

## SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERY OF 'PRIAM'S TREASURE': A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE\*

(PLATE VIIIa–b)

THE importance of Schliemann's excavations at Troy, Mycenae and elsewhere is beyond dispute. Yet the aura of greatness which his remarkable achievements have rightly conferred on his name has tended to blur our perception of the man himself. Psychoanalytic studies by W. G. Niederland have offered fresh insight into his complex character, but it is the paper given by W. M. Calder III on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth that marks the beginning of the new sceptical attitude to Schliemann.<sup>1</sup> Calder pointed out that Schliemann's autobiographical writings contain many false claims and purely fictitious episodes which biographers have uncritically accepted as fact. This new view of Schliemann as an unreliable witness, which, incidentally, was held by many of his contemporaries, has now been confirmed and expanded by subsequent research.<sup>2</sup>

It is principally in matters of his personal life that recent studies have exposed Schliemann's propensity for lies and fraud. However, G. Korres has shown that in his scholarly work too

\* The genesis of this article is unusual and somewhat involved. After reading Professor Calder's and my first articles on Schliemann (nn. 1 and 2), in which the credibility of Schliemann is impugned, John Chadwick of Cambridge University concluded that fraud was probably involved in the discovery of 'Priam's Treasure'. In a letter to Roy Davies of the Archaeology and History Department of the BBC he recommended the topic in July 1979 as a suitable subject for a programme in the BBC's series, *Chronicle*. In November 1980 I received a phonecall from Olga Edridge of the BBC. We discussed the possibility of a programme on Schliemann. I had come to suspect Schliemann's account of the discovery of 'Priam's Treasure' when I was working on Schliemann's experiences in California (n. 2) and I suggested this as a suitable focus for the programme, unaware that this had already been proposed by Mr Chadwick. In fact, it was not until I had completed the second draft of this paper that I learned of Chadwick's views. The phonecall from the BBC in November rekindled my interest in Schliemann and led directly to the research for this article. Between November 1980 and the summer of 1981 I assisted Mr Davies and his staff in the preparation of the BBC programme. They in turn facilitated my research by sending the microfilm copyflo prints, a translated transcript of the relevant sections of the 1873 diary and other material difficult to obtain in California. I am deeply grateful for their prompt assistance, informed discussion, and galvanizing enthusiasm. The University of California at Davis generously provided a travel grant which enabled me to study the Schliemann papers at first hand in the Gennadius Library, Athens, in July and August of 1981. My research there was courteously assisted by Mrs S. Papageorgiou, Dr Francis Walton and Ms Christina Vardas. Dr Gustav Mahr of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in West Berlin kindly provided the photographs for PLATE VIII. I am further indebted to a number of friends and colleagues for suggestions, criticisms and other forms of

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<sup>1</sup> W. G. Niederland in *Drives, Affects, Behavior*, ed. Max Schur ii (New York 1965) 369–96, and *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics* xv (1967) 200–19. W. M. Calder III, 'Schliemann on Schliemann: a study in the use of sources', *GRBS* xiii (1972) 335–53.

<sup>2</sup> For a useful review of recent work on Schliemann see W. Schindler, *Philol.* cxx (1976) 271–89. Since then: D. A. Traill, 'Schliemann's mendacity: fire and fever in California', *CJ* lxxiv (1979) 348–55; W. M. Calder III, 'Wilamowitz on Schliemann', *Philol.* cxxiv (1980) 146–51; three articles in *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeits.* xxi (1980) 655–78, especially Schindler, 'Schliemanns Selbstportrat', 655–8 and W. Richter, 'Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troie und das Promotionsverfahren Heinrich Schliemanns', 667–78. Most recently, K. Zimmermann, *Klio* lxiv (1982) 513–32 (esp. 521–2 with n. 10) and several studies by Traill: 'Schliemann's American citizenship and divorce', *CJ* lxxvii (1982) 336–42; review of H. Döhl, *Heinrich Schliemann: Mythos und Ärgernis*, *Gnomon* lv (1983) 149–52; 'Further evidence of fraudulent reporting in Schliemann's archaeological work', *Boreas* vii (1984) 295–316. Signs of the new scepticism are apparent in Leo Deuel, *Memoirs of Heinrich Schliemann* (New York 1977) and in the catalogue of the 1981 Troy exhibition in the Schloss Charlottenburg-Langhansbau, *Troja: Heinrich Schliemanns Ausgrabungen und Funde* (West Berlin 1981) 1.

Schliemann did not shrink from seriously misrepresenting the truth.<sup>3</sup> It is the purpose of the present article to demonstrate that even Schliemann's archaeological reports are vitiated by this kind of behaviour. We are not here concerned with Schliemann's interpretations of his discoveries. It has long been recognised that these were fuddled by fantasy and naive romanticism; even in his own day the readiness with which he attributed to Homeric heroes the buildings and artifacts which he unearthed was ridiculed. Rather, our concern is with the more fundamental questions of what Schliemann actually found and where and when he found it. It has generally been assumed that in such objective, routine matters Schliemann is an honest, if frequently imprecise, witness. Thus even Calder observes: 'The disinterested recording of finds, their description, the drawings need not be universally doubted.'<sup>4</sup> There are, of course, excellent grounds for this assumption. The picture of Troy, for example, presented by Schliemann's reports has been confirmed in detail after detail not only by Blegen's subsequent work there, but by excavations elsewhere in the Troad, adjacent islands and other parts of Anatolia. By any reckoning, however, Schliemann was extraordinarily lucky in his excavations. We must now consider whether some of that luck was not manufactured by Schliemann himself rather than by *Fortuna*. The focus of our inquiry will be one of the most famous moments in the history of archaeology, Schliemann's discovery of 'Priam's Treasure' at the end of May, 1873.

Schliemann described his discovery of 'Priam's Treasure', now more scientifically known as 'Treasure A', in some dozen different places.<sup>5</sup> We shall confine our investigation primarily to four of the earliest versions. Of these, two are slightly different versions of his 31 May report to Brockhaus, his publishers: the first, *A*, appears in his diary and the second, *B*, is the actual report. In addition there are two documents dated 17 June: a diary entry, *C*, and the published report in *Trojanische Alterthümer*, *D*. *A* appears to be the rough copy for *B*, and *C* a first draft of *D*. These texts follow in chronological order.<sup>6</sup>

#### AB<sup>7</sup>

(1) ... Hinter derselben [sc. Mauer] legte ich in 8 bis 9 Metern Tiefe die vom Skaeischen Thor weitergehenden trojanische Ringmauer bloß und fand in einem der an dieselbe stossenden Zimmer des

<sup>3</sup> Korres, 'Επιγραφὰὶ ἐξ Ἀττικῆς εἰς κατοχὴν Ἑρρίκου Σλήμαν, *Athena* lxxv (1974-5) 54-67 and 492 (French résumé).

<sup>4</sup> Calder (n. 1) 349-50.

<sup>5</sup> Ernst Meyer estimates 'etwa zehn Stellen' at *Heinrich Schliemann: Briefwechsel* i (Berlin 1953) 342 n. 335.

<sup>6</sup> *A* is an excerpt from the first draft of Schliemann's 31 May report to his publishers, which occupies pp. 271-90 of his 1873 diary. *B* is the final version of that report, which is preserved in his letter copybook for 1873. It is published at Meyer (n. 5) 231-3. Since *A* and *B* are almost identical, a joint text is given here with variants indicated in the apparatus. The paragraphing is that of *A*. *C* occupies pp. 300-15 of the 1873 diary. The opening of the first page is shown in FIG. 1. *D* is the published report in *Trojanische Alterthümer* (Leipzig 1874) 289-303; English version at *Troy and its Remains* (New York 1875) 323-42; cf. *Ilios* (New York 1881) 40-1 and 453-84. *D* is quoted from the German edition to facilitate comparison with *A*, *B* and *C*. Elsewhere I generally refer to the English edition (*TR*), which is more widely available and has the advantage of accompanying illustrations. The separate *Atlas* of plates that supplemented the German and French editions is now very rare. An earlier version of *D* was published in

the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 5 August 1873. Unless otherwise stated, all diaries, letters and other papers of Schliemann referred to in this article are housed in the Gennadius Library, Athens. I am grateful to the Librarian, Mrs S. Papageorgiou, for kindly granting permission to publish *A* and *C*, hitherto unpublished extracts from the 1873 diary. The punctuation of the texts reflects that of the originals.

<sup>7</sup> (1) 'Behind the latter (wall), at a depth of 8 to 9 m, I exposed the Trojan circuit wall as it continues from the Scaean gate and found in one of the rooms of the house of Priam abutting on to this wall a copper container or utensil of the most remarkable shape, about 1 m long by ½ m broad, for two helmet-like bosses could be seen on it; there was also a bowl with a kind of large candlestick. (2) This container was filled with silver and gold vases and cups, which I had to extract, conceal and send away in such haste in order to withdraw them from the greed of my workers, that I neither know the number of the vessels nor am I in a position to describe their shape. I will, however, give a most detailed description of them from Athens, if the objects arrive safely, and append a photograph of each piece of the treasure to the atlas to this work. (3) This much, however, I can already say, namely, that one of the cups is of very thick, solid gold, has two heavy handles and is in the shape of a

Hauses des Priamos einen Behälter oder ein Geräth von Kupfer höchst merkwürdiger Form von ca 1 meter Länge und  $\frac{1}{2}$  m Breite, denn man sah auf demselben 2 Wölbungen in Gestalt von Helmen, auch eine Schale mit einer Art von grossem Leuchter. (2) Dieser Behälter war gefüllt mit silbernen und goldenen Vasen und Bechern, die ich, um sie der Habgier meiner Arbeiter zu entziehen, mit solcher Eile herausnehmen, verstecken und absenden musste, dass ich weder die Zahl der Gefässe weiss noch ihre Form zu beschreiben im Stande bin. Ich werde aber, wenn die Sachen glücklich ankommen, von Athen aus die genaueste Beschreibung derselben geben und von jedem Stück des Schatzes eine Photographie dem Atlas dieses Werks beifügen. (3) Soviel kann ich aber jetzt schon sagen dass der eine der Becher von sehr dickem gediegenem Golde, mit 2 gewaltigen Henkeln versehen und in Gestalt eines Champagnerglases mit rundem Fuss ist, so dass er nur auf den Mund hingestellt werden kann; er liefert einen neuen Beweis, wenn noch irgend ein Beweis nöthig wäre, dass Homer nur diese Art Becher und keine andere unter *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* verstanden haben kann.

(4) In demselben Gefässe fand ich ferner eine Anzahl platter Stücke Silber, die in Form mit Schlachtbeilen Aehnlichkeit haben und die homerische Talente sein mögen; auch eine grosse Menge, ich glaube mehr als 2 Dutzend, Lanzen, einen Schlüssel, viele Messer usw; viele Lanzen sind in der grossen Feuersbrunst welche Troja zerstörte, auf einer Seite zusammen geschmolzen; auch tragen die silbernen und sogar die goldenen Gefässe die deutlichsten Spuren der furchtbaren Gluth welcher sie ausgesetzt gewesen sind. (5) Das wunderbare kupferne Gefäss, welches alle diese Schätze enthielt, hatte leider so sehr durch das Feuer, den Rost und die Last der darüber gebauten Hausmauern gelitten dass es leider unmöglich war es anders als stückweise aus dem harten Schutt heraus zu ziehen; einen Theil desselben kann ich jedenfalls wieder zusammensetzen, das Ganze aber keinenfalls. (6) In unmittelbarer Nähe dieses Fundortes war schon vor 8 Tagen eine 18 Ctm hohe, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  Ctm breite, dicke silberne Vase und in derselben ein 11 Ctm hoher, 9 breiter silberner Becher gefunden; ferner ein kupferner Helm der leider zerbrach, aber die beiden Stücke des *φάλος* desselben, sowie eine an ihm—ich weiss nicht wie—befestigt gewesene 15 Ctm lange, gebogene kupferne Stange, die zu irgend einem besonderen Zweck gedient haben muss, blieben unverseht, ich fand dort weiter das untere Stück des *φάλος* eines anderen Helms. (7) Alle diese Funde im Hause des Priamos, in 8 bis 9 Metern Tiefe, unmittelbar neben meinem hölzernen Hause, veranlassen mich letzteres niederreissen und den grossen Erdblock zwischen dieser Ausgrabung und dem Skaeischen Thor wegschaffen zu lassen um das königliche Haus soviel als möglich ans Licht zu bringen; es wird aber sehr schwer wenn nicht unmöglich sein einen Plan davon aufzumachen ohne das daraufgebaute posttrojanische Haus wegzubrechen wozu ich mich nicht entschliessen kann.

1 derselben A: der letzteren B Zimmer A: Räume B einer Art von grossen Leuchter A: einem Gegenstand der Aehnlichkeit hat mit einem grossen Leuchter B 2 silbernen . . . Bechern A: grosse silbernen Vasen und mit silbernen und goldenen Bechern B meiner A: der B 3 in A: eine B 4 Form A: Gestalt B von Kupfer *post* usw *add.* B 5 und zwischen den Steinen *post* Schutt *add.* B kann A: glaube . . . zu können B 7 letzteres niederreissen A: jetzt dieses niederzureissen B sehr schwer wenn nicht unmöglich A: unmöglich B.

champagne-glass with a rounded foot so that it can only be made to stand on its rim. It offers further evidence, if any were still needed, that by *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* Homer can only have understood this kind of cup and no other.

(4) In the same vessel I further found a number of flat pieces of silver, which resemble battle-axes in shape and may be the Homeric talents; also a large quantity—I think more than two dozen—of spears, a key, many knives, etc.; in the intense conflagration which destroyed Troy many spears became soldered together on one side; the silver and even the gold vessels also bear the clearest marks of the frightful heat to which they were exposed. (5) The wonderful copper vessel which contained all these treasures had unfortunately suffered so much from the fire, corrosion and the pressure of the superimposed house-walls that it was unfortunately possible to extract it from the hard debris only in pieces. I can at all events restore a part of it, but certainly not the

entire thing. (6) Directly next to this findspot a thick silver vase was found eight days ago, 18 cm high by 14 cm broad and inside it a silver cup, 11 cm high by 9 cm broad. There was also a copper helmet, which unfortunately broke in pieces, but the two pieces of its *φάλος*, as well as a curved bar of copper, 15 cm long, fastened to it—I don't know how—which must have served some particular purpose, remained intact. I also found there the lower pieces of the *φάλος* of another helmet. (7) All these finds in the house of Priam, at a depth of 8 to 9 m, directly next to my wooden house are inducing me to have my house demolished and the large mound of earth between this excavation and the Scaean gate removed in order to bring as much as possible of the royal palace to light; it will, however, be very difficult, if not impossible, to make a plan of it without removing the post-Trojan house built on top, and I cannot make up my mind to do that.'

C<sup>8</sup>

Troja 17 Juni 1873

(1) Wie in meinem Bericht von 24ten v. Mts. gemeldet habe ich die Excavations in Troja am 15ten ds. auf immer eingestellt und bin hieher zurückgekehrt. Es scheint dass die göttliche Vorsehung mich für meine übermenschlichen Anstrengungen während meiner dreijährigen Ausgrabungen auf eine glänzende Weise hat entschädigen wollen, (2) denn am 7 ds. stiess ich in 8½ m. Tiefe, neben der vom Skaeischen Thor in N.W. Richtung weitergehenden grossen Ringmauer, in einem von 2 Wänden eingeschlossenen engen Raume des königlichen Hauses auf einen grossen kupfernen Gegenstand höchst merkwürdiger Form (3) und fand unter und über demselben 34 Lanzen, 6 Messer, 4 grosse und 2 kleinen [sic] silbernen Vasen; von letzteren die eine mit 2 Röhrchen die andere mit nur einer Röhre an jeder Seite zum Aufhängen mit Schnüren; ausserdem mit Deckeln in Form von hohen Hüten; (4) ferner ein 15 Ctm hohe, 14 Ctm im Durchmesser habende und 403 gram wiegende, kugelrunde goldene Flasche, ein 9 Ctm hoher, 7¼ Ctm breiter goldener Becher von 226 gr. Schwere; (5) ein 9 Ctm hoher, 18¾ Ctm langer, 18¼ Ctm breiter, 600 grammes wiegender goldener Becher in Form eines Schiffes, mit 2 grossen Henkeln; auf der einen Seite ist ein 7 Ctm, auf der andern ein 3 Ctm breiter Mund zum Trinken, und mag, wie mein geehrter Freund der Professor St. Koumanoudis daher bemerkt, derjenige welcher den gefüllten Becher hinreichte aus dem kleinen Munde vorgetrunken haben damit der Gast aus dem grossen Munde tränke; dies Gefäss hat einen nur um 2 Millimetre hervorstehenden, 3½ Ctm langen, 2 Ctm breiten Fuss; und ist auf alle und jeden Fall das homerische *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*. Ich bleibe aber fest bei meiner Behauptung dass auch all jene hohen glänzend rothen Becher in Form von Champagnegläsern und mit 2 gewaltigen Henkeln *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* sind und wird auch diese Form von Gold dagewesen sein. (6) Der Schatz enthielt ferner einen kleinen 70 grammes wiegenden, 8 Ctm hohen, 6½ Ctm breiten Becher von mit 25% Silber versetztem Golde, dessen Fuss nur 2 Ctm hoch und 2½ Ctm breit, ausserdem nicht ganz gerade ist so dass der Becher nur zum Hinstellen auf den Mund bestimmt zu sein scheint. (7) Es fanden sich dort auch 6 platte Stücke reinen Silbers in Form von sehr grossen Messerklingen, deren eines Ende abgerundet, das andere in Gestalt eines Halbmondes ausgeschnitten ist. Die beiden grösseren sind 21½ Ctm lang und 5 Ctm breit und wiegt jedes davon 184 gr.; die darauf folgenden 2 Stücke sind 18½ Ctm lang und 4 Ctm breit und wiegt jedes davon 173 gr.; die übrigen 2 Stücke sind 17¼ Ctm lang und 3 Ctm breit und wiegt jedes derselben 171 grammes. Höchst wahrscheinlich sind dies die homerischen Talente (*τάλαντα*), welche nur klein sein konnten da z. B. (Ilias XXIII, 269) <Homer> [erased] 2 goldene Talente als 4ten Kampfpfeis aufstellt. (8) Der Schatz enthielt ferner einen silbernen Becher, 34 kupferne Lanzen versch. Form, einige kupferne Werkzeuge, (9) ein flaches kupfernes Becken mit einer hervorstossenden

8

Troy 17 June 1873

(1) 'As indicated in my report of the 24th of last month, I closed the excavations at Troy for ever on the 15th of this month and returned here. It seems that divine providence has chosen to recompense me generously for my superhuman efforts over my three years of excavations, (2) for on the 7th of this month, at a depth of 8½ m, near the large circuit-wall running N.W. from the Scaean gate, in a narrow room of the royal palace enclosed by two walls, I came across a large copper object of the most remarkable shape (3) and found above and below it 34 spears, 6 knives, 4 large silver vases and two small ones. Of the small vases one has two eyelets on either side for hanging it with strings, the other only one. (4) They also have lids shaped like high hats. There was also a spherical gold bottle, 15 cm high and 14 cm in diameter, weighing 403 gr.; (5) a gold cup, 9 cm high and 7¼ cm broad, weighing 226 gr.; a gold cup shaped like a ship, 9 cm high, 18¾ cm long, 18¼ cm broad, and weighing 600 gr., with two large handles; at both ends there are mouths for drinking, at the one end 7 cm wide, at the other 3 cm wide; perhaps, as my honoured friend Professor St. Koumanoudis remarked, whoever proffered the filled cup first drank out of the small mouth so that the guest could drink out of the large one; this vessel has a foot that protrudes only

2 mm, 3½ cm by 2 cm. It must certainly be the Homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*. I remain convinced, however, that all those tall, glazed red cups in the shape of champagne-glasses and fitted with two massive handles are also *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα* and that this shape too will have existed in gold. (6) The treasure further contained a small cup of gold alloyed with 25% silver, 8 cm high by 6½ cm broad, whose foot is only 2 cm high by 2½ cm broad and not quite straight so that the cup seems designed only for standing on its rim. (7) There were also six flat pieces of pure silver in the shape of very large knife-blades, the one end of which is rounded, while the other is cut out in the shape of a crescent. The two largest are 21½ cm long by 5 cm broad, each weighing 184 gr; the next two pieces are 18½ cm long and 4 cm broad, each weighing 173 gr. The remaining 2 pieces are 17¼ cm long and 3 cm broad, each weighing 171 gr. These are very probably the Homeric talents (*τάλαντα*), which could only have been very small, as, for example, <Homer> (*Iliad* xxiii 269) set up two golden talents as fourth prize. (8) The treasure further contained a silver cup, 34 copper spears of various shapes, some copper tools, (9) a flat copper basin with a protruding boss in the middle surrounded by a ridge; (10) also, a large copper basin with two handles, probably a Homeric *λέβης*, (11) and another vessel of the same metal, which

Wölbung in der Mitte die von einem Rande umgeben ist; (10) ferner ein gr. kupfernes Becken mit 2 Henkeln, wahrscheinlich ein hom. λέβης, (11) und ein anderes Gefäß von gleichem Metall welches so sehr zerbrochen ist dass ich die Gestalt desselben noch nicht angeben kann. (12) Es fand sich dort ein höchst sonderbarer Gegenstand von Kupfer dessen Gebrauch mir durchaus ein Räthsel ist; er besteht aus einem langen sehr breiten, 1 Ctm dicken gebogenen kupfernen Streifen an welchem man 2 kreisförmige Stücke in Form von Rädern sowie einen Henkel sieht; auf diesem Gegenstand haftet eine silberne Vase die jedenfalls in dem grossen Feuer welches die Stadt zerstörte mit dem Kupfer zusammen geschmolzen ist. (13) Da ich alle vorgenannten Gegenstände in einander verpackt auf der grosse Göttermauer fand so scheint es gewiss dass sie in einer hölzernen Kiste (φωριαμός) lagen, wie solche in der Ilias (XXIV, 228) im Pallast [sic] des Priamos erwähnt werden; dies scheint um so gewisser als ich unmittelbar neben den Gegenständen einen grossen kupfernen Schlüssel fand, der viel Aehnlichkeit hat mit den Schlüsseln der jetzigen gr. eisernen Goldschränke in den Banken. (14) Vermutlich hat jemand aus der Familie des Priamos den Schatz in aller Eile in die Kiste gepackt, diese fortgetragen ohne die Zeit zu haben den Schlüssel heraus zu ziehen; ist aber auf der Mauer von Feindes Hand oder vom Feuer erreicht und hat die Kiste im Stich lassen müssen, die zugleich 6 Fuss hoch in der rothen Asche und den Trümmern des daneben stehenden königlichen Hauses überschüttet wurde. (15) Vielleicht gehörte dem Unglücklichen welcher den Schatz zu retten versucht hat, jener bereits in meinem letzten Aufsatz erwähnte Helm, welcher zusammen mit einer Vase und Becher unmittelbar neben der Mauer in einem Raume des königl. Hauses gefunden wurde. Sechs Fuss hoch über den Schatz hochweg bauten die Nachfolger der Trojaner eine 6 m. hohe, 1 m. 80 Ctm dicke Festungsmauer von gr. behauenen und unbehauenen Steinen und Erde, die bis  $\frac{1}{2}$  oder 1 m. unter die Oberfläche des Berges reicht. (16) Da ich hoffte hier weitere Schätze zu finden, auch wünschte die trojanische Göttermauer bis zum Sk. Thor ans Licht zu bringen, so habe ich die theilweise darauf lastende obere Mauer auf eine Strecke von  $17\frac{1}{2}$ m. weggebrochen; die Besucher der Troade erkennen dieselbe aber noch, dem Sk. Thor gegenüber, in der N.W. Erdwand. Auch habe ich

is so badly broken that I cannot indicate its shape yet. (12) There was found there a most extraordinary copper object whose use is a complete enigma to me. It consists of a long, very broad, curved copper strip, 1 cm thick, on which can be seen two round wheel-shaped pieces like a handle. Adhering to this object is a silver vase, which most probably became soldered to the copper in the great fire which destroyed the city. (13) As I found all the above objects packed together on the great divine wall, it seems certain that they lay in a wooden chest (φωριαμός), such as those which are mentioned in the *Iliad* (xxiv 228) as being in Priam's palace. This seems all the more certain as I found directly next to the objects a large copper key, which is very similar to the keys of today's large iron safes in banks. (14) Presumably, some member of Priam's family packed the treasure in the chest in great haste, carried it outside without having the time to remove the key, was overcome on the wall by the hand of the enemy or by the fire and had to abandon the chest, which was immediately buried 6 ft deep in the red ashes and debris of the nearby palace. Perhaps the helmet referred to in my last article, which was found along with a vase and cup directly next to the wall in a room of the palace, belonged to the unfortunate individual who tried to rescue the treasure. (15) Six feet above the treasure the successors of the Trojans raised a fortification-wall, 6 m high, 1 m 80 cm thick. It was built of stones, cut and uncut, and earth; it reaches up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  m or 1 m under the surface of the hill. (16) As I hoped to find further treasures here and also wanted to bring to light the divine wall of Troy as far as the Scaean gate, I broke away the partially superimposed wall along a stretch of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  m. Visitors to the Troad can, however, still distinguish this wall in the north-west wall opposite the Scaean gate. I also broke away the entire mound of earth which separated my W. and N.W. cutting from

the great tower, but to this end I was obliged to knock down one of my houses and to bridge over the Scaean gate in order to facilitate removal of the rubbish. (17) The result of this new excavation has been very profitable for science, for I have been able to uncover several walls and a room of the palace, 6 m square, on which no buildings from a later period rest. Of the objects found there I mention only an excellently engraved inscription on a square piece of red schist, which has two holes at the top not completely bored through, and an encircling incision, but neither my learned friend M. Em. Burnouf nor I can say in which language the inscription is written. Further there were some interesting terracottas, including a vessel, which is shaped exactly like a modern cask, with a spout in the middle for pouring in and withdrawing the liquid. (18) There were also found on the Trojan circuit-wall  $\frac{1}{2}$  m under the place where the treasure was discovered 3 silver dishes (φιάλαι), two of which were smashed when the debris was being dug away; they can, however, be restored, as I have all the pieces. These dishes must have belonged to the treasure and if the treasure itself remained otherwise untouched by our pick-axes, this is owing to the large copper vessels mentioned above, which projected so that I was able to cut out everything from the debris with the knife.

(19) That the precious objects were packed together in the most fearful danger and with trembling anxiety is indicated by, amongst other things, the contents of the largest silver vase, at the bottom of which I found two splendid gold diadems, one fillet, and four beautiful earrings of the most skilful workmanship. On top lay fifty-six gold earrings of the most remarkable shape and thousands of gold beads and little buttons of different sizes, which clearly came from other pieces of jewellery. On the very top lay the two smaller gold cups.'

noch den ganzen Erdklotz weggebrochen welcher meinen W. und N.W. Einschnitt vom gr. Thurm trennte musste aber zu diesem Zweck eins meiner Häuser wegbrechen auch zur leichteren Fortschaffung des Schuttes das Sk. Thor überbrücken. (17) Das Resultat dieser neuen Ausgrabung ist für die Wissenschaft sehr lohnend gewesen denn ich habe mehrere Wände, auch ein 6 m. langes und breites Zimmer des königl. Hauses aufdecken können auf welchem keine Bauten aus späterer Zeit lasten. Unter den dort gefundenen Gegenständen hebe ich nur hervor eine auf einem viereckigen, oben mit 2 nicht durchgehenden Löchern und einem herumgehenden Einschnitt versehenen Stück rothen Schiefers befindliche, ausgezeichnet eingravirte Inschrift, von der aber weder mein gelehrter Freund Herr Em. Burnouf noch ich zusagen vermögen welcher Sprache sie angehört; ferner einige interessante terracottas worunter ein Gefäss ganz in Form eines modernen Fasses und mit einer Röhre in der Mitte zum Eingiessen und Abfließen der Flüssigkeit. (18) Auch fanden sich auf der trojan. Ringmauer  $\frac{1}{2}$  m unterhalb der Stelle wo der Schatz entdeckt war, 3 silberne Schalen (*φιάλαι*), wovon 2 beim Abgraben des Schutts zerschlagen wurden; dieselben können jedoch wieder zusammengesetzt werden da ich alle Stücke davon habe. Diese Schalen haben jedenfalls zu dem Schatze gehört und wenn derselbe sonst ganz von unseren Hackeisen unberührt geblieben ist so habe ich dies den erwähnten grossen kupfernen Geräthen zu verdanken welche hervorstanden so dass ich alles mit dem Messer aus dem Schutt heraus schneiden konnte.

(19) Dass man die Kostbarkeiten bei furchtbarster Lebensgefahr, in zitternder Angst zusammen gepackt hat, davon zeugt unter anderen der Inhalt der grössten silbernen Vase, in welcher ich ganz unten 2 herrliche goldene Kopfbänder (*κρήδεμνα*), 1 Stirnband, 4 prachtvolle höchst kunstvoll gefertigte Ohrgehänge fand; darauf lagen 56 goldene Ohringe höchst merkwürdiger Form und Tausende von kleineren und grösseren goldenen Perlen und goldenen Knöpfchen die offenbar von anderen Schmucksachen herrühren; und ganz oben lagen die 2 kleineren goldenen Becher.

The rest of the 17 June entry follows in summary form:

(20) An extended account of the jewellery very similar to that in *TR* 334–40. (21) The silver vase was fortunately placed upright in the chest. (22) More detailed descriptions of objects previously mentioned: (a) three large silver vases (§ 2); (b) silver cup; (c) four silver dishes (§ 18, where, however, there are only three); (d) two small silver vases with caps (§ 2); (e) copper spearheads, battle-axes, daggers (§§ 3 and 8, where they are called 34 spearheads and 6 knives). (23) Knife, fragment of sword, and metal bar. (24) The key had a wooden handle. (25) Copper objects unalloyed with tin. (26) Today I finish my work at Ilium forever. (27) I thank God that there were no serious accidents. (28) Some of the ruins are crumbling in the sun.

It will be noted that the 'Troja' of the dateline is contradicted by the first sentence: 'und bin hieher zurückgekehrt' implies that the entry was written in Athens. *C* originally had 'Athen' on the dateline. Schliemann later scored this out and wrote in 'Troja'. The change is clearly visible on the diary page (FIG. 1). Since the preceding entry is dated Thessaloniki 7/19 June, when Schliemann was presumably en route to Athens, the 17 June entry must have been made after 19 June. As 'Juni' has not been altered, however, it follows that *C*, or at least the opening section of *C*, was probably written between 20 and 30 June. The original date appears to have been '25 Juni', but the '17' has been so heavily inked in that one cannot be certain.

### D<sup>9</sup>

(1) Hinter der letztern [*sc.* Mauer] legte ich in 8 bis 9 Meter Tiefe die vom Skaeischen Thor weiter gehende trojanische Ringmauer bloss und stiess beim Weitergraben auf dieser Mauer und unmittelbar

<sup>9</sup> (1) 'Behind the latter (wall) I exposed at a depth of 8 to 9 m the Trojan circuit-wall as it continues from the Scaean gate, and in excavating further on this wall, right next to the house of Priam, I came across a large copper object of the most remarkable shape, which attracted my attention all the more as I thought I saw gold behind it. (2) On the copper object lay a stratum,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  m

thick, hard as stone, of red ash and calcined debris, on which rested the aforementioned fortification-wall, 1 m 80 cm thick and 6 m high. The wall was composed of large stones and earth and must date to the earliest period after the destruction of Troy. (3) In order to withdraw the treasure from the greed of my workmen and to rescue it for science, the utmost speed was



(*TR*) and the corresponding sections of *C* follow the *D* section numbers. The first four sections of *D* (5–8) differ markedly from their corresponding *C* sections, but thereafter the changes (usually additions) are comparatively minor.

<i>D</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>C</i>	
5	324	9	Copper shield ( <i>TR</i> no. 234)
6	325	10	Copper caldron ( <i>TR</i> no. 235)
7	325	12	Copper strip with attached silver cup ( <i>TR</i> no. 236)
8	325	11	Copper vase (FIG. 3, row f)
9	325	4	Gold bottle and gold cup ( <i>TR</i> nos 237, 238)
10	326–27	5	Gold sauceboat (PLATE VIIIa)
11	327–28	6	Electrum cup ( <i>TR</i> no. 248)
12	328	7	Six silver talents ( <i>TR</i> no. 242)
13	329	22a	Three large silver vases ( <i>TR</i> nos 249–51)
14	329	22b	Silver cup ( <i>TR</i> no. 246)
15	329	22c	Silver dish ( <i>TR</i> no. 245)
16	329	22d	Two small silver vases with caps ( <i>TR</i> nos 243, 244)
17	329–32	22e	Spearheads, battle-axes, daggers ( <i>TR</i> nos 252–66)
18	332	23	Knife, sword, bar ( <i>TR</i> nos 267, 268)
19	332–33	10, 24	Treasure chest posited
20	333–34	14	Fate of person carrying chest; discovery of small treasure
21	334	15	Wall built by successors of Trojans
22	334–40	19–20	Description of the jewellery (FIG. 4 and <i>TR</i> nos 276–82)
23	340	21	Large silver vase fortunately placed upright in chest
24	340	25	Copper objects unalloyed with tin
25	340–41	16	Subsequent excavations
26	341–42	17	Inscription
27	342	18	Three silver dishes

It is scarcely surprising, far less suspicious, if there are inconsistencies between an archaeologist's final report and his first excited notes in the field. The discrepancies in *A*, *B*, *C* and *D*, however, are sometimes quite startling and hard to explain away. The following are the most significant.

(i) *The role of Sophia*

In *AB* Sophia plays no part. In *D* her role is crucial.<sup>10</sup>

(ii) *Location of the findspot*

*A* and *B* locate the findspot of the treasure in one of the rooms of 'Priam's palace' adjacent to the city wall. The building which Schliemann identified as 'Priam's palace' was located *inside* the city wall, as we see from Plan 2 of *TR* (FIG. 2). This same plan, however, and two further plans and one illustration in *TR* indicate that the treasure was found on the *outer* side of the city wall.<sup>11</sup> *D* adds to the confusion by placing the findspot *on* the wall while maintaining that it was 'unmittelbar neben dem Hause des Priamos'. It is hard to see how the findspot indicated in FIG. 2 and the other illustrations in *TR* could be so described. *C* represents an intermediate stage. At *C* 2 Schliemann assigns the findspot to a room inside 'Priam's palace'. At *C* 13–14, however, he clearly indicates that the findspot was *not* in a room of the 'palace' but rather on the city wall.

<sup>10</sup> *C* says nothing about the circumstances of the discovery.

<sup>11</sup> Plan 2 (= *Atlas* pl. 214) is at the end of *TR*. The other two plans are at *TR* 306 and 347 (= *Atlas* pls 216 and 215 respectively). The explanatory legend accom-

panying *Atlas* pl. 215, which has been omitted from the plan at *TR* 347, indicates that the findspot of the treasure (12) is in the same position as in Plan 2, where it is designated 42. The illustration is pl. XIII of *TR* (= *Atlas* pl. 212), which faces p. 321.



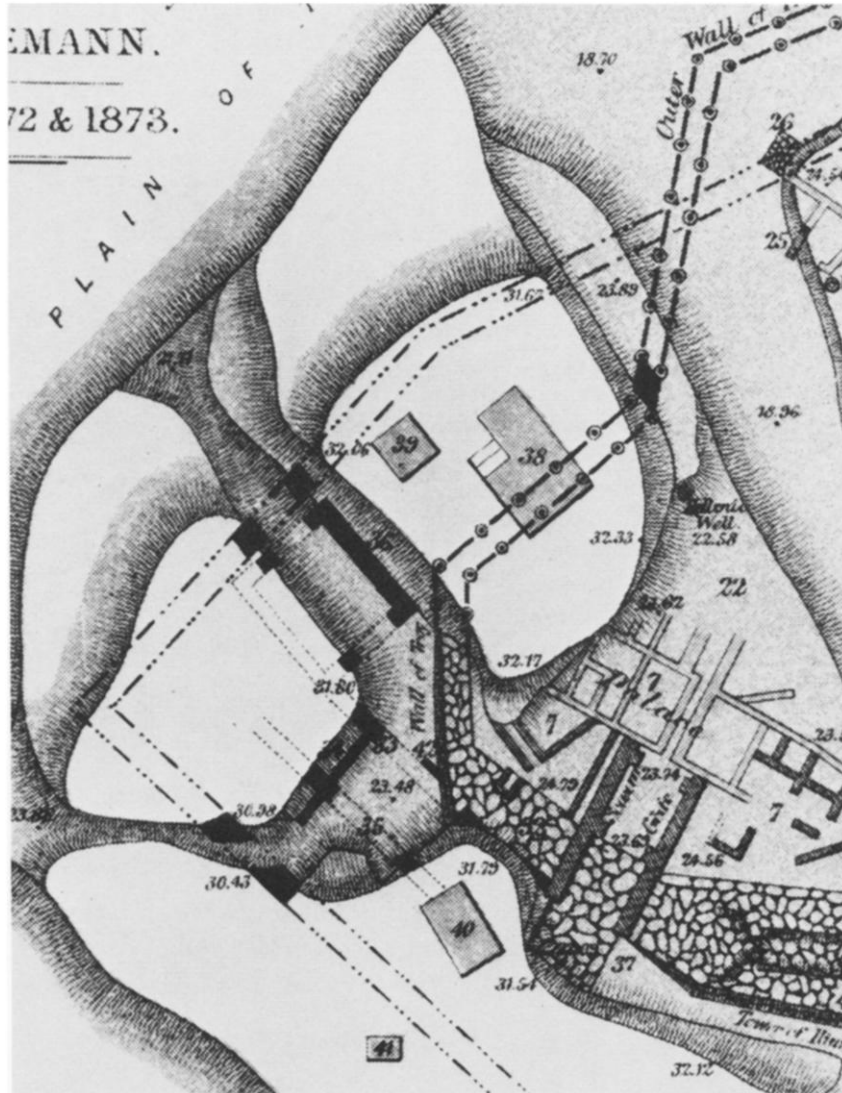


FIG. 2. TR plan 2, detail. 42 marks the findspot of 'Priam's Treasure'.

There is good reason to believe, as we shall see later, that the find which Schliemann sought to identify as 'Priam's Treasure' was in fact made *outside* the city wall. Schliemann, however, seems to have wanted to use this find to 'authenticate' the building just within the Scaean Gate as 'Priam's palace'. Accordingly in his earlier reports he indicated that it had been found in a room of the 'palace'. Sometime during the composition of C he felt constrained to change the findspot to the city wall. I suspect that this was because the plans had already been drawn with the findspot indicated and Schliemann decided that it was easier to change the text than the plans.<sup>12</sup> Yet he could not bring himself to give up entirely his idea of linking the treasure to the 'palace'. Hence the description of the findspot as 'unmittelbar neben dem Hause des Priamos' and the vague formulation of the findspot 'auf dieser Mauer'. It is only when one looks closely at the illustrations in conjunction with the text that the absurdity becomes apparent: the findspot and 'Priam's palace' are separated by the substantial breadth of the city wall. Schliemann eliminated

<sup>12</sup> For the *Atlas* Schliemann had to supply Brockhaus with 400 photographs of each of the plates. In 1873 making prints was a laborious process. Perhaps the photographer had already made the 400 copies of each of pls 212 (TR pl. XIII), 214 (TR Plan 2) and 215 (plan at TR 347) of the *Atlas* before Schliemann spotted the

inconsistency between Laurent's plans on the one hand and AB and the opening of C on the other. In that case Schliemann might well have thought it simpler to change the findspot to the wall than to have the original plans and illustration and the 1200 photographs redone.

the discrepancy between text and plan in *Ilios* (1881), where in Plan I the findspot has been marked squarely on the wall.

(iii) *The gold sauceboat*

The description in *AB* of what is undoubtedly the *Chef d'oeuvre* of the treasure is strangely inaccurate. The cup in question (PLATE VIIIa) is not of the 'champagne-glass' type nor is it true that it can only be made to stand on its rim.<sup>13</sup> The description fits, and is regularly applied by Schliemann to, a type of tall, two-handled clay goblet (still called *depas amphikypellon* by archaeologists) of which he found numerous examples at various levels (PLATE VIIIb).<sup>14</sup> The description in *C* and *D* is in accord with the vessel illustrated in PLATE VIIIa.

It seems inconceivable that *A* and *B* could have been written shortly after the discovery of the gold sauceboat. If we grant that Schliemann actually found the gold sauceboat in Troy, then we can only suppose that several weeks must have intervened between the last time Schliemann saw the sauceboat and the composition of this remarkably inaccurate description. The confusion would be more explicable if we could suppose that the sauceboat had been discovered before Schliemann wrote up the 10 May report. In that report Schliemann records finding four more of the clay goblets of the *depas amphikypellon* type and embarks on a digression to prove that this is the kind of cup that Homer is referring to by that name.<sup>15</sup> This preoccupation with the shape of the clay *depas* might have influenced his recollection of the gold sauceboat.

(iv) *The jewellery*

The most striking discrepancy between *A* and *B* on the one hand and *C* and *D* on the other is the total absence in the 31 May reports of any reference to the jewellery. Since all the jewellery was allegedly found inside the large silver vase (*TR* 334–5 and FIG. 3, row d, extreme right), it could be argued that Schliemann simply failed to look inside it. This, though possible, is scarcely conceivable, especially when one considers that the silver vase had a wide brim (20 cm in diameter). Moreover, we have Schliemann's own testimony (in *D*) that the sixth object he removed was the gold cup (*TR* 325), which, we are later informed (*TR* 335 and *Ilios* 454), lay inside the large silver vase on top of the jewellery. Accordingly, *D* would have us believe that Schliemann reached inside the large silver vase before it was actually extricated from the wall of the trench and removed the gold cup. Then, when the large silver vase itself was removed, if *AB*'s silence on the jewellery is to be compatible with *C* and *D*, we must further believe one of the two alternatives: (a) Schliemann failed to explore further the interior which he knew had already produced a gold cup; (b) Schliemann did explore the promising interior further and found therein two gold diadems, a gold fillet, sixty gold earrings, six gold bracelets, 8,750 gold beads, etc., but simply forgot to mention them—or perhaps considered them too trivial to mention—in his 31 May report to Brockhaus. Neither alternative seems possible. It follows, therefore, that *AB*'s silence on the jewellery is incompatible with *C* and *D*.

It will be noticed that even in *C*, which, as already noted, must have been written in Athens between 20 and 30 June, the description of the jewellery does not really belong to the account of

<sup>13</sup> For a recent study of the gold sauceboat type see S. Weinberg, 'A gold sauceboat in the Israel Museum', *AK* xii (1969) 1–8, pls 1–3.

<sup>14</sup> For the 'champagne-glass' description of this type, see *TR* 86–7. Prof. Calder points out that it is the French champagne-glass that Schliemann has in mind. There can be no doubt that at this point Schliemann believes that his gold vessel is shaped like that in PLATE VIIIb. A letter dated Troy, 10 June from Schliemann to G. Boker, the American Ambassador in Constantinople,

reads: 'I know for certain that I saw in it [the treasure] the homeric *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* . . . a huge gobelet [*sic*] with two gigantic handles and a round basis so that it can only be put on its mouth. Of such gobelets Y. Exc. has seen 30 of terracotta in my collection. . . . But the enormous gobelet of pure gold which figures in Priam's treasure discovered last week can not leave the slightest doubt in the mind of any one that Aristoteles is wrong and that I am right.'

<sup>15</sup> *TR* 313–14.

the discovery of the treasure. The description of the objects constituting the treasure appears to end at C 12. Then follows speculation about the treasure chest and the fate of the unfortunate individual who ran off with it (13–14). The following sections (15–18) deal with subsequent excavations, which are briefly described in diary entries for 4 to 6 June (Gregorian): the destruction of Schliemann's wooden house (4 June) and the bridging of the Scaean Gate (6 June). The description of the jewellery, which only begins at section 19, was clearly added as an afterthought. This is further indicated by the fact that in section 19 Schliemann starts his first new paragraph since the beginning of C. In D Schliemann has incorporated the sections on the jewellery into the account of the treasure by making them precede the sections which describe the subsequent excavations.

(v) *The date of the discovery*

Surprisingly, there is no regular diary entry recording the discovery.<sup>16</sup> The report to Brockhaus, AB, which contains the first mention of the treasure, implies a discovery date on or before 31 May. On 30 May Schliemann wrote a letter to his son Serge, in which he reviews his discoveries at Troy without mentioning the treasure.<sup>17</sup> This would appear to pinpoint 31 May as the discovery date. This date is confirmed by further evidence. The diary records the discovery of a large silver vase, an electrum goblet and a 'helmet' under the date 23 May. Elsewhere Schliemann states that these objects were found 'huit jours avant la découverte du trésor'.<sup>18</sup> Thus Easton's recent suggestion that the treasure was found on 27 May cannot be sustained.<sup>19</sup> Even the famous letter dated '30 May 1873' in Meyer's first volume of Schliemann's letters, which accompanied six baskets and one bag of antiquities—apparently the treasure—consigned to Frederick Calvert for safekeeping, supports the hypothesis that the treasure was discovered on 31 May, for that letter is in fact dated simply 'Saturday'.<sup>20</sup> In 1873 31 May, not 30 May, was a Saturday.<sup>21</sup>

C 2, on the other hand, states clearly that the treasure was found on 7 June. Scholars have attempted to reconcile this with the evidence of AB by pointing out that in 1873 both Turkey and Greece were still using the Julian calendar, which by this time was twelve days behind the Gregorian.<sup>22</sup> The arrangement of the diary, however, leaves no room for doubt. The 31 May entry must be Gregorian.<sup>23</sup> Easton suggests that when Schliemann wrote C, he may have thought that the 31 May entry had a Julian date.<sup>24</sup> This is quite unlikely, for although single Julian dates do occur in the 1873 diary, they are very rare, whereas single Gregorian dates are very common; all the single dates in May and June, for instance, are clearly Gregorian. Moreover, Schliemann never, to the best of my knowledge, used the Julian calendar for dating his reports to Brockhaus.<sup>25</sup> The date of 7 June for the discovery of the treasure is no doubt just as

<sup>16</sup> See also D. Easton, *Antiquity* lv (1981) 180: 'In the diary for 1872 [misprint for 1873] there is no daily entry which records that, on that day, the treasure had been found.' A is not a regular diary entry (see n. 6 above) nor does it indicate the discovery date.

<sup>17</sup> Meyer (n. 5) 230–1. The date cannot of course be Julian, since that would imply that the treasure was not discovered until after 11 June (Gregorian).

<sup>18</sup> *Atlas* 54 in nn. to pl. 197.

<sup>19</sup> Easton (n. 16) 181.

<sup>20</sup> E. Meyer, *Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann* (Berlin 1936) 132.

<sup>21</sup> Meyer seems to have wrongly inferred the date from Calvert's note on the back of the letter: 'Rec'd 31st May 1873.' The circumstances and content of the letter, however, suggest that it was written and delivered on the same day. The 'Saturday' confirms this. Frederick Calvert's farm was situated at Akça Köy, some four miles S.E. of Hisarlık.

<sup>22</sup> Meyer (n. 5) 342 n. 335 reckons 'unter Berücksichtigung aller Möglichkeiten der Datierung nach altem und neuem Kalendar, nach der Abfolge der z. T. rückdatierten Eintragungen im Tagebuch und im Briefcopierbuch usw.' some day between 7 and 10 June as the most likely date for the discovery of the treasure.

<sup>23</sup> The entries from 19 May to the end of the diary are dated as follows: 7/19 May, 9/21 May, 23 May, 24 May, 26 May, 27 May, 28 May, 29 May, 20/2 June, 31 May, 22/4 June, 4 June, 6 June, 26/7 June, 29/11 June, 30/12 June, 2/14 June, 7/19 June and 17 June. While there are a number of errors in these dates (e.g. 22/4 June for 22/3 June), the sequence is unmistakably Gregorian. In particular, it will be noticed that the 31 May entry cannot be a Julian date, as Meyer appears to assume (n. 22), since it is followed by no less than five earlier Julian dates.

<sup>24</sup> Easton (n. 16) 181.

<sup>25</sup> This is probably because it is addressed to



FIG. 3. TR Plate II (facing p. 22).

spurious as the date of 3/4 June is for the fire of San Francisco in Schliemann's 1851 diary.<sup>26</sup>

When Schliemann wrote C, he had plenty of evidence readily available to remind him that the discovery of the treasure must have occurred before 7 June. He had just to flip back a few pages of his diary to see that it was not found on 7 June. By turning back a few more pages he would have seen the 31 May entry. His decision to date the discovery to 7 June was clearly not motivated by any zeal for accuracy. The wrong date must reflect either egregious carelessness or, more probably, a desire to enhance the drama of the discovery by dating it nearer to the close of the excavations.

Germany. Schliemann seems to have used single Julian dates in his correspondence only when writing to correspondents in countries such as Greece which were still operating on that calendar. Even in such situations, however, we find him more frequently using single

Gregorian dates, as in the letter to Serge at Meyer (n. 5) 230-1.

<sup>26</sup> Traill, *CJ* lxxiv (1979) 348-51. For further evidence of Schliemann's shameless manipulation of dates see Traill, *Boreas* vii (1984) 295-316.

Accordingly, when we compare *A*, *B*, *C* and *D*, we soon find ourselves in a quagmire of inconsistencies. Besides these inconsistencies there are two other considerations that cast doubt on Schliemann's account of his discovery. First, if Schliemann made the stunning discovery he claims in the closing days of his campaign, why did he not continue his excavations beyond 15 June? It is hard to believe that any archaeologist, least of all Schliemann, would abandon a site in the middle of the excavating season a few days after making such a find. Schliemann had already made up his mind by 7 May that he would not excavate beyond 15 June.<sup>27</sup> Evidently he found nothing thereafter to make him change his mind. Second, it will be noticed that according to *D* Schliemann extricated the objects in the following order: four copper objects, three gold objects, one electrum cup, thirteen silver objects, thirty-seven copper objects.<sup>28</sup> At *Ilios* 453 he continues unabashedly to insist on this remarkable orderliness: 'I shall here first name the various articles contained in the Treasure in the order in which I took them out.' He then proceeds to list the objects in the order in which they are described in *D* except that he no longer claims to have removed the gold and electrum cups before the large silver vase in which they were contained—an absurdity inherent in *D*. Needless to say, the odds against such a large number of objects being removed in such orderly groups are astronomical.

Fortunately, we do not have to rely exclusively on Schliemann's accounts. There does exist the independent testimony of none other than Schliemann's most trusted workman, Nikolaos Zaphyros Yannakis. In August 1875, Yannakis acted as guide to William C. Borlase when he visited the site.<sup>29</sup> Borlase, who was President of the Royal Institute of Cornwall and an antiquarian of some distinction, recounted his experiences as follows:<sup>30</sup>

About twenty yards N.W. of the Scaean gate is the point where the so-called treasure of Priam was found, but the details of that discovery, as related by Nicholas Zaphyros, were so utterly different to Herr Schliemann's own account, that I find any attempt to reconcile them out of the question. To take an instance of discrepancy, in which I am able to verify the truth of Nicholas's account, Herr Schliemann states that, upon making the discovery, he sent all his workmen to dinner, and dug out the articles himself; adding, 'It would have been impossible for me to have removed the treasure without the help of my dear wife, who stood by me ready to pack the things which I cut out in her shawl, and carry them away.' Nicholas, on the other hand, told me that he had assisted in digging out the things, and in taking them to the house. On my asking what part Madame Schliemann took, he replied, '*She* was not here; she was at Athens at the time;' and on subsequent inquiry this was confirmed at the Dardanelles. I should still have thought there must have been some mistake, were it not that I know on the best authority that Herr Schliemann has himself owned in conversation with a gentleman holding a high and responsible position in European archaeological circles, and who permits me, if necessary, to use his name, that his wife was not really there, but that he brought in her name to give her a zest for archaeology. This little piece of embellishment is in every way unlucky, since Madame Schliemann was held to be a most important witness of the great discovery—in fact, her presence was the only corroboration of it until Nicholas Zaphyros affirmed to me that *he was there*. He, Nicholas, remembered that there was a large quantity of bronze articles, but his memory was hazy as to the rest of the treasure. He persisted in stating that it lay not 'on', as stated by Herr

<sup>27</sup> On that date he sent a letter to Deetjen, which included the following: 'Ich denke hier die Ausgrabungen nur bis 15 Juni fortzusetzen.' See Meyer (n. 5) 228.

<sup>28</sup> In *TR* he begins by specifying the first four objects clearly as 'first', 'second', etc. Then he uses less precise terms, such as 'thereupon', 'then', which still imply a consecutive order. From p. 327 onwards he resorts to such vague formulations as 'The Treasure further contained . . .', 'I also found . . .', which do not imply a strict order. At *Ilios* 453, however, Schliemann asserts that the order in which they are described in *TR* is the order in which they were removed.

<sup>29</sup> William Copeland Borlase was a descendant of the noted eighteenth-century Cornish antiquarian, Dr

William Borlase. Born 1848, he graduated with an M.A. from Oxford and trained for the bar. He became M.P. for East Cornwall in 1880 and was sometime Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. By 1878 he had already published *Naenia Cornubiae. A Descriptive Essay Illustrative of Sepulchres and Funeral Customs of the Early Inhabitants of the County of Cornwall* (London/Truro 1872) and *Nippon and its Antiquities: An Essay on the Ethnology, Mythology, and Religion of the Japanese* (Plymouth 1876). For further information see J. F. Kirk, *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia 1891) i 179.

<sup>30</sup> *Fraser's Magazine* n.s. xvii (February 1878) 235–6.

Schliemann, but *close to* the outer side of the wall; that there were no signs whatever of its having been compacted into a chest, but, on the contrary, that it was contained in a little place built round with stones, and having flat stones to cover it; and lastly, that the key, reported as found 'close by the side of the articles', came from the stratum of the time of Lysimachus (to which it much more properly belongs), at a distance of some 200 yards from the spot. The man's statements on these points were direct and graphic, and I think it is right to record them.

Schliemann was naturally infuriated by the publication of this article, of which this is only a brief excerpt. He wrote a letter to Max Müller begging him to 'send to the *Times* a short general answer to my libellers *without* referring specially to the article in Fraser's and without even mentioning its author's name'.<sup>31</sup> Regarding the passage quoted above, Schliemann asserts in the same letter: 'Nicholas never came into the trenches and never saw the treasure or the key of copper which was found with it. I swear on the bones of my father that the key was found together with the treasure precisely so as I described it in my book. Mrs Schliemann of course was present and assisted me; she never left me.'

Schliemann's credibility in this particular instance is not helped by the fact that elsewhere in *TR* he frequently asserts that Sophia was present at Troy, when the evidence of his diaries and letters shows clearly that she was not. Thus, in his report of 18 October, 1871 he claims: 'My dear wife, an Athenian lady, who is an enthusiastic admirer of Homer, and knows almost the whole of the "Iliad" by heart, is present at the excavations from morning to night' (*TR* 62). Yet there are letters from Schliemann to Sophia dated 13 and 23 October and 7, 14, 21 and 29 November, which demonstrate clearly that Sophia was absent from Troy throughout the 1871 season.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in his report of 5 April, 1872, he maintains (*TR* 98): 'On the first of this month, at 6 o'clock on the morning of a glorious day, accompanied by my wife, I resumed the excavations . . .', while letters from Schliemann to Frank Calvert show that she did not come to Troy until 23 May.<sup>33</sup>

The same pattern is followed in 1873. The 22 February report claims (*TR* 224) that Sophia returned with Schliemann to Troy on 31 January, while the corresponding diary entry makes no mention of Sophia. Furthermore, there are letters from Schliemann to Sophia dated 11/23 February and 4 March, which show that she was still in Athens.<sup>34</sup> She did not in fact reach Troy until after 2 April, for on that date Frederick Calvert wrote to Schliemann: 'It is very fortunate that Mrs Schliemann deferred her departure from Athens, as she would have suffered much from the recent cold weather.'<sup>35</sup> Though the date of Sophia's arrival in Troy in 1873 cannot be precisely determined, it appears to have been between 10 and 29 April. She did not stay long. The 7 May diary entry reads: 'Heute reiste Sophie ab.' In a letter to Conze dated 14 May Schliemann explains her departure as 'wegen des plötzlichen Tod ihres Vaters'.<sup>36</sup> Two letters from Schliemann to Sophia's brother dated 24 and 29 May refer to Sophia as if she were back in

<sup>31</sup> The letter, dated 'Athens 22nd Feby. 1878', is published in E. Meyer, 'Schliemann's Letters to Max Müller in Oxford', *JHS* lxxxii (1962) 97-9.

<sup>32</sup> The copies of all these letters are to be found in Copybook 29. The originals of some of them are in the separate file of correspondence between Schliemann and Sophia. The 13 October letter, part of which is published at Meyer (n 5) 191, opens: 'La douleur que ta conduite envers moi m'a causée le jour de mon départ était tellement navrante, tellement immense que j'ai été jusqu'à présent parfaitement incapable de t'écrire.'

<sup>33</sup> Meyer notes that Schliemann's claims at *TR* 62, 98, 185 and 224 that Sophia is present at Troy are belied by his correspondence: see his *Heinrich Schliemann; Kaufmann und Forscher* (Gottingen 1969) 429 n. 148. He seems to believe, however, that Sophia did not come to Troy in 1872 at all, whereas in a letter to Frank Calvert dated 7/19 May Schliemann observes that Sophia was to

arrive on 23 May. Though another letter to Frank Calvert indicates that she was to depart from the Dardanelles on 26 June, Schliemann continues to mention her as present at Troy in his reports of 13 July (*TR* 185) and 14 August (*TR* 212). (The original letters to Calvert are kept in the Calvert file, the copies in Copybook 30.) Meyer further observes that the words referring to Sophia have been added to the manuscript of *Trojanische Alterthümer* above the line and that they do not appear in the corresponding earlier drafts in the diaries.

<sup>34</sup> Copies are in Copybook 30. In the Calvert file there is also the original of a letter dated 4 Feb. 1873, in which Schliemann requests Frank Calvert to send Sophia's letters to him by special courier.

<sup>35</sup> This letter is preserved in Box 67.

<sup>36</sup> Meyer (n. 5) 229.

Athens.<sup>37</sup> It is clear both from the content of the letters and their position in the copybook that these are Julian dates, equivalent to 5 and 10 June respectively.<sup>38</sup> Finally, among the collection of letters from Heinrich to Sophia is one in Greek dated simply 'Monday'. It can, however, from its contents, be confidently dated to Monday, 2 June, 1873.<sup>39</sup>

Φιλτάτη μοι Σύζυγε

εὐρήκαμεν ἐν τῷ Πριάμου οἴκῳ τοιαῦτα σπουδαιότατα διὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην πράγματα ὥστε ἀπεφασήσαμεν νὰ καταδαψίσωμεν τὸ ξύλινον σπήτιον καὶ ν' ἀνασκάψωμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ θέσιν, ἣ ὅποια ἐργασία ἀπαιτεῖ 10 ἡμέρας. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ δημοσιεύσης ἀκόμη τὸ ἄρθρον μας. θὰ γράψω ὅταν ᾖναι καιρὸς νὰ τὸ δημοσιεύσης. μὰ τὸν θεὸν μὴ δημοσιεύσης πρὶν ἢ Σοῖ γράψω ὅτι εἶναι καιρὸς. Μείνε, ἀγγελέ μου, ἐν Ἀθήναις διότι εἴμι θὰ τῶρα ἐν μεγάλῃ στενοχωρίᾳ. εἶδωλον τῆς καρδιάς μου, χαίρε, Ἀνδρομαχίδιον, χαίρε.

ὁ σύζυγος καὶ ὁ πατήρ Σας

Σχλειμαν

Δευτέρα

In this letter, which, incidentally, seems to indicate that something important had recently been found, Schliemann tells Sophia to stay in Athens. It follows that Sophia did not return to Troy after her departure on 7 May.

I have dwelt at some length on the question of Sophia's presence at and absence from Troy because it illustrates in a particularly graphic manner the unreliability of Schliemann's testimony. Clearly, Sophia was not at Troy when the treasure was discovered. If then Schliemann is lying about Sophia, the question naturally arises how much of his story we are to believe. The discrepancies in findspot, discovery date, the jewellery, and the gold sauceboat suggest that Schliemann's various accounts of his discovery of 'Priam's Treasure', like his interview with President Fillmore and his 'eyewitness' report of the 1851 fire of San Francisco, are sheer fiction, with the later accounts more elaborate and colourful than the first.<sup>40</sup> Once this is accepted, it follows that we do not know where, when or how Schliemann acquired the collection of artifacts which he called 'Priam's Treasure'.

Yannakis' version of the discovery of the treasure is probably as close as we are likely to get to the truth. Both Borlase and Schliemann himself attest to his honesty.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Yannakis' account makes much more sense than Schliemann's. The notion of a treasure chest abandoned on

<sup>37</sup> Copies of both letters, which are written in modern Greek, appear in Copybook 31. In the '24 May' letter we find: 'What is the matter with Sophia? She wrote me a very cold letter that is unworthy of my position. . . .' In the letter of '29 May': 'I share in all of Sophia's suffering.'

<sup>38</sup> The '24 May' letter refers to Schliemann's wooden house as already demolished. The 1873 diary shows that it was not demolished until 4 June (Gregorian). Schliemann quite often used single Julian dates when writing to Greeks.

<sup>39</sup> The letter is preserved in the special Heinrich-Sophia file. No copy of it appears in the copybook. Translation:

My dearest wife:

We have found in the house of Priam things of such importance for science that we have decided to demolish the wooden hut and to excavate its site, a task which will require ten days. Because of this, don't publish my article yet. I will write to you when it is time to publish it. For heaven's sake, don't publish it before I write to you that it is time. Stay in Athens, my angel, because at the moment I am in sore straits. Best wishes, idol of my heart, and best wishes, my little Andromache.

Your husband and father  
Schliemann

Monday

The reference to the imminent demolition of the wooden hut dates the letter to Monday, 2 June 1873: see n. 38.

<sup>40</sup> On the interview with Fillmore see Calder (n. 1) 338-41; on the San Francisco fire see Traill, *CJ* lxxiv (1979) 348-51. For Schliemann's tendency to embroider a story in later retellings, see the examination of the evidence for his alleged early preoccupation with Homer and Troy in Calder (n. 1) 350-1, Schindler, *Philol.* cxx (1976) 273-5, and Zimmermann (n. 2) 521-2 with n. 10; also cf. the elaboration of the 'little suitcase' story at Calder 345-6.

<sup>41</sup> *TR* 357: 'In conclusion, I cannot refrain from most strongly recommending Nikolaos Saphyros Yannakis, of the neighbouring village of Renkoi, to all those who, sooner or later, may wish to make excavations in the Plain of Troy or in the neighbourhood. During all my excavations here, since April 1870, he has been my attendant, cook, and cashier. It is in the latter capacity, that I find him incomparably useful on account of his honesty, which has been well tested. . . .'

the city wall was always at best highly implausible.<sup>42</sup> Yannakis' description suggests that the treasure was found in a tomb just outside the city wall, which is very much what we would have expected for a find of this kind, if we did not have Schliemann's account to mislead us. Though Yannakis remembered only bronze pieces, this should not be interpreted as necessarily excluding the silver from the treasure discovered on that occasion, since heavily tarnished silver might easily have been confused with bronze. It is hard to understand, however, how he could have forgotten the gold bottle and sauceboat, which would have been untarnished and must have made a deep impression on those who witnessed their discovery. Yannakis' failure to recall them together with Schliemann's own faulty description of the sauceboat in *A* and *B* and the absence of any reference to the jewellery in these accounts suggest that the gold objects at least were not found on that occasion.

If the gold objects did not form part of the treasure whose excavation Yannakis witnessed, how did Schliemann acquire them? Did he excavate them himself and, if so, where and when? or did he buy them from dealers in the Dardanelles or Constantinople or from local villagers? It is perhaps best to begin by asking if there is any reason to believe that any of the pieces were in fact found in Troy. The answer is overwhelmingly in the affirmative. Here is a summary of the salient points.<sup>43</sup>

(1) Most of the metal vessels in the treasure have ceramic parallels that have been found in Troy at Early Bronze Age levels.<sup>44</sup>

(2) A silver omphalos bowl almost identical to the one in the treasure was found by Blegen in Troy II.<sup>45</sup>

(3) Pendant earrings, shell earrings and bracelets comparable to the pieces in the treasure (FIG. 4) have been found at an Early Bronze Age level in Poliochni.<sup>46</sup>

(4) The 'Workmen's Treasure', which was apparently found close to the well marked 'az' on plan 1 of *Ilios*,<sup>47</sup> includes pendant earrings similar to those of the treasure.

(5) Exact parallels for some of the types of beads in the treasure (FIG. 4) were found by Blegen in Troy II.<sup>48</sup>

(6) Ceramic fragments that have been identified as sauceboat spouts have been found by Blegen at Troy I and Troy III levels and at Early Bronze Age levels at Poliochni and Thermi.<sup>49</sup>

These facts constitute a powerful argument that most, and probably all, of the pieces of 'Priam's Treasure' were in fact found in Early Bronze Age Troy. However, we have no grounds, other than Schliemann's own dubious testimony, for believing that all these pieces were found in one place at the same time. The treasure is of unparalleled magnitude for a single find from a West Anatolian site at this time.<sup>50</sup> Its very bulk invites suspicion. There are besides a variety of reasons for suspecting that Schliemann pieced the treasure together over several months and perhaps years. We shall now consider this evidence under the heads of motive, jewellery, and bronze weapons.

<sup>42</sup> I am grateful to Ann Gunter for the information that it has long been a puzzle why the inhabitants of Troy III, who are culturally indistinguishable from those of Troy II, did not find the treasure that had been abandoned on the wall.

<sup>43</sup> I am not competent to offer an extended discussion of the archaeological evidence. For help with the information offered here I am indebted to Donald Easton.

<sup>44</sup> See C. Podzuweit, *Trojanische Gefäßformen der Frühbronzezeit in Anatolien, der Ägäis und angrenzenden Gebieten* (Mainz 1979) for a full classification and catalogue of the types.

<sup>45</sup> Illustrated at *Troy* i pt 2, pl. 359. Schliemann's silver omphalos bowl is to be seen in FIG. 3, row d, third from the right, propped up on the rim of the vase and the 'frying-pan' handle.

<sup>46</sup> L. Bernabo-Brea, *ILN* (3 Aug. 1957) 197-9. The pendant earrings of 'Priam's Treasure' are illustrated in FIG. 4 (no. 280) and the shell earrings are in the top row of earrings, no. 278.

<sup>47</sup> For the discovery and an illustrated description of this treasure see *Ilios* 485-8.

<sup>48</sup> Blegen, *Troy* i pt 1 367 and K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000-612 B.C.* (London 1971) 52-4. Schliemann's beads are shown in FIG. 4, no. 278, bottom two rows.

<sup>49</sup> See Podzuweit (n. 44) 230-1 for references and brief discussion.

<sup>50</sup> The closest parallel would be the Dorak Treasure reported by J. Mellaart at *ILN* (28 Nov. 1959), the authenticity and even existence of which remain disputed.



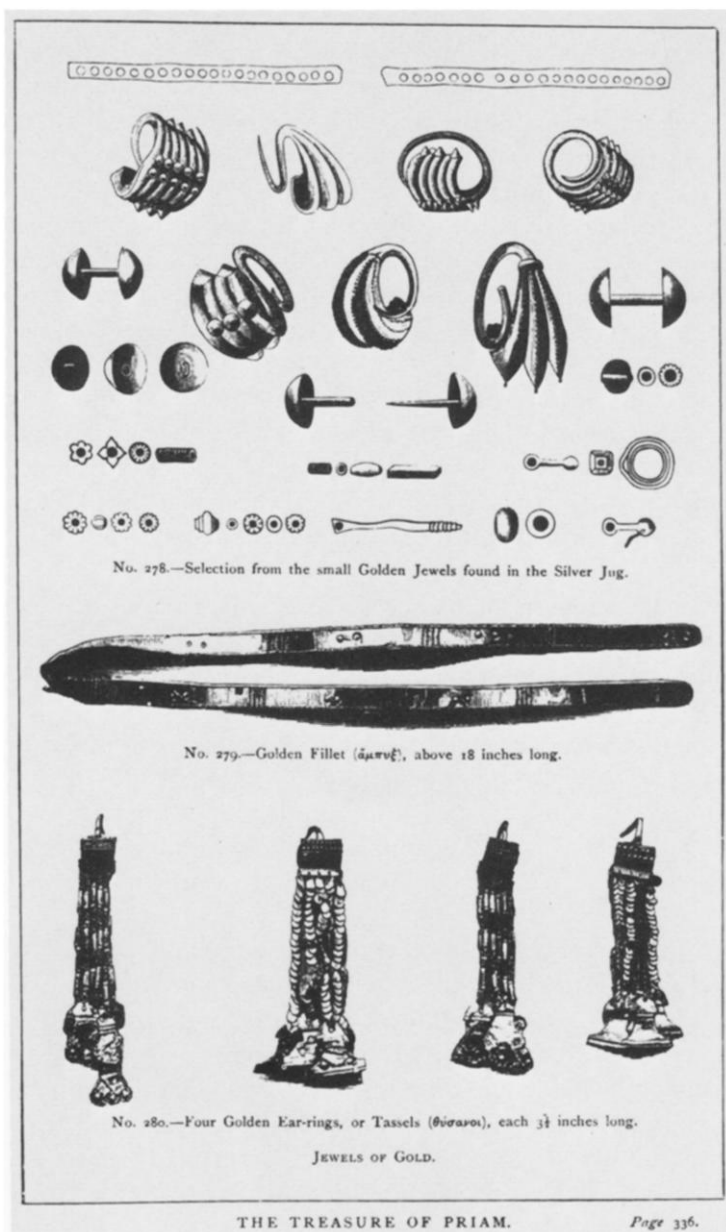


FIG. 4. TR Plate XX (facing p. 336).

### Motive

Schliemann had several motives for putting aside his most valuable finds in order to announce one large discovery at the end.

(1) He was contractually obligated to share his finds equally with the landowner,<sup>51</sup> but events show that he had no intention of doing this. If he had announced periodic discoveries of gold and silver, he would have been forced to surrender half his finds or else forfeit permission to continue his excavations and probably face a lawsuit.

(2) In a letter dated 19 March, 1872, John Brown, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, advised him bluntly: 'When you find any *small* objects put them in your pocket. . . . Money is the first question of the day in this. You must *not* find any large amount of

<sup>51</sup> The owners of Hisarlık were Safvet Pasha (western portion) and Frank Calvert (eastern). Schliemann had made similar agreements with both owners.

Gold or Silver in your diggings.'<sup>52</sup> Schliemann seems to have followed this advice, for in his periodic reports to the newspapers there is no mention of any gold or silver finds until the report published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 14 June, 1873—the day on which he closed his excavations at Troy.<sup>53</sup>

(3) The discovery of one large 'treasure' would make a greater impact than twenty smaller finds.

(4) A striking discovery in the closing days of his excavations would make a suitably dramatic finale to his work at Troy.

### *Jewellery*

Schliemann's correspondence in 1872 shows that he had successfully removed from Troy to Athens, without the knowledge of the Turkish authorities, some valuable finds, which he had no intention of publishing until after his excavations were closed.<sup>54</sup> In a letter to Frank Calvert dated 29 March 1873, Schliemann remarks: 'The ornaments such as fingerrings, earrings, etc. of which I found more than 60 are either of solid electrum (a composition of 3 parts gold and one part silver) or of solid gold or of solid silver or copper but never of gold or silver wire as you state.'<sup>55</sup> The words 'or copper' have been added above the line as an afterthought. There is therefore some reason for believing that already by the end of March 1873, Schliemann had discovered far more rings of gold, silver or electrum, than he reports in *Troy and its Remains*. Before the discovery of 'Priam's Treasure' Schliemann admits (in *TR*) to discovering rings of precious metal on only two occasions, both in 1872.<sup>56</sup> Because he is imprecise about the number of rings involved, it is hard to be sure exactly how many he claims to have found on these occasions. However, it cannot have been more than twenty at the most. It is a remarkable coincidence that the number of rings and earrings mentioned in this letter of 29 March corresponds exactly to the number of rings and earrings attributed to 'Priam's Treasure'.

### *Bronze weapons*

There is a letter written by Schliemann in modern Greek and dated 16 April, 1873, which seems to have been intended to accompany a shipment of antiquities from Troy to Athens.<sup>57</sup> There is no addressee. In this letter Schliemann declares that he is sending five chests, three sacks and twenty-two baskets of Trojan antiquities to his home in Athens. He then proceeds to itemize

<sup>52</sup> The letter, despite its date, is filed with the 1873 letters in Box 68.

<sup>53</sup> In particular, there is no mention of the gold and silver jewellery discovered in 1872 (*TR* 164–5, 209–10) in his review of that season's work in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (1 Jan. 1873) 11–12. The date for the closing of the excavations is taken from the 2/14 June entry of the 1873 diary. It begins: 'Heute Abend habe ich die Arbeiten für dies Leben eingestellt . . .'; see also Meyer (n. 33) 274.

<sup>54</sup> In a letter to Curtius dated 2 Feb. 1872 Schliemann asks for his opinion of the objects 'von ganz besonderem Interesse für Sie' illustrated in the accompanying nine photographs. He insists that these photographs are for the eyes of Curtius and Lepsius only, 'denn erstens bin ich wegen meines "Firman" besorgt und zweitens beabsichtige ich selbst, nach Beendigung der Ausgrabungen ein Werk mit gleichen Photographien zu veröffentlichen'; see Meyer (n. 5) 202. Similar sentiments are expressed in a letter to Frank Calvert dated 1 Oct. 1872: 'On Saturday I have sent him [Curtius] again

a long article for his paper, but I have no great desire to send more for the present, because I want to publish a book, which, alas, I shall not be able to do before next July or August, being afraid that the Constantinople Museum might cancel my firman if they see the engravings of the objects I discovered. What do you think of that?'; see Meyer (n. 20) 124.

<sup>55</sup> Published in Meyer (n. 5) 226, where Meyer erroneously prints 'silver etc.' for 'silver wire'.

<sup>56</sup> Prior to the 17 June 1873 report there are only two passages in *TR* in which Schliemann reports having found rings of precious metals (164–5 and 209–10), but since they include such vague phrases as 'several rings' and 'bunches of earrings', it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many he had found, but when we compare the text with pls 17, 26, 98 and 99 of the *Atlas* together with the accompanying notes, the grand total appears to have been closer to fifteen than to sixty. Even if we include copper rings, the total can scarcely be more than twenty.

<sup>57</sup> Copybook 31, 190.

the antiquities. The list includes twenty copper spearheads, and twenty-five knives.<sup>58</sup> However, in the *TR* 1873 reports he mentions having found only five spearheads and four knives prior to his discovery of the treasure.<sup>59</sup> Whatever happened to the remaining thirty-six weapons? It is surely a remarkable coincidence that exactly thirty-seven copper weapons are included in 'Priam's Treasure'.<sup>60</sup>

There is evidence, then, that suggests that many of the pieces of 'Priam's Treasure' were found in Troy at an earlier date. There remains the question of the sauceboat and Schliemann's inability to describe it accurately in *AB*. In view of the ceramic sauceboat fragments that have been found in Early Bronze Age levels in Troy, Poliochni and Thermi, there is no good reason to doubt that this piece too was actually found in Troy.<sup>61</sup> The question remains where and when. Yannakis' testimony and Schliemann's failure to describe the sauceboat accurately in *AB* argue against its having formed part of the treasure whose discovery Yannakis witnessed. I suspect that it was found and packed away in March 1873, when Schliemann appears to have struck on a number of rich finds, which he failed to report.<sup>62</sup> By the end of May he could well have forgotten its shape and, if he had merely a note to remind him that it was a two-handled gold cup, he could perhaps, after ten weeks and many other finds had blurred his memory, have imagined it to be of the common *depas* shape. This seems to be the most satisfactory explanation of the erroneous description in the 31 May reports.

Finally, there are some pieces which may well be too late for a Troy II find. The dating of the end of Troy II is a much-debated problem, for which numerous solutions have been proposed.<sup>63</sup> Dates ranging from 2600 BC to 2000 BC or even later have been put forward by reputable scholars. One of the principal arguments for the late dating hinges on certain granulated earrings that were found in the treasure.<sup>64</sup> K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop compares the particular type of granular decoration on these rings with similar rings found in Mesopotamia. She concludes: 'It seems unlikely that this particular type of lunate-shaped earring is Anatolian in origin and, if they are to be regarded as imports, then the earliest date for their deposition in the Trojan Treasure A must be after the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur period in Mesopotamia—i.e. 2113 BC.'<sup>65</sup> She finally suggests a date of c. 1900–1850 BC for the jewellery of the treasure.<sup>66</sup> Most scholars, however, assume a much earlier date for Troy IIg and the new calibrated C<sup>14</sup> evidence supports a date of 2300–2200 BC.<sup>67</sup> It is not my purpose to argue for either a late or early chronology. I would merely suggest that in view of the evidence adduced above 'Priam's Treasure' should be regarded as a composite find. It follows inevitably that all items in the

<sup>58</sup> That the twenty-five knives do not include stone knives is clear from the position of the item (next to the copper spearheads) and the occurrence elsewhere in the list of the item '393 stone tools'.

<sup>59</sup> *TR* 238 (2 spearheads or 'lances'); 262 (3 knives); 279 (1 spearhead); 296 (1 spearhead); 312 (1 spearhead, 1 knife).

<sup>60</sup> It will be noted that the weapons are described simply as spearheads (more than two dozen) and knives, as in the letter of 16 April. At *C* 8 they become 34 spearheads and 6 knives. By *C* 22e they have been differentiated into 13 spearheads, 14 battle-axes, 7 daggers, 1 knife, 1 sword, and 1 copper bar and so they remain in *D* (*TR* 329–32).

<sup>61</sup> Earlier I was led by Blegen's observation that the gold sauceboat was of 'distinctly non-Trojan appearance' (*Troy* i pt 1 208) into suspecting that Schliemann or Sophia might have purchased the piece from a dealer. This was my opinion in June 1981, when I was interviewed for the BBC documentary of Schliemann, 'The Man Behind the Mask', broadcast on 20 January, 1982. I have since learned that Blegen's view of the

sauceboat as necessarily an import is not shared by many Anatolian archaeologists today and that the piece is not at all out of place for Early Bronze Age Troy. Accordingly, it now seems to me more likely that Schliemann actually found the piece in Troy than that he had the luck or prescience to buy a piece of unique shape, which just happened to be archaeologically appropriate.

<sup>62</sup> This is suggested by the reference to 60 earrings in the letter of 29 March 1873 (see n. 55) and by the fact that it was at the end of March that the workmen absconded with Treasure C (see n. 47).

<sup>63</sup> For recent surveys of the problem with comprehensive bibliographies see Jak Yakar, *Anat. St.* xxix (1979) 51–67 and H. Quitta in *Troja und Thrakien: Katalog zur Ausstellung* (East Berlin 1981) 21–9.

<sup>64</sup> See FIG. 4, no. 278, second top row of earrings, centre and centre right.

<sup>65</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop (n. 48) 58–9.

<sup>66</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop (n. 48) 60.

<sup>67</sup> Quitta (n. 63) 25–8.

treasure are therefore worthless for chronological purposes. Maxwell-Hyslop's late dating of the granulated earrings should be viewed therefore not as pointing to a late date for Troy IIg but as tending to confirm the composite nature of the treasure. No doubt the earrings in question came from some later level.

In conclusion, it is clear that Schliemann's account of the discovery of 'Priam's Treasure' is unreliable. Sophia was not present. She did not carry away the pieces in her shawl. The scepticism and ridicule of the academic establishment, which are richly documented by Calder and Döhl,<sup>68</sup> were, on this point at least, well-founded. The discrepancies in Schliemann's reports regarding the jewellery, findspot and discovery date together with the evidence that some of the pieces of the treasure had already been found by March and April 1873 indicate that 'Priam's Treasure' is a composite of several finds. That Schliemann should have resorted to deceit in his archaeological reporting is scarcely surprising in view of what we now know about his character. Clearly all of his archaeological work needs to be re-examined critically. It would be remarkable indeed if the examples of fraudulent reporting so far uncovered were the sole instances of this kind of behaviour.

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<sup>68</sup> Calder (n. 1) 347 and (n. 2) 146-7; H. Döhl, 61-71 and *passim*.  
*Heinrich Schliemann: Mythos und Ärgernis* (Munich 1981)



(a) Gold Sauceboat, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.



(b) *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.



(c) and (d) Attic Red-Figured Oinochoe. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1981.173 (Courtesy W. Hornbostel).

SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERY OF 'PRIAM'S TREASURE' (a)-(b)  
FOR THE HEROES ARE AT HAND (c)-(d)