy of Ireland are two swords referred to the Danish period, which were taken out of a bed of mud. After a repose of perhaps a thousand years, they do not exhibit corrosion to the common eye. But the case is considered exceptional, so far as the metal is concerned; and Ireland exhibits, in bogs and elsewhere, remarkable instances of antiseptic power.

† I do not think it proved that, as Schliemann seems to convey (p. 84), the chariot-box was removed and fastened on each occasion of using it. The passages in *Il.* XXIV. 190 and 267 refer to the *peirins* of the waggon. In *Od.* XV. 131, it is simply mentioned as a portion of the carriage, with no reference to detaching it.

character of the discoveries, and on its relation to the state of Art exhibited in the Poems. It seems reasonable to believe, especially after what has been shown by Mr. Gardner respecting the four tombstones, that they constituted the contemporary seal of a great deposit. It results, I think, from the evidence before us that it is impossible to reduce to one school or style or stage of art the whole of the objects exhumed. But on this I would observe first that, although they were simultaneously deposited in honour of the dead, they might have been the productions of more than one generation: secondly, that not only are we not required, but, in so far as we draw light from the Homeric Poems, we are hardly permitted, to refer them collectively to a domestic origin.

I gather from Mr. Gardner's report that the Art exhibited on the Pottery is more uniformly backward, than that exhibited by the works of metal. But this pottery, which was, whether wheel-made or hand-made, of an early stage in the manufacture, was far more likely to be domestic; while the works in the precious metals might be imported. Or they might be the productions of foreign artists, attracted to the Court of Agamemnon; in the same manner as we find that Daidalos, whose name, however mythical, represents a foreign influence, executed in Crete, for Ariadne, the representation of a dance in metal. Let us examine this subject a little further.

The discovery, or the inspection, of the works must without doubt in the first instance suggest a reference of them to a local school of goldsmiths. But, considering the numerous points of contact between the discoveries and the Homeric Poems, it is important to know whether, and how far, they really favour such a supposition. This is not the place for an examination in detail of all the works of Art mentioned by Homer. I believe there is no one of them, of which the purely Greek origin can be

established by proof from the text, while the manufacture abroad and the importation are frequently mentioned. At the same time, there are some considerations which tend to show that, if there were local workmen in Greece capable of producing objects such as those now exhumed, it is at Mycenæ that we should expect to find them. First, on account of the wealth of the city, and of its position as the capital of the country. Secondly, on account of the wealth of Agamemnon personally, and his acquisitiveness if not his avarice, which made him eager to spoil those whom his spear had slain, and which is the subject of varied allusions in the *Iliad*. It must be remembered that in those days works of art were not merely ornamental, but were a favourite form, as their name (*keimelia*) shows, of stored wealth: and of these, even in Troas, Agamemnon possessed many (*Il. IX. 330*). Thirdly, an indication, perhaps more significant, may be drawn from the remarkable passage in the Eleventh Book (15–46), which describes the arming of Agamemnon for the field. The first portion of the armour, that attracts observation, is an elaborately wrought breast-plate, which had come from Cyprus, a seat of Phœnician settlement. We next come to the sword, which I shall presently describe. This is followed by the shield, adorned with many bosses of metal, but also carrying a representation of the Gorgon, and of the heads or figures of Fear and Panic. This shield must be considered as a true work of art; and the same may be said of its band or strap, which carried the figure of a three-headed snake. There is nothing said to connect these works with foreign manufacture. The family of Agamemnon was, indeed, of a foreign origin comparatively recent; but it may remain an open question, whether these arms are presumptively referable, or not, to a domestic manufacture.

The deposits appear, again, to differ extremely in point of merit. I set aside the objects directly symbolical, because,

where religion, or idolatry, is in question, excellence in workmanship becomes secondary, or even ceases to be desired. Among the other objects, I gather that none exhibit a very high order of technical qualities. But, if we may rely upon photographic representation, they surely exhibit lively and forcible movement, as well as many of the elements of nobleness, beauty, and fertility of invention; particularly in ornamentation, as distinguished from the representation of life, either animal or vegetable. Some of this diversity may be due to difference of date; some, perhaps much, to the superiority of the immigrant hand, or of imported works. That there were foreigners resident in Greece at the time of the *Troïca*, we have every reason to infer from one conspicuous case, that of Eche-polos, a son of Anchises, who was allowed to present the mare Aithè to Agamemnon, as the price of his exemption (*Il.* XXIII. 296) from service against Troy. If there be anywhere in the Poems an account of a work of art produced in Greece or by a Greek, it is the bedstead of Odysseus,* wrought by himself (*Od.* XXIII. 190-201); and to him, after a good deal of consideration, I am inclined to ascribe a close connection with the immigrant or Phœnician stock; though this representation might also be due to his unequalled versatility and universality of accomplishment. There was indeed a *Chrusochoös* or gold-plater at the Court of Nestor (*Od.* III. 425); but the very same man goes by the name of *Chalkeus* or coppersmith (*Ibid.* III. 432). And it would even seem that working in metals cannot have been a principal or prominent employment in an Achaian community, for no such person is named in the remarkable

* Ikmalios is mentioned in *Od.* XIX. 57 as the maker of a chair inlaid with ivory and silver. I cannot doubt that this was foreign, since it is marked as the work of a former age: ἤν ποτε τέκτων ποίησ' Ἰκμάλιος, "which erewhile Ikmalion with cunning hand had made" (Norgate). 'Erewhile' will not be found in Todd or Latham: but it is in Shakespeare, and the Dictionary of Worcester and Webster contains it.

passage of the *Odyssey* (XVII. 384) which supplies a sort of list, and where the wood-worker, or carpenter, appears.

The list of these objects, and of their ornaments, is on the whole richer and more diversified than the Poems, with the exception of the famous Shield of Achilles, would have led us to expect. Possibly a knowledge of the Mycenaean treasures may have prompted or aided a vigorous imagination, in that wonderful anticipation of excellences which had not been realized in practice. The most remarkable feature, I think, of all Homer's delineations of art is the force and reality with which he confers animation on things inanimate. And perhaps the eye may be struck, in examining Schliemann's illustrations, with the vigour of life and motion which asserts itself in many of the Mycenaean works, where the delineation is technically most imperfect. But we cannot compare the text with these remains alone; we are bound also to avail ourselves of such light as can be had from Hissarlik, whatever its effect upon our prepossessions or our arguments. Now I, for one, am struck with the wealth of Mycenæ, and the comparative poverty of what is probably Troy. I do not mean merely as to the small number of valuable remains, for this may be due to chance; though, indeed, Fortune, for once renouncing her caprice, seems in both cases to have obeyed the dictates of archæological justice, and to have treated Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann as her favourite children. But I mean that there is far less of *luxé* in the ornamentation of the works at Hissarlik; I might, perhaps, say no representation at all of life, except in the rudest and most barbarous form. There seem to be very good forms in the gold and silver objects of Hissarlik, but always associated with plain work; no animal or even vegetable representation calling for notice from the present point of view, none of the *repoussé* work, nothing resembling the (apparently) beautiful cylinder (p. 287), or the elaborate rings photographed in this volume. How are we to account for this?

And does an argument hence arise, that the Hissarlik remains belong to a period different from, and anterior to, that which produced the works at Mycenæ? That the adverse case may be made as strong as possible, let it be borne in mind that while Homer indicates Orchomenos, and above all Egyptian Thebes, as the wealthiest cities of his little world, he seems designedly to assign the very same stage of opulence to Troy, which he gives to Mycenæ; for he describes by one and the same epithet, *poluchrusos*, which means gold-abounding, these two cities and these two alone. Troy has it in *Il.* XVIII. 289. For Mycenæ it was almost a formula; see *Il.* VII. 180, XI. 46; *Od.* III. 305.

We have now before us, as is not improbable, the choicest samples of what the two cities had to boast of; and the question is, can we account for the difference in opulence, and stage of art, between them? I conceive that we can, at least in a considerable degree; but it is only by that acknowledgment, which some are still indisposed to make, of the broad vein of historic reality, that runs through the delineations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Three passages of the *Iliad*, in particular, convey to us that the city of Troy was suffering great impoverishment by the War. Indeed, if there be a grain of fact in the tale, it could not be otherwise. For the means of resisting the truly national attack of the Achæians, she was dependent neither on a good cause, nor on a soldiery commensurate with theirs. She had to seek strength from without; first from the grudging support of Dardania, secondly from the neighbouring tribes both of Europe and of Asia. It might even be inferred from the text that nine-tenths of the fighting power (*Il.* II. 123–33) were other than strictly domestic. But this support from without could only be got by paying for it. Accordingly Hector, in the Seventeenth Book speaks with the authority (220–32) of a general addressing allies, who are duly compensated for their services. So also we know that the great Eurupulos

and his Keteians,* or Hittites (*Od.* XI. 520), fall in numbers on the plains of Troy, “serving for gifts.” “I wear out the Trojans,” says Hector, “with presents and with victualling for you.” Again in the Twenty-fourth Book, Achilles, compassionately addressing Priam, says, “We hear that you once were prosperous, and exceeded in wealth, as well as in the number of your sons, all the neighbouring countries” (543–6). The inference is obvious; that at the time, though the city had not been captured, it was becoming comparatively poor. But the most express testimony is that of *Il.* XVIII. 288–92, when Hector stimulates his countrymen to sally out, by reminding them that they are already well-nigh ruined. Once, he says, all men were wont to celebrate the wealth of Troy; “but now the fine valuables have utterly disappeared from our mansions.”

τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐξάπολλε δόμων κειμήλια καλά·

And, under the wrath of Zeus, multitudes of their possessions had been sent in exchange to Phrygia and Mæonia; in exchange, that is, as I presume, for necessaries. But the great Mycenaean deposit, if Schliemann be right in his view, was made before the time of any sack or depopulation of the city. Upon such an issue of life and death, as that offered to the Trojans, the best objects would naturally be parted with, as the most effective for their purpose (see *Il.* XXIV. 234–7); and accordingly, if we are comparing Troy and Mycenæ at all, we are comparing Troy in its exhaustion with Mycenæ in its prosperity.

We have among the remains in the precious metals from Hissarlik, I believe, no representation of an animal, either chased or in the round. But the Poems give us several examples of such works in the possession of Greeks;

* ‘Homeric Synchronism,’ pp. 171 *seq.* I do not here enter on the curious question what is the precise meaning of *γυναιᾶ δῶρα*.

though commonly under presumptions of foreign production, as it would not be difficult to show.

It is true, indeed, that Troy, in immediate contact with the large fertile districts of Asia Minor, had means of material growth by land-trade, which Greece, split by her mountain chains into comparatively narrow tracts of cultivable soil, did not possess. But it seems likely that even in those days the maritime commerce, stimulated by Phœnician ships and settlements, may have compensated, or more than compensated, for this disadvantage. Of the trade in metals and in corn, carried on by their race, we have distinct information in the Poems (*Od.* I. 183-4, XIV. 333-5). They had, in all likelihood, already been followed by the Greeks. The voyage of the ship *Argo* seems to have been of a mixed character. The ships of the armament against Troy could hardly have been supplied by a people, who had not made a substantial beginning in maritime trade. The navigation of the coasts, without reference to purposes of war, is evidently a familiar idea in the *Odyssey*. But, in the *Iliad*, the construction of the ships of Paris is noted as the remarkable work of a remarkable man (*Il.* V. 59-64); nor do we, except in this one ill-omened case, ever hear of Trojan navigation.

Once more. We are given to understand * that signs of the art of writing have been discovered at Hissarlik; whereas the new volume supplies us with nothing of the kind for Mycenæ. But nothing, I apprehend, can be affirmed of its existence either in Greece or Troas during the Homeric age, except as the secret of a few; in Greece it was manifestly exotic, and perhaps it may have been the same in Troas. As long as the evidence remains in this state, we cannot infer from it with confidence any important proposition as to comparative advancement.

I now resume the list of points of contact between the

* 'Troy and its Remains,' pp. 369, 371.

Mycenean discoveries and the Poems, by noticing such of them as are found in movables.

1. As the first of these I take the free use of copper for large utensils (pp. 274–277). We have also the analysis, supplied by Dr. Percy, of a sword and a vase-handle of bronze (pp. 372–5). In my judgment, we have no sign whatever from the Poems of the fusion of metals together as a domestic practice; while we have abundant proof of the importation and foreign production of works of art and implements in bronze. This vase, then, may probably have been foreign. The same is likely with respect to the sword. We know that swords were exported and imported between different countries. Thrace was a seat of manufacture both for fine works of art (*Il.* XXIV. 234) and for weapons (*Il.* XXIII. 808): and we find a sword, “beautiful and long,” from Thrace, in the possession of the Trojan Prince Helenos (*Il.* XIII. 577). Moreover, copper was an abundant metal, tin a rare one. Bronze weapons, therefore, must have been expensive. And the swords of bronze found in the tombs, in conjunction with all other costly objects, are just where we should have expected them. Even so at Hissarlik, two battle-axes found in the Treasure, and presumably belonging therefore to distinguished persons, were of bronze.* But axes made of pure copper may be seen in the Museum of the Irish Academy; and the great layer of copper-scoriæ at Hissarlik, without any tin, seems effectually to show that copper was the staple metal of the heroic period. It may be that our archæologists will have to insert a copper age in their lists, between their age of stone and their age of bronze. If weapons of copper were to be discovered in the tombs at Mycenæ, no circumstance could more enhance the proofs afforded by the Poems of the general use of copper;

* ‘Troy and its Remains,’ p. 361. One of these had only about four per cent. of tin. Could this have been a native admixture?

because the weapons in the tombs are weapons of the persons most likely to be able to command the use of bronze. I hope that the analysis, already begun, will be applied to a much larger number of objects. In the mean time, as to large utensils, I find the discoveries already in close correspondence with the Poems.

2. The most remarkable, perhaps, in themselves, of all the objects discovered at Hissarlik, were the two elaborate head-dresses of gold, which for the first time enabled us to construe, with reasonable confidence, the entire passage in the Iliad (XXII. 468–72), which describes the head-dress cast away by Andromachè in the agony of her grief. The print will not have been forgotten, which exhibits the *plektè anadesmè*.^{*} It was a series of gold plaits, hanging down, over the forehead and the ears, from the broad band (*ampūx*) which ran round the head, and which constituted as it were the base of the ornament. With these objects, and with the Poems, Schliemann associates, incontestably as it would appear, the ornament No. 357 (p. 248); a band or frontlet adorned “with rosettes and crosses. It has two perforations in the rim, a little way from either end, from one of which is still hanging the fragment of a very fine chain.” The only variation in the fashion of the thing seems to be, that the plaits have not been continued over the forehead.

3. Hissarlik did nothing for us towards explaining the *kredemnon*; an article of head-dress worn by many or some women of the heroic age, who could not add to it the splendid decorations then reserved for princesses. But the definitions of this commodity are supplied for us by the Poems, piecemeal indeed, yet with adequate clearness. In the first place, it crowned the head like the battlements of a walled city; for the destruction of the walls of Troy is described as the ruin of its sacred *kredemna* (*Il.* XVI. 100).

* ‘Troy and its Remains,’ p. 335.

It was not, however, a metallic or solid object; for the deified Ino, to save Odysseus from the fury of the storm, throws to him her own *kredemnon* and bids him bind it round his chest (*Od.* V. 346). It used to be made of delicate and glossy material (*Od.* I. 334), and was worthy even to be a marriage gift from Aphroditè to the bride of Hector (*Il.* XXII. 470). But finally, it had a long wing, tail, or lappet (I am not skilled or confident in this vocabulary), descending from behind, perhaps more than one. This is shown indirectly, but I think conclusively, by the information given us in *Od.* VI. 100, that the handmaidens of Nausicaä, when about to play at ball, first put away their *kredemna*, evidently lest the free movement of their arms should be embarrassed by the long lappets. Again, it is evident that Penelopè, when she used her *kredemna* to cover her face, brought the lappets round and employed them as a veil; on any other ground the use of the plural can hardly be explained (*Od.* I. 334). And now this part of the prehistoric lady's toilette is as complete as I can make it from the Poems.

I turn, then, to Dr. Schliemann's volume, and call attention to the signet ring at p. 354, which, though apparently not of a high order in art, combines so many objects of interest. On the extreme left of the picture stands a child, or small woman, who is picking fruit from a tree. Behind her head appear to descend long tresses of hair. What if these should prove on further examination to be lappets from a head-dress which the head seems to carry? Passing to the right of the tree, first comes a tall seated woman in a turban, which carries in front, says our author, a diadem and behind a "tress of hair" from the point into which the turban runs. I cannot but suppose this "tress" to be a lappet of the *kredemnon*. She offers poppies to another tall woman, again dressed in a turban running out into a point (p. 356), "from which a long ornament hangs down on the back;" a third time, in all

likelihood, the lappet of the *kredemnon*. Below her outstretched right arm we have another small figure, probably of a child, again in a turban, and with "a long tress of hair, or some ornament, hanging down its back:" yet once more, I conjecture, the lappet indicated by Homer. There is also a fifth: we have still the figure to the right of the picture (p. 357); and she, too, wears a turban terminating in a point "from which a long band-like ornament hangs down on her back." Now let us go aloft; and we find a small figure, towards the right of the picture. This figure (p. 357) is described by Schliemann as female, from his observing breasts upon it: and again, "from the back project the long bands." Thus, in all the six cases, we appear to have the same remarkable form described for the main article of female head-dress, which is also given us by Homer.

It may, however, be said that the female figures on this ring are foreign, rather than Hellenic, in their character and habiliments. But it happens that the evidence of the Poems more copiously establishes the use of the *kredemnon* among foreigners, than in Greece. We hear indeed of the *kredemna* of Penelopè; and Hera, when about to inveigle Zeus, assumes the *kredemnon* (*Il.* XIV. 184). But it is worn, as we have seen, by Andromachè in Troy; by Ino, a deity of Phœnician extraction; and by the maidens attendant on Nausicaä in Scheriè.

4. In the upper region, or what we might call the sky of the picture, are presented to us, apparently in very rough outline, the sun and a thinly horned moon.* Below

* I wish here to call attention to the fact that, as always (I believe) in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, the moon is on this ring also distinguished from the sun, not by its size, but by its being a crescent moon. In truth, the distinction of size, to the common eye, is variable; and is sometimes against the sun. Two full-formed globes of equal diameter would have presented a picture alike defective in composition

them is an uneven band, forming rudely an arc of a circle. This, I am led to suppose, is an indication of mother-earth, with its uneven surface of land and its rippling sea, in the proper place, beneath the sun and moon. If this be so, it greatly confirms the conjecture of Mr. Newton respecting the six objects on the rim of the picture to the right. He asks whether these can be the *teireia* (*Il.* XVIII. 485), the stars of heaven, which are described by Homer as placed upon the Shield of Achilles, together with the sun, moon, sky, earth, and sea. Schliemann assigns to this *sestetto* heads and eyes: Mr. Newton says they are thought to be heads of lions. That they should be things animate is not, I imagine, in conflict with the conjecture that they may be stars. The spirit of Hellenism transmuted the older Nature-worship by impersonations, of which we have an Homeric example in the astral Orion (*Il.* XVIII. 486, *Od.* XI. 572). Should these conjectures be confirmed, the matter will be of peculiar interest: for we shall then have before us, in actual collocation, the very objects, which people the first compartment of the god-wrought Shield of Achilles: the earth (of land and sea), sun, moon, and all the stars of heaven. The *ouranos* or heaven itself, which the Poet also includes, is here in all likelihood represented by the curvature of the picture.

5. The goblet (No. 346 of the volume) has on each of its two handles, we are told, the carved figure of a dove in gold. Schliemann observes on the correspondence with the goblet of Nestor (*Il.* XI. 632–635). We are not, indeed,

and in meaning: and ancient art, not content with this, seized, more poetically as I think, upon the distinction of character in the two bodies respectively. Homer, as I contend, has exactly followed this form of representation in his *σελήνην τε πλήθουσσαν*: and I venture to hope that the sense of growing, filling, waxing, or crescent moon will now be allowed to prevail over the more customary rendering of ‘full’ moon (*Il.* XVIII. 484).

told that this was of gold ; probably a different material is to be supposed, from the mention of gold as the material of these parts or appendages. But it had four handles, and on each handle were two doves. We are also told that he did not get it in Troy, which may remind us of the argument already presented. He had brought it from home. It was probably a foreign work ; for the Phœnician associations of Nestor are attested by his descent from Poseidon (*Od.* XI. 254). This is fairly to be noted for an instance of equable development in art, as between the discoveries and the Poems.

6. We frequently hear in the Poems of the golden studs or buttons which were used as ornamental adjuncts. In many passages we have the silver-studded sword, *xiphos* (or *phasganon*) *arguroëlon* (*Il.* II. 45, III. 334 *et al.*). This, I say, is common. We have also studs, or bosses, of gold upon the staff or sceptre of Achilles (*Il.* I. 246), upon the cup of Nestor (*Il.* XI. 632–635) : and upon a sword, only once it is true, but then that sword is the sword of Agamemnon, king of gold-abounding Mycenæ (*Il.* XI. 29). On this sword, says the Poet, there were gilt, or golden, bosses ; and the expression he uses about them (*pamphainon*) is worthy of note. It is not easy to represent by any one English word. It means not merely shining brightly, but shining all over ; that is to say, apparently, all over the sheath to which they were attached, so as to make it seem a shining mass. Is not this precisely what must have been the effect of the line of bosses found lying by the sword in p. 303, which lie closely together, are broader than the blade, and probably covered the whole available space along the sheath of wood, now mouldered away ? And is it not now startling, to descend into the tombs with Dr. Schliemann, and to find there, lying silently in rows, these gold studs or bosses, when the wooden sheaths they were attached to have for the most part mouldered away, but by the very sides of the very swords which they adorned like binding on a

book, and of the slight remains of warriors by whom, there need be little doubt, those swords were wielded?

“Expende Annibalem; quot libras in duce summo
 Invenies?” *

They also appear on the sword-handle knobs. The *helos* of Homer is commonly rendered a ‘nail’ or ‘stud,’ which has a head of small size; but the word probably includes the larger buttons or bosses, which lie in lines along some of the swords. (See on this point pp. 281, 2; 303, 5, 6.)

I will not attempt to pursue further an enumeration which, growing more and more minute, would be wearisome. If porcelain and glass have been found, I should at once assign them to foreign importation. The art of casting and tooling in the precious metals, of which the examples would appear, both from our author and from Mr. Newton, to be few, are probably to be referred to a like source. The hammer and the pincers are the only instruments for metallic manipulation, of which Homer appears to be aware (*Il.* XVIII. 477, *Od.* III. 434–5). As regards the pottery mentioned by our author, if some of the goblets were of light green (p. 285), we have a colour developed in their manufacture of which Homer had certainly no distinct conception, though it may still be true that, as in nature, so in human art, objects bearing that colour may have met his eye. Of the scales in the third sepulchre there seems no reason to doubt that we may find the interpretation, by referring them to the Egyptian scheme of doctrine with regard to a future life (pp. 197, 8). In the Books of the Dead, we have an elaborate representation of the judgment-hall, to which the departed soul is summoned. Here the scales form a very prominent object;† and it seems very possible that the Poet, who was Greek and not Egyptian in

* Juvenal, *Sat.* X. 147.

† See, *e.g.*, the print in Manning’s ‘Land of the Pharaohs,’ p. 129.

his ideas of the future state, may have borrowed and transposed, from this quarter, the image of the balances displayed on high, which he employs with such fine effect in some critical passages of the *Iliad*. As regards the emblem of the double-headed or full-formed axe, I venture to dispense with the cautious reserve of Schliemann. As the usual form of a weapon familiar to the age, it seems to require no special explanation (p. 252). But where we find it conjoined with the ox-head (p. 218), or on the great signet ring in conjunction with a figure evidently representing Deity, I cannot hesitate to regard it as a sacrificial symbol. We have only to remember the passage in the third Odyssey, where the apparatus of sacrifice is detailed, and Thrasumedes, who was to strike the blow, brought the axe (III. 442): —

πέλεκυν δὲ μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης
 ὁξύν ἔχων ἐν χερσὶ παρίστατο, βούν ἐπικόψων.

The boar's teeth (p. 273) supply a minor, perhaps, but a clear and significant point of correspondence to be added to our list (*Il.* X. 263–264). Another is to be noticed in the manner of attaching, by wire, lids and covers. On these subjects, I refer to the text of the volume.

By the foregoing detail I have sought to show, that there is no preliminary bar to our entertaining the capital question whether the tombs now unearthed, and the remains exposed to view, under masks for the faces, and plates of gold covering one or more of the trunks, are the tombs and remains of the great Agamemnon and his compeers, who have enjoyed, through the agency of Homer, such a protracted longevity of renown. For the general character of the Mycenaean treasures, I take my stand provisionally on the declaration of Mr. Newton (supported by Mr. Gardner), that, in his judgment, they belong to the prehistoric or heroic age, the age antecedent to his Greco-Phœnician period; and in important outlines of detail I have endeavoured to show that they have many points of contact with the Homeric Poems,