

Flores (Morwood *et al.* 1998, 1999). Wallacea is named for Alfred Russell Wallace, the co-discoverer of natural selection, who proposed the existence of a barrier beyond which placental mammals could not migrate. This biogeographic marker was eventually named Wallace's line in his honor. The first Australians crossed into a new world dominated by marsupial fauna, unlike any they had seen before. A number of routes of initial colonization of Australia have been proposed, and a date of about 60,000 years ago is generally accepted for first entry. Controversial dates that are older have been obtained using thermoluminescence at sites like Jinmium Cave, but are hotly disputed. Who the people were remains unclear; the authors point out that only eight Pleistocene sites with human remains are known, and most of these are found in the southeast, at places such as Willandra Lakes, a long way from the points of initial entry. Most habitats were colonized by 25,000-30,000 years ago, but they are not sure about when desert environments were occupied. Pleistocene and Holocene archaeological sites are reviewed. There may have been a period of social and economic intensification about 4000 BP, something proposed by Henry Lourandos. Finally, the authors discuss the prehistory of islands around Australia, including Tasmania, rock art production and interpretation, and the arrival of later populations, both Asian and European, which ushers in the historic record.

All in all, this is a satisfactory review of the history of human settlement in Australia. In a world dominated by conflicts between indigenous people and colonialist or neo-colonialist states, it would benefit many people to understand the history of this continent of hunter gatherers, as Lourandos (1997) once named it.

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*Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit.* David A. Traill, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1995,  
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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/bha.10107>

*Finding the Walls of Troy: Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlik.* Susan Heuck Allen. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1999, 409 + xiii pp. \$35.00.

by

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As a teenager my parents received through the Book-of-the-Month Club a volume that could easily have led me to want to become an archaeologist if I had not already made that decision. *Gods, Graves, and Scholars* by C. W. Ceram (pseudonym of German journalist Kurt W. Marek) had been first published in Germany in 1949 and translated and published in the U. S. in 1951 (Ceram 1951). This book, still in

print, was one of the few written in the first half of the century to bring the history of archaeology to a general audience.

Ceram's book is "a hymn of praise to the archaeologist's brilliant accomplishments ... a memorial to those investigators who, out of genuine modesty, have hidden their light under a bushel" (p. v). Incongruously, one of the featured archaeologists of the book is Heinrich Schliemann. Schliemann's life is presented primarily as he presents it in his writings - dreaming of finding Troy as a child, struggling as a businessman to have the wherewithal to follow his dream, visiting the Troad and finally deciding, primarily upon classical evidence, that Hisarlik was the site of Troy, discovering a mass of gold objects - "Priam's Treasure" - with the help of his wife, and smuggling it out of Turkey. As it turns out only the last of these is true.

Schliemann's life, as presented by Schliemann, epitomized the adventure of archaeology and was too good of a story to be questioned very closely by historians of the discipline until very recently. Shortly after Schliemann's book on Troy came out, it was pointed out by a reviewer that his wife was not present when the treasure was found, but the bulk of his account was never questioned. In the early 1970s, William Calder pointed out obvious lies in Schliemann's autobiographical accounts and examination of Schliemann's archaeological accounts with a similar critical eye soon followed.

*Schliemann of Troy* is the culmination of nearly two decades of research by David Traill, a paleographer and philologist and the most prolific reexaminer of Schliemann and his archaeological work. Traill has previously co-edited a volume reevaluating Schliemann's work (Calder and Traill 1986) and has collected together his researches on Schliemann (Traill 1993). While his previous publications focused on examining specific facts and events of Schliemann's life, the volume under review synthesizes this work into a more rounded picture of a man the author considers to be "the emblematic archaeologist of all time" (p. 306).

Until Schliemann was 45, his life was a story of a self-made man who rose from a grocer's apprentice to a wealthy capitalist. Contrary to his autobiographical writings, there is no evidence of a strong interest in Homer or a passion for finding Troy in his early years. This passion only began on a Grand Tour he made in 1868 when in Ithaca, using Murray's *Handbook*, he visited various Homeric locations. It was on the summit of Mount Aetos where he began field work by digging in Odysseus' palace. At his very first dig, Schliemann shows his faults as an archaeologist. Claiming in his book *Ithaque* that he found about 20 vases, some filled with human ash "very possibl[ly] ... the bodies of Ulysses and Penelope or their offspring." His diary indicates that the digging occurred later in his trip and that a workman did much of the work, breaking several vessels from being too hasty. Traill feels that it is unlikely that Schliemann found cremations on Mount Aetos, and that the finds claimed to have come from this work may in fact have been bought by Schliemann prior to his excavation. This episode illustrates several aspects of interpreting Schliemann's archaeological finds - 1) his published statements often differ from his "private" diary; 2) his diary itself may have fictitious events in it; and 3) some of his finds, especially the most spectacular, may be "bundled" agglomerations of artifacts found in other locations, purchased, or possibly manufactured for Schliemann.

That Schliemann lied about his personal life places him with a fairly large group of people who for whatever reason feel the need to present themselves to the public more favorably. That Schliemann lied about specific archaeological finds, their provenience, and their content places him in a category of scholars that has a much smaller, but generally unknown, membership. The issue of lying in archaeology is one that rarely is raised because truthfulness, as Traill indicates, is the very foundation of the discipline.

Schliemann's lying is particularly complex. His published writings were intended for a knowledgeable public as well as a professional audience and clearly were meant to emphasize the interest of the finds and to focus upon Schliemann as finder. Apparently he sometimes saw his diaries as public documents as well because even here some events are modified to make him look better. He was honest enough in his diaries, however, that lies in his publications can often be easily identified. His bundling of finds is particularly distressing and problematic for Mediterranean archaeologists. His diaries clearly indicate bundling in some circumstances, but in other cases the situation is unclear. Traill also raises the possibility that Schliemann had some artifacts manufactured. His case here is much less well supported, but examination of the existing artifacts should allow evaluation of this possibility.

Of course, the principal reason Schliemann's work receives so much attention in the history of archaeology literature is his association with Troy, even though, as Traill argues, his work at Mycenae was archaeologically more significant. Schliemann's story that he dreamed of finding Troy since childhood and only in 1868 finally got a chance to go to the region is not true and neither is the claim that he decided upon Hisarlik as Troy on the basis of comparing classical descriptions with his own observations. In fact, his first visit to Hisarlik was brief and his diary indicated nothing special about the site. His two days of excavating in the area (expanded to four days in his book) was spent at Pinarbasi, the site considered by most to be the likely location for Troy. His last day before leaving Dardanelles, however, was with Frank Calvert, the most knowledgeable archaeologist of the area and it was from Calvert that he got the idea that Troy was located at Hisarlik.

The name Frank Calvert, when it appears at all in the Schliemann literature, usually occurs briefly as confirmer of Schliemann's independent conclusion of where Troy was located. In fact, Calvert was a pioneering archaeologist in the Troad who, mostly in his spare time, excavated over 30 sites and published in a number of scholarly journals. Calvert receives limited mention in Traill's book, but is the principal subject of a book by Susan Allen - *Finding the Walls of Troy*.

Calvert was member of a family of English merchants and diplomats in the eastern Mediterranean and he spent his entire adult life in the Dardanelles. His position in consular and business activities made him a central figure for all visiting foreigners in the region. The tours he gave led to an interest in local antiquities that became a major focus of his life. Just when in his explorations, Calvert decided upon the mound of Hisarlik as Troy is not clear, although it was long before he met Heinrich Schliemann. In the early 1860's, he placed two trenches into the mound, which he partly owned, but did not dig deep enough to hit Bronze Age levels. He was unable to continue work there on his own so when he met Schliemann it was potentially an ideal situation - a mild-mannered British gentleman with great knowledge, but little financial resources and a German businessman with drive and money and looking for an opportunity to do great things. They both needed each other, but Schliemann was not willing to work fairly with anyone, resulting in an largely one-sided relationship.

In 1868 Calvert invited Schliemann to excavate on his part of Hisarlik in return for one-half of the finds. He would arrange for the excavation permit and Schliemann would pay the workmen. It was 1870 before work began and meanwhile Schliemann's *Ithaque, le Peloponnese et Troie* had come out, claiming that he had decided upon Hisarlik as Troy with no mention of Calvert. This was only the beginning of Schliemann's exploitation of Calvert, the details of which take up much of Allen's book. Calvert wanted the site excavated and so was willing to put up with Schliemann's ungentlemanly and sometimes criminal behavior.

Although usually given credit as the first archaeologist to dig a tell (Daniel 1950:168; Rapp and Hill 1998:6), Schliemann actually followed Calvert by several years. Although interpreting the stratigraphic levels at the site to find Troy was the goal of excavation, contrary to statements common in the litera-

ture, Schliemann did not record the depth of his finds until requested to do so by one of his colleagues in Athens and he was often careless when he did. Calvert had a better idea about the archaeology of the site and, much to Schliemann's annoyance, he sometimes questioned Schliemann's interpretations. Schliemann decided upon Level II as being Troy, although Calvert argued that the materials were much too early to be Homer's city. Allen provides evidence that Schliemann may have decided upon the sixth level as Troy during his final visit to the site.

Schliemann received worldwide fame with publication of *Troy and Its Remains* (1874, French and German; 1875 English) and *Mycenae* (1878). Calvert and his pioneering work was pretty much left in the dust and financial difficulties led him to sell his extensive collection. After several years at odds with one another, Schliemann and Calvert mended their feud and Schliemann returned to work at Troy and later supported Calvert's excavations in the region. They remained friends until Schliemann's death in 1890.

It has been over 25 years since Schliemann's accounts of his life have been questioned and nearly as long since his archaeological integrity has come into serious question. How this undermining of the Schliemann myth has impacted the archaeological literature, written for the general public and children is an interesting subject that I have not had much chance to pursue. Schliemann's stories of his lifelong interest in Troy and his discovery of Priam's Treasure with the assistance of his young Greek wife may be too good to discard just because they are untrue. A depiction of the discovery of Priam's Treasure with Sophia Schliemann and her shawl (which she used to hid the treasure from the site's workmen) has been a common one in archaeology books for the young (White 1959:57; Wilson 1976). As one example of a recent treatment of Schliemann, Fagan (1996:176-85) recently included Schliemann in a volume of eyewitness accounts in archaeology. Although incorrectly calling Calvert an American (he was unpaid U.S. consular agent for nearly half his life), Fagan does mention Calvert's earlier work at Hisarlik and does warn of Schliemann's fabrications in his writings.

Although Frank Calvert was more likely to have had dreams about Troy at an early age and was the first to excavate at Hisarlik, his life story is not the rags-to-riches one that attracts popularizers, but is closer to the opposite — born to a prominent family but eventually reduced to selling his archaeological finds and dying in obscurity. Allen's book brings his archaeological career from "under a bushel," to use Ceram's phrase. No longer a fairly minor link in the spectacular career of Schliemann, Calvert's work in the Troad stands out as equally as important and often more insightful than Schliemann's.

With all of his faults, Schliemann remains central to the history of Mediterranean and World archaeology. Although he was not the mythical being portrayed in introductory archaeology books, he had many positive characteristics, such as strong problem orientation, an interest in small finds as well as spectacular ones, and astonishing energy and perseverance in attaining his archaeological goals. It will be of interest to see what authors will do with the man behind the myth. Certainly with books such as those of Traill and Allen there will be no excuse for writing the same old story about "The Discovery of Troy" that we all grew up with.

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#### **Material Culture and Cultural Meanings: Current Studies of Archaeological Ceramics and in Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology**

*Pottery and People: A Dynamic Interaction*. James M. Skibo and Gary M. Feinman (editors). Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1999. 260 pp., 91 figures, 30 tables. ISBN 0-87480-576-7, \$55.00 (cloth); 0-87489-577-5, \$25.00 (paperback).

*Material Meanings: Critical Approaches to the Interpretation of Material Culture*. Elizabeth S. Chilton (editor). Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999. 179 pp., 35 figures, 11 tables. ISBN 0-87480-632-1, \$55.00 (cloth); 087480-633-X, \$35.00 (paperback).

by

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The description and interpretation of material culture may be regarded as the essence of archaeology, a discipline that seeks to recover, describe, document, and interpret past human culture. More recently, understanding that actions occur in a material world that is constituted symbolically, archaeological explanations are often framed in sociocultural meanings, the analysis of agencies, practices and behaviors. I shall subsequently return to this issue. Because of their longevity in the archaeological record, lithic and ceramic artifacts are crucial to the endeavor to interpret human culture. Objects fashioned from clay and subjected to intentional artificial sources of heat made their initial appearance in the archaeological record more than 26,000 years ago. Ceramic objects have been created in a seemingly endless variety of shapes and forms, varying from fertility figurines, to cooking and food storage vessels, lamps, smoking pipes, medicinal pastilles, tokens, beehives, and coffins to modern whitewares and pyroceramics. Therefore, ceramics are one of the most tangible products of human culture and are relatively widespread