

A Storied Hill Called Hisarlik

Freighted with history and legend, the stony ridge of Troy endured as a series of great citadels for 3,500 years. Archaeologists now divide the complex site into nine principal strata. The oldest (or deepest) settlement, Troy I, survived for several hundred years. A sophisticated, innovative people

built Troy II and its palace, one of the splendid achievements of the age. (Schliemann unearthed the treasures he called "Priam's" from this level.) The two successive strongholds Troy III and IV, dating as well from the Early Bronze Age, grew into substantial walled towns. But neither these fortresses, nor Troy V, attained the grandeur that was Troy II. As the Late Bronze Age dawned, a new ruling dynasty created the great and powerful Troy VI — Homer's Troy (bottom right). Impoverished Troy VII rose from

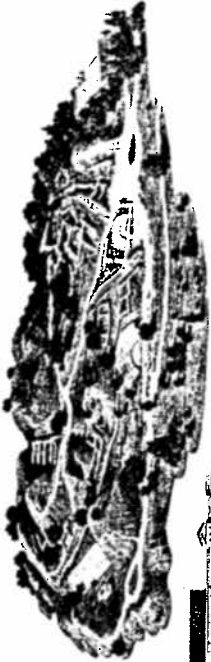
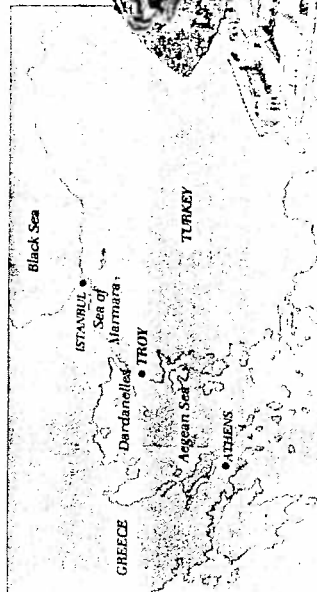
the rubble in the Late Bronze Age. Greek colonists, tradition holds, founded the town that grew into thriving Ilium, or Troy VIII. Over its ruins the Romans raised the city of Ilium, Troy IX, with its elaborate public architecture. Recently, archaeologists have discovered proof of habitation into the 13th century A.D.

Troy Today

- EARLY BRONZE AGE
- LATE BRONZE AGE
- CLASSICAL

If Homer's Troy of the towering gates had a basis in fact, it was Troy VI that the Iliad immortalized. The imposing citadel, facing out toward the Aegean, stood as testament to the ingenuity and prowess of its creators. Enclosed in massive cut-stone walls topped by mud-brick ramparts and watchtowers, the fortress

housed a magnificent town. Laid out in concentric terraces and transected by broad streets, Troy VI consisted of two tiers. The lower precincts contained stone manor houses, most like private dwellings. Within an inner wall stood temples and palaces, the heart of Hisarlik's richest, most enduring citadel

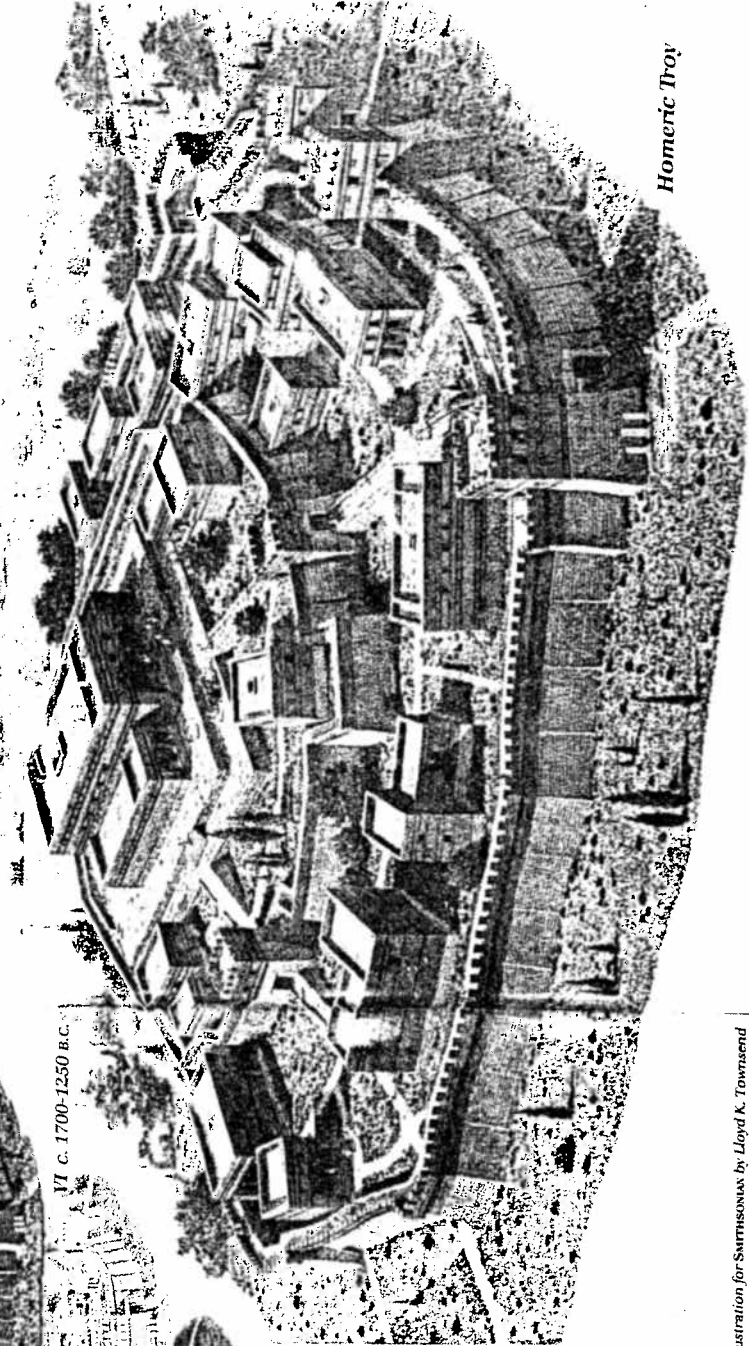


IX 85 B.C.-C. 500 A.D.

VIII c. 700-85 B.C.

VII c. 1250-1000 B.C.

VI c. 1700-1250 B.C.



V c. 2000-1700 B.C.

IV c. 2100-2000 B.C.

III c. 2200-2100 B.C.

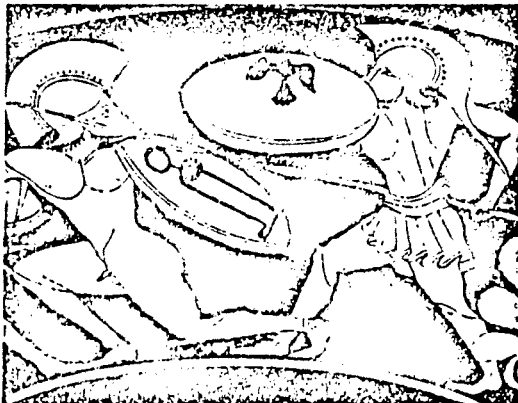
II c. 2400-2200 B.C.

3000-2400 B.C.

Homeric Troy

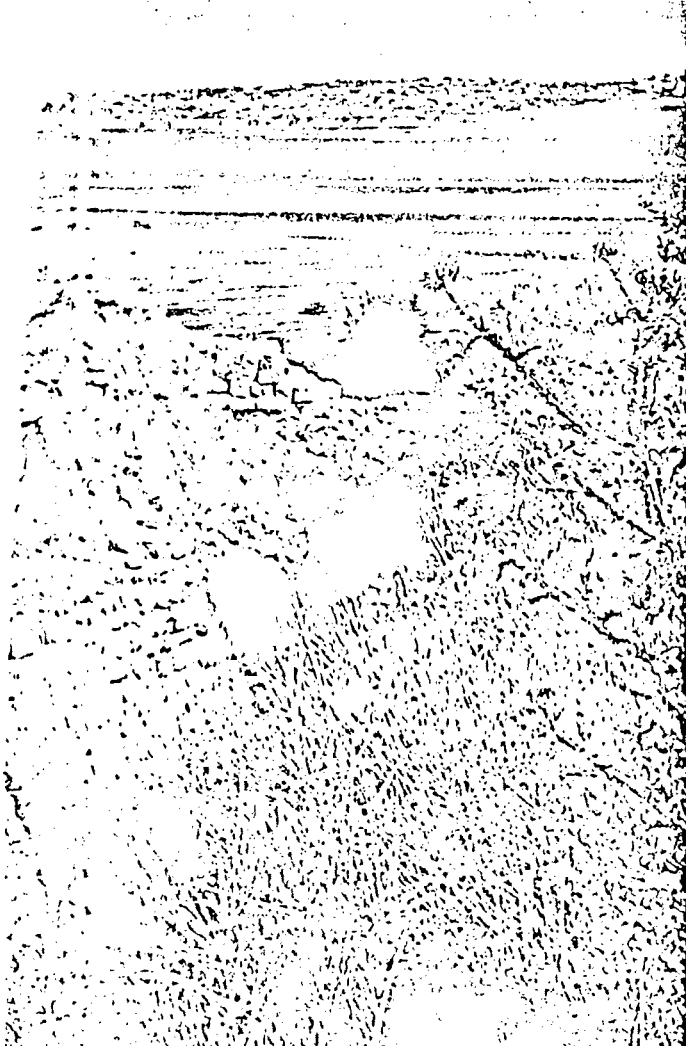
Spades of science unearthed not one, but nine Troys

Stronghold of kings, shelter for surrounding populace, "well-walled" Troy guarded the plain by the Hellespont where heroes fought for Helen. Archeologist Carl W. Blegen sifted the sherds of three millenniums to establish a chronology for nine settlements built one atop the other (right). He identified Homer's Troy as VII A—a thousand years later than Schliemann's city.



ATTIC CUP PAINTING FROM VULCI, 6TH CENTURY B.C.; BRITISH MUSEUM

MERLE SEVERY AND (RIGHT) JOHN W. LÖTHERS, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC STAFF



TROY IX c. 300 B.C.-A.D. 400

Hellenistic Ilium and Roman Ilium: Temple of Athena, theater. Fall into oblivion.

TROY VIII 700-300 B.C.

Greek colonists reoccupy the mound. Xerxes invading Greece. Alexander invading Persia offer sacrifices here.

TROY VII 1300-1100 B.C.

Late Bronze Age citadel: Homeric Troy, though less grand than described in the *Iliad*. People crowd into "sheepish cubicles" along fortress wall, repaired from Troy VI (opposite). Jars set in floors perhaps held siege rations. Public well in plaza. Troy VII A was sacked and burned c. 1260, says Blegen (traditional date: 1184). Rebuilt, invaded c. 1190 by Thracians who made knobbed pottery. This citadel, Troy VII B, destroyed by fire at dawn of Iron Age. Site uninhabited 400 years.

TROY VI 1800-1300 B.C.

In Middle Bronze Age a new people, probably same stock as Hellenes then invading Greece, bring horses, build site's strongest citadel; towered wall of dressed stone 15 feet thick. Large stone houses on terraces. Gray Minyan ware resembles Mycenaean. Cemetery reveals cremations. Earthquake shatters citadel.

TROY V 1900-1800 B.C.

Houses roomier, neater, with corner seats and benches of clay. Pottery brighter colored, more symmetrical. Town demolished.

TROY IV 2050-1900 B.C.

Rebuilt citadel grows to four acres; houses revert to mud brick. Domed ovens, often outside. Destroyed by unknown cause.

TROY III 2200-2050 B.C.

Stone-walled apartment dwellings. Venison main meat. Horn diadems. Houses razed.

TROY II 2500-2200 B.C.

"Burnt City" with extended, towered walls and royal treasure mistaken by Schliemann for Homeric Troy (page 51). King's megaron (great hall with portico and central hearth) like those at Mycenae and Pylos. Potter's wheel produces flaring bowls and goblets found from Bulgaria to Syria. Large number of terracotta whorls heralds rise in wool textile output. Trade, perhaps tolls yield gold, silver, bronze.

TROY I 3000-2500 B.C.

Rubblework wall protects region's ruler at dawn of Bronze Age. Mud-brick houses, probably windowless, framed in wood with flat clay-and-reed roofs. Pottery hand-shaped. Settlement razed by fire.

DIGGING UP THE PAST

STRATIGRAPHY

Excavation is the historian's last tool, used only when all other methods of deciphering the truth have failed. Earth that has been broken, layers of soil that have been shifted, and pieces of pottery that have been uncovered can never again be placed exactly as they were before the excavation began. Hence, to excavate is to destroy. Yet excavation is essential to a historian's understanding of a particular group of people or civilization.

Historians work closely with archaeologists to determine what information is needed and where that information might be located. The essential principle on which proper excavating rests is stratigraphy. Without it, the data collected will be inaccurate.

Stratigraphy belongs to the science known as geology and refers to the study of strata, or layers of earth, at a particular site. Each individual layer is known as a stratum, from the Latin participle *stratum*, "having been covered."

Stratigraphy is not limited to what lies beneath an area's topsoil. It also can refer to structures above the ground, the present stratum. Stratigraphy is important because a careful study of all the information pertaining to a stratum allows the archaeologist and historian to reconstruct the social, cultural, and industrial life of the particular period involved in the dig.

In analyzing structures, most of which appear to belong to one stratum, archaeologists and historians must exercise extreme care. The basic rule states that the oldest usually lies at the

bottom. Yet piece-by-piece analysis is necessary, since repairs may have been made, new sides or supporting structures added, and destroyed or vandalized areas rebuilt. One building may span many generations, various technological discoveries, and several cultural changes.

In digging, the same principle holds true: What lies farther from the surface is generally older. Yet archaeologists must constantly be aware of reverse stratigraphy. Grave sites, burial mounds, walls, trenches, and foundations often begin in one stratum and reach down to another or require that dirt from a lower area be removed to make room for the new structure. Heavy objects, even coins, have a tendency to travel down through layers of earth. Frost heaves objects upward. Earthquakes, soil erosion, and the like all have a marked effect on the soil deposits of the area. A particular people belonging to a particular stratum also might have dug, looking for clues to past history or events. Sometimes the motive is not so noble, as is the case with treasure hunters or grave robbers.

When areas such as these are excavated, older layers often lie atop younger layers. Therefore, archaeologists must proceed slowly, analyzing each find and studying vegetation remains, rocks, and the color and type of soil. By comparing each recorded detail with those of similar excavated areas or with known historical facts, the characteristics of a culture come into focus.

Heinrich Schliemann and the Discovery of Troy

From K. Kris Hirst

Homeric Questions

According to legend, the finder of the true site of Troy was Heinrich Schliemann, adventurer, speaker of 15 languages, world traveler, and gifted amateur archaeologist. In his memoirs and books, Schliemann claimed that when he was eight, his father took him on his knee and told him the story of the *Iliad*, the forbidden love between Helen, wife of the King of Sparta, and Paris, son of Priam of Troy, and how their elopement resulted in a war that destroyed a civilization. That story, said Schliemann, awoke in him a hunger to search for the archaeological proof of the existence of Troy and Tiryns and Mycenae. In fact, he was so hungry that he went into business to make his fortune so he could afford the search. And after much consideration and study and investigation, on his own he found the original site of Troy, at Hisarlik, a tell in Turkey.

Ah, Romance!

The reality, according to David Traill's 1995 biography, *Schlieman of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*, is that most of this is romantic baloney. Schliemann was a brilliant, gregarious, enormously talented and extremely restless con man, who nevertheless changed the course of archaeology and focused interest in the sites and events of the *Iliad* and created widespread belief in their physical reality. During Schliemann's peripatetic travels around the world (he visited the Netherlands, Russia, England, France, Mexico, America, Greece, Egypt, Italy, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Japan, all before he was 45), he took trips to ancient monuments, stopped at universities to take classes and attend lectures in comparative literature and language, wrote reams of pages of diaries and travelogues, and made friends and enemies all over the world. How he afforded such traveling may be attributed to either his business acumen or his penchant for fraud; probably a bit of both.

✓ In 1868, at the age of 46, Schliemann took up archaeology. There is no doubt that before that Schliemann had been interested in archaeology, particularly the history of the Trojan War, but it had always been subsidiary to his interest in languages and literature. But in June of 1868, Schliemann spent three days at the excavations at Pompeii directed by the archaeologist Guiseppi Fiorelli. In July, he visited Mount Aetos, considered then the site of the palace of Odysseus, and there Schliemann dug his first excavation pit. In that pit, or perhaps purchased locally, Schliemann obtained either 5 or 20 small vases containing cremated remains. The fuzziness is a deliberate obfuscation on Schliemann's part, not the first nor the last time that Schliemann would fudge the details in his archaeological investigations.

Three Candidates for Troy

At the time Schliemann's interest was stirred by archaeology and Homer, there were three candidates for the location of Homer's Troy. The popular choice of the day was Bunarbashi (also spelled Pinarbasi) and the accompanying acropolis of Balli-Dagh; Hisarlik was favored by the ancient writers and a small minority of scholars; and Alexandrian Troas, since determined to be too recent to be Homeric Troy, was a distant third. Schliemann excavated at Bunarbashi during the summer of 1868 and visited the Troad and Hisarlik, apparently unaware of the standing of Hisarlik until, at the end of the summer he dropped in on the archaeologist Frank Calvert. Calvert, a British archaeologist, was among the decided minority among scholars; he believed that Hisarlik was the site of Homeric Troy, but had had difficulty convincing the British Museum to support his excavations. He had put trenches into Hisarlik in 1865 and found enough evidence to convince himself that he had found the correct site. Calvert recognized that Schliemann had the money and chutzpah to get the additional funding and permits to dig at Hisarlik. Calvert spilt his guts, beginning a partnership he would learn to regret.

Schliemann returned to Paris in the fall of 1868 and spent six months becoming an expert on Troy and Mycenae, writing a book of his recent travels, and writing numerous letters to Calvert, asking him where he thought the best place to dig might be, and what sort of equipment he might need to excavate at Hisarlik. In 1870 Schliemann began excavations at Hisarlik, under the permit Frank Calvert had obtained for him, and with members of Calvert's crew. But never, in any of Schliemann's writings, did he ever admit that Calvert did anything more than agree with Schliemann's theories of the location of Homer's Troy, born that day when his father sat him on his knee.

<http://archaeology.about.com/od/ancientgreece/a/homeric1.htm>

In Search of the Real Troy

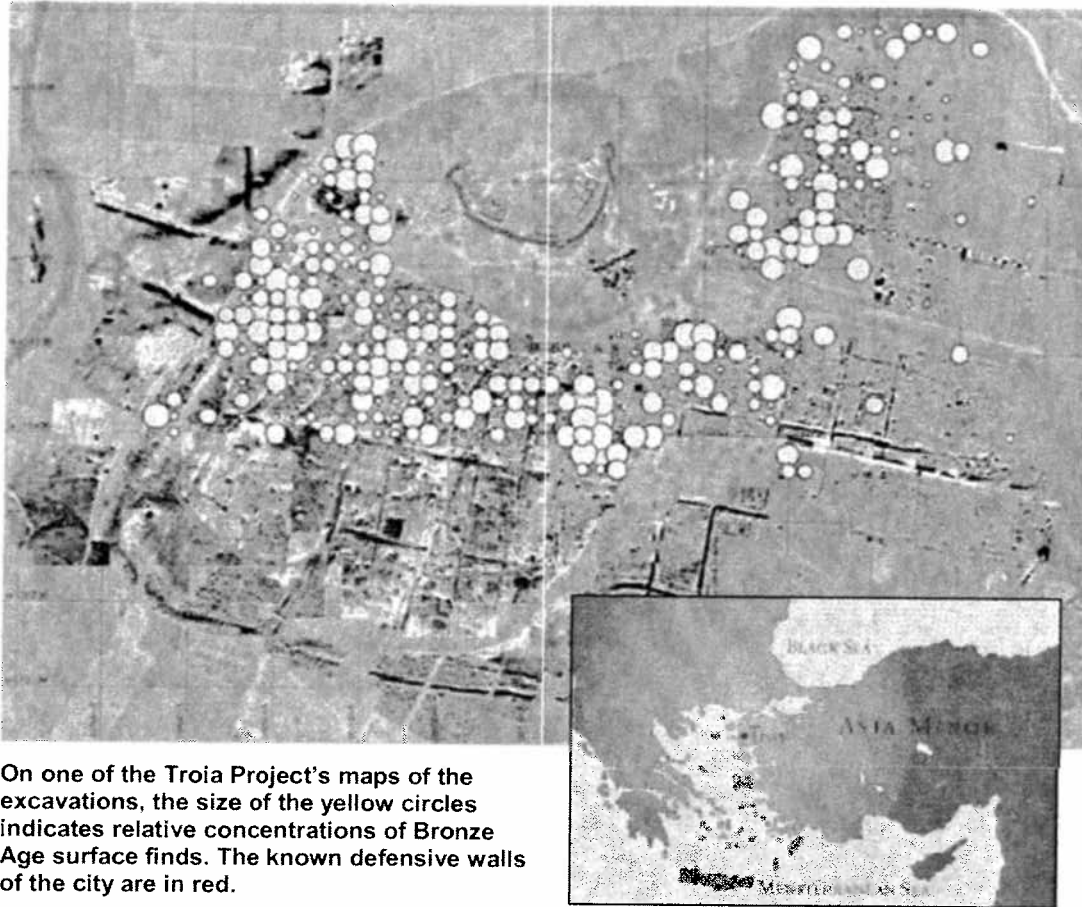
The road west to the mound called Hisarlık takes sweeping bends past fields of corn and purple-flowered cotton. It has two or three gradual hills, but the chief obstacles are the odd tour bus or tractor-load of tomatoes. It is, by and large, a smooth and untroubled approach to a world-famous archeological site. Not so the scholastic approach—a road of zigzag switchbacks through fields of criticism and intrigue, littered with sharp shards of controversy: The obstacles here are implications in journal articles, tendentious newspaper interviews and downright insults.

We arrive on a glorious August morning just as the orange ball of the sun lights the treetops and the replica of the larger-than-life wooden horse. The air is quiet except for the distant putt-putt of an irrigation pump. It is believed by many that this is the place the blind poet Homer called Troy, where he set his tale of the abduction of the beautiful Helen by Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy; of the arrival of a force of 1000 Greek ships under the command of King Agamemnon; and of the consequences that followed 3200 years ago.

Is this where it happened? At only 200 by 150 meters (650' x 490'), the mound seems small to first-time tourists, many of whom hope to see the massive walled city depicted in the recent movie. There are walls—dozens of them—but to the untrained eye they are a confusing jumble of cut stones at all angles and levels. After all, there are over 4000 years of human history here, stacked in nine levels and 47 sublevels, and dating from Bronze Age 3000 BC through the classical Greek and Roman period to the Byzantine era—in all, 15 different fortifications. And every new arrival tore down existing structures for building stone. Throw in the odd earthquake, the occasional fire and a number of sieges, and the site becomes an excavator's nightmare.

The westerly breeze keeps the mosquitoes at bay but does nothing to clear the haze to the north, where plodding freighters and tankers enter the Dardanelles Strait six kilometers (3 1/2 mi) away bound for Istanbul and Black Sea ports. Westerly? This is indeed unusual, for it was the prevailing northeasterly winds that were the reason for this site's existence during the years of the purported Trojan War. Techniques for sailing into the wind then lay a millennium in the future, so hundreds of ships waited for weeks at a time in nearby Beşik Bay for a westerly, or unloaded their cargo for a costly overland trip into the Anatolian heartland and beyond. Either way, Troy was in the right place to exact a price. At least, so believes Manfred Korfmann.

Korfmann, an intense 62-year-old archeologist from Tübingen University, has directed the Troia Project here since its inception 16 years ago. Very much in charge, he greets us after giving his morning orders to workers in German-accented Turkish. He views Troy as a crossroads of Bronze Age commerce. "Troy provided access from the Aegean through to the Black Sea, gave access to the Danube, the rivers of the Pontic steppe and the Caucasus, and to important stone and metal sources," he says, adjusting his ascot tie as we climb into his pickup for a tour of the excavations.



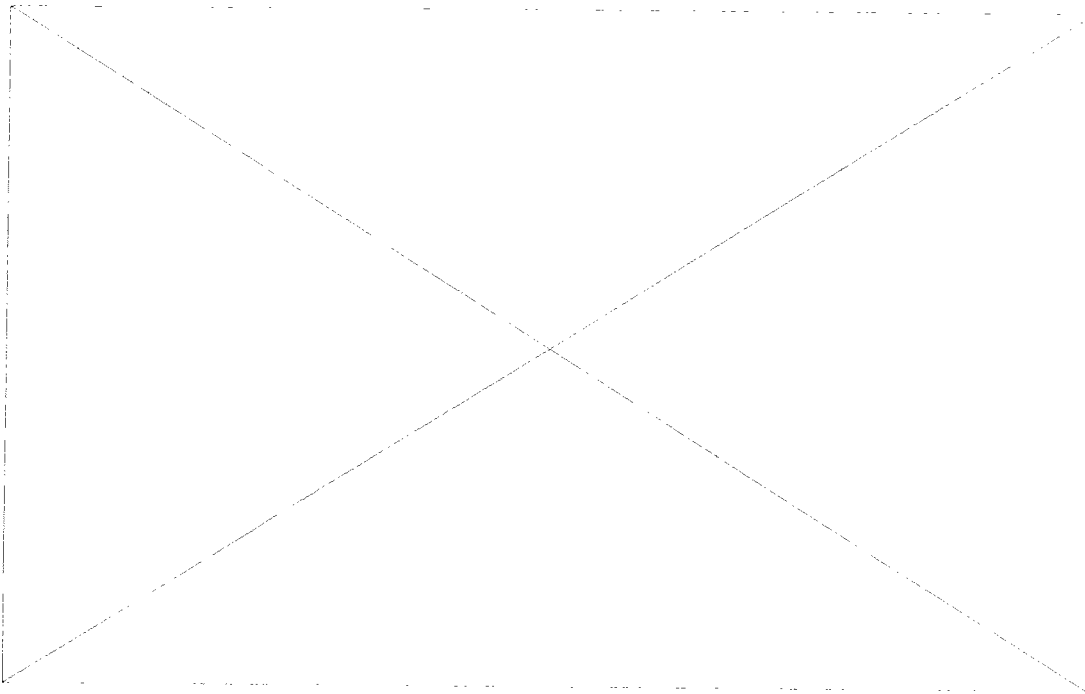
On one of the Troia Project's maps of the excavations, the size of the yellow circles indicates relative concentrations of Bronze Age surface finds. The known defensive walls of the city are in red.

Trade and commerce hasn't always concerned researchers here—it was more a quest for the truth behind the myth. An adventurer named Robert Wood kicked it off when he walked the bandit-ridden Troad in 1742 and claimed it matched Homer's description. His controversial book ignited debate. Skeptics said Troy never existed, but others were smitten: In 1810 Lord Byron rode at anchor for days in Beşik Bay, fantasizing, before hiking the famous battle plain. But, everyone wondered, where was the city of Troy?

From Hisarlık, we can see several other mounds. Debate raged as to which of them might be the real Troy; by the late 1800's, Pinarbaşı, a few kilometers to the south, was a favored candidate. But there was a dissenter—one Frank Calvert, arguably the discoverer of the real Troy. The Calvert family had lived in the area for generations and Frank had played on and hiked over these mounds as long as he could remember. After a team of German archeologists dug Pinarbaşı and came up empty-handed, Calvert bought the northern half of Hisarlık from a local farmer and dug a few trial trenches of his own. The hints of potsherds and walls were tantalizing, but mounting a large-scale dig required cash.

One day 136 years ago, a wealthy middle-aged German entrepreneur, who claimed to have been obsessed with Troy since he was a boy, first set foot on Hisarlık and saw Calvert's trenches. Probably the most controversial excavator of all time, Heinrich Schliemann was to be called "the father of Anatolian archeology" and would soon change the face of Hisarlık more than anyone since the Romans. His fortunes had been made in various fields of business—but he had often been accused of cheating and lying his way to success. He was bright. He wrote voluminously—letters, diaries, books,

in English, German, Turkish, Russian and other languages—but many of the “facts” he wrote have proved wrong.



When he met Frank Calvert, each man thought this would be the match-up of the century. Calvert saw cash in the man with the finely tailored suit. Schliemann saw Calvert as the man who'd lead him to world glory as the discoverer of fabled Troy. But the pushy Schliemann was overanxious: Without official permission, he began digging on the southern half of Hisarlik. “Knowing in advance that the two Turkish owners would refuse to give me permission, I did not ask them,” he later wrote. And when he finally obtained his firman, or excavation permit, from the Turkish government, he blandly ignored stipulations that one-half of any finds go to the state and that existing structures not be demolished.

Demolish he did. We're looking to the north through a cut 40 meters wide (130') that runs straight through the mound. Dubbed the “Schliemann trench,” it's 17 meters (55') deep and still used in undergraduate archeology courses as a prime example of how not to excavate. In 1871, in his haste to get to what he thought would be the levels representing Homeric Troy, Schliemann hauled out hundreds of tons of earth, ordering his 160 laborers to raze everything in their way. Little did he know that he had torn right through the Homeric levels he sought—the Late Bronze Age, around 1200 BC—as well as through a thousand-year earlier period before hitting bedrock.

Calvert was appalled—so much that he refused Schliemann permission to dig on his half of the mound. Schliemann called Calvert a “foul fiend,” but pressed on. Then he claimed that on May 31, 1873, he had made one of the most famous and controversial finds in the history of archeology—the “Treasure of Priam.” It included fabulous gold: diadems, a headband, 60 earrings and 8750 small ornaments found stashed inside a silver vase. To keep it a secret, he ordered his laborers to take an extended early break and, as he wrote in his diary, himself “cut out the Treasure with a large knife.... It would have been impossible for me to have removed the Treasure without the help of my dear wife,” he added, “who stood by me ready to pack the things which I cut out in her shawl and to carry them

away.” (It was later shown that his wife had in fact been away from the site that day.) And Schliemann spirited the treasure to Athens, where he jubilantly announced to the world he had found the palace of King Priam.

The treasure didn't stay in Athens long. Schliemann rushed his find to Berlin, where it stayed until the final days of World War II. Russian troops moved in and hastily loaded it onto a train, and the treasure remained hidden from the world until 1994. Now most of the stunning artifacts are on display at Moscow's Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, and ownership is claimed by Turkey, Germany and a few of Frank Calvert's heirs.

Korfmann has been investigating this mound longer than anyone, so I ask his opinion of Schliemann. He pauses, one foot on the pickup's running board. “I wouldn't want to be his personal friend,” he says. “But people are unfair—he obviously wasn't a treasure hunter: He was already very rich.” In sifting through Schliemann's old trenches and spoil heaps, he says, “we haven't found any mistakes. We have found nothing that Schliemann missed.”

David Traill, professor of classics at the University of California, shares Korfmann's distaste for Schliemann, but is less positive about his accuracy. “With an individual like Schliemann, we always need to be on our guard,” he told me in an earlier interview. “I believe he was a psychopath.... There was a slightly inhuman aspect to him.” Traill says he has come to know Schliemann as well as anyone can today, spending a decade poring over his papers and diaries and writing an exhaustive analysis in 1995 (*Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*, John Murray Publishers). “To psychopaths there's no difference between lying and telling the truth,” he says. “Most people now accept the fact that Schliemann's archeological reports are tainted with untruths.”

Academics need truths—and they need them as soon as possible after they're excavated. Ironically, timely publication of results was one of Schliemann's strong points. By 1875, he had published his three years of controversial digging; summing them up, he wrote, “It is not to be expected that science would gain anything more from further excavations.”

That, however, was far from the truth. Using analogies from Near Eastern archeology, Calvert had meanwhile been doing his homework. He noted that Schliemann had uncovered nothing dated anywhere close to what was thought to be Homer's Troy, the period between 1800 and 700 BC. Schliemann's famous treasure clearly had nothing to do with the legend.

Stung, Schliemann hired a bright young researcher named Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Soon both were accused of misleading the public, so they mounted another excavation campaign in 1889. The following year they discovered Mycenaean pottery at Troy VI levels—confirming that the site indeed contained Late Bronze Age remains, but forcing Schliemann to admit that his golden trove was not Priam's Treasure but instead dated from a thousand years earlier. He planned another excavation, but died in 1890. Dörpfeld continued digging and found the remains of a great conflagration and destruction at the top of the Troy VI level. He was convinced that Level VI was Homeric Troy.

But stratigraphic sequencing was still in its infancy at the end of the 19th century, so precise dating was impossible. Excavations were abandoned until 1932, when a professor from the University of Cincinnati named Carl Blegen turned his attention to Troy. Fresh from a series of excavations on the

Greek mainland, he came armed with the latest techniques and an intimate knowledge of Mycenaean stratigraphy. Creating a landmark in professional archeology at the time, his team systematically reevaluated all levels in the years 1932 to 1938; curiosity was of course greatest about Troy VI.

Blegen was convinced the destruction at Troy VI was not the result of war, but of a huge earthquake. So he excitedly focused on Troy VIIA as the level of the famed siege. (He found that Schliemann had erroneously separated the two levels, which actually represented the same culture. Nonetheless, Schliemann's numbering has stuck.) After the earthquake, Blegen said, the citizens rather shoddily rebuilt the place, constructing small, gloomy houses and extensive storage. To him, the hovels represented a siege mentality: laying in stores and hunkering down, waiting for an attack. And, he figured, the attack did come: He found charred wood and rubble, human skeletons trapped indoors and covered in debris, skulls crushed by stones—and one bronze arrowhead. He even matched the dates with his studies on the Mycenaean mainland, showing that the invading city-states would have been at their richest at the time and best able to mount the attack. “It is settlement VIIA, then, that must be recognized as the actual Troy,” he wrote. “It can no longer be doubted.”

But doubted it certainly was. Critics immediately blasted Blegen's “evidence,” pointing out that storage jars do not necessarily imply a siege mentality, and that one arrowhead does not make a war. They also challenged his pottery dating. After Blegen's last dig, Troy lay unexcavated for another 50 years, and the controversy smoldered.

Part of the controversy over both Schliemann's and Blegen's ideas was that, until the 1930's, there was scant knowledge of adjacent Anatolian civilizations; there were no written references to Troy from the Late Bronze Age. It was then that Swiss scholar Emil Forrer deciphered newly discovered writings from the Hittite Empire to the east, finding two place-names—Wilusa and Taruisa—that sounded convincingly like the Hittite way of writing “Wilios” (the Greek name for the site was “Iliion”) and “Troia” (Troy). He also found a treaty, from the early 13th century BC, between the Hittite king Muwatalli and a king of “Wilusa” named Alaksandu. The king's name, Forrer added, recalls the name of the Trojan prince Alexander—called Paris in Homer's *Iliad*.

Critics pooh-poohed, conceding that a place named Wilusa may have existed, but where was it on the map? For decades the question remained unanswered. Then, in the mid-1980's, new pieces of text were discovered: a letter from Hittite king Manapa-Tarhunda that narrowed Troy's location to the Troad. It also became clear from other Hittite texts that Wilusa was attacked repeatedly by “Ahhiyawans,” thought to have been Mycenaean Greeks, in the 13th century BC.

“That's when a Trojan War should fit in,” says Korfmann, bouncing over dusty potholes, “if such a war actually took place. All this ended about 1190 or 1180 BC,” he says with a sweep of his arm, “with a catastrophe, evidenced by fires and casualties.” He says the 13th century was evidently the most critical time for Troy and a time of intense pressures: The archeologists found vulnerable gates walled up; they found *pithoi*, large storage vessels, everywhere; and, tellingly, they found piles of sling stones that the Trojans had left behind. “Only a victorious invading army would behave in this way,” Korfmann says. “Had Troy, or Wilusa, been successfully defended, piles of this sort would have been removed shortly after the catastrophe.” This kind of implication ensures that the Late Bronze Age still gets the attention here. Korfmann steps off the truck and we clamber up a sequence of dusty wooden

planks to where a Polish researcher is at work defining that critical time period between layers VI and VIIA.

What were the combatants fighting over? “Troy was a small site, compared to Babylon or Uruk, but places on the periphery can be very important because they give access to another area, an entrance to a new world,” says Korfmann, “as Hong Kong does to China. It was the path to China’s riches.” As if to drive home his point, a Turkish F-16 screams overhead, signifying this is still the Gibraltar of the Black Sea.

Others don’t agree. “Korfmann’s assumption that Troy was a major trading center during the Late Bronze Age is totally unfounded,” says Frank Kolb, professor of ancient history at Tübingen University. “Not one single object from the Black Sea region has been found at Troy or its alleged harbor, and vice versa.” Moreover, he says, there’s no evidence of sea traffic through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus during the Bronze Age, either. Kolb cites the fact that “not one single Mycenaean potsherd has been found in the Black Sea region and north of the mountain range which marks the border between modern Greece and Bulgaria.”

Korfmann is still out to prove Kolb wrong. We drive to the south slope of Hisarlık where two archeologists search cotton fields for surface finds and a scientist walks a survey line carrying a magnetometer on a PVC-pipe frame. These researchers are looking for a lower city of artisans and merchants somewhere below the citadel. Such a discovery would prove that Troy was a sizeable and strategically located city of the Bronze Age. “It wouldn’t have made any sense for this powerful citadel, the seat of the rulers, to have existed without any people who had built it and who continued to provision the ruling class,” says Korfmann. Ever since Schliemann’s time, this sloping plateau was known to conceal remains of Hellenistic and Roman cities, and suspected of concealing a Bronze Age one. No one had seriously looked at it, though: All attention and funding had been focused on the more dramatic citadel.

Korfmann and his team noted that the builders of Roman cities always dug to bedrock for their foundations and in the process brought many Bronze Age shards to the surface. So over the next few years, they initiated a series of test excavations and surface collections that would help reveal the extent of a lower city. As well, they used the magnetometer, which can reveal underground walls and features by measuring minute aberrations in the Earth’s magnetic field. It revealed mostly the shallower Greek and Roman features, but, plugging the data into their computer one day, they saw a 120-meter-long (390’) structure that seemed to wrap around the southern perimeter. Could it be the defensive wall of a lower city?

Excitedly the crews began excavating at the spot. But as they went deeper, it soon became clear the feature was not a wall but a deep ditch cut into the bedrock, dated by its fill to Troy VI. Korfmann’s team called it a defense against invading chariots and battering rams. And just a few meters inside it, another, shallower, ditch suggested an inner fence or palisade, probably of wood.

Using these clues, the archeologists drew up an impressive computer-generated map of a Bronze Age lower city. It presented a settled area of 270,000 square meters (67 acres) stretching 400 meters (1300’) south from the citadel and housing 5000 to 10,000 people, depending on how they may have crowded themselves into the buildings. A model derived from the data featured an entire city protected by a

heavy fortification wall and a defensive ditch. Displayed at a public exhibition in Stuttgart in 2001, it immediately raised a few eyebrows.

“Pure fantasy. An archeological Disneyland,” says Kolb. “This model was presented as a ‘reconstruction,’ although for more than 95 percent of its buildings there exists no archeological evidence.” And he says such a small ditch couldn’t have been defensive—it could have been jumped by a good foot-soldier. Furthermore, no ditch has been revealed on the flat eastern approach to the citadel, the easiest to attack using chariots and thus the place where a defensive ditch would have been most useful. “I think that the ditch sections served as water channels and water reservoirs for agricultural and perhaps industrial purposes,” he says. “In any case it is a scandal that Korfmann has not mentioned that Blegen had already discovered the ditch, but rather proclaimed it as his own sensational discovery.”

A duel was on. Tübingen convened a conference of academics to debate the model. Journalists and a crowd of a thousand showed up and tempers continued to flare. The Korfmann camp conceded disparities but later published their conclusions: “We think that the criticisms of Professor Korfmann are unjustified.”

“A very one-sided account,” was Kolb’s reaction, who with colleague Dieter Hertel of the University of Cologne (who worked on the Troy excavation from 1989 to 1991) published their retort later in the same journal in 2003. Kolb and Hertel say that Hissarlık is regarded as the likely site of the Trojan War simply because it’s the only thoroughly investigated prehistoric site on the western coast of Asia Minor. Kolb has an alternative in mind: The oral tradition about the Trojan War may have originated on the Greek mainland, since place-names like Troia and Ilios already existed. “An Egyptian document of the 14th century BC mentions a Wirios on the Peloponnese Islands, or on Crete,” he says. “This means that Greek immigrants to northwestern Asia Minor may have brought with them the oral tradition of a Trojan War.... From then on, the topography of this region may have been integrated into [the tradition].”

The sun burns high in the sky now and we’re overrun by videocam-toting tourists who appear little interested in the possibility that the Trojan War happened somewhere else. These fields of cotton and corn may never yield enough to still the arguments, but “mythology needs a place to settle on,” says Korfmann. “The myth of Troy is fixed to this mound.”

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Heinrich Schliemann:

Heros & Mythos

by Wellington King

In the Beginning...

The life of Johann Ludwig Heinrich Julius Schliemann began on January 6, 1822 in the small town of Neu-Bukow, in the County (Landkreis) of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in Germany. He was the son of an adulterous pastor, Ernst Schliemann, and his wife Luise Therese Sophie Schliemann.

Although Heinrich Schliemann later claimed to have no childhood education, he was able by the age of eleven to write an essay about Odysseus and Agamemnon in Latin and briefly attended the Carolinum Gymnasium, a classical preparatory school in Neustrelitz. He had to leave the Gymnasium, because his father quickly squandered the sum of money that he had been received, when removed from his position as pastor for alleged misappropriation of Church funds. It was here at the Gymnasium that Heinrich first learned about the opportunities for earning wealth in St. Petersburg, Russia.¹

Early Interest in Troy and Archaeology?

It is difficult to tell, when Heinrich Schliemann's interest in archaeology and his obsession with finding Troy and proving the existence of the Trojan War began. He claimed to have been born with a "natural disposition for the mysterious and the marvelous,"² but he frequently lied about his life, and even lied in his personal diaries. David Traill, one of the world's leading experts on Schliemann, has accused him of being a "pathological liar." Although this conclusion is highly controversial, scientific evidence has been presented to show he was a psychopath.³ Additionally, it was a common practice during his lifetime for people to embellish stories of their childhood, and adults are most likely to remember those childhood dreams and aspirations which actually came true. Having said this, I shall now present his account of how his interest in archaeology and Troy was spawned in his early childhood.

According to Schliemann, his interests in Troy began shortly before his eighth birthday with a Christmas gift from his father of Georg Ludwig Jerrer's *Weltgeschichte* (The title of this book literally means "world history", but it is called "*Universal History*" in some works.) This book captured his imagination with its many accounts of Greek and Roman myths and legends. He was especially fascinated by this illustration of Pius Aeneas, fleeing Troy with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius, and by Jerrer's account of the events. He claims that he was convinced that Jerrer must have witnessed Troy in flames himself and decided that he should one day excavate the city of Troy. Schliemann claimed his interest in Troy and archaeology remained constant. It is questionable whether he actually received the book that Christmas or later. Handwriting experts have certified that an adult produced the writing on the book's flyleaf.⁴

Schliemann also recounts that only one other child in the village shared his interest in the past, a girl named Minna Meincke. He says the two of them used to conduct "archaeological excavations" at

the local churchyard and would spend time in the ruins of a local castle. Years later, he would write, "We could imagine nothing pleasanter than to spend all of our lives digging for relics of the past." He claims that they made plans to marry, and he preserved his hope of marrying her for many years. When he found out years later that she had married someone else he was heart broken. Thus in Schliemann's accounts of his own life his first love was connected to his obsession for archaeology.

The Path that Lead Toward St. Petersburg

Following his early childhood and time at the Gymnasium, he attended a free Realschule, a type of vocational school. He received an apprenticeship to a grocer in Fürstenberg at the age of 14. In the grocer's shop, where he worked, he heard Hermann Niederhoffer recite passages of Homeric verse in the original from memory. Hearing Homer appears to have deeply affected Schliemann, for he was to later write, "From that moment, I never ceased to pray to God that by His grace I might yet have the happiness of learning Greek."

A workplace injury forced him to leave his job at the shop, he took employment as a cabin boy. While en route from Hamburg to Venezuela, the ship crashed along the Dutch shores. Schliemann then took employment as a store clerk in Amsterdam. He had already begun to master foreign languages, something for which he exhibited a tremendous gift. This gift was to become an invaluable aid in all his endeavors. He was to learn many languages fluently and write correspondence in them frequently. He clearly became fluent in German, Dutch, English, French, Russian, Ancient and Modern Greek, as well as several other languages. His employers quickly realized his skills and were especially pleased by his ability to converse with clients in their native languages. They promoted to higher and higher positions. Eventually they decided to send him to St. Petersburg as an indigo trader.

Life in St. Petersburg

On January 30, 1846, he arrived in St. Petersburg. In Russia he proved incredibly successful as an indigo trader for his company. Soon he began to deal in other goods as well, such as Rhine wines, saltpeter, sugar, tea, and coffee. He soon was secretly working for several other firms in addition to his work for the firm that had sent him to Russia. While working in Russia, he was able to visit much of the world. In 1850, he visited America for the first time. He traveled to California, where he opened a banking house and sold \$1,350,000 worth of gold dust between October 19, 1851 and April 5, 1852. He left California under the suspicion that he had been involved in underhanded business practices and reached St. Petersburg again in August of 1852.

In October of the same year he married Katerina Petrovna Lyshina. Their marriage went poorly from the beginning. Traill records, "it was soon obvious that Katerina had little love for her husband. She seems to have despised his preoccupation with business and refused categorically to leave Russia with him, whether on a trip or, as he later proposed, to take up residence abroad."³ In 1855, his wife gave birth to a son, Segreue. After this, his wife became reluctant to share their bed, but in 1858 they had another child, a daughter named Natalia. Three years later his wife had another daughter Nadezhda. His marriage grew worse as his business prospered. He was frequently able to exploit business opportunities others missed but was incapable of doing anything to improve his

marriage. He was already quite rich, when the Crimean War began, but from the war he reaped extraordinary wealth. It was this wealth that made it possible for him to travel more extensively, as he did after 1867, and to become an archaeologist.

An Alternative Genesis of Schliemann's Interest in Troy

Many writers have noted that we have no evidence that Schliemann was interested in archaeology or in finding Troy early in his life.⁶ In *Schliemann of Troy*, Traill suggests that Schliemann's interest in Classics and archaeology arose out of his failed marriage. According to Traill, Schliemann's "cultural activities were designed to meet with Katerina's approval," therefore "it seems likely that his sudden interest in cultural improvement in 1856 [i.e. starting to learn Classical Greek and his growing fascination with all things Greek] was also intended to please her." He then tells us that "if [this is] so, then the crucial conversion from merchant to archaeologist that was effected between 1856 and 1870 may have found its original impetus in the impossible task of pleasing a woman who despised him."⁷

Traill's suggestion here might seem far fetched to some readers, but it is certainly no less credible than Schliemann's story that Jerrer's book provided an interest in Troy that did not wane over the years. In examining Traill's suggestion one should consider, how difficult the marriage was for Schliemann. Moorehead tells us in her book that Katerina came "to hate almost everything about him, even the great pleasure he took in foreign languages."⁸ She even wrote him telling him, "I would sooner die than live together with you in a foreign country."⁹ One of the chief reasons Schliemann returned to the United States in 1869 and applied for American citizenship was to receive a divorce. Indeed the sole reason he moved to Indianapolis, lied about his length of residency, and had others lie for him also was to obtain a divorce.

Another possibility to be considered is that Schliemann simply began his study of Classical Greek as a diversion from his failed marriage. It provided something to distract him from the cold realities of his relationship with his wife. Indeed his fascination for Greek things and Greek antiquity grew as his first marriage collapsed and never diminished during his lifetime. Instead this fascination continued to grow, and immediately following the completion of his divorce he sought to marry a Greek woman and made the necessary arrangements to find one. This second marriage to a Greek woman named Sophia proved successful. As for the question of turning his attentions to the question of Troy. That his thoughts would turn to Homer and thus toward Troy is a predictable development. His interest in Greek culture began with learning the Classical language and the pinnacle of Greek literature is Homer. In learning Greek, he even memorized passages from Homer, which certainly would have sparked his curiosity about whether or not the Trojan War occurred.

His Great Contribution to Archaeology and Its Inherent Weakness

In all of Heinrich Schliemann's archaeological efforts, he worked to prove the historicity of the Trojan War. Although it is unclear, at what point in his life he came to believe the Trojan War was an historic and at what point he decided to prove this, he stood by this conclusion and diligently persevered in his efforts to prove it until his death. Although he did not conclusively prove whether

or not the Trojan War was a real event, and Historians and Archaeologists still have not resolved the question, his great contribution can be seen in his own words regarding his work:

*"My present research enterprise has absolutely nothing to do with the study of ancient works of art concealed beneath the soil. No, this customary aim of research by excavators is completely foreign to the historical work with which I am occupied ... my sole and only aim is to be able to establish a historical fact, on which I disagree with some eminent historians and geographers."*¹⁰

Here in these few words he summarizes his great contribution to archaeology, his approach. He approached archaeology as a science in which one forms hypotheses and then tests them, as one does in other sciences. This went against the standard practice of archaeology of his time, which amounted to little more than treasure hunting and collection assembling. In this respect alone Schliemann has aided the cause of archaeology. Traill, who is perhaps the greatest critic of Schliemann in our times, admits that this to be "a comparatively advanced view of the role of the archaeologist in 1875."¹¹

It was this "comparatively advanced view of the role of the archaeologist" that lead him to excavate Hissarlik (1871-1872) and prove, at the very least, that Hissarlik was more likely Troy than Pinarbashi (or Bunarbashi), lead him to excavate Mycenae in 1876 and discover the previously unknown Mycenaean civilization, and lead him to perform a second more refined set of excavations at Hissarlik between 1878 and 1879. However Schliemann's great desire to affirm his hypotheses, to provide the evidence for the answers he created, is also his greatest weakness and short-coming. he frequently seems to have been misled by his overly literal interpretations of Homer. In his zeal, he often conducted his archaeological work in a highly unethical manner, and a manner that could even compromise the archaeological integrity of his finds. One often suspects that Schliemann tampered with the integrity of finds to make them support the Homeric epics even more strongly.

The Accusations against Schliemann's Work

Schliemann often receives unfair criticism for how he conducted his first excavations at Troy between 1871 and 1872. Although it is true that he simply bulldozed through the layers of cities, covering his "Homeric" Troy, and he undoubtedly destroyed a great deal of archaeological data that will forever be lost, his techniques were not greatly different from those employed by other "treasure-hunters" and "archaeologists" of his day. As Edmund Boedlow has mentioned, "It [the destructive Schliemann] is essentially the Schliemann of 1874, i.e., Schliemann at the very beginning of his career, not the Schliemann who by the time of his death, after 20 years of experience, had greatly matured in respect of his methods and interpretation of the evidence."¹²

These unfair criticisms of the early Schliemann not only waste time mourning what can never be recovered, they also turn our attention away from more serious issues which directly effect the validity of the evidence that we still have. It is a well known fact that Heinrich Schliemann repeatedly lied to the Ottoman authorities and falsified dates, in order to take King Priam's gold, the large cache of gold items found at Hissarlik, out of the country. Schliemann eventually donated this treasure to a museum in Berlin, from which it was stolen by the Soviets during World War II and brought to Russia. As a result of Schliemann's deception and theft, Turkey, Germany, Russia, and even Greece all dispute ownership of the gold.¹³

There is good reason to believe that Schliemann not only deceived and cheated the Ottoman government out of Priam's treasure, but he may have taken some of the treasure from the eastern half of the Hisarlik mound, which belong to Frank Calvert, a British field archaeologist and diplomat. Calvert was not kept informed of all of the finds and their locations. Donald F. Easton British archaeologist who has studied Schliemann's diaries is convinced the collection of treasure Schliemann labeled "Treasure L" was found on Calvert's land in 1890. As a result, Calvert's descendants, in addition to the four disputing nations, claim that they are entitled to a certain share of Priam's gold, and the archaeological evidence Schliemann collected at Hisarlik may be severely corrupted because of uncertainty of their context when found.¹⁴

David Traill frequently makes insinuations about Schliemann in his book, Schliemann of Troy. Here often charges Schliemann with bringing together artifacts from different finds, as if they came from the same location, and even that he planted artifacts. Perhaps the most interesting are his suggestions about the Mask of Agamemnon and the other two masks found at Mycenae. This has a way of capturing the imagination with its uniqueness and is the image most commonly associated with the site at Mycenae. Nothing like these masks has been found anywhere else in Greece. He suggests that the masks, especially the Mask of Agamemnon are fakes. He points to the superior aesthetic quality of the mask, when compared to the other two. Its uniqueness in being the only one with a mustache and beard. Traill suggests that the mustache has a strangely nineteenth century character about it. Traill leaves us with three possibilities for the Mask of Agamemnon: it might be genuine, it could be a fake, or it could be ancient but have been altered after its discovery. Interestingly enough scholars and scientists are usually reluctant to suspect forgery. The Encyclopedia Britanica once showed a forged bronze horse as an example of Etruscan art and indeed still uncritically accepts Schliemann's claims concerning his childhood and the inspiration he received from Jerrer's book. The Piltdown Man, a simple hoax, deceived anthropologists for years, and a Latin inscription often considered to be the oldest extant one probably dates from the nineteenth century. Is the Mask of Agamemnon also the work of nineteenth century hands? We may never know.¹⁵

The Death of Schliemann and His Memory

I feel one must recognize another motivation for Schliemann's endeavors. Schliemann certainly had a great desire to be famous and to be remembered. He wanted to leave his mark on history and to become immortal, as are the heroes of his Troy, whose existence he tried so hard to prove. The mausoleum, that he had build for himself upon an Athenian hill and in which he was to be buried sometime after his death on December 26, 1890, testifies to this. "Schliemann's grave is the grave of a king," declared a German newspaper.¹⁶ This however fails justice to the mausoleum or its intention. It is the grave of a hero, as the inscription above the entrance declares, with the words "For the hero Schliemann."

ΗΡΩΙ ΣΧΛΙΜΑΝΝΩΙ

At the front of his masoleum, his bust sits directly above the image of the King Proitos, directing Cyclopes to build the walls tower of Tiryns. The intention is quite clear. We are to draw a parallel

between the builder of Tiryns, the future birth place of Hercules, and Schliemann, who directed the excavation of Troy and Mycenae. Proitos's plans could not be carried out by mere men but required the strength of Cyclopes. Schliemann's great achievements went beyond what mortals can normally achieve. Proitos's Tiryns was to be the birth place of Troy. Schliemann's discovery of Mycenaean civilization was to give birth to a whole new understanding of Greek prehistory.¹⁷ (Click on the mausoleum for a closer view.)

As he wished, many today chose to remember him as a hero. The Heinrich-Schliemann-Oberschule's page on Heinrich Schliemann promotes this interpretation of his life. What this web page is can only be described as *ein echt im Internet lebendes Herosdenkmal*.¹⁸ Here "Held," the mere German word for hero, is not used to describe Schliemann, but instead the word "Heros," which the Duden, the authority on the German language, defines as "a hero [of antiquity], who is half God by birth, or is honoured as a demigod on account of his deeds (especially in ancient Greece)."¹⁹ Here he is called "the founder of modern archaeology," pride is taken in the fact that the school teaches one third of the languages he learned between 1842 and 1857, and he is held up as a role model.²⁰

More than one hundred years after his death the true Heinrich Schliemann alludes us. Carvalho has said of him "...the more voluminous material left by Schliemann one knows about, the less easy it is to make definitive statements about Schliemann as a person."²¹ He has earned himself a place in history and legend. His account of his life and his early motivation still capture the minds and hearts of modern readers. His life like those of the Homeric heroes, shall never be forgotten. His name will be forever connected with Troy. Regardless of its veracity, the Schliemann mythos will continue to be told.

Endnotes

1. pp. 14-17, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994. Bibliography.

2. p. 14, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994. Bibliography.

3. Chapter 9, Traill, David A., *Excavating Schliemann: Collected Papers on Schliemann*. Atlanta, GA, USA: Scholars Press, 1993. Bibliography.

In this chapter, Traill examines how Schliemann acts considering, how well he passes 16 diagnostic tests for psychopathy. The tests come from the following source:

Cleckley, H., *The Mask of Sanity*. St. Louis 1982.

Elizabeth Carvalho, in a review of *Excavating Schliemann*, says of Traill's statement that "'Schliemann's character was tinged with psychopathy' (p. 124), this judgement is not only extremely prejudicial but also rests on the use of slight and, in some cases, incomplete or selective information."

4. p. 14, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994. Bibliography.

5. p. 28, Traill, David A., *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*. New York, NY, USA:, St. Martin's Press, 1995. Bibliography.

Edmund F. Bloedow, in a review of *Schliemann of Troy*, points out that "No sources are cited for these views." However, it should be noted that similar views are expressed by Caroline Moorehead in *The Lost Treasures of Troy*.

"Ekaterina shows no signs of having loved or even liked [Schliemann];...", p. 44

6. p. 69, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994.

Bibliography. p. 38, Steiner, George, "Letters from Lyons," *Opera News*. August 1995 v60 pp. 38-39 Bibliography.

7. pp. 30-31, Traill, David A., *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*. New York, NY, USA:, St. Martin's Press, 1995. Bibliography.

8. p. 44, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994. Bibliography.

9. p. 44, Moorehead, Caroline, *The Lost Treasures of Troy*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994. Bibliography.

This statement is Schliemann's "translation" into English of his wife's words in Russian.

Bibliography.

10. From a letter by Heinrich Schliemann to Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Instruction. This passage can be found in Edmund F. Bloedow's review of David Traill's *Schliemann of Troy*.

Bibliography.

11. pp. 139, Traill, David A., *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*. New York, NY, USA: St. Martin's Press, 1995. Bibliography.

However it should be noted that Traill adds the following condition, "I suspect Schliemann had learned [it] from Beule or perhaps from Burnouf himself."

12. Bloedow, Edmund F. This quote is taken from a criticism of Justus Cobet's essay "Troia, Jericho und die historische Kritik" (pp. 117-135) in his review of *Archäologie und historische Erinnerung: Nach 100 Jahren Heinrich Schliemann*, an anthology of essays edited by Justus Cobet and Barbara Patzek. Bibliography.

13. pp. 78-80, Lemonick, Michael D., "Troy's Lost Treasure," *Time*. April 22, 1996, v. 147, n. 17. Bibliography.

This article provides general background information on the history of the Priam's gold and the nature of the conflict among the four nations. Additionally, the article has many good illustrations, including, photographs of Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann, including detailed photos of the gold objects, and an illustration labeling of the layers of Troy.

14. "Calvert's Heirs Claim Schliemann Treasure," *ARCHAEOLOGY*. Jan./Feb. 1996, v. 49, n.1, Archaeological Institute of America. Bibliography.

15. pp. 16-17, Jenkyns, Richard, "But is it True?" *The New York Review*. Dec 19, 1996, v. 43, n. 20. Bibliography.

16. "Schliemanns Grab ist eines Königs Grab." *Illustrierte Zeitung*

p. 35, Hammer-Schenk, Harold, "Dem Heros," p. 31-50, *Archäologie und historische Erinnerung: Nach 100 Jahren Heinrich Schliemann*, ed. Justus Cobet & Barbara Patzek. Essen, Germany: Klartext-Verlag, 1992. Bibliography.

17. p. 37, Hammer-Schenk, Harold, "Dem Heros," p. 31-50, *Archäologie und historische Erinnerung: Nach 100 Jahren Heinrich Schliemann*, ed. Justus Cobet Barbara Patzek. Essen, Germany: Klartext-Verlag, 1992. Bibliography.

18. For those of you who do not know enough German to understand the phrase, "ein echt im Internet lebendes Herosdenkmal," I feel compelled to say that is a real shame.

19. p. 271, *Fremdwörterbuch*, volume 5 of *Der Große Duden in 10 Bänden* Mannheim, Germany: Bibliographisches Institut AG, 1966. Bibliography.

20. "Heinrich Schliemann: 06.01.1822 - 26.12.1890" on the Heinrich-Schliemann-Oberschule (Gymnasium) site. Bibliography.

21. Carvalho, Elizabeth in a review of *Excavating Schliemann*. Bibliography.

Biography: Heinrich Schliemann, Discoverer of Troy

by Randy Pinion

The year is 1829, the day is Christmas, and the location is a humble preacher's crowded home in northern Germany. A father presents his young son with the 1828 text, *Universal History*, featuring a fantastic representation of the ancient, doomed metropolis of Troy along with the details of its destruction. The child, fascinated, asserts that the author, one Georg Jerrer, surely had seen that mythic city to be able to illustrate it so clearly. His father assures him that the drawing is purely fictitious and that no such city could be found. After a brief argument, the father and son agree that the boy will someday excavate Troy to prove his point, and, in an amazing stroke of luck, he goes on to do so some forty years later.

The above story is presented as factual biography of Heinrich Schliemann in Daniel J. Boorstin's work, *The Discoverers*. It is true that Schliemann did go on to excavate the city of Troy (Though most of his efforts were wasted on the incorrect level amidst the complicated stratigraphy of the Turkish dig) (Wood, 50), and he even made a point of showing his 1928 edition of *Universal History*, complete with his name inked in. It must, however, be noted that Schliemann recorded this story in several of his autobiographies, many of which have been revealed to contain grievous factual errors and outright lies made to support his preferred self-image. Furthermore, later handwriting analysis revealed that the signature was almost certainly the work of an adult. It is entirely possible that Schliemann simply purchased a copy of the book when the story's authenticity was called into question and proceeded to fake his own childhood signature (Traill 1990, 2).

Though debate over a childhood Christmas memory may seem irreverent or at worst, immature it is central to the overall debate regarding Schliemann as a man, archaeologist, and historical figure. Despite more than a century of boundless praise, the criticisms that haunted Schliemann in life have returned to plague him in death. The new propagators of these criticisms have come face to face with Schliemann's modern biographers, who insist that the proven instances of deceit do not overshadow or even influence his archaeological integrity (Calder, 18). In some ways, the debate has become one between the most romantic of stories and the most damning of histories. As the years pass, both sides in this debate grow more impassioned, each pouring over the tens of thousands of documents attributed to Schliemann and his contemporaries in search of conclusive evidence (Wood, 48).

In many ways, those supporting a more friendly view of Schliemann are abetted by countless previous biographies and hindered by a sort of circular logic in sourcing (In that these positive biographies primarily cite other positive biographies and documents written by Schliemann himself and edited for publication) (Calder 20). Many of these biographies were closer to historical novels steeped in praise and legend and went on to become bestsellers in their own right in a public that voraciously devoured the classic image of Schliemann (Calder, 18). Indeed, along with his beautiful archaeologist wife, the Grecian Sophie, Schliemann stole the world's stage during his career's high points, publishing in such papers as the *London Times* and the *New*

York Times and being inducted into countless intellectual societies (Boorstin, 594). His fame seemed to know no bounds, and each subsequent discovery only increased it. The early biographies focus on the man who garnered this worldwide acclaim, pointing to his great accomplishments, engaging personality, and movie-perfect life story. However, they also fail to consider that his acclaim may have been dishonestly earned and that his perfect life story may well have been fabricated.

Schliemann's detractors also must deal with his fame, but in a different way. As a German hero and the so-called "Father of Mediterranean Archaeology," he is a difficult figure to question without being torn apart by his legions of supporters and, in many cases, worshippers (Traill 1990, 1). In America, scholarly journals went so far as to try to suppress the publication of articles relating to Schliemann's untrustworthiness for many years (Calder, 38). In Germany, any suggestion of the great man's faults was viewed as heresy. Detractors in Schliemann's own time faced these same problems, though their points were often valid (Though a few notable ones were utterly off-base in their claims) (Calder, 37). Regardless of the difficulties, however, modern researchers are beginning to uncover a vast wealth of information about Schliemann through a variety of means. Careful examination of his diaries and letters is key to dissecting his character and later, published writings (Traill 1984, 96). This examination of his writing ideally is also accompanied by scientific analysis of his finds.

Research into Schliemann's personal life initially tipped modern scholars off to the notion that his early detractors may well have had factual basis for their accusations. For instance, though Schliemann frequently refers to his wife's constant presence at his side at many of their most important digs (Including the much-published account of her help in the recovery of "Priam's Treasure" whilst Schliemann's less-trusted workers were away on a break), it has been revealed in correspondence between Schliemann, his colleagues, and Mrs. Schliemann herself that she often was not present (She was resting in Athens at the time of the discovery of the aforementioned treasure) (Wood, 50, 60). Schliemann also wrote extensively of his chance American citizenship that later allowed him to divorce his estranged first wife. According to Schliemann, he merely happened to be in California when it attained statehood in 1950. In reality, he only arrived in the state in 1951 and instead acquired his citizenship via fraudulent means, bribed government officials in Indiana to hold off on passing more restrictive divorce laws, and doctored the translated letters from his wife that were passed on to officials in Indiana who granted him the divorce (Traill 1990, 7-8). According to Calder, he even went so far as to write in extensive detail about his long talk with President Fillmore and his family and his opportunity to watch the legendary fire of San Francisco, when in fact, these are both also proven fabrications. Indeed, the account of the fire was sloppily glued into his diary in the midst of a discussion of the Spanish language (Calder, 24-26).

These incessant instances of fraud in his more personal communiqués and biographical information led certain scholars, led by one David Traill, to question the veracity of Schliemann's professional work. Further research into the matter has thus far revealed some startling facts. According to Traill, early in his professional life, he left the successful banking business that he had founded in the midst of the California gold rush. He stated later that his reasoning for this quick move was a sudden bout of fever, the third in a short period of time. In reality, he was likely fleeing his partner, who had recently discovered severe shortages in the

amounts of gold dust Schliemann had transferred to him (Traill 1990, 3). He then went on to begin digging in both Greece and Turkey without permits; he would later obtain the required materials to have digging rights (Traill 1990, 9, 11). Recent research has also revealed that Schliemann undoubtedly planted several famous Attic inscriptions he purportedly dug up in the backyard of his sizeable villa near the royal palace in Athens (Korres, as cited in Calder, 33). Most damning, however, is the ongoing study of the so-called "Priam's Treasure." Though the artifacts comprising this massive find have long been known to come from a culture far removed from Priam's own time, scholars continue to maintain that they were still a single, honest find. However, according to Schliemann's foreman (Who was almost certainly Schliemann's true assistant in the recovery of the find, rather than his absent wife), what was actually found on the 31st of May, 1873, was a mildly impressive group of bronze artifacts with, perhaps, a few unremembered companion pieces. Given that it has been conclusively shown that Schliemann compiled several finds into a single, more impressive one on other occasions (Shown, no less, by Easton, who sought to confirm Schliemann's veracity in other situations) (Easton, as cited in Traill 1992, 199), and that the pieces in the "Treasure" bear striking resemblance to the supposed contents of earlier, poorly-documented digs, it stands to reason that the find was constructed to cap off Schliemann's final year of digging with an astounding end (Traill 1984, 113). That the pieces were subsequently lost in war-torn Berlin in 1945 severely hinders this argument from garnering more support, as it is constructed primarily around inconsistencies in Schliemann's reporting of the find over several years and texts and requires further, scientific analysis (Wood, 60).

A deeper look into one of these areas of contention provides much-needed insight into the methods of Traill, perhaps the most vocal of those calling for a reassessment of Schliemann. It must be first noted that Traill is a philologist and Latinist by training, and makes no pretenses of having any particular knowledge of archaeology, or even morality (Calder, 31). Nonetheless, he is one of the foremost critics of the standard view of Schliemann, and his keen insight into the inconsistencies surrounding the discovery of "Priam's Treasure" manages to raise many valid questions by examining nothing more than the evolution of Schliemann's reporting of the incident. Rather than focusing on Schliemann's propensity for Homeric hyperbole regarding his finds, Traill seeks to discover whether or not the great archaeologist is a reliable witness to his own excavations.

In his article "Schliemann's Discovery of Priam's Treasure': A Re-Examination of the Evidence," Traill uses a diary entry; the published version of said entry; a second, later entry; and the published draft of that second entry as chronological stopping points in the evolution of the find's story, and thus encounters five major discrepancies. In the first two entries, Mrs. Schliemann plays no role whatsoever, while by the third and fourth articles, she has assumed her traditional role as his most trusted assistant in the digging. Given the emphasis he later places on this incident, it is remarkably odd that she is not mentioned in the intricately detailed first pair of writings. Also, the exact location of the dig changes several times over the tale's evolution, shifting from within the castle's walls to far outside of them and finally to directly under the wall (Supporting Schliemann's claim to have dug the artifacts from beneath a precariously hanging portion of the wall itself). These changes likely were made to coincide with the accompanying illustrations in various publications, already set into print by the time Schliemann saw the need to correct his story, but the mutability of the location does not speak well for the articles' accuracy.

A third error appears in the first pair of writings regarding a particularly noticeable golden saucepot, which he incorrectly describes in those initial entries. This seems to indicate that the journal entry was written long after the artifact's discovery, allowing time to fog Schliemann's mind. However, this stands in stark contrast to the entry's dating, which indicates it was written shortly after the reported discovery date of May 31st. A major difference exists on the subject of the vast quantity of jewelry found in a particularly large silver pot in the treasure. In the initial writings, the jewelry is utterly left out, then, in the third, it is added as an afterthought in the first new paragraph in the entire entry. By the article's final publication, the jewelry, which includes massive quantities of gold, has been integrated into the main description of the artifacts retrieved. The final problem arises from the dating of the discovery; in the first articles, a relative date of the 31st of May is implied, though never directly stated. In the third, however, the 7th of June is put forward as the find date. Barring a serious bout of careless note keeping in regards to differences of calendar between Turkey and Europe, this suggests that Schliemann deliberately modified the date to better enhance the drama by placing it so near to the end of his work at Troy. While none of these items irrevocably reveals Schliemann as a liar, they cast very serious doubt on his ability to provide objective, factual recordings of his professional work (Traill 1984, 108-113).

Schliemann's faithful, however, continue to argue quite convincingly for his good nature. Many of their arguments focus on Schliemann's central importance to modern archaeology, but these statements have little to do with the point at hand. However, they do sagely point out that there are reasonable explanations for the doctor's behavior. For instance, they are quick to remind detractors that indeed, many of these inconsistencies come after many years of constant work, and that any person is bound to forget minor details. Difficulties with the production of images in his text on his Trojan excavations led to a great deal of confusion regarding the numbering of the images, perhaps leading to his often inconsistent dating and labeling of "Priam's Treasure" items, and indeed, he did not write the entry about the find itself until many days afterwards, by which time he had been forced to smuggle the artifacts, along with many others, out of Turkey to avoid avaricious Turkish authorities (Traill 1984, 98-100). They even defend his fictitious accounts of the fire and his dinner with the president, stating that he often wrote in his journals merely to practice a new language (As each journal would often switch between languages as he traveled the world) (Calder, 21) and that many were never meant for publication (Calder, 28). They maintain that to critically analyze such material is to do Schliemann a disservice. Their central point, however, is that even in the cases of proven personal wrongdoing (And these biographers and scholars often suggest that his early business dealings fall into this category), Schliemann's tendency toward exaggeration and mendacity does not extend to his professional, archaeological work (Calder, 28). Furthermore, they attribute much of the rest of the criticism leveled against Schliemann to the unrealistic expectations of modern archaeologists, rightfully appalled by his lack of professionalism.' His supporters maintain that, as a pioneer of the field, and a man motivated by deep passion rather than scholarly knowledge of stratigraphy, extraction, and note-keeping, he must be allowed certain eccentricities and errors of judgment that should not be otherwise attributed to malicious intent.

Through these opposing viewpoints, we receive the image of a divided man, on one hand the over-eager, naive, but ultimately well-meaning founder of modern archaeology, and on the other rests a pathological liar so obsessed with scholarly recognition that he was willing to edit reality

and history to suit his personal vision of his own life. In reality, the real Heinrich Schliemann likely lies somewhere between these two extremes. Many of his supporters recognize the gravity of his transgressions, and few of his detractors would go so far as to deny the importance of his work in light of said flaws. On the whole, the Heinrich Schliemann of fact is perhaps even more engaging than the fictional self he sought to present.

Guided by an irrepressible sense of curiosity and a passion for learning matched only by his intellectual ability to continue to learn, Schliemann unraveled ancient mysteries at great personal expense, traveled the world, and learned countless languages via his own ingenious system. That same passion led him to falter, on occasion, as his need for intellectual satisfaction overrode common sense and the need for scientific accuracy. It is doubtful that he ever went so far as to maliciously mislead his readers; some even believe that he could not see his own wrongdoing thanks to undiagnosed psychological problems (Calder, 36). Indeed, more often than not, he sought the help of more experienced experts in the field, such as Calvert and Curtius (Meyer, 77). There can be no doubting that his mistakes, intentional or a mere product of his overzealous mind, do force modern scholars to carefully examine all that Schliemann wrote, not necessarily to disprove him, but merely to see past the inaccuracies, fallacies, and logical leaps and find the genuine archaeological merit inherent in his work, whether it be in Alexandria, Ilium, or Mycenae.

This is not to free him of all responsibility, however. It cannot be understated that thus far, history has been far too kind to Schliemann. Smuggling, theft, bribery, and abuse are serious crimes. A man who went so far as to reportedly distort his infant son's face to more closely resemble Agamemnon, the Greek king he was named after, obviously suffers from deep-seated problems in his unquenchable love for ancient Greece (Calder, 36). Furthermore, studies must be done to compile his myriad writings at long last to find any shred of evidence about archaeological misdeeds to prevent purported fakes and doubles from being shown as authentic pieces and to ensure that currently published pieces are in the wrong hands, legally (Calder, 21, 34).

For further reading regarding the current debate over Schliemann, one need look no further than popular biographies such as Boorstin's work and the critical papers of Traill and Calder. As more and more of Schliemann's massive body of correspondence becomes available, it would do the scientific community well to continue to categorize and publish it, for, regardless of his unreliability, Schliemann's own words most often provide the truest picture of his nature and work.

Regardless of his flaws and the myriad uncertainties surrounding his work, Schliemann's importance is undeniable. The romantic story of the archaeologist couple of Heinrich and Sophie, however fabricated it may or may not be, is a central part of the history of the field. If nothing more, his mistakes and misdeeds can now serve as reminders to current scholars of the dangers of unregulated passion in science, serving as mental checks to similar illogical behavior. Most of all, however, Schliemann serves as a shining example of the incredible drive required to overcome overwhelming odds and succeed, and perhaps this is why his story is so beloved.

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Wilhelm Dörpfeld

Dec. 26, 1853 - April 25, 1940

Wilhelm Dörpfeld is most known for having helped Heinrich Schliemann excavate Troy in 1882 and then Tiryns from 1884-85. It was Dörpfeld who labeled the areas excavated by Schliemann as Troy I-IX (I-VII Bronze Age, VIII Greek, IX Roman). Dörpfeld also identified Mycenaean pottery in the Troy VI levels. Dörpfeld suggested that Troy VII was the level of the city of the Homeric epics, but Carl Blegen preferred Troy VIIA.

Dörpfeld studied at the Academy of Architecture (Bauakademie) in Berlin, 1873-76, under Friedrich Adler whose daughter he later married. In 1877 Adler sent Dörpfeld to help excavate the Olympia site in Greece. There, Dörpfeld developed the method of dating ancient archaeological sites based on the strata in which objects were found and the type of building materials. Together with Alexander Conze (q.v.) and Carl Humann (q.v.), he excavated Pergamon (1878-86) uncovering the city and the great altar, now in the Berlin Museum.

Among those impressed with Dörpfeld's methodology was the amateur archeologist Heinrich Schliemann, whose own archeological work was criticized for its lack of scholarly procedure. Schliemann convinced Dörpfeld to assist him with his excavation of Troy. Dörpfeld began the Troy site in 1882, identifying the strata from which objects were taken and generally organizing the excavation. He also corrected many of Schliemann's conclusions, including the shaft burial sites at Mycenae. In 1884 Dörpfeld and Schliemann began excavation of the Tiryns site, which became the first major bronze-age discovery. Again, Dörpfeld prevented Schliemann and his team from destroying precious archaeological remains (in this case, decomposed Greek marble walls which Schliemann had taken for more recent Roman mortar masonry).

Dörpfeld also was involved in excavations of both the Acropolis and the Agora of Athens. Beginning in 1886 he excavated the *Hekatompedon* (the pre-Classical Parthenon) on the Acropolis in Athens. In 1887 Dörpfeld became Director of Athens branch of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) which he held until 1912. In 1896, Dörpfeld authored Das griechische Theater, the first study of Greek theater construction. After his retirement, the tenacious Dörpfeld spent much time attacking the views of other archaeologists. During the mid-1930s, Dörpfeld took on a celebrated debate regarding the configuration of the three phases of the Parthenon with the American architectural history William Bell Dinsmoor (q.v.). He died on the island of Leukas where he had a home in 1940, the site of what he believed to be Homer's Ithaca.

Dörpfeld was one of the seminal figures in classical archaeology and art history, both loved and despised. His method remains the core work in archeological site analysis. When his dating proved incorrect, as in the case of Level VI at Tiryns, it was only because of lack of subsequent information and then only slightly. Like Schliemann, he spent much of his energies in the romantic pursuit to prove Homer's Odyssey was based upon real places. Arthur Evans termed Dörpfeld "Schliemann's greatest discovery."

Dörpfeld's critical attacks against other scholars with whom he disagreed, at times petty, alienated younger scholars. The Berlin scholarly community, consisting of Berlin Archaeological Institute and classical philology professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931) were highly critical of Dörpfeld's excavations at Leukas and Corfu and the Oxford classicist Percy Gardner (q.v.) characterized Dörpfeld as lacking sober critical judgment. His architectural training blinded him from the importance of many artifacts, such as pottery, for chronology.

Wilhelm Dorpfeld's Work at Troy

Wilhelm Dorpfeld worked in Troy for two years on Schliemann's team in then late 1880's and thereby gained knowledge and experience with the site. Following Schliemann's death in 1890, Dorpfeld took over the expedition under patronage from Schliemann's wife Sophie and the Kaiser. His subsequent excavation from 1893-94 is considered a milestone in the field of archaeology.

Believing there to be another city just outside of Troy, Dorpfeld moved operations to what he would discover to be the city walls of Troy VI, far outside Schliemann's city. Three hundred yards of battlement firmly established Troy VI's perimeter. By examining the wall, gates, and enclosed city streets, Dorpfeld concluded that this new city perfectly matched the description of Homer's Troy in the Iliad. Further investigation revealed that the walls had fallen, there had been a great fire, and that the city's demise was characterized by violence, all of which justified his theory. The scientific world was emphatically accepting of all of Dorpfeld's evidence.

"A fortress was found to have stood on the very spot where Homeric tradition placed it, a fortress which had been sacked and almost leveled by enemies...from it follows the historical reality of the Trojan War...we shall therefore not hesitate, starting from the fact that the Trojan War was a real war fought out in the place, and at least generally in the manner, described in Homer, to draw the further conclusion that some at least of the heroes that Homer names as having played a prominent part in that war were real persons named by Homer's names, who did actually fight in that war."...contemporary of Dorpfeld-Walter Leaf (Homer and History)

Members of the scientific world much like Walter Leaf seem characteristically too accepting of the assertions made by Dorpfeld. These assertions could not have been formulated with any reasonable amount of certainty by the archaeological evidence. Until a new theory would be proposed by Carl Blegen in 1938, pointing the Homeric finger at Troy VII, Dorpfeld's evidence would remain foremost in the intellectual world.

This information on Dorpfeld adapted from the following sites:

<http://ancienthistory.about.com/od/greekarchaeology/g/Dorpfeld.htm>

<http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/dorpfeldw.htm>

<http://www.utexas.edu/courses/wilson/ant304/projects/projects97/bairdp/dorpfeld.htm>

BASIC LATIN VOCABULARY

(MEANING IS GIVEN; YOU NEED TO LOOK UP ALL OTHER LEXICAL INFORMATION)

FIRST DECLENSION NOUNS (-AE)

- AGRICOLA - FARMER
- AMICITIA - FRIENDSHIP
- AQUA - WATER
- CASA - COTTAGE, HUT
- CAUSA - CAUSE, REASON
- CENA - DINNER
- CONCORDIA - HARMONY
- COPIA - SUPPLY, ABUNDANCE; PL TROOPS, FORCES
- CURA - CARE, CONCERN
- DEA - GODDESS, DEITY (F)
- DILIGENTIA - CARE, DILIGENCE
- DISCIPLINA - TRAINING, DISCIPLINE
- EPISTULA - LETTER, DISPATCH
- FABULA - STORY
- FAMA - REPORT, RUMOR, REPUTATION
- FAMILIA - HOUSEHOLD
- FEMINA - WOMAN
- FILIA - DAUGHTER
- FORMA - BEAUTY, SHAPE
- FORTUNA - CHANCE, FORTUNE
- FUGA - FLIGHT
- GLORIA - FAME, GLORY
- GRATIA - GRATITUDE, FAVOR
- HORA - HOUR
- INIURIA - WRONG-DOING, INJURY
- INOPIA - LACK, SCARCITY
- INSULA - ISLAND
- IRA - ANGER
- LINGUA - TONGUE, LANGUAGE
- LITTERA - LETTER (OF ALPHABET); PL - LETTER, DISPATCH
- MATERIA - TIMBER
- MEMORIA - MEMORY
- NATURA - NATURE
- NAUTA - SAILOR
- PATRIA - FATHERLAND, HOMELAND, NATIVE COUNTRY
- PECUNIA - MONEY
- POENA - PUNISHMENT, PENALTY