

UMBERTO PAPPALARDO, SYBILLE GALKA, AMEDEO MAIURI, CARLO KNIGHT, LUCIA BORRELLI, MASSIMO CULTRARO, *Heinrich Schliemann a Napoli, con una nota di Paolo Giulierini. In appendice: Domenico Bassi, Il carteggio di Giuseppe Fiorelli. Gli scavi di Troia: lettere di Enrico Schliemann*. Francesco D'Amato Editore, Naples 2021, 205 + 46 pages, several b/w figures, paperback, ISBN 978-88-5525-052-8.

Known worldwide as the excavator of Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns, sites fundamental to Aegean Bronze Age archaeology, Heinrich Schliemann was also a man of many words. He left his native Mecklenburg to improve his financial and intellectual prospects, with sojourns in the Netherlands, Russia, the United States, France, and Greece. He was keen to acquire new languages, writing and receiving letters everywhere he went, while living at a fixed address to pursue commercial interests and travelling for personal and archaeological reasons. During his lifetime, Schliemann corresponded with a multitude of individuals in various languages. He would file these letters chronologically, then compile them into annual volumes that he had bound. In the 130 years since his death, some of the letters were lost, but nearly 60,000 have survived, to become a significant part of the archive of Schliemann's personal and professional papers held by the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the same is true of the diaries, likewise in various languages, that Schliemann kept when he travelled, recording his impressions, acquaintances, and expenses.¹

The book discussed here focuses on Schliemann's experiences of and relationship with Naples. It represents a geographical and temporal slice of that archival documentation, prompted by the perennial interest in Schliemann along with the 130th anniversary of his last visit to Naples, where he met his death. Opening with a brief preface and introduction, the volume comprises seven chapters on different aspects of Schliemann's life and archaeological work by six authors including the volume editor (see below), together with a reprint of Domenico Bassi's original 1926 (not 1927) publication of Schliemann's letters to Giuseppe Fiorelli,² director of Naples' National Archaeological Museum, about the excavations at Troy. Images taken from Schliemann's 19th-century publications and the original manuscript sources illustrate all the contributions.

Paolo Giulierini, current director of the museum at Naples, points to Schliemann's 'unshakeable faith in a dream' of bringing Homer's heroes back to life,³ rightly noting the 'disruptive effect' of his discoveries on the academic world, which allowed the integration of epic narratives central to Western culture into historical time. He traces Schliemann's Neapolitan sojourns from his first meeting with Fiorelli in 1868 as an 'ordinary tourist' to the excavator who in 1875 proposed making the Naples Museum the repository of the 'Treasure of Priam' and the city his home base for archaeological exploration (replacing Athens). This prospect may have delighted Fiorelli, but failed to impress most local lovers of antiquity. The combination of Schliemann's subsequent rapprochement with the Turkish authorities and the slow response of the Italian bureaucracy effectively nullified the proposal. Only one other eminent scholar showed enthusiasm about Schliemann's presence: Giustiniانو Nicolucci, called 'the father of Italian anthropology', who cultivated a relationship that led to the gift of a collection of stone tools from Troy, still kept in the university's anthropology museum at Naples (see Borrelli, Chapter 4). Giulierini concludes by remarking that Schliemann continued to show a fondness for Naples despite the city's lost imperial glory and contemporary problems.

Umberto Pappalardo, Director of the International Centre for Pompeian Studies, provides an overview over the book's seven chapters,⁴ highlighting the particular value of each: traditional biography (S. Galka), classic scholarly portrait (A. Maiuri), Schliemann as a world traveller strongly drawn to Naples' archaeological and cultural attractions (U. Pappalardo), the fortunes of Schliemann's correspondence with Fiorelli (C. Knight), the scholarly exchange represented by the university collection (L. Borrelli), the archival documentation for Schliemann's 'Italian project' (M. Cultraro), and his Naples travel diaries (U. Pappalardo).

¹ Now digitized and made available as the SCHLIEMANN ARCHIVE.

² Bassi's *Carteggio* is located after p. 205; see n. 29 below.

³ Preface: pp. 7–10.

⁴ Introduction: pp. 11–15.

Sybille Galka, of the Heinrich-Schliemann Gesellschaft and Museum in Ankershagen,⁵ offers a sketch of Schliemann's life that is action-packed yet poor in evidence. She tells of his birth in 1822, unhappy early years in Ankershagen (the father a clergyman of modest means and dissolute life), and first encounter with the Trojan War story via the Christmas 1829 gift of G. L. Jerrer's *Weltgeschichte für Kinder* as reported in the autobiographical preface to his *Ilios*;⁶ following the current *communis opinio*, she concedes the tale may be a subsequent invention. Galka touches on the family's disintegration after the mother's early death, Schliemann's interrupted education, apprenticeship as a grocer's assistant (which puzzlingly becomes 'ragioniere', i.e. accountant), lost inheritance, shipwreck-thwarted 'emigration' to South America, and first commercial successes in Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. Schliemann improved his financial position further by exploiting opportunities that arose in California after his brother Ludwig died there during the Gold Rush, then in Russia when the Crimean War broke out. Several pages⁷ are devoted to women in Schliemann's life, from Minna Meincke, his childhood love, and his first wife, Ekaterina Lyshina, to Sophia Engastromenou, the Greek girl of his dreams. The Iliou Melathron, excavations at Troy, and the travails surrounding the 'Treasure of Priam' also figure in the narrative,⁸ as do other Homeric sites (Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and Ithaca)⁹ and Boetticher and the Troy Conferences.¹⁰ She concludes by describing Schliemann's last months of failing health, with an ear operation in Halle, final journey via Leipzig, Berlin, and Paris, and death in Naples,¹¹ followed by the return of his corpse, burial, mausoleum in Athens' First (not 'Main') Cemetery, epitaph, and afterlife/reception. The fate of his papers and the contradictions posed by his masterpieces of self-presentation in print (and by the unpublished material, I would add), prompt a tribute to Pappalardo's work thus far and the discoveries still to be made and published.¹²

Amedeo Maiuri's essay on Schliemann's search for Homer's world¹³ is reprinted from the first Italian edition

of the *Selbstbiographie*,¹⁴ which was originally published in 1962.¹⁵ His elegant characterisation offers thought-provoking insights, from Schliemann's dissemination of excavation findings – 'there has been, perhaps, no other who published his own discoveries so speedily, we might say hastily, concerned above all with documenting first, and afterwards defending his great enterprise of unearthing Homeric epic' – to his 'obscure death' at Naples, which Maiuri terms 'almost predestined', with Schliemann 'following the last mad voyage of Odysseus'. While Maiuri based his observations only on a highly sympathetic reading of Schliemann's published self-portrait, not interaction with the unpublished papers, his remarks are worth visiting and expanding through reference to manuscript holdings now made digitally accessible.

Pappalardo's contribution¹⁶ focuses on Schliemann's involvement with Naples as recorded in his papers and diaries, introduced by a bracingly quick survey of the archaeologist's life, discoveries, and the fate of the artefacts he collected. Velocity generates occasional omissions (the Indiana divorce from his first wife) and chronological errors (e.g., an unexplained 12-year gap between the end of the Crimean War and the withdrawal from business, and an 1870 journey to China and Japan five years after the actual event). Nonetheless, the overall result is a useful synthesis of the evidence from various sources, both published and archival, complemented by an appendix¹⁷ reproducing excerpts of four letters written by Schliemann, three letters to him, and the official record of his demise, extract No. 813 from the 1890 Naples municipal register of death certificates.

Lucia Borrelli¹⁸ discusses the context, origin, and significance of the Schliemann Collection of lithics in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Naples Federico II. With the Schliemann-Nicolucci relationship at the heart of this story, she provides a brief sketch of Nicolucci's life and work. Born in 1819 into a well-off family in south-east Lazio, Giustiniano Nicolucci received an education in the humanities and medicine but developed an interest in local antiquities and human skulls. Such antiquarian passions fit into the growing popular interest in prehistoric artefacts inspired by patriotism and the finds uncovered by Italy's public works, as Nicolucci first collected, then published the items he had amassed. Borrelli believes it was Nicolucci, after being introduced by mutual friends, who sought a closer association with Schliemann, eager to involve the famous

5 Chapter 1: pp. 17–47. The museum is located in Schliemann's restored childhood home.

6 SCHLIEMANN 1881, 4.

7 pp. 22–28.

8 pp. 30–35.

9 pp. 36–39.

10 pp. 39–41.

11 pp. 41–43.

12 pp. 43–47.

13 Chapter 2: pp. 49–53.

14 SCHLIEMANN 1892.

15 SCHLIEMANN, MAIURI 1962.

16 Chapter 3: pp. 55–89.

17 pp. 81–89.

18 Chapter 4: pp. 91–109.

excavator in his investigations at Arpino. Schliemann, by contrast, regarded Nicolucci as a supportive colleague in a period of conflict with Turkish and Greek officialdom and corresponded with him only sporadically, sharing the news of his discoveries at Mycenae in 1876, and in late 1878 sending him the long-desired collection of Trojan finds, which came from a stratum far older (c. 3000 BC) than that of 'Homeric' Troy. The remainder of the chapter considers Nicolucci's 1879 publication of the collection, gift of it to the university museum in 1889 (which he founded after becoming the university's first professor of anthropology in 1880), and the collection's unstable situation and status in the museum down to the present. At the end (with thanks to Sybille Galka), Borrelli presents six unpublished letters from Schliemann to Nicolucci, their texts transcribed from Copybooks 36, 37, and 39 of the Schliemann Papers.¹⁹

Massimo Cultraro's essay²⁰ on Schliemann, Nicolucci, and the Anatolian origins of Europe's oldest civilisations continues the discussion of Schliemann in Italy. Cultraro focuses on the reception of his archaeological work at Troy, interactions with Italian savants, politicians, and bureaucrats, and explorations of Italian sites with Trojan connections. He interweaves published and unpublished sources to follow Schliemann's movements around the peninsula and Sicily, discerning 'rough outlines' and no signs of preparation in the excavator's project to find the places where Aeneas and the other Trojan exiles went; he sees Schliemann's evocation of his childhood experience of the Aeneas-Anchises story in the autobiographical preface to *Ilios*²¹ as the first time the episode was utilised to justify the quest for Troy. His reading of Schliemann's ties to Nicolucci takes a wider look at the international connections between myth, antiquarianism, and archaeology. The narrative moves from Motya and Capri, about which Schliemann wrote to Émile Burnouf of the French School at Athens, to Nicolucci and Luigi Pigorini, two of his most prominent Italian correspondents; Cultraro remarks on the patterns of flattery present in every letter that Nicolucci wrote to Schliemann, and on their shared views about collecting. He considers various instances when Schliemann used his identity as an excavator and collector to acquire advantages from institutions (in Naples, Göttingen, Rome, Bologna, among other places) and individuals, among them Pigorini and Nicolucci. Like Borrelli, Cultraro makes frequent use of unpublished passages from Schliemann's outgoing correspondence towards the end of the chapter. Quoting Schliemann's crisp reply to

Nicolucci's request for Tiryns artefacts, which pointed out that all finds from that site were off-limits as property of the Kingdom of Greece, he notes that nothing from Mycenae or Tiryns ever reached Italian museums.

Carlo Knight's contribution²² can claim a peripheral relationship with the Schliemann-Fiorelli correspondence. The story that it tells, however, is concerned mainly with Gaspare Casella, the antiquarian bookseller and publisher from Naples who posthumously acquired Giuseppe Fiorelli's correspondence, letters numbering in the thousands, that the great Italian archaeologist had received from dozens of eminent personages – and the vicissitudes (some self-inflicted) of Fiorelli's own life. Of wider interest is that Casella's grip on the letters caused them to vanish from scholarly discourse after 1926, when Bassi published an article on a papyrological element of the holdings and, through Casella, a pamphlet surveying the entire correspondence and presenting the Schliemann items.²³ Most of the correspondence was still unpublished in December 1942, when Allied bombing destroyed Casella's bookshop with all its contents. Prosopographers and social historians of the later 19th century will find the material concerning Fiorelli's personal life presented at the end of the chapter of interest.

In the final section,²⁴ Pappalardo presents the Naples sections of Schliemann's travel narratives, which he has transcribed from the 1858 (A3), 1864 (A5), and 1868 (A12) diaries. The continuous text of the manuscript volumes has been divided into more readable paragraphs. At selected points, Pappalardo provides footnotes that illuminate topographical and prosopographical references, for instance the 'mmbrecciata',²⁵ the brothels of ancient Pompeii,²⁶ and the professors whose lectures Schliemann attended at the university on 23 June 1868.²⁷ The material published here vividly illustrates Schliemann's concerns, personality, and evolving intellectual interests in the period between the end of the Crimean War and his decisive turn to the rediscovery of the Homeric world.

The Appendix (with its original pagination) represents a reprint of Bassi's Schliemann-Fiorelli dossier from 1926, already referred to in the introduction and by several of the

¹⁹ See n. 1 above.

²⁰ Chapter 5: pp. 110–145.

²¹ SCHLIEMANN 1881, 4.

²² Chapter 6: pp. 147–157.

²³ BASSI 1926.

²⁴ Chapter 7: pp. 159–205. Cf. the SCHLIEMANN ARCHIVE.

²⁵ p. 169, n. 12: Pappalardo's note explains that what Schliemann calls the 'Imbregiata' (a prostitutes' quarter) would be spelled 'Imbrecciata' in standard Italian, denoting a broad street paved with cobblestones of breccia situated in the Monte Calvario neighbourhood.

²⁶ p. 177, n. 28.

²⁷ pp. 197–199, n. 41–44.

contributors.²⁸ The bulk of the pamphlet's forty-six pages is taken up with a discussion and catalogue of Fiorelli's most important correspondents according to social status, quantity, and professional/intellectual pursuits, within which the Schliemann letters occupy only a fraction of the text.²⁹

This collection of essays and materials devoted to Schliemann and Naples does have its defects. Though genial, Galka's chapter brings no advances in our knowledge of Schliemann's life and reception, whilst the piquant details that Knight conveys about Fiorelli and his circle are off topic. Some flaws are clearly attributable to haste, including those already noted in Pappalardo's Chapter 3; the volume would have benefited from more careful revision as well as from exposure to a broader selection of scholarship on Schliemann's life beyond the Italo-German horizon.³⁰ The citation style is idiosyncratic; most contributors put their references and bibliography in footnotes save Borrelli, who provides a separate reference list. The spelling of non-Italian proper names is strikingly problematic.³¹ Errors also occur in the transcription of archival material, in particular from the copying books of Schliemann's outgoing letters, which are often blurry and blotted, thus difficult to decipher.³²

Nevertheless, the book is fundamentally worthwhile because it assembles a useful array of archival documentation and modern scholarship on the intersection of Schliemann with the region of Campania and its intellectual community. Scholars will, I think, find the most value in Pappalardo's synthesis of the evidence for Schliemann's relations with Naples (Chapter 3) and publication of the relevant diary entries (Chapter 7), together with the contributions by Borrelli and Cultraro (Chapters 4 and 5), while the republications (Maiuri, Bassi) restore texts of intrinsic historical interest to circulation.

²⁸ BASSI 1926.

²⁹ pp. 23–36.

³⁰ E.g., KENNEL 2011. – LOUIS 2020.

³¹ E.g., 'Consolato degli Stati Uniti' (p. 7, instead of 'Stati Uniti'), 'American Academy di Atene' (p. 14; only in Rome is there an 'American Academy'; the text should read 'American School of Classical Studies at Athens'), 'American School of Classical Studies of Athens' (p. 114; cf. preceding).

³² E.g., p. 105 (BBB 37.135): 'Atene, 27 marzo 1880. [...] e se non vogliono inviarmela la prego di farmela mandare immediatamente perché già da un mese ho atteso l'ultima posta [omissis] e potrà aggiungere qualchedune di quelle pubblicazioni (sic).' Examination of the manuscript text (see p. 185 of the .pdf file of the copybook at <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/schliemann-copybook-bbb-37>, last accessed 10.8.2021) reveals that one or two illegible words have been tacitly omitted after 'immediatamente', 'da' is supplied without comment, and rather than 'ho atteso l'ultima posta [omissis]', Schliemann wrote 'già un mese trattengo l'ultima parte del manuscritto per potro aggiungere qualche [...]'. The word at the beginning of the next line is illegible.

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