

Schliemann on Schliemann: A Study in the Use of Sources

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ONE HUNDRED FIFTY years ago, on 6 January 1822, in the Pastor's House¹ at Neubukow² near the Ostsee by Wismar in Mecklenburg was born Johannes Ludwig Heinrich Julius Schliemann.³ Others will write encomia. This occasion provides an historian of classical scholarship with an opportunity to examine selected aspects of the great man's life and to provide a suggestion for future biographers.

If today a scholar should write a biography of Cicero, he would naturally use not only Cicero's private letters and published writings, he would further try, as far as possible, to make use of independent sources in order to augment, confirm or refute what Cicero might say about himself. This is the fundamental methodological problem for any scholar who works with the biography of Schliemann. All published biographies of Schliemann are based almost entirely on documents written by Schliemann himself. In order of importance they are (1) an autobiography in various versions,⁴ (2) eighteen diaries,⁵ (3)

¹ For the old Pfarrhaus see PLATE 10 fig.2 and Sebastian Heissel, *Neubukow: aus der Geschichte einer mecklenburgischen Landstadt* (Rostock 1937) 176ff. The building was demolished ca. 1880 because the foundation was sinking in the sand. Since 1929 a bronze memorial plaque has been attached to the left of the front door of the new Pfarrhaus: see PLATE 10 fig.1, where it has been wreathed by the author for the 150th Birthday celebrations.

² For Schliemann at Neubukow see Heissel, *op.cit.* 249ff. For his father's church today see PLATE 11 fig.2. The interior has been wholly redecorated in the late nineteenth century. However, the original font remains, where Schliemann would have been baptized.

³ The name occurs in a parish register compiled ca. 1849 from earlier documents and now preserved in the Pfarrhaus at Neubukow: see PLATE 11 fig.1.

⁴ See Heinrich Schliemann, *Selbstbiographie bis zu seinem Tode vervollständigt* ed. Sophie Schliemann, ed.¹⁰ Ernst Meyer (Wiesbaden 1968) [henceforth: *Selbstbiographie*]. Third person intrusions in the autobiography were added by Dr Alfred Brückner.

⁵ There is only one published diary: Shirley H. Weber, *Schliemann's First Visit to America 1850-1851 (Gennadeion Monographs II, Cambridge [Mass.] 1942)* [henceforth: WEBER]. W. G. Niederland, "An Analytic Inquiry into the Life and Work of Heinrich Schliemann," *Drives, Affects, Behavior* 2 (1965) 371, reports 18 diaries.

some 60,000 letters.⁶ Let us examine critically several famous passages in Schliemann's writings that have been taken over uncritically by his biographers. Then let us see if any evidence exists for Schliemann the autobiographer at work.

1. In *Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner*,⁷ Schliemann describes his earning of a doctorate: "Ein Exemplar dieses Werkes⁸ nebst einer altgriechisch geschriebenen Dissertation übersandte ich der Universität Rostock und wurde dafür die Ertheilung der philosophischen Doctorwürde dieser Universität belohnt. Seitdem habe ich mit unermüdlichem Eifer stets danach gestrebt, mich dieser Ehre würdig zu zeigen." The assertion was added to the *Selbstbiographie* by Dr Alfred Brückner.⁹ At Rostock University there exists no dissertation written in ancient Greek by Schliemann.¹⁰ What one finds and what in fact gained him the doctorate is a book written in French and published at Paris in 1869 under the title *Ithaque, le Peloponnèse et Troie: Recherches archéologiques*. Together with this book he submitted *La Chine et le Japon au temps présent* (Paris 1867), an eight-page handwritten Latin autobiography, and an eight-page handwritten Greek autobiography, with a covering letter to the Dean, dated 6 Place St Michel, Paris, 12 March 1869. The Greek calligraphy is superior. The syntax is atrocious. The Greek professor, G. L. E. Bachmann, reported to the Dean: "H. Schliemann hat uns den Bericht über sein Leben und seinen Bildungsgang in 3 Sprachen vorgelegt; der in französischer Sprache¹¹

⁶ The figure is Nederland's (*loc.cit.*): cf. *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 425. Four important selections have been edited by Ernst Meyer: see E. Meyer, *Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann* (Berlin/Leipzig 1936); *Heinrich Schliemann, Briefwechsel I: von 1842 bis 1875* (Berlin 1953); *Heinrich Schliemann, Briefwechsel II: von 1876 bis 1890* (Berlin 1958); and "Schliemann's Letters to Max Müller in Oxford," *JHS* 82 (1962) 75-105.

⁷ See Dr Heinrich Schliemann, *Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner* (Leipzig 1881) 25.

⁸ The work referred to is *Ithaka, der Peloponnes und Troja: Archäologische Forschungen* (Leipzig 1869). In fact he presented the earlier French edition for the degree.

⁹ See *Selbstbiographie* 53: "Ein Exemplar seines Reiseberichts nebst einer altgriechisch geschriebenen Dissertation sandte er an die Universität seines mecklenburgischen Vaterlandes, Rostock, und diese erteilte ihm dafür die philosophische Doktorwürde." Carl Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenä, Orchomenos, Ithaka im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft* (Leipzig 1890) 9, devised a puzzling compromise: "Mit diesem Buche und einer griechisch geschriebenen Abhandlung erwarb Schliemann gleich darauf in Rostock die Doctorwürde." See lately Werner Müller, *Troja: Wiederentdeckung der Jahrtausende* (Leipzig 1972) 23: "promovierte er mit einer altgriechisch geschriebenen Dissertation . . ."

¹⁰ For the following information I am indebted to Dr habil. Werner Krenkel of Rostock University.

¹¹ A French autobiography was published in his book.

abgefasste Bericht liest sich sehr gut, da der Verf. dieser Sprache vollkommen mächtig ist; die latein. Vita ist, einige Verstöße abgerechnet, sprachlich grossentheils ganz befriedigend; die Uebersetzung aber derselben ins Griechische wäre besser ganz weggeblieben, denn der Mangel an griech. Wendungen und Satzfügungen zeigt, dass der Verf. einen syntactischen Cursus dieser Sprache nicht durchgemacht hat und daher einen vollständig in sich geschlossenen Satz in antiker Form zu bilden nicht versteht."

What Schliemann has done in *Ilios* is to omit that his dissertation was written in French and to call an eight-page autobiography "a dissertation written in ancient Greek." Thus he presented the public with the remarkable report that an autodidact wrote his doctoral dissertation in ancient Greek, something which the greatest classical scholars of the time would never have dared to do.

2. Let us glance next at Schliemann's report on how he became an American citizen. He writes in his *Autobiography*:¹² "Ich befand mich noch in Kalifornien, als dasselbe am 4. Juli 1850 zum Staate erhoben wurde, und da alle an jenem Tag im Lande Verweilenden ipso facto naturalisierte Amerikaner wurden, so wurde auch ich Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten." The report has been accepted by C. Schuchhardt¹³ in 1891, by H. A. Stoll¹⁴ in 1965, and by A. E. Raubitschek¹⁵ in 1970. Others doubted, rightly.¹⁶ Schliemann did not arrive in California until spring 1851. He applied for citizenship papers in New York on 17 February 1851. He became a United States citizen in New York on 29 March 1869. In his diary written at New York on that date there is a simple entry:¹⁷ "I got today my paper as citizen of the U.S." Nothing dramatic; only a bit of paper in the mail. The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice

¹² See *Selbstbiographie* 32.

¹³ See C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations: an Archaeological and Historical Study*, transl. Eugénie Sellers (London 1891) 5.

¹⁴ See Heinrich Alexander Stoll, *Der Traum von Troja: Lebensroman Heinrich Schliemanns*⁸ (Leipzig 1965) 172.

¹⁵ See A. E. Raubitschek, *Collier's Encyclopedia* 20 (1970) 485; and now Müller, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.9) 21: "Damals wurde er durch einen Zufall Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten."

¹⁶ Weber, pp. vi–vii, first detected fraud. See later: Robert Payne, *The Gold of Troy: the Story of Heinrich Schliemann and the Buried Cities of Ancient Greece* (New York 1959) 96 [henceforth: PAYNE]; Eli Lilly, *Schliemann in Indianapolis* (Indianapolis 1961) 8, 53 n.40; Lynn and Gray Poole, *One Passion, Two Loves: the Story of Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann, Discoverers of Troy* (New York 1966) 54; and E. Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann: Kaufmann und Forscher* (Göttingen 1969) 146–47 [henceforth: MEYER].

¹⁷ See Lilly, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.16) 12.

have confirmed the dates of his declaration of intent and naturalization.¹⁸ What has Schliemann done? He has omitted the dull bureaucratic truths from his autobiography, although they could be easily checked in his diary. He has replaced them with something far more exciting. Schliemann personally shared in a great historical event, the assumption of the rich and powerful state of California into the Union. He has placed this event on a famous date, the Fourth of July, the anniversary of American independence. In fact California entered the Union on 9 September 1850. The price of romance was three untruths. Lilly laments:¹⁹ "Schliemann's usual fine memory played him false." Weber is bolder:²⁰ "Thus did his enthusiasm for the spectacular distort the facts."

3. Whoever has read the Schliemann biographies of Emil Ludwig,²¹ Robert Payne,²² Heinrich Alexander Stoll²³ and Ernst Meyer²⁴ knows the famous tale of Schliemann's visit to President Millard Fillmore and his family in the White House. The single source for all these biographers is an entry of Schliemann in his diary for 21 February 1851. I quote the whole from Weber's edition:²⁵

"In Baltimore I enjoyed a good oyster supper, and the following morning a good oyster-breakfast, and on the 21st Febry. at 9 a.m. I started by rail for Washington, together with Mr. Klaener, who had seen my name in the book at Barnum's Hotel, and called at my room in the morning at 4. On my arrival at Washington, I went immediately to the sessions of the House of Representatives and the House of Congress in the Capitol, a magnificent building on the top of a hill. With the most vivid interest and the sincerest delight, I heard the powerful speeches of Henry Clay, Senator of Kentucky, Hale of New Hampshire, Mason of Virginia, Douglas of Illinois, Davis of Massachusetts, etc. The chief topic of discussion was the late negro-riot at Boston. I left the Capitol at 4 o'clock, took then my dinner (together with Mr. Dean, whom I had previously met with on the railroad) at

¹⁸ Thus Lilly, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.16) 53 n.40.

¹⁹ Lilly, *loc.cit.*

²⁰ See Weber p. vii.

²¹ See Emil Ludwig, *Schliemann: the Story of a Gold-seeker*, transl. D. F. Tait (Boston 1931) 56 [henceforth: LUDWIG].

²² See Payne 49–50.

²³ See Stoll, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 164–65.

²⁴ See Meyer 116, and now F. G. Brustgi, *Heinrich Schliemann* (Munich 1971) 34 [henceforth: BRUSTGI].

²⁵ See Weber 25–26.

the ladies' table at the National-Hôtel, and in the evening at 7 o'clock I drove to the President of the United States, to whom I made my introduction by stating that the great desire to see this beautiful country of the West, and to make the acquaintance of the great men who govern it had induced me to come over from Russia, and that I now deemed it my first and most agreeable duty to pay my respects to the President. He received me most kindly, presented me to his wife, daughter, and father, and I had 1½ hours conversation with them.

"The President is a very plain and friendly looking man of about 50; his name is Fillmore. His wife is about 46, a very noble and friendly looking lady; his daughter may be 17 years and is looking rather green.²⁶ At 8½ opened the 'levee' with the President, and there assembled more than 800 persons, from all parts of the Union, all eager to see and speak to the President. This latter introduced me to Mr. Webster, Secretary of State; to Mr. Clay, Senator of Kentucky, and to several others. The President's palace is a most magnificent mansion; there are no sentinels to watch and bar the doors; there exist no ceremonies to which the stranger has to submit to be presented to the first Magistrate. I staid there till 11 o'clock."

A masterpiece. There are the accurate details: train-times, traveling companions, hotels, oysters. There is the inclusion of famous names: Webster, Clay, Douglas, and of course the Fillmores. There is the eyewitness appraisal: the noble site of the Capitol, Miss Fillmore's appearance. For any doubter there is what Sir Ronald Syme calls 'the corroborative detail'. Unlike Potsdam, the primitive and friendly Americans have no guards before their palaces.

Still one wonders. Emil Ludwig²⁷ notes the lack of ambassadorial assistance and postulates letters of introduction to Fillmore written by prominent Dutch merchants. Stoll²⁸ senses improbability and argues that Schliemann would have known that an American President would have been either a businessman or the son of a businessman and so Schliemann, himself a businessman, would not hesitate to visit him.

²⁶ Not 'sickly' but 'immature', one of the few Germanisms that creep into Schliemann's remarkable English.

²⁷ See Ludwig 56.

²⁸ See Stoll, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 164–65. Stoll assumes that Schliemann must earlier have sent a calling card so that Fillmore would be prepared for him. He also omits mention of the reception for 800 prominent citizens, but has Schliemann describe to Fillmore's father the Elgin Marbles which he had recently seen in London.

Internal evidence may also be adduced. Would any lady, even Mrs Fillmore, spend one and a half hours chatting casually with an unknown twenty-eight-year-old boy from Mecklenburg (Bismarck once said that when the world ends it will end three months later in Mecklenburg), when at the end of this time she was to entertain the 800 most prominent citizens of her country? Surely a number of final details would have required her attention. A check exists. That it has never been consulted attests the skill of Schliemann's fiction. In the quiet world of 1851 America such a distinguished reception would have been noticed in contemporary newspapers. What we ought to have expected is the case, not a line is to be found describing the Fillmore reception for 800 of the most prominent citizens of the country.²⁹ But as often with Schliemann there may be a kernel of pseudo-truth. The next day, 22 February, was George Washington's Birthday, a national holiday. Throughout the country official celebrations and receptions took place. As earlier Schliemann had transferred the 4th of July to the day he gained American citizenship, so now he transfers a reception that took place somewhere to the White House on the preceding evening and makes himself rather than George Washington the guest of honor. Schliemann's evening with the Fillmores is not included in his autobiography. Dr Niederland³⁰ has

²⁹ I have found no notice of any such reception in any contemporary newspaper that I could consult, although such a paper as, e.g., the *Boston Evening Transcript*, will regularly, in a Washington column, notice social gatherings of considerably less importance. Schliemann, however, may well have visited the Senate Gallery. *The Appendix to the Congressional Globe: 31st Congress 2nd Session*, 23 (Washington 1851) 292–326, records that on Friday 21 February 1851 following the reading of an executive message from Millard Fillmore, Clay addressed the Senate on the subject of the message, a recent violation of the Fugitive Slave Law in Boston, and moved that the matter be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. In the long debate that followed the following senators spoke: Hale, Mason, Butler, Dickinson, Cass, Davis and Badger. Schliemann omits Butler, Dickinson, Cass and Badger, but they may have been included under his "etc." He adds Douglas of Illinois, a famous speaker, who did not share in this debate on this date. He had spoken briefly earlier, however, to defend an Illinois Representative on the matter of Indians' annuities against criticism by the Secretary of the Interior; and he would speak the next day on the Fugitive Slave Law. Perhaps Schliemann took all the names, omitting the less famous, from a later newspaper account of the whole debate and neglected to observe that Douglas spoke on Saturday to the matter and not on Friday. I do not think the discrepancy, however, can rule out the possibility that Schliemann in fact visited the Senate Gallery on Friday 21 February 1851.

³⁰ See Niederland, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 374: "it seems permissible to think of these writings as *confessions once removed*, as it were; that is, as the precipitates of experiences of such a terrifying character that they could only be expressed intellectually transposed into a foreign language, thus transmuted, alienated, and labeled a linguistic exercise."

suggested that certain experiences Schliemann could only bear to express in foreign languages as *Sprachübungen*. The Fillmore visit was one. The lie in German would be too blatant. In English it somehow did not belong to Schliemann.

Perhaps we have discovered a *topos*. During his third visit to North America in 1867–68 Schliemann composed a letter to Höhne, the German Consul in St Petersburg, dated Havana, 28 December 1867. He writes:³¹ “Ich ging . . . nach . . . Washington wo ich den Präsidenten, Andreas Johnson, den Finanzminister McCulloch und den Schatzmeister General Spinner sowie den berühmten General Grant besuchte, welche Alle mir die beruhigendsten Mittheilungen über die Lage und Aussichten des Landes machten.” Ludwig³² cites apparently from an unpublished diary³³ which he dates “the beginning of 1868.” Schliemann describes his visit to President Andrew Johnson: “He is a fairly simple man, of about fifty-five. I told him I wished to pay him my respects, and said that his latest message to Congress had pleased me very much, and that in Cuba, where I read it, it was enthusiastically received; seven out of eight people there were for annexation. He said: ‘Yes, Cuba has a leaning towards the United States, and the time will come when it will be absorbed in them.’” Either Schliemann twice visited President Johnson, who confided a remarkable secret of American foreign policy to an unknown German businessman; or, while in Cuba he decided to impress a distant compatriot in a letter he may never have posted and when in Washington continued the fancy—thus the reference to Cuba—with an entry in his diary reminiscent of the earlier Fillmore visit. There are again the thumbnail characterization, the guess at the President’s age, Schliemann’s desire to pay his respects, the frank approval and encouragement of the President, and the immediate *camaraderie*. I consider the Johnson visit as historical as the Fillmore one.³⁴

³¹ See Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 133 (no.103).

³² See Ludwig 92–93. Ludwig further observes that Schliemann “sought in vain for General Grant at the War Office.” Either this would have been a second visit with General Grant, or Schliemann has forgotten that he earlier wrote in the letter to Höhne that he had visited the famous General Grant.

³³ Payne 94 alleges, “Schliemann wrote later to a German friend,” and then cites the Johnson anecdote. He has taken, as often, the whole incident from Ludwig and guessed that the source was a letter. Even Payne observes (*ibid.*): “It is unlikely that the President would have committed himself in this way to a total stranger.”

³⁴ Meyer 230, apparently on the basis of letter and diary, accepts the historicity of the whole tale.

4. Let us turn to a case of contradictory internal evidence: young Schliemann and the Governor General of Panama. On 13 March 1851 at 7:30 p.m. Schliemann attends a theater in Panama. The cost, condition of the seats, appearance of other theatergoers are carefully recorded. Schliemann had not been able to gather information on the Panamanian (then New Granada) government. Fortunately an opportunity is at hand. I cite the diary:³⁵ “On my left were sitting two young Spaniards, and I employed all my power of conversation to gather from them as much as possible useful information about this country and the mode of its government. But I found their education on a very low degree, and all I could learn from them was, that a president stands at the head of the government; that the country is divided into about 30 provinces, and that each province sends 2 representatives and 1 senator to Congress, which takes place once a year at Bogotà and lasts 3 months.” He continues to describe the difficulties of reaching Bogotà.

Three days later Schliemann is aboard the steamer “Oregon” sailing for Sacramento City. He commends the moon and the beauty of the calm sea. Stateroom F, to which he has been assigned, is small and must be shared with two others. The day’s lengthy entry concludes with the report of a Catholic priest who sought to rape a nine month old girl and then an addendum:³⁶ “In the foregoing pages I forgot to insert that on the 13th inst. I visited the Governor of Panama, who received me with great politeness, and with whom I had a long conversation.” This is faithfully reported by the biographers.³⁷

If in fact Schliemann had had “a long conversation” with the Governor of Panama on 13th March, he would have had to have it before attending the theater at 7:30 p.m. If he had had the conversation before 7:30 p.m. with the Governor, there would have been no need to interrogate two unknown young Spanish theater-goers on the nature of Panamanian governmental administration. Rather Schliemann had been idly leafing back through his diary entries, while on shipboard, reread the entry for 13 March on the administration of Panama, and wrote an addendum about his personal visit to the Governor General. If in fact this visit had ever taken place, Schliemann

³⁵ See Weber 41.

³⁶ See Weber 45.

³⁷ See Meyer 116.



Figure 1. MEMORIAL PLAQUE TO SCHLIEMANN, NEUBUKOW
(Photograph by Dr Wolfgang Schindler)



Figure 2. SCHLIEMANN'S BIRTHPLACE: OLD PFARRHAUS, NEUBUKOW
(from S. Heissel, *Neubukow: aus der Geschichte einer mecklenburgischen Landstadt*, 1937)

PLATE 11 CALDER

No.	Name	Parents	Birth Date	Church	Other
289	Schliemann, Joh.	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	8. Mai 1814	Schliemann	24. Mai 1822
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	9. Mai 1816	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Joh. Jacob	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	1. April 1818	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	1. Mai 1819	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Joh. Jacob	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	6. Januar 1822	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	3. Dec. 1817	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Joh. Jacob	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	24. Mai 1842	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	21. Dec. 1844	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Joh. Jacob	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	4. Dec. 1825	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	22. Oct. 1815	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Joh. Jacob	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	11. Januar 1822	Schliemann	
	Schliemann, Karol. Kluge	Joh. Jacob, Karol. Kluge	21. Aug. 1824	Schliemann	

Figure 1. SCHLIEMANN'S BIRTH IN PARISH REGISTER, NEUBUKOW
(Photograph by Dr Wolfgang Schindler)



Figure 2. SCHLIEMANN'S FATHER'S CHURCH IN NEUBUKOW
(Photograph by Dr Wolfgang Schindler)

would have been the last man in the world to forget to enter it on the day that it had occurred.

I do not wish to multiply examples of this kind *ad infinitum*. I think that my point is clear. Schliemann created for himself in his diaries and letters a fantasy-life. His autobiography is not historical truth. It is a *Wunschbild*, a picture that he had created of himself and that he wished posterity to accept. His obedient biographers have served him well. Occasionally we are able to glimpse Schliemann the autobiographer at work. These glimpses confirm what a critical examination of his autobiographical writings has suggested. Let us take four examples.

1. With a Latin letter of 27 March 1866³⁸ Carl Andress, a librarian of Neustrelitz and a former schoolteacher of Schliemann, who since 1856 had paid him an annual allowance,³⁹ enclosed a five-page copy of the account of the saga of Henning Bradenkirl, the robber baron of Ankershagen,⁴⁰ from the edition of Pastor Dr M. A. Niederhöffer in his *Mecklenburgische Volkssagen*. Schliemann's early autobiographies⁴¹ say nothing of the influence of the Henning-Saga upon his boyhood. By 20 November 1875 in a letter to Schlie⁴² and by 2 December 1875 in a letter to Dr Vogler⁴³ the wish has become fact. The Homerist Schliemann had been decisively influenced by local heroic saga since infancy. He writes to Dr Vogler: "Diese Reihe von geheimnissvollen Sagen machte einen tiefen, unerlöschlichen Eindruck auf mein kindliches Gemüth und oft beschwor ich den Vater doch Henning's Grab und den Hügel mit der goldenen Wiege auszugraben." This version entered into the *Selbstbiographie*⁴⁴ and the biographers. Dr Niederhöffer had one further rôle to play. The drunken miller of the *Selbstbiographie*⁴⁵ who in Fürstenberg in autumn 1837 first recited ancient

³⁸ Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 125–26 (no.95).

³⁹ See Meyer 434 n.197.

⁴⁰ For the saga of Henning Bradenkirl see Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 359 n.453, to which add Karl Krambeer, *Mecklenburgische Sagen*² (Ribnitz 1926) 81–84, and R. Wossidlo and Gisella Schneidewind, *Herr und Knecht: antifeudale Sagen aus Mecklenburg* (Berlin 1960) 73ff.

⁴¹ See Weber 3, the earliest published autobiography (early 1850s), where there is nothing of Henning or Homer. The Rostock biographies of 1869 say nothing of Henning.

⁴² See Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 297–98 (no.273).

⁴³ See Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 301–02 (no.275). At *Briefwechsel I*.319 n.173 for 274 read 275.

⁴⁴ See *Selbstbiographie* 13ff.

⁴⁵ See *Selbstbiographie* 22. In the Rostock Latin biography of 1869 the miller has not yet his famous name: "Filius erat sacerdotis evangelici, pago prope oppidum Teterow oriundus."

Greek to the impressionable Heinrich, who prayed that God in his mercy might some day allow him to learn Greek, was called Hermann Niederhöffer. Ernst Meyer⁴⁶ believes that he was the son of the editor and remarks on “the rare coincidence.” I think rather a clever fraud. By 1875 Schliemann had even found his Homer,⁴⁷ the village tailor, Wöllert, who had one leg and one eye and whom every one called Peter Hüppert. He would have become an outstanding scholar (“ein bedeutender Gelehrter”) if he had been able to attend the University of Rostock. He was a brilliant *raconteur* with a remarkable memory. He could repeat Pastor Schliemann’s Sunday sermon word for word on Monday morning. He in fact was Schliemann’s idea of the blind and rustic Homer.⁴⁸

2. A revealing letter to Minna Richers, geb. Meincke, is preserved, written by Schliemann presumably from Athens in December 1880, just after the publication of the autobiography that introduced his *Ilium*.⁴⁹ I should translate: “You have probably received my *Ilium*. Should you find that I have exaggerated our friendship of fifty years ago, you must not take offense and ascribe it simply to my old devotion. As circumstances turn out, all my disquisitions can only offer you the highest of honor and all German women would be pleased to be made immortal in the same fashion. We are having the most magnificent spring and I am writing this in shirtsleeves with doors and windows open.” Schliemann the Autobiographer at work. We see his boundless arrogance, his egotism and his pathological mendacity. The letter refers to the romantic farewell scene at Neustrelitz on Good Friday 1836. Schliemann goes to the house of the musician C. E. Laue to bid him farewell. The following transpires:⁵⁰ “By chance I met there Minna Meincke, whom I had not seen for more than five

⁴⁶ See Meyer 43.

⁴⁷ “Der Weber Wöllert” is first associated with Henning in the letters to Schlie (20 November 1875) and to Dr Vogler (2 December 1875). Only once does Wöllert appear elsewhere in Schliemann’s correspondence. From St Petersburg on 7 February 1861 Schliemann writes one Bahlmann to help “ein Schneider namens Fritz Wöllert, der mich als Kind systematisch tyrannisirte u. mich täglich durchprügelte”: see Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 105 (no.72). Perhaps he was the son of Peter: see Meyer, *Briefwechsel I*.317 n.147. For the village Homer see *Selbstbiographie* 18–19. Brustgi 8ff accepts all as fact.

⁴⁸ For the convergence of local low-German and Homeric saga in Schliemann’s mind see E. Meyer, *Antike* 16 (1939) 81–97.

⁴⁹ See Meyer, *Briefwechsel II* (*supra* n.6) 114 (no.88).

⁵⁰ I have translated *Selbstbiographie* 21–22.

years. Never shall I forget this last meeting that we were ever to have.⁵¹ She was now 14 years old and, since I last saw her, quite grown up. She was dressed in simple black and the simplicity of her dress served only to heighten her captivating beauty. As we looked into each others' eyes, we broke into a storm of tears and fell, unable to speak a word, into each others' arms. Again and again we tried to speak, but our emotion was so great that we could not utter a word." Soon after Minna's parents enter the room and break the young lovers up. Not one bit of this ever happened. Not one word is true. But the whole appears in Schliemann's *Selbstbiographie* as historical fact.

3. Heinrich's little suitcase. On the night of 11–12 December 1841 the good ship "Dorothea," on which nineteen-year-old Schliemann had embarked from Hamburg for Venezuela, capsized. I follow his account in a letter to his sisters dated 20 February 1842, some two months after what we may optimistically call the fact. Schliemann clung unconscious for four hours to an empty barrel.⁵² At last he was washed up on a sand bank near the Dutch island of Texel. He was rescued and taken to the home of a local citizen to recover. He had only his shirt and woollen vest.⁵³ All else had been lost. The English autobiography of 1850–51 does not contradict this;⁵⁴ nor do the unpublished Rostock Greek and Latin lives. In the *Selbstbiographie* there is a miraculous detail.⁵⁵ While captain, crew and passengers had all lost everything, Schliemann's little suitcase with all his worldly possessions, even the undamaged letters of introduction, was spied floating near the shore, rescued and returned to its owner. Schliemann is

⁵¹ Schliemann saw Minna again in Ankershagen on 9 July 1883 and from then on sent her 300 marks annually: see Meyer 139. Brustgi (pp.12–13) cites farewell as fact.

⁵² For the letter see Meyer, *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 9–33 (no.1). A postscript suggests that the letter was in fact sent (see Meyer, *ibid.* 303 n.2). I suppose the original was preserved by the sisters and was returned to Schliemann. In the letter Schliemann speaks only of the barrel with nothing of the little lifeboat packed with thirteen other survivors: see *Selbstbiographie* 24. The existence of numerous discrepancies in the varied accounts encourages doubt of the whole.

⁵³ See *Briefwechsel I* (*supra* n.6) 24: "man zog mir mein Hemd und wollene Unterjacke, meine einzige Bekleidung."

⁵⁴ See Weber 8, where the "14 persons in a small boat" first appears.

⁵⁵ See *Selbstbiographie* 25: "Und noch derselbe Tag bestätigte mir diesen frohen Glauben; denn während der Kapitän und meine Gefährten ihren ganzen Besitz bei dem Schiffbruch eingebüsst hatten, wurde mein kleiner Koffer, der einige Hemden und Strümpfe sowie mein Taschenbuch und einige mir von Herrn Wendt verschaffte Empfehlungsbriefe nach La Guaira enthielt, unversehrt auf dem Meere schwimmend gefunden und herausgezogen."

making fact. But Heinrich's little suitcase has entered the biographers to delight and amaze thousands of readers.⁵⁶

Have we detected another *topos*, Schliemann the Darling of Fortune? On the evening of 3 October 1854 Schliemann peered through a window of the Hôtel de Prusse in Königsberg and read an ominous inscription, whose text he sought later to verify, the corroborative detail.⁵⁷

*Vultus fortunae variatur imagine lunae:
Crescit, decrescit, constans persistere nescit.*

Although not superstitious, he retired disturbed. He soon learns that on 4 October 1854, the very next day, the city of Memel had burned to the ground. He has lost 150,000 thalers of merchandise. He is a poor man. At Memel, a gigantic cemetery, he stumbles amid the smoke-blackened walls and chimneys, which he likens to huge tombstones. He is standing dazed, waiting for a coach to St Petersburg. Someone in the crowd asks his name and then cries out: "Schliemann ist ja der einzige, der nichts verloren hat!" A sudden shift in the wind had spared the massive warehouse where Schliemann's goods were stored. Schliemann, the Darling of Fortune, is rich and powerful again. He stands speechless and sobs.

4. Schliemann learned by post at St Petersburg on 20 July 1850 that his brother Ludwig had died at Sacramento City, California, on 21 May 1850. He must inform his relatives. Emil Ludwig relates his method:⁵⁸ "Instead of informing them directly he first of all invented a dream in which he had seen his brother lying dead, 'and I, who have not wept for twenty years and whom nothing ever moved, have not ceased weeping for three days, and all because of a mere dream'." A second letter to his family conveyed the news that his dream had come true. A published letter to a cousin reveals the same ruse used in a letter to his elder sister Dorothea (1818–1912).⁵⁹ He uses even his

⁵⁶ See Stoll 115: "Das ist Heinrichs kleiner Koffer. Niemand hat etwas gerettet ausser dem nackten Leben. Nur von ihm will das Meer nichts nehmen, etc."; Payne 26: "... but what pleased him more than anything was that his sea box . . . was found on the sand bank, etc."; and most recently Brustgi 24–25.

⁵⁷ For what follows see *Selbstbiographie* 33–35. For the whole motif of Tyche in Schliemann's life see Meyer 400ff ('Das Glück').

⁵⁸ See Ludwig 55.

⁵⁹ In a letter to Dr Wachenhusen, his cousin in Röbel (*Briefwechsel* I [*supra* n.6] 47–48 [no. 12]), Schliemann encloses a letter to Dorothea concerning the dream and instructs Wachenhusen "ganz allmählich und langsam" to tell Dortchen the truth. Ludwig must be citing from an unpublished letter probably to his father or other sisters.

brother's death to create melodrama and romance and a picture of himself as the inspired prophet whose dream comes true.

Our glimpses of Schliemann the autobiographer at work agree with our analyses of autobiographical statements. What do distinguished contemporaries write of him? Schliemann the man was detested or ridiculed by almost all who knew him. He had only one friend, the pathologist, Rudolf Virchow. And he had a protégé. Andreas Rumpf has written that Schliemann's greatest discovery was Dörpfeld.⁶⁰ The reports of contemporaries agree in their disparagement. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff only mentions Schliemann once in his *Erinnerungen*⁶¹ and scarcely notices him elsewhere. Aged twenty-two, Wilamowitz was at the German Institute in Rome with his friend Kaibel. "It was about then that Schliemann discovered the treasure of Priam; the report in which he thanked Providence for rewarding his faith and his wife for saving the treasure in her shawl was greeted with great hilarity." The young Wilamowitz carried the joke even further. He disguised himself as Sophie Schliemann and in female clothing attended a soirée at the Helbig's, where he was introduced as "Madame Schliemann née Providence" and greeted Helbig "mit französischem Überschwang." People were fooled and the joke was an hilarious success.

Adolf Furtwängler, aged twenty-eight, writes his mother on 13 July 1881 of Schliemann's visit to the Archaeological Society in Berlin.⁶² He was tolerated, of course, because he could donate things. "There is a tremendous reception for Schliemann here. Nonetheless, he is and remains a half-crazy and confused human being, who has no idea whatsoever of the meaning of his excavations." That autumn Furtwängler chanced to meet Schliemann on the street in Paris. Schliemann invited him to dinner at the most expensive hotel in the

⁶⁰ See A. Rumpf, *Archäologie I: Einleitung, historischer Überblick* (Berlin 1953) 95. The *mot* may be Schliemann's own: Brustgi 273. For Dörpfeld on Schliemann see his foreword to Ernst Meyer, *Briefe* (*supra* n.6) 8–16. They are especially important for Dörpfeld's defense of Schliemann against Sir Arthur Evans.

⁶¹ See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen 1848–1914*² (Leipzig 1929) 148–49. On 8 January 1972 I told Dorothea Freifrau Hiller von Gaertringen, geb. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, that I considered Schliemann a pathological liar, and she replied, "My Father would have agreed with you in a moment." Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff recalls that her father "thought nothing of Schliemann and very little of Dörpfeld."

⁶² See Adolf Greifenhagen, *Adolf Furtwängler: Briefe aus dem Bonner Privatdozentenjahr 1879/80 und der Zeit seiner Tätigkeit an den Berliner Museen 1880–1894* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1965) 77.

city. Furtwängler, describing the occasion, concludes:⁶³ "In spite of his passion for Homer, Schliemann is fundamentally a speculator and businessman. He can never get rid of that." Theodor Wiegand recalls his vulgarity.⁶⁴ In conversation he often fell unwittingly into his native Platt. He always would bow lower than his guests. After entertaining prominent guests at the hotel, Schliemann would signal that the party was over by asking the headwaiter for the check and paying him in front of everybody. Sir Flinders Petrie, who as a youth saw Schliemann in Egypt three years before his death in Naples on Christmas 1890, is more charitable:⁶⁵ "short, round-headed, round-faced, round-hatted, great round-goggle-eyed, spectacled, cheeriest of beings; dogmatic but always ready for facts." He was the self-made man and dilettante.⁶⁶

Like many men of genius, Schliemann had much psychopathy in his personality. He lived or acted some of it out in his behavior.⁶⁷ An unhappy childhood had led to prolonged infantility. This is apparent in his lifelong, obsessive writing of autobiographies and in his endless composing of letters to famous people. If they remained in his *Nachlass*, how many did he actually send?⁶⁸ I should add another remarkable and neglected piece of evidence. In the cemetery at Ankershagen, a large cross stands to the right of the church as seen from the west. It bears this inscription:

⁶³ *Ibid.* 88.

⁶⁴ See Carl Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand: ein deutscher Archäologe 1864–1936* (Munich 1944) 42–43.

⁶⁵ See Sir W. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years of Archaeology* (London 1931) 83.

⁶⁶ See Adolf Michaelis, *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1906) 184: "Er war eben ein Dilettant im vollen Sinne des Wortes, sowohl in dem guten eines für seine Liebhaberei begeisterten, wie in dem anderen eines methodelos und ohne gründliche Kenntnis seine Ziele verfolgenden Mannes. Er war Dilettant auch im Ausgraben, ohne eine Ahnung dass es eine Methode und feste Technik dafür gebe; er war Dilettant in architektonischen wie in archäologischen Dingen"; and Ludwig Curtius, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 24 December 1953, 17: "dass er bei all seinem Enthusiasmus, bei all seiner mecklenburgischen Zähigkeit ein reiner Dilettant war, der von eigentlicher archäologischer Ausgrabungstechnik, von griechischer Geschichte, Kunst und Religion keine Ahnung hatte." See lately W. Schiering, *ap. U. Hausmann, Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie* (Munich 1969) 129.

⁶⁷ See Niederland, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5), and his "Heinrich Schliemann: Leben und Werk in tiefen-psychologischer Sicht," *Carolinum* 37 (1971) 34–41.

⁶⁸ In the case of Schliemann we can only believe that a letter was sent if evidence exists that it was received. Naturally for a student of Schliemann's personality there is no difference whether a letter was mailed or merely composed and kept. I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Paul O. Kristeller, for drawing my attention to this point.

HENRY SCHLIEMANN
 IN ST. PETERSBURG, SEINER GELIEBTEN MUTTER,
 LOUISE THERESE SOPHIA SCHLIEMANN, GEB. BURGER,
 GEB. D. 18. MAI 1793, GEST. D. 22. MÄRZ 1831.

The anglicized Christian name, his name before that of his mother, the inclusion of his domicile at St Petersburg on an inscription at Ankershagen, all these details make the cross rather a monument for Schliemann himself than for his mother.

A lack of conscience may have been acquired from his father. This fortunate endowment made him a successful businessman. He would not hesitate a moment to deceive a colleague. He was an eager war-profiteer, whether the Crimean War or the American Civil War. A dream on 17 March 1855 inspired him to corner the saltpeter market and win a fortune from the Crimean War.⁷⁰ This same lack of conscience made him a successful archaeologist. The Turkish Government forbade him to excavate Hissarlik. He excavated Hissarlik. The owners of the property forbade him to excavate their hill. He excavated it. The Turkish Government forbade him to export his finds. He smuggled them to Athens. In a letter to Queen Sophie of Holland, presenting her with a gift of twelve ancient figurines, he informs her that the package cannot be sent "by the direct steamer, the exportation of antiquities being strictly prohibited in Greece."⁷¹ He treated governments like business rivals. One may recall his childish impatience and temper tantrums. Schliemann blamed the death of General Gordon of Khartoum—one of his heroes—on Gladstone's refusal to send reinforcements. In revenge he took the signed photograph of Gladstone, who had made him famous in England, from his study and hung it in the toilet of his Athenian mansion.⁷²

How did his psychopathy affect his archaeology? The disinterested

⁷⁰ See Meyer 398.

⁷¹ See Meyer, *Briefwechsel II* (*supra* n.6) 36 (no.8). The letter in English is dated Athens, 2 March 1876. It begins: "Only today I have returned to Athens and my first care has been to select from my collection of Greek antiquities the best 10 Tanagra-figurines for your Majesty." In fact he had already been one week in Athens: see Meyer, *ibid.* 416 n.29. Furthermore, he had earlier written to Sophie to purchase the statuettes precisely for this purpose. He requires her to "find very nice ones at a very low price. I can't pay much because I have to give them away." See L. and G. Poole, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.16) 223. Two untruths in the first sentence of a letter to the Queen of Holland, who earlier had generously entertained him in her country.

⁷² See Payne 242, who oddly attributes the decision to "typical Mecklenburger cunning."

recording of finds, their description, the drawings need not be universally doubted. Much can be controlled by the extant objects themselves. Rather, specific interpretation must be queried and often discarded. The fantasy-life of his diaries and letters became the fantasy-life of his excavation reports. A Roman glass vessel found at Ithaca contains the ashes of Odysseus. A Bronze Age treasure becomes the jewelry of the fair Helen. A nameless mummy is the corpse of King Agamemnon. The Minister at Athens learns by cable of Schliemann's discovery of "the dead man with the round face. This one is very like the picture which my imagination formed of Agamemnon long ago."⁷³ Again Schliemann makes fact. An exultant telegram to the King of Greece follows.⁷⁴ A secretary replied.⁷⁵

A critical investigation of Schliemann's autobiography remains a pressing task. We must doubt every statement in any autobiographical document composed by Schliemann, unless an external control can be adduced to confirm it. The mendacity of Schliemann is exceeded only by the gullibility of his biographers. An historical biography of Schliemann, in contrast to a *Lebensroman*, has yet to be written. We must doubt everything. What about the boundless wealth of Schliemann? What evidence do we have of his wealth apart from his own assertions? In 1927 Sophie sold the pretentious Iliou Melathron and "moved into a small house that she built for herself near the sea at Phaleron."⁷⁶ To what degree had the selfmade man, who often advised living in the cheapest room of the best hotel, lived within his income?

Ventris and Chadwick dedicated *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* to Heinrich Schliemann, "Father of Mycenaean Archaeology," and continue to cite the *Selbstbiographie*:⁷⁷ "I had always passionately longed to learn Greek . . ." What do we know about the life-long obsession with Homer and with Troy? The historian must ask: what is the precise date of the first evidence for this obsession? The American life

⁷³ See Ludwig 173, who remarks on "the childish credulity of the grown man." Payne 200 follows Ludwig. I have not seen the text of this telegram. The detail (Ludwig 173) that Schliemann "kissed the death mask of Agamemnon which he had unearthed out of the débris, in the midst of rain and cold" sounds like later romantic elaboration.

⁷⁴ See *Selbstbiographie* 83; Meyer 296-97; and Schuchhardt 159.

⁷⁵ Thus Payne 202.

⁷⁶ See L. and G. Poole, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.16) 283.

⁷⁷ See Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1956) v, who cite *Selbstbiographie* 35-36.

(1850–51) has nothing of the matter. The Rostock lives (1869) begin by recalling that on Christmas of his tenth year (1832) the boy Schliemann presented his father with a primitive Latin account of the Trojan War. By the time of the *Selbstbiographie* (1881) Schliemann can report that his father had a passionate interest in ancient history and often used to tell his son (a) of the wonders of Herculaneum and Pompeii and that he considered those human beings most fortunate who were able to conduct excavations there, and (b) of the deeds of the Homeric heroes and the events of the Trojan War. He found the boy “a zealous enthusiast for Trojan matters.”⁷⁸ Then the first date, now an earlier one, Christmas 1829. Heinrich’s father, aware of his remarkable interest in the distant past, presents him with a copy of G. L. Jerrer, *Weltgeschichte für Kinder*.⁷⁹ A plate depicting Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius fleeing burning Troy decides the seven-year-old. He vows to his father that he will excavate the walls of Troy. Here is the authentic detail. Jerrer’s book, published in two volumes in 1821, and the modest plate exist. I have seen a copy.⁸⁰ Meyer even claims a copy with the childish signature in the *Nachlass*,⁸¹ “the seed stored in his heart until it ripened in its time.” The book existed. Schliemann apparently possessed a copy as a child. Only so much is certain. Did Schliemann’s copy remain in his father’s library until his death in 1870⁸² and was it later restored to its owner, who shortly before 1880 saw the picture and transferred an “authentic detail” into his own past? This would explain its absence from the lives of 1869 and inclusion in the speech of 1880 and the life of 1881.

Schliemann in the Rostock lives alleges that he learned Greek in 1856. An unpublished letter of 9 June 1855 alleges fluency in Greek and Latin composition. The earliest dated reference I can find to Homer is in a letter to J. H. Bahlmann in Waren dated St Petersburg, 20 January 1857, where he reports his enthusiasm for *Wissenschaft* and the delight with which he reads Sophocles, Homer, Horace and Vergil.⁸³

⁷⁸ See *Selbstbiographie* 16–17.

⁷⁹ An event first attested in an address of 9 August 1880: see Meyer 44, 421.

⁸⁰ From the Prussian State Library in Berlin, D.D.R. I am grateful to Dr K. Zimmermann, who procured and showed me the book.

⁸¹ See Meyer 14.

⁸² For Ernst Joh. Adolf Schliemann (1780–1870), son of Pastor Joh. David Schliemann, see Gustav Willgeroth, *Die Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen Pfarren seit dem dreiszigjährigen Kriege* IV (Wismar 1925) 595. I am indebted for this reference to Propst i. R. K. Timm.

⁸³ See Meyer, *Briefwechsel* I (*supra* n.6) 88 (no.53).

By 1869 (the Rostock Greek life) he can write atrocious ancient Greek. At some time between 1857 and 1869 Schliemann began to create his Homeric past. The letter from Andress in 1866 on Henning Bradenkirl is evidence for the fiction. The tale of a lifelong obsession with Homer and Troy is perfected in the *Selbstbiographie* and accepted and embellished by all the biographers. Unless some confirmatory, dated evidence can be adduced, it is a *Wunschbild* after the fact.

The sources of Schliemann's autobiography will be found to be the sentimental, naïve romances that Schliemann by his own admission not only read but memorized. A scholar of nineteenth-century European fiction could document the motifs. One may recall how Richard Wagner (he named his son Siegfried, as Schliemann did his Agamemnon) or Karl May⁸⁴ (he lived in Villa Shatterhand as Schliemann in Iliou Melathron) naïvely identified with their heroes, how Nietzsche, also a pastor's son, created thoroughly fictitious aristocratic forebears, or how the novelist, K. F. Meyer, invented an aristocratic ancestor and produced a portrait to authenticate him. A fellow resident of Paris, Henrik Ibsen, in *Peer Gynt* (1867) dramatized the tragedy of a pathological liar and selfmade man, for whose hero Schliemann could easily have been the model.⁸⁵

I am—I am happy to repeat—
 A man exclusively selftaught.
 My studies have had no discipline;
 But fed by thought and speculation
 And random reading, my mind has grown.
 I started rather late in life;
 And then, as you know, it's heavy stuff
 Plowing your way from page to page
 And prodding your memory to gorge.
 History I picked up in scraps;
 Never had the time for more . . .
 Consider the career I've traced.
 What was I when I headed West?
 A ragged boy with empty hands . . .

⁸⁴ Wieland Schmied, *Kein Troja ohne Homer* (Nürnberg 1960) 9: "Heinrich Schliemann ist eine Gestalt, die Karl May erfunden haben könnte; was der Webersohn aus dem Erzgebirge träumte und sich in seinen Romanen erfüllte, hat der Mecklenburger Pastorensohn gelebt."

⁸⁵ Professor Joachim Wohlleben (West Berlin) first drew the parallel for me with *Peer Gynt*. The passages I cite are from monologues of *Peer Gynt* in the translation of Rolf Fjelde.

Well, Luck, as you know, was kind to me;
 And old Fate showed liberality.
 Things moved. I took them flexibly
 And, step by step, rose up the ladder.
 Within ten years I bore the name
 Of Croesus with the Charleston traders.
 Port after port declared my fame,
 And fortune rode in all my hulls . . .
 . . . I'm searching in Babylon
 for the Hanging Gardens, the concubines—
 The hallmarks of cultured society.
 Next, in one bound, to the walls of Troy.
 From Troy there's a sea route goes direct
 To Athens, queen city of monuments—
 There I'll explore the pass that once
 Leonidas fought and died to protect—
 I'll study the leading philosophers,
 Find Socrates' cell where he ended his years.

Schliemann was of the same mould. What a remarkable paradox!
 The egoistic, tortured, romantic, infantile, brilliant, incomparable
 Schliemann discovered the historical Agamemnon.⁸⁶

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⁸⁶ A first German version of this paper was read in the Pastor's house at Neubukow on Schliemann's 150th birthday, 6 January 1972. Later English versions were read at the Seminar for Classical Civilization, Columbia University on 17 February 1972; at Wellesley College on 28 March 1972; at the University of Connecticut, Storrs, on 14 April 1972; at Boston College on 25 April 1972; at New York University on 2 May 1972; at the University of Copenhagen on 25 May 1972; at Haverford College on 7 December 1972. A later German version was delivered at Hamburg University on 6 June 1972 and at Konstanz University on 13 June 1972. I learned much from the discussion on all these occasions. I am indebted to the following scholars who have improved what I had to say in many ways: Professor Sterling Dow (Harvard University), Dr Werner Krenkel (Rostock University), Professor Walther Ludwig (Columbia University), J. S. Mautner (Columbia University), Professor George Reinhardt (University of Connecticut), Dr Wolfgang Schindler (Humboldt Universität, Berlin, D.D.R.), Professor E. L. Smithson (State University of New York at Buffalo), Professor Achim Wohlleben (Freie Universität, West Berlin), Dr K. Zimmermann (Rostock University). I owe especial gratitude to Dr med. William G. Niederland, Professor of Clinical Psychiatry at the State University of New York, who through his letters, writings and conversation generously shared his profound knowledge of Schliemann's personality and provided encouragement at a critical time. Propst i. R. Karl Timm (Bellin, Mecklenburg), father of the Pastor of Neubukow, first convinced me to write on a famous son of an earlier Pastor of Neubukow. Dr Schindler with his usual skill and generosity supplied the photographs.