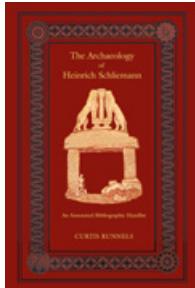


HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

BY CURTIS RUNNELS

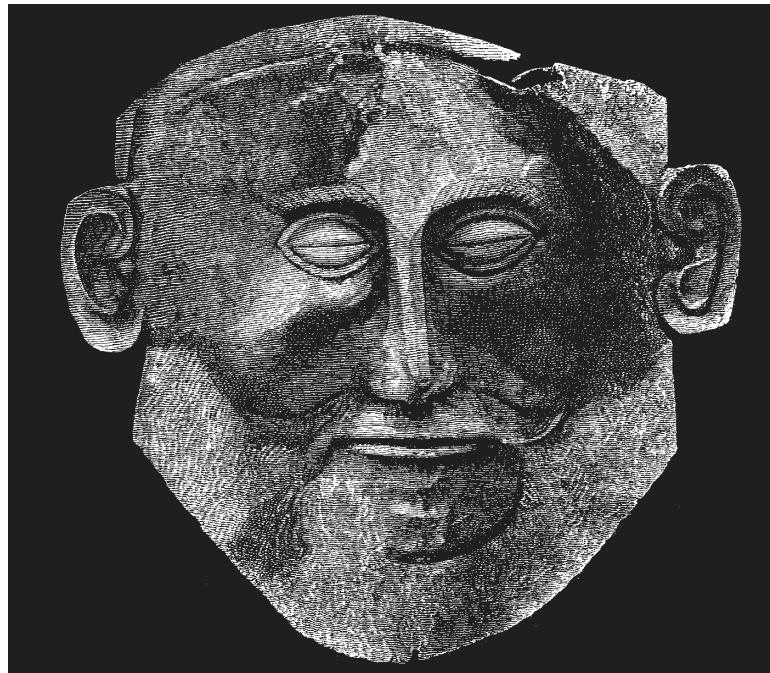
PROFESSOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY, BOSTON UNIVERSITY
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON



Drawn from *The Archaeology of Heinrich Schliemann: An Annotated Bibliographic Handlist*, by Curtis Runnels. Includes an introductory essay, a fully annotated handlist of Schliemann's works, and an annotated list of bibliography and references. 2002. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America. [viii] + 84 pp. Four illustrations, 1 map. Available through the David Brown Book Company in North America (800-791-9354) or Oxbow Books outside North America (+44 [0] 1865 241249).

www.oxbowbooks.com

BOSTON
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA
© 2002



Massive Golden Mask of the body at the south end of the First Sepulchre, Mycenae. (Reproduced from H. Schliemann, *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* [New York 1878] p. 289)

FROM THE INTRODUCTION

Heinrich Schliemann is the most famous archaeologist in the world. Supporting this extraordinary claim are the many publications about Schliemann that continue to pour from the press more than 100 years after his death. But the strongest evidence is that Schliemann's name is arguably the first, if not the only, name of an archaeologist likely to be recognized by members of the general public. I have asked many groups of students in introductory archaeology courses to identify an archaeologist, and Schliemann is almost always the most prominent name on the list. Indeed, Schliemann's name is on everyone's list of archaeologists, which is something that cannot be said about anyone else in the field, living or dead.

The current interest in Schliemann continues and an ever-widening circle of new and widely available scholarship on

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

Schliemann has been published in the last decade or so. This re-evaluation of his work has produced some decidedly negative discoveries concerning his veracity and standards of personal conduct (e.g., von Burg 1987; Calder 1972; Calder and Traill 1986), but it has also led to a sometimes grudging appreciation of Schliemann's positive contributions to archaeology. Schliemann was perhaps a better archaeologist than some critics have admitted. When I was a student in the 1960s and 1970s, Schliemann was something of a byword in bad archaeology. He appeared in textbooks as a ham-handed gold-seeker who destroyed the sites he excavated. "Old Schliemann," we were told, was an old fashioned treasure hunter who contributed nothing to archaeology. Denying that Schliemann was the "Father of Archaeology" (as he was sometimes called) was a mark of sophistication and learning among aspiring archaeologists in the second half of the 20th century. This was not the universal opinion, of course, and Schliemann continued to receive respectful attention from some historians of archaeology (e.g., Daniel 1967). Although there was some truth in the assertion that Schliemann may have been overrated as an archaeologist in his lifetime and the decades immediately after his death, the revisionism of the 1970s and 1980s may have gone too far and recent scholarship may do something to restore some of Schliemann's reputation as an archaeologist. It is clear that he learned his craft rapidly and evolved in the course of his archaeological career from an enthusiastic but careless amateur (Allen 1999) into a seasoned and innovative professional (Korres 1990, 48-50; Runnels 1997; Trigger 1989, 197) who must be considered as one of the founders of modern field archaeology. Schliemann's contributions to archaeology include the use of trial trenches, the practice of extensive stratified excavation, the use of pottery for relative and absolute dating, the practice of making trial excavations to establish negative evidence, and the use of the comparative method with an emphasis on the close examination and classification of all classes of artifacts in addition to architectural and stratigraphic features (Witte 1990). Witte also observes, correctly in my opinion, that Schliemann was a pioneer in what we

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

would today call “multidisciplinary” approaches to archaeology. He took an interest in technology, geography, geology, cartography, meteorology, ethnology, anthropology, botany, photography, and technical analyses of metal, which can be seen, to take one example, in the many appendices to *Ilios* (1880c). Particularly significant is Schliemann’s clear understanding that an archaeological site could not be understood in isolation from its hinterland or geographic location in a territory (Witte 1990, 47). This appreciation of the site in its countryside can be seen in his earlier works (*Ithaque*, 1869), and is most clearly developed in his mature works (e.g., *Ilios*, *Troja*, *Reise*). Above all, Schliemann excelled his contemporaries and most modern archaeologists in his rapid publication of his excavations (Korres 1990).



The Cow's Head of Silver, with Horns of Gold. Sepulchre IV, Mycenae. (Reproduced from H. Schliemann, *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* [New York 1878] pl. 1)

SAMPLE ANNOTATIONS

1867. *La Chine et le Japon au temps présent*. Paris: Librairie Centrale (24, Boulevard des Italiens). 221 [Korres gives 223 + 2] pp. 12mo. 17.5 cm. The binding or wrapper issued with the book has not been determined.

This was Schliemann's first major publication. It is a description in the form of a diary of a trip undertaken from

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

May to September, 1865, as part of Schliemann's journey around the world in that year. It makes no mention of his ambition to be an archaeologist or to search for the remains of Homeric Troy. This failure to note his "life-long interest in Troy," which is elsewhere related in romantic detail in his autobiographical writings, supports the view of those who believe that his interest in archaeology did not take shape until after his first trip to Greece in 1868 (Traill 1995). If Schliemann had not become famous as an archaeologist, this book would have done nothing to secure his fame. It is dull. Not a single map or illustration relieves the tedium. The descriptions of the Great Wall of China, Tokyo, and Kyoto are entirely conventional and nowhere rise above those found in the travel literature at the time. Compared with the plethora of sophisticated travel books from the 19th century (here one thinks of Kinglake's *Eothen*, or, perhaps closer to the topic, the works of Lafcadio Hearn on Japan), *La Chine* fails to measure up. To the modern reader and the student of Schliemann, perhaps the most curious feature of the book is Schliemann's habit of mentioning the exact amount paid for goods and services. Schliemann, ever the shopkeeper, is fascinated with the prices of things, even the most trifling sums. One sees this tendency still in his archaeological writings. In *Tiryns* (p. 4) he positively crows, for instance, over the measly 10 Greek lepta (about two U. S. cents at the time) that he paid for "a cup of black coffee, without sugar" in Nafplion's Agamemnon Café. Part of the fascination of his character is found in such eccentricities. Why does an immensely wealthy man find it necessary to inform the reader of an otherwise learned archaeological tome of how little he managed to pay for his coffee?

I doubt very much that large numbers of *La Chine* were printed. I suspect that there were a few hundred copies (fewer than 500 would be a good guess) printed at his own expense; these would have been given away by Schliemann (certainly the Gennadius Library copy, the only one I have seen, has a presentation inscription from Schliemann). The NUC lists only three copies in the United States. The book is exceedingly rare today: I have never seen a copy offered

for sale. *La Chine* was reprinted as *Reise durch China und Japan im Jahre 1865* (Konstanz 1984) and in Japanese (not seen by me) as *Nihon Chogoku ryokoki* in *Shin ikoku soshō*, series 2, volume 6, Tokyo 1982.

1878a. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. Preface by the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone, M.P. Edited by Philip Smith. London: John Murray. [lxviii] + 384 pp. 549 illustrations showing more than 700 objects and 21 plates, 4 colored plates, and 8 plans. Large 8vo. 23.5 cm. Pictorial cloth gilt.

Schliemann began his excavations at Mycenae in 1876, and his discovery of the Shaft Graves in August of that year was perhaps one of his two greatest archaeological achievements. The English format is smaller than the American version published in the same year in New York. It is a medium octavo the same size as *Troy and Its Remains*, the first book of Schliemann's published by Murray. The copy I examined is bound in a maroon red publisher's cloth with gilt titles on the spine and bands of gilt decoration at the top and bottom. The bull's-head rhyton from Shaft Grave IV is stamped in blind on the spine except for its gilded horns. The front cover has a border of guilloche and spirals (in black) with four ornaments in the corners based on gold disks also from Shaft Grave IV. The central panel of the front cover depicts the Lion Gate in gold with the heads of the lions restored and the title "Mycenae" in blind on the lintel block and Schliemann's name, gilt, in the doorway above the figure of a Greek workman holding a spade. Advertisements for Murray's publications are bound at the end.

Mycenae begins with a description of Schliemann's trial excavations at Tiryns (which seems like something of an afterthought in this book, perhaps reflected also in the full title), and then turns to a detailed description of the topography of Mycenae. The book then settles down to a sober and detailed assessment of the site of Mycenae and sets out the results of the excavations with a level of clarity and assurance that clearly reveals Schliemann's growing mastery of

archaeological field methods and the medium of the written word. The many learned disquisitions, backed with a substantial critical apparatus of citations and quotations of original texts, were calculated to persuade scholars to accept his discoveries and attributions. At the same time, the many colorful passages that describe his discoveries in thrilling terms were aimed at the general reader. The many illustrations, especially the large folding plates showing views of the site and the Shaft Grave Circle (with Sophia, Heinrich, and visiting dignitaries amidst their workmen) contributed to the appeal of the book and the enjoyment of the reader. The brightly colored plates of artifacts are an appealing part of the book and a feature of scholarly publications then and now available only to wealthy authors like Schliemann who could subsidize the cost of production and printing. Many passages, such as the description of the visit of the Emperor of Brazil to the excavations and the dinner for him given by Schliemann in the Treasury of Atreus, the enormous, and splendidly-preserved, tholos tomb at Mycenae, served the double purpose of entertaining general readers and contributing to Schliemann's self-image as an important figure performing on an international stage. The running heads alone give the present-day reader some feeling for the excitement and enthusiasm that shines forth from every page. Taking chapter VIII as an example (reporting on the fourth shaft grave), the running heads tell the story: They begin simply with "an altar upon a tomb," "copper vessels: no soldering," "wonderful cow-head," "heap of swords and lances," "golden portrait masks," "archaic seal-rings," and a "battle scene on a ring." These entertaining running heads reflect Schliemann's own building excitement as they continue with "massive golden bracelet," "splendid golden crown," "gold soldered with borax," "curious golden goblets," "wonderful *depas amphikypellon*," "the Nestorian goblet," and a "splendidly ornamented cup." The excitement continues to build, and the reader should note the use of adjectives "objects of Egyptian porcelain," "curious golden diadems," "ornamented gold ribbon, etc.," "symbol of the double axe," "stag of silver and lead," "wonderful cross-buttons," "curious gold but-

tons,” “magnificent gold buttons [these ornaments are illustrated on the front cover of the book],” “gold model of a temple,” “gold sword-handle knobs,” “Homeric tripods,” “Mycenean [sic] swords like rapiers,” and finally, a “golden dragon, with crystal scales.” In this interesting list, Schliemann uses a sequence of adjectives such as “curious,” “splendid,” “wonderful,” and finally, “magnificent” to build to a climax and infuse his finds with his own enthusiasm and thrill of discovery. Admit it: wouldn’t you want to read this book after perusing such a list? It is a spectacular book and was a roaring success. As the following entries in the handlist make clear, the book appeared in a blizzard of translations and in a variety of issues with different colors of publisher’s cloth. No one could overlook or ignore this book, and as much as the discovery of Troy, this book was responsible in my opinion for Schliemann’s immediate and lasting international fame.

The English and American editions of *Mycenae* are the most commonly encountered of Schliemann’s writings in the market for antiquarian books, which is an indication of the large number of copies put into circulation. The size of the printings is nowhere explicitly stated, but would have been several thousand copies. The English edition of *Mycenae* by John Murray alone was likely to be on the order of 1,500–2,000 copies. (*Ilios*, 1880b, by the same publisher, was issued in an edition of about 1,200 copies). They regularly appear in antiquarian catalogues and are found in most respectable library collections. The NUC lists 12 holdings for the English edition.

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST



Gold Buttons from Sepulchre IV, Mycenae. Nos. 402-413. (Reproduced from H. Schliemann, *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* [New York 1878] p. 264)

THE HANDLIST OF SHORT TITLES
OF SCHLIEMANN'S PUBLISHED WORKS
All Fully Annotated in the Book

1867. *La Chine et le Japon au temps présent*. Paris: Librairie Centrale (24, Boulevard des Italiens).

1869a. *Ithaque le Péloponnèse Troie: Recherches archéologiques*. Paris: C. Reinwald (15, Rue des Saints-Pères).

1869b. *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja: Archäologische Forschungen*. Leipzig: Commissions-Verlag Giesecke und Devrient.

1874a. *Trojanische Alterthümer: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*. Leipzig: in commission bei F.A. Brockhaus.

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

1874b. *Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer: Photographische Abbildungen zu dem Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*. Leipzig: in commission bei F.A. Brockhaus.

1874c. *Atlas des antiquités Troyennes: Illustrations photographiques faisant suite au rapport sur les fouilles de Troie*. Paris: Maison Neuve.

1874d. *Antiquités Troyennes: Rapport sur les fouilles de Troie*. Traduit de l'allemand par Alexander Rizos Rangabé. Paris: Maison Neuve and Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1875a. *Troia und seine Ruinen: Vortrag von Dr. Heinrich Schliemann gehalten in der Aula der Universität Rostock den 17. August 1875*. Waren: C. Quandt.

1875b. *Troy and Its Remains: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries Made on the Site of Ilium, and in the Trojan Plain*. Edited by Philip Smith, B.A., and translated by Miss L. Dora Schmitz. London: John Murray.

1875c. Συνοπτικὴ ἀφήγησις τῆς γενομένης ἀνακαλύψεως τοῦ Ὄμηρικοῦ Ἰλίου κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1870, 1871, 1872 καὶ 1873. Ἀθήνα: Ἀδελφοὶ Πέρρη.

1876. *Troy and Its Remains: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries Made on the Site of Ilium, and in the Trojan Plain*. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong.

1877. “On the Site of the Homeric Troy: Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, read June 24th, 1875.” *Archaeologia* 45:29-52.

1878a. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. Preface by the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone, M.P. Edited by Philip Smith. London: John Murray.

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

1878b. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. Preface by the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone, M.P. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company.

1878c. *Mykenae: Bericht über meine Forschungen und Entdeckungen in Mykenae und Tiryns*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1879. *Mycènes: Récit des recherches et découvertes faites à Mycènes et à Tirynthe*. Avec une Préface de M. Gladstone. Translated from English by Professor J. Girardin. Paris: M.M. Hachette.

1880a. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. A New Edition with important additions and new plates. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company.

1880b. *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans: The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and Throughout the Troad in the years 1871-72-73-78-79*. Includes an autobiography of the author. London: John Murray.

1880c. *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans: The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and Throughout the Troad in the years 1871-72-73-78-79*. Including an autobiography of the author. New York: Harper and Brothers.

1880d. Heinrich Schliemann, ed., James Ferguson, *Das Erechtheion und der Tempel der Athene Polias in Athen*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus. Translated from English by Dr. Ludwig Meyer.

1881a. *Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner: Forschungen und Entdeckungen in der Troas und besonders auf der Baustelle von Troja*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC HANDLIST

1881b. *Reise in der Troas im Mai 1881*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1881c. *Orchomenos: Bericht über meine Ausgrabungen im Böötischen Orchomenos*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1881d. "Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2:122-63.

1882a. *Catalogue des trésors de Mycènes au Musée d'Athènes avec un plan de l'acropole de Mycènes dans lequel toutes mes fouilles sont bien indiquées*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1882b. *Περιήγησις ἀνὰ τὴν Τροφάδα κατὰ Μάϊον τοῦ 1881*. Ἀθήνα: Παρνασσοῦ. Translated from German by P.G. Kastromenos.

1883. *Ὀρχομενός. Υπόμνημα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Βοιωτικῷ Ὀρχομενῷ ἀνασκαφῶν αὐτοῦ*. Ἀθήνα: Ἀνδρέου Κορομυλᾶ. Translated from German by Sophia Schliemann.

1884a. *Troja: Ergebnisse meiner neuesten Ausgrabungen auf der Baustelle von Troja, in den Heldengräbern, Bunarbaschi und andern Orten der Troas im Jahre 1882*. Mit Vorrede von A. H. Sayce. Leipzig: F.A. Brockaus.

1884b. *Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy, and in the Heroic Tumuli and Other Sites, Made in the Year 1882; and a Narrative of a Journey in the Troad in 1881*. London: John Murray.

1884c. *Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy and in the Heroic Tumuli and Other Sites, Made in the Year 1882; and a Narrative of a Journey in the Troad in 1881*. New York: Scribners.

1884d. "Das sogenannte Grab der 192 Athener in Marathon." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. Berlin: A. Asher, pp. 85-88.

1885a. *Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations*. Preface by Professor F. Adler, and contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

1885b. *Tirynthe: Le palais préhistorique des rois de Tirynthe: Résultat des dernières fouilles*. Paris: Reinwald.

1885c. *Ilios: Ville et pays des Troyens: Résultat des fouilles sur l'emplacement de Troie et des explorations faites en Troade de 1871 à 1882 avec une autobiographie de l'auteur*. Paris: [Librairie Firmin-Didot?] Reinwald.

1886a. *Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations*. London: John Murray.

1886b. *Tiryns: Der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns: Ergebnisse der neuesten Ausgrabungen*. Mit vorrede von Geh. Oberbaurath Prof. F. Adler und Beiträgen von Dr. W. Dörpfeld. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1891. *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890: Mit einem Vorwort von Sophie Schliemann un Beiträgen von Dr. W. Dörpfeld*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

1892. *Heinrich Schliemann's Selbstbiographie: Bis zu seinem Tode vervollständigt (von Alfred Brückner): Herausgegeben von Sophie Schliemann*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Curtis Runnels is Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Archaeology at Boston University. He is a specialist in Aegean prehistory and has conducted fieldwork since 1973 in Greece, Turkey, and Albania. He received his Ph.D. (1981) from Indiana University in Bloomington and taught at Stanford University before moving to Boston in 1987. He has an interest in the history of archaeology, and is a bibliophile and collector of rare antiquarian books. Among his publications are *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (co-authored with Michael Jameson and Tjeerd van Andel, 1994); *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past* (co-authored with Tjeerd van Andel, 1987); and *Greece Before History: An Archaeological Companion and Guide* (co-authored with Priscilla Murray, 2001), all published by Stanford University Press. Mailing address: Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 675 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston MA 02215; email: runnels@bu.edu.