

Schliemann on the Excavation of Troy: Three Unpublished Letters

Andrew R. Dyck

ALTHOUGH THIS IS THE centennial of his death, genuine biographical research on Heinrich Schliemann has only begun in the last two decades. The revisionist work of W. M. Calder III, Wolfgang Schindler, David Traill, and others has shown that, because of his propensity to lie in matters both personal and scholarly, no statement by Schliemann can be taken at face value.¹ There is need for a new biography of the founder of modern archaeology; and an obvious first step is the editing of the primary documents—Schliemann's own letters and diaries—which, so far, have received only partial and inadequate publication; these can then serve as a control on each other and on the accounts Schliemann published during his lifetime.² The present study is one small contribution toward that still distant goal.

The collection published here for the first time comprises three letters from Heinrich Schliemann to the British archaeologist John Turtle Wood, F.S.A. (1821–90), dated (I) 26 April 1872, (II) 6 August 1872, and (III) 7 April 1874, the first two written at Troy, the last one at Athens.³ Wood, born in

¹ For the current *status quaestionis* see Calder, "A New Picture of Heinrich Schliemann," in W. M. Calder III and David A. Traill, edd., *Myth, Scandal and History: the Heinrich Schliemann Controversy and a First Edition of the Mycenaean Diary* (Detroit 1986) 17–47; Traill, "The Schliemann Controversy," *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers* 20 (1990) 81–87. Both include literature.

² Cf. Calder (*supra* n.1) 21f (on the inadequacy of Ernst Meyer's three-volume edition of the letters), 38: "our great need is an honest edition of the letters, completely transcribed with critical commentary"; Traill's edition of the Mycenaean diary (*supra* n.1) is an exception to the stricture on "partial and inadequate publication."

³ Wood's birthdate is given variously as 1820 or 1821; I follow the *London Times* (n.5 *infra*). A fourth letter to Wood (dated 8 January 1873) is published in part in Heinrich Schliemann, *Briefwechsel*, ed. E. Meyer I (Berlin 1953: hereafter 'Bw.') 220.

London and having studied architecture, went to Turkey in 1857 as architect for the Smyrna and Aidin Railway. After a year's employment, Wood resigned to begin his search for the Artemisium at Ephesus. In 1863, aided by a small grant from the Trustees of the British Museum, he began excavating; after finding the theater and Odeum, he returned to England, his funds exhausted. He resumed his work with renewed support in 1867. As Wood describes the 1868–69 campaign, "After six years of toil, and at a time when the Trustees considered that there was little or no hope of success, I most fortunately hit upon the corner of the peribolus wall, containing inscriptions which placed beyond doubt the fact that the approximate site of the Temple was at last discovered."⁴ On 20 July 1871 he gave in London the first public report of his finds. By 1874 Wood had uncovered the entire temple site, where he was able to demonstrate three successive structures, the last of which finally accommodated a Christian church. In that year the British Museum, which had both underwritten the project and received the resulting sculptural finds, withdrew support, and the excavation came to a close, although Wood briefly resumed work at the Artemisium in 1883. The finds were published in 1877.⁵ Praised for his handling of the inscriptions, Wood has been criticized for his haste in locating and removing museum-quality art.⁶

Charles Maclaren's detailed argument for the identification of Hissarlik with Troy had convinced Frank Calvert, a member of a British expatriate family that had settled near the Dardanelles.⁷

⁴ J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London 1877) viif.

⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. the *Times* obituary 9 April 1890 and Wilhelm Alzinger, *Die Stadt des siebenten Weltwunders. Die Wiederentdeckung von Ephesos* (Vienna 1962) 10–34.

⁶ For the inscriptions see Wood (*supra* n.4) appendix; cf. Ernst Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Kaufmann und Forscher* (Göttingen 1969) 148 with n.134 and *Bw.* I 340 n.311 with literature.

⁷ Charles Maclaren, *The Plain of Troy Described and the Identity of the Ilium of Homer with the New Ilium of Strabo Proved by Comparing the Poet's Narrative with the Present Topography* (Edinburgh 1822; 2nd ed. 1863; French tr. 1844) esp. ch. XIV¹ or ch. V²; G. von Eckenbrecher ("Über die Lage des homerischen Ilion," *RhM* 2 [1843] 1–49, esp. 27ff) arrived, apparently independently, at the same conclusion as Maclaren (for Ilium novum) by a similar process of reasoning (*sc.* by discarding Lechevalier's claim that the Kirke Jos can be identified with the Scamander and by subjecting the ancient testimonia to close scrutiny; see n.10 *infra*).

Calvert purchased a part of Hissarlik and began his own excavation there in 1865, but had to break off for want of funds; he did, however, persuade Schliemann of the identification and gave him permission to excavate on his property in return for a half-interest in the resulting finds.⁸ Although the identification won influential backing in the English-speaking world, it was still contested in some quarters.⁹ In spite of Frank Calvert's arguments, Ernst Curtius came away from a visit to the Troad in August-September, 1871, still clinging to the identification of the Homeric Troy with the hill Balli Dagh near the village of Bunarbashi and repeated this view in a lecture delivered in honor of J. J. Winckelmann on 9 December.¹⁰

Schliemann began excavation at Hissarlik 11 October–25 November 1871 and resumed on 1 April 1872. Letter I shows Schliemann still very cautious about the identification of Hissarlik with Troy; he never asserted it himself; the rumor to that effect was merely based on a German scholar's mistaken interpretation of an inscription. He does assert, however, his confidence that (a) Troy existed and, if so, (b) Hissarlik was its acropolis (the letter is, in fact, inscribed "on Mount Hissarlik in the plain of Troy"). It was evidently a rainy spring in the Troad, and Schliemann complains bitterly both about his fact and about the number of Greek holidays; for he states his goal quite plainly as to "get hold of that [virgin] soil as soon as possible,"

⁸ On Calvert, who, together with Maclaren, still commonly receives much less credit than he deserves, cf. Traill, "Schliemann's Acquisition of the Helios Metope and his Psychopathic Tendencies," in Calder and Traill (*supra* n.1) 52f with 74 n.13; cf. also Traill (1990 [*supra* n.1]) 83.

⁹ *Pro*: George Grote, *History of Greece*² I (New York 1853) 217; Leonhard Schmitz, in William Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (Boston 1865) s.v. "Ilium"; *contra*: notably, F. G. Welcker (1784–1868), "Über die Lage des Homerischen Ilion," *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitschrift*, February 1843, nos. 38–40 (= *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Litteraturgeschichte* II [Bonn 1845] 1ff); on Welcker and his influence see W. M. Calder III, Adolf Köhnken, Wolfgang Kullmann, Günther Pflug, edd., *Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker. Werk und Wirkung* (= *Hermes Einzelschr.* 49 [Stuttgart 1986]).

¹⁰ See *Bw.* I 186f, 194, 201; for the thesis cf. J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyages de la Troade* (Paris 1802) II 191ff; Maclaren (*supra* n.7) showed, however, that the Kirke Jos stream, identified by Lechevalier with the Scamander, hardly fits the Homeric description of that mighty river (ch. V¹) and is, in fact, an artificial drain (ch. IX²). For Schliemann's reaction to Curtius: *Bw.* I 203f; on Curtius cf. n.75 *infra*.

since the Homeric Troy is presumed to be located on virgin soil.

In letter I Schliemann was planning to continue excavation until October, but letter II shows him preparing to break off work on 16 August; the "pestilential fevers" have laid low his three overseers and cashier, so that he must supervise alone in the "scorching sun." In the *ca* three months intervening, however, he has grown much more confident of his discovery of the site of Homer's Troy, so much so that he has written a report for the *Times* detailing his finds and arguing for the identification. There are, however, obstacles to accepting his thesis, as Schliemann is aware, the main one stratigraphical: what he identifies as the walls of Lysimachus, Alexander's successor, are "nearly at the surface," whereas the walls of what he takes to be the Homeric Troy are no less than 10 m. below these, a fact which Schliemann argues—quite implausibly—results from an unusually large accumulation of prehistoric rubble.¹¹ In this letter we also find that Schliemann has purchased a house in Athens in which he plans to display his finds and that he is planning to write a book detailing his discoveries.

By the date of letter III the book has been published, and the first excavation at Mycenae is imminent. In spite of what he had said in letter II, Schliemann does not plan to relinquish the site of Troy but is about to enter upon negotiations with the Turkish government, which, however, demands not only any new discoveries but also a share in Schliemann's previous booty; Schliemann is inclined to yield on the former point, but not the latter, so that agreement seems unlikely.

The correspondence illustrates the archaeological procedures and goals of Schliemann. Precise stratigraphy is a thing of the future; the aim is to reach virgin soil (and, it is understood, confirm his theories) as soon as possible.¹² The letters likewise shed light on Schliemann's attitude toward the project: an amalgam of a desire to promote science and a shrewd calculation of his own interests. In letter II, for instance, he writes that

¹¹ What Schliemann generally identified as the Homeric Troy—Troy II—has proved, of course, to be considerably older, *viz.*, *ca* 2500–2200 according to the estimate of C. W. Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans* (New York 1963) 59ff, 174.

¹² Schliemann urges the same procedure upon Wood in the partially published letter (*supra* n.3).

“however large the expenses may be here the objects found here give *full* compensation”; this statement shows his awareness of the financial aspect of the project, but the “compensation” he envisions need not have been solely financial. The letters also contain professions of a disinterested desire to advance knowledge (in the event that a government should take over the excavation, Schliemann writes, “I would joyfully cede my ferman and gratuitously give up all my instalments and machinery deeming myself sufficiently paid by having been instrumental in this great discovery”). We see a bit more of the entrepreneur in the posture he takes in letter III, according to which he will cede new finds to the Turkish government, but none of the previous ones. Interesting, too, the change in the Ottoman position in the *ca* two-year interval between letters I and III; the intervening publicity has caused the Turkish government to take steps to exert control over finds the value of which has now become clear.

Schliemann first met Wood in December 1870, when he visited the excavations at Ephesus.¹³ Cordial relations between the two are attested by Wood’s invitation to Schliemann to revisit the site and by Schliemann’s invitation to Wood to visit him in Athens and see his finds.¹⁴ Wood was important to Schliemann as an academically respectable archaeologist (note his connection with the British Museum and the allusion in letter III to lectures he would be giving in the *Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie*) who nonetheless took Schliemann and his work seriously and was prepared to accept the identification of Troy with Hissarlik even before Schliemann was comfortable about asserting it. Wood also moved in circles closed to Schliemann (note the reference at the end of letter I to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, Schliemann’s native state with whom Wood but not Schliemann was personally acquainted). Of particular interest for the Schliemann-Wood relationship is letter II, in which Schliemann sets forth his finds and commits himself definitely to the identification of Troy and Hissarlik. Schliemann’s use of the title “Drphil” after his name only in this letter of the set betrays a certain insecurity in advancing such claims to an archaeologist

¹³ See Meyer (*supra* n.6) 245f.

¹⁴ For Wood’s invitation see *supra* n.3; for Schliemann’s invitation see our letters II and III.

such as Wood.¹⁵ It is interesting, too, to see how far Schliemann is prepared to go in disclosing to his colleague facts that he withheld from the *Times*: he does not mind telling Wood about the discovery of jewels with the body of a woman and admitting that he failed to report this to the *Times* for fear of repercussions with the Turkish authorities. He has not, however, told the entire truth even to Wood (see n.51 *infra*). In general, Schliemann was able to capitalize on his fluency in English to establish good contacts in England to compensate to some extent for the hostility of the German academic establishment.¹⁶ Thus he was able to present his discoveries at Mycenae before a meeting of the London Society of Antiquaries in 1877 (Calder and Traill [*supra* n.1] frontispiece) and to persuade Gladstone to contribute a preface to the English edition of his *Mycenae*.¹⁷

I am most grateful to the Resource Collections of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Mr Donald Anderle, Assistant Director, for permission to publish these documents (from catalogue no. CJPV87-A104), which are written in a very legible hand. While correcting obvious misspellings, I have retained the punctuation of the original.

¹⁵ G. v. Eckenbrecher states that Curtius could only smile out of pity when the identification of the Homeric Troy with Ilium novum was mooted: *Bw.* I 208 (18 March 1872).

¹⁶ For this point *cf.* W. M. Calder III, "Wilamowitz on Schliemann," *Philologus* 124 (1980) 146–51 and (*supra* n.1) 34, citing Adolf Furtwängler.

¹⁷ Accessible to me in the "new edition": *Mycenae: a Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* by Dr Henry Schliemann ... The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone (New York 1880); *cf.* J. Vaio, "Gladstone and the Early Reception of Schliemann in England," in W. M. Calder III and J. Cobet, edd., *Heinrich Schliemann nach hundert Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M. 1990) 415–30.

Letter I

on mount Hissarlik in the Plain of Troy
26th April 1872

Dear Sir

I had a great pleasure in receiving today your interesting letter of 5th inst¹⁸ which, alas, has been 21 days on the road and bears the postmark of *Trieste*.

Your name has become immortal by your splendid discoveries, of which I have heard and read a great deal and with¹⁹ which I sincerely congratulate you. I am exceedingly anxious to see in²⁰ the British Museum the precious objects you have found.

I am sorry I cannot accept yet your kind felicitation with²¹ the discovery of ancient Troy. I think the rumour that I discovered it has arisen from a translation a german scholar²² has made of a small inscription I found here in November last in a depth of 8-1/2 metres; for he translated it “Ἰλιέων”, whilst I now²³ find out that all the characters of that inscription are merely religious symbols.²⁴ I have been very cautious in all my greek and german reports²⁵ and only described what I found, but never said I found Troy. If however that famous city has ever existed,²⁶ and I might swear to it that it has existed, then the mount

¹⁸ For *instantis mensis* ('of the current month').

¹⁹ For 'on', a confusion of prepositional idioms.

²⁰ The 'i' is in a blot or written over another letter.

²¹ See *supra* n.19.

²² Sc. G. P. Heller of Kleinheubach, who proposed the interpretation in an article in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 7 January 1872, p.98 (I owe this reference to the kindness of David A. Traill).

²³ The 'n' changed from another letter, perhaps 'k'.

²⁴ Cf. *Bw.* I 196 for an "inscription" sent to Renan for interpretation, which is in fact merely a series of swastikas; similarly, supposed examples of Hittite writing turned out to be mere decoration: cf. C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations: an Archaeological and Historical Study*, tr. E. Sellers (London 1891) 72; also see n.54 *infra*.

²⁵ Four reports from Schliemann's pen had appeared in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* nos. 316, 326, 331, and 350 for 1871: see *Bw.* I 334 n.271.

²⁶ Inapposite use of the compound past, common in the English of native speakers of German.

in which I am digging must necessarily have been its acropolis. Last year I made a trench 10 & 15 metres broad and 9 and 10 m deep and the results encouraged me so much that I am now running into the mount at a perpendicular²⁷ *depth of 16 metres* or 53 engl feet below the summit a gigantic "plate-forme"²⁸ 70 *mètres* broad and ever since the 1st instant I have been working at it with 100, 120 and 126 workmen. I have here the facility²⁹ that the hillock goes down under an angle of 40 degrees and thus I am now doing³⁰ at the rate of 500 cubic *mètres* daily. Unfortunately on acct of the numberless greek holidays³¹ and rainy days, I have had only 17 working days since the beginning of the month. But still the great work has progressed well and I have advanced my horizontal plateforme for nearly 18 metres into the mount and yet *no* virgin soil. Strange to say the mount has *not* increased at all in width in historical times; from the very surface of the slope off³² you find *pre* historical objects, but together with them stupendous masses of huge stones, which have evidently been thrown in prehistorical times from the summit on³³ the slope. I hope to find behind these masses of stones the real virgin soil and as soon as I have reached that I can at once begin to make accurate researches.³⁴ But should I not find the virgin soil even in the present enormous depth of 53 feet, then³⁵ I have to excavate my plateforme still deeper, for at any cost I must get hold of that soil as soon as possible.³⁶

²⁷ 'Perpendicular' add. s.l.

²⁸ *I.e.*, platform, in which sense the French term appears even in Schliemann's Greek excavation reports.

²⁹ Perhaps chosen as equivalent of the German 'Erleichterung'.

³⁰ Chosen evidently as the equivalent of the German 'machen' in the sense 'to make progress' (cf. G. Wahrig, ed., *Deutsches Wörterbuch* IV [Wiesbaden 1982] s.v. "machen" 18), or, possibly, 'to hasten' (*ibid.* 10).

³¹ In 1872 Greek Easter fell on 31 March: cf. R. Schram, *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln* (Leipzig 1908) 79, 100; the festivities extend over the entire following week culminating in the festival of the Παναγία ὡς Ζωδόχος Πηγή on Friday; in addition, the feast of St George falls on 23 April: cf. E. von Ivánka, J. Tyciak, and P. Wiertz, *Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde* (Düsseldorf 1971) 616f.

³² A literal translation of 'ab' instead of English 'on'.

³³ One expects 'onto' (=German 'auf').

³⁴ For 'Forschungen'.

³⁵ The 'the' in place of other, uncertain, letters.

³⁶ Cf. *Bw.* I 208 (to Burnouf).

Some thing very interesting may turn up every³⁷ day and I shall have very great pleasure to write to you as soon as I have anything important to communicate. But until then it is not worth your while to come here. I intend working on until October, for I wish to cut my plateforme through the whole hillock and shall have to remove abt 100,000 cubic mètres. At all events I hope to see you here on your return in September next.

I am astonished that the grand Duke of Mecklenburg knows me for I never saw him. But very likely he has read my reports in the public papers. I shall be happy to see him here. Also, I have today again to stop my works³⁸ for five days on acct of the holidays.

If I write to you in May I shall address my letter to the British Museum until then to Ephesus. I am Dear Sir

Yours faithfully
H Schliemann

J.T. Wood Esq

Letter II

Pergamus of Troy³⁹ 6th Aug 1872

My dear Sir

I have much pleasure to inform you that after having worked ever since the 1st of April last with 120 to 150 laborers I have now obtained the certainty to have discovered a⁴⁰ great tower and a wall of ancient Troy in the depths of Ilium, which was

³⁷ Schliemann fails to distinguish 'every' and 'any' (*cf.* 'jeden Tag').

³⁸ 'Arbeiten'.

³⁹ This dateline was commonly used by Schliemann during his first three seasons at Troy; since Pergamus, however, is the Latinized form for Homer's designation of the citadel of Troy, as opposed to the lower city, and since Schliemann's own soundings disclosed no sign of habitation outside the walls, he finally concluded that the town was coextensive with the walled area—from his point of view, an unwelcome divergence of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; *cf.* W. A. McDonald and C. G. Thomas, *Progress into the Past: The Rediscovery of Mycenaean Civilization*² (Bloomington 1990) 25.

⁴⁰ In place of a blot or the beginning of another letter.

rebaptized Ilium novum by Lechevalier in 1788.⁴¹ I advise you very much to come out here to look at my excavations but, alas, I cannot expect⁴² you for this plain is now infested by pestilential fevers of which my⁴³ 3 overseers and my cashier are deadsick⁴⁴ and I have to command alone all the day in the scorching sun. I am⁴⁵ therefore forced to shut up for the season and to return on the 16th⁴⁶ inst to Athens where I shall but be too happy to show you all the objects I discovered in this most wonderful of all wonderful mounts. I have sent some days ago a long article to the Times and hope they have published it & you have read it.⁴⁷ Of historic times I have only a splendid marble 2 mètres long & 80 cent m high representing Phoebus Apollo with the 4 Sunhorses⁴⁸ of splendid greek workmanship; it is of the time of Lysimachus. Of *prehistoric* times I have more than a hundred thousand objects and among them things of the most phantastic kind. But nearly all⁴⁹ you find described in my report to the Times. I have bought a house in Athens where I establish my *prehistoric* museum. But I must have some months to arrange everything, however, if you notify me your visit⁵⁰ a month before I shall be able to show you nearly all. Being afraid

⁴¹ Schliemann said in letter I that he would write again “as soon as I have anything important to communicate”; he now clearly feels that he does. On 14 May he reported to Burnouf having reached virgin soil and having found *inter alia* a δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον, albeit damaged (*Bw.* I 210). There followed large-scale architectural finds—a “godly wall” reported to Frank Calvert, whose reaction disappointed Schliemann (*Bw.* I 212 [23 July]), or a “colossale ... Mauer” as described to Curtius (*ibid.*). By 31 July Schliemann is convinced that he has found, as he tells Curtius, the μέγας πύργος Ἰλίου (*ibid.* 213) and the following day files a report to the *Times* to that effect (*ibid.* 214; see n.47 *infra*).

⁴² A Latinism=‘await’.

⁴³ ‘M’ written over another letter.

⁴⁴ =‘totkrank’.

⁴⁵ Written over two other illegible letters.

⁴⁶ ‘6’ written in place of another number, probably ‘5’.

⁴⁷ 1 August 1872, printed in part at *Bw.* I 214; the *Times* did not, in fact, publish it.

⁴⁸ ‘Sonnenpferde’; now in the Pergamum Museum, Berlin. See Meyer (*supra* n.6) illustration facing p.305. On Schliemann’s manoeuvres to deprive Frank Calvert of a fair price for his half of the object see Traill, in Calder and Traill (*supra* n.1) 52–62.

⁴⁹ This restriction is explained below.

⁵⁰ ‘Notify’ is treated as transitive, like the German *ankündigen*.

of difficulties at Constantinople, I did not mention some Trojan jewels found with the skeleton of a lady in abt 15 mètres depth.⁵¹ She had been evidently overtaken by the fire and burned to death.⁵² The quantity of *prehistoric terra cottas* in the shape of vulcanoes & carousels⁵³ with countless arian religious symbols⁵⁴ is⁵⁵ bewildering the mind;⁵⁶ I never saw any of them in any museum except in that of Parma in which however there are only 2 found in the terra mares whilst here I find them by thousands.

Since writing the article to the Times I found in the Trojan layer of rubbish⁵⁷ a splendid large terra cotta vessel in the form of a fat swine.⁵⁸ Ilium's great tower⁵⁹ I can unfortunately not

⁵¹ This statement is problematical in more than one respect. In fact, the jewels were not found "with the skeleton"; they were discovered on 17 May, as Schliemann's diary entry under that date shows; the skeleton, on the other hand, was discovered on 16 July and at a depth of 9–10 rather than 15 m. Although omitted from the *Times* report (which Schliemann presumes Wood to have read), the jewels were mentioned in Schliemann's (never published) report to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, as well as in the report printed in the *Ephemeris ton suzeteseon* of 8 (=20) August 1872; I owe this reference to the kindness of David Traill, who adds (*per litt.*): "from their position in the copybook it is clear that the Greek report was written shortly before the letter to Wood and the report to the *AAZ* shortly after." Possibly Schliemann thought it more likely that the Turkish authorities would notice the report to the *Times* than that to the *AAZ* or *ETS*. On Schliemann's agglomeration of disparate finds in this case cf. D. Easton, "Schliemann's Mendacity—a False Trail?" *Antiquity* 58 (1984) 197–204, esp. 200f; D. A. Traill, "Schliemann's Mendacity: a Question of Methodology," *Anatolian Studies* 36 (1986) 94f.

⁵² The implicit assumption is that these are finds from the Homeric Troy.

⁵³ The words 'in the shape of vulcanoes & carousels' are added above the line.

⁵⁴ The swastika, found also in India, was thought to be a primitive Aryan symbol. C. Schuchhardt (*supra* n.24) still interprets the swastika as "the symbol of some very ancient divinity" (67) but regards its use on pottery found at Tiryns as purely ornamental (131).

⁵⁵ After 'is' the word 'something' has been deleted.

⁵⁶ Described in similar terms to Curtius (23 July): "Tausende u aber Tausende jener terracottas in Form von Vulkanen u Carousellen u mit herrlichen Symbolen bedeckt finde ich hier in diesem merkwürdigsten aller merkwürdigen Berge...." (*Bw.* I 212).

⁵⁷ Synonymous with 'rubble', as in early English.

⁵⁸ Cf. Schuchhardt (*supra* n.24) 72 fig. 69.

⁵⁹ The discovery of this structure in the *second* settlement level of the site was the first find to shake Schliemann's confidence that the Homeric Troy rested on virgin soil.

bring to light as much as I hoped when I wrote said article for death overtakes us all here if we stay longer. But in march I shall follow up and bring to light Iliums⁶⁰ great walls which necessarily must be in connection with the tower and with the wall I discovered in the depth of the Apollo temple. But expenses⁶¹ being here at the rate of 400 francs a day⁶² I shall not dig more than 3 months longer and hope some government will then continue my excavations and bring to light the whole of Troys walls, which must be buried⁶³ 10 m or 33 feet below those built by Lysimachus. Strange to say the latter are nearly at the surface and hardly covered by any rubbish⁶⁴ whilst the Trojan walls are deeper below them as⁶⁵ the height of most houses at Paris. But I have explained in said article how the accumulation of rubbish in prehistoric times happens to be so tremendous.

However large the expenses⁶⁶ may be here the objects found here give *full* compensation for them and I think when this fact becomes known some government will at once come forward to continue the excavations of Troy, in which case I would joyfully cede my ferman and gratuitously give up all my instalments⁶⁷ and machinery deeming myself sufficiently paid by having been instrumental in this great discovery.⁶⁸ I think therefore to publish now at once a book both in greek and in german with photographs of all the curious things found here.

⁶⁰ Without apostrophe, as in German.

⁶¹ 'Expences' S.

⁶² Risen from 300 according to *Bw.* I 212 (23 July; to Curtius).

⁶³ 'Burried' S.

⁶⁴ See *supra* n.57.

⁶⁵ For 'than' (= 'als').

⁶⁶ 'Expences' S.

⁶⁷ Evidently for 'installations'; 'l' in a blot or in the place of another letter.

⁶⁸ The idea of an international fund to sponsor the excavation was mooted by Frank Calvert (*Bw.* I 171; 11 May 1870); in our letter Schliemann echoes the sentiment expressed in his report to the *Times* of 1 August (*ibid.* I 214). Underlying Schliemann's suggestion is the thought that his time is limited and many projects, including Delphi, Mycenae, and Delos, yet await him (I 215).

Do you not think it a⁶⁹ good plan⁷⁰ in order that the thing might become thoroughly known?⁷¹

Hoping to see you ere long at Athens I remain

my dear Sir
yours faithfully
H Schliemann
Drphil⁷²

J. T. Wood Esq
London

Letter III

Athens 7th April 1874

My dear Sir

From your kind letter of 4th inst I was exceedingly disappointed to see that you are not likely to come to Athens, where I have hourly expected you for the last 4 weeks. It may be that I am still here until the 14th inst, but it is not very likely, for I have to commence the excavations at Mykene. My volume has been sent to you care of the British museum. How happy would I be to attend your lectures on Ephesus in the museum of Art & Industry⁷³ at Vienna! But, alas, I cannot come. Mr. Déthier the director of the Constant museum is now here as plenipotentiary of the Turk. govt to come to an arrangement with me for the excavations of the remaining 1/3 of Troy. But since he is not satisfied with my doing that job gratuitously for the sole benefit of his museum, for 4 mths with 150 workmen, and since he demands besides part of the treasure I fear I shall not come to terms with him, for I do not give up any thing of

⁶⁹ In place of another letter, perhaps 'g'.

⁷⁰ After 'n' a blot or deleted letter.

⁷¹ Schliemann already announced his plan to publish a book with photographs to Curtius on 3 February 1872 (*Bw.* I 202).

⁷² On the way in which Schliemann received this title cf. W. Richter, "Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troia' und das Promotionsverfahren Heinrich Schliemanns," *Ethnographische-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 21 (1980) 667-77.

⁷³ Later the Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst.

my collection.⁷⁴ But as soon as peace is restored between the S. Porte and self I shall first hurry to Ephesus to see your wonderful excavations. I hope to see you in August in London. I shall instantly go myself to the postoffice to attend to your letters.

I remain with kindest regards

Yours very truly
H Schliemann

the professors E. Curtius⁷⁵ and Adler⁷⁶ from Berlin are this

⁷⁴ As early as 4 March 1873 Schliemann expresses fear that Déthier aims to deprive him of his *ferman* (*Bw.* I 224). By 29 July of the same year Déthier has demanded a large quantity of the owl-headed statuettes. Schliemann refuses but proposes instead, as in our letter, to dig at his own expense for three more months and present all finds to the Museum in Constantinople (I 237); that is still his position in a letter to Déthier dated 10 March 1874 (I 257). Even on 24 March Déthier has not yet arrived in Athens to conduct negotiations (I 263). Our letter makes it clear that an impasse had been reached. Accordingly the Turkish government filed suit to recover half of his finds, a suit that failed in the first instance on 15 May 1874 (I 266). Déthier complains bitterly to Schliemann about this outcome in a letter dated 13 February 1875 (I 279). The matter was finally settled out of court in April 1875 (Schliemann paid an indemnity to Turkey of £2,000, according to his letter of 22 February 1878 to Max Müller: *cf.* E. Meyer, "Schliemann's Letters to Max Müller in Oxford," *JHS* 82 [1962] 98). When Schliemann was permitted to return to the field in 1878, he had to submit to the supervision of Turkish police.

⁷⁵ A native of Lübeck, Ernst Curtius (1814–96) studied at Bonn, Göttingen, and Berlin and got to know Greece by hiking through the country during the years 1838–40. He earned his doctorate in 1841 with a dissertation *De portibus Athenarum* and remained at Berlin as Privatdozent until appointment in 1844 as tutor to Friedrich Wilhelm, the future Kaiser. Having weathered the storm of 1848, he returned to the University of Berlin in 1850, then followed in 1856 a call to Göttingen; his career reached its climax with the return to Berlin as Professor of Archaeology in 1868. The enthusiasm as well as the melancholy that the ruins inspired are reflected in his *Griechische Geschichte* (1857–67 and later editions), which found an enthusiastic reception among Germany's educated public comparable only to Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* (for which the Weidemann Verlag commissioned it as a companion set); *cf.* F. Curtius, *Ernst Curtius. Ein Lebensbild in Briefen* (Berlin 1903); K. Christ, *Von Gibbon zu Rostovtzeff. Leben und Werk führender Althistoriker der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt 1972) 68–83.

⁷⁶ Friedrich Adler (1827–1908), German architectural historian and architect responsible for churches and other buildings in Berlin; he participated in the excavations at Olympia, 1874–81.

moment in my collection and I am happy to say they recognize⁷⁷ in my owlheaded idols the “θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη” and since they are a great authority, the former false interpretation of γλαυκῶπις must now at once fall to the ground.⁷⁸

J. T. Wood Esq
Smyrna

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
December, 1990

⁷⁷ “Reconize” S.

⁷⁸ Schliemann’s fancy that the “owlheaded” figurines he had discovered should be identified with the θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, and γλαυκῶπις interpreted to mean ‘owl-eyed’, rather than ‘grey-eyed’, was received with justified skepticism by Max Müller (*cf.* Meyer [*supra* n.74] 83f) and later abandoned by Schuchhardt (*supra* n.24: 68f). In any case, Schliemann here takes comfort in the support of other academic authorities.

I am grateful to P. G. Naiditch for suggesting this project, to him and to David Blank for related advice, and to Richard Janko, Sarah Morris, and David A. Traill for reading this paper in draft and providing me with valuable comments.