

SCHLIEMANN AND HIS PAPERS

A TALE FROM THE GENNADEION ARCHIVES

ABSTRACT

Heinrich Schliemann's heirs deposited most of his personal papers in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1936, but retained control over them until the School purchased them in 1962. For 27 years, the heirs granted sole authorization to exploit the papers to Ernst Meyer, who published only limited excerpts, obstructed the access of other researchers, and borrowed several volumes that were never returned. The author explores the troubled history of the Heinrich Schliemann Papers since the archaeologist's death in 1890 and examines the ways in which recent improvements in cataloguing and access are facilitating new research on Schliemann's life and career in their historical context.

The basic outline of Heinrich Schliemann's life is fairly well known: his parsonage childhood and straitened youth, the entrepreneurial successes of his maturity, his quest for the Greek bride who became his second wife, and the famous archaeological discoveries of his later career.¹ Schliemann frequently publicized his own life story, beginning with the preface to

1. I thank Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, archivist of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for granting access to the Schliemann Papers and approval to publish elements of the correspondence, enabling further work on the database, and for encouragement and advice; special thanks are due to Maria Voltera and Katerina Papatheophani of the Gennadius Library for their efforts regarding Fig. 2. I am also grateful to Tracey Cullen, editor of *Hesperia*, the anonymous reviewers, and Curtis Runnels for their comments and suggestions on an earlier draft.

Quotations of texts written in English preserve original spelling; all translations of other texts are my own.

The following abbreviations for archival documentation are used: *HS&FP* = *Heinrich Schliemann and Family Papers*; GennRec = Gennadeion Records, Schliemann Correspondence Folders; B = Heinrich Schliemann Papers, series B: Correspondence; BBB = Heinrich Schliemann Papers, series BBB: Copybooks. *HS&FP* is the unpublished finding aid on file at the Gennadius Library; wherever possible, a URL for the webpage reproducing *HS&FP* content is also given (all pages accessed June 2007). The Gennadius Library's administrative correspondence relating to Schliemann is cited as follows: name, date (GennRec + file number).

Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie: Recherches archéologiques (1869), an account further elaborated in the mythopoeic autobiographical introduction to *Ilios* (1880) and perpetuated in his posthumous *Selbstbiographie* (1892), which is still in print.²

The original documentation for Schliemann's career, however, consists of archival sources that remain largely unpublished. Most of these primary sources have been housed in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens since 1936. They are both more plentiful and more lacunose than many would suspect. In this study, I examine how the Heinrich Schliemann Papers arrived at the American School, what persons had access to them, the purposes and results of their research, and the effects of their efforts and interests on scholarship about Schliemann. The part played by Ernst Meyer in the history of the papers is of particular interest. I also consider the ways in which recent improvements to the documentation of the papers may benefit present and future research on Schliemann and the era in which he lived.

THE SCHLIEMANN PAPERS, THEIR CREATOR, AND THE GENNADEION

In order to understand the papers as material evidence—a deposit of textual artifacts—we need to consider the factors that influenced their formation, beginning with the circumstances of Schliemann's death and the habits of a lifetime. Heinrich Schliemann died at age 68 in Naples on December 26, 1890, of complications from an ear operation he had undergone in Germany the month before. His body was returned to Athens a few days later by his brother-in-law Panagiotis Kastromenos and his archaeological associate Wilhelm Dörpfeld.³ In addition to his many publications, numerous international honors, and the Iliou Melathron, his monumental residence in Athens, Schliemann left behind an extensive collection of correspondence and other documents.⁴ His practice of assiduously archiving copies of his own outgoing letters as well as incoming correspondence and account ledgers, adopted when he was a businessman still in his twenties, continued throughout his working life and metamorphosis into the most famous archaeologist of modern times. Because he died before the end of the calendar year, however, Schliemann did not have his incoming correspondence for 1890 bound; that final set of letters never became part of his literary legacy (*Nachlaß*) and thus constitutes one important group of items lost from his personal archive.⁵

The first Schliemann documents to arrive at the Gennadius Library were a set of letters written to the brothers Frank and James Calvert of the Dardanelles and donated by Francis Bacon in 1923. The vast majority of the papers were deposited at the library by Schliemann's children, Andromache Melas and Agamemnon Schliemann, in 1936 (Fig. 1). Still others were donated between the 1960s and the 1990s.⁶ In this article I am primarily concerned with the papers and correspondence that came to the Gennadeion in 1936 and their fate at the hands of various Schliemann researchers (*Schliemannforscher*). The sources for this cautionary and often difficult tale

2. Schliemann 1869, 1880, 1892; Meyer 1930–1931. Cf. Korres 1974, p. 37, nos. 261–268, p. 38, nos. 270, 278, p. 39, no. 282, p. 40, no. 292 (and n. 32, below). The most recent reedition of the autobiography (Vollmann 2004, with accompanying essay) is subtitled *Trojanische Träume in Mecklenburg*. See also Calder 1972; Easton 1982; Calder and Traill 1986; Traill 1995; Runnels 2002.

3. Dörpfeld worked with Schliemann at Orchomenos, Troy, Tiryns, and other sites beginning in 1882 and became First Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens in 1887: Traill 1995, p. 297, citing "Stoll 1953" (= Stoll 1958), p. 304. See also *HS&FP*, pp. 3–4 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchBiography.htm>).

4. Korres 1974; Runnels 2002.

5. See Ernst Meyer to Peter Topping, November 26, 1956 (GennRec 1).

6. *HS&FP*, pp. 5–7 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchHistory.htm>). Cf. Lord 1947, pp. 255–266; Meritt 1984, pp. 222, 230.



Figure 1. The Schliemann Papers in 1937: letters to Schliemann, copying books, diaries, and ledgers, 1870–1890. Photo E. Meyer, courtesy Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

comprise not only the papers themselves, but also the Gennadius Library's own correspondence, reports, and other documentation.⁷

The textual archive that Schliemann created through the habits of a lifetime is now designated the Heinrich Schliemann Papers. It forms the core of the Heinrich Schliemann and Family Papers held by the Gennadius Library. The "Family" section of the papers comprises two sets of documents, one connected with Schliemann's second wife, Sophia Engstromenos Schliemann, and another relating to Heinrich's extended family, including his birth family and his children from his first and second marriages.⁸ The Heinrich Schliemann Papers proper are a much larger and more diverse array of documents that required many years of effort to process and catalogue.⁹ Donald Easton's survey of the papers, written before they were organized into their present archival form, offers a useful introduction to their history and contents as well as to their gaps, which he estimated to include up to nine missing travel/excavation diaries and 14 copying books of letters.¹⁰

Since Easton's survey, the Gennadius Library has organized the papers in series according to document type. These include 18 travel diaries (series A); 106 boxes containing over 34,000 original incoming letters, postcards, and telegrams (series B); 6 folders of original letters written by Schliemann (series BB); 43 volumes containing copies of approximately 25,000 of Schliemann's outgoing letters (series BBB); manuscripts of books, articles,

7. For abbreviations and citation formats, see n. 1, above.

8. *HS&FP*, pp. 47–50 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchSophia.htm> and <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchFamily.htm>).

9. *HS&FP*, pp. 8–9 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchProcess.htm>).

10. Easton (1982) reviews Emil Ludwig's and Meyer's published accounts of the papers, supplementing them with some Gennadius Library "oral tradition"; see esp. pp. 95–99.

speeches, and other handwritten notes (series C); official documents such as passports, citizenship papers, excavation permit applications, and wills (series D); “economics,” including financial documents such as receipts, invoices, 38 ledgers, and various banking records (series E); documents relating to Schliemann’s Athens properties and coin collection (series F); miscellaneous items such as photos, letters, pamphlets, invitations, notes, and language exercises bound into books (series G); newspaper clippings (series H); secondary documents such as photocopies of legal documents, transcriptions, and material about Schliemann published after his death (series I); and photographs collected by various members of Sophia’s family (series J).¹¹ In addition to Schliemann’s native German, over a dozen other languages feature in these documents, including Dutch, English, French, Polish, Russian, Spanish, and Greek.

EMIL LUDWIG, LITERARY BIOGRAPHER

For approximately 40 years after Schliemann’s death, the numerous volumes of correspondence, diaries, and ledgers he kept received little attention from his family or the scholarly community at large. It was not until 1930 that the elderly Sophia Schliemann invited Emil Ludwig (1881–1948), author of several best-selling novelistic biographies, to immortalize her husband with a suitable literary monument.¹² She granted Ludwig free access to all her late husband’s papers, and he acknowledged their massive quantity in his foreword to *Schliemann: The Story of a Gold-Seeker*.¹³

Ludwig used this opportunity to produce a portrait of his subject that departed from his principle “never to research but always merely to describe,” because he thought Schliemann’s character “of greater interest than his genius.”¹⁴ He therefore drew on evidence from throughout Schliemann’s life, both the long years of commercial activity, highlighted by the adventure of the California Gold Rush, and the period of archaeological exploration that uncovered the gold of Troy and Mycenae. Ludwig believed that “only by revealing the whole truth and by the painting in of the shade with the light, was it possible to present the picture of a real human being with all its contradictions.”¹⁵ Employing the motif of gold as literal wealth and metaphorical concept, he took an artistic approach to shaping his material.

From a scholarly viewpoint, Ludwig’s decision to do away with footnotes for the sake of a seamless narrative made it impossible to distinguish statements founded on the documentary record from imaginative recreations of events, however plausible. Ludwig’s literary approach, together with his Jewish ancestry (his father changed the family name from Cohn in 1883) and his acceptance of Schliemann’s pragmatic commercialism, rendered the book immediately unacceptable in German intellectual circles,

11. For the list of primary sources, see p. 815, below. *HS&FP*, pp. 10–12, 13–46 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchScope.htm> and <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/>

Schliemann/SchList.htm).

12. Calder 1990, pp. 362–369.

13. Ludwig (1931, pp. vi–vii) alludes to “two large presses full of volumes, all in Schliemann’s writing or arranged by him . . . one hundred and fifty volumes.”

14. Ludwig 1931, pp. vii–viii; he also describes his subject’s life as “a great human romance . . . incredible were not every page supported by documentary evidence.”

15. Ludwig 1931, p. viii.

where anti-Semitic tendencies had prevailed for more than half a century.¹⁶ In a broader societal context, many Germans, oppressed by the economic and political consequences of losing World War I, found it easy to blame the country's difficulties on Jews and their business interests, preferring heroes who embodied an idealistic national character.¹⁷

ERNST MEYER, HERO-WORSHIPPER AND GATEKEEPER



Figure 2. Ernst Meyer. Meyer 1969, dust jacket. Courtesy Muster-Schmidt Verlag

The field thus lay open for Ernst Meyer, a self-professed compatriot of Schliemann, to combat Ludwig's perceived errors and to correct the record of Schliemann's life for the sake of national pride and provincial honor (Fig. 2). Born in the province of Hesse in 1888—not in Schliemann's native Mecklenburg—Meyer attended the universities of Giessen and Munich, receiving a Ph.D. from the latter in 1912; after serving in World War I, he became a teacher at the *Gymnasium Carolinum* in Neustrelitz (Mecklenburg), the high school that Schliemann had briefly attended.¹⁸ At this point, his story becomes identified with the Schliemann Papers.

Even before Ludwig's biography appeared, Meyer had already begun to toil in the field of Schliemann studies. In January 1929, he wrote to Rhys Carpenter, the director of the American School of Classical Studies, adducing Dörpfeld as a reference and mentioning that he had spent six weeks in 1927 studying in Greece.¹⁹ He requested that the "approximately 100" letters to Frank Calvert, whom he called Schliemann's "faithful and dependable collaborator" at Troy, be sent to him in Germany so that he could transcribe them for inclusion in the "scholarly publication" of the correspondence that he was preparing for the German Literature Archive of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin.²⁰ He stated that he had already processed "over 500 letters held by private persons and archives." These included correspondence with the eminent pathologist Rudolf Virchow, Schliemann's friend and fellow countryman, which often mentioned Frank Calvert, Schliemann's first and most reliable Troy contact.²¹ Adding that his work was consecrated "to the memory of Schliemann and of all the men who recognized and supported him in a timely fashion," Meyer affirmed that he would send the letters back as soon as he finished with them and that Dörpfeld was ready to provide a guarantee for their return.

Carpenter's reply was short and to the point: the School had "no objection" to Meyer's copying and publishing them, "but unfortunately as they

16. Calder 1990, pp. 362, 365–367. Anti-Semitic views had flourished since the era of Prussian unification; German universities vilified Jews and their alleged materialism, excluding them from teaching positions (Craig 1999, pp. 153–155, 204–206).

17. Craig 1999, pp. 421–425, 452–456. Calder (1990, pp. 368–369) observes that some reviewers (e.g., Scott 1931) could not abide the awkward

human truths of Ludwig's portrayal, while others (e.g., Gomme 1931) approved of the book.

18. Meyer was born in Bieberau, southeast of Darmstadt (Meyer 1969, dust jacket biography). See also Calder 1990, p. 370; Meyer to S. H. Weber, December 17, 1938 (GennRec 1).

19. Meyer 1936a, pp. 17, 27; elsewhere Meyer (1969, p. 11) gives 1926 as the year he first met Dörpfeld on

the Acropolis in Athens; thus, he was 38 or 39 at the time of his study trip (*Studienreise*).

20. Meyer to Carpenter, January 8, 1929 (GennRec 1). In another context Meyer (1936a, p. 18) mentions the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* as the repository only of Schliemann's letters to Rudolf Virchow.

21. For the relationship between Schliemann and Calvert, see Allen 1999.

are part of the Gennadeion Library it is not possible for us to send them out of Athens.”²² He added that anyone wishing to copy the letters at the School would receive “every facility,” pointing out that there were fewer Calvert letters than Meyer had indicated.²³

Meyer’s 1929 letter stated that he would complete work on the correspondence by the end of that year. *Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann*, the resulting publication, did not appear until 1936, although the foreword, dated September 1934, states that the manuscript was ready for the printers by the end of 1932. It contains 233 items selected from a total of nearly 1,700 letters.²⁴ The book drew almost completely on German sources, save for the Calvert letters held by the “Gennadeion Institute” in Athens and a few Italian items. It transmitted none of the 233 letters in its entirety; the primary texts occupy only 212 of the volume’s 362 pages.²⁵ In spite of these deficiencies, Meyer’s *Briefe* remains one of the cornerstones of Schliemann scholarship to this day. Oddly, although Meyer received considerable support from Dörpfeld, who provided the volume’s *Geleitwort* and had 17 Schliemann letters in his possession, *Briefe* contains no correspondence between Schliemann and Dörpfeld.²⁶ Nearly two decades would pass before Meyer published any other compilations of Schliemann’s correspondence. The first volume of *Briefwechsel*, covering the years 1842–1875, appeared in 1953, followed five years later by a second volume containing excerpted letters from the years 1876–1890.²⁷

APPROPRIATING SCHLIEMANN

Meyer’s self-proclaimed “scholarly” (*wissenschaftlich*) biography of Schliemann was finally published in 1969, the year after Meyer’s death. The long-awaited biography, repeatedly mentioned in his letters since the 1940s as being close to completion, comprises 405 pages of running text, not including the foreword, accompanied by a mere 241 endnotes, suggesting a certain lack of interest in providing detailed documentation.²⁸ The majority of the notes cite previously published sources. Several factors contributed to his production of this work, as well as the two *Briefwechsel* volumes, reeditions of Schliemann’s autobiography and other publications, and various articles published mainly in obscure German provincial periodicals.

22. Carpenter to Meyer, January 21, 1929 (GennRec 1).

23. An individual referred to as Dr. Trietsch eventually copied the letters for Meyer; see Meyer to C. G. Lowe, January 22, 1937 (GennRec 1). The exact number of letters held by the Gennadius Library is not noted in Carpenter’s reply; cf. Meyer 1936a, p. 18.

24. Meyer (1936a, p. 26) noted that some items had to be omitted because of the publisher’s desire for brevity, but he hoped that “the total picture of Schliemann has thereby become more easily comprehensible and true to

life.” See also Meyer’s *Erinnerungen* (Memoirs), November 21, 1965, p. 1 (GennRec 5). The volume’s publication was funded by the Notgemeinschaft für deutschen Wissenschaft, since 1933 a promoter of nationalism through the study of prehistory (Marchand 1996, pp. 120–124, 148–150, 345–346; Junker 2001, p. 514).

25. Meyer 1936a, p. 317.

26. Meyer 1936a, pp. 7–16, 103.

27. Meyer 1953, 1958; cf. Korres 1974, p. 151, no. 2017. English-language reviews of both volumes were descriptive rather than critical; see, e.g.,

Weber 1955; Immerwahr 1961.

28. Meyer 1969; cf. Calder 1990, p. 372. For a complete list of Meyer’s publications, see Korres 1974, p. 144, nos. 1911, 1915; p. 146, nos. 1930, 1937, 1941; p. 147, nos. 1944, 1945, 1948, 1951, 1955, 1959; p. 148, nos. 1960, 1961, 1964, 1969; p. 149, no. 1988; p. 150, no. 2003; p. 151, nos. 2017, 2018, 2022; p. 152, nos. 2027, 2028, 2030; p. 153, no. 2041; p. 155, no. 2075; p. 157, nos. 2107, 2113, 2115; p. 159, no. 2135; p. 160, no. 2154.

One factor was Meyer's place of residence. Although born in Hesse in western Germany, he had moved to Mecklenburg, the northeastern province (formerly a grand duchy) where Schliemann was born. After visiting Greece with a German Archaeological Institute study tour in 1927, he became increasingly enthusiastic about and possessive of the achievements of his adopted region's most famous native son.²⁹ It was under the aegis of the Mecklenburger Gesellschaft that Meyer produced his first reedition of Schliemann's *Selbstbiographie*, which incorporated an afterword from his own pen.³⁰

Meyer's industry in cultivating the support of the provincial authorities and collecting local German sources of Schliemann documentation significantly advanced his endeavors. Among the correspondents and letter collections that Meyer listed in 1936, items held by members of Schliemann's family, German museums and archives, and the Leipzig publisher Brockhaus predominated, together with letters acquired by Meyer himself.³¹ With the publication of his first volume of Schliemann letters by de Gruyter of Berlin in 1936 and his further reeditions of the *Selbstbiographie*, Meyer cemented his reputation in Mecklenburg, all Germany, and beyond as a dedicated *Schliemannforscher*.³² This factor in turn would come into play when Schliemann's heirs addressed the disposition of his papers.

Schliemann's papers were moved from the residence of his daughter Andromache Mela and officially deposited in the Gennadius Library in October of 1936, the same year that Meyer's edition of the *Briefe* was published. Agamemnon Schliemann, then living in Paris, wrote to the American School as follows:

This is to certify that I have caused to be deposited in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens a collection of letters of my father, Heinrich Schliemann. This deposit has been made on the conditions that the letters be kept in a safe place in the Gennadius Library and that access to them be granted only to such persons as have written authorization from me. Such authorization has been granted to Dr. Ernst Meyer and the librarian of the Gennadius Library is hereby instructed to allow Dr. Meyer free use of the letters and to prepare a catalogue of the collection.³³

A second letter from his sister Andromache in Athens differed only slightly.³⁴ The transfer was confirmed by the librarian at the time, C. G. Lowe, who agreed to the terms concerning security of storage and stated

29. Meyer to Weber, December 17, 1938 (GennRec 1); cf. Calder 1990, p. 370, regarding Odenwald (in Hesse). On the *Studienreise*, see Meyer to Carpenter, January 8, 1929 (GennRec 1).

30. See Korres 1974, p. 37, no. 262, p. 146, no. 1930 (*non vidi*); cf. Meyer 1936b.

31. Meyer (1936a, pp. 103–104) lists 29 items in the possession of

"Stud.-Rat Dr. Meyer, Neustrelitz"; cf. Meyer to Topping, March 2, 1960 (GennRec 2).

32. Meyer 1936b, published by F. A. Brockhaus, is the official second edition of the *Selbstbiographie*; it went through numerous editions under Meyer's editorship (1939, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1949, 1955, 1961, 1968): cf. Korres 1974, p. 37, nos. 263–268, p. 38, nos. 269,

270, 278, p. 40, no. 292; Runnels 2002, p. 58. On Meyer's reputation, see Korres 1974, p. 146, no. 1940 (reviews of Meyer 1936a).

33. Agamemnon Schliemann, October 25, 1936 (GennRec 1).

34. Andromache Mela, October 1936 (GennRec 1): "I have deposited . . . kept in a secure place."

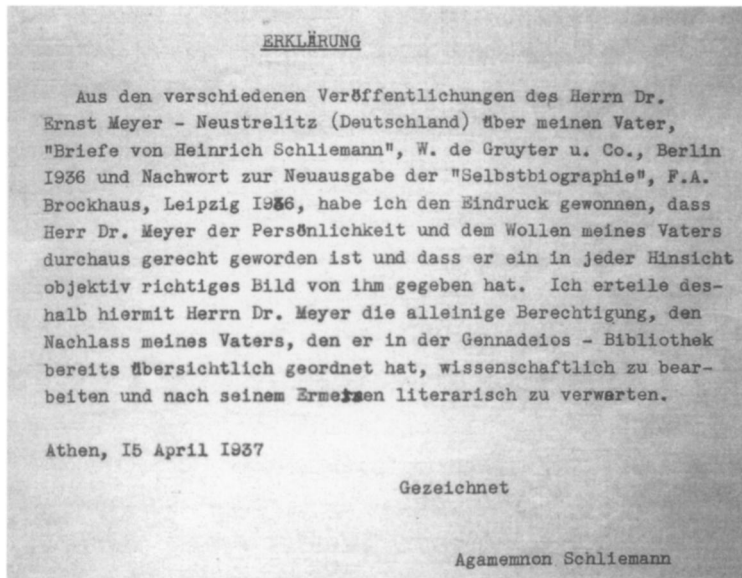


Figure 3. Meyer's 1937 authorization from Agamemnon Schliemann.

Photo S. A. H. Kennell, courtesy Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

that "access to the letters will be granted only to such persons as have a written authorization from Mr. Schliemann and Mme. Mela."³⁵

Five months after the transfer of his father's papers to the Gennadius Library, Agamemnon Schliemann issued a declaration on Meyer's behalf (Fig. 3), stating:

From the various publications of Herr Dr. Ernst Meyer—Neustrelitz (Germany) about my father . . . (viz. the *Briefe* and the *Selbstbiographie* afterword), I have gained the impression that Herr Dr. Meyer has done complete justice to the personality and the will of my father and that he has presented a picture of him that is correct in every respect. I therefore hereby grant Herr Dr. Meyer the sole rights to do scholarly work on my father's literary legacy, which he has already put into synoptic order in the Gennadius Library, and to make use of it for purposes of publication as he sees fit.³⁶

Meyer's status as gatekeeper for the Schliemann Papers was thus firmly established. This development both favored his own work and placed significant restrictions on further scholarship.

Although Meyer's role as the guardian of Schliemann's reputation might seem to have proceeded naturally from the authorization he received from Agamemnon Schliemann, it was already implicit in the self-characterization he presented to Carpenter in the 1929 letter described above. Meyer's foreword to the *Briefe* referred, moreover, to the "unreserved admiration" that he had had for Schliemann's personality since his school days. The volume's introduction also enunciated his position regarding his "hero," affirming that he had expended "effort, time, and money" on several years' work of collecting, "which is testimony enough and becomes a credo." He added that Schliemann's "distinctive and significant personality" impelled him to work "in the service of his memory."³⁷

Meyer linked Schliemann's achievement to the conflict between two basic elements of his personality, realism and fantasy, which he identified

35. Lowe, October 1936 (Genn-Rec 1). For a diagram of Schliemann's Greek family tree, see Easton 1982, p. 93.

36. Agamemnon Schliemann, April 15, 1937 (carbon copy); Schliemann's original attached to Meyer to Topping, February 10, 1958, p. 3 (GennRec 1).

37. Meyer 1936a, pp. 17, 27; cf. Calder 1990, p. 370.

with the commercial and intellectual strains of Schliemann's Mecklenburg ancestry. The terms *Kaufmann* and *Forscher* that he used in this context are precisely the same words that later appeared in the subtitle of his 1969 biography of Schliemann. There can be little doubt that his view of his subject, derived from his early work with family and archival collections in Germany and his personal preconceptions about Schliemann, remained essentially unchanged for over 30 years, despite his unrivaled opportunities to study thousands of documents from Schliemann's wider world. In concluding his lengthy introduction to the *Briefe*, Meyer asserted the importance of "homeland" (*Heimat*) to Schliemann and the unity of his later life as an excavator with his long years as a businessman. He painted Schliemann's greatness in terms of a life's work developed "with a superhuman effort of will" from an "invincible source of energy" that "we Germans . . . have every reason to regard with pride."³⁸

Had Meyer been content simply to formulate and promulgate the official version of Schliemann's life and work, he would have been no different from most authorized biographers of famous persons. Meyer went much further, however, in transforming his personal right to study and publish the papers into gatekeeper status. He appropriated the power to determine who could and could not have access to them, although Lowe's certification of 1936 made no reference to authorizations given by anyone other than the Schliemann heirs. Much later, when confronted with the loss of this assumed privilege, Meyer tried to justify his conduct with reference to the Schliemann family's adverse reaction to the Ludwig book, along with his own unpleasant experiences living in the eastern sector of Germany after World War II.³⁹

The final factors that favored Meyer's work, much to the detriment of the papers, were related to the rise of the National Socialist regime in Germany prior to World War II. In 1937 Meyer was able to work in Athens, supported not by a learned society but by a German provincial governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) who was also the local National Socialist *Gauleiter*.⁴⁰ It is likely that Meyer portrayed Schliemann's identity as that of a German local hero and pioneer of Hellenic (i.e., Aryan) prehistory, a combination that must have been irresistible to high-ranking party functionaries. The correspondence kept in the Gennadius Library archives indicates that Meyer anticipated his privileged access to the Schliemann Papers and took full advantage of it, writing to the librarian and requesting him "to keep a suitable place for undisturbed work free" for him for three months from April 1, 1937, so he could make transcriptions, excerpts, and, if possible, photocopies.⁴¹ Lowe replied tersely that a room would be made available, gave the library's opening hours, and added that the library had "no equipment for making photographic copies of material," so Meyer would have to bring his own.⁴²

38. Meyer 1936a, pp. 98–100.

39. Meyer to Francis Walton, November 29, 1962 (GennRec 3); Walton was clearly indisposed to accept Meyer's version of events when he replied December 19, 1962 (GennRec 3).

40. Calder (1990, p. 370) quotes the report Meyer published in the local newspaper upon his return, noting that its choice of words anticipates Meyer 1969. On the significance of Meyer's patron, see Craig 1999, pp. 596–597.

41. Meyer to Lowe, January 22, 1937 (GennRec 1), nearly three months before the date of Agamemnon Schliemann's authorization.

42. Lowe to Meyer, February 23, 1937 (GennRec 1).

VERZEICHNIS DES NACHLASSES
von
HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN
(Aufstellung von Dr. Ernst Meyer - Neustrelitz.)

I. Briefe	
1) Briefe <u>an</u> Schliemann	
a) 1846 - 1869	38 Bände
b) 1870 - 1890	25 "
2) Briefe <u>von</u> Schliemann	
a) 1845 - 1869	20 "
b) 1870 - 1890	23 "
II. Tagebücher	
Von 1846 - 1890	18 "
III. Geschäftsbücher	
1) Kassen-Rechnungsbücher usw.	30 "
2) Geschäftsbriefe (Abschriften)	4 "
3) Mietbücher	3 "
4) Haushaltbücher	2 "
IV. Übungsbücher u. Verschiedenes	
1) Übungen	3 "
2) Notizen usw.	3 "
V. Manuskripte	
1) Mykenae (Text)	1 "
2) China u. Japan (2 mal, englisch, (Urschrift u. Teil der Kopie))..	1 "
VI. Zeitungsausschnitte ..	1 "
✓ VII. Atlas trojanischer Altertümer.....	2 "
VIII. Mappenwerke	3 "
177 Bände	
Athen, 22. April 1937	

Figure 4. Meyer's catalogue (*Verzeichnis*), April 1937. Photo S. A. H. Kennell, courtesy Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

MEYER AND THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY

Within less than a month of his arrival in April 1937, Meyer compiled an abbreviated catalogue of the Schliemann Papers. The single document in the Gennadius Library attesting to his handiwork is a one-page list (*Verzeichnis*) of the holdings dated April 22, 1937 (Fig. 4). It was divided into eight general sections: (I) letters; (II) diaries; (III) "business books," i.e., a combination of ledgers and business letters; (IV) exercise books, etc.; (V) manuscripts; (VI) newspaper clippings; (VII) the *Atlas trojanischer Altertümer*; and (VIII) works in portfolios.⁴³

Despite its skeletal nature, Meyer's *Verzeichnis* makes it obvious that the papers amounted to far more than a collection of letters. By Meyer's count, the incoming letters to Schliemann (I.1) totaled 63 bound volumes (38 for the years 1846–1869, 25 for 1870–1890), the copying books of Schliemann's own outgoing letters (I.2) came to 43 volumes (20 volumes for 1845–1869, 23 volumes for 1870–1890), and the copies of outgoing "business letters," classed with the "business books" (III), filled another four volumes. The diaries (II) are simply listed as 18 volumes for the years 1846–1890. As will be seen, these rough tallies within general categories

43. Meyer's *Verzeichnis*, April 22, 1937 (GennRec 1); cf. Korres 1974, p. 147, no. 1955.

were all the library had to keep track of its Schliemann holdings when Meyer began borrowing material later in 1937.

Meyer wrote from Germany to the director (whom he did not address by name, plainly aware that Lowe had departed) in September, outlining his previous work and saying that he needed to borrow four volumes of diaries from Schliemann's 1864–1866 world tour in connection with texts he had already copied.⁴⁴ He proposed that the diaries be given to a German Embassy attaché named Klimek, who would send them on via the Foreign Office in Berlin. They would be returned the same way when Meyer was done. Meyer claimed, "Schliemann's children have given me a free hand in such cases, just as the earlier director of your library and his representative did."

The new director, Shirley Howard Weber, was evidently persuaded by this overture. Attached to this letter is a second sheet, a handwritten receipt for the four volumes signed by Klimek, dated October 21, 1937. Meyer sent a postcard in December with the stated purpose of correcting a previous letter, now lost, which confirmed the receipt of five volumes of diaries from the German Embassy; in fact, he asserted, only four volumes had been received.⁴⁵

In spring 1938 Meyer returned to Athens to continue work on the papers, but he apparently did not accomplish all of his objectives. A receipt in his handwriting dated June 9, 1938, states that he borrowed 10 volumes of the copying books, covering the years 1872–1879, for processing in Germany.⁴⁶ At the year's end, Meyer wrote to ask after Carl Blegen and enclosed a book about Hesse for Weber. Weber sent thanks in early 1939, saying that he looked forward to discussing Schliemann's American diaries with Meyer in March.⁴⁷ Weber added, "Unfortunately the actions of the leaders at present in Germany is [*sic*] causing much hostile feeling in the outside world, but I hope that will not disturb the pleasant relations that have existed between us."⁴⁸ World War II began later that year.

Three yellowed half-sheets of paper are the only records left in the files that document Meyer's dealings with the Gennadius Library during the war, when he came back to Greece as an officer of the German occupying forces.⁴⁹ The first is a list made by Eurydice Demetracopoulou, the Gennadius Library secretary, dated April 27, 1942. It states that Meyer came with his secretary-interpreter to see Anastasios Adossides, the School's legal adviser, to discuss borrowing certain volumes of the Schliemann correspondence, "one or two at a time, for study in his home at Psychiko." It also notes that the Swiss Legation had been telephoned to expedite the matter, and that permission was granted. Either Meyer or his interpreter, it continued, would pick up and return the volumes.

44. Meyer to "Director, Gennadius Library," September 25, 1937 (GennRec 1). Shirley Howard Weber was appointed director in 1936 (Lord 1947, p. 255) but arrived the following year (Meritt 1984, p. 222). These volumes correspond to the world-tour diaries described in Easton 1982, pp. 101–102, now catalogued within series A (A6–A9) of the Schliemann Papers.

45. Meyer to Weber, December 21, 1937 (GennRec 1).

46. Meyer, June 9, 1938 (GennRec 1), *Quittung* (receipt). At least three of these volumes (covering July 1876–April 1878) were never returned to the Gennadius Library.

47. Meyer to Weber, December 17, 1938 (GennRec 1); Weber to Meyer, January 1, 1939 (GennRec 1); cf.

Meyer to Weber, February 15, 1939 (GennRec 1).

48. Weber appears to have held Meyer in great esteem, calling him "Prof. Dr. Ernst Meyer, of the University of Berlin" (Weber 1942, p. v, n. 1).

49. See below, nn. 50–52. Mazower 1993, pp. 1–8, 23–30.

Demetracopoulou's penciled notations record the borrowing in the period April–June 1942 of three volumes of incoming letters and two volumes of copying books from the later 1880s, along with the return of all but one of these items.⁵⁰ Meyer took one of the copying books to Germany when he left on June 22 and did not return it until March 1943. His typed cover note reads, "At my departure from Athens, mid-June 1942, I was unfortunately not in a position to return the last of the volumes of letters (copies) of H. Schliemann that had been very kindly lent me, November 1889 to September 1890, in a timely fashion. You hereby receive this volume back through the intermediation of the German Embassy in Athens. . . . P.S. May I ask you to sign the enclosed confirmation of receipt."⁵¹

The volumes Meyer borrowed and returned in 1942–1943, however, did not make up for the items noted as missing from the collection when the Gennadius Library resumed operation after the war. The receipt for the 10 copying books from the 1870s that Meyer borrowed in June 1938 carries Demetracopoulou's annotations from the 1950s and 1960s. According to her notes, four volumes (1872–1875) were returned before the war. Another volume (1875–1876) was sent back in 1959. One volume for 1878–1880 found in the library was believed to be equivalent to the two volumes borrowed by Meyer (labeled 1878 May–1879 Feb and 1879 Feb–May). Three volumes (1875–1877) were presumed destroyed in the war; Meyer himself admitted the loss of two of these.⁵² If the acknowledged losses are compared with the current finding aid for the papers, however, Meyer's apparent punctiliousness begins to look more like a smokescreen, especially as regards the copying books of Schliemann's outgoing letters.

The missing volumes, all from the period of Schliemann's archaeological endeavors, fall into two sets. The first is for the three years between series BBB 35 and 36: "July 1876–March 1877/March–July 1877/Oct. 1877–April 1878 taken by Ernst Meyer to Germany and destroyed during the Second World War."⁵³ The second is between BBB 40 and BBB 41: "May 1885–January 1888 taken by E. Meyer to Germany and destroyed during the Second World War."⁵⁴ The actual situation is more complicated, however. BBB 35 contains no letters for the interval December 28, 1875 to February 18, 1876, while BBB 41 lacks items for the dates April 1–15 and May 1–June 16, 1889. Moreover, BBB 36 contains copies only for April 8, 1878 to July 14, 1878 and July 20, 1879 to January 1, 1880, indicating that another volume is probably missing for the period July 15, 1878, to July 19, 1879.⁵⁵

50. Demetracopoulou, List, April 27, 1942 (GennRec 1); Meyer was then living at Odos Rodon 14 (the street's name has since changed). Meyer to Demetracopoulou, June 20, 1942 (GennRec 1), records two volumes returned and one volume kept, to be returned later "with the other volumes." Demetracopoulou worked at the Gennadius Library from 1937 to 1969 and died in 1975: Meritt 1984, pp. 222–223, 234.

51. Meyer to Demetracopoulou,

March 6, 1943 (GennRec 1). Meyer left Athens just before Germany began its invasion of the Soviet Union (Mazower 1993, pp. 30, 103).

52. Demetracopoulou, scholia to Meyer's June 9, 1938, *Quittung* (GennRec 1). Meyer admitted the loss but rationalized his continued possession of other volumes by asserting that he was still busy with work on the Schliemann *Nachlaß*, "indeed, commissioned by the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin and with support from the German

Archaeological Institute in Berlin": Meyer to Weber, November 3, 1949 (GennRec 1).

53. BBB 35: May 31, 1875–July 23, 1876; BBB 36: 1878–1880, April–January. See *HS&FP*, p. 34.

54. BBB 40: December 16, 1883–April 12, 1885 (pp. 1–500); BBB 41: January 24–26, 1888; April 21, 1888–November 26, 1889. See *HS&FP*, p. 34.

55. Cf. Easton 1982, pp. 104–106.

Although the Gennadius Library must have kept at least one list of the volumes borrowed by Meyer, it is no longer to be found. The files show no communication between Meyer and Weber until 1949, when Weber relayed some queries and cautioned Meyer not to try to return borrowed volumes to Greece by mail. He also mentioned that Mrs. Melas had received and mislaid a letter from Meyer, and that he had a record of the unreturned volumes.⁵⁶ In November 1949 Meyer admitted that he had borrowed "some volumes of letters, a part of which I have already given back right afterwards via the German Embassy. About six volumes are still here, but two of them have gone missing through the events of the year 1945." He then claimed that he still needed them because he was continuing to work on the Schliemann *Nachlaß* for the German Academy of Sciences, supported by the German Archaeological Institute, and he reiterated the rights he received from the family in 1937.⁵⁷ In his reply to a research query a month later, however, Meyer claimed to have lost his *Personenverzeichnis* (list of people; *index nominum*) "during the events of early 1945."⁵⁸ This raises questions about how he managed to complete the first volume of the *Briefwechsel*, which in his November letter he claimed to have already sent to the printers.

Subsequent letters from Meyer to Weber show a preference for dwelling on prospective publications and cultivating American scholarly contacts. He also mentioned the economic and political difficulties of life in Soviet-controlled eastern Germany, but consistently left the issue of the missing papers well to the side.⁵⁹ Not until late November 1955 did Meyer return five volumes of incoming letters through the German Embassy.⁶⁰

Early in 1956, Meyer told Peter Topping, who had succeeded Weber as librarian in 1953, that he was particularly comforted to know that his right to work on the papers continued. He assured his correspondent that he was doing everything in his power to expedite and complete the publication of the papers despite their great extent and the continual appearance of new letters.⁶¹ A little while later, at Topping's request, Meyer provided a list of the volumes he had borrowed. This list, however, did not account for the missing April 1885–January 1888 copying books, nor did his letter of March 22, which was accompanied by copies of official documents from the Mecklenburg authorities confirming that the suitcases (*Koffer*) he had deposited could not be located.⁶²

56. Weber to Meyer, June 12, 1949 (GennRec 1); Weber to Meyer, January 8, 1951 (GennRec 1). Weber had resumed his post in 1946 and tried to send Meyer a copy of his book (Weber 1942) that same year.

57. Meyer to Weber, November 3, 1949 (GennRec 1); both institutions were in Soviet-controlled East Berlin.

58. Meyer to Weber, December 8, 1949 (GennRec 1).

59. Meyer to Weber, December 15, 1950 (GennRec 1); March 6, 1951 (GennRec 1); May 21, 1951 (Genn-

Rec 1); June 25, 1951 (GennRec 1). See also Weber to Meyer, April 21, 1951 (GennRec 1); Weber to Lucy T. Shoe, January 8, 1951 (GennRec 1).

60. Meyer to Topping, November 26, 1955 (GennRec 1); five volumes of incoming letters sent via the German Embassy, received by the Gennadius Library January 30, 1956; cf. Topping to Franz Sikora, February 6, 1956 (GennRec 1).

61. Meyer to Topping, January 24, 1956 (GennRec 1). Weber's tenure as librarian of the Gennadeion ended

June 30, 1953 (Meritt 1984, p. 53).

62. Topping's queries to Meyer, February 7, 1956 (GennRec 1); Meyer's reply to Topping, February 13, 1956 (GennRec 1); Meyer to Topping, March 22, 1956 (GennRec 1). Meyer sent Topping a note on April 4, 1956 (GennRec 1), with the diverting news that a copy of his new book on Rudolf Virchow, "the great physician and anthropologist as well as faithful friend and helper of Heinrich Schliemann," was on its way; see Meyer 1956.

MEYER AND OTHER RESEARCHERS

Meyer's correspondence with the Gennadius Library reveals his negative reaction to the possibility that other researchers might want to examine the Schliemann Papers. In September 1956, after reaffirming his industriousness in respect to the papers, he asked Topping to deny other applicants access to the *Nachlaß* until his own work was concluded, "above all, to a Herr H. A. Stoll from Parchim (Mecklenburg), who lives in the Soviet-occupied zone and, supported by Communist advisers, has recently been occupying himself with Schliemann and has repeatedly pressured me for material."⁶³

There are, however, no sinister commendations on file from Communist advisers in support of Stoll's intentions regarding the papers. Instead, the Gennadius Library files contain an extract of a January 1957 letter from Georg Karo to Carpenter, the former director of the American School.⁶⁴ Karo, who was forced out of his post as first secretary of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens in 1937 by National Socialist pressures, said that he was working on the Mycenaean half of a "picture-book," in which Schliemann "naturally plays a considerable part." He asked Carpenter to tell the librarian of the Gennadeion "that the leading specialist on Schliemann in Germany now is Heinrich Alexander Stoll . . . whom I can warmly recommend as a serious and devoted scholar deserving of kind help, should he ask for it."⁶⁵ This endorsement contrasts sharply with Karo's characterization of Meyer in the same letter: "we and many others have been much bothered by one Ernst Meyer, a most unpleasant man, very luckily just deceased, who has quite unjustifiably arrogated a sort of monopoly on Schliemann and his papers, which . . . I brought to the Gennadion [*sic*] some ten years ago."

Topping seems to have doubted Karo's powers of judgment in view of the latter's mistaken reference to Meyer's decease and his poor recollection of when and how the papers came to the Gennadius Library.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, Karo had followed in Schliemann's footsteps, excavating at Tiryns and publishing on the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.⁶⁷ His long acquaintance with Sophia Schliemann and her family, along with his leadership of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens both after Dörpfeld's retirement in 1912 and in the mid-1930s, would have put him in an excellent position to advise Schliemann's heirs on where to deposit the papers.⁶⁸ Karo's view of the relative merits of Meyer and Stoll was borne out by the subsequent correspondence of both men with Topping. Furthermore, both Kenneth Setton, acting director of the library after Topping's departure in 1960, and Francis Walton, the subsequent director,

63. Meyer to Topping regarding Stoll, September 18, 1956 (GennRec 1); Meyer to Topping about his health, April 30, 1957 (GennRec 1).

64. Karo to Carpenter, January 3, 1957 (GennRec 1). Calder (1990, pp. 373–375) considered Stoll to be a novelist who understood Schliemann

far better than Meyer.

65. On Karo's removal from his post, see Jantzen 1986, pp. 48–50.

66. Topping to Carpenter, January 14, 1957 (GennRec 1); see also Topping's report, June 15, 1960 (GennRec 2), discussed below.

67. Karo 1930–1933; see also Hood

1998, pp. 34–37.

68. Karo 1959, pp. 70–106, esp. 77–79. Döhl (1981, p. 7) credited Karo with encouraging Schliemann's heirs to deposit the papers in the Gennadius Library beginning in 1935.

used the term “monopoly” in their letters to and about Meyer, to Meyer’s great and lasting irritation.⁶⁹

A month later, in mid-February, Stoll wrote to Topping to introduce himself and his work. He mentioned Karo, explained that he hoped to come to Athens when his foreign currency problems had been solved, and asked for a copy of Weber’s edition of Schliemann’s California diary, which Topping sent off on March 2.⁷⁰ In mid-1958, Stoll sent Topping two copies of his new book about Schliemann, *Abenteuer meines Lebens*, with apologies for typographical and other errors, and discussed his upcoming publication plans. Topping replied with thanks, correcting some points of detail and encouraging him to send the book to the Melas family.⁷¹

At this juncture, Topping clearly chose to disregard a letter of admonition Meyer sent him in February 1958, asking him not to grant access to Stoll, “from the Soviet-occupied Eastern Zone,” and appending a copy of Agamemnon Schliemann’s 1937 authorization. Meyer went on to claim that Stoll had been pressing him for some years to release letters and pictures, criticized him for “looting my publications and then disparaging them,” and, insinuating that Stoll might know the location of Meyer’s suitcases filled with Schliemann papers, reminded Topping that the German Academy of Sciences was now “subject to the Communist eastern government.”⁷² Around the same time, Stoll published a review criticizing the inadequacies of the first volume of Meyer’s *Briefwechsel*. He observed that its inclusiveness and quality were commensurate neither with the high level of institutional support Meyer had enjoyed during the Nazi years nor with the total extent of Schliemann’s correspondence. Meyer subsequently sent Topping a copy of the review with his point-by-point denials.⁷³

As it turned out, Stoll never succeeded in coming to Athens and thus had to make do with inquiries by mail. Even so, Meyer’s hostility remained obdurate. When Topping queried him in March 1960 about missing correspondence, Meyer suggested that he ask “the writer from the Eastern Zone about who holds the correspondence. Years ago, when questioned by a personage known to me, he replied that he had ‘many Schliemann letters.’”⁷⁴

Some months later, when Setton was overseeing the Gennadius Library in the interval between Topping’s departure and Walton’s arrival, he had to

69. Setton to Henry Robinson, March 16, 1961 (GennRec 2); Walton to Meyer, November 20, 1962 (GennRec 3); cf. also Meyer to Walton, March 9, 1966 (GennRec 5). Nor was Meyer’s scholarship commemorated in his death notice (August 15, 1968), which listed only his military decorations (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*, Iron Cross of 1914, and *Kriegsverdienstkreuz*).

70. Weber 1942. Stoll to Topping, February 17, 1957 and April 2, 1957 (GennRec 1); Topping to Stoll, April 24, 1957 (GennRec 1).

71. Stoll to Topping, July 10, 1958 (GennRec 1); Topping to Stoll, August 11, 1958 (GennRec 1); Stoll 1958.

72. Meyer to Topping, February 10, 1958 (GennRec 1).

73. Stoll 1956a; Meyer to Topping, May 6, 1958 (GennRec 1).

74. Meyer’s allegation about Stoll is extremely vague, while the figures he gave for his own and the publisher Brockhaus’s holdings, which pretend to greater precision, are demonstrably inconsistent. Meyer to Topping, March 2, 1960 (GennRec 2), lists letters in

Germany, Italy, and the U.K., including 45 items belonging to Meyer himself that he claimed were “acquired from manuscript dealers (*Autographen-Antiquariat*) after 1952,” 50 items in private hands in Soviet-occupied Mecklenburg, and 888 items once held by Brockhaus in Leipzig and destroyed during World War II. The last figure contradicts both Meyer’s prewar tally of 904 (Meyer 1936a, p. 103) and his posthumously published count of 885 Brockhaus letters (Meyer 1969, p. 10).

handle another of Meyer's requests for Schliemann-related information. Disclaiming familiarity with the Meyer-Topping correspondence, Setton suggested that Meyer either write to Stoll directly or give Setton questions to pass on if he preferred not to communicate with Stoll.⁷⁵ Meyer thanked Setton stiffly for his offer but declined contact, reiterating objections about the Communist east and Stoll's use of his "studies" for a "novel" despite not being acquainted with the originals in the Gennadius Library.⁷⁶ Even Setton's own personal interest in Schliemann aroused Meyer's suspicions, for when he sent Meyer a photostat of Schliemann's will with certain phrases underlined in red, Meyer anxiously interrogated him about who might have been working on the document.⁷⁷

Ironically, Stoll wrote to Topping only a few days later, not realizing that he had left, to report on his unexpected discovery in Berlin of 98 items addressed to Schliemann in 1880, 1883, and 1889 by Rudolf Virchow. These had clearly been taken from Schliemann's bound volumes. Stoll asked if the rest of the volumes could be checked for Virchow letters, and he suggested that a student could be sent from the German Archaeological Institute to carry out the task.⁷⁸ The letter ended with Stoll inquiring if Meyer had retracted his slanders, because when the second Schliemann book appeared, "Herr Dr. Meyer told all the world that I had illegally helped myself to his researches," which obliged Stoll to send a lawyer to Meyer's house to put an end to the injuries caused by the latter's "persecution mania."

In Setton's reply to Stoll,⁷⁹ he explained the current situation at the Gennadius Library:

For the present the American School has closed access to the Schliemann correspondence until clarification becomes possible of the nature of the School's responsibility to and for the collection. They were, as you know, deposited in the Gennadeion by Mr. Agamemnon Schliemann, now deceased, and Mrs. Andromache Mela; we have reason to believe it was their intention to make an outright gift to the Gennadeion of these letters, journals, etc.; but there was never any formal action taken (as far as I know) to that effect.

If Stoll wanted to obtain photocopies of any of the correspondence, Setton continued:

I should frankly not know what to tell you, owing to the fact that years ago Mr. Schliemann and Mrs. Mela appear to have given Dr. Ernst Meyer a vague (but apparently exclusive) right to exploit them for scholarly purposes.

The death of Agamemnon Schliemann, the poor health of his sister, and another, unspecified complication obscured matters further. Setton suggested to Stoll that the situation might be clarified with Walton's arrival as the new librarian. The tone and import of his letter make it evident that, by early 1961, a crisis point had been reached regarding the administration of the Schliemann Papers.

75. Setton to Meyer, November 25, 1960 (GennRec 2).

76. Meyer to Setton, February 9, 1961 (GennRec 2).

77. Meyer to Setton, April 29, 1961 (GennRec 2). Meyer also thanked "Herr Pepping" for arranging for the *AJA* to review *Briefwechsel* (six years of correspondence with Topping had evidently made little impression on Meyer). Setton explained that he had underlined the phrases in the will himself as he read; Setton to Meyer, May 6, 1961 (GennRec 2).

78. Stoll to Topping, February 12, 1961 (GennRec 2). Stoll suggested that perhaps Sophia Schliemann wanted to return the letters to their author after her husband's death, but noted that for some mysterious reason, only these three years' worth were returned; he also proposed an alternative explanation, wherein a user of the Schliemann *Nachlaß* in the Gennadius Library illegally removed the three sets of letters, then insinuated them into the Virchow *Nachlaß* in Berlin later in order to be rid of them. See also Meyer to Weber, November 3, 1949 (GennRec 1); Meyer 1956.

79. Setton to Stoll, March 9, 1961 (GennRec 2).

TOPPING'S PERSPECTIVE ON MEYER

Like his predecessor Weber, Topping occasionally found himself in an ambiguous position vis-à-vis Meyer, frustrated by the latter's removal of material yet admiring his research. In 1949, for example, Weber had advised Andromache Mela to allow Meyer to keep the volumes of letters he still had in order to complete work on the *Briefwechsel* and on a comprehensive biography (*eine umfassende Biographie*). Weber wrote, "He admires your father tremendously, has a large portion of the work already done, and I know of no one who would do it better."⁸⁰ When Topping, in his last year at the Gennadius Library, wrote to Meyer about the missing volumes of letters, he also took the opportunity to ask his "opinion and advice" about the desirability of microfilming the papers to ensure their safety:

If—to assume the worst for a moment—the papers were to be destroyed, how great would the loss be? Do you, for example, have in your possession all of the material from it which you regard as important for your researches . . . ? What is your opinion of the value of the many thousands of letters of purely business and financial content? It is most unlikely that we would ever find funds to carry through a project of microfilming all of the papers. But if we were to decide on a project of partial photographic reproduction of them, do you have a sufficient record of their contents to enable us to select the pieces worth photographing.⁸¹

Meyer's reply to Topping's wide-ranging queries showed his characteristically narrow perspective. He recommended only the letters that he had processed for publication, in particular the Calvert letters for their archaeological content and the 640 items he had selected for the two volumes of his *Briefwechsel*; the question about the business correspondence went completely unanswered.⁸²

In June 1960, before his departure from the Gennadius Library, Topping submitted a report offering his perspective on events surrounding the Schliemann Papers, including a version of Meyer's relations with the Schliemann family that departed saliently from Meyer's own account.⁸³ Mentioning first that the papers were placed on deposit by Andromache and Agamemnon Schliemann in October 1936, Topping stated that they were "not donated," and that access was restricted to individuals authorized by the Schliemann children, specifically Ernst Meyer, who had "had more or less a continuous 'monopoly' of the exploitation of the papers ever since." Noting Meyer's pre-World War II visits and the "great deal of work" he had done on the papers, he added:

Unfortunately he also appeared in Athens during the German occupation as an officer and insulted the Schliemann-Melas family by coming to their house with an armful of bread to offer to them. The family apparently had little liking for him before the war and even less since this incident, and were opposed to his continuing to work on the papers, but Shirley Weber thought he should be allowed to continue his work on them in view of his competence. The fact is

80. Weber to Mela, December 8, 1949 (GennRec 1); cf. Meyer to Weber, December 17, 1938 (GennRec 1), and Meyer to Weber, February 15, 1939 (GennRec 1), both full of small talk.

81. Topping to Meyer, February 16, 1960 (GennRec 2).

82. Meyer to Topping, March 2, 1960 (GennRec 2).

83. Topping's report, June 15, 1960 (GennRec 2). The passages quoted in the remainder of this section are taken from this report.

that Meyer to this day is the only scholar who has devoted himself specially to professional research on Schliemann using all available original sources.

Topping's account of Meyer's sojourn in Athens and deteriorating relations with Schliemann's heirs may be better understood in the historical context of conditions in occupied Greece.⁸⁴ Six months before German troops entered Athens on April 27, 1941, the city began to suffer air raids, power cuts, and shortages of food. Bread rationing was introduced in December 1940; three months before the occupation began, most goods had already disappeared from the shops. By the beginning of May 1941, the Germans had established themselves in Athens and Piraeus, closing businesses and shops, bringing public transportation to a standstill, and requisitioning private vehicles and homes for the use of members of their forces. The Germans and their Italian allies, moreover, took much of the available food, even from humanitarian relief shipments, for themselves. In the winter of 1941–1942, bitter cold and famine conditions left hundreds of corpses in the streets daily. Presented by a member of the occupying German forces, Meyer's benefaction of tightly rationed bread to the Schliemann-Melas family was an inherently offensive act, while his accommodations in the garden suburb of Psychiko had come at an intolerably high price.

Topping went on in his report to describe the removal and subsequent loss of several volumes of Schliemann's papers as "another unfortunate aspect of Meyer's association with the collection." He stated:

There is no record of what he borrowed, apparently with Mr. Weber's consent, and thus when we received several volumes of correspondence a few years ago through the German embassy here we were surprised to see that we had no record of them.

The borrowings and returns recorded during the occupation, Topping reported, took place "with the consent of and through the late Mr. Adossidis [*sic*] and Evro . . . the only instance of the Gennadeion being used or opened up for anybody during the war years."⁸⁵

Topping additionally mentioned thwarting an attempt at access to the papers by "a certain Herman Goell, a writer of popular songs and brother to Miss Goell the archaeologist."⁸⁶ Goell's intention was to persuade the Schliemann-Melas family to allow him to produce a best-selling biography so that he could then sell "the rights . . . to Hollywood to make a movie of Schliemann's life." Topping wrote:

I refused Goell access to the papers and pointed out to the family how obviously unqualified Goell was to exploit the papers. The incident illustrates what a disadvantage it can be for us not to have outright possession of the papers."

Topping also noted the family's practice of not acknowledging anything Meyer sent them, and Alexander Melas's sporadic essays in preparing "the true life story" of his grandmother Sophia.

The departing librarian, while realizing that it was "natural" that the Gennadius Library would have "frequent correspondence" with Meyer,

84. The following remarks are based on Phylactopoulos 1991, pp. 23–29; Zervos 1991, pp. 27–70, 90, 95; Mazower 1993, pp. 26–64, 85–125. On the bread crisis, rationing, and black-market profiteering see, respectively, *Ἀθηναϊκὰ Νέα*, March 9, 1942; *Ἀκρόπολις*, May 2, 1942; *Προϊνὸς Τύπος*, June 10, 1942.

85. On the closure of the American School during the German occupation (1941–1944) and Adossides' heroic efforts to keep it safe and to support staff members, see Meritt 1984, pp. 15–19.

86. Theresa Goell was the excavator of Nemrud Dağı.

pointed out that the papers “involve a fair amount of searching and correspondence to answer inquiries.” He then mentioned Eli Lilly’s interest in Schliemann’s sojourn in Indiana, which had already led to a substantial gift to the library, remarking that “I have not felt it necessary to advise Meyer about Lilly’s research, though Lilly may have written to him about some point or another.” In Topping’s view, the geographically and temporally circumscribed nature of Lilly’s interest in the papers meant that Meyer “no doubt should welcome a contribution like this to Schliemann’s biography,” and that the Schliemann-Melas family did not have to be advised of Lilly’s researches. Although the Greek representative of the Lilly pharmaceuticals firm had contacted Leandros (Leno) Melas, Andromache’s other son, Melas himself had not mentioned it in a recent conversation.⁸⁷

The final paragraph of Topping’s report concerned the *Schliemannforscher* Stoll, “strongly backed by the aging and forgetful Georg Karo. . . . It may well be that Meyer’s accusation that Stoll had got hold of some of Meyer’s material and notes is true.” Pointing out that Stoll had not yet come to Athens as intended, he thought it unlikely that he would come, “and that is just as well, though it would be interesting to meet him and try to solve the puzzle of just what has happened to certain parts of the Schliemann papers.” Despite Meyer’s efforts to muddy the intellectual waters with political innuendo, Topping made no reference to Stoll’s location in East Germany and seemed inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt, but by the time Stoll wrote his enlightening letter about the Virchow correspondence, Setton had become acting librarian.

THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY TAKES CHARGE

POLICIES AND PURCHASES

Setton’s letter to Stoll in March 1961, quoted above, signaled the decisive formulation of the Gennadius Library’s policy regarding the administration of the Schliemann Papers. The decision to close the collection had been reached earlier, in November 1960. A memorandum Setton wrote to Henry Robinson, director of the American School, outlined the main factors prompting the decision: “the lack of clarity” about the conditions of the papers’ use, “the apparent exclusiveness” of the commitment Meyer received from the Schliemann-Melas family, and “the ill defined nature of the responsibility” the Gennadius Library had undertaken to preserve the papers for future scholars.⁸⁸

Meyer was not the only problem. The other “complication” alluded to by Setton in his letter to Stoll was Peter-Nick Vavalis, a Greek journalist hired by Eli Lilly in 1960 to excerpt and translate material from the papers into English for use in his forthcoming book, *Schliemann in Indianapolis*.⁸⁹ Vavalis was found to have been transcribing considerably more for his own journalistic purposes and had to be warned not to persist. The two reports he submitted display numerous errors.⁹⁰

Meyer’s abhorrence of Stoll was paralleled by his esteem for William Nederland, a psychoanalyst from New York City whom he commissioned

87. Lilly 1961 and Weber 1942 (also prepared without Meyer’s approval) are the only publications of material from the papers other than Meyer’s until 1962.

88. Setton to Robinson, November 12, 1960 (GennRec 2).

89. Lilly 1961; cf. Korres 1974, p. 156, no. 2095.

90. The Vavalis reports are included in GennRec 4; the first, ungrammatical and full of misspellings, begins with the words “1st Report on Search in Gennadium Library,” while the second, entitled “Data on Henry Schliemann’s Visit to Indianapolis,” calls Topping the “Manager of Gennadion Library.”

to examine Schliemann's writings in order to gain insight into his personality, thereby generating another problem for the Gennadius Library. Setton advised Robinson on how to handle Nederland, pointing out that his access request would have to be endorsed by Leno Melas.⁹¹ Robinson could then explain to Nederland that Meyer was "not entitled to transfer rights to the use of the correspondence to a third person," but might only "waive his own interests in certain aspects of the correspondence in favor of a third person," and that the School was regretfully closing the Schliemann archives to the public "because of the extreme uncertainty surrounding the legal aspects of the use of the material."⁹² Nederland soon approached Melas, who quickly resolved the issue by providing the required approval.⁹³ Nederland went on to publish a number of conference papers that elaborated in floridly Freudian terms on the pathological traits inherent in Schliemann's genius.⁹⁴

In his letter to Robinson about the Nederland problem, Setton also referred to the Gennadius Library's handling of Vavalis, who had secured the approval of both Melas brothers. Setton wrote:

In my opinion all such materials should be accessible to all persons who are admitted to the Gennadeion and may be safely entrusted with books or MSS. (under surveillance of course). Such is the procedure of the Vatican Library, Vatican Archives, Italian state archives, British Museum, etc., etc. The so-called researcher must be a serious citizen with a serious purpose, but it is *not* the function of a library administration to decide his competence.⁹⁵

Stressing that Meyer did not "own the publication rights to this material," contrary to what Nederland had been given to understand, Setton reserved his strongest statement on "the whole Meyer affair" for the final paragraph:

With regard, further, to the whole Meyer affair, I think the Gennadeion should carefully avoid setting up, protecting, or administering scholarly monopolies of any kind. There is an unannounced and unofficial tendency (I understand) to administer materials this way in certain . . . archives and libraries. I have more than once heard indignation expressed in this connection . . . granting permission to A to use material and withholding it from B is a bad business.

The principles articulated in this letter underlay the confidential letter Robinson wrote to Alfred Bellinger, the chairman of the School's Managing

91. Setton to Robinson, March 16, 1961 (GennRec 2).

92. Robinson to Nederland, March 22, 1961 (GennRec 2).

93. Melas to Robinson, May 16, 1961 (GennRec 2), authorizing Nederland "to go through my grandfathers [*sic*], H. Schliemann letters e.t.c. which are in deposit at the Gennadius Library."

94. Nederland n.d. (preliminary draft of Nederland 1965 = Korres 1974, p. 155, no. 2079); 1964–1965 (German translation of Nederland 1965 by Hedda Eppel of Vienna = Korres 1974, p. 157, no. 2104); 1965 (= Korres 1974, p. 157, no. 2105); 1966–1967 (apparently a German adaptation of Nederland 1967 =

Korres 1974, p. 158, no. 2128); 1967 (= Korres 1974, p. 159, no. 2145); 1971 (= Korres 1974, p. 161, no. 2165). Nederland had help from his brother Ernst, who lived in Israel (Nederland 1965, p. 371, n. 2).

95. Setton to Robinson, March 16, 1961 (GennRec 2).

Committee, 12 days later.⁹⁶ Robinson advised that, in view of the interest of Andromache Mela and her sons in taking the papers back, the Gennadius Library should buy them in order to keep the collection together as a properly managed scholarly resource.⁹⁷

A few weeks later Andromache Mela informed the Gennadius Library that she had authorized her sons Alexander and Leno Melas “to take possession of the letters, diaries and other documents” of her father Henry Schliemann deposited there “and to make further disposition of same.”⁹⁸ In the autumn of 1961, Walton, as librarian of the Gennadeion, approached Lilly about the possibility of funding the acquisition of the papers by the School. Months of negotiations would be necessary before the Melas brothers agreed to sell them.⁹⁹ After returning to his post at the University of Pennsylvania, Setton continued to advise Walton regarding the potential market for and value of the papers based on his knowledge of late medieval manuscript purchases. He set the amount lower than the final price arrived at in May 1962 (\$15,000, plus another \$5,000 for conservation and preservation).¹⁰⁰

With the completion of this purchase in June 1962, the bulk of the papers came securely into the possession of the Gennadius Library, where they could at last be administered and preserved in a manner appropriate to an academic institution. During the mid-1960s, Walton decided that the 45 disintegrating “bulky tomes” of incoming letters would be better off without their bindings, so these volumes of letters were taken apart, and individual items were stored in folders within chronologically arranged boxes.¹⁰¹

In late 1965, another smaller but nevertheless highly significant cache of Schliemann-related papers was discovered by Lynn and Gray Poole, eager and enterprising chroniclers of the Heinrich-Sophia story.¹⁰² The Pooles, who were on the hunt for new material for what they hoped would be a best-selling biography (and movie spin-off), had succeeded in gaining the confidence of Alexander Melas, Andromache’s last surviving son. Found among the possessions left to Alexander by his brother Leno, the new

96. Robinson to Bellinger, March 28, 1961 (GennRec 2). The sequence of events is summarized in the “History of the Papers,” *HS&FP*, pp. 5–7 (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchHistory.htm>).

97. Not long afterward, in mid-1961, Lady Wanda Max-Müller donated the Schliemann–Max-Müller correspondence to the Gennadius Library. In 1938, she had lent the letters to Meyer, who lost them during or after World War II, and then bought them back from a used bookshop in 1952 to return to her. When Meyer finally published them (Meyer 1962), he neglected to mention that they were

then held by the Gennadius Library; see Walton to Meyer, December 19, 1962 (GennRec 3).

98. Andromache Mela, April 15, 1961 (GennRec 2).

99. Another Sophia, the widow of Agamemnon Schliemann, had transferred her late husband’s rights to Leno in October 1961. See Sophia Ag. Schliemann to the Gennadius Library, October 27, 1961 (GennRec 3). A. and L. Melas’s letter, July 16, 1962 (GennRec 3), after the sale had gone through, set out their understanding of the legal situation, past and present. Cf. Lord 1947, pp. 255–256, which states that in 1936, the Gennadius Library “received

from Madame Melas . . . the diaries, letters, and other papers belonging to her father. This fine gift at once began to attract the attention of scholars and historians.”

100. Setton to Walton, November 9, 1961 (GennRec 3), estimated that the Schliemann Papers ought to cost the Gennadius Library \$8,000–\$9,000, with additional funds for rebinding all the volumes, which were “in bad shape.”

101. Walton to Lilly, December 23, 1965 (GennRec 5). The Lilly Endowment covered the costs.

102. Poole and Poole 1966; Easton 1982, pp. 96–97.

cache was combined with papers Walton already knew to be held by the Schliemann-Melas family outside the Gennadius Library.¹⁰³

These documents contained exactly the type of information that the Pooles were seeking. Walton described them as including personal letters—around 200 from Schliemann himself, approximately 50 from Sophia, and perhaps 400 from correspondents such as Luigi Palma di Cesnola, Émile Burnouf, and Karl Blind, among others. There were also diplomas, documents from the Kaiser, and numerous newspaper clippings, mostly from Schliemann's last two decades. Walton surmised that Andromache and Agamemnon had retained this set in 1937 "because of its more intimate character."¹⁰⁴ The Pooles' enthusiasm for their biographical project may unintentionally have reinforced Melas's notions of substantial financial gain. They acted as unpaid intermediaries during months of negotiations to facilitate the purchase of the remaining papers by the Gennadius Library for \$30,000. The sale finally took place in June 1966, thanks again to the vision and generosity of Eli Lilly.¹⁰⁵

CONSEQUENCES OF NEW MANAGEMENT

With the purchase of the Schliemann Papers, the library could now respond to scholarly inquiries without fear of interventions by Meyer or the Schliemann-Melas family. Meyer was loath to grasp the implications of the papers' transfer of ownership, although Walton, in reply to a November 1962 query about Schliemann's divorce papers, spelled them out for him as follows:

Since my last communication with you, the Gennadius Library, by agreement with Schliemann's heirs, has obtained full title to the Schliemann papers, which are now therefore under sole jurisdiction of the Librarian. *Inter alia*, the Library was specifically released, in the documents of transfer, from the obligation assumed in 1936 to ask permission of the Schliemann family for the study or use of the collection. Consequently this collection, like all other published or unpublished materials belonging to the Library, now and henceforth comes under our general policy of making all such material available, at the discretion of the Librarian, to any competent scholar for scholarly use. It has not, and will not, be our practice to establish scholarly monopolies.

103. L. Poole to Walton, January 15, 1966 (GennRec 5); she thanked him for a photocopy and queried the sum Melas was seeking for the papers (\$75,000? or \$750,000?). Walton's reply to Poole, January 21, 1966 (GennRec 5), was that he considered the higher sum unrealistic, perhaps the result of an inadvertent extra zero.

104. Walton to Lilly, May 24, 1966 (GennRec 5).

105. Lilly telegram, June 1, 1966 (GennRec 5); Poole telegram, June 3, 1966 (GennRec 5). In comparison, five Schliemann autograph letters recently on the market were priced at \$1,850 (July 8, 1869, to L. von Hoffmann & Co. of New York: <http://www.schulsonautographs.com/science.htm>), \$2,350 (April 26, 1878, to the surgeon Sir William Bowman: <http://www.schulsonautographs.com/science.htm>),

£2,200/\$4,421.13 (September 26, 1889, to A. S. Murray of the British Museum: <http://www.maggs.com/title/AU4213.asp>), CHF 7,000/\$5,761.31 (July 25, 1880, to Pastor W. J. Manssen; <http://www.erasmushaus.ch>), and CHF 4,800/\$3,950.61 (August 16, 1889, to Carl Schuchhardt: <http://www.erasmushaus.ch>). All pages accessed June 7, 2007.

We shall, of course, be glad to have you continue to make use of this valuable collection, and shall co-operate with you to facilitate your further study and publication of the papers. But I must make it clear that henceforth there can be no question of exclusive access to the collection, either by you or any one else.¹⁰⁶

Even as late as 1966, Meyer continued to complain about Walton's interpretation of his hold on the papers as a "monopoly" and his refusal to approve the self-serving memoir Meyer had sent for publication concerning his relations with the Schliemann-Melas family and the Gennadius Library.¹⁰⁷

In addition to being disassembled and boxed chronologically in the mid-1960s, all the volumes of incoming letters were microfilmed for preservation purposes. The process of cataloguing the papers as a whole proceeded more slowly. Inquiries from scholars such as Donald Easton and David Traill in the late 1970s and early 1980s made the need for a full record of the papers' contents more urgent.¹⁰⁸

In 1980 archivist Christina Vardas began to catalogue the complete papers, supported by a Demos Foundation grant. She took the step of altering the order in which Schliemann himself had filed and bound his correspondence and other documents, renumbering them in pencil according to the subject series described at the beginning of this article. These series were further subdivided chronologically. Only the red ballpoint numbers added in the 1960s when the documents were first microfilmed remain to indicate the original order of the incoming correspondence. The original nomenclature of the 10 new series was in Greek, but more recent editions of the finding aid are in English, with the taxonomy revised to accommodate additional categories.¹⁰⁹

At Traill's suggestion, Vardas compiled a card file in Greek recording the authors, places, and dates of the thousands of letters sent to Schliemann. This file at last provided the Gennadius Library with a more detailed guide than Meyer's schematic *Verzeichnis* to consult when researchers wrote to ask after the existence of documentation for an individual or corporate entity. In the late 1990s a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities made it possible to microfilm the 18 extant diaries and more than 34,000 incoming letters again, this time according to the order in which Vardas had catalogued them, in preparation for eventual digitization. This measure has in the meantime facilitated the provision of photocopies for researchers, since by mid-1978 the Gennadius Library was advised to cease the photocopying of original manuscripts.¹¹⁰

106. Walton to Meyer, November 20, 1962 (GennRec 3), in reply to Meyer to Walton, November 12, 1962 (GennRec 3); cf. Meyer to Walton, November 29, 1962, and May 23, 1963 (GennRec 3).

107. Meyer to Walton, March 9, 1966 (GennRec 5); Walton had written

on December 18, 1965, to acknowledge receipt of the *Erinnerungen* (5 pp.), dated November 21, 1965 (GennRec 5).

108. Isserlin 1968; Isserlin and du Plat Taylor 1974, p. x; Easton 1982; Calder and Traill 1986; Traill 1993, 1995.

109. See above, pp. 787–788, n. 11. Vardas's taxonomy obscures the fact that certain letters are of both financial and personal interest; some missives are filed in "economics," others in "original letters."

110. Walton to Easton, July 26, 1978 (GennRec 6).



Figure 5. A portion of the Schliemann Papers in 2007. Photo S. A. H. Kennell, courtesy Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

IMPROVEMENTS IN STORAGE AND DOCUMENTATION

In terms of the secure storage and more comprehensive documentation of the Schliemann Papers, the two greatest advances have come since 2000: the use of digital technology to facilitate data collection and document access, and the expansion of the Gennadius Library. Until the completion of the Gennadius Library's new east extension in 2005, the Heinrich Schliemann and Family Papers had to be stored in the west basement stacks because they are so numerous—their containers occupy 14.5 linear meters of shelf space—and have so great a variety of individual formats, including small diaries and ledgers, banker's boxes containing folders of loose leaves, and bound volumes bulging with thousands of copies of letters.¹¹¹ In this location, they were separated from the rest of the archives and subject to extremes of heat and cold. Now all the papers are kept together with the other collections in new, climate-controlled archives stacks, securely stored in acid-free boxes on compact rolling shelves (Fig. 5).

A three-year grant from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (2000–2003) expedited the use of digital technology, enabling the archivist of the American School, Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, to set up an English-language database (Microsoft Access) for all of Schliemann's correspondence. This database was designed to contain information not only about the incoming letters, which was translated and entered from the Vardas card file, but also about the hitherto unindexed outgoing correspondence contained in Schliemann's own crumbling copying books, which must be read cover-

111. E.g., the copying books of outgoing letters BBB 16 and BBB 19 contain 1,751 and 1,854 items, respectively.

to-cover.¹¹² In addition to fields for each author's or addressee's personal name (Greek names are assigned to a separate field), dates, place-names, and the location of the document in the archives, the database has the capacity to record the genre and physical characteristics of each item, as well as to provide space for comments regarding content and other details of interest.

At present (June 2007) the database is a work in progress, with over 34,100 items of original incoming correspondence and copies of over 21,500 outgoing letters by Schliemann entered. The incoming entries represent the entire Vardas card file for the years 1841–1889, plus some supplementary items; they do not include BB box 106, which contains visiting cards, many with messages written on the back. The outgoing Schliemann letters now in the database may be divided into two groups. The first group coincides with the period of Schliemann's archaeological endeavors, from March 1866 to July 1876, April 1878 to April 1885, and January 1888 to December 1890 (as noted above, the two gaps are the result of Meyer's borrowings). The second group covers Schliemann's earlier years, from October 1844 to October 1850, October 1851 to April 1852, and February 1853 to December 1861 (the gaps here are connected with his time in California). Five of the 43 surviving copying books of outgoing correspondence—one spanning the years 1852–1863 and four for the years 1862–1865 (series BBB, volumes 21–25)—have yet to be entered into the database.

The standardization of personal names, toponyms, and other terminology in accordance with English usage is an essential part of the data entry process. As new names are added to the list of addressees, the corresponding list of authors of incoming letters is emended to eliminate multiple identities for the same person or entity. Such multiplication of identities has often resulted from the use of multiple original languages. The Russian surname Matveyev, for example, now renders what the actual documents represent variously as Matveieff, Matwejeff, Matweyeff (English), Matweieff (French), or Matvejew (German). The name Dunaburg is the standard entry for the city now known as Daugavpils, Latvia, sometimes referred to in the correspondence as Dünaburg or Dinaburg. Fustic (an organic dyestuff) is entered for *Gelbholz*, Yellowwood, Yellow Cuban Sandalwood, or *Kvertzitrón*.¹¹³ Further work on standardizing both incoming and outgoing entries will be needed when data entry has been completed in order to make database queries more effective.

PROSPECTS FOR NEW RESEARCH

Even in its present unfinished state, the Schliemann correspondence database permits Gennadius Library archives staff to assist researchers more effectively than in the past. One inquiry from the library's records illustrates the benefits of the database. Ralph Hansen, the Stanford University archivist, wrote the Gennadius Library in the mid-1970s to ask if the Schliemann Papers contained any documents confirming a university tradition that Leland Stanford and his family visited Schliemann in 1884. He was informed that no mention could be found in the 1883–1884 documents, and that Irving Stone, Californian author of *The Greek Treasure*,

112. Kennell 2002b.

113. The use of Greek on the cards recording the incoming correspondence increases the potential for variations in spelling.

a best-selling novel about Schliemann, had not seen anything about the Stanford family.¹¹⁴ The current database, however, records the existence of two letters from the Stanfords dated 1884 and 1888, as well as two letters Schliemann wrote to Stanford's wife Jane in 1888, one mentioning their meeting in February 1884.¹¹⁵

The correspondence database makes all of Schliemann's contacts accessible to researchers, rather than privileging those correspondents that Meyer considered sufficiently illustrious, archaeologically worthy, or authentically German. Consequently, studies of Schliemann and his 19th-century environment may proceed on a sounder footing. Beyond undertaking targeted operations on archived letters to verify facts and details in previously known correspondence, researchers can now discover new information about people and organizations with whom Schliemann was in contact at a specific point in time, or in a particular place or language, along with the subject of those communications. Such opportunities will in turn enable new questions to be formulated, new findings to be obtained, and new interpretations to be developed directly from the original documents.

The existence of the database has already opened new areas of research. A preliminary survey of Schliemann's contacts with members of the foreign archaeological community in Greece reveals a wealth of unpublished material in the papers relevant to the history of the American, French, British, and German Schools.¹¹⁶ The American School is represented in the correspondence by its directors W. W. Goodwin and Charles Waldstein; the latter served as a delegate to the 1890 Troy conference. There are also hundreds of items of correspondence between Schliemann and French scholars such as the philologist Émile Egger and Émile Burnouf, the archaeologist who convinced Schliemann of the importance of stratigraphy years before he started to work with Dörpfeld (Fig. 6). The papers also contain communications with Georges Perrot, whom Schliemann supplied with new material for his influential *Histoire de l'art*.¹¹⁷

For the British School, the archives contain over a hundred letters between Schliemann and the Dublin professor J. P. Mahaffy. These include several that bear witness to the strains associated with producing the English edition of *Tiryns*. There are, in addition, approximately 20 items associated with George Macmillan, Ernest Gardner, R. C. Jebb, and Francis Penrose.

Over a dozen individuals connected with the German Archaeological Institute appear among Schliemann's correspondents. Dörpfeld occupies the most prominent position, but there are also letters between Schliemann and the German Institute's Berlin director Alexander Conze, the topographer Habbo Gerhard Lolling, and Paul Wolters, second secretary of the Institute at Athens during the years 1887–1900.¹¹⁸

114. Hansen to Walton, December 3, 1974 (GennRec 6); Walton to Hansen, September 9, 1975 (GennRec 6). The 15-year-old Leland Stanford Jr. visited Athens with his family in January 1884 but died in March of that year; see <http://www.stanfordalumni.org/>

news/magazine/2003/julaug/features/junior.html (accessed June 7, 2007).

115. L. Stanford to Schliemann, n.d., 1884 (B box 95, no. 712); J. Stanford to Schliemann, September 3, 1888 (B box 103, no. 381). Schliemann to J. Stanford, August 21, 1888 (BBB 41,

leaves 94–95), and August 23, 1888 (BBB 41, leaves 96–98).

116. Kennell 2002a.

117. Voutsaki 2002, pp. 113–117.

118. Cf. Jantzen 1986, pp. 25, 107; Lullies and Schiering 1988, pp. 59–60, 92–93, 112–113, 124–125.

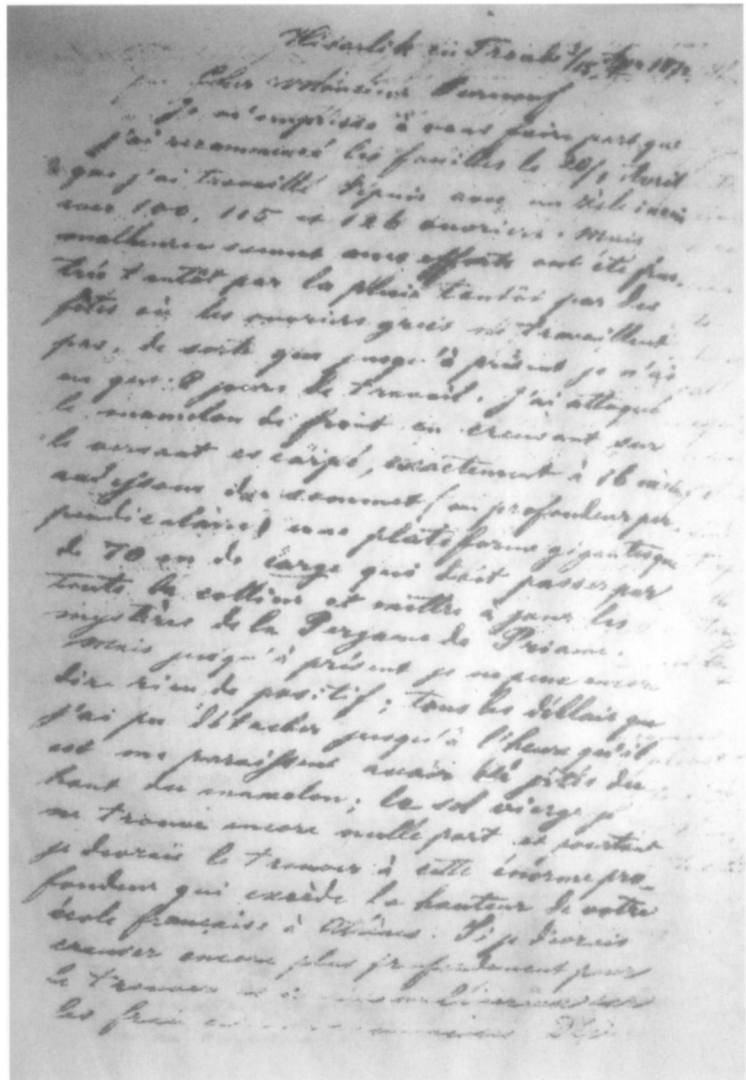


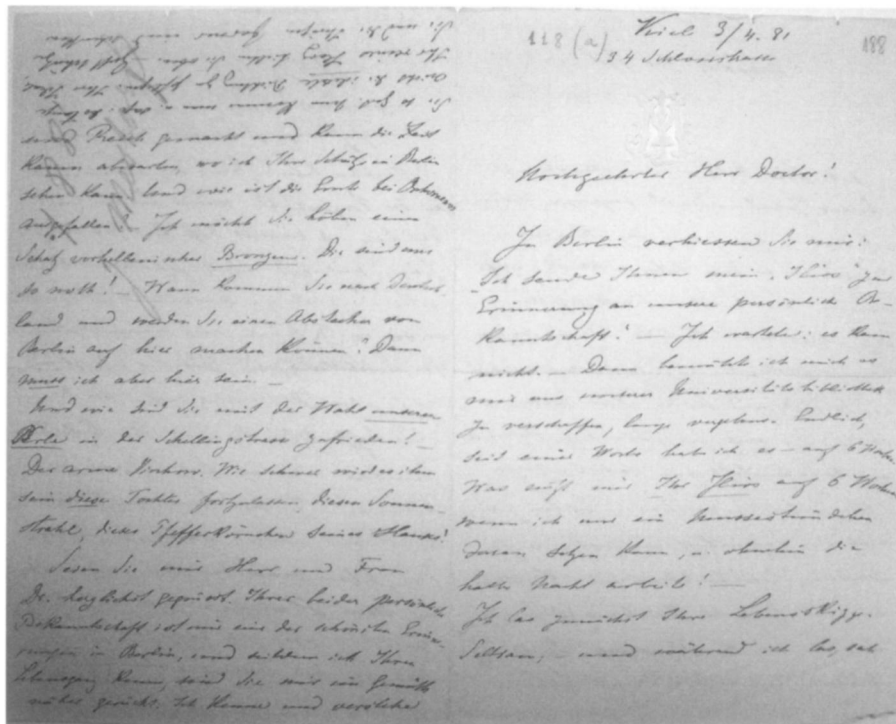
Figure 6. Series BBB 30, leaf 366:
Heinrich Schliemann to Émile
Burnouf, April 15, 1872. Photo
S. A. H. Kennell, courtesy Gennadius
Library, American School of Classical
Studies at Athens

Another recent survey illustrates the scope of Schliemann's contacts with individuals investigating the prehistoric cultures of central and northern Europe.¹¹⁹ The papers reveal correspondence with men such as Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, director of the Copenhagen Museum and developer of the Stone–Bronze–Iron Age periodic scheme, Christian Hostmann of Celle, excavator of the Darzan *Urnenfriedhof* (and supplier of the ink used to print Schliemann's *Ilios*), and József Hampel, numismatist and later director of the Hungarian National Museum. Schliemann also corresponded with female archaeologists such as Zsófia Torma, the excavator of Tordos/Turdaş, and Johanna Mestorf, curator of prehistoric antiquities and later director of the Kiel Museum. Mestorf was greatly impressed by Schliemann's autobiographical preface to *Ilios* (Fig. 7).

Currently under investigation is the collaboration between Schliemann and Dörpfeld as documented in their correspondence.¹²⁰ For the period 1879–1885 alone, the archives contain 57 letters from Dörpfeld's hand and 28 from Schliemann's. These provide vivid details of the Tiryns excavations

119. Kennell 2007.

120. Kennell, forthcoming.



and also of difficulties with the international postal system. For the later years of their relationship, 1886–1890, the archives offer an additional 117 letters (38 by Schliemann and 79 by Dörpfeld), despite Meyer's removal of the 1885–1888 copying books and the loss of all incoming letters from 1890. In addition to the renewal of the Troy controversy and Schliemann's attempts to acquire excavation rights for Knossos, the correspondence covers Dörpfeld's early years as first secretary of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, when Schliemann arranged the construction and leasing of the Ziller-designed Institute building on Odos Fidiou.

THE END OF THE TALE

For 40 years after Schliemann's death, the documents that contained the records of his life as lived—rather than as he presented it himself—lay unexamined, until Emil Ludwig was called upon to transform them into a work of literary merit. Confronted with the historical and biographical evidence they contained, Ludwig was the first and only writer who sought to produce a full portrait of an extraordinarily talented yet flawed man. Schliemann's family and many of his compatriots, however, preferred to remember Schliemann in the unblemished heroic persona of his own devising—purebred scion of Mecklenburg, discoverer of Mycenaean civilization, founder of Bronze Age archaeology, and paterfamilias of the Iliou Melathron.

Ernst Meyer aspired to the job of cleansing and restoring Schliemann's image. Having already embarked on the project of collecting as much of Schliemann's correspondence from German sources as he could, he also

Figure 7. Series BB 85, no. 188:
Johanna Mestorf to Heinrich
Schliemann, April 3, 1881. Photo
S. A. H. Kennell. Courtesy Gennadius
Library, American School of Classical
Studies at Athens

republished the *Selbstbiographie*, which, along with the Mecklenburg material, had taught him all he wanted to know about his hero. His uncritical devotion to his subject won him the favor of Schliemann's heirs. During the period of his exclusive access to the papers, Meyer slowly and laboriously published only those letters and parts of letters that reinforced and embellished the traditional image of Schliemann.¹²¹ Idiosyncratically organized, arbitrarily annotated, and flawed in its handling of non-German material, Meyer's posthumously published biography of Schliemann is an inadequate response to the abundance of original sources he had assiduously borrowed and hoarded for so long.

Meanwhile, Meyer campaigned actively to keep other scholars such as Heinrich Alexander Stoll from examining the papers. Stoll's imaginative yet fundamentally sound treatment of Schliemann, which enjoyed wide circulation only in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe, was based mainly on published sources.¹²² Meyer did, however, introduce the psychiatrist William Nederland to the Schliemann Papers, expressing a desire for "new viewpoints for judging the person of Schliemann" and for a "deep psychological picture" with "new accents."¹²³ Although Nederland presented new excerpts from Schliemann's papers that lent themselves to psychoanalytical exposition, he relied largely on the publications of Schliemann and Meyer. Ultimately, conditioned by the Cold War psychiatric mentality and his peculiarly American sensibilities, he reduced his subject to a set of pathological traits and behaviors. Meyer's decision to submit his hero's frailties to Nederland's Freudian analytical devices may be compared to Sophia Schliemann's invitation to Ludwig to undertake a novelistic portrayal; both sought to control the intellectual validation of Schliemann's life and work, but neither comprehended the forces being invoked.

Once the papers were made available to scholars at large and began to be catalogued properly, the way lay open for William Calder and David Traill to pursue other directions of research. Using original archival material that contradicted the published sources, Calder broke new ground with his examination of Schliemann's techniques of self-portrayal. Traill, in turn, published numerous exposés of Schliemann's treatments of various individuals and events.¹²⁴ Insofar as Calder and Traill engaged directly with archival material, their revisionist approaches represent a salutary development in the study of Schliemann. As classical philologists with little interest in the history of commerce or experience in field archaeology, however, their capacity to assess Schliemann's accomplishments within their historical context was limited. Disappointed in their search for a heroic, "self-made man" and pioneering archaeologist, they reduced him to a compulsive liar and swindler.¹²⁵

The documents themselves—in all their quantity and variety—afford many other, more productive avenues of research. Before the American

121. The 873 letters (for the most part abridged) in Meyer 1936a, 1953, and 1958, together with the 35 letters to Max Müller published in Meyer 1962 (also with ellipses), amount to barely 1.5% of the total correspondence.

122. Stoll 1956b, 1958; cf. Calder 1990, pp. 373–375.

123. Meyer 1969, pp. 10, 414. Nederland obtained a copy of Schliemann's Indiana divorce papers for Meyer (Meyer 1969, p. 425).

124. Calder 1972; Calder and Traill 1986; Traill 1993, 1995.

125. Such reductionism has been strongly criticized; see Hooker 1988; Runnels 2002, pp. 7–9, 78–79.

School purchased the Schliemann Papers in 1962, it was Setton who realized that their scholarly importance went beyond the purely archaeological. Writing to Walton, he mused:

In some ways it would actually be better if the business correspondence of Schliemann, which constitutes pretty much the bulk of the collection, were actually in some university library where business history is pursued. Obviously all the material relating to Greek archaeology is best at home in the Gennadeion. Despite this fact, I am certain that the collection should all be kept together, and those historians who want to use the materials for business history should either go to Athens for the purpose or be allowed to microfilm such parts of it as they may wish.¹²⁶

Fortunately, Schliemann's personal records were kept together. In addition to documenting his life before and after his shift to archaeology, the papers mirror the social and political history of 19th-century Europe and the United States.

Although born in rustic Mecklenburg, Schliemann was always drawn to big cities such as Paris, Berlin, and Athens. His involvements—economic, intellectual, emotional—with these cosmopolitan centers remain to be explored with the aid of the correspondence database.¹²⁷ His papers are also an unplumbed resource for studies in colonial and postcolonial economics, with emphasis on the mercantile involvement of European nations in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. They speak to the history of international finance, in particular, merchant banking, currency exchange, and commerce in stocks and bonds. Lastly, of course, the papers in the Gennadius Library represent a precious source for the socioeconomic history of Greece in the later 19th century, particularly the development of Athens as the nation's capital.

A fundamental reexamination of Schliemann's life and achievements entails viewing his personal archive as a complex whole—in essence, as an archaeological deposit. It is, after all, a collection of physical artifacts created by Schliemann himself during a specific historical period for particular reasons associated with his material environment as well as his activities and interests. Even previously disregarded material not explicitly relevant to archaeology remains integral to the record of his life, analogous to the Roman-era coarse ware, small finds, and organic matter that excavators once discarded while uncovering temples and palaces. Viewed through this metaphor, what the Schliemann Papers offer scholars is a complex deposit of documents corresponding to the matrix of structures that made up their creator's life. The scholarly study and publication of these varied remains will require a truly interdisciplinary approach, utilizing a wide range of specializations and research models.

126. Setton to Walton, November 9, 1961 (GennRec 3).

127. For a consideration of Schliemann in Paris, see Kennell 2001.

PRIMARY SOURCES

GENNADIUS LIBRARY, AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

Heinrich Schliemann Papers

<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchList.htm>

- Series A: Diaries (18 volumes)
- Series B: Correspondence (incoming original letters written by Schliemann's correspondents; 106 boxes)
- Series BB: Original letters (outgoing items written by Schliemann; 1 box containing 6 folders)
- Series BBB: Copybooks (bound copies of letters written by Schliemann; 43 volumes)
- Series C: Manuscripts and other handwritten notes (relating to, e.g., books, articles, and speeches; 1 box containing 13 folders)
- Series D: Personal documents (official documents, personal notes, and diplomas; 1 box containing 3 folders)
- Series E: Economics (financial documents, ledgers, photocopies; 3 boxes and 38 ledgers)
- Series F: Schliemann's Athens properties and coin collection (1 box containing 2 folders)
- Series G: Miscellaneous (e.g., photographs, letters, clippings, pamphlets, invitations, notes, accounts, exercise books; 7 boxes containing 29 folders and 5 bound volumes)
- Series H: Newspaper clippings (5 boxes containing 16 folders and 1 bound scrapbook)
- Series I: Secondary material (photocopies of legal documents and correspondence, transcriptions, posthumously published items about Schliemann; 3 boxes containing 7 folders and 3 videos)
- Series J: Photographs (Melas and Kastriotis collections; 1 box)

Sophia Schliemann Papers

<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchSophia.htm>

- Series A Correspondence (2 boxes containing 10 folders)
- Series B Miscellaneous (1 box containing 11 folders)

Heinrich Schliemann Family Papers

<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchFamily.htm>

- Series A Original family documents (1 box containing 5 folders)
- Series B Secondary material (1 box containing 2 folders)

Gennadeion Records, Schliemann Correspondence Folders

- GennRec 1: 1929–1959
- GennRec 2: 1960–1961
- GennRec 3: 1961–1964
- GennRec 4: 1960 II
- GennRec 5: 1965–1969
- GennRec 6: 1970–1980

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Stefanie A. H. Kennell

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

54 SOUIDIAS STREET

106 76 ATHENS

GREECE

skennell@ascsa.edu.gr