

# TIRYNS.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE EXCAVATIONS.

IN the beginning of August 1876, I had worked at Tiryns for a week with 51 men, had sunk on the high plateau of the citadel 13 pits and several long trenches down to the rock, and had also examined by 7 pits the lower plateau of the citadel and its immediate neighbourhood.\* In a trench dug at the west side of the higher plateau I had rediscovered the rectangular plinth, together with the 3 pillar-bases, which had been found by Fr. Thiersch and Al. R. Rangabé, who had dug here for one day in September 1831.† In seven or eight of the pits on the higher plateau I had found walls built of large stones without mortar, which I considered to be the Cyclopean housewalls of the prehistoric inhabitants of Tiryns. But afterwards I began to doubt this, and my doubts were strengthened by the results of my excavations at Mycenæ and Troy. I was therefore very desirous for years back to explore Tiryns thoroughly, but was prevented by other pressing work; for after I had finished in 1876 my very

\* Cf. my work *Mycenæ* (London, John Murray, 1878), p. 9.

† An account of this is found in Fr. Thiersch's letters to his wife, published in his *Life* (Leipzig, 1866), by W. J. Thiersch, II. 68. See also Al. R. Rangabé's communication in the *Mémoires des Savants Etrangers*, présentés à l'Académie de France, I. Série, Tome V. 1857, p. 420.

successful excavations at Mycenæ, I was engaged all through 1877 with the German \* and English editions of my work *Mycenæ*, and with the French † up to the summer of 1878. Then I thought it of most importance to explore Ithaca, and to prosecute the work of exploring Troy and the so-called heroic tombs of the Troad, which kept me busy till June 1879. The concurrent editing in German ‡ and English § of my book *Ilios* occupied another year and a half. Then came the exploration of the great Minyan treasure-house at Orchomenos, which took several months. I then made a journey through the whole of the Troad, and my writings on these subjects, *Orchomenos*, || and a *Journey in the Troad*, ¶ together with other affairs, kept me busy till the end of 1881. The excavations at Troy (renewed March 1st, 1882) lasted five months, and my publications on this in German \*\* and English †† called *Troja*, together with the French edition of *Ilios* ‡‡ occupied me till the end of 1883. In February 1884 I excavated the so-called tomb of the 192 Athenians at Marathon, §§ and it was not till March 1884 that I was able to realise my long-deferred hope of exploring Tiryns. The necessary permission was readily granted me by M. Boulpiotes, the learned Minister of Education, who was constant in helping me to overcome the many

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\* *Mykenæ* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1878).

† *Mycènes* (Paris, Hachette & Co., 1879).

‡ *Ilios* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1881).

§ *Ilios* (London, John Murray, 1880).

|| *Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenos* in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, London, 1881, Vol. II., and in German *Orchomenos* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1881).

¶ *Reise in der Troas* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1881).

\*\* *Troja* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1884).

†† *Troja* (London, John Murray, 1884).

‡‡ *Ilios* (Paris, Firmin-Didot & Co., 1885).

§§ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1884, II. Heft, p. 85–88.

obstacles arising during the operations. It is with great pleasure that I here repeat my thanks to this worthy man for the inestimable services he has rendered to science, for without his ready help, it would have been impossible to carry out effectually the exploration of Tiryns.

In order to ensure that none of the information likely to be obtained from architectural fragments should be lost, I again obtained the assistance of the eminent architect of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who had conducted for four years the architectural department of the German excavations at Olympia, and who had helped me for five months at Troy in 1882. I also re-engaged, as overseer (at 180 frs. per month), G. Basilopoulos from Maguliana in Gortynia, who had served me in the same capacity under the name of *Ilos* at Troy, and now entered on the new campaign under this title; I also engaged Niketas Simigdalas of Thera, for 150 frs. per month. My third overseer was my excellent servant Ædipus Pyromalles, who had also been with me in Troy, and had now much leisure.

The necessary apparatus I brought from Athens, viz. 40 English wheelbarrows with iron wheels; 20 large iron crowbars; one large and two small windlasses; 50 large iron shovels; 50 pickaxes; 25 large hoes, known all through the East by the name of *tschapa*, and used in vineyards; these were again of the greatest use in filling the baskets with *débris*. The baskets necessary, known ever in Greece by the Turkish name *senbil*, I bought in Nauplia. For the storage of these tools, for the stabling of my horse, and for the lodging of my overseers, I hired rooms (at 50 frs. per month) in the buildings of the model farm started by Capo d'Istria, close to the south wall of Tiryns. It has now decayed into a tumbledown farmhouse.

Dr. Dörpfeld and I found this house too dirty; and as there was near Tiryns only one suitable residence, for which they asked 2000 frs. for three months, we preferred to live in

the Hôtel des Etrangers, in Nauplia, where we got for 6 frs. per day a couple of clean rooms, as well as a room for Ædipus, and where the worthy host, Georgios Moschas, did all he could to make us comfortable.

My habit was to rise at 3.45 A.M., swallow 4 grains of quinine as a preservative against fever, and then take a sea bath; a boatman, for 1 fr. daily, awaited me punctually at 4 o'clock, and took me from the quay to the open sea, where I swam for 5 or 10 minutes. I was obliged to climb into the boat again by the oar, but long practice had made this somewhat difficult operation easy and safe. After bathing, I drank in the coffee-house *Agamemnon*, which was always open at that hour, a cup of black coffee without sugar, still to be had for the old sum of 10 Lepta (a penny) though everything had risen enormously in price. A good cob (at 6 frs. daily) stood ready, and took me easily in twenty-five minutes to Tiryns, where I always arrived before sunrise, and at once sent back the horse for Dr. Dörpfeld. Our breakfast was taken regularly at 8 A.M., during the first rest of the workmen, on the floor of the old palace at Tiryns. It consisted of Chicago corned beef, of which a plentiful supply was sent me by my honoured friends Messrs. J. H. Schröder & Co., from London, bread, fresh sheep-cheese, oranges, and white resined wine (*rezinato*), which, on account of its bitter, agrees with quinine, and is more wholesome during heat and hard work than the stronger red wines. During the workmen's second rest, beginning at 12 and lasting at first an hour, in greater heat one hour and three-quarters, we also rested, and two stones of the threshing-floor at the south end of the Acropolis, where we afterwards found the Byzantine Church, served us for pillows. One never rests so well as when thoroughly tired with hard work, and I can assure the reader, that we never enjoyed more refreshing sleep than during this midday hour in the Acropolis of Tiryns, in spite of the hard bed, and the scorching sun, against which

we had no other protection than our Indian hats laid flat upon our faces.

Our third and last meal was at our return home in the evening, in the restaurant of the hotel. As my London friends had also supplied me with Liebig's Extract of Meat, we had always excellent soup; this, with fish or mutton, fried in olive-oil, cheese, oranges, and resined wine, completed our menu. Fish and many kinds of vegetables, as potatoes, broad beans, French beans, peas and artichokes, are excellent here, but are so ill-cooked with quantities of olive-oil, that to our taste they are almost useless.

Although wine mixed with resin is not mentioned by any ancient Greek author except Dioscorides, and even Athenaios makes no allusion to it, yet we may assume with high probability that it was in common use in the ancient Greek world, for the fir-cone was sacred to Dionysos, and the thyrsos, a light staff wound with ivy and vine branches, which was carried in processions by the priests of Bacchus, was ornamented at the upper end with a fir-cone. Pliny also, among the various fruits useful for making wine, enumerates the fir-cone, and says that it is dipped and pressed in the must.\*

The passage in Dioscorides, which is very characteristic and instructive, runs thus: "Concerning resined wine. Resined wine is prepared by various peoples, but it is most abundant in Galatia, for there, on account of the cold, the grapes do not ripen, and therefore the wine turns sour if it be not tempered with pine resin. The resin is taken off along with the bark, and half a Kotyle (a piece of two ounces) is mixed in an Amphora. Some filter the wine after fermentation, and thus separate the resin; others leave it in. When the wine is long kept it becomes sweet. But

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\* Plinius, *N. H.* XIV. 19, 3-4: "Vinum fit, et e siliqua Syriaca, et e piris, malorumque omnibus generibus. Sed e Punicis, quod rhoiten vocant: et e cornis, mespilis, sorbis, moris siccis, nucleis pineis. Ii musto madidi exprimuntur: superiora per se mitia."

all wines so prepared produce headache and dizziness, yet promote digestion, are diuretic, and to be recommended for coughs and colds; also to those suffering from gastric complaints, dysentery or dropsy, &c., and for internal ulcers. Also the dark resinato constipates more than the white." \*

I commenced the excavation on the 17th of March, with sixty workmen, who were shortly increased to seventy, and this remained the average number of my labourers during the two and a half months' campaign at Tiryns in 1884.

The daily wages of my workmen were at first 3 francs; this, however, increased as the season advanced, and before Easter rose to 3½ francs. I also employed women, finding them quite as handy at filling baskets as men; their wages at first were 1½ francs, and later were increased to 2 francs. At sunrise all the workers came with the tools and wheelbarrows from the depot to the citadel, where as soon as I had called over the roll, work began, and lasted till sundown, when all tools and wheelbarrows were again returned to the depot. In spite of these precautions, many tools and a wheelbarrow were stolen from me.

For work with the pickaxe I chose the strongest men, as it is the heaviest; the others suited for the wheelbarrows, for filling the rubbish into the baskets, and for clearing

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\* Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica, V. 43: (Περὶ ῥητινίου οἴνου.) Ὁ δὲ ῥητινίτης καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη σκευάζεται· πλεονάζει δὲ ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἀποξύνεσθαι τὸν οἶνον ἀπεπάντου μενούσης τῆς σταφυλῆς, διὰ τὸ ψύχειν, εἰ μὴ παραπλακῆ πευκίνη· κόπτεται δὲ σὺν τῷ φλοιῷ ἢ ῥητίνῃ, καὶ τῷ κεραμίῳ μίγνυται ἡμικοτύλιον· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηθοῦσι μετὰ τὸ ἀποξέσαι, χωρίζοντες τὴν ῥητίνην, οἱ δὲ ἔωσι· παλαιωθέντες δὲ γίνονται ἡδεῖς· πάντες δὲ κεφαλαγεῖς οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ σκοτωματικοί, πεπτικοὶ μέντοι καὶ οὔρητικοί, καὶ καταρροῦζομένοι καὶ βήσσουσιν ἀρμόζοντες καὶ κοιλιακοῖς, δυσεντερικοῖς, ἰδρωπικοῖς καὶ ροϊκαῖς γυναιξί· τοῖς δὲ ἐν βᾶθει εἰλωμένοις ἔγκλυσμα· στυπτικώτερος μέντοι τοῦ λευκοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ μελανίζων.— This passage was pointed out to me by M. Ach. Postolaccas, Director of the National Collection of Coins at Athens.

them again. As I desired to provide my people with good drinking-water, I set aside a labourer for the purpose, that he might fetch it in barrels upon a wheelbarrow from the nearest spring.

Another workman, with some knowledge of carpentry, I set aside for the repairs of wheelbarrows and tools; a third served me as groom. Unfortunately, I was debarred the pleasure of employing my old servant Nikolaos Zaphyros Giannakis, who since the beginning of 1870 had served me in all my archæological campaigns as comptroller of the household and cashier, for, unhappily, he was drowned in August 1883, in the Skamander, on the east of Yeni Shehr, so I had to manage without him.

The labourers were mostly Albanians from the neighbouring villages of Kophinion, Kutsion, Laluka, and Aria. I had only about fifteen Greeks from the village of Charvati, who had worked with me eight years ago in Mycenæ, and who distinguished themselves by their industry above the Albanians.

The winter, 1883-84, had been very mild, and on our arrival on the 15th of March the trees were already clothed in the richest green and the fields decked with flowers. We saw flocks of cranes only on the 16th of March. These birds do not nest here, but stay only a few hours, and then continue their northward flight. Storks are never seen in Argolis, though often in the marshy plains of the Phthiotis, where they build.

Our first great work was to dig away the rubbish down to the floor made in the manner of mosaic, of lime and small stones, which stretches over the whole higher plateau of the Acropolis, and was covered 1-1½ metres deep with *débris* consisting of fragments of brick, tumbled-down masonry of stones bonded with clay and mostly calcined, and of black earth. It then appeared that the walls found by my excavations of 1876, consisting of large stones without mortar, were only the foundation-structure

8 TOUGHNESS OF THE BURNT WALLS. [CHAP. I.]

of an immense palace, occupying the whole of the upper citadel. Of its walls, the lower portion, built of smaller stones and clay about 0·50-1 metre high, had been remarkably preserved by the close covering of *débris* over all the building, which came down from the higher walls of the edifice made of unburnt bricks, and from the flat roofs, which consisted probably of clay. This preservation is also due to the conflagration by which the palace was destroyed; for its heat was such, whenever beams of timber fed the flames, that the stones were calcined, the binding clay turned into real brick, and the whole reduced to so hard a mass, that our strongest men had the greatest difficulty in breaking it with pickaxes. Many of these walls thus burnt were visible on the surface, and had misled the best archæologists, as they were assumed to be mediæval, and it had never been imagined that they could be perhaps 2000 years older, and belong to the palace of the mythical Kings of Tiryns. In all guide-books for Greece, therefore, the opinion is expressed that nothing of interest is to be found at Tiryns. As regards the building of this palace and its extant architectural fragments, I refer the reader to Dr. Dörpfeld's full description in the fifth chapter, and his excellent plans at the end of the volume.

Owing to these many remains of walls as hard as stone, reaching to the surface, which the peasants could not break, the upper plateau could never be tilled—a circumstance which may have contributed not a little to the preservation of the remains of the palace. But the lower terrace, as well as the lower Acropolis, and the narrow tract of land around the citadel, and enclosed by the roads (cf. Plan I.), were let to a peasant in Kophinion, who had sowed it with caraway, and sued me at law for the damage done by my excavations. By the friendly intervention of M. J. Mavrikos, in Nauplia, the Director of the Excise, the damage was carefully estimated by experts, and fixed at 275 frs., with which the farmer had to be content. Many other

services were kindly rendered me by M. Mavrikos and M. G. Tsakonopoulos, of Nauplia, during my stay at Tiryns; for which I here again tender them my sincerest thanks.

Our second great work was the clearing of the mid-terrace (Plan I.), where Dr. Dörpfeld thinks badly-built dwelling-houses must have once stood, which required frequent renewing, for we there found at various successive levels thin walls of broken stones and clay, with no plan now recoverable. The accumulation is there about 6 metres.

Our third work was the opening in the lower citadel of two trenches—a wide one along and a smaller across it (cf. Plan I.)—reaching down to the rock, by which it was shown that there also buildings, or at least foundations of buildings, exist. The accumulation of *débris* here reaches a height of 3 metres, though occasionally the rocks penetrate to the surface.

As our fourth work, I may mention the excavation and clearing of the ascent to the palace on the east side of the citadel. This gave us immense trouble, on account of the enormous quantity of huge blocks which had fallen on to it from the walls, and which had to be cleared away or broken up. Further, we cleared a part of the great gallery to the south-east (cf. Plan I.), of which the upper part forms a pointed arch, and it should be remarked that we found therein a floor formed of concrete. We also cleared one of the niches or window openings of this gallery, and partly excavated three other similar galleries (cf. Plans I. and III.).

The trenches which we opened in all directions under the Acropolis, in which we found the same pottery as in the citadel, and much *débris* of burnt bricks, leave no doubt that the lower row extended round the citadel.

Dr. Dörpfeld and I have carefully cleared, before our departure, all parts of the walls of Tiryns which had been covered up during the excavations, and I can assure the

reader that not two stones of the old masonry remain hidden by the *débris* shot by me. This can for the rest be easily proved by Hauptmann Steffen's excellent map,\* on which all remnants of the walls of Tiryns are carefully indicated. I have left the *débris* only in those places where the slopes of the Acropolis consist of native rock or of earth covered with sporadic stones, and where, consequently, the clearing away of the newly-shot *débris* was to no purpose.

My excavations in Tiryns had the high honour, in April 1884, of a visit from his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Saxe-Meiningen, so distinguished by his love of science and learning; also from Herr Eduard Brockhaus, senior of the publishing firm of F. A. Brockhaus, in Leipzig, and his son Herr Arnold Brockhaus. Among other learned visitors to my excavations in April and May, I may further mention the American Ambassador to the Greek Court, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, author of the popular work *Life of Peter the Great*, and Mrs. Schuyler; the well-known historian, Professor J. P. Mahaffy, of Dublin, accompanied by Dr. Panagiotes Kastromenos, from Athens; also Gymnasial-Director Dr. Schultz, of Charlottenburg, and Professor Püschel, of Berlin, the last of whom unfortunately died of typhus fever at Nauplia. Also Lord and Lady Pembroke; Dr. Ernst Fabricius, from Strassburg, author of a well-known work, *De Architectura Græca*; Dr. Demetrius Bikellas, the celebrated author of *Loukis Larras* and translator of Homer and Shakespeare; Dr. Meyer, from Pesth; Messrs. Hugh and James A. Campbell, from St. Louis; Dr. Flemming, from Güstrow; and the architect Karl Siebold, who is conducting the building of the new museum at Olympia.

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\* Hauptmann Steffen und Dr. H. Lolling, *Karten von Mykenæ*, Berlin, 1884.