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Carl Schuchhardt Translated by Eugénie Sellers

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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.

Schliemann's Excavations

This overview of the famous and pioneering excavations of Heinrich Schliemann was first published in German in 1889, and in this extended English translation in 1891. The author, Carl Schuchhardt (1859–1943), had wide experience of excavations in both Asia Minor and Europe, and the translator, Eugénie Sellers (1860–1943), was the first female student of the British School at Athens. The book begins with a life of Schliemann, who had died in 1890, and goes on to describe his extraordinary discoveries at Troy and Mycenae, and his work at Tiryns, Ithaca and Orchomenos. It also contains two reports of later work at the mound of Hissarlik, the site of Troy, by Schliemann himself and his assistant Wilhelm Dörpfeld, which had not been included in the German edition. The book is illustrated with many line drawings, and includes the famous photograph of Sophia Schliemann wearing 'the gold of Troy'.

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SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

BY DR. C. SCHUCHHARDT

DIRECTOR OF THE KESTNER MUSEUM IN HANOVER

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

EUGÉNIE SELLERS

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE RECENT DISCOVERIES AT HISSARLIK BY

DR. SCHLIEMANN AND DR. DÖRPFELD

AND AN INTRODUCTION BY

WALTER LEAF, LITT.D.

ILLUSTRATED

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Dorten setz' ich still mich nieder
Und gedenke alter Zeit,
Alter blühender Geschlechter
Und versunkner Herrlichkeit.

HEINE.

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PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION

THE task of presenting the results of Schliemann's excavations in a concise form which should make them more accessible to the general public than has been hitherto the case, was entrusted to me in the year 1886, while I was still engaged in Asia Minor with the excavations at Pergamon. I thus had the advantage during that year and most of the following of making the necessary observations on the spot, and by constant personal intercourse with those concerned, I was able to learn much which is not to be found either in remains or in books. I subsequently began to write the book in Athens, I continued it in Berlin and Rome, and finished it in Hanover. These changes of residence occasionally brought with them differences in my point of view, and must be my excuse for the many inequalities I am conscious of in the treatment of my subject.

The undertaking was a difficult one, for the questions which Dr. Schliemann's activity had called up are still undecided, and the picture of that ancient Greek civilisation which he was the first to discover receives every year some important additions through the further excavations of the Greeks. At the same time the task proved pleasant, for the attempt to win from the discoveries some insight into the actual conditions of prehistoric Greece, and to arrive at a clearer conception of what the countries and the people described by Homer were like, could not but appeal to all those who have felt the magic of the old heroic lays. And, in fact, every scholar who wishes to investigate the origins and actual contents of the Homeric poems, or the origins of the Greek people and their civilisation, must nowadays base his researches in the first place on the material afforded by Schliemann's excavations.

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Since specialists had hitherto only discussed this material with a sort of religious awe, various new points of view naturally suggested themselves to me in the course of the work. I venture to hope that scholars may not find them altogether unworthy of acceptance. On the other hand, there are whole portions of the book—as, for example, the description of the buildings at Tiryns—where all that was needed was to give a *résumé* of the admirable accounts already published.

A selection of suitable illustrations from Dr. Schliemann's books is given, with the addition of a considerable number of new cuts necessary to illustrate fresh views and further discoveries. Some of these are from published works, some from photographs, some from my own sketches in the museums of Athens. The list which follows the Table of Contents gives the source whence each is taken, and will serve to direct those who wish further to study the objects represented.

It only remains for me to express the hope that the book will not merely rouse specialists to a more general appreciation and study of this vast subject, but that it will give the great educated public a clearer conception of the actual and important results of the life-work of a man whom the world has loaded with honours and yet often misunderstood.

CARL SCHUCHHARDT.

HANOVER, *November* 1, 1889.

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

SHORTLY before his lamented death Dr. Schliemann had with the utmost kindness allowed his report of the Hissarlik excavations during the year 1889-90 to be translated and printed as an appendix to the English Edition of Dr. Schuchhardt's work. With equal generosity Dr. Dörpfeld has given his portion of the report for the same purpose, together with his new plan of Hissarlik. As the recent excavations have almost doubled our knowledge of the Trojan Pergamos, the value of this plan and of Dr. Dörpfeld's explanation of it can scarcely be overestimated. The English Edition has been further materially enriched by an Introduction to the whole subject by Mr. Walter Leaf.

I have ventured to alter one or two matters of detail in the course of translation. The statement on p. 21 to the effect that Polemon described the altar of Zeus Herkeios has been corrected, and the account of the Bunárbashi springs on p. 25 has been rectified after consulting the original authorities. The footnotes do not appear in the German Edition. They consist mainly of references to classical authors. References to modern authorities have only been given when, as in the case of the springs, the matter might appear to be one under discussion, or if it seemed important to call attention to some important and easily accessible publication. For the possible convenience of English readers I have referred on p. 76 for the Hissarlik finds, and in Appendix II for the Mycenæan finds, to the cases of the British Museum where objects helping to illustrate the subject may be found. Appendix II also contains a short account of the now famous

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Vapheio gold cups, with a reproduction of a drawing of the cups by Mr. F. Anderson, kindly lent for this edition by Mr. Walter Leaf, to whom I wish, in conclusion, to express my personal debt of gratitude, for having relieved me of the whole burden of correcting the proofs during my absence from England.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY,
ATHENS, *March* 1, 1891.

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INTRODUCTION

DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN died while the following translation was passing through the press. So far as his work is concerned, Dr. Schuchhardt's pages, together with the Appendix describing last season's work at Hissarlik, now give a full and final history. No student of Hellenism can think without deep regret that this should be so; that there is no fresh discovery to be hoped for from the unwearied devotion and unstinted generosity of the famous merchant enthusiast. But the work which he has done is in no way dependent on his individual life; it has been no less than the creation of prehistoric Greek archæology. Dr. Schliemann was essentially "epoch-making" in this branch of study, and it is not for epoch-making men to see the rounding off and completion of their task. That must be the labour of a generation at least. A man who can state to the world a completely new problem may be content to let the final solution of it wait for those that come after him.

An orderly arrangement of the immense amount of material which Schliemann accumulated is the first and essential condition of such a solution. How much it is needed can only be adequately felt by those who have attempted to make it for themselves from the various large and expensive volumes in which it is to be sought. Schliemann's excellent rule of publishing his results at once has one serious disadvantage. Either the whole material must be published twice over, as soon as further exploration and experience have brought new light to bear upon the first crude and imperfect conclusions; or the later deductions must be given separately, apart from a portion at least of the evidence on which they are founded. It is this which makes it a task of serious labour to extract from two such volumes as

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Ilios and *Troja* a clear idea of what is really to be learnt from Hissarlik. The difficulty is yet more perplexing when an entire change of view takes place during the publication of a single volume. Many a student of *Tiryns* must have been for a time at sea when he found an elaborate explanation of the citadel walls in the text of the volume absolutely contradicted, without a word of reference forward, in an equally elaborate appendix.

Dr. Schuchhardt has undertaken to bring order into this chaos. He has not merely arranged the facts in intelligible sequence; though it is no small merit that he should have brought into the compass of a single handy volume all that is of first-rate importance in Schliemann's various works. He has gone on to analyse and explain them. His luminous and convincing chapter on the contents of the shaft tombs at Mycenæ is a model investigation, and is hardly likely to require serious correction in the future.

But in its wider aspects Schliemann's problem will long remain unsettled. It presents two questions, intimately connected: What is the true relation of the Mycenaean civilisation to the Homeric poems? and What is its place in the development of classical Greece? These questions are touched upon by Dr. Schuchhardt, but not so exhaustively as to forbid a few further suggestions even in the brief compass of a preface.

Dr. Schuchhardt, I think, rates too highly the ingenious but most hazardous speculations of von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf; he follows him even to finding the Peloponnesus itself in the magic land of Thrinakia. And consequently he rates too low, in my opinion, the possibility that the oldest parts of the *Iliad* at least may be actual survivals in their present form from Achaian and pre-Dorian days. But this possibility is one which can be supported by weighty arguments, and must not be left out of sight; it must necessarily affect our view of the relation of the text to the monuments throughout.

It has, moreover, received powerful support from Fick's labours on the Homeric dialect. Fick has shown that the poems were in all probability composed, not in the Ionic dialect, but in what he speaks of as Æolic. Only he seems to err in taking as the original dialect an Æolic which hardly differs from that spoken in the north-west of Asia Minor in the third century B.C. Now we should rather suppose that the original dialect was that

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of the ancestors of these Asiatic Æolians, the Achaians of the eleventh century. What the form of their speech was we cannot now pretend to say. It must have differed greatly from Fick's Æolic; it was the common parent of Thessalian, Arcadian, and Cyprian, in all of which we see various points of connexion with the Epic language. These affinities do not allow of an even approximate reconstruction of the parent speech; but they do allow us to assume that there was once a common Achaian language spoken by the dwellers in Mycenæ and Tiryns, and over great part of the Greek mainland, and even to detect some of the points in which this speech differed from that common to the Ionian and Dorian tribes respectively. If the *Iliad* was composed in this dialect, and not in its present Ionic form, we no longer need date it after the great migration to Asia Minor; nothing on the linguistic side prevents our referring it to European Greece, and therefore to pre-Dorian days.

If now we assume as a working hypothesis that the poems really do depict, as contemporaries, the Achaian age as they profess, we are at once relieved from grave difficulties. We can understand how it is that they can present with such vivid life a state of manners and customs which must have been utterly unknown to the Ionians of the coast of Asia Minor. The emigrants of the great colonies of Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, Colophon, and the rest were eager traders, democratic to the core, ever intent on widening their horizon, and pushing their voyages at early dates to the coasts of the Black Sea, Sicily, Egypt, and the Gulf of Lions. They are the very antipodes of the Homeric Achaians, a race of ancient and aristocratic families, living only on the mainland of Greece proper and in Crete, and knowing, or at least caring, little about so much of the world as lay beyond the Ægean Sea. About commerce the Achaians hardly trouble themselves, leaving trade mostly in the hands of their Phœnician visitors, and living rather on the produce of the flocks and fields which their thralls have in charge. That an Ionian could have reproduced such an age and made a lifelike picture of it is an assumption which strains all probability; for it not only assumes a trained historic imagination, but involves actual archæological study such as is absolutely foreign to the genius of a young and rising nation.

The later portions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* alike may,

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it is true, have been actually composed in Ionia by Ionian bards. But the continuation of a poem on lines already given is a vastly different task from the first creation of a new world. Working up to the earlier parts of the *Iliad*, a poet of Ionia would have only to avoid inconsistencies with his type, where he found all the scenery drawn in with such strong and broad lines that he could hardly fail to follow them rightly. The task would be altogether more thorny and complex if, instead of merely making his actors talk and move on the old stage, he had to create from his own inner consciousness a fresh plot and fresh scenery. In that case it is hardly conceivable that his work should have shown that remarkable general correspondence with the pre-historic remains which will be found in the following chapters.

Assuming then that the groundwork and foundation of the *Iliad* at least is the picture of a state of civilisation which actually has another and material representative in what Dr. Schliemann has found at Mycenæ and Tiryns, let us see if it is not possible to draw somewhat closer the connexion between the poems and the remains than Dr. Schuchhardt has ventured to do.

In the period known as Mycenæan we can clearly distinguish two great epochs—an earlier, to which the shaft tombs, and a later, to which the bee-hive tombs belong. It is to the former of these that we must ascribe the remains of Tiryns, and about this only that we have gained a very definite idea. That the bee-hive tombs are later than the period of the shaft tombs it is easy to see. The age of the bee-hive tombs, indeed, as we find at Menidi and Amyclæ, passes down into the historical period, and overlaps the age of the early geometrical pottery. Roughly coeval with it are no doubt the walls of Mycenæ and the Lion Gate, where the masonry shows so marked an advance upon that of Tiryns. But we have unfortunately very little in the way of individual finds, to which we can point as demonstrating the culture of the age of the bee-hive tombs in its differences from that of the earlier stage. The "Treasury of Atreus" has long ago been rifled beyond all hope; there is hardly a chance that any of the other bee-hive tombs at Mycenæ can have escaped the same fate. But what little has been found shows that these tombs were connected with a civilisation directly descended from and continuing that of the shaft tombs, only with the introduction

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of a more marked Semitic influence. Traces of Assyrian workmanship, so markedly absent from the shaft tombs, were found unmistakably in the bee-hive tombs of Attica, probably the latest of the series, and dating from some considerable time after the Dorian invasion. The two gold cups of Vapheio, the most startling discovery of the last two years, betray beyond a doubt their genealogy from the art which created the bull of Tiryns and the hunting scenes of the Mycenæ dagger-blades. There is thus a continuity of development through the unknown number of centuries which extend from the prime of Tiryns to the Dorian invasion. The earlier period of this long age is certainly older than any which can be represented by the Homeric poems, even the oldest of them. Even apart from the evidence of the remains themselves, there is the certain fact that the period presented to us in the *Iliad* is later than the greatness of Tiryns. Legend tells us that Tiryns was older than Mycenæ; the remains confirm the legend, and the silence of the *Iliad* as to Tiryns—a silence hardly broken by a passing mention in the Catalogue—is only explicable on the theory that the rise of Mycenæ had already brought about the decay of her nearest neighbour.

If then we are to find within the compass of the Mycenæan period any epoch corresponding to the age depicted in the *Iliad*, it is clear to demonstration that this age must be that of the bee-hive tombs. And the period which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* profess to describe is certainly within this compass; for it is a period before the Dorian invasion, which overthrew the Mycenæan power. Either therefore the poems, while professing to describe one period, are in reality describing another, whether real or imaginary; or they describe the age of the builders of the bee-hive tombs.

But it must not be forgotten that there are a few points in which the Homeric poems seem to indicate a departure from the manners and customs of the Mycenæan age. The most important of these is undoubtedly the mode of burial. A few words must be devoted to the consideration of this vital point.

It is now established that the bodies found in the shaft tombs were not burnt on the pyre, but were buried after some imperfect process of mummification. On the other hand, the detailed descriptions of funerals in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—those of Patroklos in the 23d, and of Hector in the 24th Book of the

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Iliad, and of Elpenor in the 12th *Odyssey*—all make the burning of the body an essential part of the rite.

The contrast is a striking one, but it is easy to lay too much stress upon it. In the first place it must be pointed out that Homeric critics, however widely differing in their views of the poems as a whole, are nearly unanimous in regarding the 23d and 24th Books of the *Iliad* as belonging to the latest additions to the poem; and the *Odyssey* as being decidedly later than the *Iliad*. It is therefore quite conceivable that we have here an instance where later manners have been introduced, bringing about a want of harmony between the older and more recent constituents of the *Iliad*. It might even be supposed that this was done purposely, in order to give the sanction of heroic times to what was still felt as an innovation in funeral rites. But the assumption is not necessary. It may well be that the conditions of sepulture on a campaign were perforce different from those usual in times of peace at home. The mummifying of the body and the carrying of it to the ancestral burying-place in the royal citadel were not operations such as could be easily effected amidst the hurry of marches or the privations of a siege; least of all after the slaughter of a pitched battle. It is therefore quite conceivable that two methods of sepulture may of necessity have been in use at the same time. And for this assumption the *Iliad* itself gives us positive grounds. One warrior who falls is taken home to be buried; for to a dead son of Zeus means of carriage and of preservation can be supplied, which are not for common men. Sarpedon is cleansed by Apollo, and borne by Death and Sleep to his distant home in Lykia, not that his body may be burnt, but that his kinsfolk and brethren may *preserve* it “with a tomb and gravestone; for such is the due of the dead.” The word *ταρχέειν* is one which is entirely inapplicable to burning on the pyre; it is used with a slight change of form, as *ταριχέειν*, by Herodotos (ii. 86), to express the Egyptian process of mummification. In all probability it has a similar sense in Homer, and shows that a part of the *Iliad* regarded such a rite as normal in times of peace. Moreover, it is not proved that cremation did not come into use in the Mycenæan period itself, at the epoch which we have identified as that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; the evidence of the later tombs does not decisively show that the bodies buried in them may