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Research in German and Greek archives on the activities of German archaeologists in Greece during the National Socialist era, 1933–1944

Athens – Berlin 2020

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# Introduction: point of departure regarding sources and literature

In order to gain a broad and nuanced picture of the activities of German archaeologists in Greece during the National Socialist era, I examined documents in a large variety of personal and public archives from 2016 to 2020. It immediately became clear that in the majority of cases the material was either previously unexamined or had only been studied to a minor degree. Even in archives managed by a team of professionals and with the latest digital support, intensive and at times intuitive searches were necessary to obtain satisfactory results. For example, in the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office – which I have found to be excellent in terms of staffing and material – the classification of material using keywords is of only limited benefit. An in-depth examination, evaluation, and contextualisation of the documents remains very much the task of the researcher. Document management systems with electronic archiving, dynamic links, and automatically generated meta-data will presumably make searching for relevant information much easier in the future. However, judging by the archives I visited during the project, such tools still seem to be far from established<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, accessing the archives in person, without being fixated on efficiency and targeted searches, allows one to discover new topics and interesting issues spontaneously and by chance.

My initial focus was on authorities and institutions belonging to the German State, including the archive of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI)<sup>2</sup>, the German Federal Archives<sup>3</sup>, the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office<sup>4</sup>, the Stasi Records Archive (BStU)<sup>5</sup> and the archive of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities<sup>6</sup>. While doing this research it became clear that other archives, both public and private, also contain important information on the history and the activities of German archaeologists in Greece. Particularly rewarding were the personal archives and documents of both prominent and less well-known archaeologists, some of which are accessible to the public. German university archives, in particular, possess material, much of it awaiting discovery, which can provide information about the activities and relationships between German and Greek archaeologists during the National Socialist era<sup>7</sup>. Some surprising discoveries were also made in the compensation offices for National Socialist crimes<sup>8</sup>, at the Evangelical

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<sup>1</sup> The archives of the Universities of Hamburg and Basel seem to represent a positive exception, though they played only a marginal role in my own research and I therefore rarely used them; see, for example, <https://spezialkataloge.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hans-handschriftenkatalog.html> and <https://baselbern.swissbib.ch/Search/Results?lng=de&lookfor=Schefold> (Last accessed: September 2020). In these archives, it is possible to discover the author and creation date of a document relatively quickly and easily. However, in these cases too, examining the documents in person is often necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of the German Archaeological Institute: <https://archives.dainst.org/index.php/repository/browse> (Last accessed: September 2020 as with all following websites). My research focused on documents in the Central Archive (<https://archives.dainst.org/index.php/deutsches-archaologisches-institut-berlin-archiv-der-zentrale>; <https://www.dainst.org/standort/zentrale/archiv>) and the archive of the DAI Athens (<https://archives.dainst.org/index.php/deutsches-archaologisches-institut-athen-archiv>; <http://zenon.dainst.org/Record/001480087>; <https://www.dainst.org/standort/athen/archiv>).

<sup>3</sup> I primarily used the archive in Berlin-Lichterfelde: <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Artikel/Ueber-uns/Dienstorte/berlin-lichterfelde.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Political Archive of the German Foreign Office (PA AA): <https://archiv.diplo.de/>.

<sup>5</sup> Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU): <https://www.bstu.de/>.

<sup>6</sup> Archive of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW): <http://archiv.bbaw.de/archiv/archivbestaende>.

<sup>7</sup> Almost completely unexplored, for example, is the personal archive of Andreas Rumpf at the Historical Archive of the University of Cologne: <https://www.portal.uni-koeln.de/startseite.html>. The published extracts of correspondence with Hans von Schoenebeck represent only a fraction of the material. I plan to systematically examine important documents on the history of the DAI's work at a future date, for example the correspondence between Andreas Rumpf and Gabriel Welter and Emil Kunze.

<sup>8</sup> Documents relating to several renowned archaeologists can be found at the Compensation Office in the State of Berlin: <https://www.berlin.de/lab0/entschaedigung-von-ns-unrecht/>.

Central Archive in Berlin<sup>9</sup>, and in the archives of German companies which funded and supported archaeological projects in Greece. Such companies include Krupp, AEG, Leitz Optik, Bilfinger and Boehringer<sup>10</sup>. Material which is not easily accessible, such as German military maps and evidence of National Socialist propaganda in Greece, could be found among the many treasures at the Berlin State libraries<sup>11</sup>.

The archive of the Greek Ministry of Culture in Athens proved to be a real source of riches. It possesses protocols and documentation which are directly linked to the DAI Athens and its employees. In some cases it was possible to find documents of immediate relevance to specific questions and problems. I also obtained useful material from other archives in Greece, such as the Photographic Archive of the National Historical Museum in Athens<sup>12</sup>, the archive of the Archaeological Society in Athens<sup>13</sup>, and the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive in Athens<sup>14</sup>.

The employees of the DAI Athens did not only play an important role as researchers and experts in their field in Greece. In the 1930s and 1940s, as official representatives of the German Reich, they also had a major influence on the networks of Germans based in Greece. Evidence of their influence on politics and society can be found in, for example, the archives of German institutions, some of which still exist in Greece. Primary among these are the German Evangelical Church in Athens and the German School of Athens<sup>15</sup>.

Due to time restrictions, it was not possible to examine the personal archives of all German archaeologists who were active in Greece during the National Socialist era<sup>16</sup>. In some cases, supportive family members allowed me to look at private letters and photo albums. Particularly noteworthy are the personal archives of Karl Schefold, Roland Hampe, Kurt Gebauer, and Erich Boehringer. I managed to make records of some of this material and store it in my personal project database.

Another important source was the private archive of Julia Hiller von Gaertringen, which she kindly made available to me for an extended period of time<sup>17</sup>. It contains useful notes, correspondence with employees of the DAI Athens and the Kunstschutz who were still alive in the 1980s, as well as valuable copies of National Socialist publications on Greece from World War Two.

In the past three years, I was able to make records of over 25,000 documents. As they were intended to form the basis of my own research, they were organised according to a personal system and attributed keywords based on personally-defined criteria<sup>18</sup>.

At the beginning of the project in 2016, I significantly underestimated the volume of material available. I could not anticipate the time and effort required to examine the individual archives. The DAI Athens alone possesses

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<sup>9</sup> Documents in the Evangelical Central Archive in Berlin (EZA) provide background information on the “German colony” in Greece during the National Socialist era: <http://www.ezab.de/>.

<sup>10</sup> Particularly noteworthy are the Krupp Historical Archive (<https://www.villahuegel.de/historisches-archiv/>) and the Bilfinger SE company archive (<http://www.wirtschaftsarchivportal.de/archiv/details/id/52>).

<sup>11</sup>The regional library portal for Berlin and Brandenburg, KOBV (Cooperative Library Network Berlin Brandenburg), was exceptionally useful: <https://portal.kobv.de/?plv=2>. During the research, numerous different libraries and archives were consulted, which cannot all be explicitly listed here. Particularly noteworthy is the “Image Archive” [Bildarchiv] of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB): <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/bilder/fotoarchive/> and [https://bildarchiv.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/start.do?View = picture archive](https://bildarchiv.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/start.do?View=picture%20archive) (search term: “Greece”). Regarding documents from the BSB see Kankeleit 2020c and Kankeleit 2021c.

<sup>12</sup> Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο, Φωτογραφικό Αρχείο: <http://www.nhmuseum.gr/el/syloges/fotografiko-arheio/>; published extracts of photographic material: NHM 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Αρχείο: <https://www.archetai.gr/index.php?p=content&section=1&id=8&lang=>.

<sup>14</sup> Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο (ΕΛΙΑ): <http://www.elia.org.gr/>.

<sup>15</sup> German School of Athens (DSA): <http://www.dsathen.gr/de/> (Contact partner: Angeliki Kanellakopoulou); German-language Evangelical Church in Greece: <http://ekathen.org/> (Contact partner: Hilde Hülsenbeck).

<sup>16</sup> In the case of some archaeologists, it is unclear whether personal archives even exist.

<sup>17</sup> Julia Hiller von Gaertringen is Director of the Baden State Library: <https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/>.

<sup>18</sup> This personal system was presented to Lucia van der Wilde (Political Archive of the Foreign Office) and Martina Düntzer (DAI, Central Archive) and met with approval.

a vast volume of material, only some of which has been examined<sup>19</sup>. The hitherto unpublished “concordance list” for the archive of the DAI Athens, several preliminary studies, and individual publications on the history of the DAI Athens offer a starting point for specific research in certain folders. A thorough overview of material, carried out by Eberhard Slenszka in the early 1970s to mark one hundred years of the DAI Athens, deserves special mention<sup>20</sup>. Slenszka was able to speak to contemporaries and thus did not have to rely exclusively on the Institute’s written sources<sup>21</sup>. The same applies to publications by several of the DAI Athens’ former directors<sup>22</sup>. In the late 1980s, Julia Hiller von Gaertringen also had the chance to conduct interviews with contemporary witnesses with close ties to German archaeology in Greece<sup>23</sup>. She kindly provided me with access to several audio recordings from the late 1980s<sup>24</sup>. A range of in-depth biographies and special texts which have appeared in the last 20 years also offer a good point of entry to the relevant archives<sup>25</sup>.

A little-known source of material is the Administrative Archive of the DAI Athens containing the employee files of all staff members to date<sup>26</sup>. For data protection reasons, it is located in a separate room at the DAI Athens and can only be accessed with special permission from the director and the administrative department. Sifting through the files of former employees, it became clear that the archive contains not only contracts, invoices, and details of salaries, but also correspondence which in some cases reveals valuable information about archaeological activities<sup>27</sup>.

In the following sections I will briefly introduce the archives which I visited in the last four years. The focus is on their relevance to the project and the research to date.

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<sup>19</sup> Digitisation, tagging with keywords, and restoration of the collections are planned:

<https://www.facebook.com/pg/DAIAthen/posts/> (entries: 21.02.2020, 08.07.2020, 17.08.2020 etc.). As far as I am aware, there is still no overview of the entire collection of documents at the DAI Athens. Digital collection of the DAI in ZENON (Central Online Catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute): <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/001480087>.

<sup>20</sup> DAI Athens, Archive Box IG 5. The texts were completely digitised in 2018: D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-InstGesch-00477\_00001 to D-DAI-ATH-Archiv-InstGesch-00651\_00042

<sup>21</sup> The view that written sources which come from an archive are more objective and reliable than other sources, including oral testimony, is no longer prevalent. All third-party statements can only be properly interpreted when they have been contextualized, namely seen in the circumstances under which they arose. The benefit of the “sources” depends heavily on the questions posed by the scientists.

<sup>22</sup> Jantzen 1986; Kyrieleis 1979; Fittschen 1995; Fittschen 1996a; Fittschen 1996b; Fittschen 2000.

<sup>23</sup> See note 181; Hiller 1994; Hiller 1995.

<sup>24</sup> The interviews were conducted in private, sometimes even domestic surroundings. In order to protect individuals, they cannot be made accessible to the public. The passages relevant to the DAI Athens were transcribed for the project.

<sup>25</sup> Gunnar Brands’ and Martin Maischberger’s book on the lives of archaeologists during National Socialism, “Lebensbilder”, provides useful information about relevant sources: Hoffer 2012; Krumme 2012; Lehmann 2012; Koutsoukou 2016; Lindenlauf 2016. The following publications also represent a starting point for targeted research in the literature and archives: Losemann 1977; Marchand 1996; Wegeler 1996; Stürmer 2002; Vigener 2012a; Miller 2012; Altekamp 2014; Chapoutot 2014; Lindenlauf 2015; Klein 2016; Vigener 2016; Flouda 2017; Reingruber 2018.

<sup>26</sup> The archive of the DAI Athens consists of ten core areas, from the “Altregistratur” (Old records) (I) to the “Lehrsammlung” (Teaching collection) (X): <https://www.dainst.org/standort/athen/archiv>. The employee files, which are kept under lock and key – presumably for privacy reasons – are not part of the general archive. In any event, academics who had thoroughly studied the history of the DAI Athens in the past did not yet know of their existence (my thanks to Michael Krumme for this information).

<sup>27</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2021d.

# 1. Archives at government authorities and institutions in German-speaking regions

## 1.1. German Archaeological Institute, Central Archive (DAI, AdZ):

Concerning the material in the DAI's archive, Uta Dirschedl provides an introduction in a recently published article<sup>28</sup>. She divides the archive's files and documents into four main categories: 1. Personal archives of scholars (approx. 255 in total), 2. Material on the Institute's history, 3. The "Biographica" collection (on approx. 8,000 correspondents and full members) and 4. The "Altregistratur" (Old Registry).

I examined material from all four areas for my research on the history of the DAI Athens. Particularly important were folders 10-40, 11-03 and 34-04 to 34-12 in the "Altregistratur". These large folders contain the key correspondence and relevant background information on the DAI Athens' activities from 1933–1952. Also important were the "Biographica" folders and personal archives of individuals who had close ties to the DAI Athens. The list includes Erich Boehringer, Ernst Buschor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Richard Eilmann, Kurt Gebauer, Peter Goessler, Kimon Grundmann, Roland Hampe, Ulf Jantzen, Elisabeth Jastrow, Georg Karo, Christos Karousos, Emil Kunze, Karl Kübler, Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, Hans Möbius, Rudolf Naumann, Peter Paulsen, Werner Peek, Hans Riemann, Ernst Samesreuther, Karl Schefold, Hans Schleif, Berta Segall, Willy Schwabacher, Walther Wrede. The material proved to be highly varied in nature, though it contains some important reference points. The personal archives of Theodor Wiegand, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, and Frank Brommer also yielded useful information.

On various occasions, the archive assistant Johanna Mueller von der Haegen drew my attention to less prominent documents which proved to be relevant to Greek history. Of particular interest, for example, was the "Griechenlandumfrage" ("Survey of Greece") spanning the years 1946 to 1960 (Altregistratur folder 10-40).

In 1993, Klaus Junker examined the personal archive of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, largely retaining the existing categorisation structure. In his inventory entry from 22 December 1993, Junker was rather dismissive of Dörpfeld's personal archive: "The material in Dörpfeld's personal archive at the DAI Berlin dates mainly from the period after his retirement. [...] This archive primarily documents Dörpfeld's widespread impact, while its scholarly and historical importance is relatively minor. [...] Many letters are contained in the individual bundles of the professional and personal archive. In the printed inventory from H. Simon, only the letters which were stored in boxes 1 and 2 at that time were recorded. Much of this material is insignificant, such as dozens of cards to mark [Dörpfeld's] 85th birthday. If no other correspondence from the respective persons was present, such material was simply recorded in a list at the end of the inventory of letters. [...] In most cases, details about content were unnecessary."<sup>29</sup> Junker's list provides useful orientation, but his negative evaluation of the material does not do it full justice. Especially with respect to the situation in Greece from 1933 to 1940 Dörpfeld's documents offer valuable hints and information<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Dirschedl 2018; additional information is also available on the homepage of the DAI: <https://www.dainst.org/standort/zentrale/archiv>; <https://archives.dainst.org/index.php/deutsches-archaologisches-institut-berlin-archiv-der-zentrale>.

<sup>29</sup> Word file from Klaus Junker in the DAI Central Archive on the "Nachlass Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940) im Archiv des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Berlin": "Personal archive of Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940) in the archive of the German Archaeological Institute Berlin".

<sup>30</sup> In 2018, I examined letters and photos while researching Dörpfeld's role in the National Socialist era: Kankeleit 2021a; for more on Dörpfeld's correspondence with Alfred Schiff see: Lehmann 2003; for images from the "Griechenland-Fotoalbum" ("Greek Photo Album") from Dr. med. M. Eckert, Speyer: Dirschedl 2018, 107.

## 1.2. German Archaeological Institute, archive of the Athens department (DAI Athens, archive)

The archive material at the DAI Athens is currently sub-divided into ten categories<sup>31</sup>: 1. “Altregistratur” (Old Registry)<sup>32</sup>, 2. Drawings and plans<sup>33</sup>, 3. Maps, 4. Photo archive<sup>34</sup>, 5. Archive of aerial photographs<sup>35</sup>, 6. Positive collection, 7. Personal archives<sup>36</sup>, 8. Excavation and research archives<sup>37</sup>, 9. Cast coins collection, 10. Teaching collection<sup>38</sup>. The “Altregistratur” at the Athens department is the most important category for my research. It includes correspondence, reports, and material relating to the Institute’s history from 1933 to 1944. The documents relating to correspondence (a total of 32 boxes) and the Institute’s history (11 boxes) seem to be relatively complete. There are no indications that compromising letters or documents were deliberately removed from the boxes after 1945. In any case, during my three years of research I discovered no glaring absences. Generally speaking, letters to the central office were copied and filed. There are thus often duplicates of material, with both the original and a copy available for inspection at the archives in Berlin and Athens.

The relevant boxes which I analysed in Athens include B7 (general work reports 1923–1944, including annual reports 1926–1944), B8 (quarterly reports 1930–1944), K3 (files and letters 1892–1910; photos from 1937?), K7 (correspondence on German excavations 1920–1944), K9 (A: correspondence 1930; B: correspondence 1931; C: correspondence on Samos 1932–1943, 1954–1961), K10 (correspondence 1933–1938), K11 (correspondence 1939–1944), K12 (correspondence on Olympia up to 1944), K13 (A: correspondence with Greek authorities up to 1944; B: general matters: correspondence with Greek authorities 1931–1962; C: correspondence with Greek authorities, Ministry of Education and Ministers’ Executive Committee 1951–1967) and K14 (A: O-general matters [invitations/information about meetings/general notifications/confirmation of membership fees]; 7 Meetings of a) Athens Department; b) other departments; c) companies; d) foundations; e) corporations; f) other... 1931–1944; B: requests/desideratum 1952–1954). It was not possible to categorise several boxes and folders, which are not listed in the concordance, according to just one area: a loose collection of correspondence and newspaper articles from the inter-war period and World War Two (without inventory number)<sup>39</sup>; correspondence on Kerameikos up to 1944<sup>40</sup>; and folders on “the preparation of aerial photographs”<sup>41</sup>.

In addition, the personal archives of the following individuals were partially examined (in alphabetical order): Ernst Buschor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Kimon Grundmann, Roland Hampe, Georg Karo, Semni Karousou, Hans Weber, Gabriel Welter, Walther Wrede. There is also the personal archive of Klaus Herrmann (1940–2015),

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<sup>31</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/standort/athen/archiv> with a visual overview and additional information on individual types of documents.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/organisation/3126201>: nine sub-categories (correspondence, bookkeeping, rulings and regulations, reports, history of the Institute, daily operations, courses, grants, other matters). Documents from the DAI Athens’ personnel department are not kept here. Contracts, invoices, and details of expenses can provide important information about specific undertakings; see note 26. 27.

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/organisation/3126152>: Sorting according to cabinets (I-III), location (e.g. Thera), region (e.g. Turkey), cultural epoch (“Minoan-Mycaenean”), head of excavation (e.g. Dörpfeld).

<sup>34</sup> Photographic library of the DAI Athens: <https://www.dainst.org/standort/athen/fotothek>.

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/organisation/3126028>: Aerial photographs from the Wehrmacht, which were taken during the occupation of Greece.

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/standort/athen/nachlassarchiv>: This area includes a total of 42 personal archives.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/organisation/3120837>: Overview of current and completed excavations, including Olympia, Kerameikos, Samos, and Tiryns.

<sup>38</sup> See Brommer 1972; Brommer 1975; Grigoropoulos 2009; Grigoropoulos 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Information kindly provided by Dimitris Grigoropoulos.

<sup>40</sup> Information kindly provided by Jutta Stroszeck.

<sup>41</sup> Information kindly provided by Joachim Heiden.



which was not yet included in the DAI Athens' concordance list and is primarily dedicated to the life and work of Wilhelm Dörpfeld. The most recent addition to the DAI Athens is the personal archive of Siegfried Lauffer with archaeological notes, drawings, and personal photographs from the 1930s and 1940s.

I was able to use images from the photo library and the aerial photo archive as illustrative material for publications with very different topics as their focus<sup>42</sup>. Extracts from DAI Athens guest books also proved to be informative and beneficial with respect to relationships which the DAI Athens cultivated between 1933 and 1944<sup>43</sup>.

### 1.3. Political Archive of the German Foreign Office (PA AA)

Over the last 60 years, the contents of the PA AA have been systematically examined and made accessible to the public. It is possible to gain an overview of relevant topics and documents relatively quickly both online and at the archive itself<sup>44</sup>:

“For some time now, at the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office (PA AA), the files of German diplomatic organisations up to the year 1945 have been systematically analysed. From the end of World War Two up to modern times, scholars have focussed primarily on the more important and far more clearly structured files at the Foreign Office headquarters. However, where there are gaps in this archive – generally as a result of war – the files from diplomatic organisations provide important information which helps to complete the picture.

Large quantities first arrived at the PA AA in 1938, when organisations were instructed to submit their archives. The material expanded in the 1950s when, following resumption of diplomatic relations, the old files (“Altakten”) of the respective organisations were handed over to the Foreign Office and from there to the PA AA.

On the whole, the gaps here are far greater than in the files at the Foreign Office headquarters. The files of some 300 diplomatic and consular organisations vary in size and condition. In many cases, these organisations destroyed their archives when diplomatic relationships were severed, so as to prevent them falling into enemy hands. In cases where diplomatic organisations kept operating until the end of World War Two, such as in neutral or occupied countries, the files were not destroyed until 1945. In the case of partially preserved archives, the files are often complete up until a certain year. In other cases, there are sporadic temporal gaps in the material. The condition of the surviving material means that in some cases only limited use is possible. For this reason, in addition to analysing and classifying the files of German diplomatic organisations, physically sorting and protecting the documents is also important, as they are often loosely bound in large packages. Individual files need to be sorted and stored in acid-free folders. The new folders are consecutively numbered upon completion and replace the old system of ‘package numbers’. [...]

When [the contents of the German Consulate in Linz] were recorded, it became clear that documents from the German diplomatic organisations did not merely replicate files at the Foreign Office headquarters, but in some cases contained material which had never been present in the Berlin archive. [...]<sup>45</sup>

Concerning research on the DAI Athens, it is necessary to differentiate two types of files at the PA AA:

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<sup>42</sup> Kankleit 2016b; Kankleit 2018b; Kankleit 2019e; Kankleit 2019f; Kankleit 2019g; Kankleit 2019i; Kankleit 2020a; Kankleit 2020c; Kankleit 2021a. I received assistance from Joachim Heiden, Katharina Brandt, and Julia Engelhardt.

<sup>43</sup> Katharina Brandt kindly provided me with the information; see Kankleit 2019c; Kankleit 2019d.

<sup>44</sup> Online assistance is available with respect to research and ordering archive materials: <https://archiv.diplo.de/arc-de/im-archiv-forschen>. The useful online search engine can be found at: <http://www.archivesportaleurope.net/ead-display/-/ead/pl/aicode/DE-2242/type/hg/id/PAAA>.

<sup>45</sup> Lucia van der Linde (Amtsrätin [Councillor], archivist at the PA AA) on the “Files of German diplomatic organisations in the Political Archive”: <https://www.berlinerarchive.de/akten-de/>.

#### 1. Files from the former Foreign Office headquarters at Wilhelmsstraße 72

These documents bear the label “R” for “Reich”. A large part of the files from the culture department of the Foreign Office were destroyed by bombing and fire during the war, or deliberately destroyed towards the end of the war. Only a few volumes on archaeology have been preserved (RZ 504 – culture from 1927). Some files from the culture department are badly damaged and can only be studied on microfiches.

#### 2. Files from the Germany Embassy (“Auslandsvertretung”) in Athens, Vasilissis Sofias 4

The documents here are from the former German Embassy in Athens. Many of these files were destroyed on-site on the orders of senior staff in 1944. Some of the surviving files in the PA AA were sent there by courier in May/June 1940. Others are from the office of the Reich plenipotentiary for Greece in Athens. Fortunately, these files were spared destruction in 1944. The PA AA possesses a detailed list providing information on material which has been preserved from the former German Embassy in Athens.

Due to the growing risk posed by the war, from 1943 the files of the Foreign Office were distributed among various alternative locations. At the end of the war, they fell into the hands of the Allies and for the most part were then sent abroad. The documents were returned to the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD) bit by bit from 1956 to 1960.

The PA AA contains, above all, documents with information on the former directors of the DAI Athens: Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Georg Karo, Ernst Buschor, and Walther Wrede (R 63903g; employee file 7044 on Georg Karo). There are two employee files (1332 and 1333) on the archaeologist Erich Boehringer, who for several years was cultural attaché at the German Embassy in Athens, as well as invoices and references dating from both before and after 1945 (e.g. R 60924; R 148048)<sup>46</sup>.

Up to the end of World War Two, the Foreign Office’s culture department was primarily responsible for foreign propaganda. “Following the military occupation of numerous European countries during World War Two, the respective German minorities became part of the territory ruled by the National Socialist regime. A core component of German rule during occupation was the *Volkstumspolitik* [policy of German ethnic belonging], which from that time was the responsibility of the culture department. On 1 April 1943, the information department, which was set up at the outbreak of war, was absorbed into the department responsible for cultural policy.”<sup>47</sup>

### 1.4. Federal Archives (BArch)

The Federal Archives possess numerous files, images, films, audio recordings, and maps from the National Socialist era<sup>48</sup>. My research focussed on materials (above all personnel files, contracts, ID cards, and letters) which, depending on age, significance, and condition, now exist in highly diverse media, from original paper documents in their original files, to photos on microfiches or microfilms, and scanned PDF files.

The search for specific individuals and topics in the Federal Archives – which are spread over ten locations – is generally made easier by the online tool “invenio”<sup>49</sup>. However, the documents relevant to my research have not (yet) been digitised<sup>50</sup>. Therefore, as with the other institutions mentioned above, it is necessary to visit the archive in person to obtain a full and true picture of its contents.

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<sup>46</sup> Reference to important documents in the PA AA can be found in the relevant literature: Krumme 2012; Lindenlauf 2015; Lindenlauf 2016; Vigener 2016; Kankleit 2018b; Kankleit 2018d; Kankleit 2019a; Kankleit 2019i

<sup>47</sup> “Inventories of the Foreign Office Political Archive” at <https://www.archivesportaleurope.net/ead-display/-/ead/pl/aicode/DE-2242/type/hg/id/PAAA:2.Akten>2.1.DeutschesReich-Zentrale>2.1.5.Kultur>.

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Home/home.html>;

<https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Finden/Epochen/Deutsches-Reich-Nationalsozialismus/deutsches-reich-nationalsozialismus.html>.

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Finden/Recherchesysteme/Invenio/invenio.html>.

<sup>50</sup> The digitised inventories of the Federal Archives: <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Finden/Digitalisierte-Bestaende/digitalisierte-bestaende.html>.

The Federal Archives comprise material from highly diverse institutions<sup>51</sup>, including the Foreign Office<sup>52</sup>, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and the Council of Ministers of East Germany (Ministerrat der DDR). The archives cover a broad historical period (from the 16th century up to the present day) and are still expanding due to the ongoing addition of archive materials from state and non-state institutions<sup>53</sup>.

I found specific information about the following individuals in the Federal Archives: Ludwig Budde (R/4901/16800), Ernst Buschor (R/901/69495), Wilhelm Dörpfeld (R/4901/13359), Kurt Gebauer (R 4901/17535; NS 21/1372), Roland Hampe (R 4901/13265), Georg Karo (R/5101/24334), Peter Paulsen (Z 42 II/1269)<sup>54</sup>, Werner Peek (R/9361/I/2605), Karl Schefold (NSDAP database no. 3213885)<sup>55</sup>, Hans Schleif (NSDAP database no. 5360876; NS 21/2288; R 9361-III/553250; R 9361-VI/2640)<sup>56</sup>, Friedrich Schober (NS/12/12634), Hans Ulrich von Schoenebeck (NS 21/2337) and Edmund Weigand (R 901/69496).

The Federal Archives also have information on the re-opening of the DAI Athens after World War One (R 901/6949a), on the official launch of the Olympia excavation in 1937, and on Walther Wrede's appointment as First Director of the DAI Athens (R/43/II/1227)<sup>57</sup>.

Detailed reports provide information on the activities of the German armed forces' Kunstschutz department in Greece (BArch RW 40/ 116a; BArch B 128/258)<sup>58</sup>. Highly informative, and to date the focus of very little scholarly attention, is the final report, running to several hundred pages, of the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce on activities in Greece in 1941 (BArch NS 30/75).

The Federal Archives' film library allows users to research and order film clips about specific places and events online. The online offers of the film library currently range from World War One-era films to post-war weekly newsreels, and programmes from the Federal Press Agency<sup>59</sup>. The online catalogue provides an entry point to the weekly newsreels and documentary films from the period 1895 to 1950<sup>60</sup>. Materials include films about Olympia, Samos, Kos, and the Monastic State Mount Athos. Some of these films can be found on various social media platforms and viewed in a highly compressed form<sup>61</sup>. This can be a useful starting point for further research in the Federal Archives, where the respective originals are kept and high-quality stills can be ordered if required.

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<sup>51</sup> [https://www.archivportal-d.de/objekte?query=&offset=0&rows=100&facetValues%5B%5D=provider\\_id%3DVSHJWG7QLS7Y3NS2HKE43E5Q5NJ7OCLS](https://www.archivportal-d.de/objekte?query=&offset=0&rows=100&facetValues%5B%5D=provider_id%3DVSHJWG7QLS7Y3NS2HKE43E5Q5NJ7OCLS).

<sup>52</sup> From an outsider's perspective, the criteria by which documents are stored at the PA AA or BArch are not always clear.

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Anbieten/Vereine-Verbaende-Institutionen/vereine-verbaende-institutionen.html>; [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bundesarchiv\\_\(Deutschland\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bundesarchiv_(Deutschland)). For example, the "Zentralkartei" (central file), which records details of members of the National Socialist Party, is kept in the Federal Archives. It comes from the collection of the Berlin Document Center (BDC):

<https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Artikel/Finden/Epochen/finden-epochen-nutzung-NSDAP-Kartei.html>;

<https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Artikel/Ueber-uns/Aus-unserer-Arbeit/berlin-document-center.html>.

<sup>54</sup> See Kankeleit 2018d.

<sup>55</sup> See Kankeleit 2020b.

<sup>56</sup> There is a particularly large amount of material on Hans Schleif in the Federal Archives; details can be found in Klein 2016.

<sup>57</sup> See Kankeleit 2017b; Kankeleit 2018c.

<sup>58</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.filmothek.bundesarchiv.de/>.

<sup>60</sup> [http://www.bundesarchiv.de/imperia/md/content/bundesarchiv\\_de/recherche/findbuch\\_wochenschauen\\_dokumentarfilme.pdf](http://www.bundesarchiv.de/imperia/md/content/bundesarchiv_de/recherche/findbuch_wochenschauen_dokumentarfilme.pdf).

<sup>61</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2020a; Kankeleit 2021d.

## 1.5. Deutsche Dienststelle (WASSt) for informing next of kin of former German Wehrmacht soldiers killed in action

Since 1939, the government agency Deutsche Dienststelle (WASSt) has stored information about members of the Wehrmacht<sup>62</sup>. Due to the unique nature of the material, the agency is often used by private individuals (mostly family members of soldiers, or researchers) or specialist authorities who have an interest in obtaining background information about the fate of German soldiers<sup>63</sup>.

In November 2018, requests for information on the following persons were granted: Roland Hampe, Fritz Dörpfeld, and Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck.

At the start of 2019, the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASSt) became part of the Federal Archives<sup>64</sup>. Due to this restructuring process, additional requests for information about employees of the DAI Athens proved time-consuming. Finally, in May 2019, I received a response to my second request for information on a larger group of individuals. This group includes Frank Brommer, Richard Eilmann, Kurt Gebauer, Ulf Jantzen, Heinz Johannes, Siegfried Lauffer, and Hans Riemann. Research on Günther Klaffenbach was finally completed on 6 November 2019.

It was evident in almost all cases that the information provided by the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASSt) requires additional research on the structure and history of the Wehrmacht in Greece. The very brief details on the persons in question offer no clear indication of their military role and associated activities<sup>65</sup>.

## 1.6. Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU), head office in Berlin

When I was researching Werner Peek, who worked as an epigraphist and editor for the DAI Athens during the National Socialist era and, as an active member of the NSDAP, helped to establish and expand the Hitler Youth ("HJ") in Greece, Isolde Stark advised me to take a look at the Stasi Records Archive (BStU)<sup>66</sup>. Without this tip and her subsequent assistance, I would probably not have obtained access to these documents<sup>67</sup>, which provide detailed information on Peek's activities in Greece before, during, and after World War Two. In 1951, he was appointed Professor for Classical Philology in Halle which belonged then to Eastern Germany, and in the following years continued his research trips to West Germany, Greece, and Italy without any restrictions. In 1982, he left the GDR and settled in Bielefeld. He was able to bring his considerable collection of antiques with him, which he had acquired (partly illegally) in Greece in the 1930s and 1940s, without any interference from the authorities<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> The „Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht“ (WASSt), office providing information on former members of the „Deutsche Wehrmacht“, began its work on 26 August 1939 by order of the Wehrmacht High Command (OKW): [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche\\_Dienststelle\\_\(WASSt\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Dienststelle_(WASSt)).

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.dd-wast.de/de/ueber-uns/wir-ueber-uns.html>.

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.dd-wast.de/de/startseite.html>.

<sup>65</sup> For partial findings, see Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>66</sup> Isolde Stark has spent some years examining historical issues relating to research, with one focus being the role of classical scholars in the Third Reich and in the GDR: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isolde\\_Stark](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isolde_Stark); <https://www.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/de/bereiche-und-lehrstuehle/alte-geschichte/colloquium/winter-2018-19>.

<sup>67</sup> Homepage of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU): <https://www.bstu.de/>. The BStU and the Federal Archives are currently preparing to transfer the Stasi Records Archive to its future home at the Federal Archives, scheduled to take place on the 17 June 2021.

<sup>68</sup> For more on Peek's art collection: Stupperich1990; Kavvadias 2019, 221-225. It is not at all clear how Peek transported the antiques from Greece to Germany; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/14/from-olympia-9>

The documents in the head office in Berlin offer insight into Peek's networks and his political activities during the National Socialist era. They also offer a vivid picture of everyday life in the German community (known in German as the "Deutsche Kolonie", literally "Germany colony") in Athens. Unfortunately, information about Peek ends in the 1960s. Despite numerous inquiries, there appears to be no information available about Peek's art collection and the mysterious circumstances of its transport out of the GDR in the 1980s<sup>69</sup>.

## 1.7. Berlin State Archive

I discovered the Berlin State Archive while researching Wilhelm Dörpfeld<sup>70</sup>, who spent time near the end of his life at the house of his son Fritz Dörpfeld in Berlin-Lichterfelde. The exceptionally accommodating staff provided me with a list for the following documents: Founding of the Wilhelm Dörpfeld foundation on 30 October 1930 in Berlin (C Rep. 105 no. 4430) and documents relating to Fritz Dörpfeld's car service station at the Botanical Garden (A Rep. 342-02 no. 58810; B Rep. 074-3715)<sup>71</sup>.

The Berlin State Archive also possesses documents on employees and members of the DAI, though these were not relevant to my research: on the first post-war president Carl Weickert (B Rep. 014 no. 1763; B Rep. 014 no. 1764; C Rep. 120 no. 5588), on Margarete Bieber (B Rep. 235-20 no. 118), on the Archaeological Society of Berlin (B Rep. 020 no. 1972), on the Theodor Wiegand Society (B Rep. 020 no. 5353), and on repairs to the Institute's building in Berlin in 1945 (F Rep. 280 no. 7362).

## 1.8. Inscriptiones Graecae Archive, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (IG, BBAW)

Klaus Hallof, head of the Inscriptiones Graecae Archive at the BBAW, kindly drew my attention to documents in his archive which enriched my research in an interesting way. These documents include a contemporary report from Rudolf Herzog, who on a visit to Athens in 1933 discussed social and political topics in-depth with his colleagues at the DAI Athens<sup>72</sup>, information on Walther Wrede's stay in Skopje after 1944, and correspondence between Günther Klaffenbach and Ernst Buschor, Emil Kunze, Werner Peek, Otto Rubensohn, and many others in the post-war period. These letters mention individuals such as Ernst Langlotz, Karl Schefold, Anton Raubitschek, and Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen: "that Hiller, who transcended so many of the prejudices of his profession, was so seduced by the propaganda and believed that the [National Socialist] movement would lead to a new Germany, was a source of great hurt for me; however, knowing his motives, it did not estrange me from him." (Letter from Otto Rubensohn to Günther Klaffenbach dated 11 November 1947, just a few days after Hiller von Gaertringen's death). Much of the correspondence in the BBAW still awaits in-depth scholarly analysis and publication.

## 1.9. Compensation Office for the Victims of National Socialism, Berlin

The Compensation Office for the Victims of National Socialism, Berlin has files on Willy Schwabacher, Berta Segall, and Elisabeth Jastrow, which provide information on their departure from Germany and years spent in

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to-nazi-germany-ancient-vase-returned-to-greece; <https://www.archaeologie-online.de/nachrichten/universitaet-muenster-schenkt-griechenland-antiken-skyphos-4483/>.

<sup>69</sup> Stupperich1990; Kavvadias 2019, 224; [http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/299/1/stupperich\\_antiken\\_sammlung\\_peek\\_1988\\_89.pdf](http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/299/1/stupperich_antiken_sammlung_peek_1988_89.pdf).

<sup>70</sup> Berlin State Archive: <http://landesarchiv-berlin.de/>.

<sup>71</sup> I examined some of these documents for an article on Wilhelm Dörpfeld: Kankeleit 2021a.

<sup>72</sup> Publication is planned in Kankeleit 2021c.

exile<sup>73</sup>. The files also offer indications about the situation in Athens in the years after the National Socialists came to power and up to the outbreak of World War Two<sup>74</sup>.

## **1.10. Compensation Office for the Victims of National Socialism, North-Rhine Westphalia, Düsseldorf**

The Compensation Office in Düsseldorf has documents relating to Karl Lehmann (Lehmann-Hartleben from 1920 to 1944)<sup>75</sup>. Karl Lehmann was responsible for the American excavations on Samothrace from 1937 to 1939. It is unknown whether he maintained contact with colleagues at the DAI Athens or other German archaeologists living in Greece during this period, though on the basis of the information available it seems unlikely<sup>76</sup>.

## **1.11. Wuppertal City Archive, personal archive of Wilhelm Dörpfeld**

The Wuppertal City Archive is home to a large part of the personal archive of Wilhelm Dörpfeld. His archive comprises some 35 boxes with documents from the 19th and 20th centuries. The documents provide information on Dörpfeld's research and work as the long-serving Director of the DAI Athens. It also contains letters and "circulars" from the inter-war period which were relevant to my research. I wish to express my gratitude to Mira Berghöfer (née Weidhaas) and Gianna Hedderich<sup>77</sup>, who provided me with a provisional version of the inventory and numerous copies of relevant archive material. Following their advice, in July 2018 I focussed on nine boxes during a visit to the Wuppertal City Archive. In particular, a series of written documents and drawings from the 1930s attracted my interest. They offer insight into Dörpfeld's conservative outlook and political orientation, which predisposed him to take a favourable view of the National Socialists. However, they also show that after 1933, Dörpfeld sought contact with both committed National Socialists and Jewish emigrants. Noteworthy in this respect are the boxes NDS 23/1, NDS 23/16, and NDS 23/19<sup>78</sup>. Also significant for the history of research are the "circulars" which Dörpfeld sent from the Mediterranean to relatives and close friends in 1937 and 1938. This material, too, is in need of closer study. It was at least possible to prepare Dörpfeld's photo diary for publication in 2019. It will appear in an anthology in 2020<sup>79</sup>.

As part of a joint project by the Universities of Wuppertal and Freiburg led by Armin Eich<sup>80</sup>, Peter Eich<sup>81</sup> and Thorsten Beigel<sup>82</sup> plan to edit the personal archive of Wilhelm Dörpfeld in the coming years<sup>83</sup>.

## **1.12. United Archives of the Nobility in the Rhineland, personal archive of Count Wolff Metternich**

The United Archives of the Nobility in the Rhineland (German: Vereinigte Adelsarchive im Rheinland e.V.) are maintained by the LVR Archive Consultants and Further Education Centre in the Brauweiler Abbey (in Pulheim

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<sup>73</sup> <https://www.berlin.de/labo/entschaedigung-von-ns-unrecht/>.

<sup>74</sup> First presentation of research findings from this archive: Kankeleit 2019c; Kankeleit 2019d.

<sup>75</sup> [https://www.brd.nrw.de/entschaedigung\\_fuer\\_naziunrecht/Ansprechpersonen\\_Adressen.html](https://www.brd.nrw.de/entschaedigung_fuer_naziunrecht/Ansprechpersonen_Adressen.html).

<sup>76</sup> For more on the relationship between Karl Lehmann and Karl Schefold see: Kankeleit 2020b.

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.geschichte.uni-wuppertal.de/de/personen/alte-geschichte/gianna-hedderich-ma.html>.

<sup>78</sup> I will go into more detail on documents from the Wuppertal City Archive in an upcoming article on Wilhelm Dörpfeld: Kankeleit 2021a.

<sup>79</sup> For more on the publication see note 78 (my thanks to Armin Eich for the information).

<sup>80</sup> <https://www.geschichte.uni-wuppertal.de/de/personen/alte-geschichte/prof-dr-armin-eich.html>.

<sup>81</sup> <https://www.altegeschichte.uni-freiburg.de/mitarbeiter/dokumente-mitarbeiter/peter-eich>.

<sup>82</sup> <https://www.geschichte.uni-wuppertal.de/de/personen/alte-geschichte/dr-thorsten-beigel.html>.

<sup>83</sup> <https://www.geschichte.uni-wuppertal.de/de/personen/alte-geschichte/dr-thorsten-beigel/publikationen.html>.

near Cologne)<sup>84</sup>. Since 2013, they have possessed the private archive of Count Wolff Metternich, who had been responsible for the military's Kunstschutz department throughout Europe from 1940 to 1943. Documents relating to his deputy and successor Bernhard von Tieschowitz are also part of the archive.

My attention was first drawn to the archive by Henrike Bolte, who as a volunteer from 2013 to 2016 was responsible for sorting and recording the archive's material<sup>85</sup>. She kindly sent me excerpts of documents relating to Greece and containing information on ties between the Kunstschutz and the DAI Athens and the *École française d'Athènes*<sup>86</sup>.

In September 2016, a three-year project was launched with a Franco-German team, the aim of which was to digitise and provide a broad European context for the documents<sup>87</sup>. Hans-Werner Langbrandtner is the main contact person and project leader<sup>88</sup>. He is also responsible for the publication of the proceedings of a two-day conference which was held in Brauweiler in September 2019 and focussed on the activities of the Kunstschutz during World War II<sup>89</sup>.

During my stay in Brauweiler in January 2018, I had the opportunity to gain access to all relevant documents from the personal archive of Metternich. I was able to take photos and make notes without any restrictions. Hans-Werner Langbrandtner, the head of the archive, provided valuable technical assistance and information on the content. Particularly interesting were the different versions of the "Pamphlets for the German soldiers at the historic sites of Greece" („Merkblätter für den deutschen Soldaten an den geschichtlichen Stätten Griechenlands“), created by the Kunstschutz with assistance from nearly all DAI Athens' employees (Metternich archive no. 80), plans concerning the commemorative book "Hellas", in which, among others, Walther Wrede, Carl Weickert, Andreas Rumpf, and Hans Weber were involved (Metternich archive no. 102), correspondence and final reports from the Kunstschutz representatives in Greece, Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck and Wilhelm Kraiker (Metternich archive no. 102), notes on trips made by Metternich and Tieschowitz in occupied Greece (Metternich archive no. 200), testimonies of first contacts between German, Greek, and British archaeologists in the post-war period (Metternich archive no. 146).

### 1.13. Basel Museum of Antiquities, personal archive of Berta Segall

While examining documents on the role of the DAI Athens during the National Socialist era, I stumbled upon a letter by the archaeologist Ernst Homann-Wedeking dated 29 October 1937<sup>90</sup>. In his role as an assistant at

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<sup>84</sup> [https://afz.lvr.de//de/archivberatung/adelsarchive\\_1/vereinigte\\_adelsarchive\\_im\\_rheinland/vereinigte\\_adelsarchive.html](https://afz.lvr.de//de/archivberatung/adelsarchive_1/vereinigte_adelsarchive_im_rheinland/vereinigte_adelsarchive.html).

<sup>85</sup> [https://afz.lvr.de/de/newsarchiv/newsarchiv\\_2016/2016\\_05\\_06/2016\\_05\\_2.html](https://afz.lvr.de/de/newsarchiv/newsarchiv_2016/2016_05_06/2016_05_2.html). Jennifer Wilde, a friend of Henrike Bolte since their childhood, put us in contact.

<sup>86</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2021c.

<sup>87</sup> For more on the aims of the ambitious project: <https://kunstschutz-wolff-metternich.de/>; [https://www.kulturgutverluste.de/Content/03\\_Forschungsfoerderung/Projekt/Vereinigte-Adelsarchive-im-Rheinland-eV-Pulheim/Projekt1.html](https://www.kulturgutverluste.de/Content/03_Forschungsfoerderung/Projekt/Vereinigte-Adelsarchive-im-Rheinland-eV-Pulheim/Projekt1.html); <https://adelsarchive-rheinland.de/kunstschutz-projekt.html>: "The aim of the project is to compile an inventory of all archive material documenting the activities of the Kunstschutz in World War Two, incorporating the additional sources in German, French, Belgian, Dutch, and English-language archives alongside the central personal archive of Count Wolff Metternich."

<sup>88</sup> [https://afz.lvr.de/de/archivberatung/adelsarchive\\_1/adelsarchive\\_1.html](https://afz.lvr.de/de/archivberatung/adelsarchive_1/adelsarchive_1.html).

<sup>89</sup> For more on the conference "The Protection of Cultural Artefacts in Europe and the Rheinland: Count Wolff Metternich and the Kunstschutz in World War Two" (German: "Kulturgutschutz in Europa und im Rheinland: Franziskus Graf Wolff Metternich und der Kunstschutz im Zweiten Weltkrieg"): [https://adelsarchive-rheinland.de/files/content/Publikationen/LVR\\_Kunstschutz.pdf](https://adelsarchive-rheinland.de/files/content/Publikationen/LVR_Kunstschutz.pdf); [https://adelsarchive-rheinland.de/files/content/Projekte/Kunstschutz\\_Tagungsbericht\\_VAR.pdf](https://adelsarchive-rheinland.de/files/content/Projekte/Kunstschutz_Tagungsbericht_VAR.pdf); <https://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/termine-40028>. Three speakers discussed the situation in Greece: Christina Kott, Raik Stolzenberg, and Alexandra Kankeleit. The anthology is due to be published by Böhlau Verlag in 2021, see Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted and reproduced in Kankeleit 2019d; the article also contains additional reflections on the situation of German-Jewish archaeologists in Greece.

the DAI Athens, he asked the head office in Berlin whether articles from “non-Aryan Germans” could be published in the “Athenische Mitteilungen” journal. Specifically, he referred to an article by Berta Segall, who from 1934 to 1938 worked at the Museum Benaki in Athens and, as I subsequently discovered, was part of Homann-Wedeking’s broad circle of friends in Athens.

This episode planted the seed for further research. The following questions interested me: Who was Berta Segall? How and via which channels did she come to Greece? What people and events played an important role in her life in Athens? And finally: What kind of relationship did she have with the DAI Athens?

The few existing biographical details to be found on Berta Segall provided little information regarding these questions. The most important stops during her life as an emigrant were known: Great Britain, Greece, North America, and Switzerland. I began researching in these countries and the last stop, Switzerland, delivered the answers I was seeking. After making various inquiries, I finally discovered the personal archive of Berta Segall at the Basel Museum of Antiquities – stored in a box, forgotten, and fully unexplored<sup>91</sup>.

This archive bears important witness to its time. Photos, letters, newspaper excerpts, and notes which were originally in the possession of Berta Segall help to broaden the picture of the inter-war period in Greece. Alongside other archive materials, it becomes evident that, despite the racist laws, contact between “non-Aryans” and their “German” colleagues in the DAI Athens was possible and even desired. Even Walther Wrede, National Committee Leader of the NSDAP/AO from 1935 and First Director of the DAI Athens from 1937, seems not to have left a particularly negative impression on the majority of Jewish emigrants in Greece<sup>92</sup>.

#### 1.14. Basel State Archive

The Basel State Archive contains information on the archaeologists Karl Schefold and Berta Segall<sup>93</sup>. The information reveals, among other things, that Georg Karo, First Director of the DAI Athens from 1930 to 1936, went to considerable lengths to secure a professional future for his former assistant in Switzerland. Schefold, meanwhile, maintained close contact with his former colleagues in Germany and Greece even while in exile in Switzerland during the war. He also took steps to help German-Jewish archaeologists. To some degree, Berta Segall benefited from this. A more detailed assessment of the Swiss-based documents on Karl Schefold is being prepared<sup>94</sup>.

#### 1.15. Cologne University Archive, personal archive of Andreas Rumpf

I became aware of the personal archive of Andreas Rumpf at the Cologne University Archive<sup>95</sup> due to several citations and references in articles by Vassilis Petrakos<sup>96</sup>. In addition, Peter Funke, who for several years has had a particular interest in Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck, the Kunstschutz representative in Greece, drew my attention to this little-explored archive.

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<sup>91</sup> My deep gratitude to Esau Dozio for his invaluable support, including with my research: <http://www.antikenmuseumbasel.ch/de/footer/team.html>.

<sup>92</sup> Kankleit 2019c, 37 note 12.

<sup>93</sup> State Archive of the Canton of Basel-Stadt: <https://www.staatsarchiv.bs.ch/>. The folder on Karl Schefold offers a broad view of his many relationships and activities in Basel from 1935 to 1999: Basel-Stadt State Archive UNI-ReG 5d 2-1 (2) 120. There is a lot less information in the documents on Berta Segall, who lived in Basel from 1959 to 1976, though presumably at a greater remove from society: Basel-Stadt State Archive PD-Reg 3a, 161467.

<sup>94</sup> Kankleit 2020b.

<sup>95</sup> <https://www.portal.uni-koeln.de/startseite.html>.

<sup>96</sup> Petrakos 1994; Petrakos 2013. Petrakos was helped in his research by, among others, Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt and Henner von Hesberg. He received copies of the majority of letters which von Schoenebeck sent to Rumpf between 1941 and 1942, and had them translated into Greek for his published work.



Due to a significant lack of staff, poor technological equipment, and limited opening hours, doing research at the Cologne University Archive is not an easy task. Nevertheless, it was possible to examine the extremely illuminating correspondence from Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck, to make notes, and to order scans of particularly important documents (personal archive of Andreas Rumpf, Zug. 364 no. 52)<sup>97</sup>. The file on von Schoenebeck (no. 52) represents only a small part of the extensive personal archive of Andreas Rumpf. I also cast an eye on the folders containing letters from Wilhelm Kraiker (no. 86), Gabriel Welter (no. 51), Emil Kunze (nos. 18-19), Otto Wilhelm von Vacano (nos. 28, 31, 158), as well as general correspondence with the DAI from 1938-1949 (nos. 55-57). It is clear that Rumpf's personal archive contains sufficient material for further research on archaeological activities in Greece.

## 1.16. Bonn University Archive

The Bonn University Archive seems in even more urgent need of modernisation and additional staff than the Cologne University Archive<sup>98</sup>. During my relatively brief visit there, I was able to look at the employee file of Elisabeth Jastrow (Elisabeth Jastrow file, 1890–1981, PA 3641). The German-Jewish archaeologist was temporarily employed at the German School of Athens after World War One<sup>99</sup>. During this period, she became good friends with the Greek archaeologist Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou. In subsequent years there was some contact with Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck and Roland Hampe, whom she presumably became acquainted with while working in Rome<sup>100</sup>. In 1936, she seems to have spent several weeks in Athens. In 1938 she finally emigrated to the USA.

The employee file on Jastrow at the Bonn University Archive focuses on the process surrounding her employment and dismissal, which both happened within an extremely short period of time in 1933. She was not even able to take up her position as “assistant at the Academic Art Museum” (pay grade A2c2), which was a significant disadvantage for her subsequent career. The file sheds light on how Jastrow's “application for compensation” for the loss of this position in the 1950s was assessed by the Director of the Institute at the time, Richard Delbrueck. Of particular interest to my research was Jastrow's employment history, including details on her work in Athens.

## 1.17. Heidelberg University Archive

The Heidelberg University Archive is housed in a bright and spacious building. Unlike the two university archives previously mentioned, here there are no obvious problems with space, staff numbers or funding<sup>101</sup>. I received help with my research from Gabriel Meyer, who is deeply interested in historical and archaeological topics<sup>102</sup>.

My initial research focused on the university professor and former DAI employee Roland Hampe (UAH PA 7934). Hampe spent the majority of the war as a “Wachtmeister” (non-commissioned officer) and

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<sup>97</sup> Some of the research findings will appear in the proceedings from the LVR Archive Consultants and Further Education Centre; see note 87; Kankleit 2021b.

<sup>98</sup> <https://www.uni-bonn.de/einrichtungen/universitaetsverwaltung/organisationsplan/archiv>.

<sup>99</sup> For more information see Kankleit 2019i, 292 note 53.

<sup>100</sup> Further investigation of this topic is planned.

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/uniarchiv/>.

<sup>102</sup> <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/uniarchiv/benutzung/wir.html>. Gabriel Meyer kindly put me in touch with Folker Reichert, who has been researching the Hampe family for some years and generously provided me with access to previously unpublished material; see <https://www.hi.uni-stuttgart.de/mg/team/ehemalige/reichert/>. Folker Reichert, in turn, put me in touch with Ersi Xanthopoulos, Roland Hampe's daughter; see note 167.

“Sonderführer Z (Zugführer)” (platoon leader) in Greece (“District Commander II/981, Chania/Crete”)<sup>103</sup>. In these positions, he worked closely with fellow archaeologists in the Kunstschutz department<sup>104</sup>. Unfortunately, his employee file contains no new information on his activities in Greece. The documents relating to him contain only sporadic details about his war experiences. Understandably, stories from his time teaching in Heidelberg, often with anecdotal details, play a much larger role.

Based on the material in the Heidelberg files, I also wanted to discover how many and which Greek students actually attended the university during the National Socialist era (UAH B-8042/8; UAH B-8061/49; UAH B-8061/50). In contrast to Berlin, no Greek archaeologists seem to have been based in Heidelberg from 1933 to 1944. Rather, there were a number of Greek students of chemistry and medicine who as late as 1943/44 were able to keep studying in Heidelberg.

### 1.18. Münster University Archive

While doing research on Karl Lehmann, I originally wanted to visit the Münster University Archive<sup>105</sup>. Due to time constraints and the costs involved I abandoned the plan, but I was able to draw on a useful publication which appeared a few years previously<sup>106</sup>.

### 1.19. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology at the Humboldt University of Berlin

The Humboldt University’s Winckelmann Institute has its own archive, which provides information on, among other things, people who have attended the Institute and used its library<sup>107</sup>. Stefan Altekamp kindly allowed me to look at unpublished material there<sup>108</sup>. According to the documents, Greek students and researchers regularly visited Berlin from the 1920s onwards, including Marinos Calligas, Ioannis Kakridis, Christos Karouzos, Nikolaos Kotzias, Spyridon Marinatos, Semni Papaspyridi, Stylianos Pelekanidis, and Eleni Sfinis<sup>109</sup>.

### 1.20. Evangelical Central Archive in Berlin

The Evangelical Central Archive in Berlin (EZA) is where documents relating to the former German Evangelical Church in Athens (now known as the “Evangelische Kirche Deutscher Sprache in Griechenland”, German-language Evangelical Church in Greece) are stored<sup>110</sup>. Starting with Wilhelm Dörpfeld, many DAI Athens employees had close contact with the Evangelical Church in Athens<sup>111</sup>. The EZA possesses numerous documents which help to shed light on the role of archaeologists in the German community in Athens. In addition to detailed reports from the Athens-based pastors Carl Kindermann and Ernst Schäfer (EZA STV 199; EZA ST 4316; EZAB 5/ 3639; EZAB 5/ 3640), the archive also contains newspaper clippings and ideologically-influenced assessments of the situation in Greece (EZA 5/1395; EZA 5/ 1402). Ernst Schäfer, who was both a theologian and Christian archaeologist, was awarded the DAI travel grant in 1931/32. Due to his various

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<sup>103</sup> Information from the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASSt), see note 60. Raik Stolzenberg is currently investigating the military role of Roland Hampe on Crete.

<sup>104</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>105</sup> <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Archiv/>.

<sup>106</sup> See <http://www.flurgespraech.de/karl-lehmann-hartleben/>; for more on the publication see here note 75 and Kankeleit 2020b.

<sup>107</sup> [https://www.archaeologie.hu-berlin.de/de/lehrbereich\\_klarcho/winckelmann](https://www.archaeologie.hu-berlin.de/de/lehrbereich_klarcho/winckelmann).

<sup>108</sup> For further information on Stefan Altekamp: [https://www.archaeologie.hu-berlin.de/de/lehrbereich\\_klarcho/winckelmann/mitarbeiter/mitarbeiter-innen-und-dozent-innen/altekamp/pd-dr-stefan-altekamp](https://www.archaeologie.hu-berlin.de/de/lehrbereich_klarcho/winckelmann/mitarbeiter/mitarbeiter-innen-und-dozent-innen/altekamp/pd-dr-stefan-altekamp).

<sup>109</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2021c.

<sup>110</sup> <http://www.ezab.de/> and <http://ekathen.org/>.

<sup>111</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2019j; Kankeleit 2021a.

interests, he was naturally in contact with German archaeologists in Greece, in particular Wilhelm Dörpfeld<sup>112</sup>. DAI employees are mentioned on various occasions in the Church documents, including Johann Friedrich Crome (EZA 5/ 1395), Reinhard Herbig, and Walther Wrede (EZA 5/ 1401). Competition between the various German institutions based in Greece is also mentioned: the German Evangelical Church, the German Archaeological Institute, and the German School of Athens (Yellow File GIP\_331, 078.1946-11.1968). The challenging financial situation and the struggle for recognition may well have been the source of these tensions in the 1930s. The German-language Catholic Church in Greece played only a minor role in such circles<sup>113</sup>.

## 2. Archives of government authorities and institutions in Greece

### 2.1. Greek Ministry of Culture

At its Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations (Ιστορικό Αρχείο Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεων)<sup>114</sup>, the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport (Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού) offers access to a large part of its documentation relating to excavations and other archaeological activities in Greece<sup>115</sup>. The highly diverse material spans the 19th to 21st centuries and includes applications, reports, correspondence, books, newspaper articles, photographs, plans, maps, and drawings. In addition to sorting, recording, analysing and publishing the documents, restoration and digitisation also play a key role<sup>116</sup>.

Amidst a very welcoming and results-oriented atmosphere, from 2016–2019 I was given access to documents on specific persons (e.g. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Walther Wrede, and Hans Möbius), on general topics and issues (activities/proposals of the DAI Athens from 1933–1943, protective measures in Greek museums, plundering and vandalism during the war), and on specific objects (such as the Philippe statue found in Samos and the Charioteer of Delphi)<sup>117</sup>. The staff, in particular Athina Chatzidimitriou, Archontoula Papoulakou, and Sofia Fragouloupoulou, greatly assisted me with my research and gave advice even on complex matters<sup>118</sup>.

The Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations is subordinate to the National Archive of Monuments (Διεύθυνση Διαχείρισης Εθνικού Αρχείου Μνημείων)<sup>119</sup>. When referring to the origin of archive materials, it

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<sup>112</sup>It was first of all necessary for the Evangelical Pastors' Office in Rome to remove doubts about his suitability for the role (EZAB 5/ 3639): "[...] He is a pastor's son and has spent a lot of time abroad, both before he studied theology and then as a grant holder of the Archaeological Institute here. He specialises in Christian archaeology and early Christian history. [...] Over time he has become ever more enamoured of his role as pastor. So, there is no reason to fear, for example, that he would use his time in Athens primarily for archaeological study. He is far too conscientious for that, far too practical, and has far too little interest in classical archaeology, which is the only sort he would encounter there. There are no opportunities for him to work on Church history and Christian archaeology in Athens." Ernst Schäfer's personal archive is maintained by his son, the classical archaeologist Thomas Schäfer.

<sup>113</sup> Little is known about the history and significance of the German-language Catholic Church in Athens: <http://www.dkgathen.net/>. There is no archive, let alone a list of former employees (my thanks to Monsignore Hans Brabeck for this information). Catholic archaeologists involved with the DAI Athens would have included Emil Kunze and Gabriel Welter.

<sup>114</sup> For more on the English names "Historical Archive of the Archaeological Service" or "Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations" see: <http://nam.culture.gr/portal/page/portal/deam/erga/histarchive;> <https://culture.academia.edu/ArchontoulaPapoulakou>.

<sup>115</sup> <https://www.culture.gr/el/ministry/SitePages/viewyphresia.aspx?iID=1722>.

<sup>116</sup> During my first visit in 2016, I learned that the watercolours by Grete Wrede (Walther Wrede's wife) depicting flowers, butterflies, and idyllic landscapes, could only be touched in rare cases and are due to be restored; for more information see Krumme 2012, 176 note 154.

<sup>117</sup> Partial results are planned for publication in: Kankeleit 2019h; Kankeleit 2020a; Kankeleit 2021b; Kankeleit 2021d.

<sup>118</sup> Contact to the archaeologists arose at a Cluster 5 congress in 2016 and deepened in subsequent years. Numerous materials from the Historical Archive of the Greek Antiquities Service were presented in the congress publication: Sporn – Kankeleit 2019.

<sup>119</sup> <http://nam.culture.gr/portal/page/portal/deam>; English name: The National Archive of Monuments.

suffices to use the abbreviation ΥΠΠΟΑ/ΔΔΕΑΜ/ΤΔΙΑΑΑ<sup>120</sup> and the number of the respective file (e.g. 568 Δ for the Charioteer of Delphi).

## 2.2. National Archaeological Museum of Athens

The National Archaeological Museum of Athens (Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο)<sup>121</sup> possesses many unknown photographs and relics which are relevant to World War Two and the occupation in Athens. Maria Chidioglou and Ioanna Moraitou kindly gave me access to the material and also assisted me with their knowledge<sup>122</sup>. I am grateful to Georgios Kavvadias for putting us in contact and for additional information. Thus far, I have been able to examine photographs from the National Museum which date from the key periods before and after the occupation<sup>123</sup>. The focus is on steps which were taken to protect the museum's precious exhibits. There are also fragments of posters from the Wehrmacht, in which some of the museum's objects were wrapped. Interpreting and classifying these propaganda materials has so far not been possible due to their fragmentary nature. Nor has it been possible to establish how and when the posters ended up in the museum.

## 2.3. National Historical Museum, Athens

The National Historical Museum (Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο) in Athens has a significant photo archive covering the history of the city in the 19th and 20th centuries<sup>124</sup>. Of particular interest to me was material from the first half of the 20th century, portions of which have been published by the museum in a large volume<sup>125</sup>. Some of the photos which were ordered are due to appear in an article on the "German colony"<sup>126</sup>. The focus is on early images of the German School of Athens and the nearby École française d'Athènes as well as the undeveloped Lycabettus plot of land belonging to the Evangelical Church of Athens (known as the "Σχιστή Πέτρα" in Greek).

## 2.4. Archaeological Society of Athens

The Archaeological Society of Athens (Η Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία) possesses an extensive archive with material dating from the time it was founded in 1837<sup>127</sup>. Vassilis Petrakos, General Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens, has already presented and analysed documents relevant to my research in several publications<sup>128</sup>. While I have not yet visited the archive, Vassilis Petrakos kindly helped me with my

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<sup>120</sup> The abbreviation stands for Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού / Διεύθυνση Διαχείρισης Εθνικού Αρχείου Μνημείων / Τμήμα Διαχείρισης Ιστορικού Αρχείου Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεων.

<sup>121</sup> <https://www.namuseum.gr/>.

<sup>122</sup> Responsibility for these non-archaeological objects has been attributed to various employees of the museum: "Επειδή αφορούν θέματα συντήρησης, μάλλον θα γνωρίζει η προϊσταμένη του Τμήματος Συντήρησης του ΕΑΜ, Δρ Γεωργιάνα Μωραϊτου (gmoraitou@culture.gr). Leitung όχι, όλοι οι αρχαιολόγοι του ΕΑΜ μετέχουν σε θέματα του Αρχείου του Μουσείου, δηλαδή και αρχαιολόγοι από τα Τμήματα των Γλυπτών και των Προϊστορικών Αρχαιοτήτων του Μουσείου. Εγώ είμαι στο Τμήμα Συλλογών Αγγείων, Έργων Μεταλλοτεχνίας και Μικροτεχνίας και παράλληλα και στο φωτ. αρχείο, κυρίως για θέματα του Τμήματος." (Maria Chidioglou in an email dated 1 November 2019).

<sup>123</sup> The material is already well-known in Greece: Petrakos 1994; <https://www.lifo.gr/mag/features/3704> with more bibliographical references. It is mentioned in an upcoming German publication: Kankeleit 2021b (unfortunately, many of the images intended for inclusion were removed by the editors).

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.nhmuseum.gr/el/syloges/fotografiko-arheio/>.

<sup>125</sup> NHM 2016

<sup>126</sup> Kankeleit 2019i.

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.archetai.gr/index.php?p=content&section=1&id=8&lang=>.

<sup>128</sup> Petrakos 1994; Petrakos 1995; Petrakos 2011; Petrakos 2013. Vassilis Petrakos has published many other texts which examine the history of archaeology in Greece, in particular the staff, structures, and work of the Archaeological Society

questions about specific persons and topics. For example, he provided me with photographs of Greek researchers (including Marinus Kalligas and Christos Karouzos), copies of original German texts<sup>129</sup>, and extracts from Greek protocols, decrees, and laws. His profound knowledge, which he shared with me in several conversations and emails, has been of great value<sup>130</sup>. A thorough examination of the “memos” or “minutes”, which were created by memory by the Ministerial Director during the occupation, Antonios Keramopoulos, and frequently mentioned by Petrakos, is planned for the future<sup>131</sup>.

## 2.5. Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive

At the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο, ΕΛΙΑ)<sup>132</sup> I searched for maps and photographs of Athens from the first half of the twentieth century. My search soon yielded results and I obtained high-quality reproductions of Athenian city maps from 1900 to 1945<sup>133</sup>. The ΕΛΙΑ employee Mathilde Pырli<sup>134</sup> also drew my attention to documents and articles relating to the German community in Greece, in particular the Bavarian enclave in Irakleio in Attica (Ηράκλειο Αττικής)<sup>135</sup>. I briefly mention the Fix (formerly Fuchs) family and their famous brewery in my article on the DAI Athens before 1933<sup>136</sup>.

## 2.6. Archive of the Greek Parliament

The Greek Parliament library is home to the “Parliamentary Collection”, which contains historical and contemporary objects from the parliament<sup>137</sup>. It is the first port of call for historical newspaper articles<sup>138</sup>. However, it is also relatively easy to find digitised newspapers from the 1930s and 1940s online. There appear to be no problems with copyright, and several Greek websites provide the service<sup>139</sup>. As far as I am aware,

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of Athens. Listing them all is beyond the scope of this text. Many can be found in the bibliography in his most recent book from 2013. Petrakos is preparing a new work on the occupation of Greece.

<sup>129</sup> In Petrakos’ books, German archive materials are always translated into Greek. He has copies or originals of various documents, some of them unknown, from German archaeologists; see note 96.

<sup>130</sup> Last year, Petrakos gave me information about the situation in Delphi prior to 1956 and about repairs to the National Museum in Athens after 1944. The results were taken into account in an essay concerning the *Kunstschutz: Kankeleit 2021b*.

<sup>131</sup> Petrakos’ publications do not always make it clear when exactly Keramopoulos wrote these texts. At times, they seem like a retrospective justification and a conscious distancing from the German occupiers. In this context representatives of the collaborationist Greek government, such as Konstantinos Logothetopoulos, are depicted as having played a rather minor role.

<sup>132</sup> Abbreviation: ΕΛΙΑ; <http://www.elia.org.gr/>.

<sup>133</sup> The maps in question are city maps which were commissioned by German, Greek or British organisations. Some of them served a military purpose.

<sup>134</sup> <http://helios-eie.ekt.gr/EIE/handle/10442/16234>.

<sup>135</sup> Chatzigeorgiou 2014; Η «μικρή Βαυαρία» της Αττικής; <http://foroline.gr/archives/20762>.

<sup>136</sup> Kimon Grundmann, long-serving employee of the DAI Athens, and two of the Fix family’s children attended the German Primary School of Athens; see *Kankeleit 2019i*, 287 Fig. 8.

<sup>137</sup> “Κοινοβουλευτική Συλλογή (Ιστορικό και Σύγχρονο Κοινοβουλευτικό Αρχείο)”; <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/I-Bibliothiki/Syloges/Arxeia/>.

<sup>138</sup> Maria Dimitriadou, who works at the Benaki Museum, kindly provided the information. She made intensive use of the Greek Parliamentary archive for an article on “The image of the DAI Athens in the Greek press”; see *Dimitriadou 2019*.

<sup>139</sup> For example, when searching for the communist newspaper ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΤΗΣ from 9 November 1944 I discovered the following website: <http://62.103.28.111/paranomos/rec.asp?id=92899&nofoto=0>; for more information see *Kankeleit 2021b*.

there is currently no historical press review or systematic collection of Greek-language articles about the excavations and other activities of the DAI Athens<sup>140</sup>.

## 2.7. Archive of the University of Athens

The Historical Archive of the University of Athens (Ιστορικό Αρχείο του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών)<sup>141</sup> possesses material on lectures, exhibitions, and other events organised by German archaeologists and DAI employees at the university over the last 182 years. While doing research on Dörpfeld in 2017, I made contact with Vangelis Karamanolakis<sup>142</sup>, who was head of the archive at the time. He had already touched on the topic in several published articles<sup>143</sup>. I did not have time to carry out more extensive research at the archive.

## 2.8. Museum of Byzantine Culture

The Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki (Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού) is one of the largest and most important museums of its kind in northern Greece<sup>144</sup>. As the name suggests, its primary focus lies on artefacts from Byzantine culture and it houses exhibits dating from the 2nd to the 20th century and which primarily come from Greece<sup>145</sup>. It is therefore somewhat surprising that in the last five years the museum has, on several occasions, turned its attention to World War Two, the occupation of Greece, and the Wehrmacht's propaganda work. The initiative for this new research focus came from the former banker and trade unionist Byron Mitos<sup>146</sup>, who contacted the museum in 2014 and presented them with his extensive collection of photos of German Wehrmacht soldiers in Greece. Subsequently, in 2016, an exhibition and congress on the topic of "Αναπαραστάσεις της Κατοχής: φωτογραφία, ιστορία, μνήμη"<sup>147</sup> were held in Thessaloniki<sup>148</sup>. In 2019, an event in Athens entitled "Με το βλέμμα του κατακτητή: η Αθήνα της Κατοχής στη φωτογραφική συλλογή του Βύρωνα Μήτου" was planned<sup>149</sup> as a follow-up to the successful events in Thessaloniki<sup>150</sup>. Unfortunately,

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<sup>140</sup> The publicist Leonidas Karnaros kindly drew my attention to an article on the Olympia excavation from 1942: Kankeleit 2019e; Kankeleit 2019f. Information which is relevant to the DAI Athens during the National Socialist era can also often be found in contemporary press material, for example: "Το κατέβασμα της γερμανικής σημαίας από τον ιστό" by Πάνος Αργυρόπουλος, <https://www.tovimatisaigialeias.gr/6012-to-katevasma-tis-germanikis-simaias-apo-ton-isto>; for more information see Farakos 1990.

<sup>141</sup> <http://www.archive.uoa.gr/>.

<sup>142</sup> For more information on Vangelis Karamanolakis: <https://uoa.academia.edu/VangelisKaramanolakis>.

<sup>143</sup> Karamanolakis 2008.

<sup>144</sup> <https://mbp.gr/el>.

<sup>145</sup> <https://mbp.gr/el/εισαγωγή-στις-συλλογές>: "Οι συλλογές του Μουσείου αποτελούνται από 46,000 και πλέον αρχαία (έως το 1830) κινητά μνημεία και έργα νεώτερης ή σύγχρονης τέχνης, τα οποία χρονολογούνται από τον 2ο έως και τον 20 αλ."

<sup>146</sup> <https://www.blod.gr/speakers/mitos-byron/>.

<sup>147</sup> English title: "Representations of the Nazi Occupation: photography, history, memory".

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.mbp.gr/en/news/meeting-museum-byzantine-culture-%E2%80%9Crepresentations-occupation-photography-history-memory%E2%80%9D-report> with ten video lectures; see also [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ICBtDnL2GE0&feature=emb\\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ICBtDnL2GE0&feature=emb_logo) with a presentation by Iro Katsaridou and Ioannis Motsianos, who were largely responsible for the event.

<sup>149</sup> English title: "THE OCCUPIER'S GAZE. The Athens of the German Occupation in the Photographic Collection of Byron Metos".

<sup>150</sup> <http://ayla.culture.gr/katalogos-tis-ekthesis-me-to-vlemma-tou-katakthiti/> and <http://ayla.culture.gr/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ME-TO-BΛΕΜΜΑ-ΤΟΥ-ΚΑΤΑΚΤΗΤΗ-ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.pdf>.

it was not well publicised and as a result attendance at the one-day colloquium was relatively poor<sup>151</sup>. On the other hand, the exhibition at the Φετιχέ τζαμί (Fethiye Mosque) was apparently well attended<sup>152</sup>.

Via my contacts at the museum, Iro Katsaridou and Ioannis Motsianos, I became acquainted with the collector Byron Mitos, who kindly sent me digital photos of Wehrmacht soldiers at ancient Greek sites as well as a letter from Otto Walter to the Greek archaeologist Andreas Xyngopoulos dated 27 March 1941.

## 2.9. Contemporary Social History Archives

Several Greek historians and archaeologists drew my attention to the Contemporary Social History Archives (Αρχεία Σύγχρονης Κοινωνικής Ιστορίας, ΑΣΚΙ)<sup>153</sup>. These archives are particularly valuable for anyone who wishes to gain better understanding of the political situation within Greece between 1940 and 1950<sup>154</sup>. Key events from this period include: the outbreak of the Greek-Italian War on 28 October 1940<sup>155</sup>, the formation of political and military resistance organisations during the occupation (from April 1941), the founding of the independent region “Free Greece” (“Η Ελεύθερη Ελλάδα”) in summer 1943<sup>156</sup>, the “December events” (Δεκεμβριανά) in the winter of 1944–45, the Greek Civil War (1946–1949), and finally the defeat and expulsion of the Greek communists<sup>157</sup>. The ΑΣΚΙ archives consist mainly of collections from various parties, trade unions, and private individuals<sup>158</sup>. A systematic examination of the newspaper and photo archive may well be worthwhile, but has not yet been carried out.

## 2.10. Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Διπλωματικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών)<sup>159</sup> is frequently mentioned in the relevant literature on Greek history

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<sup>151</sup> <https://www.blod.gr/lectures/me-to-blemma-tou-katakitti-i-athina-stis-fotografies-ton-germanon-stratioton-1941-1944-hairetismo-kai-eisagogikes-omilies/>. My talk was kindly given by Dimitris Grigoropoulos:

<https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-blemma-tou-katakitti-i-ellada-stis-fotografies-1941-1944-germano-arhaiologoi-stin-ellada-kata-ti-diarkeia-tou-b-pagkosmiou-polemou/>. Even though attendance numbers were modest, interesting conversations took place afterwards and new contacts were made.

<sup>152</sup> Information kindly provided by the organisers. The articles from the 2019 congress are due to be published, see Kankeleit 2020c.

<sup>153</sup> <http://www.askiweb.eu/index.php/el/>.

<sup>154</sup> <http://www.askiweb.eu/index.php/el/2015-09-16-07-18-53/2015-09-16-07-06-12/>: “Στην κατοχή της Εταιρείας μας βρίσκονται, σήμερα, εξαιρετικής σημασίας και όγκου αρχαιικά τεκμήρια (περισσότερα από 5,000,000 έγγραφα) τα οποία συνεχώς εμπλουτίζονται: αρχεία από τον μεσοπόλεμο αναφορικά με την εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων και την αγροτική πολιτική, από την περίοδο της Αντίστασης (1941–1944) και του εμφυλίου πολέμου από όλο το πολιτικό φάσμα της εποχής [...], αρχαιικές συλλογές από την Μέση Ανατολή και την Κυβέρνηση του Βουνού, [...] αρχεία συνδικαλιστικών και κοινωνικών οργανώσεων διαφόρων εποχών [...].”

<sup>155</sup> Greece’s entry into World War Two led to a series of new measures, including steps to protect Greek museums in the event of aerial bombardment.

<sup>156</sup> For more information on “Free Greece,” which was founded with the involvement of various Greek intellectuals (including the archaeologist Ioannis Miliadis), see: <https://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/i-elftheri-ellada-i-periochi-pou-elftherose-to-eam-apo-tous-germanous-to-1943-vivlioparousiasi/>; [https://www.gedenkorte-europa.eu/de\\_de/article-eam-nationale-befreiungsfront-griechenlands.html](https://www.gedenkorte-europa.eu/de_de/article-eam-nationale-befreiungsfront-griechenlands.html).

<sup>157</sup> There are also research areas which have particularly interested younger historians in recent years: The Greek collaborationist government’s structures, members, and opportunities for exerting influence; Greek involvement in dispossessing and expelling its Jewish citizens; the role of the Holocaust in modern Greek history. I assume that the ΑΣΚΙ also has material relevant to these issues. The Dordanas – Papanastasiou anthology from 2019 offers a starting point for more recent literature.

<sup>158</sup> <http://www.askiweb.eu/index.php/el/2015-09-21-08-28-39/2015-09-23-08-54-52/2015-09-23-08-56-07/>.

<sup>159</sup> <https://www.mfa.gr/diplomatiko-kai-istoriko-arheio/>.

during the occupation<sup>160</sup>. Although I visited the archive twice, I found it very difficult to access relevant material. I therefore postponed this research to a later date.

## 2.11. Archive of the Bank of Greece

The Bank of Greece (Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος) has its own “Centre for Culture, Research & Documentation” (Κέντρο Πολιτισμού, Έρευνας & Τεκμηρίωσης)<sup>161</sup>. My interest in the elaborately designed bank notes, which depict the most famous art works from Greek antiquity, led me there. The Charioteer of Delphi was first printed on a 10,000 drachma note during the Civil War in 1947, when most museums were still not open. On my visit to the archive, the employee Anastasia Pesmatzoglou provided me with background information and numerous printable photos and illuminating brochures<sup>162</sup>. I was also offered a tour of the collection and the Bank of Greece Museum.

## 3. Archives of private persons

Gaining access to the archives of private persons often involves considerable effort and preparation<sup>163</sup>. In contrast to public archives, personal contacts are key in determining whether and how much material is made accessible. In most cases, I was granted access to personal archives. The family members mentioned below were also very facilitating and provided important assistance, which in some cases required considerable time and effort on their part. However, it was clear in advance that the legal inheritors and administrators of these archives were keen to have some control over the way the material was interpreted and presented. For this reason, I generally declared my willingness to run my interpretations and texts past the family members before publishing anything<sup>164</sup>.

### 3.1. Personal archive of Erich Boehringer

The personal archive of Erich Boehringer is in the possession of his son Christof Boehringer in Göttingen. It offers insight into Boehringer’s various tasks as Cultural Attaché at the German Embassy in Athens (1941–1943) and into various national and international networks in Greece, and illustrates the influence that Boehringer had on archaeological and other cultural activities during the occupation<sup>165</sup>.

### 3.2. Personal archive of Ernst Buschor

Ernst Buschor’s grandson Michael Kraft has made extracts from Buschor’s archive freely available on the internet<sup>166</sup>. He kindly provided me with photographs as well as copies of letters and texts from his grandfather<sup>167</sup>.

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<sup>160</sup> Fleischer 1978; Fleischer 1986; Fleischer 2005; Fleischer 2008; Mazower 1993; Mazower 2016; Richter 1973; Richter 1997; Zacharioudakis 2002.

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.bankofgreece.gr/trapeza/dioikisi-domi/organogramma/kepoet>.

<sup>162</sup> The findings will appear in Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>163</sup> In addition to numerous emails and phone calls, an appearance in person is often necessary.

<sup>164</sup> Thus, in 2018, I regularly ran material past Karl Schefold’s three sons and the grandson of Kurt Gebauer. As a result of my research, several family members were later in direct contact with one another, for example Dian Schefold with Ersi Xanthopoulos, and Gregor Gebauer with Dian Schefold.

<sup>165</sup> Boehringer’s personal archive had already been examined by other researchers, such as Sailer 2015; Vigener 2016.

<sup>166</sup> <http://www.ambula.de/?path=/home/static/buschor.html>.

<sup>167</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2019h; Kankeleit 2021d.



### 3.3. Personal archive of Kurt Gebauer

Gregor Gebauer possesses an extremely varied collection of documents and photographs from his grandfather Kurt Gebauer. In addition to their archaeological relevance, the documents offer insight into the “typical” fate of a German man who was 24 years old when the National Socialists came to power. Extracts have already appeared in published articles<sup>168</sup>. I plan to return to the material in more depth at a future date.

### 3.4. Personal archive of Roland Hampe

Large parts of Roland Hampe’s personal archive are in the possession of his daughter Ersi Xanthopoulos<sup>169</sup>. The documents show how closely Roland Hampe worked with the Kunstschutz, the German Embassy in Athens, and the DAI Athens during the occupation of Greece. It also becomes apparent how big a role Greece played in his life in general and how, after the war, he sought out contact with former friends and colleagues who had fled Germany. His archive contains over 30 affidavits defending his character and exonerating him from wrongdoing (known as “Persilscheine” in German). To date, I have only been able to use a small number of letters and photos for my research<sup>170</sup>. I plan to examine Hampe’s role in Greece during the occupation more closely<sup>171</sup>.

### 3.5. Personal archive of Curt Rösner

Curt Rösner, journalist and editor for the German press in Athens (1924–1944), published the book “Η Αιώνια Έλλάς: επιλογή άρθρων από εικοσαετη δημοσιογραφικην δρασιν εις τας Αθηνάς”<sup>172</sup> in 1944. He left behind an impressive collection of contemporary material (letters, diary entries, articles, and numerous photographs) which offer vivid insight into the inter-war period and German-Greek relations in Athens. Though the material has very little direct relevance to archaeology, one gains a strong impression of the atmosphere at that time. His grandson, Jörg Denkingner<sup>173</sup>, kindly gave me prolonged access to the archive for research purposes.

### 3.6. Personal archive of Ernst Schäfer

During World War Two, Ernst Schäfer was the German Evangelical pastor for Athens<sup>174</sup>. As a Christian archaeologist and former DAI grant holder, he had close contact with employees of the DAI Athens. His relationship to Wilhelm Dörpfeld, in particular, seems to have been characterised by respect and empathy. His personal archive is in the possession of his son, the classical archaeologist Thomas Schäfer<sup>175</sup>. I have not yet

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<sup>168</sup> Kankeleit 2018a; Kankeleit 2019b and link to the online talk: <https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-blemma-tou-kataktiti-i-ellada-stis-fotografies-1941-1944-germano-i-arhaiologoi-stin-ellada-kata-ti-diarkeia-tou-b-pagkosmiou-polemou/>.

<sup>169</sup> For more on Ersi Xanthopoulos: <http://www.gruene-eppelheim.de/ersi-xanthopoulos>. Until 2019, Hampe’s professional archive lay in the hands of Erika Simon (1927–2019). In the future, it is due to be in the possession of the University of Heidelberg, see note 101.

<sup>170</sup> Kankeleit 2021b.

<sup>171</sup> In his doctorate on the German military’s Kunstschutz department in Greece, Raik Stolzenberg also looks at Hampe’s role during the occupation in Greece, although – as became clear at the congress at the Brauweiler Abbey in September 2019 – his focus lies elsewhere.

<sup>172</sup> Rösner 1944.

<sup>173</sup> <https://www.dainst.org/mitarbeiter-detailansicht/-/person-display/13712>; <https://diablog.eu/allgemein/auf-den-spuren-des-odysseus-ithaka/>.

<sup>174</sup> See note 112.

<sup>175</sup> <https://uni-tuebingen.de/forschung/forschungsschwerpunkte/sonderforschungsbereiche/sfb-1070/organisation/personenverzeichnisse/prof-dr-thomas-schaefer/>.

been able to examine these documents, though I am also unsure whether they would be more informative than those at the Evangelical Central Archive in Berlin<sup>176</sup>.

### 3.7. Personal archive of Karl Schefold

Much of Karl Schefold's private correspondence is in the possession of his sons Dian Schefold (Bremen)<sup>177</sup>, Reimar Schefold (Amsterdam)<sup>178</sup>, and Bertram Schefold (Frankfurt am Main)<sup>179</sup>. From among his father's many documents, Dian Schefold granted me access to correspondence with the archaeologists Karl Lehmann, Semni and Christos Karouzos<sup>180</sup>. He also drew my attention to background information, previously unknown sources (e.g. newspaper articles from the 1940s), and particular issues of relevance. I am especially grateful to Karl Schefold's sons for how obliging and helpful they have been.

### 3.8. Personal archive of Julia Hiller von Gaertringen

In the 1980s and early 1990s, Julia Hiller von Gaertringen<sup>181</sup> spent a lot of time studying the occupation of Greece. In her dissertation, she investigated Erhart Kästner's time spent in Greece and his environment there<sup>182</sup>. The German writer frequently visited the DAI Athens during the occupation and maintained friendly relations with several archaeologists (including Walther Wrede, Gabriel Welter, and Emil Kunze), artists, and other intellectuals in Greece. Hiller von Gaertringen gathered an impressive amount of material which provides information on the relationships and networks of the time<sup>183</sup>. She very kindly lent me all the material (three boxes with letters, newspaper articles, National Socialist publications and interviews) for as long as required.

## 4. Archives of German companies

In reports and documents relating to the activities of the DAI Athens during the National Socialist era<sup>184</sup>, mention is frequently made of German companies which provided generous funding or machines for excavations or other projects<sup>185</sup>. Unfortunately, it was extremely difficult to find corresponding documentation in the respective company archives. Over the last three years, I have written to the legal successors of AEG,

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<sup>176</sup> See note 110.

<sup>177</sup> <https://www.uni-bremen.de/jura/fachbereich-6-rechtswissenschaft/fachbereich/personen/prof-dr-dian-schefold/>.

<sup>178</sup> <http://www.quintus-verlag.de/autoren/schefold-reimar.html>.

<sup>179</sup> <https://www.wiwi.uni-frankfurt.de/de/abteilungen/ei/professoren/schefold/prof-dr-dres-hc-bertram-schefold/kurzbiographie.html>.

<sup>180</sup> Some of the findings were published by Kankeleit 2020b.

<sup>181</sup> Newspaper article with photos and information about her current activity:

[http://www.raumk.de/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=974&Itemid=94](http://www.raumk.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=974&Itemid=94).

<sup>182</sup> Hiller 1994.

<sup>183</sup> Following on from her dissertation, Hiller von Gaertringen broadened her research and published two additional studies on the significance of Ancient Greece with regard to National Socialism and on archaeological activities in occupied Greece: Hiller 1989; Hiller 1995. Her findings on the role of the DAI Athens during the occupation are still highly relevant and are frequently cited, most recently in Fuhrmeister 2019.

<sup>184</sup> Generally, details are to be found in the Institute's correspondence or in the Archäologischer Anzeiger's annual review ("Jahresrückblick").

<sup>185</sup> Until the outbreak of World War Two, several German companies were involved in major infrastructure projects in Greece. Almost everything had to be newly constructed or expanded, including the sewer system, power supply, telephone cables, railways and the underground system. Detailed information can be found in Dimitriadou-Loumaki 2010; Zacharioudakis 2002. While support for archaeological projects was self-evident, it does not appear to have been particularly important to the German companies, which explains the lack of documentation in their files.

Bilfinger, Boehringer, Krupp, Leitz Optik, and Osram and generally received only negative replies<sup>186</sup>. Below, I detail two cases where my inquiries were not totally in vain.

#### 4.1. Krupp Historical Archive, Essen

From publications and documents at the DAI archives, it is apparent that Krupp funded the light railway for the “Führer excavation” (“Führergrabung”) in Olympia<sup>187</sup>. Parts of this light railway were re-excavated only recently<sup>188</sup>. In spring 2017, I inquired at the Krupp Historical Archive whether any documents relating to the railway still exist and received the following reply: “Despite intensive research, we have been unable to discover anything in the Historical Archive about the Krupp-funded light railway used for the ‘Führer excavation’ in Olympia. The archive does, however, contain documents which provide information on the Krupp family’s support for archaeological projects, including, for example, an excavation on the Acropolis.”<sup>189</sup> In September 2019, I was able to examine the files on the activities on the Acropolis (led by Walther Kolbe and Arnold Tschira). Further research is planned.

#### 4.2. Bilfinger SE company archive, Mannheim

While researching the “German colony” in Greece, I came across the company “Grün & Bülfinger Mannheim”, which was involved in constructing the new German School in Thessaloniki (DST) in 1929. The school is a modern building in the Bauhaus style, situated directly on the coast and now used by the Goethe Institute. The building was constructed around the same time as the third building of the German School of Athens (DSA)<sup>190</sup>, and I had hoped that “Bülfinger” had perhaps also been involved in Athens<sup>191</sup>. When I inquired about the background to the construction projects, I received the following reply from the head of the archive Martin Krauß: “Grün & Bilfinger AG was part of a consortium which was involved in the ‘creation of a school and club building’ in Thessaloniki in 1929. The building contractor was the ‘Deutsche Schulgemeinde Saloniki’ [German school community of Thessaloniki], and construction funds amounted to 152,000 RM. Unfortunately, there are no files or photos relating to the project in our archive. For Grün & Bilfinger, involvement may have been a side project, as from 1925 the company was working with Lenz & Co. to rebuild the sewage system in the part of Thessaloniki that burned down in 1917. As funding for the school building apparently came from Germany, it was probably self-evident that German companies with a presence in the region would be commissioned to do the work. It was standard practice to also include local partners in the consortium, which in this case meant Greek companies. [...] From 1927 to 1930, Grün & Bilfinger AG built part of the underground

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<sup>186</sup> I have omitted Gustav Oberlaender, who ran major hosiery factories and whose funding for the DAI Athens’ excavation at the Kerameikos continued even after his death, from this section. The funding provided by the Oberlaender Trust is well known and has been covered in considerable depth elsewhere: Rodenwaldt 1937; Wegner 1937; Karo 1943; Gramm 1956; Edmonds 2011; Heidermann – Vollmer 2014; Stroszeck 2014; Stroszeck 2017. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens possesses a collection of photographs sent to Oberlaender by the Kerameikos excavators: <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/gustav-oberlaender-papers>.

<sup>187</sup> Wrede 1937, 3: “The head of the excavation [Walther Wrede] welcomed the guests. He read out the Führer’s message from 1 August 1936 and paid tribute to King George II of Greece and his people. [...] He thanked those assisting the excavation: the Krupp company for providing the light railway system, the [shipping company] Deutsche Levante-Linie for transport, and the companies Leitz and Lienhard for photographic equipment.”

<sup>188</sup> For more information see Reinhard Senff in forthcoming publications; cf. Senff 2018 (damaged part of a sleeper and traces of the railway line); Kankeleit 2018c.

<sup>189</sup> Email from the Alfried Krupp Bohlen und Halbach Foundation, Krupp Historical Archive, dated 8 May 2017.

<sup>190</sup> In both cities, the government building adviser Listmann from Berlin was in charge of the new school buildings.

<sup>191</sup> Prior to 1933, the DAI Athens and the DSA Athens were inseparably linked. As founders, donors, and members of the school board, the Institutes’ directors had a major influence on the German School in Athens from the 19th century onwards; see Kankeleit 2019i.

railway system in Athens (Omonia Square to Attiki Station) as part of a consortium. At that time, the company was primarily involved in civil engineering, while the construction of actual buildings was rare. I do not have any information about additional projects in Greece (besides those already mentioned in Athens and Thessaloniki).”<sup>192</sup>

## 5. Archives of German institutions in Greece

### 5.1. German Evangelical Church in Athens

The German Evangelical Church in Athens possesses several volumes with issues of its monthly newsletter “Glaube und Heimat” from the 1920s and 1930s<sup>193</sup>. It is clear that employees of the DAI Athens played an important role in the Evangelical community. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Georg Karo, Walther Wrede, Heinz Johannes, Werner Peek and many others are regularly mentioned, and not only under special circumstances<sup>194</sup>. In articles written by the pastor Carl Kindermann, who disappeared without trace in Germany in 1936 and was subsequently replaced by Ernst Schäfer, the leading representatives of the “German colony” are attributed considerable significance<sup>195</sup>. While in office, Schäfer seems to have proceeded much more cautiously than his predecessor and largely refrained from emotionally-charged statements.

### 5.2. German Philadelphia Society in Athens

The material heritage of the German Philadelphia Society in Athens appears to have been lost in the chaos of World War Two. Neither today’s German-Greek Philadelphia Association<sup>196</sup> nor the Goethe Institute in Athens, which has taken over the location of the former Philadelphia Society at Omirou Street 16<sup>197</sup>, possess photos or other documents which might offer insight into what was an important organisation in its day. Fortunately, in 1936, the long-standing member of the Philadelphia Society, Wilhelm Barth, wrote a book detailing key aspects of the organisation’s history, activities, and members<sup>198</sup>. Newspaper articles and documents from other archives, including the Political Archive of the Foreign Office and the DAI Athens, flesh out the picture and give an impression of the Society in the period from 1933 to 1944<sup>199</sup>.

### 5.3. German School of Athens

The German School of Athens possesses documents which, for the most part, have not been sorted and categorised and remain unexamined in their cellars<sup>200</sup>. Angeliki Kanelakopoulou, deputy head of the Lyceum, was of great assistance in my research and provided me with photos, class registers, and other documents of relevance to the DAI Athens<sup>201</sup>.

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<sup>192</sup> Email from Martin Krauß dated 4 May 2017; Bilfinger SE company archive, Mannheim: <http://www.wirtschaftsarchivportal.de/archiv/details/id/52>.

<sup>193</sup> German-language Evangelical Church in Greece: <http://ekathen.org/>.

<sup>194</sup> For more information see Kankeleit 2019i.

<sup>195</sup> For more on the situation in the “German colony” in 1935 see: Kankeleit 2018d.

<sup>196</sup> [https://www.philadel-club.gr/?page\\_id=3558&lang=de](https://www.philadel-club.gr/?page_id=3558&lang=de).

<sup>197</sup> Due to construction work, the Goethe Institute has moved temporarily to Panepistimiou 57: <https://www.goethe.de/ins/gr/de/sta/ath.html>.

<sup>198</sup> Barth 1936.

<sup>199</sup> Barth – Auernheimer 2001; Kankeleit 2018d; Kankeleit 2021a.

<sup>200</sup> <https://www.dsathen.gr/de/>. A few years ago, an intern digitised and categorised some of these documents using keywords.

<sup>201</sup> The research findings will be published in a work on the DAI Athens in the period before 1933: Kankeleit 2019i.

## 5.4. German School of Thessaloniki

The German School of Thessaloniki (DST) seems to have no records of its history<sup>202</sup>. As with the Philadelphia Society, the intention appears to have been to draw a line after 1945 and move on. There is an informative publication by the former DST teacher Asterios Kremetis<sup>203</sup>, though it is not clear what sources he is drawing on. One almost gets the impression that all the relevant documents are stored in his home. Kremetis has been very cooperative and communicative on the phone, and I may turn to him again for future research. However, my questions to the DST and Kremetis concerning Walther Wrede, who was head of the school from 1924 to 1926, yielded no information. The archives in the PA AA thus remain my sole and most important source regarding Wrede's early years in Greece.

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<sup>202</sup> <http://www.dst.gr/die-schule/die-geschichte-der-dst/>.

<sup>203</sup> Kremetis 2009; important information about the DST can also be found in several articles by Andreas Bouroutis: Bouroutis 2017; <https://auth.academia.edu/ANDREASBOUROUTIS>.

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