

Chapter 11

“Unrestricted Research Opportunities” with “Unpleasant Surprises” – German Archaeologists in Greece During the National Socialist Era



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Abstract This chapter aims to give an overview of relationships and connections between German and Greek archaeologists during the years 1933 and 1950 divided into four successive sections. It focuses on German academics who had close ties to Greece and Greek archaeology through both their archaeological work and their social and personal circumstances. The first section examines events of 1933, when Hitler came to power, and demonstrates the reaction of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, as well as other Germans and Greeks, to this event. The diary of a renowned archaeologist kept at this time offers new insights into contemporaneous upheavals. The second section examines how the new philhellenic National Socialist system met with considerable approval in Greek circles. Close political and economic collaboration supported cultural exchange between the two countries. The third section, marked by the *Wehrmacht* invasion and the ensuing occupation of Greece in April 1941, should be seen as a turning point, as occupying National Socialist archaeologists eagerly and unscrupulously carried out archaeological projects in Greece. The fourth section critically evaluates this archaeological ‘exploitation’ and the resulting disagreements, which proved an obstacle to the resumption of German archaeological work in Greece post war.

Keywords Aerial photographs · DAI · *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* · Kerameikos · *Kunstschutz* · Olympia

Quote in the title: DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, excerpt from a letter from Karl Kübler to Martin Schede, 26.5.1941.

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Introduction

Examination of National Socialist archaeology in Greece and its legacies involves major challenges, which this chapter seeks to address. Those archaeological activities considered a priority for the National Socialist regime during the occupation of Greece from 1941 to 1944/45 will be identified. The most important organisations and participants will be introduced, as well as the main projects and their results. Alongside these tangible ‘gains’, which are reflected, for example, in archaeological discoveries, documentation and publications, there is also a more elusive legacy: the loss of trust and damage to structures, networks and relationships developed over long periods. Research focuses on the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* [German Archaeological Institute] at Athens, referred to hereafter as ‘DAI Athen’. Established in 1872, the institute had developed and expanded its network in Greece throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, archaeologists involved were not only interested in scientific and cultural issues; as this chapter reveals, during the National Socialist era, ideological alliances and political ties to influential figures would play an increasingly important role.

Relations Between German and Greek Archaeologists Before World War Two: The Situation After the Seizure of Power

In September 1933, the German archaeologist Rudolf Herzog (1871–1953)¹ travelled to Greece and visited the DAI Athen. He recorded his impressions and experiences in a diary still preserved in the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities].² The diary provides insights into contemporary political and cultural upheavals in both Germany and Greece. It also reveals that Hitler’s Nazi dictatorship was initially viewed positively by numerous intellectuals in Greece.³ Employees at the DAI Athen were open about their enthusiasm and support for the National Socialist regime and it was also apparent that some influential representatives of Greek society regarded the ‘German movement’ sympathetically. Even archaeologists

¹Rudolf Ludwig Friedrich Herzog was *Rektor* [Dean] at the *Universität Gießen* [University of Gießen] from 1928 and its *Kanzler* [Director] from 1933. Together with Paul Schazmann (1871–1946) from Switzerland he published the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos in 1932 (Holfelder, 2012, p. 40, Fig. 11). It is not clear from his diary in what role and on whose behalf, he came to Athens in 1933. In a letter to the central office, he indicates that he undertook his trips to Athens and Rome “für das Deutschtum im Auftrag der Deutschen Akademie” [“for the Germanness on behalf of the German Academy”]; cf. DAI Berlin, Central Archive, from the estate of Theodor Wiegand Box 18, letter from Herzog to Wiegand, 10.7.1933.

²Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (BBAW, IG)

³Germany’s influence on Greece increased greatly during the inter-war period and especially during the 1930s. In many areas the Nazi system served as a role model (Papanastasiou, 2000; Zacharioudakis, 2002; Petrakis, 2011; Koris 2017).

who were themselves at risk because of their Jewish background or marriage, such as Georg Karo and Karl Schefold, initially welcomed the new regime (Kankeleit, 2018, 2020).

Herzog’s diary reveals the groups and individuals that dominated the so-called *Deutsche Kolonie* [German Colony, the name given to themselves by a section of the German community], the contacts cultivated as priorities, and the desire to establish and expand a German-Greek network that would have both power and influence.

On 15th September 1933, Herzog arrived at the Port of Piraeus and travelled directly to the DAI Athen, where he stayed. A welcoming committee consisting of Walther Wrede (1893–1990),⁴ Gottfried Felix Merkel (1905–2003),⁵ the *Nationale Jugend der Universität* [National University Youth Organisation]⁶ and *Hitlerjugend* [Hitler Youth]⁷ called on him there. On 16th September 1933, he received a second visit from the National University Youth Organisation to discuss “*their aims and cooperation with the German movement.*” Herzog subsequently met Merkel and the deputy *Ortsgruppenführer* [Local Group Leader] Schrage⁸ to review organisational matters and discuss a lecture and *Ortsgruppenabend* [Local Group Evening] in Athens. 17th September was used for a swimming trip to Glyfada, followed by a joint lunch with the Logothetopoulos⁹ family and Helene Wenck (1889–1976).¹⁰ On

⁴Walther Wrede occupied the role of Second Secretary at the DAI Athen from 1928 to 1936. At Hitler’s behest he was appointed First Secretary in 1937. From 1935 he held the position of *Landesgruppenleiter* [Country Group Leader] of the NSDAP/AO in Greece (Krumme, 2012, p. 162).

⁵Gottfried Felix Merkel was employed as a German tutor at the Technical University of Athens. He pursued the goal of establishing a German Studies seminar at the Athenian University, cf. PA AA R 60057, letter from the *Deutsche Gesandtschaft Athen* to the *Auswärtiges Amt* Berlin, 24.2.1937 (Zarifi, 2010, p. 158).

⁶Herzog here mistakenly writes “*Εθνιστική Νεολαία*”. The organisation in question is actually the “*Εθνική Νεολαία*”, a precursor to the fascist National Youth Organisation EON “*Εθνική Οργάνωσις Νεολαίας*”, which existed in Greece during the Metaxas dictatorship from 1936 to 1941 (Tremopoulos, 2014).

⁷The *Hitlerjugend* came into being in Greece in 1933. A co-founder was the epigraphist and archaeologist Werner Peek (1904–1994): “*Soon after the National Socialist Revolution he set about attracting the children of German families settled in Greece to the Hitlerjugend [...] If the National Socialist movement has achieved wide recognition in Greece, one cannot overlook the fact that P. with his boys and girls marching in uniform through the streets or towns, singing and proclaiming, has played a significant part in that.*”, cf. BStU, MfS, BV Halle, AOP 1124/63, Main Department V/6/II, 29.10.1959.

⁸To date no further information has been found relating to Schrage’s role in Greece.

⁹Konstantinos Logothetopoulos (1878–1961) studied medicine in Munich and was married to a German woman. He was a committed National Socialist and, following the *Wehrmacht* invasion in 1941, became Vice President and Minister of Education in the Greek collaborationist government. From 2nd December 1942 to 7th April 1943 he occupied the office of Prime Minister, but was removed after a short time on grounds of incompetence.

¹⁰Helene Wenck (1889–1976) was the daughter of the history professor Karl-Robert Wenck from Marburg. She worked as ‘personal assistant’ to the First Secretary of the DAI Athen, Georg Karo (1872–1963). In 1940 she became his wife (Lindenlauf, 2015, pp. 273, 277; 2016, p. 58, 70).

18th September, another detailed conversation with the students' delegation took place at the DAI "about its aims and advice [for achieving them]". A discussion with "Prof. Kazandzis",¹¹ the leader of the *Hitlergruppe* [Greek Hitler Group], followed. 19th September was used to cultivate additional contacts: "*Legationsrat* [Legation Councillor] Dr. Heberlein¹² at the embassy", "*Kurouniotis*¹³ at the *Unterrichtsministerium* [Ministry of Education]" and "*Ortsgruppenführer Kudorfer*,¹⁴ discussion about party and propaganda questions".

On 21st September, together with Heberlein and Merkel, he discussed his lecture "*Deutschland 1933*" in the office of the "*University Rector Sepheriadis*¹⁵ (*legal specialist, long time in France*)". The lecture took place the following day in the university auditorium, "*which is full to capacity with Greek men of government, generals, professors, students and the Deutsche Kolonie*". Herzog judged the event "*a great success for the German cause, which emerged from all sides via spontaneous applause and expressions of congratulations*". There was, however, a police presence in front of the university, "*because the communists wanted to cause a disturbance*". The evening was crowned by dinner with Georg Karo (1872–1963)¹⁶ and his mother.

In addition to these extensive political activities, Herzog also pursued his archaeological interests in Athens and met long-standing colleagues. These included the British archaeologist John D. Beazley (1885–1970) and the Hungarian scholar Anton (Antal) Hekler (1882–1940). However, neither archaeological research nor contacts with Greek or international colleagues in the field were priorities during the stay.

¹¹ Herzog writes "Kazandschis" or "Kazandzis" (i.e. Καζαντζής). This might be connected to a certain Dr. Kazantzis, a teacher at the *Deutsche Schule Athen* (Koutsoukou, 2008, p. 102); PA AA RAV Athen Vol. 63, negative judgment of his politicised lessons in the Greek newspaper 'Patris' from 18.2.1936.

¹² Erich Heberlein (1889–1980) was employed as *Legationsrat* [Legation Councillor] from 1928 to 1934 at the *Auswärtiges Amt* in Athens. In 1935 he became a member of the NSDAP. In the post-war years Heberlein attained a certain fame when it became known that he, along with his Spanish wife, was kidnapped by the Gestapo from his estate near Toledo and brought to Dachau concentration camp.

¹³ Konstantinos Kurouniotis (1872–1945) studied archaeology in Athens, Jena and Munich. During World War I he was in charge of protecting the DAI premises in Phidiou Street I, so that in 1920 the institute was able to resume its business without having suffered serious damage.

¹⁴ Karl Kudorfer (1902–1958) was the leader of the National Socialist *Ortsgruppe* [Local Group] in Athens (Koutsoukou, 2008, p. 184, note 22) from 1932. On 20th April 1933 he was elected to the *Schulrat* [School Council] of the *Deutsche Schule Athen*, which sparked criticism in some circles; cf. PA AA R 63903 g. Concerning the career of Kudorfer in Greece see PA AA RAV Athen Vol. 63, article in the newspaper 'Patris' from 18.2.1936; BArch R 9361-II 593298.

¹⁵ Stylianos Sepheriadis (1873–1951) studied law in Aix-en-Provence and Paris. His son was the writer and diplomat Giorgos Seferis (1900–1971), who received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1963.

¹⁶ Georg Karo was First Secretary of the DAI Athen from 1912 to 1919 and 1930 to 1936. Due to his Jewish origins, he was forced to emigrate to the USA in 1939 (Lindenlauf, 2015, pp. 311–324, 335; 2016, pp. 69–78).

On 23rd September, together with Werner Peek (1904–1994),¹⁷ Herzog visited the Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο [National Archaeological Museum] and the Επιγραφικό Μουσείο [Epigraphical Museum]. Afterwards there was “*swimming with Ms. Logothetopoulos in Kalamaki*” and in the evening, a second dinner with Karo. 25th September offered another highpoint: “*a large dinner in Κρητικός, 22 people, organised by Karo for Kudorfer, Bruckmann¹⁸ with wife and me, the Logothetopoulos family, Legationsrat Heberlein with his wife, General Metaxas,¹⁹ Father Dr. Kindermann,²⁰ Dr. Merkel, Ortsgruppenführer Kudorfer, Schazmann,²¹ K. Müller²² and others*”. Finally, on 27th September, a “*Kameradschaftsabend der nat.-soz. Ortsgruppe*” [comradship evening of the National Socialist Local Group] took place in the Philadelphia²³: “*Welcoming address, talk about the situation in Germany, the question of women’s rights, university lecturers*”. After Herzog, “*Mr. Bruckmann [spoke] about personal experiences with Hitler*”.

These entries from Herzog’s diary serve to reveal in detail the influential Greek-German structures and networks present in Greece in 1933. These would be deepened and intensified in the coming years, with German support programs for Greek students and academics showing a significant increase during the 1930s.

¹⁷Werner Peek (1904–1994) was Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s last pupil and was held in high esteem both domestically and abroad. As Leader of the *Hitlerjugend* he initiated the construction of a hostel for the *Hitlerjugend* in Skaramanga in 1935. Previous *Hitlerjugend* meetings were held at the DAI Athen (on the rooftop terrace) and in the *Deutsche Schule Athen* (in the gym). Peek gradually assembled a private collection of antique artefacts, which he was able to transport illegally to Germany in 1934 with the help of Hermann Göring (1893–1946); for more on this see Kavvadias, 2019.

¹⁸Hugo Bruckmann (1863–1941) was a German publisher and belonged to the most influential supporters of Adolf Hitler. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1932 up to his death.

¹⁹Ioannis Metaxas (1871–1941) stood for, as a general and parliamentary representative, a political stance that was conservative and royalist. His counterpart was Eleftherios Venizelos (1864–1936), who followed a more liberal and progressive line. On fourth August 1936 Metaxas, with the approval of Georg II, carried out a coup. His dictatorship lasted until 1941. Metaxas had studied at the *Preußische Kriegsakademie* [Prussian Military Academy] in Berlin and thus had a great affinity with Germany (Petraakis, 2011, pp. 20, 132–236). He died in January 1941, shortly before the *Wehrmacht* invasion.

²⁰Carl Kindermann (1891–1936?) was head of the Evangelical Church in Athens from 1929 to 1936. He disappeared without trace in Germany in 1936; cf. PA AA RAV Athen Vol. 63.

²¹Paul Schazmann (1871–1946) worked as an archaeologist and architect in excavations at the Pergamon and on the island of Kos. Decades of joint work bound him to Herzog.

²²Kurt Müller (1880–1972) was employed at the DAI Athen for several years before World War I. He later became a professor at the University of Göttingen. After the National Socialists seized power, he was among the many professors who, on 11th November 1933, signed the *Bekanntnis der Professoren an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen zu Adolf Hitler und dem nationalsozialistischen Staat* [Declaration of Support for Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist State].

²³The German ‘Philadelphia’ society was founded in 1837. Initially it was a meeting point for the German officers who came with King Otto to Greece. In the second half of the nineteenth century it increasingly developed into an exclusive club for the upper echelons of German society in Greece (Barth & Auernheimer, 2001).

The 1930s: Support Programmes for Greek Students and Academics

In the 1930s, several hundred Greeks came to Germany as students or recipients of scholarships (Fleischer, 1998, p. 174; Koutsoukou, 2008, p. 269; 2010, p. 140 with note 24).²⁴ Excerpts from a seminar book on Greek epigraphy from the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* [Friedrich-Wilhelms-University] Berlin demonstrate that Greek students made up a significant number of the participants in the winter semester of 1935/36 (Fig. 11.1). Among these participants were, for example, Archimandrite Joachim-Stylianos Pelekanidis (1909–1980), who would later occupy an important position in Greece.²⁵ Archaeologists and architects also profited from the pro-Greek atmosphere in Germany, receiving generous funding for exhibitions, publications, excavations, and special research projects (Wolbert, 1982; Sünderhauf, 2004, p. 310).²⁶

Between the wars, tourism became an increasingly important aspect of the Greek economy and there was an accompanying boom in travel literature (Wiskott, 1936; Diem, 1937; Meid, 2011, p. 23, 141, 267). The Olympic Games of 1936 led to a further intensification of German-Greek relations; lively exchanges between the countries took place on all levels – political, cultural, economic, and military (Zacharioudakis, 2002, pp. 51–91). On 10th April 1937, the continuation of German excavations at Olympia was marked by a spectacular ceremony (Wrede, 1937, pp. 1–5).²⁷ Several other anniversary celebrations followed, in which both German and Greek politicians participated, including a celebration of 40 years of the *Deutsche Schule in Athen* [German School in Athens] and 100 years of the Athens University. The culmination took place on 23rd April 1937 in Berlin, when a large ceremony accompanied the re-naming of the ‘*Rathaus Straße*’ [Townhall Street] in Berlin-Oberschöneweide as ‘*Griechische Allee*’ [Greek Avenue], “*in order to give*

²⁴ Information regarding names and the precise number of Greek archaeologists who were involved in German universities between 1933 and 1945 is not yet available. The main centres in the inter-war period were undoubtedly Munich, Heidelberg and Berlin. After 1939, mainly female students were present at the archaeological institutes, for example Eleni-Alexandra Sfinis (later Amburger), who studied Classical Archaeology in Berlin in the 1940s.

²⁵ Pelekanidis studied Classical and Byzantine Archaeology in Berlin from 1935 onwards. In 1939 he completed his doctoral thesis on Early-Christian floor mosaics in Thessaloniki. In 1943 he was appointed Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki.

²⁶ The architect Konstantinos Apostolos Doxiadis (1913–1975) was one of the more prominent scholarship recipients. He gained his doctoral title in 1937 at the TU Berlin with a work on the theme of “*Raumordnung im griechischen Städtebau*” [“Regional planning in Greek urban development”]. In his introduction he explicitly thanked the DAI, the *Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau, Reichs- und Landesplanung* [German Academy for Town and Regional Planning] and the *Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung* [Reich Work Group for Spatial Research] (Doxiadis, 1937, p. 4).

²⁷ For more on the so-called Führer Excavation: DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 34–04-II, letter from Wrede to Schede, 2.5.1937. List of German participants at the opening ceremony and article from the *Neue Athener Zeitung* from 17.4.1937.

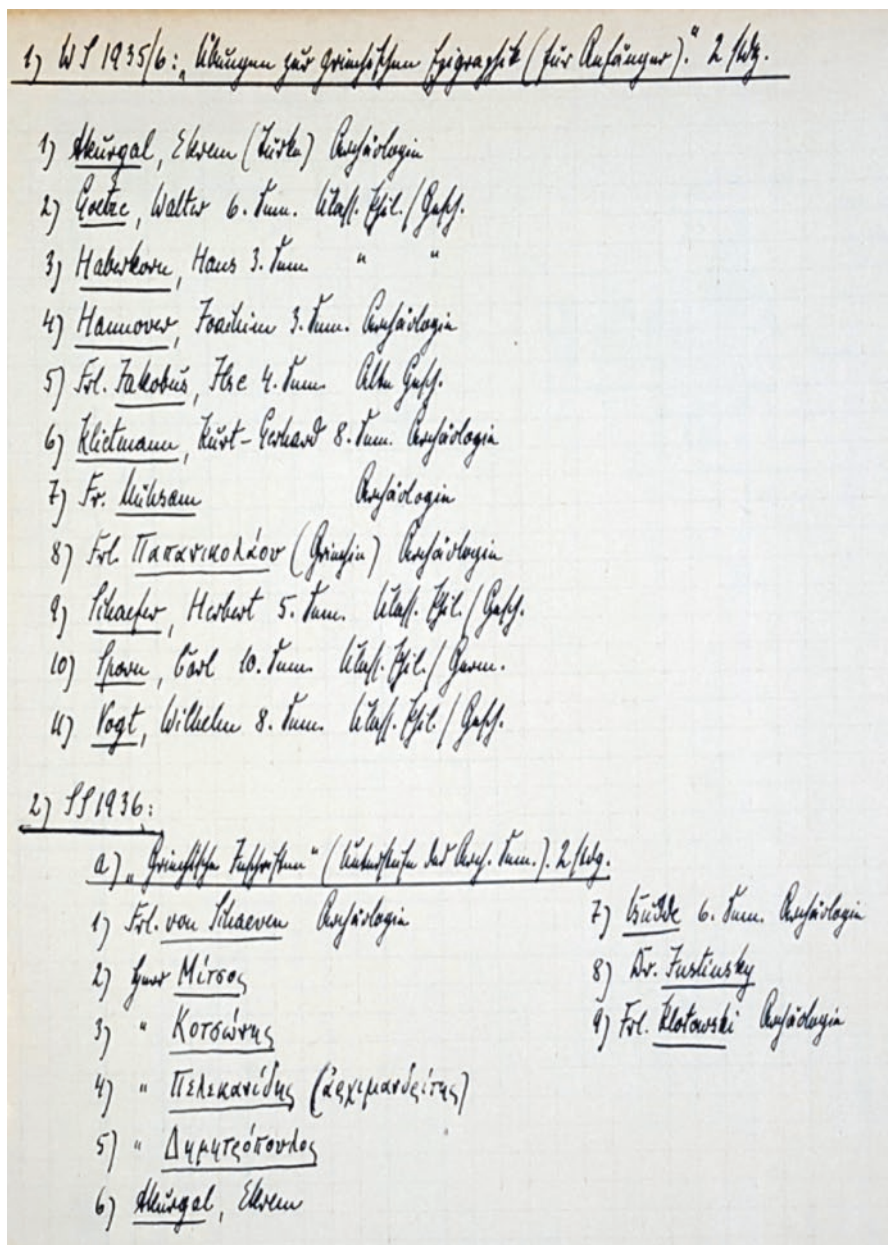


Fig. 11.1 Participants in courses by Günther Klaffenbach (1890–1972) on Greek epigraphy 1935/36. (© BBAW IG, helpful tip from Klaus Hallof)



Fig. 11.2 Cutting from the *Neue Athener Zeitung* [New Athenian Newspaper] from 8th May 1937. (© PA AA RAV Athen 32)

expression to the long-standing friendship between Germany and Greece” (Fig. 11.2). Many Greeks living in Berlin were present at the invitation of the mayor, including senior staff members from the Greek Embassy. The Germans were officially represented by staff from the *Auswärtiges Amt* [Foreign Office], the *Propagandaministerium* [Propaganda Ministry] and the National Socialist Party. Hundreds of police were also there to give a military salute.²⁸

²⁸ PA AA RAV Athens 32, letter from the *Auswärtiges Amt* to the *Gesandtschaft Athen*, 27.4.1937. Article in the *Neue Athener Zeitung* from 8.5.1937 (Koutsoukou, 2008, p. 83).

Emigrants in Greece

There were, however, those who did not benefit from this mutual German-Greek enthusiasm, notably emigrants living in Greece; Germans and Austrians who had fled the National Socialist regime and were living in exile. Among these were Jews and other victims of political persecution. Because the government of Ioannis Metaxas, which lasted from 1936 to 1941, officially opposed anti-semitism (Zacharioudakis, 2002, p. 74; Mavromatidis, 2013), many German-speaking artists, intellectuals and scientists temporarily sought refuge in Greece after the National Socialist rise to power in 1933,²⁹ including the archaeologist Berta Segall (1902–1976). She had worked at the Berlin *Staatliche Museen* [State Museums] until 1933 but lost her post following the passing of the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* [Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service]. In Athens she found temporary employment at the Benaki Museum (Segall, 1938; Schmidt, 1977; Obermayer, 2014, p. 166, note 130; Kankaleit, 2019). Although there was contact between the DAI Athen and the DAI in Germany, there was still confusion concerning the status of these refugees in the eyes of the DAI Athen. On 29th October 1937, DAI Athen employee Ernst Homann-Wedeking (1908–2002) wrote to the central office in Berlin: “*In the interest of unified regulations we ask for clarification regarding whether directives and/or guidelines exist concerning the acceptance of academic work by non-Aryan citizens of the German Reich by the publishing department of the institute. The reason for this request is an essay by Dr. B. Segall, which was submitted some time ago and is due to appear in Volume 62 of the ‘Athenische Mitteilungen’ [‘Journal of the DAI Athen’]*”.³⁰ The DAI president, Martin Schede (1883–1947), sent a somewhat vague answer: “*There are no existing directives or guidelines concerning the acceptance of academic work by non-Aryan citizens of the German Reich. [...] The annual’s editorial team has moved away in recent years from the acceptance of essays by non-Aryans, though had little hesitation in publishing the work of people such as Schefold.*³¹ *In the case of Segall, I would advise caution, unless the department leadership feels strong enough to defend itself against possible attacks*”.³²

²⁹Torsten Israel, to whom I owe my gratitude, is currently researching this group in more detail. During the National Socialist era at least seven Jewish archaeologists came from Germany and Austria to Greece. Their living conditions should be the subject of further investigation.

³⁰DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Homann-Wedeking to Schede, 29.10.1937.

³¹Karl Schefold (1905–1999) was married to Marianne von den Steinen, who was half-Jewish, and as a result emigrated to Switzerland in 1935.

³²DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Schede to Homann-Wedeking, 5.11.1937. In the end, the article by Berta Segall was not published in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*.

The Consequences of the War for Archaeological Research in Greece

Historical Overview

The summer of 1940 was overshadowed by the events of the war. Italy was striving for dominance in the Mediterranean and making territorial claims on Greece. The situation escalated both in the media and politically; war crept ever closer to the Greek people. The Greek Ministry of Culture ordered a general halt to excavations on 18th June 1940 and passed measures for the protection of the country's most important cultural property. Artefacts (sculptures, pottery, coins etc.) from over 18 museums were put into safe storage, in boxes or buried on site (Petraikos 2013, pp. 305–329; Tiverios 2013, p. 164).³³

On 15th August 1940, the Greek cruiser Elli was torpedoed by an Italian submarine in the port of Tinos. Nine Greek marine officers were killed, 24 injured. On 28th September, Mussolini demanded that his troops be allowed safe passage through Greece and to establish military bases in the country. Metaxas responded with his famous 'OXI' (No) and war between the Greek and Italian armed forces ensued. Battles took place under terrible winter conditions in the mountainous region of Epirus. The Italians were poorly prepared, made bad decisions and were heavily defeated by the Greek army (Fleischer, 2015, p. 33). Germany hurried to the aid of its Axis-partner. On 1st March 1941, Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact and allowed the Germans to billet troops in its territory. On 6th April 1941, the Balkan Campaign (Operation Marita) began. German troops broke through the so-called Metaxas-Line on 9th April 1941; the weakened Greek army were powerless against the *Wehrmacht*. On 27th April, Athens was captured, and the swastika flag raised over the Acropolis. After heavy fighting, Crete fell at the end of May 1941 (Operation Merkur).

Greece was divided into three zones of occupation by the Axis powers. Bulgaria took control of the north-east: eastern Macedonia and northern Thrace. Italy was primarily responsible for central Greece, the Ionian Islands, and the Peloponnese. The two largest cities, Athens and Thessaloniki, several Aegean Islands and more than half of Crete were ceded to the Germans (Bundesarchiv, 1992, p. 60; Nessou, 2009, p. 85). In all three occupation zones, museums, archaeological sites, and ancient monuments were damaged and looted. Amidst the chaotic conditions and widespread hunger, the illegal art trade thrived.

This division and occupation of Greek territory continued until 8th September 1943, when power relations in occupied Greece changed. Under the terms of the Armistice of Cassibile, Italy capitulated to the Allies, abandoning its alliance with the German Reich (Aga-Rossi, 2003). This led to the breakup of the Italian zone of occupation in Greece, which now came under the control of the Germans;

³³On the Odyssey of the Charioteer of Delphi during World War II: Kankeleit, 2021.

occupation did not end until the withdrawal of German troops from Greece in October 1944. The occupiers left behind a country scarred by war damage, chaos and famine. Civil war between the conservative Greek government (supported by Great Britain and the USA) and the army of the Greek Communist Party (supported by Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union) followed. Greece did not begin to return to normality until the early 1950s.³⁴

The Impressions of Foreign Visitors to Greece

In summer 1939, just a few months before the outbreak of World War II, the American writer Henry Miller (1891–1980) travelled to Greece (Miller, 1941). During his stay, Miller developed an aversion to the foreigners permanently settled there, making no great distinction between the British, Germans and French. He found archaeologists a particular nuisance: “*A revived Greece can very conceivably alter the whole destiny of Europe. Greece does not need archaeologists – she needs arboriculturists. A verdant Greece may give hope to a world now eaten away by white-heart rot*” (Miller, 1941, p. 40). In 1939, Miller visited his friend Lawrence Durrell (1912–1990)³⁵ on Corfu and over the course of many more trips, got to know the country and its people. During his nine-month stay, he encountered a land that may have been poor but was full of beauty and hope. Almost ten years later the Briton Kevin Andrews (1924–1989) also visited Greece. As an archaeologist, his focus was on the medieval fortresses on the Peloponnese (Andrews, 1953); as a chronologist, he attentively noted the mood and local characteristics of the region. His book, *The Flight of Ikaros*, reproduces his impressions, gained between 1948 and 1951. It shows a nation on its knees – in ruins, inwardly torn and full of mistrust. In one chapter, the Athenian National Archaeological Museum, which had previously been closed for almost 10 years due to the war, is described. Parts of a monumental bronze figure kept in the director’s office are described, still musty and damp from years of burial in the earth (Andrews, 1959, p. 24).

³⁴For more on the situation in Greece during World War II, after the occupation and during the Greek Civil War: Mazower, 1993, 2000; Close, 1995; Nessou, 2009; Richter, 2012; Fleischer, 2015; Králová, 2016.

³⁵Lawrence Durrell (1912–1990) lived in Greece from 1935–1941. In a letter to Henry Miller he described the burial of the writer Kostis Palamas (1859–1943). The memorial service turned into an act of resistance against the German occupation as, following the eulogy by the poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951), several thousand Greeks demonstrated and sang the national anthem (Durrell, 1988, p. 192).

Archaeological Activities During the Occupation – Plans and Preparations

The DAI Athen was not entirely unprepared for the arrival of the *Wehrmacht* in Greece. Correspondence between Athens and Berlin makes it clear that both sides were determined from the outset to make the most of the occupation and the resulting expansion of skills and tasks in Greece under the National Socialist occupation led to a simultaneous increase in staff and budget. With protection and support from the *Wehrmacht*, projects that would previously have been impossible could now be realised.³⁶

On 5th May 1941, Martin Schede, President of the DAI, wrote a detailed letter to Wrede, First Secretary of the DAI Athen, with arrangements for planned research work in Greece. His focus was on the activities of the *Kunstschutz* [Art Protection] (Losemann, 1977, p. 155; Petrakos 1994, p. 117; 2013, pp. 223–224; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 465; Flouda, 2017), a branch of the *Wehrmacht* ostensibly in charge of the protection of cultural artefacts and artworks:

You will, meanwhile, be aware that I already took steps some time ago to ensure the involvement of the Kunstschutz in Greece; Reich Minister Rust contacted the Wehrmacht's High Command and sent on a list, drafted by me, of suitable personnel. However, I also conducted negotiations early on with Count Metternich,³⁷ who oversees the armed forces' entire Kunstschutz department, and presented him with names, among whom are, e.g. Schönebeck,³⁸ who is presumably already in Athens. By the time you receive this letter, Count Metternich and his adjutant von Tieschowitz³⁹ may also have arrived. All parties hold the view that the institute will be allotted a commensurate role in any archaeological matters that arise from the occupation [...] It seems to me of utmost importance that the situation be exploited to take aerial photographs, for topographical-historical purposes, of sites containing ruins. For this purpose, I will personally contact the General Staff of the Air Force, with whom I already have a relationship.

Later in the letter Schede states that “*the immediate resumption of [excavations at] Olympia may be possible*”.⁴⁰ On the same day Wrede wrote a report to Schede about the situation in Athens:

³⁶This applies in particular to archaeological activities on Crete (see Chap. 12), aerial photography, archaeological surveys and rescue excavations throughout Greece.

³⁷Franziskus Wolff Metternich (1893–1978), art historian, led the *Wehrmacht's Kunstschutz* from 1940–1942.

³⁸Hans von Schoenebeck (1904–1944), classical archaeologist, led the *Kunstschutz* in Greece from 1941–1942.

³⁹Bernhard von Tieschowitz (1902–1968), art historian, was appointed head of the *Kunstschutz* in 1942.

⁴⁰DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Schede to Wrede, 5.5.1941.

The following familiar faces have thus far appeared: Kraiker (interpreter for the Defence Office)⁴¹; Doelger (ditto.)⁴²; v. Schoenebeck as Officer for the Protection of Historical Monuments; Brommer⁴³ has leapt onto the Isthmos of Corinth along with the paratroopers [...]. The archaeologists are conducting constant tours at the Acropolis. [...] Relations with Greek archaeologists will be taken up quickly. The Karuzos couple⁴⁴ represent a regrettable exception. On the day of the German troops' arrival they left the accompanying letter for me to forward on to you.⁴⁵ Its content corresponds to the attitude that was already clear for some time: German archaeologists would not be willing to defer to Mrs. Karuzos at the National Museum or Mr. Karuzos in the area under his control as ephorate.⁴⁶

On 26th May 1941, Karl Kübler (1897–1990), Second Secretary of the DAI Athen and Head of the Kerameikos Excavation, added in a letter to the Central Office in Berlin:

It should be mentioned that the excavations at Olympia (Schleif, Kunze, Eilmann, Süsserott)⁴⁷ and Kerameikos (Kübler, Gebauer)⁴⁸ have already begun. I have requested the Commander of Army Rear Area Security to receive assurance from the Greeks that we will have unrestricted travel access to German excavation sites and all Greek sites containing ruins, as well as areas where the institute is conducting topographical work and work relating to settlement history, and likewise face no limitations on our research at these sites. In this way any unpleasant surprises arising from further occupation of the country by the Italians should be avoided. The places of interest to us have been expanded beyond those listed in that letter to encompass Aegina, the Cyclades, Argolis including Epidaurus, Attica, Elis, Lake Copais, Macedonia, Thessaly. To facilitate the desired intensification of our excavation and research work in the area, and considering the country's transport conditions, which are likely to remain problematic for a long time to come, the procurement of a car for the institute is something that can no longer be avoided. [...] He [Welter⁴⁹] is acting in an exemplary way now, superbly involved in the tours and fact sheets offered by the

⁴¹ Wilhelm Kraiker (1899–1987), classical archaeologist, worked in Greece for the *Kunstschutz* from 1941 to 1944. In 1942 he took over the leadership.

⁴² Franz Doelger (1891–1968), Byzantinist, had several stays in Greece during the occupation. In 1941 he was part of the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg's Sonderstab Athos* [Athos Unit] (Losemann, 1977, pp. 154, 247).

⁴³ Frank Brommer (1911–1993), classical archaeologist, worked at the DAI Athen until 1940; cf. DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Kübler to the Central Office, 5.2.1941.

⁴⁴ Christos Karouzos (1900–1967) and Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou (1898–1994) were among the most renowned classical archaeologists in Greece.

⁴⁵ In the letter Christos Karouzos announced that he was giving up his membership of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in protest at the occupation of Greece (Petraikos 1994, p. 172; Koutsoukou, 2016, p. 332; German translation: http://www.kankeleit.de/zitat_5.php)

⁴⁶ DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Wrede to Schede, 5.5.1941.

⁴⁷ Emil Kunze (1901–1994) and Hans Schleif (1902–1945) led the excavations at Olympia from 1937 (Stürmer, 2002, p. 437; Lehmann, 2012, p. 210, note 20; Klein, 2016, p. 282).

⁴⁸ Kurt Gebauer (1909–1942), classical archaeologist, was on the staff of the Kerameikos excavations from 1936.

⁴⁹ Gabriel Welter (1890–1954), classical archaeologist, had been in Greece since 1920. He carried out numerous excavations at different locations as both freelancer and employee of the DAI Berlin.

*institute to the armed forces. We intend to send him to Aegina as supervisor and protector of our interests there.*⁵⁰

Wrede delivered a report in October 1941 that suggests that the occupation of Greece and the military situation had stabilised to the extent that archaeological undertakings could be expanded and continued at will. The circle of participants had now increased significantly. Alongside the DAI (with both permanent staff and freelancers), the *Kunstschutz* and the *Wehrmacht*, two units of the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* [Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce] were now present in Greece, conducting archaeological research.⁵¹ Long-term, large-scale excavations at Olympia and the Kerameikos in Athens, as well as the planned aerial photos archive, remained the top priorities.⁵² German archaeologists also increasingly set their sights on other places, notably Crete (Flouda, 2017; see Chap. 12). Some smaller surveys and topographical research also gained in importance. Wredes' letter not only underlines the 'gold-rush mentality' predominant in archaeological circles, but also shows how complex and confused the competing organisations and structures of the German occupation forces had become by autumn 1941:

In the meantime Jantzen⁵³ has been placed at the disposal of General Ringel and at the moment is on his way to Crete. I'm also thinking of flying there in the very near future, to orientate myself and the authorities. The activities of Harder-Lauffer-Vacano.⁵⁴ The relationship was fully correct, all activities were discussed with the institute, permission was obtained from the institute for prospecting in Sparta und Chalcis. Vacano found [a] Neolithic⁵⁵ [site] on a hill near Sparta. In Chalcis a broad outline of the city's topography was achieved.⁵⁶ [...]

⁵⁰DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Kübler to Schede, 26.5.1941.

⁵¹For more on the units of the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR), that, as a National Socialist party organisation, was in general dedicated to appropriating cultural property during the war: Losemann, 1977, p. 153; Petrakos 1994, p. 132; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 481; Miller, 2012, p. 244.

⁵²On the special role of the German Olympia excavation for the National Socialists ideology: Hiller von Gaertringen, 1989.

⁵³Ulf Jantzen (1909–2000), classical archaeologist, worked for the DAI from 1937. During the occupation he worked for the *Kunstschutz* (Jantzen, 1995; Flouda, 2017, p. 13).

⁵⁴“*The activities of Harder-Lauffer-Vacano*” refers to the unit of the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg's Sonderstab Altertumskunde* [Antiquities Unit] (Losemann, 1977, p. 153).

⁵⁵For more on the neolithic excavation in Sparta: Petrakos 1994, p. 133; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 486; Altekamp, 2008, p. 200, note 147; Miller, 2012, p. 244.

⁵⁶For more on the topographical research at Chalcis: Petrakos 1994 p. 120; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, pp. 484–485; Miller, 2012, p. 245.

*The Reinerth-Group.*⁵⁷ Mr. Reinerth was expected here around fourteen days ago. Then we discovered through Mr. Stampfuss⁵⁸ [...] that Reinerth was going directly to Thessaly to initiate the Magula excavation. Apparently, he brought a directive that meant he would no longer be subordinate to the institute and military authorities. [...] Standard permission for the excavation was obtained from the institute, so formal procedures have been complied with. What is not acceptable is that Grundmann⁵⁹ has been deprived of the excavation work whose preparations he alone was responsible for [...]. The Army Upper Command has declared that it has no authority in the matter and passed the files on to the embassy. Mr. Böhringer⁶⁰ has taken on the task of pursuing the matter further.⁶¹

With the assistance of Erich Boehringer (1897–1971), the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* was finally driven out of Greece at the end of 1941. Obviously, this involved a concerted action by the DAI, the “*Kunstschutz*” and the Foreign Office. How exactly this action took place and which persons were specifically responsible still needs to be investigated in more detail on the basis of the available documents.⁶² Other German archaeological ventures continued until 1944.⁶³ Maps and detailed listings regarding all the excavations and inspections that were carried out between 1941 and 1943 are not yet available, but research is planned for the future, including examination of the activities of Greek archaeologists and of other foreign schools.⁶⁴

⁵⁷“The Reinerth-Group” is a disparaging reference to the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg’s Sonderstab Vor- und Frühgeschichte* [Special Staff for Early and Pre-History] (Losemann, 1977, p. 249; Bollmus 2016). Hans Reinerth (1900–1990), pre-historian, led this organisation from 1940. As early as 1933 there had been considerable tension with the DAI (Vigener, 2012, p. 67); s. DAI Berlin, Central Archive, from the estate of Theodor Wiegand Box 18, letter from Herzog to Rodenwaldt, 19.3.1933.

⁵⁸Rudolf Stampfuss (1904–1978), pre-historian, worked for the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* from 1940. From 1942 to 1943 he was responsible for the ‘safeguarding’, i.e. theft of pre- and early historical discoveries in the occupied eastern regions.

⁵⁹Kimón Grundmann (1891–1968) began working at the DAI Athen in 1928 as an administrative employee. He gradually worked his way into archaeological matters, with a focus on pre-historical excavations. In 1942 he was promoted to the role of academic assistant at the DAI Athen and took charge of his own excavation projects.

⁶⁰Erich Boehringer, classical archaeologist, was employed as a cultural attaché at the *Deutsche Gesandtschaft* in Athens from March 1940 to April 1943 (Vigener, 2016, p. 315).

⁶¹DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Wrede to Schede, 13.10.1941.

⁶²For more on the removal of the ERR from Greece: Losemann, 1977, p. 156; Petrakos Πετράκος, 1994, p. 125; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 488. Resistance was primarily directed at the *Sonderstab Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, led by Reinerth. Staff at the DAI and *Auswärtiges Amt* had good relations with the staff of the other units (*Alturmskunde* and *Athos*).

⁶³For more on the restrictions placed on all archaeological activities in Greece from 1943: DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Wrede to Altenburg and Boehringer, 11.1.1943. The last evidence of activity is apparently the finding of a female statue in Thessaloniki by the Wehrmacht (Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 465, note 10).

⁶⁴For more on this see the reports in the archaeological journals during the war years: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίον, Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Annual of the British School at Athens, *American Journal of Archaeology* (cf. Dunbabin, 1944; Πετράκος, 2013, p. 307). Erich Boehringer, the *Deutsche Gesandtschaft’s* cultural attaché in Athens, saw to it that the foreign schools were not shut and, albeit with limitations,

The Archaeological Legacy: Results and Consequences of the Occupation of Greece

This section will explore and identify the specific research results the Germans were pursuing in Greece during the occupation. At the same time, the effects of individual activities will be investigated. The question arises as to what significance, if any, German activities had in the post-war period for research, politics, society and/or the profession's ideas of ethical conduct.

As a result of the occupation of Greece, there were many more archaeologists present in the country than in preceding years. Integrated into the various organisations of the occupying National Socialists, these researchers worked throughout Greece and were entrusted with a diverse range of tasks. Within four years, over 50 researchers involved in the study of the past came to Greece from the 'Deutsches Reich', among them classical archaeologists, prehistorians, ancient historians, and epigraphists. How is their work to be judged from a contemporary standpoint?

Without doubt, the most important 'achievement' of the National Socialist occupation was the creation of an archive of aerial photos (Fig. 11.3). Between June and October 1941, the *Luftwaffe* produced around 11,000 photos for the DAI Athen, mostly a series of images of Athens and Attica. In 1942, aerial photos of Crete were added to the collection (Petrakos 1994, p. 122; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 471). However, the goal of documenting all of Greece from the air was never realised and today, there is almost no trace of the negatives of these photos. Accordingly, the large collection of prints preserved at the DAI Athen is extremely significant for research and preservation purposes. They are of particular interest for those researching urban development, as they illustrate how dramatically the Athens/Attica region has changed in the last 70 years. They also reveal clearly how ancient sites were presented in the era preceding modern mass tourism.

These aerial images were shut away for decades following the war and treated pro forma as non-existent. In 1968, a young researcher (Anne-Marie Martin) looking for material for her master's thesis sent a query about the photos to the DAI Athen:

*I would be very grateful if you could give me [...] information about any aerial photos known to you of Greece or the Mediterranean region which were taken for archaeological purposes.*⁶⁵

A few days later she received the following answer:

*Unfortunately, we are not in a position to review your attached bibliography and check for aerial photo archives of and in Greece. We can only recommend that you acquire the necessary data for your research in the appropriate DAI libraries and those of other foreign archaeological schools in Rome and Athens.*⁶⁶

could continue their research; DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Biographica-Mappe Erich Boehringer, statements from Robert Demangel and Octave Merlier, 4.6.1948; and from the estate of Erich Boehringer in the Christof Boehringer Archive.

⁶⁵DAI Athen, Archive, Box 21, letter from Martin to Jantzen, 6.8.1968.

⁶⁶DAI Athen, Archive, Box 21, letter from P. Gercke to Martin, 12.8.1968.



Fig. 11.3 Aerial photo of Eleusis from 1941. (© DAI Athen, D-DAI-ATH-RLM-12502)

The aerial photographs were part of a legacy that the DAI was reluctant to acknowledge even twenty years after the end of the war, and this highly valuable collection was only made public in the 1990s (Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 475). Subsequently, however, the archive has been increasingly used for scientific research, especially archaeological prospection.

Another significant product of the occupation is the *Griechenlandkunde* [Guide to Greece] by Wilhelm Kraiker (1899–1987)⁶⁷ and Ernst Kirsten (1911–1987).⁶⁸ This post-war bestseller (the book was reprinted several times after 1955) built upon the so-called *Merkblätter*, fact sheets that were distributed to German soldiers

⁶⁷ See note 39 above.

⁶⁸ Ernst Kirsten (1911–1987), ancient historian and historical geographer, worked for the *Kunstschutz* in Greece from 1941.

during the war.⁶⁹ These fact sheets were overseen by the *Wehrmacht's Kunstschutz* organisation. They contained both guidelines concerning behaviour (“*urinating on marble columns ruins the marble*”) and established facts about the sites of Greece. In total, over 450,000 copies were printed, although due to the poor paper quality, hardly any originals remain. Unfortunately, the researcher seeks in vain for any indications in the *Griechenlandkunde* as to how the materials were collected (Kirsten & Kraiker, 1955; see the reviews by Vanderpool, 1956; Martin, 1956). World War II is simply ignored.

Friedrich Matz’s (1890–1974)⁷⁰ book on Crete, published in 1951 in cooperation with the DAI, is a similar case. This work is also based on excavations and other activities carried out by German archaeologists in 1942, primarily in north-west Crete in the area of Chania. In most cases, official permission was granted by the Greek authorities,⁷¹ although comparable undertakings would have been unthinkable in peace times.⁷² The introduction to the anthology was obviously not cleared with the DAI in Berlin and – alas, too late – met with opposition there.⁷³ The suffering endured by the population on Crete during the war is simply not mentioned (Matz, 1951).

The permanent staff of the DAI Athen concentrated on the long-term excavations at Olympia and Kerameikos during the occupation and reports continued to appear regularly in archaeological and related small journals. Comprehensive monographs relating to both projects were published during the war (Kübler, 1943; Kunze & Schleif, 1944), and continued without interruption post-war (Kübler, 1954; Kunze, 1956). In these later works there is likewise no explicit mention of the war and occupation, nor indeed any indication of reconciliation or regret towards the Greek population.⁷⁴

It should also be noted, however, that there is no sign of ideological or political influence in either form or content in official DAI Athen publications of the 1940s. Even during the occupation, the organisation seems to have maintained a scientific and apolitical approach to its work. The language style appears to be neutral and objective, with authors adhering to pre-war methods. DAI books about Olympia, Kerameikos and Crete that appeared soon after the war ended were regarded positively by foreign colleagues⁷⁵ and quickly achieved the status of standard works in

⁶⁹ Πετράκος, 1994, p. 143; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1995, p. 475, note 64.

⁷⁰ Friedrich Matz (1890–1974), classical archaeologist, came to Greece during the occupation for research purposes.

⁷¹ Relations with the representatives of the Greek collaborationist government still need to be explored; for more on Konstantinos Logothetopoulos, who already had a close relationship with German archaeological circles before the war.

⁷² For more on this see, for example, the reviews by Dunbabin, 1952; Immerwahr, 1952; Delvoye, 1953.

⁷³ DAI, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Weickert to Kunze, 30.9.1950; letter from Kunze to Weickert, 4.10.1950: “*uncultivated draft of the introduction*”.

⁷⁴ Kübler and Kunze refer to “*increased difficulties*” that they faced.

⁷⁵ See reviews by Brann, 1956; Boardman, 1957; Amandry, 1958.

their field. However, many other works, including contributions from esteemed classical archaeologists, have retreated into obscurity and await a thorough reappraisal.⁷⁶

These examples indicate that German archaeologists made attempts post-war to draw a line and move on from war-time activities in Greece, continuing earlier projects as quickly as possible. However, the brutal consequences of the war, above all in the German-occupied countries, were almost completely ignored; Ludwig Curtius' (1874–1954)⁷⁷ statement from 1947 that “*Greece lost over 60% of its archaeological experts through war and civil unrest*” received neither comment from the DAI nor further research.⁷⁸ A return to normality in Greece, where civil war raged until October 1949, also remained a distant prospect. This is clearly revealed in a letter sent by the Greek archaeologist Ioannis Miliadis (1895–1975)⁷⁹ to Frank Brommer (1911–1993)⁸⁰ in August 1948:

I've heard from Mr. Karusos that you are interested in the Patras shield and would like to have a photograph. [...] I am obliged to tell you that I forbid you from publishing any photographs of the Patras shield. [...] It's true that my publication was delayed. But the war and barbaric occupation of our country by the National Socialists forced us to bury our ancient artefacts in the ground. First, we had to retrieve them and only then study them. You also shouldn't forget that no peace treaty has yet been signed between our countries.⁸¹

The assessment of war damage in Greece proved to be highly contentious. As early as 1946, an inventory of damages and losses resulting from the occupation was presented in two reports on the protection of culture (Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Sub-Commission of the C.M.F., 1946; Υπουργείον Θρησκευμάτων και Εθνικής Παιδείας, 1946). These reports were based on the findings of Greek archaeologists and were published by both the Υπουργείον Θρησκευμάτων και Εθνικής Παιδείας [Greek Ministry of Religion and National Education, the later Ministry of Culture] and the British Commission for the Protection of Cultural Property. These reports remain the primary source for archaeologists, journalists, writers, and historians investigating the war-time conduct of National-Socialists in Greece with regard to archaeological sites and antiquities. The reports show that mainly smaller museums and collections were victims of theft and destruction. However, Byzantine

⁷⁶For more on the influence of nationalist ideology (racial theory and anti-semitism) on archaeological publications from the 1930s and 1940s: Hiller von Gaertringen, 1989; Junker, 1997, pp. 42, 73; Altekamp, 2014, pp. 25, 97; Chapoutot, 2014.

⁷⁷Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954), classical archaeologist, was First Secretary of the DAI in Rome from 1928–1937. The National Socialists pushed him into early retirement.

⁷⁸DAI Berlin, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, excerpt from a letter by Curtius, 7.7.1947. Curtius refers to a conversation with the Swedish archaeologist Erik Sjöqvist (1903–1975), who had visited Greece shortly before.

⁷⁹Ioannis Miliadis (1895–1975), classical archaeologist, studied in Greece and Germany. From 1925 he held important positions in the Greek Antiquities Service. From 1940 to 1960 he was in charge of the Akropolis.

⁸⁰See note 41 above.

⁸¹DAI, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Miliadis to Brommer (transcript of a translation), 30.8.1948.

churches and monasteries suffered most under the occupation. They were burnt down or destroyed in acts of retaliation.⁸²

In 1950, Roland Hampe (1908–1981)⁸³ published a counterstatement ('review') opposing the two reports (Hampe, 1950). Large swathes of his text read like a defence of the *Kunstschutz* and German archaeologists active in Greece during the occupation. He classified numerous cases of presumed theft as "transfers" because the stolen objects were returned to Greece after the war. The theft of smaller objects was judged to be the "taking of souvenirs", standard war-time behaviour. Hampe also listed damages for which Greek, Italian, or British troops were apparently responsible. In contrast to the reports, he stressed that the *Kunstschutz* had demonstrably fulfilled its original purpose 'to protect art'. The only problems he saw were in its insufficient resources. Hampe's assessment found great resonance with the DAI:

Here is the Greek memorandum⁸⁴ which I wrote to you about on 4th November. It has already been largely refuted by Hampe's essay in Gnomon.⁸⁵

I'll try now to also clear up those points about which Hampe said nothing. [...] What disturbs me to some degree about this matter is the fact that the local diplomatic mission takes the concoction from which the memorandum is an excerpt seriously, accords it documentary value, and in another talk that recently took place the claim was even made that, without a doubt, noteworthy art objects from illegal excavations ended up in German museums.⁸⁶

The Greek memorandum is a rather unfortunate business [...]. It represents nothing else than a literal, in parts erroneous translation of the 1946 article by Keram.,⁸⁷ composed in passionate haste based on file notes, without any further research, and whose documentary value Hampe judged fully correctly.⁸⁸

In German circles, on the one hand, Hampe's view quickly prevailed. In Greece, on the other hand, Hampe's statements were taken as an affront, although official

⁸²A recent five-volume publication by Basileios Petrakos provides detailed information on this subject (Petrakos 2021). A summary or review is in preparation by the author.

⁸³Roland Hampe (1908–1981), classical archaeologist, worked as an interpreter for the Wehrmacht during the occupation and had close contacts to the *Kunstschutz* and DAI. As *Oberfähnrich* [Senior Officer Cadet] on the staff of General Felmy he was involved in organising the retreat of the Wehrmacht from Greece in 1944.

⁸⁴The reference is to the Greek Report on the Protection of Cultural Property.

⁸⁵DAI, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Weickert to Kunze, 23.10.1950.

⁸⁶DAI, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Weickert to Wolff-Mettermich, 30.11.1950.

⁸⁷The reference is to Antonios Keramopoulos (1870–1960), Head of the Administration of Antiquities at the Greek Ministry of Religion and National Education during the occupation. Keramopoulos continued to work for the ministry after the war. In the Report on the Protection of Cultural Property from 1946 his name first appears in the appendix (correspondence with the authorities of the occupying power). Several respected archaeologists were involved in drawing up the actual list of damages. In particular, the contributions of Christos Karouzos and Marinos Kalligas are stressed in the introduction; see also Petrakos 1994.

⁸⁸DAI, Central Archive, Old Registry File 10–40, letter from Kunze to Weickert, 12.12.1950.

reactions remained muted.⁸⁹ Today, these two opposing positions continue to co-exist, without resolution. Accurate assessment of damages and losses from 1946 in cooperation with the former occupying powers (Germany, Italy and Bulgaria) seems increasingly difficult, and a task for which the political powers no longer have the appetite.

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⁸⁹Tiverios, 2013, p. 160.

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