

Science and Service in the National Socialist State:
A Case-Study of the German Archaeologist
Herbert Jankuhn (1905-1990)

by

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This thesis is submitted for examination for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

January 2009

DECLARATION

I, Monika Elisabeth Steinel, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

January 2009

ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates the relationship between archaeology, politics and ideology through a case-study of the prominent German archaeologist Herbert Jankuhn (1905-1990). It addresses the following questions: what role do archaeological scholars assume in a totalitarian state's organisational structures, and what may motivate them to do so? To what extent and how are archaeologists and their scientific work influenced by the political and ideological context in which they perform, and do they play a role in generating and/or perpetuating ideologies?

The thesis investigates the nature and extent of Jankuhn's practical involvement in National Socialist hierarchical structures, and offers a thematically structured analysis of Jankuhn's archaeological writings that juxtaposes the work produced during and after the National Socialist period. It investigates selected components of Herbert Jankuhn's research interests and methodological approaches, examines his representations of Germanic/German pre- and protohistory and explores his adapting interpretations of the early medieval site of Haithabu in northern Germany.

The dissertation demonstrates that a scholar's adaptation to political and ideological circumstances is not necessarily straightforward or absolute. As a member of the *Schutzstaffel*, Jankuhn actively advanced National Socialist ideological preconceptions and military aims. In addition, he made use of and strengthened ideologically expedient Germanic ideologies during the 1930s and 40s.

However, his scientific work can by no means be cast as mere pre- and protohistoric propaganda. For one, the thesis emphasises the extreme polyvalence of National Socialist ideology. Jankuhn adhered to and promoted his own idiosyncratic selection of politico-ideological elements. The dissertation also underlines the impact of long-standing and far-reaching intellectual, political and ideological currents on archaeological research. During the National Socialist period, Jankuhn worked with concepts that had been in currency since the nineteenth century. After 1945, his archaeological work underwent methodological and analytical changes that were transpiring well beyond Germany's borders.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research presented here has been financially supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council through the award of tuition fees. The fieldwork has been funded by the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. I am indebted to the AHRC and to the Institute of Archaeology for providing this vital financial backing.

Profound thanks are due to my primary supervisors Mr. Tim Schadla-Hall and Prof. Stephen Shennan and to my secondary supervisor Dr. Ulrike Sommer. Their enthusiasm, experience and expertise in supervision have been invaluable, and their criticism and suggestions have guided and improved my research.

I am grateful to my examiners Prof. Peter Rowley-Conwy from the University of Durham and Mr. Neal Ascherson from the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) for showing interest in my work.

I received archival and documentary assistance from a number of people, most notably at the Federal Archive and the archive of the Archaeological State Museum of Schleswig-Holstein. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Volker Hilberg at the Archaeological State Museum in Schleswig for introducing me to Herbert Jankuhn's bequest. I am also grateful to Antje Wendt at the University of Kiel, who unearthed a number of important articles for me.

I am indebted to Dr. Michael Gebühr (Archaeological State Museum of Schleswig-Holstein and University of Hamburg) and Dr. Heinrich Härke (University of Reading) for taking the time to talk to me about their teacher and *Doktorvater*. I greatly appreciated these conversations, which provided me with individual perspectives on Herbert Jankuhn's work and personality.

Friendships with the doctoral students – the 'real archaeologists' – at the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) have meant a lot to me. In particular, I would like to thank Jennifer Wexler, Meredith Wiggins, Claudia Zehrt, Gabe Moshenska, Dr. Claudia Glatz and Dr. Sarah Byrne. My past and present co-researchers in G7B have all been fantastic colleagues.

In addition, I am grateful to Dr. Paul Stock for helping me to brave a number of doctoral crises. Special thanks are due to my friend and flatmate Nick Johnstone, who has put up with me over the past few years. Dr. Alisa Miller and Dr. Anna Steinel kindly agreed to proofread my dissertation, for which I cannot thank them enough.

Special thanks are also due to my godfather Dr. Günter Grosche, who has backed my research both morally and practically.

I am immensely grateful to Malte. His affection, support and patience were and are priceless.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents Barbara and Helmut Steinel. Without their belief in the value of research and education, this thesis would not have been written.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

‘What scientific profit can there be in attempting to discover what is entailed by the fact of belonging to the academic field, that site of permanent rivalry for the truth of the social world [...]? Firstly, it provides an opportunity for conscious neutralization of the probabilities of error which are inherent in a position [...]. But above all it reveals the social foundation of the propensity to theorize or to intellectualize, which is inherent in the very posture of the scholar feeling free to withdraw from the game in order to conceptualize it, and assuming the objective, which attracts social recognition as being scientific, of arriving at a sweeping overview of the world, drafted from an external and superior point of view.’

[Pierre Bourdieu, Homo Academicus, 1988: xiii]

‘One must be bold enough to cast doubt on the theories of others and upon one’s own, and even upon the foundations of one’s own science and its method, if one is to achieve a criticism that is not barren but alive. And scepticism is positive if it leads to a knowledge of the limitations of one’s field of science, to the suppression of vanity and self-conceit, to an appreciation of realities.’

[Aarne Michael Tallgren, The Method of Prehistoric Archaeology, 1937: 158]

1 Research questions and aims

The idea that academic research and political, ideological and social milieus are inextricably connected has been widely recognised in recent decades. One might even say that it has become a truism. On one hand, it seems logical, perhaps evident, that scholars, whatever their discipline, do not work in a void and that their theoretical concepts, their methodological approaches, their choice of evidence, their research questions and, by implication, their scientific results are contingent on the political, ideological and social conditions that have in the past moulded and continue to shape them. On the other, this realisation – essentially the recognition that unprejudiced, value-free and neutral research is impossible – is of groundbreaking importance.

Nevertheless, the archaeological community has at times treated the issue with a certain nonchalance, suggesting that the problem may only be countered – but presumably not overcome – by distinguishing and openly acknowledging the various influences and stimuli that have shaped one’s own intellectual disposition or, in the words of Shanks and Tilley (1992: 2), by practising ‘an archaeology which is critically self-conscious’ (see also Kohl 1993; Lillios 1995: 57; Tong 1995: 195). While archaeologists should attempt and adopt this constructive approach, it appears equally promising and consequential to investigate and define the precise nature of the relationship between archaeological research and its political, ideological and social circumstances. The thesis at hand contributes towards that aim.

It investigates the scientific work and political career of the German pre- and protohistorian Herbert Jankuhn, whose life spanned the better part of the twentieth century. Jankuhn was born in East Prussia in 1905. The initial stages of his exceptionally successful career coincide with the emergence and consolidation of the National Socialist political system in the early 1930s. By the time he joined the National Socialist party and, more importantly, the highly controversial research foundation *SS-Ahnenerbe* (literally, Ancestral Heritage) in the late 1930s, Jankuhn had already built a reputation as a skilled archaeologist, based on his excavation of the early medieval trading centre Haithabu in northern Germany. As the head of the *Ahnenerbe*’s archaeological unit, he acquired considerable bureaucratic clout within the National Socialist hierarchy. Jankuhn remained nearly unscathed by the process of Denazification set in motion by the Allied powers after Germany’s defeat in the Second World War and re-entered the archaeological scene in 1949, holding major academic appointments at the universities of Hamburg, Kiel and Göttingen until the 1980s. Today, he is widely considered to be one of the most influential German archaeologists of the twentieth century. He died in 1990 (see section 2 of this chapter for a more detailed curriculum vitae).

The project thus employs a specific case study in the history of archaeological research to examine three fundamental questions:

- First, what role may an archaeologist assume in a totalitarian state’s organisational structures? What may motivate him to do so?

- Second, to what extent and, crucially, how is an archaeologist and his scientific work influenced by the political and ideological context in which he performs? In other words, how do political, ideological and social conditions affect the scientific work – the theories, methods and interpretations – of an archaeological scholar? How do they precisely and practically manifest themselves?
- Finally, may an archaeologist play a role in generating and/or perpetuating ideologies? Is he passively subjected to explicit and implicit external influences, or does he in turn produce and disseminate a politically and ideologically expedient understanding of the human past that reinforces and perpetuates a dominant ideological and political agenda?

At the very core, the thesis defines the nature of the interplay between an archaeological scholar, his scientific work and his political and ideological environment. However, it is hoped that the project's applicability will extend beyond the confines of the archaeological discipline. Ultimately, I aim to comment on the position of the social and historical scientist in a wider socio-political context.

Although it is recognised that Herbert Jankuhn cannot be regarded as representative of the entire academic or archaeological community, a probe into his career and scientific writings nonetheless offers valuable insights into the historical development of the archaeological discipline. In the words of Kaeser, the development of archaeology 'cannot effectively be dissociated from the soil from which it draws its lifeblood'. This 'soil' or context is made up of various – human, social, cultural, political, ideological, intellectual and scientific – elements, and a particular concentration on individual scholars greatly facilitates a coherent and comprehensive exploration of such diverse factors (Kaeser 2003; Kaeser 2004: 9).

2 Herbert Jankuhn's academic and political curriculum vitae

2.1 1905-1945

Herbert Jankuhn was born on 8 August 1905 in Angerburg, East Prussia (present-day Węgorzewo in Poland), as the son of teacher Hugo Jankuhn and his wife Gertrud. He received his elementary education between 1912 and 1914 in Mitau, then

the capital of the region of Courland (modern-day Jelgava in Latvia), and Waldau, then in German East Prussia (present-day Ostróda in Poland). He attended the gymnasium in Tilsit (modern-day Sovetsk, located in the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad) from 1915 onwards and obtained his high-school diploma (*Abiturzeugnis*) in 1924 (Jankuhn 1938 (November); Jankuhn n.d.b: 1-2).

Jankuhn's father cultivated a keen interest in Germanic prehistory and is likely to have influenced his son's intellectual and professional orientation. Significantly, Hugo Jankuhn was a Germanophile: he was convinced of the longstanding Germanic character of the Klaipėda Territory (*Memelgebiet*), as demonstrated by the supposedly frequent occurrence of Germanic prehistoric finds:

The area to the north and the south of the river Memel was Germanic even before the Migration Period, [...] even in the town of Memel, prehistoric remains have been discovered that leave no doubt that this part of the province was also settled by the *Germanen*. (quoted in Steuer 2001c: 417)

Archaeology, Hugo Jankuhn held, proved that Germans had settled in the Memel Territory even before the Migration Period and demonstrated that they had been culturally superior to the 'brutish, impoverished Lithuanians' [*halbwilde verarmte Litauer*] (quoted in Steuer 2001c: 417).

Hugo Jankuhn's reading of history cannot be understood without reference to the ethnic and political conditions of the Memel Territory, where Herbert Jankuhn spent his formative teenage years. The *Memelland* had belonged to the Prussian kingdom's eastern border area since the fifteenth century, but the region experienced growing tensions between its German- and Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants from the early twentieth century onwards. Having been placed under international (that is, French) administration and protection as stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles in the aftermath of Germany's defeat in the First World War, the Memel Territory was annexed by Lithuania in 1923. This state of affairs was eventually acknowledged and legitimated by the Council of Ambassadors, an intergovernmental agency founded in 1919 and charged with implementing the provisions of Versailles: Lithuania was officially granted sovereignty over the region in 1924, and Weimar Germany recognised Lithuania's dominion in 1928. As a consequence, the river Memel, together with the town of Tilsit, became the northernmost border of East Prussia and

of the German Reich. These events consolidated pre-existing ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences and fostered resentment between the Klaipėda Territory's distinct, namely Lithuanian and German, population elements. These circumstances decisively shaped Jankuhn's political and ideological surroundings (see Kirby 1995; O'Connor 2003: 105-106).

Though Jankuhn's childhood and schooling are poorly documented, his early domestic, cultural and political milieu bore substantial similarities to that of the infamous German prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931):

The conservative parental home, the distinguished humanist *Gymnasium* [a German school providing secondary education with a focus on classical languages] and the ethnically induced tensions in the German-Lithuanian border region, including the conscious emphasis within the town's bourgeois circles on the German character, marked the environment during adolescence and in school. (Jankuhn 1980: 618)

In this paragraph, taken from a short entry on Kossinna in a biographical dictionary, Jankuhn effectively and accurately described both Kossinna's and his own early environment. Kossinna, whose life, work and impact are discussed in Chapters II and IV, is often seen as a champion of a racially and nationalistically inspired prehistoric tradition and hence as the forerunner of a National Socialist archaeology (see, for instance, Arnold 1990: 464-467; Haßmann 2002a: 67-70; Veit 2002). Jankuhn evidently thought that these early influences had played a formative role in the development of Kossinna's disposition, interests and opinions. The strikingly similar setting of Jankuhn's own adolescence and secondary education may have affected his temperament, pursuits and outlook in a comparable way.

Jankuhn entered the academic arena in 1924. He attended the universities of Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad), Jena and Berlin, studying prehistory, German language and literature, history, philosophy and sports. In Königsberg, Jankuhn met the renowned prehistorian Max Ebert (1879-1929), who originally kindled his protégé's interest in pre- and protohistoric research. Under the aegis of his doctoral supervisor Carl Schuchhardt (1859-1943), Jankuhn completed his dissertation on 'Early Imperial Roman Belt Sets in Sambia' (*Gürtelgarnituren der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit im Samland*) – Sambia is a peninsula to the northwest of Kaliningrad – in

Berlin and was awarded a *valde laudabile*. His oral examination, conducted by Carl Schuchhardt (in prehistory) and Ulrich Wilcken (in ancient history), among others, took place on 18 June 1931. Jankuhn's received a *magna cum laude* for his performance, and the doctoral degree was officially conferred upon him in the summer of the following year (Jankuhn 1932; Jankuhn 1938 (November); Jankuhn & Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität 22.6.1932; Kamp 1990; Schuchhardt & Noack 27.2.1931; Steuer 2001c: 420; Wilcken et al. 18.6.1931).

Having acted as an assistant to his *Doktorvater* Carl Schuchhardt at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (today's Humboldt University) in Berlin in the early months of 1931, Jankuhn transferred to the University of Kiel in 1932, where he began to work as a scientific assistant to Gustav Schwantes, then director of the Museum of National Antiquities (*Museum vaterländischer Altertümer*), founded in 1836. He was primarily charged with the management of the large-scale excavation of the early medieval trade centre Haithabu, located in proximity to the town of Schleswig in northeastern Schleswig-Holstein (Haßmann 1994; Jankuhn n.d.b: 4; Steuer 2001c: 420-421).

In December 1932, Jankuhn, funded through a travel grant (*Reisestipendium*) from the Roman-Germanic Commission (*Römisch-Germanische Kommission*) within the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), embarked on an extended research trip to the Middle East, Cyprus, Greece, southeastern and eastern Europe. As Junker (1998: 283) explains, the *Reisestipendium* was a highly prestigious grant awarded to selected graduates that frequently represented an opening step on the archaeological career ladder. Jankuhn had originally planned only a short trip to France to obtain an overview of the 'connections between that country's megalithic monuments and those of the Nordic circle' [*die Beziehungen zwischen der Megalithkultur dieses Landes und der des nordischen Kreises*] (Jankuhn 5.11.1933: 1). However, he subsequently decided to participate in the excavations of the Neolithic Egyptian settlement of Merimde Beni-Salame, carried out by the Viennese Academy of Sciences and the Egyptian department of the State Museum in Stockholm and directed by Hermann Junker, a German egyptologist from the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (Baumgartel 1965: 502). Jankuhn returned to Kiel in

July 1933, having visited Alexandria, Cairo, Merimde Beni-Salame, Thebes, Aswan, Saqqara, Jerusalem, Jericho, Tiberias, Damascus, Baalbek, Beirut, Larnaca, Nicosia, Athens, Aegina, Delphi, Knossos, Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest and Brno (Jankuhn 5.11.1933). As a consequence, Jankuhn did not immediately experience the dramatic events following Hitler's power seizure during the spring and early summer of 1933: he left the Weimar Republic and returned to the National Socialist dictatorship.

Jankuhn's involvement with National Socialist organisations began soon after his return. He joined the SA (*Sturmabteilung*), the National Socialist party's 'storm division', as a so-called *Anwärter* or aspirant on 5 November 1933 and was officially sworn in on 24 June 1934. Jankuhn was thus admitted just days before the 'Night of the Long Knives' of 30 June 1934, when the SA-leadership and its commander Ernst Röhm were assassinated and the perceived threat to Hitler's absolute authority was neutralised (Kershaw 1999: 499-522). In his Denazification questionnaire, Jankuhn maintained that his SA-membership ended shortly after this event; in his SA-register, there is no evidence for such a discharge (Anon. 16.12.1934; Jankuhn n.d.b: 6). In June 1934, before joining the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) itself, Jankuhn also enlisted with one of its associated formations, the National Socialist league of university lecturers (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Dozentenbund*) (Pape 2001: 68).

In the academic sphere, Jankuhn made considerable progress during this period. In 1935, he completed his *Habilitation* – the highest academic qualification in Germany conferring the entitlement to teach at university – on 'The Viking Age defensive structures between the Schlei and Treene' [*Die Wehranlagen der Wikingerzeit zwischen Schlei und Treene*] (Jankuhn 1937a) at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel. In 1936, he was granted a teaching position (*Dozentur*) at the same university (Jankuhn n.d.b: 3-4). From 1937 onwards, Jankuhn also acted alongside Gustav Schwantes (1881-1960) as the co-editor of the journal *Offa*, published by the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities in Kiel (*Museum vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer*) and, according to the first issue's preface, dedicated to the 'study of pre- and protohistory, particularly in the North and with regards to

Germanic antiquity' [*Vor- und Frühgeschichtsforschung, vor allem im Norden und im Hinblick auf das germanische Altertum*] (quoted in Müller-Wille 1994a: 7).

In May 1938, at the age of only thirty-three, Jankuhn assumed the directorship of the Museum of National Antiquities (*Museum vaterländischer Altertümer*) in Kiel, a post previously held by his co-editor, superior and mentor Gustav Schwantes. In 1940, he received the academic title of *außerplanmäßiger Professor* from the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel. He held a similar position at the University of Rostock between 1942 and 1945, but spent little time on site, primarily due to his frequent and extensive travels on behalf of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (see Chapter III for a detailed description and analysis of Jankuhn's activities within that organisation) (Jankuhn n.d.b: 4; Steuer 2001c: 422-423).

In the late 1930s, Jankuhn consolidated his affiliation with institutional National Socialism by joining the National Socialist party: several documents cite 1 May 1937 as the precise date of his enrolment with the NSDAP's local division (*Ortsgruppe*) Kiel-Wik; he was assigned the membership number (*Mitgliedsnummer*) 3 970 135 (Anon. 15.6.1938; Jankuhn n.d.a).

Next, Jankuhn enrolled with the *Schutzstaffel*, the most powerful military and security organisation in National Socialist Germany under the auspices of Heinrich Himmler. The official SS-register marks him as an *Anwärter* from March 1937 onwards, and he became a fully-fledged member on 1 June 1938. From this date onwards, his progress within the organisation's hierarchical structures was swift. Between September 1938 and January 1944, Jankuhn rose from the rank of *SS-Untersturmführer* (the equivalent of *Leutnant* or second lieutenant in the German army) to that of *SS-Sturmbannführer* (the equivalent of the *Major* or major in the German army), passing through a further six ranks in the process (Anon. n.d.a). Jankuhn was appointed to the controversial research foundation *SS-Ahnenerbe* and placed at the head of the unit managing excavations. Jankuhn, now in his mid-thirties, had thus become one of the most influential pre- and protohistorians in National Socialist Germany. He remained an active and integral member of the SS until Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945 (Jankuhn n.d.b: 4).

2.2 1945-1990

In the months and years following the defeat of National Socialist Germany in the spring of 1945, the victorious Allied powers initiated and carried out the so-called process of Denazification (*Entnazifizierung*), aimed at purging National Socialist personnel and ideas from Germany's political and civic institutions, jurisdiction, culture, media and society. As Chapter III highlights, many historians have questioned the rigour and consistency of this procedure (see, for instance, Strübel 1986; Thacker 2006; Vollnhals 1995). Although Jankuhn was interned between 1945 and 1948, I have been unable to locate official evidence regarding the circumstances of his detention (Steuer 2001c: 425).

As an active member of the SS, Jankuhn faced his Denazification trial on 30 September 1948. He was convicted of 'membership in the *Allgemeine SS* between 1937 and 1942' [*Mitgliedschaft bei der allgemeinen SS von 1937 bis 1942*] and classed as a 'fellow traveller' or 'passive follower' (*Mitläufer*) (Entnazifizierung-Hauptausschuß für den Stadtkreis Kiel 2.10.1948). Discontented with this judgment, Jankuhn contested the ruling in the course of the following year, requesting that new evidence be heard and considered by the courts (Jankuhn 22.5.1949). The appeal was successful: Jankuhn was cleared of all charges and ranked as a 'non-offender' (*Entlasteter*) by the main Denazification committee (*Entnazifizierung-Hauptausschuss*) of the state of Schleswig-Holstein in December 1950 (Bunjes et al. 13.12.1950), thus paving the way to his complete societal and professional reinstatement (see Chapter III for a detailed evaluation of Jankuhn's Denazification case).

Following his release, Jankuhn once again took up the archaeological investigation of the early medieval settlement Haithabu and the reorganisation of the Archaeological State Museum of Schleswig-Holstein (*Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schleswig-Holstein*) – formerly the Museum of National Antiquities – that had been relocated from the state capital Kiel to the smaller town of Schleswig (Kamp 1990; Steuer 2001c: 425). Between 1951 and 1953, Jankuhn also held posts as a visiting lecturer at the Universities of Hamburg and Kiel (Steuer 2001c: 425). In the summer of 1951, he unsuccessfully applied for the directorship of the prehistoric

section of the State Museum of Lower Saxony (*Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum*) (Jankuhn 18.6.1951).

In the spring of 1956, Jankuhn was offered a professorial chair (*planmäßige außerordentliche Professur*) at the Georg-August-Universität in Göttingen: unsurprisingly, he accepted the appointment as well as the entailed directorship of the Seminary for Pre- and Protohistory (Steuer 2001c: 425). Jankuhn's selection and subsequent departure from Kiel were both congratulated and bemoaned in Schleswig-Holstein (Flensburger Tageblatt 3.3.1956; Tagespost 15.3.1956).

In 1958, his former employer, the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, renewed its advances to 'the uncrowned king of Schleswig-Holstein's prehistorians' [*der ungekrönte König der schleswig-holsteinischen Prähistoriker*] and invited him to take over the professorial chair of pre- and protohistory from Ernst Sprockhoff (Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität 19.4.1958). What ensued was a veritable 'tug-of-war' [*Tauziehen*] (Müller 10.7.1958) between the two universities, which Jankuhn was able to use to his fullest advantage. Stressing the first-rate teaching and research facilities at the pre- and protohistoric department in Kiel, he made it clear to the pertinent university and state authorities in Lower Saxony that only a substantial increase in funds and personnel at his current department in Göttingen would sway him to reject the offer from Schleswig-Holstein (Jankuhn 9.5.1958; Jankuhn 12.5.1958). Only when his very specific suggestions – or, more to the point, demands – regarding a considerably amplified departmental endowment were met by Lower Saxony's culture ministry in August 1958, did Jankuhn formally decline the position in Kiel (Jankuhn 18.8.1958; Niedersächsischer Kultusminister 5.8.1958).

Jankuhn acted as the dean (*Dekan*) of the philosophical faculty of Göttingen University between 1966 and 1967 and remained at the Georg-August-Universität until his academic retirement (*Emeritierung*) in 1973. Jankuhn was a long-time member of both the Roman-Germanic Commission (*Römisch-Germanische Kommission*) and the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*). He was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences (*Akademie der Wissenschaften*) in Göttingen in 1961 and directed its Commission for the Archaeology of Central and Northern Europe (*Kommission für die Altertumskunde*

Mittel- und Nordeuropas) from 1971 until his death in 1990 (Kamp 1990; Steuer 2001c: 425).

3 Structure, sources and context

3.1 Thesis structure and outlook

The following paragraphs describe and justify the structure of the thesis. More specifically, they outline the content and internal structure of the individual chapters. In addition, they introduce the pertinent primary source material, lay out its provenance and identify certain considerations that have guided the process of source selection. Finally, the thesis attempts to place Jankuhn's career and work into their contemporary politico-ideological and intellectual context; this section explains why and how this has been realised.

Although its strict focus on the life and work of an individual archaeologist has supplied the thesis with obvious and helpful confines, the wealth of archival and published source material has naturally imposed further limits and a specific structure. In essence, the thesis employs a combination of approaches (see Chapter II for examples of similar and related studies on the relationship between archaeological research and National Socialism). To begin with, it investigates the life and work of an influential German **archaeologist**, who was intricately entangled with the National Socialist hierarchy. At the same time, the analysis of Jankuhn's published and unpublished writings revolves around interpretative **themes**, such as the historical development of the Germanic tribes, the identity and ancestry of the Vikings or the formation of states in eastern Europe. Finally, the investigation of the **site** of Haithabu in Schleswig-Holstein – Jankuhn acted as director of the Haithabu-site for over three decades – takes on particular significance.

The main chapters split into two distinct parts that differ with regards to their substance and their source material (see below for a detailed description of the project's source base). First, Chapter III addresses the (real and perceived) nature of Jankuhn's involvement in institutional National Socialism and thus places the scientist and archaeologist into his political and bureaucratic context. Specifically, this involves an examination of Jankuhn's activities within Himmler's *SS-Ahnenerbe*

and of the Denazification proceedings brought against Jankuhn in the aftermath of the war.

Chapter III, which investigates Jankuhn's political and bureaucratic activities, characterises Jankuhn as a truly multi-faceted individual, seemingly working to balance ambition, scientific and professional enthusiasm and ideological identification. It sketches Jankuhn's active and deep involvement with the *SS-Ahnenerbe* as well as the resultant entanglement of politics, ideology and science in Jankuhn's archaeological and bureaucratic career. Jankuhn's concerted attempts to shape post-war perceptions of archaeological research during the National Socialist period are also underlined in Chapter III. Rather than rendering the archaeological scholar as a mechanical generator of ideologically and politically expedient material for the use and abuse by an all-powerful state, the thesis thus underlines the active nature of an archaeologist's position and the element of choice contained in decision-making processes, even when operating within the confines of a totalitarian regime.

Chapters IV, V and VI investigate Jankuhn's archaeological research: Chapter IV illuminates Jankuhn's methodological and theoretical framework, Chapter V examines his interpretations of Germanic pre- and protohistory, and Chapter VI studies his construal of the early medieval settlement Haithabu in the state of Schleswig-Holstein. Essentially, Chapters IV, V and VI attempt to move from the general to the specific. Chapter IV (on Jankuhn's theory and methodology) prepares the ground for more focused probes into Jankuhn's personal thematic foci, carried out in Chapters V and VI. By exploring Jankuhn's account of the historical development of the Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German peoples, Chapter V addresses a broad and underlying theme. By focusing on selected aspects of Jankuhn's Haithabu-interpretations, Chapter VI conversely tackles a rather more specialised issue.

In Chapters IV, V and VI, emphasis is placed on the potential connections between Jankuhn's archaeological writings and their politico-ideological context. The latter was shaped by several factors: first, Jankuhn's bureaucratic career in the *SS-Ahnenerbe* brought with it a deep and direct immersion in National Socialist political and ideological theories and beliefs. Secondly, Jankuhn's personal views and scientific work were unlikely to remain untouched by the more general entry of National Socialist thought and ideology into German society and culture (see Chapter

III for an overview of the ‘harmonisation’ of German public life in the early 1930s). Third, the thesis evaluates the significance of other, older ideological currents in Jankuhn’s work. National Socialist ideology had concrete antecedents, and, in a similar vein, the archaeological traditions of the 1930s and 40s integrated components characteristic of earlier periods. These are principally addressed in Chapters IV and V.

The thesis thus makes the following crucial points. To begin with, Herbert Jankuhn did not operate in a void. His political, ideological and social circumstances, both before and after 1945, continuously shaped the scientific work he produced. However, neither should his research be viewed as representative of a National Socialist archaeology. In fact, one may justifiably question whether ‘a National Socialist archaeology’ existed at all. For one, archaeological research in National Socialist Germany was marked by an intense rivalry between two major cultural-political institutions, namely the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg* (see Chapters II and III for specific references to this conflict). In addition, National Socialist ideology itself was polyvalent, complex and, at times, contradictory, and Jankuhn adhered to and promoted his own idiosyncratic selection of politico-ideological elements. As a consequence, archaeologists maintained a substantial scope for intellectual manoeuvre within a brutally repressive totalitarian regime (see Chapters IV, V and VI). Finally, it emerges that drastic historical watersheds, such as that of 1945, do not always and entirely eradicate and transform underlying intellectual and ideological orientations and that scientific paradigms frequently change in a gradual and fluid manner (see Chapters IV, V and VI).

Throughout Chapters IV, V and VI, the violent politico-ideological break of 1945 is exploited to evaluate archaeological interpretations of similar themes at different stages: the chapters initially investigate analyses produced under the National Socialist regime and subsequently address those formulated under the Federal Republican administration of Germany. Such a direct comparison, it is hoped, will reveal interpretative and methodological shifts consistent with Jankuhn’s drastically transforming politico-ideological environment.

At this point, it is important to stress that the thesis does not attempt to re-interpret the archaeological material investigated by Jankuhn. First, the sheer scope of

his work prohibits this. Secondly, it is not in fact necessary to decide whether Jankuhn's interpretations were correct or incorrect. Ideological and political influences can be distinguished independently and in an alternative manner. An ideological leaning may at times be expressed through the accentuation of a particular research question at the expense of another. On the other hand, an interpretation cannot be considered as 'neutral' or 'unbiased' simply because it refrains from misrepresenting the archaeological record.

3.2 Primary source description and provenance

The primary source material that has fed into this study falls into three broad categories: unpublished political and bureaucratic documentation (mainly analysed in Chapter III), unpublished archaeological writings and published monographs and articles (predominantly examined in Chapters IV, V and VI).

The majority of Jankuhn's political files is located at the *Abteilung (R) Deutsches Reich* – the department managing the conservation of all material pertaining to the historical period of the German Reich between 1871 and 1945 – of the German *Bundesarchiv* or Federal Archive in Berlin-Lichterfelde. This material was viewed in June 2006 and July 2007. The Federal Archive holds the records of central state and civil authorities, political parties and numerous other associations as well as the documentary bequests of private individuals. A large proportion of the relevant material documents Jankuhn's activities within the *Schutzstaffel* or, more specifically, within its official research body, the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (BDC DS G123; RS C5139; SSO 133A; NS/21 51, 52, 92, 94, 227, 321, 323, 346; NS/19 1329). For the most part, this material consists of individual personnel files and of more eclectic collections of professional correspondence. Additionally, a smaller number of records from the Nazi party's ideological agency, the *Amt Rosenberg*, has been investigated (NS/15 30, 31, 37, 123, 126, 146, 620). Chronologically, the documentary evidence examined at the *Bundesarchiv* extends from the mid-1930s until the early months of 1945.

Jankuhn's Denazification file is held at the State Archive of Schleswig-Holstein (*Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein*) in Schleswig. It contains the Denazification questionnaire (*Fragebogen*) stipulated by Germany's Allied military

government, the references (*Leumundszeugnisse*) produced by fellow academics and other colleagues in defence of Jankuhn's work and professional character as well as the Denazification committee's ruling in Jankuhn's case (Abt. 460, Nr. 450, GZ A 844 Herbert Jankuhn). Selected material from the university archive of Humboldt University – formerly the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität – in Berlin, located in Berlin-Reinickendorf, has furnished information pertaining to Jankuhn's doctoral studies undertaken in the early 1930s (Phil. Fak. 735). These primary source collections were viewed in July 2007.

Material contained in Jankuhn's documentary bequest at the Archaeological State Museum of the state of Schleswig-Holstein in Schleswig (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn), viewed in June 2006 and July 2007, has also shed light on the course of his career. The pertinent correspondence relates mostly to Jankuhn's university appointments and academic networking. In addition, Jankuhn's bequest contains a vast amount of unpublished (and mostly handwritten) archaeological writings. It features a particularly rich assortment of unpublished lectures, held by Jankuhn in academic and other public contexts. In addition, the collection contains a wealth of photographs, maps, drawings, personal and professional correspondence, travel reports and newspaper excerpts, among other things. The *Nachlass* has almost certainly been 'sifted', either by Jankuhn himself during his lifetime or by a colleague after his death.

Jankuhn's archaeological publications dating to the 1930s and 40s have of course been drawn on extensively. Since Jankuhn's articles often treat the same subject matter and contain analogous arguments, they do not all feature in the analysis. Jankuhn's post-war publications have also been examined. Jankuhn's intellectual and scientific output – produced over a period of nearly four decades from the early 1950s until the 1980s – is necessarily vast. Since the chronological and thematic focus of the study lies on the National Socialist period, Jankuhn's post-war monographs and articles have been chosen and investigated on the basis of their thematic relevance. In the analysis of Jankuhn's archaeological writings, his literary bequest at the Archaeological State Museum has supplemented his published work wherever necessary and expedient.

Finally, it is important to note that all translations from the German into the English language are my own. In order to provide ready access to the German texts, original versions of short quotations are given in brackets directly after the English translation. Original German versions of longer, indented citations are collected in appendix I. Place names are stated either in their original version or in English.

3.3 Context and limitations

Finally, the thesis aims to place Jankuhn's political activities and archaeological writings into an historical and intellectual context. To begin with, this entails the detailed exploration of selected and specific aspects of National Socialist politics and ideology. Chapter III, for instance, illustrates the process of politico-ideological *Gleichschaltung* – the 'harmonisation' of all aspects of public life in Germany – that took place in the wake of the National Socialist power seizure. The chapter especially focuses on the intellectual *Gleichschaltung* of German universities. Chapter III casts further light on the institutional organisation of archaeological research in Nazi Germany by addressing the rampant power struggle between Heinrich Himmler's *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the Nazi party's *Amt Rosenberg*. A brief discussion of the process of Denazification – also found in Chapter III – establishes whether Jankuhn's personal and professional development were characteristic of the post-war discourse on and handling of National Socialist activists, followers and opponents.

Chapters V and VI juxtapose common and significant elements of National Socialist ideological accounts with Jankuhn's own interpretations of Germanic pre- and protohistory. Chapter V supplies an overview of Germanic ideologies or *Germanenideologien* both before and during the National Socialist period and examines to what extent Jankuhn followed such notions in his own archaeological work. Politico-ideological narratives of the Germanic ethnogenesis, of a Germanic-Roman antithesis, of 'Führer figures' in early Germanic society and of an inherent Germanic propensity for territorial expansion and state formations are also brought into play. In Chapter VI, National Socialist ideas of religion are presented alongside the discussion of early medieval cultic traditions and religious beliefs at the Haithabu-site.

The thesis places Jankuhn's work into his contemporaneous intellectual and scientific context. Since studies of individual archaeologists remain rare (see Chapter II), I have chosen to examine a substantial selection of contemporary pre- and protohistoric publications. Wherever available, secondary material has also been used. Chapter IV provides an introduction into the work of Gustaf Kossinna, whose so-called 'settlement-archaeology' provided the methodological basis for the nationalistically and racially inspired archaeology of the Nazi period. In addition, Chapters IV and V refer to the writings of a variety of pre- and protohistoric scholars, among them Carl Schuchhardt, Hermann Jacob-Friesen, Hans Jürgen Eggers, Ernst Wahle, Ernst Sprockhoff, Gustav Schwantes and Otto Scheel. Chapter VI in turn places the Haithabu-site into the context of other early medieval trading centres, such as Birka, Wolin and Dorestad.

It is important to emphasise that the contextual information provided has been chosen on the basis of immediate thematic relevance and that it is therefore by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, it serves to illustrate Jankuhn's political, ideological and intellectual environment and thereby helps to define the precise nature of his involvement with National Socialist institutions and ideologies.

CHAPTER II

Historiographical and theoretical considerations

‘If any science is a study of humanity, an instrument of the most genuine patriotic spirit, it is history.’

[Johann Gottfried Herder, Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, 1784-1791, quoted in Ergang 1931: 232]

‘A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things, actually, constitute this soul [...]. One is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is [...] the will to continue to value the heritage which all hold in common. Man, sirs, does not improvise. The nation, even as the individual, is the end product of a long period of work, sacrifice and devotion. The worship of ancestors is understandably justifiable, since our ancestors have made us what we are.’

[Ernest Renan, Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? 1882, quoted in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 17]

Having established this study's basic research questions and parameters, Chapter II addresses its historiographical and theoretical background. It considers archaeology's relationship with nationalist ideology and politics in general and the German situation in particular.

Section 1 provides an introduction into some of the origins and basic concepts of nationalist theories. Needless to say, the theorists and theories mentioned below represent only a small – though immensely influential – fraction of the pertinent thinkers and literature. It should be noted that the section by no means aims for a comprehensive description of the foundations and development of nationalism. Instead, it serves to illustrate that many of the conceptual and theoretical debates encountered in the earliest writings on peoples and nations have endured into more recent decades. The very nature of nations, whether primordial realities or modern constructs, their origins, whether founded on ethnic or cultural ties, and their very purpose, whether guarantors of political liberty or instruments of repression, are still

deliberated today. The perceived role assigned by historians and sociologists to historical and archaeological narratives in the conception of nationalist ideologies receives particular attention in the context of this study.

Section 1 turns towards the origins and central characteristics of the relationship between archaeological research and nationalist ideologies and politics. It addresses the following questions: where and when does the relationship between archaeology and nationalism originate? What is the actual nature of the connection? How have archaeological research and nationalist ideologies benefited practically from the association? What were and are the concrete effects of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism? And how has archaeological research been tangibly affected?

Section 2 expands on these observations by shedding light on the relationship between archaeology and National Socialism during the 1930s and 40s. It introduces the existing scholarly literature on the nineteenth-century foundations of National Socialist archaeological traditions, the institutional framework of archaeological research in National Socialist Germany, the propagandistic uses of archaeological writings and material, the specific contributions made by individual scholars, such as Herbert Jankuhn, to National Socialist political and ideological conceptions of the German past and the long-term effects of archaeology's involvement with National Socialism on the post-war development of the discipline.

Naturally, sections 1 and 2 do not provide any definitive conclusions on these issues: instead, they highlight some of the most significant scholarly contributions to the debate from the archaeological, historical and sociological fields and identify certain weaknesses and omissions in the existing literature. By placing the research project into a broad historiographical and theoretical context, sections 1 and 2 not only supply essential background information but also rationalise the investigation into Herbert Jankuhn's political activities and archaeological research.

1 Archaeology and nationalism

1.1 Nationalism. Some origins and basic concepts

For the purpose of this study, nationalism is broadly defined as an attitude adopted by the members of an existing or emerging people or nation that emphasises a common identity based on shared ethnic origins and/or cultural traditions. It is duly acknowledged at the outset that the ideological blend of German National Socialism contained far more ingredients than merely that of nationalism. Nevertheless, observations on the history and character of the association between archaeology and nationalism are applicable to the study at hand and place it into an historical context.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) articulated some of the earliest reflections on the nature and historical role of peoples and nations. According to Herder, a people's common culture – consisting of its history, language, art, literature, religion, custom, science and laws – made up the collective work and experience of its constituent members. He essentially characterised the history of mankind as a sequence of national organisms: while each revolved around its own centre, it simultaneously contributed to the development of humanity at large. Significantly, Herder emphasised that all men had originated as one species: distinct cultures had developed in response to thousands of external, environmental influences, such as the climate, education, intercourse with or isolation from other national groups (Ergang 1931: 82-94). Herder also underlined the importance of historical studies in the lives of nations and peoples. While Enlightenment philosophers had tended to define themselves in opposition to a 'dark' and 'barbarian' past, Herder regarded history as a logical and continuous progression: if studied methodically and exhaustively, it would reveal the origins of a people's shared culture and contribute to the consolidation of that group's common sentiment (Ergang 1931: 213-234).

During the nineteenth century, two broad types of nationalism – the ethnic and the linguistic-cultural – were frequently distinguished, though not necessarily juxtaposed. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), whose 'Addresses to the German nation' or *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, held in an occupied Berlin between 1807 and 1808, constitute one of the founding texts of nationalist sociological thought,

defined nationality in terms of a common language (Abizadeh 2005: 352-353). Language was seen as such an integral part of the national character that it persisted through time, being transferred from generation to generation through the blood flowing in a nation's veins: in other words, cultural continuity was 'genealogically secured'. At times, the cultural and ethnic components of nationalist ideologies – in the work of Fichte and elsewhere – were thus closely intertwined (Abizadeh 2005: 358-359).

In the context of accelerating processes of national consolidation and ongoing international conflicts, nationalist theories took on increasing political significance in the course of the nineteenth century. In response to the bitter territorial disputes over Alsace and Lorraine in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), delivered a well-known discourse entitled *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* or 'What is a nation?' in 1882. In Renan's mind, the nation was a spiritual and political principle in the first instance: it was racially heterogeneous, principally established on circumstance and, in that sense, historically contingent. The nation, as he saw it, was 'a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices one has made in the past and of those one is prepared to make in the future' (quoted in Smith 2000: 12).

Though Renan's interpretation stressed the voluntaristic nature of the national collective, he did not regard it as a mere construct; according to him, the European nations could be traced back to early medieval times. Like Herder before him, Renan stressed the central importance of the past and, more specifically, of historical memories to ensure national cohesion. He characterised the nation as the 'culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion' and identified a 'heroic past, great men, glory' as the 'social capital upon which one bases a national idea': in his own words, 'to have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more – these are the essential conditions for being a people' (quoted in Smith 2000: 11-12).

In the course of the nineteenth century, similarities and differences between peoples were increasingly being cast in racial terms. Rather than warranting a specific and consistent definition, the racial concept habitually amalgamated a whole series of factors, such as language, customs and physical characteristics. A group's purported

racial, intrinsic identity was effectively made to account for both its inner disposition and its external appearance (Mosse 1978: 35-50). Harris has pointed to the attraction presented by a certain flexibility inherent in the racist approach: in his words, '[...] the hereditary components, being inaccessible to direct observation, can be shaped into whatever quantity or quality of influence is necessary in order to account for the specialities in question' (Harris 1968: 81). In addition, Harris has argued that the longevity and extensive currency of racist theories is largely due to the 'generalized nature' of racial stereotypes: indeed, the argument that particular ethnographic or cultural specialities – he mentions cross-cousin marriage or shamanism – are hereditarily controlled is easily countered by pointing to the occurrence of similar practices or behaviour in other racial groups. As a consequence, racial associations have been more sweeping and difficult to contradict (Harris 1968: 81). The German anthropologist Gustav Klemm (1802-1867), for instance, rather crudely divided humankind into 'active' and 'passive' races (Harris 1968: 101-102).

Until the middle decades of the twentieth century, nations, nationalism and national identity were mostly regarded as commonly occurring phenomena. Although their frequently negative consequences were recognised and deplored, national divisions were taken for granted and regarded as a human constant. However, the rise to prominence of Third World countries that did not fit the classic description of a 'nation' – such as Indonesia or Nigeria – as well as the re-emergence of nationalist tendencies among communities that had for a long time been viewed as stable components of established Western states – such as the Flemish, Scots or Québécois – increasingly cast doubt on these long-standing assumptions (Smith 1986: 7-8).

As a consequence, the origins and nature of nationalism were re-evaluated from a modernist perspective. Ernest Gellner (1983), for instance, has argued that nationalist feeling and identity, rather than being natural and primordial, are modern phenomena. According to him, the articulation of nationalist ideologies is a response to a need for cultural homogeneity generally found in modern societies. Nationalist principles may be deeply rooted in the shared condition of national groups and their reality can therefore not be denied entirely. However, nationalist traditions often defend and revive invented and strongly modified cultures in order to create a

common identity. In other words, nationalism engenders nations, not vice versa (Gellner 1983: 55).

Benedict Anderson (1983) has taken the modernist view of nationalism to the next level by arguing that nations, like all communities in which face-to-face contact is impossible, are entirely invented, imagined and created by their constituent members (Anderson 2006: 5-7). In Anderson's view, the gradual decline of the religious community from the Middle Ages onwards and of divinely legitimated monarchies by the seventeenth century marked the origins of nationally imagined communities (Anderson 2006: 12-22). The rise of the vernaculars and the development of certain print-languages created a unified sphere of communication and hence facilitated the spread of the new ideology (Anderson 2006: 37-46).

Adrian Hastings (1997) has offered an historical critique of modernist interpretations of nations and nationalism. Nationalism, he argues, has existed as a powerful political reality since well before the nineteenth century, although he grants that it first became theoretically significant to western political thinking during that period. The first – English – nationalist tradition emerged during the Middle Ages. According to Hastings, an ethnic group transforms itself into a nation as soon as its specific vernacular language moves from oral to written usage and begins to produce a large living body of literature. In addition, Hastings has challenged the overwhelmingly negative view of nationalism adopted by a majority of its sociological and historical analysts: rather than characterising nations and nationalism as 'something already out of date in view of the internationalisation of the modern world', he grants them creative energy and sees them as central to the direction of European and world history (Hastings 1997: 2-12).

A thorough and primarily sociological reconsideration of the modernist conception of nationalism has also been undertaken by Anthony Smith (1986), who suggests that primordial, essentialist views of the nation as the natural units of history are inappropriate. However, he does not consider modernist interpretations of nations and national identity to be entirely satisfactory either. Highlighting an obvious problem often overlooked by modernist theorists of nationalism, namely the fact that sentiments resembling national identification can be found in pre-modern societies,

such as ancient Rome or Greece, Smith proposes to examine the ‘subjective’ factors that shape a national group, or, in his words, the

more permanent cultural attitudes of memory, value, myth and symbolism. For these are often recorded and immortalised in the arts, languages, sciences and laws of the community which, though subject to a slower development, leave their imprint on the perceptions of subsequent generations and shape the structures and atmosphere of the community through the distinctive traditions they deposit. (Smith 1986: 3-4)

Smith has also stressed the need to examine the relationship between earlier ethnic identities and later national ones, although he does not necessarily presuppose a linear and continuous connection between the two phenomena (Smith 1986: 16).

Most importantly, Smith has spelled out six distinct attributes that he regards as indicative of a shared ethnic character: a collective name, which marks an ethnic community in the historical record; a common myth of descent, which explains a community’s origins, growth and destiny; a shared history, which provides a pool of shared memories; a distinctive shared culture, which binds group members together and separates them from outsiders; an association with a specific territory, which supplies a community with a symbolic geographical centre; and a sense of solidarity, which can override internal divisions in times of conflict (Smith 1986: 22-32). The following paragraphs demonstrate to what extent and how nationalist ideologies and theories have been related and applied to archaeological studies.

1.2 Origins of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism

The existence of an association between archaeological research and nationalist ideologies and politics has been amply acknowledged in recent decades (Bahn 1996; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996a; Gathercole & Lowenthal 1994; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Härke 2002; Kohl 1998; Kohl & Fawcett 1995a; Kohl et al. 2008; Meskell 1998; Silberman 1989; Skleňár 1983; Trigger 1984; Trigger 1989; Trigger 1995; Trigger 2006). The connection between archaeology and nationalism is generally regarded as long-standing, ubiquitous and intricate, its origins are said to go back to the very development of archaeology as a structured and institutionalised discipline, and scholars agree that a number of countries have in the

past demonstrated a more or less overt identification of archaeological research with state-ideology. Yet, despite the increasing volume of theoretical discussion of the subject, certain aspects of the relationship remain understudied and therefore ill-defined.

A glance at the history of archaeology suffices to reveal that archaeological practices and nationalist ideologies emerged and developed almost in parallel, namely in the course of the nineteenth century. Almost all historians of archaeology now agree on the existence of a close and vital connection between archaeology, nationalism and Romanticism, and various scholars have investigated and illustrated the nature of this association (Bahn 1996; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996a; Kohl & Fawcett 1995a; Skleňár 1983; Trigger 1989; Trigger 1995).

The rise of political nationalism from the late eighteenth century onwards – and particularly the emerging and rapidly expanding Herderian notion that a people, rather than being simply the equivalent of the state, represented a homogeneous community defined by a common language, culture and environment (see the previous section) – led to a growing and widespread desire for the writing of detailed *national* histories (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b: 8). According to Trigger (1995: 268-269), certain conservative elements in Europe sponsored the production of national histories by highlighting ideas of national unity: their aim was to counteract the rise of class conflict, the upsurge of trade unionist, communist and socialist activities as well as the ensuing calls for political reforms so typical of the mid- to late nineteenth century. In much of central and eastern Europe, ethnic nationalism was gathering strength in opposition to the dynastic regimes – namely the Habsburg and Russian empires – that still governed the region in a highly centralistic fashion (Skleňár 1983: 63-67).

Whatever the impetus for the development of national sentiment may have been, nationhood had to be demonstrated and exhibited. By revealing the purportedly long and glorious history of newly emerging peoples and nations, archaeological narratives did precisely that. In essence, archaeological remains were used to ‘prove’ the antiquity and ethnic purity of communities as well as their cultural and racial superiority in comparison with neighbouring peoples. The discipline itself benefited immensely from these developments by becoming increasingly scientific and

institutionalised. (National) archaeological museums were set up, archaeology developed a professional corps and entered the realm of higher education. Furthermore, a whole body of legislation, regulating archaeological work in general and the treatment of antiquities in particular, was gradually put into place (Bahn 1996: 93-95; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b: 9-10; Parker-Pearson 1999: 390-391; Skleňár 1983: 67-69; Trigger 1989: 148-150; Trigger 1995: 269).

Kunow (2002: 149) has argued that, in the case of the German-speaking lands, widespread but ultimately thwarted hopes for a unified Germany in the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 triggered the foundation of multiple historic and prehistoric societies [*Altertumsverbände*] in the course of the nineteenth century. According to him, such societies contributed to the creation of a common German identity by exploring a shared 'national' [*vaterländisch*] past. The creation of the German Reich in 1871 resulted in a significant consolidation of pre-existing prehistoric associations – the *Reichslimeskommission* was founded in 1892; the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (Roman-Germanic Commission) was established in 1902 – and in the elaboration of (not necessarily stringent) legislation aimed at the preservation of cultural heritage, though it should be noted that such laws operated on a regional rather than on a state or *Reich*-basis (Brather 2000: 142-143; Kunow 2002: 152-156).

Some historians of archaeology have explicitly emphasised the significance of the romanticist movement in the establishment and popularisation of archaeology: Skleňár, for instance, mockingly observes that, judging from romanticist articles on archaeological subjects, one is 'left with the impression that our far-off ancestors spent all their time in religious ceremonies and funeral rites' (Skleňár 1983: 69). Bahn (1996: 94-95) and Trigger (2006: 112-113) have likewise stressed a disproportionate interest in ruined abbeys, graves or, in short, anything morbid.

At the core, accounts of the early development of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism overlap and consolidate each other. Scholars have customarily treated the growth of archaeological research and the emergence of political nationalism analogously, and they have discussed the incipient practical and political consequences of this association, such as the formation of national antiquarian museums and the introduction of pertinent legislation. Most have –

correctly – regarded the association as altogether natural and even unavoidable: Kohl and Fawcett have characterised archaeology as a ‘discipline almost in wait of state interference’ (Kohl & Fawcett 1995b: 8).

1.3 Central characteristics of the relationship

Both Kohl and Fawcett and Díaz-Andreu and Champion have stressed that the correlation between archaeological research and nationalism – though perhaps inevitable – need not be intrinsically harmful or sinister (Kohl & Fawcett 1995b: 3). First and foremost, as Díaz-Andreu and Champion observe, the appearance of a nationalist ideology ‘stimulated the very creation of archaeology as a science’: without nationalism, they declare, ‘archaeology [...] might never have advanced beyond the status of a hobby or a pastime’ (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b: 3). Others have identified archaeology’s potentially benign role in nation-building processes in countries lacking any sense of communal pride, belonging or unity in the aftermath of colonial rule (see, for instance, Mangi 1994).

Besides triggering archaeology’s transformation into a fully fledged scientific discipline, nationalism has profoundly influenced and continues to affect the organisational and institutional environment in which archaeological research is conducted. To begin with, the borders of nation-states inevitably affect traditions of archaeological research (Kohl & Fawcett 1995b: 4). The post-war development of archaeological theory usefully underlines this statement. While most Anglo-American scholars espoused the so-called processual archaeology during the 1960s and 70s, German archaeologists reacted overwhelmingly negatively to the New Archaeology and rejected subsequent theoretical approaches to archaeological research. This response has customarily been attributed to the perceived abuse of archaeological theory and interpretation during the National Socialist period (Arnold & Haßmann 1995: 71; see also Sommer 2002).

In a similar vein, Díaz-Andreu and Champion have pointed out that archaeological research is almost invariably integrated into state and sub-state institutions (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b: 7). Archaeologists are dependent on considerable financial support for their primary research, and this makes them naturally vulnerable to outside pressures. States may take advantage of this precarious

position by either implicitly or explicitly linking ideological demands to the provision of financial backing (Kohl & Fawcett 1995b: 8). In the context of the nineteenth century, this point must be treated with caution. Archaeological studies were then rarely conducted by state-funded professionals; for the most part, they represented private endeavours and were thus subject to fewer official pressures. Naturally, however, this did not necessarily lead to politico-ideological neutrality in archaeological interpretation either.

On a different note, it has been argued that nationalist politics and archaeological research may exist in a mutually beneficial, near-symbiotic relationship. Archaeological renditions of the remote past represent a valuable foundation for nationalist ideologies. As indicated above, archaeology can ‘prove’ the longevity and ‘historicity’ of communities, paint attractive images of a nation’s early achievements and ‘substantiate’ theories of racial and cultural superiority in order to intensify national sentiment or to cultivate group consciousness (Fowler 1987: 239; Kohl & Fawcett 1995b: 4-5; Silberman 1989: 1-3; Trigger 1984: 360). Depending on the requirements dictated by political circumstances, different aspects of a people’s past may be emphasised. One can demonstrate that the group in questions was the first to settle a particular area – this substantiates territorial claims. Or one can highlight the civilising impact of a community moving into and colonising an already settled region – this demonstrates the group’s cultural superiority and justifies its political domination of another (Shnirelman 1996: 219).

In addition, Díaz-Andreu and Champion have suggested that archaeological evidence lends itself particularly well to nationalist use. First, they view archaeological material as versatile: in order to create an archaeological narrative, the archaeologist has to interpret his material. In the nineteenth century, archaeological methodology – and chronology in particular – had not reached a point at which questionable interpretations could be definitively discounted, and archaeology therefore represented an easily adaptable source of evidence in political controversies. Secondly, archaeological material is, obviously, old. Given the lack of documentary evidence, it is often the only means of substantiating nationalist territorial claims based on the antiquity of occupation. Finally, the physicality of archaeology is significant: not only does archaeological material shed light on ancient times, it also

acts as a tangible manifestation of the distant human past – in the form of archaeological sites or museums – and creates a powerful symbolic connection with it (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996b: 19-20; see also Haßmann 2002b: 107).

As seen above, historians and sociologists have granted historical and archaeological narratives a central role in the conception of nationalist ideologies. The remote past and the historical development of ethnic and national groups are cited as eminently significant in nearly all theories of nationalism. For Herder, only the study of a people's history could reveal its shared origins and the roots of its sense of belonging, leading in turn to the creation of ever closer bonds between its constituent members (Ergang 1931: 213-214). Fichte, for his part, saw the defining characteristic of a national group – its common language – as a feature that had developed over hundreds or even thousands of years (Abizadeh 2005: 358). Renan, too, viewed the nation as the zenith of a long history of achievement, commitment and, at times, sacrifice; for him, the past effectively provided the foundation for the future (Smith 2000: 11-12).

More recently, both Hobsbawm and Smith have emphasised that a nation's 'historicity' must be visibly demonstrated. In Hobsbawm's opinion, 'the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity' is paramount to the creation and maintenance of national sentiment (Hobsbawm 1990: 73). Smith makes a related point when he stresses the ideological significance of the notion of a 'linear development': progressing through the stages of birth, growth, maturity and (unnatural) decline, this evolution eventually leads to a nation's glorious rebirth (Smith 1986: 191). According to Smith, such myths (of 'origins', of 'ancestry', of a 'golden age' etc.) are constructed by blending both legend and serious scholarship (Smith 1986: 191-192). Archaeology has acted as a vital source of information or, rather, inspiration for such nationalist constructs (Shnirelman 1996: 238). As previously suggested, the versatility, physicality and wealth of archaeological evidence have further facilitated the production of nationally useful historical narratives through the interpretation of individual archaeological remains and sites as well as the archaeological heritage of entire areas and countries.

2 Archaeology and National Socialism

2.1 Origins of the relationship between archaeology and National Socialism

Germany is often perceived as a country in which the consequences arising from a relationship between archaeological research and nationalist ideology have been particularly disastrous. This link did not appear out of nowhere when Hitler's National Socialist party seized power in 1933. Much of the groundwork for a German archaeology oriented along nationalist and, ultimately, National Socialist lines was laid by the philologist-turned-prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kossinna's methodological contributions to pre- and protohistoric research are comprehensively treated in Chapter IV. To summarise briefly, Kossinna's notoriety is primarily based on the following methodological postulate: 'Sharply defined archaeological culture provinces correspond at all times to specific peoples or tribes' [*scharf umgrenzte archäologische Kulturprovinzen decken sich zu allen Zeiten mit ganz bestimmten Völkern oder Völkerstämmen*] (Kossinna 1911: 3). By combining this axiom with the retrospective method, which deduces prehistoric circumstances from historically attested ethnic conditions, Kossinna devised his so-called 'settlement-archaeological method' [*siedlungsarchäologische Methode*] (see Grünert 2002a).

Kossinna's novel prehistoric school stood in stark contrast to the prevalent anthropological scientific tradition commonly associated with the German anthropologist, pathologist, prehistorian and politician Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902). This so-called *Urgeschichte* – rather ineffectively rendered as 'primeval history' by Fetten (2002: 162) – represented an all-embracing discipline aimed at the investigation of man's early history and comprising the analysis of skeletal remains, artefacts, linguistic evidence and written sources (Fetten 2002: 176). Kurnatowska and Kurnatowska (2002: 97) have suggested that, strictly speaking, archaeological studies in the second half of the nineteenth century no more than corroborated or refuted those theories of cultural development that had been elaborated by the anthropological and ethnological disciplines.

In contrast, Fetten puts forward, Kossinna promoted and realised the establishment of prehistory as an independent discipline in the early twentieth

century. Rather than exploring the early human condition, he sought to investigate the origins and development of European peoples and tribes. Kossinna increasingly incorporated nationalist and racist perspectives into his archaeological paradigms (Fetten 2002: 172). According to Bertram (1991: 24), he met with fierce resistance from Virchow's 'Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Archaeology', the *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Archäologie*, and subsequently founded a new prehistoric association (see also Chapter IV).

Kossinna was by no means the first European prehistorian to attribute particular archaeological assemblages to specific peoples – a process that many consider highly questionable (see, for instance, Demoule 2002: 141-142; Shennan 1994: 5-14). Yet, as Chapter IV shows, Kossinna's name remains inextricably connected with the culture-historical concept. He made ethnic interpretations of prehistory a focus of archaeological research and infused his work with explicit nationalist and racist beliefs that fell onto fertile ground in the newly founded German state (Haßmann 2002a: 71-72; Veit 1994: 36-37). Though Kossinna's ideas were later to lend theoretical support to National Socialist racist policies and expansionist ambitions, both Haßmann (2002a: 68) and Veit (1994: 38-39) have pointed out that, in perceiving Kossinna as mainly or solely responsible for the ideological misuse of archaeology in National Socialist Germany, many retrospective observers exonerate others who share this responsibility (see also Demoule 2002; Smolla 1979/80).

2.2 Manifestations of the relationship

After a near-complete silence of more than four decades, German archaeologists, in the 1990s, began to investigate the 'disastrous synergy which developed between German archaeology and the Hitler regime' (Halle & Schmidt 2001: 269). Since then, academic publications on the subject have multiplied and a number of conferences, notably those in Berlin in 1998 (see Callmer 2002; Halle & Schmidt 2001; Leube 2002a; Leube 2002b) and in Freiburg in 2000 (see Steuer 2001a), have called for an open and coherent examination of the National Socialist involvement in archaeology, the archaeological involvement in National Socialism and the implications for modern German archaeology.

The propagandistic opportunities offered by pre- and protohistory were manifold. Schmidt (2002), for instance, has discussed the politico-ideological exploitation of archaeological material in museums. An ‘open-air museum for German prehistory’ [*Freilichtmuseum für deutsche Vorzeit*], located at Oerlinghausen in the Teutoburg Forest and opened in 1936, supposedly recreated a Germanic village, though, according to Schmidt, the buildings ultimately assembled a diverse assortment of Scandinavian-, Celtic- and Alamannic-style material. In addition, a swastika-adorned chest – in fact only fashioned in that form during the Middle Ages – complemented the furnishings. As Schmidt suggests, the construction style and content of the houses were designed to demonstrate the purported cultural sophistication of Germanic civilisation (Schmidt 2002: 147-151). He maintains that the museum proved a considerable popular success (Schmidt 2002: 153).

Haßmann (2002b) for his part, has investigated the politico-ideological indoctrination of children and teenagers. In schools, for instance, pre- and protohistory assumed a decisive role. School curricula included lessons on early Germanic culture, law, religion, funerary and ancestral rites as well as on the Germanic ‘struggle for soil and freedom’ (quoted in Haßmann 2002b: 111). Copious songs, books and films aimed at children and adolescents transmitted ideas of prehistoric Germanic racial purity, cultural sophistication and territorial assertiveness and thereby underlined vital elements of National Socialist ideology (Haßmann 2002b: 119-127). In Haßmann’s eyes, such views of pre- and protohistoric life have often outlasted the National Socialist period (Haßmann 2002b: 138-139).

The institutional and organisational framework of the archaeological discipline in the National Socialist state has been amply studied. From the very outset, the regime was able to play on a dual inferiority complex on the part of the archaeological scholarly community: on one hand, archaeologists felt the same frustration and anger at the harsh treatment imposed by the Treaty of Versailles and the general social, political and economic unrest; on the other, they had, for decades, perceived prehistory as a neglected discipline (Arnold 1990: 467; Kunow 2002: 155). Between 1933 and 1935, eight new chairs of prehistory were created in German universities and funding for prehistoric excavations became widely available. New

research institutes sprang up and museums were established (Arnold 1990: 468; Haßmann 2002a: 89-90).

Wolfgang Pape, who has conducted exceptionally detailed and enlightening investigations into the institutional development of the archaeological discipline (see, in particular, Pape 2002) and into the institutional affiliation of archaeological scholars (see, in particular, Pape 2001), has likewise pointed out that the 1930s saw a disproportionate promotion of pre- and protohistoric research and teaching at German universities: student numbers soared, doctoral dissertations multiplied, the academic corps expanded and degree and course options broadened (Pape 2002: 170-175). Interestingly, Pape maintains that the origins of this development in fact preceded the National Socialist power seizure; in his opinion, the trend was simply intensified between 1933 and 1934. Pape's observation highlights that the politico-ideological value of archaeological research was already being recognised prior to the National Socialist period. In comparison with 'politically unwanted disciplines', Pape asserts, pre- and protohistory fared strikingly well: indeed, the expansion of academic archaeology was 'counter-cyclical' and coincided with a general decrease in student numbers from 140 000 in 1931 to 75 000 in 1937 (Pape 2002: 168-169). In return for this unprecedented sponsorship, pre- and protohistorians joined the National Socialist party and its affiliate organisations in droves both during and, crucially, before the National Socialist *Machtergreifung* (Pape 2002: 186-189).

The power-struggle between the *Amt Rosenberg* (Office Rosenberg) and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (Ancestral Heritage), the two cultural-political institutions involved in the administration of archaeological research in National Socialist Germany, has also been dealt with in the pertinent literature. The view that the *Amt Rosenberg* and its notorious chief of prehistoric research Hans Reinerth were primarily or even exclusively responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of German archaeology, though challenged in recent years (Halle & Schmidt 2001: 271-272), still appears to enjoy relatively widespread acceptance (see Chapter III for further discussion). Haßmann, in his major review of archaeology in the Third Reich, has maintained that 'comparatively free research' was undertaken within the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and that 'many good archaeologists collaborated with the *Ahnenerbe*, not the least reason being to avoid being dominated by [Reinerth and the *Amt*

Rosenberg]' (Haßmann 2002a: 86-87). Elsewhere, Haßmann is more cautious: the comparative – or perhaps superficial – neutrality of *Ahnenerbe*-research, he suggests, may in fact have facilitated a more subtle and hence effective transmission of politico-ideological messages to the general public. In addition, Haßmann claims, non-specialist, popular and line-toeing authors frequently appropriated ‘serious’ research for inclusion in their own propaganda pieces (Haßmann 2002b: 137-138).

Halle and Schmidt have even put forward that the dominant historical account was ‘contrived’ by the former staff members of the *Ahnenerbe* in order to ‘transfer blame exclusively onto Hans Reinerth of the *Amt Rosenberg*’ (Halle & Schmidt 2001: 270-271). Pape has bolstered this notion by use of concrete examples. An *Ahnenerbe*-conference held in 1939 and initially published under the title ‘Germanic studies as political science’ [*Germanenkunde als politische Wissenschaft*] (Kaiser 1939), was whitewashed by the influential archaeologist Gustav Schwantes, who officially testified to its exemplary scientific standard after the war (Pape 2002: 182). Pape has also observed notable discrepancies in post-war evaluations of Rosenberg’s and Himmler’s (largely comparable) activities in occupied eastern Europe (see Chapter III): here, too, a patent pro-*Ahnenerbe* bias has become visible (Pape 2002: 185).

This controversy highlights the need for additional enquiries into the actual content of so-called National Socialist archaeological narratives. Precisely this – the undertaking of exhaustive studies of archaeological methodologies and interpretations during the Nazi regime through the examination of published and unpublished scholarly writings – was largely neglected when the relationship between archaeology and National Socialism first entered the academic arena (Halle & Schmidt 2001: 275-276). Scholars frequently tended to limit themselves to rather general statements concerning the use of archaeology as a tool of ‘political legitimation’: prehistory was used to support German territorial claims and to exaggerate the importance of Germanic cultural influences in Western civilisation; it thereby justified a policy of aggressive territorial expansion and mass murder (Arnold 1990: 465-467). Considering the gravity of the charges laid, such sweeping statements are hardly satisfactory.

2.3 Approaches to the study of archaeological research during the National Socialist period

Specific investigations of the impact of National Socialist ideology on archaeological research can take different formats. One approach is the examination of the work of individual **scholars**. A number of archaeologists – Hans Reinerth (Halle 2002a; Krall 2005; Leube 1998; Schöbel 2002), Wilhelm Unverzagt (Brather 2001a) and Gero von Merhart (Theune 2001), among others – have been examined in recent years. The edited volumes by Leube (2002a) and Steuer (2001a) cover the most ground in this respect. While the contributions in Leube (2002a) have tended to focus on the professional network and political involvement of pre- and protohistoric scholars during the National Socialist period (see, for instance, Schöbel (2002) on Hans Reinerth and Wegner (2002) on the virulent disagreements between Reinerth and Karl Hermann Jacob Friesen), Steuer and the contributors to his volume have usefully concentrated on the ‘language’ [*Sprache*], ‘vocabulary’ [*Vokabular*], ‘questions’ [*Fragestellungen*] and ‘methodological paradigms’ [*methodische Ansätze*] displayed in the scientific work of German archaeologists between 1933 and 1945 (Steuer 2001b: 2). In order to situate Jankuhn in a contemporary and intellectual context, Chapters IV and V frequently draw on these assessments: Hans Jürgen Eggers’ stance on ethnic interpretations in pre- and protohistoric research (von Carnap-Bornheim 2001), Ernst Wahle’s views of the origins of the Germanic peoples (Hakelberg 2001) and Ernst Sprockhoff’s representations of the Bronze Age in northern Europe (Willroth 2001) feature particularly prominently.

At this point, a summary of existing assessments of Jankuhn’s own scientific contributions – those by McCann (1990), Krall (2005) and Steuer (2001c) – is most helpful. McCann takes an unambiguous stance on Jankuhn’s work, though his primary source analysis is far from satisfactory. Examining a small number of Jankuhn’s writings on Haithabu, McCann concludes that the scientific quality of Jankuhn’s excavation techniques was beyond reproach. However, he regards his interpretations as highly dubious and ideologically tainted. In addition, Jankuhn’s activities in the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, particularly his missions to south Russia and the Caucasus, amounted to looting, and were not, in McCann’s eyes, primarily aimed at the safeguarding of archaeological objects (McCann 1990: 81-83).

Krall (2005) has compared a selection of Jankuhn's publications with those of his adversary Hans Reinerth. The author makes a number of interesting observations. First, she postulates that Jankuhn's and Reinerth's 'scientific and biographical background' [*wissenschaftliche und biographische Ausgangslage*] affected their respective reasoning and research results (Krall 2005: 86-90). As suggested previously, this thesis concurs that pre-existing politico-ideological currents and traditions were of central importance to the development of Jankuhn's archaeological research. In addition, Krall (2005: 90-91) puts forward that both Jankuhn's and Reinerth's pre- and protohistoric work buttressed National Socialist ideologies. While this was certainly the case, Krall's analysis remains rather general. She seemingly loses sight of the intense polyvalence and complexity that both characterised National Socialist ideologies and shaped the archaeological community's (often disparate) adaptation to the new politico-ideological system. Considering the scope of her work, this is perhaps unsurprising. Finally, she notes that both Jankuhn and Reinerth employed certain 'stylistic strategies' [*stilistische Strategien*] in an attempt to associate their pre- and protohistoric research with contemporary politico-ideological conditions. More specifically, she points to the use of emotionally charged language and of a strongly militaristic vocabulary (Krall 2005: 91-93).

Steuer reasons that, unlike his vocabulary or rhetoric, Jankuhn's archaeological interpretations adapted neither to surrounding political and ideological circumstances nor to explicit demands formulated by the National Socialist regime. He devises a theoretical model laying out different interpretative levels on which, according to him, archaeological research is conducted. The first three stages in this construction undertake the classification and dating of a body of archaeological material and divide this evidence into archaeological units based on common characteristics. Only by evaluating and then judging the sources, do archaeologists lose scientific neutrality on levels four and five: they assign archaeological assemblages to particular national or ethnic groups and, finally, determine one group's superiority in comparison with another. Steuer concludes that Herbert Jankuhn's research before and after the National Socialist period was conducted on the first three levels, while the twelve years of National Socialist rule saw his archaeological interpretations entering the realms of stages four and five. In Steuer's

mind, however, there was no fundamental change in Jankuhn's archaeological paradigms (Steuer 2001c: 464-465; see also Steuer 2004: 503-513).

Steuer's model is flawed for two key reasons. First, he implicitly suggests that, once the initial description and classification of finds have been completed, the interpretative potential of archaeological material does not extend beyond the identification of its ethnic or national origins. This is not the case. Second, the notion that description and classification are ideology-free or neutral procedures is highly suspect in itself. Preconceived ideas and prior knowledge accompany the archaeological process from the collection of material culture up until its interpretation. Recognising these presumptions is more constructive than denying them.

Wiwjorra (1996) has chosen to examine a popular **theme** of National Socialist thinking, namely, the justification of Germany's borders. In his view, widely current theories of a Germanic cultural mission frequently led German archaeologists to emphasise the beauty and elaboration of Germanic finds and to simultaneously denigrate material attributed to the Slavs. As a consequence, Germanic cultural superiority – as allegedly demonstrated in the archaeological record – acted as the ideological foundation for an aggressive German expansionism. The supposed continuity of German settlement in eastern Europe similarly justified Germany's territorial claims. As a result, Wiwjorra explains, German archaeologists took to depicting Slavic settlement in the region as brief and inconsequential interludes (Wiwjorra 1996: 175-177). Though Wiwjorra's account is far from comprehensive, his method – that is, the investigation of specific themes encountered in German National Socialist archaeological accounts – is a productive one, particularly if undertaken on a larger scale.

Finally, historians of archaeology have investigated the politico-ideological interpretation of individual archaeological **sites** during the National Socialist period. Halle (2002a) has undertaken an exhaustive study of the well-known Externsteine sandstone formation in the Teutoburg Forest. On the basis of extensive archaeological and historical source work, she has both charted the fierce institutional power struggles that erupted over the excavation and illustrated its total transformation into a politico-ideological tool. According to Halle, representations of the Externsteine as a

prehistoric Germanic sanctuary – put forward as early as the sixteenth century – enjoyed immensely wide circulation between the 1920s and the end of the Second World War (Halle 2002b: 235-236).

Strobel (2002), for his part, has examined the archaeological excavation of the Neolithic settlement of Taubried I, located near the town of Bad Buchau in the state of Baden-Württemberg and undertaken under the aegis of the *Amt Rosenberg* and its chief of prehistory Hans Reinerth. According to Strobel, Reinerth's investigation was poorly and irresponsibly managed: his team rapidly and sloppily uncovered allegedly 'impressive and extensive settlement remains' and destroyed other valuable monuments in the process. Reinerth, Strobel holds, was keen to score cheap, propagandistic points (Strobel 2002: 285). Finally, Strobel's account once again highlights the institutional polyvalence of National Socialist archaeological research: in Taubried I, too, the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* clashed on several occasions (Strobel 2000; Strobel 2002: 284-286).

2.4 Long-term effects of the relationship

Interestingly, some scholars still flatly deny the existence of a link between National Socialism and archaeology. Kossack's essay on the 'history and current situation' of German archaeology is a case in point. The section covering pre- and protohistoric research during the National Socialist years awkwardly refers to 'German archaeology in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s' (Kossack 1992: 93). Some archaeologists, Kossack holds, may have donned 'brown or black uniforms' and 'felt themselves part of the "Master Race"', they may have 'thought it opportune to affect impressive poses' and considered 'mean behaviour by the powerful legitimate'. But these, he concludes simply, are the 'patterns of behaviour, which surface in dictatorships' (Kossack 1992: 95). Ultimately, he maintains, 'the politicisation of German archaeology failed' (Kossack 1992: 94). Given that nearly all archaeological research in National Socialist Germany was conducted under the auspices of either the SS or the NSDAP, it seems bizarre to suggest that the discipline wholly escaped ideological adaptation and political exploitation.

As pointed out above, German archaeologists have, until recently, been reluctant to confront their discipline's role in the National Socialist system, and,

according to some, this has had deplorable consequences. Arnold and Haßmann have indicated that a lack of theoretical debate in pre- and protohistoric research and the defensive rejection of a processual archaeology in Germany have largely arisen from the archaeological community's failure to face up to the discipline's involvement in the Third Reich. They hold that the ideological deformation of theory and interpretation experienced under National Socialism has made contemporary archaeologists overly cautious and unwilling to engage in theoretical discussion (Arnold & Haßmann 1995: 71; see also Härke 1991; Härke 1995; Sommer 2002). Repercussions of this have been marked weaknesses in the explanation of cultural change, the lack, or complete absence, of synthesis in virtually all branches of German archaeology, and an unhealthy focus on data collection as opposed to interpretation (Härke 1991: 200-201; Härke 1995: 56). In view of these serious shortcomings, a thorough and forthright investigation of any outstanding issues appears all the more desirable.

CHAPTER III

Herbert Jankuhn in the *Schutzstaffel*.

The political and institutional background during the National Socialist period

‘National Socialism is not only a political doctrine, it is an all-encompassing general perspective on all public matters. So our entire life has to be based on it as a matter of natural assumption.’

[Joseph Goebbels, National Socialist Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, speech in Hamburg, 1935, quoted in Evans 2005: 211]

From the late 1930s until the fall of the Hitler-regime in 1945, the direction and progress of Herbert Jankuhn’s professional career came to be oriented along and influenced by the National Socialist regime’s pervasive hierarchical structures. While the potential impact of National Socialist political and ideological pressures on Jankuhn’s archaeological research – on his research questions, methodology, interpretations and language, as represented in his contemporaneous scientific writings – are examined in Chapters IV, V and VI, the very tangible consequences of the National Socialist power seizure for Jankuhn’s professional development form the investigative focus of Chapter III. Although the regime’s practical impact on Jankuhn’s career path may at first seem immediately obvious – Jankuhn joined a number of National Socialist organisations during the 1930s – more specific questions arise once the surface is scratched.

Chapter III aims to replace hazy and general references to Jankuhn’s ‘involvement’ with organised National Socialism with more detailed and well-founded information on his memberships and actions. More specifically, the chapter addresses the following questions: what did Jankuhn actually do within the National Socialist organisations he joined? Above all, what activities did he engage in as a leading member of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*? How deeply, if at all, was he involved in the everyday and specialised operations of those organisations, and what position did he hold in their internal hierarchy? How did he interact with other, potentially rivalling,

institutions? Were his occupations of a scientific or a political nature, and did he himself perceive his role as a political or scientific one? Did he consider it possible, or even necessary, to extricate these two aspects? Did Jankuhn put forward and carry out operations on his own initiative or did he simply do what was required of him? And, finally, what results did his missions produce?

Leading on from this, how was Jankuhn's involvement with National Socialism assessed in the aftermath of the Second World War, especially in the context of his Denazification trial? And, crucially, how did he himself perceive and portray his professional behaviour under the National Socialist regime? Though some of these questions defy a decisive conclusion, the chapter nonetheless aims to synthesise Jankuhn's multiple interests, motivations and beliefs into an illuminating, nuanced and perhaps conflicting representation.

Section 1 describes some of the means of indoctrination and oppression employed by the National Socialist leaders, particularly in the months following its power seizure (*Machtergreifung*), to turn a fledgling democracy into a politically, socially and culturally monolithic and fiercely oppressive dictatorship. The process of *Gleichschaltung*, initiated in the aftermath of the National Socialist takeover and involving, among other things, the purging of German universities of 'politically unreliable elements' and the 'harmonisation' of German research, receives particular attention. Section 2 introduces the institutional organisation of archaeological research during the Nazi period; in particular, this involves a brief description of the fierce power struggle between two major National Socialist research institutions: the *SS-Ahnenerbe* under the auspices of SS-chief Heinrich Himmler and the *Amt Rosenberg* (Office Rosenberg) under the aegis of the main Nazi party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg.

Chapter III goes on to illustrate how Jankuhn, then a promising young archaeologist, responded to the pressures exerted by the National Socialist regime. His involvement with the SS was by far the most intimate and energetic; sections 3 and 4 therefore specifically concentrate on Jankuhn's membership in the *Allgemeine* and *Waffen-SS* as well as his association with the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, Himmler's research foundation, between 1937 and 1945.

Section 3 investigates Jankuhn's activities on the western front; these included a visit to Brittany, aimed at the examination of the region's megalithic monuments, as well as a renewed investigation of the famous Bayeux Tapestry. Section 4 takes a detailed look at Jankuhn's involvement in special SS-missions as a member of the division *Wiking*, which carried out operations in south Russia and the Caucasus. These expeditions, supposedly carried out to protect cultural heritage in war zones and occupied territories, were in fact highly questionable and politicised undertakings. Jankuhn's part in them is therefore scrutinised and evaluated.

Section 5 examines how Jankuhn, in the wake of Germany's crushing defeat, portrayed and rationalised his relationship with institutional National Socialism. Finally, it also assesses third-party post-war accounts and reviews of Jankuhn's involvement with the *Schutzstaffel*. These are provided by a number of character references compiled in the context of his Denazification trial (*Entnazifizierungsverfahren*) in the late 1940s. Appraisals of Jankuhn's personal character, political attitude and scientific abilities indicate how his behaviour and motivations were seen and judged retrospectively. Jankuhn's alleged reasons for joining the SS receive particular attention.

1 The process of *Gleichschaltung*

The pivotal political events of the National Socialist power seizure are familiar: Adolf Hitler was appointed Germany's Chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) by ageing and ailing President Paul von Hindenburg on 30 January 1933 and the German parliament was dissolved on 1 February 1933. Thanks to a narrow election victory on 5 March of the same year, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) or NSDAP was able to form a governing coalition with the conservative German National People's Party (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*) or DNVP, based on a small parliamentary majority of 52.5% of the vote. Finally, on 23 March, the *Reichstag* effectively voted itself out of a meaningful existence by passing the Enabling Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), which allowed Hitler and his cabinet to enact laws outside the constitutional legislative process (Benz 2006: 20-28).

In the months following the National Socialist *Machtergreifung*, political, social and cultural opposition to the new regime was gradually eliminated. The so-called process of *Gleichschaltung* – the term is perhaps best rendered as the implementation of a series of decrees and laws, aimed at ‘bringing into line’ or ‘harmonising’ all aspects of public life in Germany – was set into motion almost immediately. Politically, for instance, this entailed the ‘harmonisation’ of the individual states and the Reich: in order to reflect the results of the *Reichstag* election, ministers, civil servants and deputies in states hitherto eluding National Socialist control were replaced by party members just days after the election, and the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) of 7 April 1933 enabled a purge of all ‘politically unreliable’ civil servants (in practice mostly Social Democrats and Jews). 1933 also saw the first organised and nationwide actions against German Jews and the (often voluntary) inclusion of the so-called ‘Aryan paragraph’ (*Arierparagraph*) – a law providing for the dismissal of ‘non-Aryans’ – into the statutes of various organisations and clubs. Refusals to resign or to join the Nazi party were often met with violence or imprisonment. Labour unions were crushed and incorporated into the German Labour Front (*Deutsche Arbeiterfront*) during the spring, the Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) was disbanded on 22 June, and a large number of political parties – the DNVP, the German People’s Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*) or DVP, and the Centre Party (*Zentrum*), to name but a few – assisted the regime by dissolving themselves in the course of June and July. Political authority was thus centralised at an astonishing speed (Benz 2006: 28-34; Evans 2003: 380-386).

One event epitomised, perhaps most poignantly, the NSDAP’s determination to achieve the complete permeation of German society. On 10 May 1933, in nineteen university towns across the country, students, actively supported by a number of professors, orchestrated an ‘act against the un-German spirit’: a list of ‘un-German’ books was compiled, these were seized from libraries, piled up in public squares and set on fire. The National Socialist party clearly demonstrated its readiness to apply extreme measures to bolster its ‘claim to cultural hegemony’ (Benz 2006: 33; Kater 1986: 34). Although the book-burnings were presented as spontaneous public outbursts, they had in fact been extensively coordinated and prepared by the National

Socialist German Students' League (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*) or NSDtB: the Nazi official responsible for the purging of Berlin's public libraries supplied an inventory of the books to be destroyed, while the central office of the NSDtB wrote and circulated the catchphrases to be employed at the burnings (Benz 2006: 32-33; Evans 2003: 427-430). Evans has pointed out that the general population soon followed the students' lead and joined the events. As he comments sarcastically, 'book-burning was by no means a practice confined to the highly educated' (Evans 2003: 430).

The *Gleichschaltung* of German research and universities represented a vital component of the rapid 'harmonisation' of German political, social and intellectual life in the wake of the National Socialist *Machtergreifung*. The new leadership forcefully insisted that National Socialist thinking was to permeate all areas of German public (and private) life, and, in order to achieve this aim, universities, too, required a complete overhaul along strictly National Socialist lines: the – perhaps illusory and unattainable – principles of scientific objectivity and autonomy and the separation of higher education from government interests were to be subordinated to the requirements of state, people and race (Möller 1986: 65-68; Stuchlik 1984: 171-172; Vezina 1982: 17). In practical terms, Vezina suggests, this implied three concrete steps: the harmonisation of university personnel through the removal of undesirable and the appointment of politically reliable lecturers, the structural *Gleichschaltung* of university administrations, and the realignment of all research and teaching along National Socialist – that is mostly racist and *völkisch* – lines (Vezina 1982: 18).

All three aims were achieved in the initial months and years of National Socialist rule. According to Reimann (1986: 45), approximately 1145 Jewish and liberal university lecturers – or around 14% of the entire academic body – were fired by the winter term of 1934, and those who remained in office were required to demonstrate their Aryan ancestry and political tolerability (Stuchlik 1984: 164). In the field of pre- and protohistory, two of the most prominent victims of these measures were Gerhard Bersu (1889-1964), head of the Roman-Germanic Commission, and Gero von Merhart (1886-1959), professor of prehistory at Marburg University, who lost their posts in 1935 and 1938, respectively. Far from merely proving that they

were ideologically acceptable, many university lecturers actively and vocally supported the new regime: for example, in the run-up to the parliamentary elections of 5 March 1933, a group of 300 professors issued a public statement calling on the general population to vote for Hitler and the NSDAP (Reimann 1986: 45; Stuchlik 1984: 164).

In the words of the president of Frankfurt University, university administrations were ‘modified and simplified’ [*umgestaltet und vereinfacht*] according to ‘National Socialist principles’ [*nationalsozialistische Grundsätze*] (quoted in Stuchlik 1984: 156-157). In particular, this involved the abolition of the traditional system of collegiate self-government and the introduction of the *Führerprinzip* or ‘principle of the Führer’. Practically, this implied the elimination of any electoral traditions, such as the internal election of the *Rektor* or university president, the appointment of the university senate by state authorities and its relegation to a purely advisory position as well as the unilateral selection of departmental heads or *Dekane* by the university’s Führer – that is *Rektor* – in consultation with the National Socialist Minister of Science, Education and National Culture Bernhard Rust (Reimann 1986: 50-52; Stuchlik 1984: 155-156). As Reiman points out, the application of the *Führerprinzip* to university administrations resulted in the creation of strictly hierarchical institutional structures, allowing for the swift top-down implementation of politically repressive measures (Reimann 1986: 51-52).

The intellectual *Gleichschaltung* of German universities was, for one, achieved through the provision of ideologically inclined lecture programmes: classes on ‘The foundations of the National Socialist world view’ [*Die Grundlagen der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung*], ‘Race and racial hygiene’ [*Rasse und Rassenhygiene*] and ‘The impact of the Aryan peoples on Israel’s history and culture’ [*Der Einfluß des Ariertums auf Geschichte und Kultur Israels*] were offered by the philosophical, medical and theological faculties of Heidelberg University, respectively (Vezina 1982: 166-167). Additionally, a large number of departments, research institutes and professorial chairs were established to buttress the racist and *völkisch* orientation of academic research: the philosophical faculty of Heidelberg University established a new professorial chair for war history, while the University of Frankfurt saw the closure of the Institute of Social Research or *Institut für*

Sozialforschung (Stuchlik 1984: 172-175; Vezina 1982: 168-170). On a different note, Lemberg has called attention to the widely practised revocation of doctoral degrees from – among others – émigrés, Jewish scholars and political dissenters during the 1930s and 40s (Lemberg 2002).

From 1933 onwards, German universities and many academics moved quickly and comprehensively to adapt to the drastically altered political and ideological circumstances presented by the new regime. Reimann has indicated that pre-existing traditions and positions within the academic arena greatly facilitated this adjustment. The majority of university lecturers during the Weimar Republic had been highly critical of the novel and fragile democratic system and had unmistakably tended towards the political right. The continued endorsement of militaristic attitudes, the glorification of nation and community and the cultivation of a sense of victimhood in the aftermath of the First World War had been embraced by academic staff and students alike (Hausmann 2007: 17-25; Reimann 1986: 48-49; see also Stucklik 1984: 59). Leading on from this, Reiman has argued that the National Socialist system, rather than forcefully engulfing German academic life, encountered a variety of related and accommodating political, ideological, social and scientific currents. Due to this frequent concurrence of views, he explains, the *Gleichschaltung* of German research and universities often transpired voluntarily (Reiman 1986: 41).

2 *SS-Ahnenerbe* vs. *Amt Rosenberg*. The institutional organisation of archaeological research in Nazi Germany

The general organisational and financial development undergone by the archaeological discipline in the early years of National Socialist rule have already been laid out. As explained in Chapter II, pre- and protohistorians had much to gain from cooperation with the regime: between 1933 and 1935, eight new chairs of prehistory were created in German universities, funding for prehistoric excavations became widely available, new research institutes sprang up and museums were established (see, among others, Arnold 1990: 468; Haßmann 2002: 86-90). The following section focuses on the fierce power struggle between those cultural-political institutions that participated in the administration of archaeological research during the 1930s and 40s: the *Amt Rosenberg* (Office Rosenberg) and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (Ancestral Heritage). Although the topic has been amply studied (see

particularly the seminal works by Kater (1974) on the *Ahnenerbe* and by Bollmus (1970) on the *Amt Rosenberg*; more recently, Halle (2002a) has made an important contribution to the study of the conflict), a compact – and necessarily cursory – summary is needed for three reasons: first, it clarifies the institutional framework within which professional archaeologists were operating; second, it provides the necessary contextual background to Jankuhn’s own activities in the SS; and third, it underlines the immense organisational polyvalence of cultural and archaeological policy and research in National Socialist Germany.

The *SS-Ahnenerbe*, set up in July 1935 by Heinrich Himmler, Richard Walther Darré and a number of less illustrious founding members (Kater 1974: 11), and the *Amt Rosenberg*, established in January 1934 as an agency of the National Socialist party and named after its head Alfred Rosenberg (Bollmus 1970: 54-55), represented the Nazi regime’s official vehicles for the direction, manipulation and exploitation of pre- and protohistoric research. Despite the bitter conflict between the two organisations, their leaders shared some underlying notions regarding the politico-ideological purpose served by history and archaeology in a National Socialist context. Hans Reinerth, the notorious chief of the *Amt Rosenberg*’s prehistoric section, believed that the recovery of German strength and greatness in the present necessitated the return to the German past: only Germanic prehistory could reveal the original ‘Nordic racial essence’ [*nordischer Rassekern*] and counteract widespread but erroneous beliefs concerning ancient Germanic barbarism (quoted in Bollmus 1970: 154; see also Leube 1998: 379-380). *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler, for his part, embraced a similar, racially determined worldview. He held that, based on their racial superiority, the Germans’ prehistoric ancestors – the *Germanen* – had devised and maintained a sophisticated and dominant cultural and political system. According to Himmler, a people that lost touch with its ancestors was bound for decline, and, in order to avoid such a fate, Germany had to be re-integrated into the ‘eternal cycle of past, present and future’ [*ewiger Kreislauf von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*] (quoted in Kater 1974: 18). Chapter V investigates the history and components of such Germanic ideologies in greater detail.

Despite this basic philosophical and ideological concurrence, Himmler’s *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg* competed on a variety of levels. To begin with,

Reinerth's (and Rosenberg's) concerted and unscrupulous efforts to harmonise German archaeological research played a significant role in the development of the conflict. Plans for a centralised Reich Institute for German Prehistory or *Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte* under Reinerth's leadership and Rosenberg's aegis, relentlessly pursued by Reinerth himself but violently opposed by both the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* or DAI) and the subsidiary Roman-Germanic Commission (*Römisch-Germanische Kommission* or RGK), ultimately flopped, not least because Reinerth's vicious and defamatory campaign had alienated a large proportion of German pre- and protohistorians (Bollmus 1970: 162-178; Bollmus 2002: 26-27; Kater 1974: 139; Kossack 1999: 62-63; Leube 1998; Schoebel 2002).

In addition to a widespread aversion to Reinerth's character and tactics, the Amt Rosenberg was faced with serious competition from the quarters of the SS-*Ahnenerbe*. Under the guidance of its secretary-general Wolfram Sievers, the *Ahnenerbe* – effectively Himmler's brainchild – organised and financed a number of archaeological projects. Among these were the examination of the funerary mound of the Hohmichele in the vicinity of the Heuneburg in southwestern Germany, the investigation of the famous Externsteine sandstone formation in the Teutoburg Forest, as well as Jankuhn's own exploration into the early medieval trading centre Haithabu in northern Germany (Kater 1974: 80).

The latter in particular became the SS' archaeological showpiece, and it has often been held up as a project that, despite the organisational and financial involvement of the *Schutzstaffel*, remained scientifically sound (Kater 1974: 81). As Chapter II has shown, it has long been maintained that the *Amt Rosenberg* was primarily responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of German archaeology, that the *Ahnenerbe* tolerated and even fostered relatively 'neutral' research and that the latter organisation therefore exerted a certain attraction on pre- and protohistoric scholars (see, for instance, Bollmus 2002: 30-32; Haßmann 2002: 84-85; Kossack 1999: 62). Kater's evaluation is somewhat more nuanced: according to him, Himmler was eager and often able to recruit 'serious' and respected scientists providing they would strike a compromise between their scientific goals on the one and the politico-ideological requirements of the regime on the other hand. Although much of the so-

called ‘research’ conducted by *Ahnenerbe*-scientists represented propagandistic humbug, there remained some – albeit limited – scope for professional, factual and coherent work. More pragmatically, he also mentions the practical benefits, such as funds, equipment and travel permits, entailed by *Ahnenerbe*-membership (Kater 1974: 72-74).

The *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg* also clashed further from home. Both institutions participated in the evaluation, collection and removal of archaeological, ethnographic and other cultural material in the occupied territories, namely in France, Russia and Poland. Strengthened by his appointment by Hitler as Reich Minister for the Occupied Territories or *Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete* on 17 July 1941, Rosenberg convened and despatched the so-called ‘task force Rosenberg’ or *Einsatzstab Rosenberg* to ensure the ‘re-orientation of European prehistory’ [*Neuaustrichtung der europäischen Vorgeschichte*] by means of ‘securing measures and individual investigations in the occupied territories’ [*Sicherungsmaßnahmen und Einzeluntersuchungen in den besetzten Gebieten*] (quoted in Heuss 2000: 144; Kater 1974: 294).

However, despite his role as *Reichsminister Ost* and his consequent control over the civil administration or *Zivilverwaltung* in the eastern occupied territories, Rosenberg’s authority over cultural-political matters was far from unchallenged. As *Reichsführer-SS* and Head of the German Police (*Chef der Deutschen Polizei*), Himmler himself maintained sweeping powers in Rosenberg’s dominion. As early as 7 October 1939, he had been entrusted with the ‘creation of new German settlement areas’ [*Gestaltung neuer deutscher Siedlungsgebiete*] for those ethnic Germans (still) living beyond the Reich’s borders, and, in the context of this overarching assignment, the *Ahnenerbe* was charged with the exploration of prehistoric and ethnographic collections in the new eastern provinces (quoted in Heuss 2000: 213-214). Jankuhn’s cultural-political expeditions to the Soviet Union – illustrated in detail below – contributed to this greater operation. Collisions between the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *Ahnenerbe* were therefore almost preordained.

This short survey has highlighted the following central point: the politicisation of pre- and protohistoric remains and research during the National Socialist period did not follow a consistent pattern. On the contrary, archaeological

institutions and personnel were fragmented and, more often than not, antagonistic. Culture-political issues were dominated by what Bollmus (1970: 236) has dubbed a ‘management chaos in the Führer-state’ [*Führungs-Chaos im Führer-Staat*]. Bollmus has argued that the bureaucratic disorder so typical of the Third Reich resulted directly from Hitler’s crudely Darwinian worldview: like races and nations, institutions and departments were engaged in a constant battle for survival (Bollmus 1970: 245). However, this did not imply that the cultural-political organisations and undertakings of the Nazi period remained toothless and unproductive. As this chapter demonstrates, such a composite system enabled individual scientists – particularly those as capable and driven as Jankuhn – to exert considerable influence in their field. Finally, the organisational polyvalence of archaeological and cultural policy and research in Nazi Germany was mirrored in a significant ideological multiplicity, as subsequent chapters reveal.

3 Jankuhn’s activities on the western front. Brittany and the Bayeux Tapestry

3.1 Brittany. Megalithic monuments

Following the German invasion of France in the summer of 1940, preparations for the investigation of French cultural heritage were swiftly set in motion by both the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *Ahnenerbe*. As early as August or September 1940, Jankuhn, in a letter to Wolfram Sievers, referred to an anticipated ‘operation in Brittany’ [*Aufenthalt in der Bretagne*] (Jankuhn n.d.d: 1). Jankuhn stated that, in the first instance, his work in that part of France was intended to be ‘informational’ [*informativisch*]. Before embarking on a long-term assignment, he deemed it necessary to gauge the potential dimensions and duration of such an operation.

I preferably want to acquaint myself with all those areas which contain stone monuments. In addition, I would at least like to see the most important museums in Brittany and the prehistoric national museum in St. Germain-en-Laye, in order to gauge the existing amount of finds from the stone monuments. [...] The region in question is around 150 km wide and 200 km long, and hence as large as Schleswig-Holstein. (Jankuhn n.d.d: 1)

The mission's official aim was 'to create the necessary preconditions for the thorough recording and documentation of [Britanny's] megalithic monuments' [*alle Voraussetzungen für die gründliche Aufnahme und Erfassung der dortigen Megalithdenkmäler zu schaffen*] (Jankuhn 24.1.1941), and Jankuhn expected to complete the planned survey in approximately four weeks, provided that a car was placed at his disposal (Jankuhn n.d.d: 2).

Jankuhn travelled to Brittany on 12 October 1940, reaching Carnac on 16 October and continuing his journey to Penmarch on 18 October. In Carnac, he was met with an unpleasant and frustrating surprise: the local headquarters at Carnac-Plage informed him that members of the *Amt Rosenberg*, 'who had also shown an interest in the old stones' [*die sich ebenfalls für die alten Steine interessiert hätten*] had already visited Carnac (Jankuhn 24.1.1941). Jankuhn immediately investigated this claim and found 'completely new excavation traces' [*ganz neue Grabungsspuren*] on a stone pillar at one of the larger stone alignments. Upon visiting the local museum, he discovered that a certain Dr. Werner Hülle, Reinerth's assistant at the *Amt Rosenberg*, had drafted sketches and taken measurements over the past fortnight. Hülle and his men had surveyed the largest stone formations – those of Menec and Kermario – and conducted minor archaeological investigations using prisoners of war as manpower (Jankuhn 16.10.1940b). Jankuhn assessed the situation as follows:

This affects our plan considerably, because, as crucial evidence in the attempt to demonstrate an astronomical positioning, these stone formations are one of the core aims of the entire investigation. I don't know whether Hülle plans to examine these issues or whether he has more far-reaching objectives. In any case, Hülle's presence guarantees half-baked work. [...] It is probable that here, as elsewhere, Reinerth will tackle and fail to unravel weighty problems under propitious circumstances but with inadequate means, thereby ensuring that fruitful activities are made impossible for years to come. (Jankuhn 16.10.1940b)

Jankuhn immediately transmitted this evaluation to Sievers and, through him, to Himmler, and, on 12 November, he was advised that the *Reichsführer-SS* had ordered an immediate end to his mission (Jankuhn 24.1.1941). For Jankuhn, the lesson to be learnt from the affair was caution: as early as October, he had suggested

that the mistakes made in France – the tardy and flawed exploration of Brittany’s megaliths carried out by the *Ahnenerbe* and the subsequent abandonment of the operation in favour of the *Amt Rosenberg* – need not be repeated in other western territories awaiting occupation. The example offered by Jankuhn was England (Jankuhn 16.10.1940a). The episode makes plain the institutional and organisational disorder that characterised cultural and, more specifically, archaeological policy and research during the National Socialist period. At the same time, the events show that Himmler was occasionally unwilling to escalate existing tensions between the *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg*. Both Kater and Bollmus have argued that he sought to avoid open confrontation with Rosenberg on several occasions (Kater 1974: 295; Bollmus 2002: 41).

Jankuhn’s expedition to Brittany was of a patently political nature. For one, his reference to the megaliths’ ‘astronomical positioning’ – earmarked as ‘one of the core aims of the entire investigation’ – stands out, given that Jankuhn’s rather extensive publication record at no point revealed a concern with the cosmological arrangement of archaeological remains. It is more likely that this particular research aim had been encouraged or stipulated by the *Reichsführer-SS* himself. Himmler’s interests were exceedingly diverse and frequently dubious, as the establishment of a number of pseudoscientific departments – the meteorology department, for instance, worked tirelessly towards ‘proving’ the bogus *Welteislehre* (World Ice Theory), first concocted by the Austrian engineer Hans Hörbiger (1860-1931) – within the *Ahnenerbe* demonstrates (Kater 1974: 86-88).

As well as humouring Himmler by satisfying some of his pseudoscientific fantasies, Jankuhn carried out a highly sensitive and explicitly political task during his month-long stay in Brittany. In the lead-up to the German invasion, a number of National Socialist authorities – among them the *Schutzstaffel* and the Ministry of the Interior – had devised plans to exploit the presumed ethnic, racial, cultural and political peculiarities of the native Breton minority. The promotion of separatist efforts within the Breton population, it was hoped, would ultimately result in the creation of an autonomous Breton state and in the further destabilisation of France (Déniel 1976: 221-223; Heuss 2000: 218; Legendre et al. 2007). In the context of this strategy, Jankuhn had been given orders to gauge political views and tendencies

among Brittany's rural population. As Jankuhn confirmed, his findings were subsequently compiled in a secret report and passed on to the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, a National Socialist secret service and police organisation (Jankuhn 21.11.1940; Jankuhn 24.1.1941).

It is unclear whether Jankuhn maintained contacts with separatist forces in Brittany, and his secret report was – disappointingly – not among the investigated archival material. Nonetheless, Jankuhn's activities in Brittany reveal in the most explicit manner that involvement with the *Ahnenerbe* at times implied the very concrete pursuit of Nazi Germany's political and military aims. As an *Ahnenerbe*-member, Jankuhn both adjusted his research interests to his boss' politico-ideological wishes and cooperated with the German secret service in its – ultimately unsuccessful – endeavour to foster ethnic secession in France. As a result, the common claim that, in joining the *Ahnenerbe*, scientists escaped the most blatant politico-ideological coercion and manipulation (as practised by the *Amt Rosenberg*), loses much of its credibility.

3.2 Normandy. The Bayeux Tapestry

Following the *Ahnenerbe*'s failed attempt to take control of the archaeological investigation of Brittany's megaliths, the organisation found an alternative research focus in occupied France from early 1941 onwards. On 3 February, Wolfram Sievers addressed an enthusiastic letter to Jankuhn, informing him 'that the *Reichsführer-SS* has approved the planned examination of the Bayeux Tapestry' [*dass der Reichsführer-SS den Plan zur Bearbeitung des Teppichs von Bayeux genehmigt hat*] (Sievers 3.2.1941a). The tapestry, at the time held in the *Musée de la Reine Mathilde* next to Bayeux cathedral, was to undergo a 'thorough scientific investigation' [*eine ausführliche wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung*] (Sievers 3.2.1941b). According to Sievers, it represented one of the 'most noteworthy and valuable Viking Age memorials' [*eines der eigenartigsten und wertvollsten Denkmäler der Wikingerzeit*]. Its interpretation would supplement existing knowledge on the history of the invasion of England at the hands of the Normans. Sievers held that the subject had only been treated superficially. Addressing the German military commander in France, he therefore requested that

- 1.) the research and educational association ‘*Das Ahnenerbe*’ be given the authorisation to investigate the tapestry,
- 2.) the designated researchers be given access to the tapestry and the authorisation to produce photographs,
- 3.) any existing images [of the tapestry] be duplicated and placed at [the *Ahnenerbe*’s] disposal. (Sievers 3.2.1941b)

Jankuhn was put in charge of the exploratory mission, May 1941 was designated as the time of its departure, and Sievers requested marching orders for Jankuhn and his assistants on 24 April 1941. Their projected journey would lead them from Paris to Rouen and on to Bayeux (Sievers 3.2.1941b; Sievers 24.4.1941).

When Jankuhn received his conscription call on 30 April 1941, Sievers immediately informed the pertinent authorities that he – Jankuhn – could and would not be released before the satisfactory completion of his French assignment (Sievers 30.4.1941). Sievers similarly adjourned Jankuhn’s enrolment with the *Waffen-SS*, indicating that the project was handled with considerable urgency (Sievers 23.5.1941). The planned publication of a monograph on the Bayeux Tapestry in the spring of 1941 – *Das Schwert hieb über den Kanal* or ‘The sword struck across the channel’ by Rolf Roeingh – represented an irritating hiccup for the head of the *Ahnenerbe*: in a letter addressed to the German military’s department for the protection of French artwork, he expressed his disappointment that an authority other than the *SS-Ahnenerbe* had been allowed to scrutinise the tapestry. Given the masterwork’s historic significance, Sievers asserted, it was ‘questionable’ [*bedenklich*] that such a book should be ‘hurriedly composed and thrown onto the book market for purely propagandistic or even economic reasons’ [*etwa nur aus propagandistischen oder gar Konjunkturgründen schnell ein solches Werk zusammenzustellen und auf den Buchmarkt zu werfen*] (Sievers 10.4.1941).

The mission’s particulars are poorly documented. The assignment was concluded sometime in the summer of 1941. On 18 August, Sievers congratulated Jankuhn on the successful completion of the investigation. A vehicle belonging to Himmler’s personal staff was scheduled to make its way from Paris to Berlin in approximately a week’s time, hence supplying an excellent opportunity to provide

adequate transportation for at least ‘a part of the crates, and perhaps even all of them’ [*einen Teil der Kisten, wenn nicht sogar gleich alle*] (Sievers 18.8.1941). The boxes’ contents were not specified. Since Jankuhn and his men had filmed the Bayeux Tapestry, Sievers put forward that the documentary material be personally presented to Himmler and ‘to a small circle of friends’ [*einem kleinen Kreis seiner Freunde*]. Jankuhn, Sievers suggested, was to give a lecture on a related topic (Sievers 18.8.1941).

The tapestry’s politico-ideological potential deserves further notice, and an undated article on ‘The Bayeux Tapestry’ [*Der Teppich von Bayeux*] is particularly instructive (Jankuhn n.d.e). In his essay, Jankuhn openly admitted that the embroidery did not represent ‘an objective illustrated document’ [*kein objektives Bilddokument*] on the Norman invasion of England in 1066. Nonetheless, he based a number of sweeping historical assertions on its imagery.

Jankuhn set out by stating that a ‘rather insignificant island on the periphery of Old Europe owes its cultural development almost exclusively to settlers emanating from the continent’ [*eine ziemlich unbedeutende am Rande von Europa liegende Insel verdankt seine kulturelle Entwicklung so gut wie ausschließlich diesen vom Kontinent kommenden Siedlern*]. The arrival of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes between 400 and 500 AD, for instance, had exercised an enduring influence on the composition of the British Isles’ population. The actual conquest of England in the autumn of 1066 at the hands of William the Conqueror, he held, had exerted ‘the most critical impact upon the development of early modern English history’ [*die für die Gestaltung der neueren englischen Geschichte aber entscheidenste Beeinflussung*] (Jankuhn n.d.e).

The Normans’ driving forces were those that caused the Viking expeditions in the 9th and 10th centuries and, ultimately, they were those that acted as the generating force behind all Germanic migrations: the Germanic yearning for adventure, trial in battle and political might, and the quest for the conception of politically organised regions, to which nearly all early medieval Germanic realms owe their emergence. (Jankuhn n.d.e)

Although the tapestry could not be regarded as an objective piece of historical evidence, it nonetheless ‘demonstrates the Norman conception of the state and illustrates the most important event in England’s medieval history from the

perspective of the victor' [*lehrt er uns die normannische Staatsauffassung kennen und zeigt uns dieses wichtigste Ereignis der mittelalterlichen Geschichte Englands in der Sicht des Siegers*] (Jankuhn n.d.e). As well as offering insights into traditional Germanic dress, weaponry and shipbuilding, the tapestry's 'spiritual content' [*geistiger Gehalt*] was noteworthy:

Even if some forms are borrowed from classical models, a Germanic bearing expresses itself for the most part. A delight in the recitation of great war deeds is inherent in the entire illustration [...]. Not the epic breadth of Homeric poetry, but the sober, factual narrating style encountered in the Germanic saga [...]. The same restraint from emotional outbursts that characterises Germanic heroic poetry also typifies the comportment of the characters depicted on the tapestry. The mural of Bayeux seems like an illustrated Germanic royal saga, and it is conceivable that a Germanic heroic epic on William's campaign, lost today, prompted its manufacture. [...] The Normans are not only that time's feared sea warriors, whose countless expeditions befell the western European coastal areas like catastrophes and destroyed many signs of older cultural development. The medieval Germanic world owes them a new form of political organisation that had a revolutionising effect on medieval interpretations of constitutional structures. [...] [The new Viking form of political organisation] is characterised by a centralised governing authority alongside an independent officialdom, a standing army and the subordination of science, art and religion to a worldly power. (Jankuhn n.d.e)

As the citation demonstrates, Jankuhn used the terms 'Norman', 'Viking' and 'Germanic' almost interchangeably and thus consciously promoted the notion that an homogeneous Norman/Germanic/Viking people had inhabited wide swathes of the European continent and islands over extended periods of time. In other words, Jankuhn contended that this people – whom, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, he saw as the ancestors of contemporary Germans – had proven both historically permanent and geographically expansive. As Chapter V shows, Germanic ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries customarily emphasised the continuity and homogeneity of the pre- and protohistoric *Germanen*, and central elements of these *Germanenideologien* were subsequently incorporated into the

ideologically inspired historical accounts of the National Socialist period. The attempted fusion of Scandinavian/Viking and Germanic/German history – as practised by Jankuhn in the above description of the Norman conquest – was likewise characteristic of more long-standing ideological descriptions of early Germanic history (see also Chapter V).

Finally, Jankuhn held that the Bayeux Tapestry represented ‘the documentary rationalisation of William’s claims to England’ [*dokumentarische Rechtfertigung der Ansprüche Wilhelms auf England*]. By invading the island, William had asserted an ‘unambiguous right’ [*klares Recht*], and the embroidery therefore expressed ‘a statesman’s desire to justify as great an undertaking as the invasion of England in 1066 as an indispensable measure and a political necessity’ [*der staatsmännische Wunsch, ein so großes Unternehmen wie den Zug nach England im Jahre 1066 als rechtliche Maßnahme und politische Notwendigkeit zu begründen*] (Jankuhn n.d.e).

In view of Nazi Germany’s plans for an invasion and occupation of Britain, Jankuhn’s reading of William’s operation in the eleventh century takes on a patent political significance: the intended conquest of Britain in the twentieth century was effectively justified on the grounds of historical precedent. Jankuhn’s emphasis on the state forming capacities of the Germanic invaders, on the import of a new and effective political system, and on the consequent advancement of indigenous English culture further validated an outwardly aggressive move. The rationalisation of prehistoric Germanic – and, by implication, contemporary German – colonial activities on the basis of a presumed Germanic political and cultural mission frequently featured in Jankuhn’s (and other) archaeological interpretations during the 1930s and 40s. Once again, these issues are treated in greater depth in Chapters V and VI. Finally, Jankuhn’s description of the new Viking form of political organisation – as seen above, consisting of a strong and ‘centralised governing authority’ and prescribing the ‘subordination of science, art and religion to a worldly power’ (Jankuhn n.d.e) – called to mind the authoritarian political system in Nazi Germany.

4 The *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*. Safeguarding prehistory in the Ukraine and the Caucasus

4.1 Origins of a mission

The first specific expression of interest on behalf of *Ahnenerbe* research staff in the archaeology of southeastern Europe generally and of southwest Russia in particular date to the late spring and summer of 1941. In May 1941, Jankuhn addressed a letter to Wolfram Sievers, the executive director of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*: in Jankuhn's view, the foundation required a clear mission statement regarding the 'southeast' [*Südosten*] of Europe. According to Jankuhn, the region was 'of the greatest significance' [*von grösster Bedeutung*]. To begin with, an examination of the extensive burial grounds in the Kiev-area could cast 'new light on the problem of the Vikings' southeastern connections' [*neues Licht auf die Frage der Südostbeziehungen der Wikinger*]. Even more appealing was the opportunity to conduct archaeological research into the south Russian Gothic sphere. Finally, the area's 'Indogermanisation' [*Indogermanisierung*] during the Stone Age urgently required attention (Jankuhn 27.5.1941).

Similar ideas were spelled out and expanded in a two-page memo in June 1941. Jankuhn once more underlined southeastern Europe's immense archaeological value: initially, the region's significance was conditioned by the existence of a host of 'Nordic finds' [*nordische Funde*], particularly in modern-day Ukraine. According to Jankuhn, this material documented the 'Indogermanisation of the southeast' [*Indogermanisierung des Südostens*] during the Stone Age. In addition, a large amount of previously unexamined funeral remains supposedly evidenced the colonisation of the region during the Bronze Age by the 'Bastarnae and Scirii' [*Bastarnen und Skiren*], two prominent Germanic tribes. By referring to these tribes, Jankuhn betrayed one of many intellectual affinities to the German prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna, whose work is addressed in Chapter IV. Next, the rich archaeological record of south Russia cast light on the Gothic empire or, in Jankuhn's mind, on 'the first extensive Germanic state formation' [*die erste grossräumige germanische Staatenbildung*]. Finally, the area had taken centre stage during the foundation of the Russian empire at the hand of the Scandinavian Vikings (Jankuhn 4.6.1941).

These arguments were of a patently ideological nature. As Chapters IV and V demonstrate in greater detail, Jankuhn frequently postulated a presumed Germanic predilection for state-formations, while simultaneously alleging that the Slavs had been unable to organise themselves politically. In addition, there were clear intellectual precedents for Jankuhn's interest in the Caucasus. As indicated above, the area had assumed considerable significance in the search for the origins of the *Indogermanen*, and various German scholars – including, for instance, the well-known pathologist and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow – had undertaken anthropological and archaeological investigations in the region (see Virchow 1895). On the basis of anthropological, archaeological and historical-linguistic evidence, the linguist Otto Schrader (1855-1919) asserted that the Indogermanic *Urheimat* or original homeland had been situated on the northern and northwestern shores of the Black Sea (Schrader 1911: 159-160). Of course, this view was far from universally acknowledged. Schrader was – at times venomously – contradicted by Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931) and Herman Hirt (1865-1936), who rejected a southeastern European birthplace and instead situated the earliest *Indogermanen* in northern Europe (Kossinna 1921: 1; Hirt 1905: 197; see also Günther 1934).

Jankuhn concluded his deliberations as follows: if the political and military situation allowed for an 'increased exertion of influence in the Ukraine' [*stärkere Einflussnahme auf die Ukraine*], then the *Ahnenerbe* should both publicise its interests in the region to the relevant military and civil authorities and despatch personnel to the regions in question (Jankuhn 4.6.1941). In late June, his requests were forwarded to the highest echelons of the *Schutzstaffel*: the *Reichsgeschäftsführer* of the *Ahnenerbe* consulted with Himmler's personal staff and procured the *Reichsführer's* express backing for the southeastern project (Brandt 25.6.1941; Reichsgeschäftsführer i. V. 24.6.1941). The mission, seen as necessary for both 'culture-political' [*kulturpolitische*] and 'political' [*politische*] reasons, was to include three professional pre- and protohistorians – Prof. Jankuhn from Kiel, Prof. Petersen of the University of Poznan and Dr. Thaerigen of the Poznan heritage preservation authority – as well as a photographer and a translator. They were to travel to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, to the Moscow City and State Museums, to the museums of Odessa and Kiev and to a number of provincial museums to record and 'secure' [*sichern*] the most important finds (Reichsgeschäftsführer i. V. 4.7.1941).

Jankuhn and his colleagues were charged with exploring and reporting on the precise archaeological prospects offered by the Ukraine. In addition, the cathedral of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, also known as the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, had been demolished in an explosion, damaging the nearby prehistoric collection. Jankuhn was ordered to gauge the scale of destruction and to assess the adequacy of the protective measures taken by the local authorities (Jankuhn 20.2.1942: 2).

The specific and practical preparations for the special mission were underway from the late autumn of 1941. The mission's financial basis was secured in November: the task force was to be incorporated into the institutional structure of the SS' umbrella security and police organisation, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* or RSHA, and it was to be funded by the *Ahnenerbe* itself (Sievers 16.11.1941). Jankuhn was granted leave from his lecturing post at the University of Rostock in early December 1941 (Staatsministerium Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung 9.12.1941). The mission's departure was postponed several times between early December 1941 and late January 1942 (see, for instance, Reichsgeschäftsführer i. A. 24.12.1941; Sievers 19.12.1941), and it ultimately consisted of only two members: Jankuhn himself and Wolf von Seefeld, a Baltic prehistorian and, since 1940, assistant at the museum of Poznan (Kater 1974: 156). Despite these complications, Jankuhn arrived in Kiev on 24 January 1942 (Jankuhn 27.1.1942).

His initial assessment of the situation in Kiev divulges a notable degree of dissatisfaction with recent developments:

Had it been possible to deploy a mission immediately after the explosion, or at least in mid-November, we would have had the opportunity to secure a very good collection of Germanic finds. Since the beginning of December, the *Reichsbund* is wrapping up the Kiev collection. [...] Now there is nothing to do in [Kiev], since every measure on our part would instantly lead to an intervention by the *Reichsminister Ost* with the *Reichsführer* [...]. Even if it were possible to bring something back, I would not do it, because, as things stand, we have to refrain from taking any steps that might encourage Rosenberg to take action against us before [Himmler]. (Jankuhn 27.1.1942)

As seen in section 2 of this chapter, culture-political organisations in National Socialist Germany were extremely fragmented, disorderly and antagonistic. The above quotation serves to demonstrate that Jankuhn himself was directly embroiled in the intense conflict between Alfred Rosenberg, the *Reichsminister Ost* and head of the Nazi party's ideological agency *Amt Rosenberg*, and Heinrich Himmler, the *Reichsführer-SS*, Head of the German Police and patron of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*.

According to Jankuhn, there remained some room for action. A number of museums located beyond the German civil authorities' area of influence – those at Kharkiv, Poltava, Cherniakhiv, Stalino, Mariupol, Simferopol and Kerch – had received no care and protection, although they had probably suffered from combat operations. As soon as road conditions allowed access to the towns, their prehistoric collections should therefore be 'secured' [*sichern*]. In Jankuhn's eyes, further research opportunities existed in the form of Gothic burial grounds in the vicinity of Berdychiv; these had been gravely neglected by 'the Bolsheviks' [*die Bolschwisten*] (Jankuhn 20.2.1942). Once again, it is likely that Jankuhn's censure was ideologically motivated. The local Cherniakhov culture, notable particularly for the bi-ritual nature of its cemeteries, incorporated a variety of – Germanic (or Gothic), Slavic and Sarmatian – ethnic elements (Dolukhanov 1996: 151-158). Jankuhn insinuated that 'the Bolsheviks' had unduly underlined the culture's Slavic component at the expense of its Germanic constituent. Archaeological investigations, Jankuhn explained, could potentially be carried out by Russian prisoners of war. Conveniently, road constructions in the area were scheduled to take place in the upcoming spring, and this would certainly involve 'major soil movements' [*größere Erdbewegungen*]. Since these works were to be carried out by the SS, one should contact the responsible SS-officers in the Crimean to put forward the participation of a professional archaeologist (Jankuhn 27.1.1942).

Jankuhn's trip to Kiev was highly significant: the report he produced upon his return was submitted to Wolfram Sievers, head of the *Ahnenerbe*, and passed on to Himmler's personal staff for consideration (Jankuhn 20.2.1942). Sievers' letter, to which Jankuhn's account was attached, concluded with the following suggestion: 'a small task force' [*ein kleines Einsatzkommando*], made up of Jankuhn, Wolf von Seefeld, the Baltic prehistorian, and Dr. Karl Kersten from the Museum of National

Antiquities in Kiel, should embark on a second, more substantial mission to southern Russia in the near future (Sievers 7.3.1942). Himmler's response was swift. In a memo dated to 25 March 1942, Sievers recorded that, based on his proposal of 7 March, the *Reichsführer-SS* had authorised the formation of a special unit to investigate south Russia's prehistoric heritage (Sievers 25.3.1942). Jankuhn's personal initiative – his early expressions of interest in the prehistory of southeast Europe, the planning and execution of a short reconnaissance expedition to Kiev and the surrounding area and, finally, the composition of a mission report that swayed the *Reichsführer-SS* to expend manpower and financial resources on the archaeology of a far-flung region – was the key factor in bringing about the systematic and comprehensive mission that followed in 1942 and 1943.

In spring 1942, the practical prerequisites for the deployment of the task force were resolved. Jankuhn was released from regular military service with the German army, the *Wehrmacht*, and enlisted with the combat arm of the SS, the *Waffen-SS*. He was also admitted into Himmler's personal staff (*Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer-SS*) (Sievers 2.4.1942; Sievers 1.5.1942a; Sievers 1.5.1942b). In April, May and June, Jankuhn was assigned and despatched to an active SS-regiment – in Weert in the southern Netherlands – to receive basic military training (Jankuhn 10.4.1942; Jankuhn 9.5.1942; Jankuhn 6.6.1942; Sievers 13.6.1942). He and his fellow unit members von Seefeld and Kersten set off for south Russia on 21 July 1942 (Jankuhn 5.8.1942; Jankuhn 16.8.1942). Attached to the SS-division *Wiking* and authorised to take action beyond the division's own operational area if and when its captain Jankuhn saw fit, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* was now ready 'to take measures for the protection of important sites and valuable collections' [*Maßnahmen zum Schutz wichtiger Fundstellen und wertvoller Sammlungen durchzuführen*] on the south Russian front (Sievers 21.7.1942; Steiner 20.7.1942).

4.2 'Heritage conservation' on the front line

In one of the earliest reports despatched to Berlin, Jankuhn spelled out exactly how the *Sonderkommando* was to proceed when 'safeguarding' or 'securing' museums:

- a) If the museum is unharmed, the appropriate local headquarters [*Ortskommandantur*] is to be informed of the collection's significance and access to the collection is to be granted only with the permission of the local headquarters. In well-preserved museums, the existing material is to be photographed as comprehensively as possible.
- b) If a collection has been partly destroyed, then it is to be packaged and, depending on the local opportunities, transported to Berlin.
- c) If a collection is entirely demolished, no action by the *Sonderkommando* will be called for. (Jankuhn 16.8.1942)

Such measures were implemented on a large scale. Between July and December 1942, Jankuhn and his comrades von Seefeld and Kersten travelled extensively in southern Ukraine, in the northern part of the Caucasus and on the Crimean peninsula. They visited archaeological, prehistoric and ethnographic museums and collections in several towns and took what they perceived as appropriate measures to prevent their damage or demolition. The remnants of those collections that had already been destroyed in combat situations were recorded. The *Sonderkommando*'s visits to these museums and collections are well documented in a sizeable report that sums up its activities between 20 July and 1 December 1942 (Jankuhn n.d.c) and in series of letters written by Jankuhn to Wolfram Sievers between July 1942 and the autumn of the same year.

One of the first destinations on the *Sonderkommando*'s 'conservation tour' in late August 1942, was the city of Maikop, located approximately one hundred kilometres east of the northern shore of the Black Sea and home to an early Bronze Age culture characterised by its notable burial tumuli or *kurgans*. Jankuhn reported that the museum, which contained branches for 'prehistory, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, weaponry and the history of war' [*Vorgeschichte, Geologie, Mineralogie, Botanik, Zoologie, Waffenkunde und Kriegsgeschichte*] (Jankuhn 29.8.1942a; Jankuhn n.d.c: 15), had already been vacated by German troops. The latter had moved the find cabinets to a large adjoining shack. The building's windows had been broken and 'the museum space had been visited on several occasions' [*der Museumsraum war mehrfach besucht worden*] (Jankuhn n.d.c: 15).

Nearly every cabinet was opened and searched. The small but excellent collection of Caucasian weapons was plundered and valuable pieces in parts pointlessly destroyed. The prehistoric finds were jumbled, ceramics were scattered around the room. (Jankuhn 29.8.1942a)

The following measures were taken to protect the Maikop material:

The scientifically and artistically important pieces were packed into a big crate [...]. It was agreed with the commander that the finds crate was to be brought to Berlin, preferably by car, and delivered to [...] the RSHA [the SS' security and police service] in the near future [...]. A small amount of particularly important finds was secured by SS-HStuf. Jankuhn and will be despatched directly to the *Ahnenerbe* by special courier. (Jankuhn 29.8.1942a)

The selection of 'secured' finds included the following: a bronze helmet with animal depictions, a Greek bronze basin, a hanging cauldron and a small silver spoon from a rich Scythian grave. For himself and the *Ahnenerbe*, Jankuhn had procured three bronze spearheads, a Caucasian battle axe and a bronze mirror. Finally, the remaining material was thoroughly photographed 'to enable its scientific scrutiny by German researchers' [*einer wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung durch deutsche Forscher zugänglich zu machen*] (Jankuhn 29.8.1942a). In a letter to Sievers, Jankuhn expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the Maikop-mission. In his words, the job had been an 'absolute success and the Scythian royal burial is a truly first-class affair' [*ein voller Erfolg und das skythische Fürstengrab ist eine ganz erstrangige Sache*] (Jankuhn 29.8.1942b). Jankuhn himself informed the *Reichsführer-SS* of the operation's successful completion on the following day (Jankuhn 30.8.1942).

The *Sonderkommando* visited various other collections throughout the area. In two reports dated to late 1942 and early 1943, Jankuhn bemoaned that the Crimean prehistoric material had suffered gravely: 'the Bolshevists' had carried off material from the museums of Simferopol, Kherson, Yalta and Kerch that included Stone, Bronze Age and Scythian remains, finds from Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine trading colonies, Gothic funeral finds and a collection of memorabilia regarding the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin. German soldiers had even appropriated furniture in order to equip their apartments (Jankuhn 26.1.1943, Jankuhn n.d.c: 13)!

In August 1942, Jankuhn's colleague von Seefeld learned that numerous crates containing archaeological material from the museums at Kerch, Kherson, Sevastopol and Simferopol had been moved to the Caucasian town of Armavir for storage. Unfortunately, Jankuhn explained, the depots had caught fire: a large proportion of the stored material was destroyed, and those cases that did not fall prey to the flames were plundered by the Russian population before the German army's arrival. Only around twenty crates holding material from Sevastopol and Kerch were salvaged. None of the sought-after Gothic finds survived. Nevertheless, some prehistoric material, the Greco-Roman finds and various valuable books were wrapped up and dispatched to the Reich (Jankuhn 26.1.1943; Jankuhn n.d.c: 13-15).

Karl Kersten subsequently visited a museum in Rostov in the Don-delta. The museum had likewise been cleared by 'the Bolsheviks'; the latter had moved most of the finds to a nearby Armenian church and had left only some material in the museum's basement. The rest of the building had been occupied by German troops (Jankuhn n.d.c: 16). The case of Rostov plainly bore out the institutional power struggle that dictated the securing and conservation of archaeological material in the occupied territories: in a letter to Sievers, Jankuhn gloated that the task force Rosenberg (*Einsatzstab Rosenberg*) had only seized those objects stored in the basement of the museum. It had entirely overlooked the contents of the Armenian church. Although the rich prehistoric collection had only been partially preserved, Kersten was nonetheless able to secure some significant gold and silver antiquities; once again, these were packed up and sent to Germany (Jankuhn 5.10.1942; Jankuhn n.d.c: 16).

Jankuhn himself drew another benefit from the *Sonderkommando's* Rostov-mission. In a letter written to Sievers from his sickbed – Jankuhn caught jaundice towards the end of 1942 and spent several weeks in hospital – he related that the precious personal library of a Russian superintendent had likewise been seized in Rostov (Jankuhn 12.10.1942). He – Jankuhn – expressed an eager interest in the book collection and requested that it be donated to the University of Rostock 'as a permanent loan' [*als Dauerleihgabe*] (Jankuhn 15.1.1943). He was particularly interested in the contained journals and hoped that they would 'instruct him on the Viking Age in eastern Europe' [*über die Wikingerzeit in Osteuropa unterrichten*]

(Jankuhn 12.10.1942). On 29 January, Sievers ordered the library to be transferred from Rostov to the Reich. An SS-officer was to travel to the region and arrange for its safe conveyance to Germany (Sievers 29.1.1943).

As indicated above, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, though attached to the SS-division *Wiking*, had been authorised to take action beyond the division's operational area if and when its commander Jankuhn saw fit. The task force made full use of its wide-ranging mandate, inspecting museums in the towns of Voroshilovsk (modern-day Stavropol), Pyatigorsk, Nalchik, Mikoyan-Shahar (previously Karachayevsk), Krasnodar and Novocherkassk. The museum in Voroshilovsk contained a prehistoric section, a natural history department and a picture gallery, though some of its content had been cleared by the Russians and gone astray. According to Jankuhn, the prehistoric material provided a particularly useful overview of the region's early history. The museum had been secured by an SD-squad – the SD or *Sicherheitsdienst* was an SS-security service – and the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* therefore forewent additional safeguarding measures (Jankuhn n.d.c: 17). A similar situation presented itself in the town of Pyatigorsk; German troops had previously relocated the contents of the local museum from the main to an adjacent building. The SD had subsequently secured the museum, thereby precluding any intervention by the task force Rosenberg (Jankuhn 22.9.1942a; Jankuhn n.d.c: 17).

The museum in the town of Nalchik had faced grave negligence. Although the local headquarters (*Ortskommandantur*) had initially secured the site, the museum had been seriously damaged during military action. Since the museum contained valuable Gothic, and possibly Alan, finds, its inadequate protection was all the more perplexing. According to Jankuhn, a 'Gothic fortress' [*gotische Festung*] might even have been located in Nalchik. Attempts by von Seefeld to safeguard the finds met with little success: due to 'tensions' [*Spannungen*] between the SS-squad charged with packaging the objects and the local headquarters, the 'matter was not pursued any further' [*ist diese Angelegenheit nicht weiter verfolgt*] (Jankuhn n.d.c: 17-18). The prehistoric collection of the Karachayevsk-museum contained notable finds associated with an Alan burial ground. The local headquarters had moved to secure

the museum, and no further action was taken by the *Sonderkommando* (Jankuhn n.d.c: 19).

In mid-September, Jankuhn and von Seefeld visited the culture-historical museum of Krasnodar, which had been seized by the task force Rosenberg only weeks after the town fell to German troops. Jankuhn explicitly highlighted the collection's early Bronze Age and Scythian-Sarmatian finds as well as a number of Greek objects from classical trade settlements on the coast of the Taman peninsula. The museum had not been damaged, the finds appeared intact, and the *Sonderkommando* therefore refrained from taking any safeguarding measures. Since the task force Rosenberg had previously assumed control of the collection, any action taken by the *Sonderkommando* would likely have met with fierce resistance (Jankuhn 22.9.1942b; Jankuhn n.d.c: 19-20).

Kersten finally visited the 'museum for the history of the Don Cossacks' [*Museum für die Geschichte der Don-Kosaken*] in Novoherkassk. The museum contained

a sizeable collection of antiquities from the Don-region, a geological-palaeontological, an historical and a religious department, alongside a collection of paintings and a valuable library of about 15 000 volumes, in which the archaeological literature is but meagrely represented. (Jankuhn n.d.c: 20)

Parts of the collection had gone astray during combat. Whether the missing objects had been appropriated by 'Romanian and German soldiers' [*rumänische und deutsche Soldaten*] or the Russian civilian population remained unclear. The Novoherkassk-museum had already been secured by the local SD-squad (Jankuhn n.d.c: 20).

In the course of the autumn, the *Sonderkommando* apparently reached the conclusion of its mission. On 2 November 1942, Jankuhn suggested to Sievers that he be ordered back to the Reich. The latter responded on 9 November: Jankuhn was 'urgently required to complete additional special missions for the *Reichsführer-SS* in Berlin' [*dringend zur Durchführung weiterer Sonderaufgaben des Reichsführer-SS in Berlin benötigt*], and he was expected to reassume his teaching position at the

University of Rostock at the beginning of December. He was to return to Germany and to report back to his superiors by 1 December 1942 (Anon. 9.11.1942).

4.3 Plunder or protection? Assessing the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* and its commander

To sum up, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* travelled extensively throughout the Ukraine, south Russia and the Caucasus and visited regional museums containing, among other things, archaeological, historical and ethnographic material. The team established the degree of damage inflicted on collections through combat action, marauding troops or the civilian population and gauged the risk to which they remained exposed. If collections were deemed at risk, they were moved to a new location and recorded photographically. The most important pieces were wrapped up and shipped to Germany. On the whole, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* adhered to its self-imposed guidelines (see above): in several instances – namely in the towns of Maikop, Armavir and Rostov – damaged collections were ‘packed up and transported to Berlin’ [*verpackt und nach Berlin geschafft*] (Jankuhn n.d.c: 12). In some cases, however, this option was no longer available: the museums of Voroshilovsk, Pyatigorsk and Novocherkassk had previously been ‘secured’ by the *Sicherheitsdienst* or SD, while the collections in Nalchik and Karachayevsk had been seized by the local headquarters (*Ortskommandanturen*). Finally, the Krasnodar collection had been appropriated by the task force Rosenberg shortly after the town’s fall to the German army. On several occasions, Jankuhn harshly criticised the ‘safeguarding’ measures taken by other – especially non-SS – authorities.

At this point, Jankuhn’s activities in the region require an evaluation. To begin with, the packing and despatching of cultural heritage to Germany amounted to war-time looting, and, as such, the *Sonderkommando*’s measures were highly problematic. As Merryman points out, looting is customary in times of war: ‘aggressive art imperialism’ (Merryman 2006: 4) was first practised on a large scale by the Romans, and the tradition was preserved by Byzantium, Napoleonic France and Imperial Britain (see, for instance, Miles 2008). On the other hand, the art and heritage plunder perpetrated by the Nazi regime proved far more systematic and therefore devastating than any of its antecedents (Chamberlin 1983: 9; Heuss 2000; Merryman 2006: 4-8).

Significantly, pertinent international legislation had been put into place by the time of the National Socialist art thefts. According to Merryman, the ‘seizure of works of art in the occupied territories violated an international law prohibition on the confiscation of private property by aggressive occupying powers’. This principle, he explains, had been enshrined as a customary international law norm in the 1907 Hague Convention on the Laws of War. Art seizures were characterised as ‘war crimes’ during the Nuremberg trials. Alfred Rosenberg was charged with the ‘looting and destruction of works of art’ and sentenced to death by hanging in 1946 (Merryman 2006: 7-8). As we have seen, Jankuhn was actively involved in the planning phases of the *Sonderkommando*’s mission and displayed a high degree of motivation and initiative in its execution: in other words, he substantially contributed to a fundamentally unlawful operation.

There are other indications that the *Sonderkommando*’s mission was never conceived of as a ‘purely scientific’ endeavour, if, indeed, such a thing exists at all. To begin with, the *SS-Ahnenerbe*’s institutional vocation is illuminating. An article published in the organisation’s house organ *Germanien* in 1936 summarised the institute’s mission statement thus: its prime objective was the recovery of long lost knowledge. Drawing on the historical sciences in general and on the so-called ‘Germanic studies’ [*Germanenkunde*] in particular, the *Ahnenerbe* intended to educate the German people in the history of its origins, its ancestors and its national character. It saw its main duty in the conservation of the ‘hereditary value of the German soul’ [*erbmäßiger Eigenwert der deutschen Seele*] and in the consequent endowment of an ‘eternal source of inner life for the coming millennia’ [*ewige Quelle unseres inneren Lebens für die kommenden Jahrtausende*] (Reischle 1936: 337-338). From its lofty Nazi German, this might be translated as follows. The historical sciences, including archaeology, could be harnessed to illustrate the (real or perceived) national character of the early Germanic people, and, when projected onto the twentieth century, this supposedly age-old and shared disposition could in turn be employed to generate national consciousness and loyalty to system and leaders. The *Ahnenerbe* clearly never sought to separate the scientific from the political. On the contrary, research and politics were intimately connected, the former serving the latter. The *Sonderkommando*’s institutional context therefore actively invited an involvement of political and ideological considerations.

The very rationale used to justify the *Sonderkommando*'s mission to south Russia corroborates this point. On the surface, the proposed investigation of the regional museums was validated on a scientific, historical basis. As suggested above, the area was held to have witnessed a whole range of significant population movements in pre- and protohistory: during the late Stone Age, it experienced the 'first Nordic migration wave' [*erste nordische Einwanderungswelle*], followed by a further encroachment by Germanic tribes from southern Sweden towards the end of the Bronze Age as well as by the 'establishment of a Germanic empire on the northern shore of the Black Sea around 350 before our time' [*die Begründung eines germanischen Reiches am Nordufer des Schwarzen Meeres um 350 vor Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung*] (Jankuhn n.d.c: 3). Jankuhn continued his explanation:

The next great movement reached Russia in the third century AD. It was defined by the advancement of the Goths from the mouth of the river Vistula to the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the wake of this colonisation, the political consolidation of the European East is consummated for the first time in history, from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea, from the Vistula to the Volga. The establishment of the Russian Gothic empire and the height of its expansion under the legendary king Ermanaric around 350 represent the greatest Germanic imperial foundation of all time and it grew from purely Germanic roots. [...] Despite the political destruction of the Gothic empire [at the hands of the Huns], Gothic remnants have survived into the Middle Ages and, in specific regions of southeastern Europe, even into modern times [...]. Furthermore, a considerable share of Germanic, particularly Gothic, blood has been preserved in the Russian population and is, to this day, occasionally racially discernible. (Jankuhn n.d.c: 4-5)

The final, fourth migration dates to the early medieval period: northern Germanic Vikings founded the Russian empire, and, for centuries, they protected Europe from 'incursions by the Eurasian nomads' [*Beunruhigung durch asiatische Reitervölker*] before finally falling prey to the Tatars (Jankuhn n.d.c: 5-6).

Due to a lack of written sources, Jankuhn held, only the archaeological record could illuminate these large-scale migrations, and a more thorough investigation of the Ukrainian and Caucasian material would therefore considerably clarify the

existing pre- and protohistoric picture. According to Jankuhn, Tsarist and Bolshevist attempts at analysing and displaying the material had been entirely inadequate (Jankuhn n.d.c: 7-9). Contrary to the more significant collections in Leningrad and Moscow, those situated in smaller provincial towns had a reasonable chance of outlasting combat action. Should the two largest Russian cities be taken by the Germans, their cultural heritage had little to no prospect of survival; whilst retreating, the Bolsheviks would either abduct or destroy it (Jankuhn n.d.c: 6-7). Their treatment of the south Russian material had already attested to this. Jankuhn contended that a wealth of Germanic finds had been removed.

Quite obviously, the Bolsheviks wished to dispose of evidence for an early presence of Germanic tribes. Only those Germanic finds they failed to identify as such remain in the collections. (Jankuhn n.d.c: 10)

This idea was held more widely: on separate occasions, the acting executive director of the *Ahnenerbe* complained that the Russians had ‘always held back or locked up’ [*stets zurückgehalten oder verschlossen*] Germanic finds (Reichsgeschäftsführer i. V. 24.6.1941), and that they had entirely failed to analyse the ‘history of the Germanic colonisation of the southeast’ [*die Geschichte der germanischen Kolonisation des Südostraumes*] (Reichsgeschäftsführer i. V. 4.7.1941).

The *Sonderkommando*’s mission to south Russia must be situated in the context of National Socialist plans for the so-called ‘Germanisation’ or *Eindeutschung* of large parts of eastern Europe. In the parlance of Hitler, Himmler and others, the Germans’ *Lebensraum* was to be forcefully expanded into the East, satisfying Germany’s presumed *Drang nach Osten* or ‘drive towards the East’. The ‘Germanisation’ of the ‘annexed eastern territories’ or the *eingegliederte Ostgebiete* was set in motion in October 1939. The region, which mainly encompassed Polish territory and contained an ethnic German population of approximately ten percent, was to be entirely purged of its ethnic Polish and Jewish populace within ten years, and ‘ethnic Germans’ or *Volksdeutsche* from the Baltic states, Bessarabia and other regions were to replace the relocated inhabitants. Needless to say, these measure were carried out with a horrifying brutality.

Between 1940 and 1941, the strategy was systematised and extended into the so-called *Generalplan Ost*, covering the St. Petersburg-area, the district of Bialystok and western Lithuania as well as the Crimean and Kherson-regions. Approximately four million ethnic Germans (from overseas and other parts of Europe) were projected to colonise these regions; non-Germans were to be killed, deported or enslaved. Despite Germany's rapidly declining military fortunes, these delusions were not abandoned: as late as August 1944, Himmler proclaimed that the expansion of German *Lebensraum* was 'set in stone' [*unverrückbar*] (quoted in Benz 1985: 46; Broszat 1965; Burleigh 1988: 138-166).

The perceived significance of south Russia in the context of Germanic – and, by implication, German – history, the early and continued presence of Germanic populations, settlements and 'blood' in the region, and the alleged Russian attempts to suppress this 'reality' were forcefully underlined by Jankuhn and his colleagues. The *Sonderkommando's* mission was – at least partly – aimed at the conclusive substantiation of an early Germanic colonisation of Russian and Ukrainian territories and at the establishment of a continuous Germanic influence in the region, either through an immediate human presence, through the remnants of material culture or through 'blood'. By justifying a contemporary policy of territorial expansion and future re-settlement through historical precedent, the pre- and protohistoric accounts engendered by Jankuhn's mission were therefore turned into major ideological and political assets (see Chapters IV, V and VI for analogous themes).

The intense institutional infighting that hampered the mission's smooth execution was also indicative of an intricate bond between archaeological research and political concerns. References to the bitter power struggle between the *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg*, discussed in section 2 of this chapter, abound. In December 1941, Jankuhn appealed to his superior Sievers to prevent the posting of the Hungarian archaeologist Nandor Fettich to south Russia. Hans Reinerth, head of the prehistoric section of the *Amt Rosenberg*, had suggested that Fettich be charged with the 'scientific examination of the Germanic finds in south Russia' [*wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der germanischen Funde Südrusslands*]. Jankuhn objected in the most explicit terms, charging Fettich with communist tendencies and accusing him of assisting a 'Jewish counterfaiiter' [*jüdischer Fälscher*]. Rather than questioning

Fettich's scientific credentials, he complained that a number of 'capable German researchers' [*befähigte deutsche Forscher*] were equally up to the job. He could see no reason to engage a foreign scientist who had been given preferential treatment by the Bolsheviks and, perhaps more importantly, by Reinerth (Jankuhn 31.12.1941).

In addition, Jankuhn frequently expressed his frustration at having been outpaced by the *Einsatzstab Rosenberg* during his first 'reconnaissance' mission to the Ukraine in early 1942 (Jankuhn 27.1.1942; Jankuhn 20.2.1942; Sievers 7.3.1942; Sievers 13.6.1942). During its main mission to south Russia, the *Sonderkommando's* room for manoeuvre was severely curbed by the activities of the task force Rosenberg: prior to the *Sonderkommando's* arrival, the *Einsatzstab Rosenberg* had already confiscated finds from the museums in Rostov and Krasnodar, although, much to Jankuhn's consolation and delight, the task force's examination had proved too shoddy to detect the valuable finds in Rostov's Armenian church (Jankuhn 22.9.1942b; Jankuhn 5.10.1942; Jankuhn n.d.c: 16-20). In October 1942, Jankuhn informed Sievers that the *Sonderkommando's* assignment had been completed successfully: first, the mission had been scientifically satisfactory, and, secondly, the *Sonderkommando* had always stayed 'one horse's length ahead of the task force Rosenberg' [*dem Einsatzstab Rosenberg um eine Pferdelänge voraus*] (Jankuhn 12.10.1942).

Even in the aftermath of the *Sonderkommando's* mission, the conflict remained acute. Jankuhn's colleague Kersten, who had visited the Crimea on several occasions, emphasised the immense significance of the peninsula's Gothic remains. Repeating a now familiar rationalisation, he suggested that archaeological investigations in the region would complement existing knowledge of the 'historical development of German settlements in the East' [*historische Entwicklung der deutschen Siedlungen im Ostraum*]. The burial grounds of Suuk-Su and Kerch, largely ignored thus far, required particular attention. According to Jankuhn, however, the undertaking of major excavations in the Caucasus would inevitably lead to serious frictions between the *Ahnenerbe* and the civil administration in the occupied territories. It was therefore essential that Himmler himself clarify and assert the *Ahnenerbe's* right to investigate the pertinent sites (Jankuhn 10.11.1942). A week later, Wolfram Sievers entered these deliberations in a letter to the *Reichsführer-SS*:

It was determined during the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*'s work on the Crimean peninsula that nearly all Gothic settlements as well as their appending museums had been confiscated by the task force belonging to *Reichsleiter* Rosenberg. In this, the task force [...] apparently bases itself on a [...] decree of the chief of the Reich Chancellery. I ask for permission to bring forward the following arguments:

1.) The decree in question states that the task force Rosenberg is entitled to "search libraries, archives, Masonic lodges and all other ideological and cultural institutions for material that is suited to the achievement of its mission. This mission consists in the spiritual struggle against the Jews and the Freemasons as well as those ideological enemies of National Socialism connected to them". (Sievers 17.11.1942)

According to Sievers, (Crimean) pre- and protohistoric sites were unlikely to furnish 'material for the battle against the Jews and Freemasons' [*Material für die Bekämpfung der Juden und Freimaurer*], and Rosenberg's interpretation of the Reich Chancellery's decree was therefore highly tenuous. He carried on:

2.) For the history of the German national character on Crimea, which falls within the scope of the duties of the Reich commissioner for the strengthening of the German national character, it is of the greatest significance to establish whether and to what extent the earliest German settlements on the Crimean converge with the Gothic remains and whether a connection with Gothic traditions came about. For it has been verified that Goths inhabited Crimea into the 17th century, preserving their language and tribal memories. Therefore, they probably co-existed with the oldest German settlers in south Russia for some time. (Sievers 17.11.1942)

Sievers' reasoning is familiar: an allegedly continuous Germanic/German ethnic presence on the Crimean peninsula justified contemporary ideological presumptions and political developments. The pre- and protohistoric record was thereby transformed into a significant politico-ideological tool. For one, such heavily politicised historical arguments demonstrated the need for and hence justified archaeological investigations. In addition, they were exploited – in this case by Sievers – to rationalise the seizure of the investigatory rights over specific projects from rivalling cultural-political institutions: the 'Reich commissioner for the

strengthening of the German national character’ – to be entrusted with supreme authority over Crimea’s archaeological remains – was none other than *Reichsführer-SS* and formal president of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* Heinrich Himmler. The archaeological record itself was in fact transformed into and used as an instrument of fierce institutional infighting within the National Socialist state.

Despite assertions to the contrary, the *SS-Ahnenerbe* in general and the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* in particular did not conduct ‘scientific’ or ‘neutral’ research. The *Ahnenerbe*’s very own mission statement advocated a close relationship between politics, ideology and science, the *Sonderkommando*’s activities were justified on an ostensibly historical, yet essentially politico-ideological basis, and archaeological remains were converted into both pawns and tools in a rampant institutional power struggle. Finally, the documentary material has yielded some significant, though perhaps not entirely dependable, insights into Jankuhn’s personal motivations. These are presented below.

In the summer of 1943, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* was despatched for a second time (Sievers 19.5.1943). Jankuhn’s duties, once again carried out within the framework of the SS-division *Wiking*, were now mainly of a military kind. A vivid correspondence between Jankuhn and *Ahnenerbe*-chief Sievers – from the second half of 1943 until the final months of 1944 – documents this period. Several statements indicate that Jankuhn was keen to support the German war effort and that he regarded his personal contribution as a patriotic duty. As early as October 1939, shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War but long before the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* was planned and formed, Jankuhn commented on his anticipated deployment as a soldier. On 8 October, he addressed an agitated letter to Sievers, complaining that someone – possibly Gustav Schwantes, the former director of the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities in Kiel – had requested his – Jankuhn’s – exemption from military service. Jankuhn urged Sievers not to endorse the application:

Despite the pressing nature of our work and a deep attachment to my research, I now want to get out there. I will regret my absence from Poland my entire life, and, all the more, I do not want my deployment to be deferred this time. You will certainly understand and approve of this

position, and I trust that you will lend me your support. (Jankuhn 8.10.1939).

Once he had taken up his military service with the SS-division *Wiking*, Jankuhn commented on the death of two colleagues:

[...] they are certainly not the last victims, but we will have to bear this, because, relative to the crucial decisions at hand, they are inconsequential. The own self – and this is something that one learns very quickly on the frontline – [...] is marginal in the greater scheme of things. (Jankuhn 21.5.1944)

As late as 14 December 1944, Jankuhn wrote to his boss:

Maybe we will already be celebrating next Christmas in peace, but first of all, we have to win the war and that will certainly require a formidable effort. However [...], I am entirely convinced that we will succeed. (Jankuhn 14.12.1944)

Jankuhn introduced Sievers to his life on the front, describing his duties and responsibilities and stressing his particular interest in combat training. In addition, he provided regular updates on the broader military situation (Jankuhn 9.5.1942; 6.6.1942; Jankuhn 19.3.1944; Jankuhn 7.4.1944; Jankuhn 12.11.1944). Jankuhn ostensibly agreed with National Socialist political and military aims and apparently valued the fact that he could make a concrete contribution to the war effort. Of course, the sincerity of his enthusiasm is difficult to ascertain. After all, he may simply have sought to convince his superior of his correct National Socialist attitude.

In addition, Jankuhn's correspondence reveals an unwavering concern with the war's nefarious impact on Europe's archaeological heritage. The terminology used to describe the *Sonderkommando's* activities in south Russia is telling: objects from south Russia were 'secured' or 'safeguarded' (*sichergestellt* or *gesichert*), rather than 'seized' or 'appropriated'. Given that 'the Bolsheviks' had supposedly neglected the analysis and presentation of the Germanic finds in their museums, the *Sonderkommando's* actions may have seemed perfectly justifiable to its members (Jankuhn n.d.c: 6-10).

Jankuhn's frequent criticism of inadequate 'safeguarding' measures – usually those carried out by non-SS bodies, such as the civil authorities and the task force Rosenberg – also indicates that he approached his mission with a sense of scientific responsibility. For instance, Jankuhn wrote a damning report on the destruction of the museum of Kharkov in the early months of 1943. On 10 August, Jankuhn visited the town and decided that the remains of the prehistoric collection were to be packaged and sent to Berlin and Dnepropetrovsk (Jankuhn 12.8.1943). In his concluding report of 13 August 1943, he explained why Kharkov's archaeological collection had been so severely decimated. Intensive military clashes in January and February of 1942 had unavoidably led to the town's evacuation. In response to these events,

[...] the task force Rosenberg left the town without taking the slightest precaution regarding the objects' protection. [...] Following the withdrawal of the German troops, the museum was demolished, seemingly through an explosion or a fire. The contained Ukrainian finds were almost completely destroyed.

Excavations carried out recently in the debris of the building have yielded only minor remains of the contained objects.

Therefore, the authorities of the German civil administration have abandoned one of the most significant Russian museums, containing the scientifically most valuable finds, to destruction. (Jankuhn 13.8.1943)

It is likely that Jankuhn's censure of rivalling authorities was politically motivated. Nevertheless, such episodes likewise denote that Jankuhn perceived himself as a guardian of cultural heritage, rather than as a thief of foreign historical treasures.

Jankuhn displayed a similar concern for the archaeological record of his own country. On 6 February 1939, he called on the *Reichsführer-SS* and the commander of the *Luftwaffe* Field Marshal Hermann Göring to guarantee the preservation and examination of the Westerland burial mounds in Schleswig-Holstein. The German air force was intending to transform the covering soil into a new airport runway. Jankuhn asserted that the monuments symbolised German historical continuity and grandeur and that their destruction would, in a sense, counteract Germany's national interests. He bluntly appealed to Himmler's and Göring's national sentiment to secure his own

scientific interests (Anon. 25.2.1939; Jankuhn 6.2.1939; Sievers 8.2.1939; Stabsführer des Persönlichen Stabes RFSS 13.2.1939).

Finally, Jankuhn must simply have regarded his participation in the *Sonderkommando* as a rare and valuable scientific opportunity. He was given the chance to travel to culturally rich regions, to investigate the museums and collections located in those areas, and to ‘secure’ the archaeological, historical and ethnographic material contained therein. Given that Jankuhn was a highly able and dedicated young scholar, it is hardly surprising that he accepted the challenge.

To sum up, Jankuhn’s involvement with the *Sonderkommando* – the highly ideological justification of its mission, the appropriation of archaeological material in the occupied territories and the vicious institutional confrontations with the task force Rosenberg – was of a patently political nature. Jankuhn was intimately tied up with the SS’ organisational structure and hence fully exposed to the ideological currents cultivated by the National Socialist regime. What is more, he significantly, actively and willingly shaped National Socialist ideological constructs.

5 The aftermath. Herbert Jankuhn’s Denazification case

5.1 Jankuhn’s Denazification questionnaire

Following the National Socialist unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945, Germany’s newly installed Allied military government set about the daunting task of ridding the country’s political and civic institutions, jurisdiction, culture, media and society of National Socialist ideology and personnel. Historians generally agree that Denazification in post-war Germany fell short on several levels; the instituted procedures were neither practicable nor fair. On one hand, Denazification measures exercised a highly specialised bureaucracy and thereby led to a virtual paralysis of public administration. On the other, large-scale or even mass Denazification affected big and small fish alike: National Socialist activists and prominent party members were targeted alongside passive ‘fellow-travellers’ [*Mitläufer*]. By contrast, a large number of German war criminals escaped with light punishments or were exonerated entirely (Thacker 2006: 153; Vollnhals 1995: 374-378).

Vollnhals has argued that Denazification was never likely to lead to a comprehensive and definitive confrontation with and triumph over National Socialist currents and personnel. According to him, German society itself had been far too intricately entwined with and auxiliary to the National Socialist system. A 'clear separation of regime, state and people' had become all but impossible in 1945 (Vollnhals 1995: 370). According to Vollnhals, mass Denazification effectively translated into fast and large-scale rehabilitation, and the pragmatic admittance of former National Socialists into the Federal Republic's fabric in fact facilitated the establishment of stable political structures, Germany's swift reconstruction and the country's near-miraculous economic upturn in the post-war period (Vollnhals 1991: 63-64).

In academia, Denazification authorities predominantly condemned or absolved individuals on the basis of their institutional rank. Particular attitudes towards research and teaching or the content of academic writings dating to the 1930s and 40s were all but ignored. Unsurprisingly, this resulted in the uninterrupted occupation or re-employment of a large number of former National Socialist activists (Strübel 1986: 170-171). Jankuhn's case itself illustrates that close involvement with the National Socialist system did not necessarily imply permanent post-war ostracism and that exceptional and specialised skills remained valued and serviceable in a society drained by years of war. Intellectually, university lecturers for the most part responded to the National Socialist trauma by advocating an entirely new academic model: universities, they stipulated, should become places of strictly methodical research and thinking. Rather than tainting themselves once again by engaging with politics and ideology, they were henceforth to focus on the purely scientific and philosophical (Strübel 1986: 171-172). Chapter II has demonstrated that the archaeological community overwhelmingly followed this illusory path.

Following his release from captivity in an Allied internment camp in 1948, Jankuhn's Denazification tribunal was formally set in motion. Jankuhn's Denazification file contains a completed questionnaire regarding his involvement with National Socialist institutions, a substantial number of character references written for and about him by fellow academics, colleagues and students, as well as the records and outcome of the actual Denazification case brought against him. The

source material provides a valuable opportunity to compare and assess various perceptions of Jankuhn's conduct during the 1930s and 1940s.

The section begins with an investigation of the Denazification questionnaire completed by Jankuhn himself (Jankuhn n.d.b). Though undated, this document would have represented the initial and central basis for the evaluation of Jankuhn's National Socialist engagement carried out by the Allied and associated authorities in the wake of Germany's defeat. The questionnaire consists of eleven consecutive pages, containing a series of 126 specific questions relating to Jankuhn's personal information, education and examinations, record of employment and military service, membership in organisations, writings and speeches, income and assets as well as travel and residence abroad. Although the questionnaire is not complete, it nonetheless sheds light on Jankuhn's own portrayal of his political and institutional involvement during the National Socialist period.

The opening pages provide an overview of Jankuhn's personal information including date (8.8.1905) and place (Angerburg in East Prussia) of birth, height (1.70 metres) and weight (62 kilograms), address (Tondernerstraße 33 in Kiel), identity card number (A6951903) and religion (Protestant or *evangelisch*). Much of this information is either familiar or irrelevant, although a record of Jankuhn's schooling and university attendance (in East Prussia and Berlin) has helped to reconstruct his educational development (Jankuhn n.d.b: 1-2). Page 4 of the questionnaire features a detailed register of Jankuhn's employment to date, citing his place, type and dates of occupation, his superiors and, finally, his reasons for either changing his position or terminating his service. The first half of this section sums up Jankuhn's employment at the universities of Berlin and Kiel, including his work in Haithabu, while the second half summarises his military and SS-posts.

Jankuhn's duties and responsibilities in the division *Wiking* were dryly summarised as 'heritage conservation' or *Denkmalschutz*. Once again, Jankuhn saw his main field of activity in the protection and conservation of cultural heritage and was eager to portray it as such. Of course, it is unsurprising that he refrained from candidly describing his work for the division as 'looting'. Entries covering the period from 31 January 1944 until 8 May 1945 confirm that Jankuhn's activities with the SS-division took on a more purely military character as the war progressed and

Germany's military situation deteriorated: in the final two entries, Jankuhn described his fields of activity as 'heritage conservation' and 'Ic'. The latter was a crucial intelligence position within a German combat division; more specifically, Ic officers were charged with collecting information on enemy forces to be used in the planning and execution of military manoeuvres. Finally, Jankuhn's laconically justified his termination of service in May 1945 with one simple word: 'capitulation' [*Kapitulation*] (Jankuhn n.d.b: 5).

Jankuhn's membership in National Socialist institutions is presented on page 6. According to the questionnaire, he joined six such organisations between 1934 and 1942. Involvement with the ill-fated SA (*Sturmabteilung*) both began and ended in 1934, although, as pointed out previously, the SA-register cites 5 November 1934 as Jankuhn's joining date and fails to specify a date of withdrawal. In his Denazification questionnaire, Jankuhn stated that his highest position within the SA had been that of an *Anwärter* or aspirant (Jankuhn n.d.b: 6), although the SA-register suggests that Jankuhn held the rank of an *SA-Mann* or, in other words, a fully-fledged SA-member (Anon. 16.12.1934). It is likely that Jankuhn joined the SA for purely opportunistic reasons. The SA had formed as early as 1921 to safeguard the NSDAP's party meetings in Munich from unwelcome disturbances. As such, the so-called Brown Shirts formed the underlying support base of the National Socialist movement from the very beginning of its development (Campbell 1998: 19-22). Jankuhn certainly did not belong to these devoted followers. It is more probable that, following Hitler's seizure of power in early 1933, Jankuhn simply fell in with prevailing politico-ideological developments. If that was the case, his bargain did not bear fruit, since, after the Night of the Long Knives on 30 June 1934, the SA's power was drastically curtailed (Evans 2005: 31-41). Nonetheless, it is conceivable that Jankuhn consciously attempted to minimise his involvement with the SA by specifying both a short membership period and a low rank. Jankuhn must have expected a detailed investigation into his SS-membership by the Denazification committee and may have been keen to avert suspicions regarding any additional links with organised National Socialism.

As pointed out previously and stated correctly in the Denazification questionnaire, Jankuhn joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party

(NSDAP) on 1 May 1937 (Anon. 15.6.1938). Pape has pointed out that this date represented the first possible day of admission into the Nazi party after a four-year freeze on new memberships. The moratorium had been imposed on 1 May 1933 due to the NSDAP's inability to cope with the colossal quantity of membership applications churned out during the spring of 1933. Although the suspension was essentially maintained even after this date, a limited number of aspirants meeting a series of very specific criteria were granted permission to join. Jankuhn – as well as a number of other prehistorians – were among these privileged few (Pape 2001: 66). As a consequence, Jankuhn cannot be regarded as one of the millions of opportunistic 'March fallen' (*Märzgefallene*), who joined the NSDAP in the months immediately following Hitler's power seizure (Kater 1983: 72-73; Evans 2003: 382). It should be remembered that Jankuhn was in fact absent from Germany between December 1932 and July 1933. It is possible that Heinrich Himmler's increased interest in Jankuhn's excavations at Haithabu from 1934 onwards (Jankuhn 1943: 10; Kater 1974: 81) gradually encouraged him – Jankuhn – to demonstrate a greater degree of affiliation with National Socialist organisations. Alternatively, Jankuhn may have applied for membership well before it was granted in 1938.

Two entries in the questionnaire relate to Jankuhn's SS-membership: first, he stated that he joined the *Allgemeine SS* or General SS in 1937. Secondly, he testified that his enlistment with the *Waffen-SS*, the armed wing of Heinrich Himmler's *Schutzstaffel*, transpired in 1942 (Jankuhn n.d.b: 6). Additional documentary material has confirmed this: Jankuhn was an *SS-Anwärter* or aspirant on 1 March 1937 and attained full SS-membership on 1 June 1938 (Anon. 15.6.1938). His enrolment with the *Waffen-SS* took place in May 1942; as pointed out before, the anticipated mission to south Russia and the Caucasus made membership with the *Waffen-SS* indispensable (Anon. n.d.a). The Denazification questionnaire cites the title *Fachführer* – perhaps to be inadequately rendered as 'subject commander' – as the position held by Jankuhn in the *Waffen-SS*. Jankuhn may have refrained from stating his military rank – *Obersturmbannführer* or Lieutenant Colonel – in order to downplay the significance of his involvement or to give it a civilian, rather than a military, touch. Whereas the term *Fachführer*, as used by Jankuhn in the questionnaire, indicated his official position or post, the term *Obersturmbannführer* more specifically described his rank within the *Waffen-SS*. However, since the

Denazification questionnaire hazily solicited the 'highest office or rank held' by an individual, rather than specifically requesting a military rank, it would be unreasonable to accuse Jankuhn of dishonesty in this case.

The last two entries refer to Jankuhn's enrolment with two organisations associated with the National Socialist party: the National Socialist Teachers' Union (*NS-Lehrerbund*) and the National Socialist German University Teachers' Union (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Dozentenbund*). Jankuhn himself stated in the questionnaire that he joined the National Socialist Teachers' Union in 1934 and left the organisation shortly afterwards in 1935 (Jankuhn n.d.b: 6). Furthermore, the questionnaire indicates that Jankuhn joined the National Socialist German University Teachers' Union in 'ca. 1938' (Jankuhn n.d.b: 6). By contrast, Pape (2001: 68) has suggested that Jankuhn's membership dated to June 1934. While Jankuhn may have forgotten the precise year of his entry into the association, it is more plausible that he tried to minimise his participation in institutional National Socialism by reducing the duration of his membership disclosed to the Denazification authorities. If Jankuhn did choose to join the National Socialist German University Teachers' Union in 1934, his decision may have been taken in response to the moratorium on party membership of 1 May 1933: since enrolment with the party itself had, for the time being, become impossible, Jankuhn may have decided to join an alternative associated organisation until the NSDAP opened its doors to new members. On the other hand, if that is how Jankuhn rationalised his move, the question arises why he enlisted with the union more than a year after the freeze on membership approvals was first instituted. Once again, the difficulties entailed in rationalising individual choices and motivations become painfully apparent.

Page 10 of the questionnaire features an interesting section relating to Jankuhn's 'writings and speeches' during the National Socialist era. The authorities stipulated the disclosure of 'the titles and publishers of all publications from 1923 to the present, which were written in whole or in part, or compiled or edited by you, and all public addresses made by you, giving subject, date and circulation or audience'. Jankuhn's straightforward response to this request was an affirmation that, during the time in question, he had written, edited and published 'only scientific publications and lectures' [*nur wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen und Vorträge*] (Jankuhn

n.d.b: 10). Naturally, even ‘scientific’ work conducted and written up during the 1930s and 1940s could have contained indications of its author’s stance towards the tenets of National Socialism, and these would presumably have been of central interest to the Denazification authorities. As demonstrated in Chapters IV, V and VI, Jankuhn’s publications during the period in question were anything but politically and ideologically neutral compositions. A number of lectures given by Jankuhn during the National Socialist period almost read as National Socialist propaganda pieces today (see, for instance, Jankuhn 3.12.1939; Jankuhn n.d.f). Through his statement, Jankuhn implicitly expressed the conviction that the realm of politics and ideology stood firmly isolated from that of science and research. Whether he actually believed this is more than doubtful: as has been shown, science and politics had become intertwined in the most tangible and practical manner during the *Ahnenerbe*’s missions, and Jankuhn must have been acutely aware of this. Ultimately, he may simply have found it expedient to display an attitude of scientific aloofness and impartiality in the context of his Denazification proceedings.

Finally, Jankuhn’s summary of ‘travel or residence abroad’, provided on page 11, deserves attention. He cited a study and excavation trip to Egypt and the Near East between 1932 and 1933, visits to Norway and Sweden devoted to ‘museum studies’ in 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939, an excursion to the Baltic region for the same purpose in 1938 and 1939 and expeditions to Norway and France dedicated to ‘heritage conservation’ in 1940 and 1941 (Jankuhn n.d.b: 11). While Jankuhn’s missions to Brittany and Normandy were thus revealed (albeit in no great detail), no reference at all was made to his extensive stay in south Russia and the Caucasus from 1942 onwards, although the questionnaire explicitly stipulated the citing of ‘military campaigns’ as well as ‘journeys or residence outside Germany’. In this instance, Jankuhn clearly withheld vital information from the authorities. His participation in the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* represented a defining aspect of his SS-membership, and any assessment of Jankuhn’s involvement with National Socialist institutions that did not take these activities into account would have to be regarded as significantly skewed from the very outset. It is likely that Jankuhn’s failure to disclose this information influenced the outcome of the Denazification case itself.

5.2 Jankuhn's *Persilscheine* or character references

The references written for and about Jankuhn represent an interesting and important collection of documents, in particular because they provide external – though certainly not neutral – perspectives on his character and work during the National Socialist period. There are nine such testimonials, dating to the period from May 1946 until August 1948. They were composed by Günther Haseloff, lecturer at the University of Kiel (Haseloff 14.5.1946), Gustav Schwantes, professor at the University of Kiel and former director of the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities of Schleswig-Holstein (Schwantes 16.4.1947), Werner Madsen, one of Jankuhn's former students at the University of Kiel (Madsen 4.8.1947), Friedrich Esenwein, a photographer frequently employed by Jankuhn (Esenwein 20.10.1947), Pieter Felix, a Dutch academic and colleague of Jankuhn's (Felix 23.10.1947), a professor Zylmann, director of a *Gymnasium* or secondary school in Hamburg (Zylmann 26.11.1947), Professor Oskar Schmieder of the Geographical Institute of the University of Kiel (Schmieder 16.12.1947), Dr. Eduard Wildhagen, vice-president of the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) (Wildhagen 20.1.1948), and Professor Karl Gripp from the Geological Institute at the University of Kiel (Gripp 12.8.1948).

All references begin with a brief overview of the authors' personal information, including their name, occupation and the nature of their relationship with Jankuhn. Haseloff, Schwantes, Schmieder and Gripp were fellow academics at Kiel University. Felix first became acquainted with Jankuhn when the latter visited the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in the Dutch city of Leiden; he was subsequently invited by Jankuhn to complete his university studies under his – Jankuhn's – aegis at the University of Rostock. Esenwein worked as a photographer at the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities in Kiel from 1934 onwards. Madsen was employed as a scientific assistant to Jankuhn during the Haithabu excavations. Zylman held a personal interest in prehistoric archaeology but also seems to have had a personal (though undefined) relationship with Jankuhn. Although Wildhagen's does not clarify the nature of his personal connection to Jankuhn, his position as vice-president of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, an influential association dedicated to the promotion of scientific research in Germany that actively supported a number of

Ahnenerbe-projects (Pape 2002: 182), serves to explain his close acquaintance with Jankuhn's scientific achievements.

The greater part of the references also emphasise what might be called the authors' political credentials. Wildhagen, for instance, was described as the 'last bulwark stemming the tide of a National Socialist scientific tradition' [*letzte Säule, die sich dem Ansturm nationalsozialistischer Wissenschaftspflege entgegenstellt*] by various Nazi party publications and consequently lost his post with the DFG in 1936 (Wildhagen 20.1.1948). Zylmann, head of school in Hamburg, had been a member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) since well before the National Socialist power seizure and lost his post as school director when he refused to join the NSDAP in 1933. Accused of high treason, he was briefly sent to a concentration camp in 1936, although he was acquitted and freed six months later (Zylmann 26.11.1947). Esenwein similarly rejected party membership (Esenwein 20.10.1947). Madsen appears to have taken a candidly hostile attitude towards National Socialism: official character assessments described him as 'politically unreliable' [*politisch unzuverlässig*] (Madsen 4.8.1947). Haseloff was threatened with dismissal based on his 'political stance' [*politische Einstellung*] (Haseloff 14.5.1946). Gripp refused to join the NSDAP and lost his university post in 1934 (Gripp 9.8.1948).

Less convincingly, Schwantes also portrayed himself as a victim of National Socialism by asserting that the 1930s and 1940s had represented a 'period of severe persecution' [*eine Zeit schwerer Verfolgung*] for himself, Jankuhn and the entire prehistoric scientific community (Schwantes 16.4.1947). This claim hardly holds water: as suggested in Chapters II and III, archaeological research received a considerable financial and organisational boost during the National Socialist period, and only a small number of researchers – rather than the archaeological community as a whole – were persecuted on the basis of their political unreliability. Only Schmieder and Felix, a native Dutchman, failed to display similar evidence of enmity towards the National Socialist regime. Obviously and unsurprisingly therefore, Jankuhn systematically enlisted the help of known (or self-portrayed) Nazi sceptics to bolster his case.

The testimonials outdid each other in their praise of Jankuhn's personality and work. Some of the referees – Felix, Esenwein, Madsen and Haseloff – corroborated

their positive assessment of Jankuhn's character by referring to specific incidents during or aspects of their personal relationships. Felix credited Jankuhn with having invited him, as a foreign scholar, to undertake further studies in Germany: he explicitly expressed his 'gratefulness' [*Dankbarkeit*] for the 'personal and professional help' [*persönliche und fachliche Hilfe*] received on the one, and for the 'decent and idealistic outlook' [*anständige und idealistische Gesinnung*] adopted 'towards the Dutch and the other European nations' [*gegenüber den Niederländern und den anderen europäischen Völkern*] on the other hand (Felix 23.10.1947). The Dutchman Albert van Giffen, a close academic colleague of Jankuhn's from the University of Groningen and regular visitor to the Haithabu-excavations, declined to act as a referee to Jankuhn when approached after the war (Eickhoff 2003: 284).

According to the photographer Esenwein, Jankuhn had refrained from dismissing him following his – Esenwein's – refusal to join the National Socialist party. To the contrary, Esenwein claimed, he had been entrusted with even more jobs than before (Esenwein 20.10.1947). In a similar vein, Madsen affirmed that, had the excavation at Haithabu become substantively 'politicised' [*politisiert*] after the *Schutzstaffel* took over financial responsibility in 1938, Jankuhn would have had to sack him as his scientific assistant (Madsen 4.8.1947). Although it is true that Jankuhn maintained relative operational autonomy over the archaeological investigations at Haithabu, that does not simultaneously imply that the project and its director entirely withstood politicisation. As Chapter VI demonstrates, National Socialist politico-ideological influences certainly became apparent in Jankuhn's work on the early medieval site during the 1930s and 40s. In addition, Gripp similarly stressed Jankuhn's willingness to draw on his – Gripp's – geological knowledge and skills even after his discharge (Gripp 9.8.1948).

Perhaps the most convincing case was made by Haseloff. Facing dismissal on political grounds between 1938 and 1939 while, absurdly, completing his military service, Haseloff stated that he had received crucial and effective support and protection from Jankuhn, who had secured a postponement of Haseloff's removal from office until after the end of the war. In Haseloff's eyes, Jankuhn had proceeded without the slightest consideration for the 'potential consequences' [*etwaige Folgen*] of his opposition against the authorities. Instead, he had acted on the basis of his

‘sense of justice and fairness’ [*Empfinden für Recht und Gerechtigkeit*] (Haseloff 14.5.1946).

Caution is warranted when assessing character references composed by individuals whose careers were promoted, and even protected, by Jankuhn. The men concerned would have considered themselves in a relationship of gratitude and, consequently, dependency. Nonetheless, the above observations indicate rather plainly that Jankuhn by no means required his colleagues and subordinates to adopt a National Socialist posture. What is more, he apparently did not even expect them to conceal their real political and ideological position, although he must have been fully aware that even a suspected antagonistic stance towards the National Socialist system could have had serious repercussions. If we are to take the above accounts at face value, it seems that Jankuhn was willing to tolerate and even assist politically ‘unreliable’ elements as long as he considered them as worthy of sponsorship and appreciated the work they delivered. When squaring this lenience on Jankuhn’s behalf with his own, at times deep, involvement with a number of National Socialist organisations, one is led to conclude that professional opportunism, rather than political and ideological conviction, prompted his participation in the National Socialist system.

Nearly all the referees commented on Jankuhn’s perceived political stance, and their shared conclusion was that Jankuhn could not be characterised as a convinced National Socialist. Gripp, for instance, asserted that Jankuhn had never been an ‘NS-politician’ [*NS-Politiker*]. His sponsorship of the geologist, even in the face of Gripp’s refusal to join the National Socialist party, had confirmed this. He also stated that Jankuhn had never been a National Socialist propagandist and that ‘in my presence, he severely criticised the party’ [*er hat mir gegenüber scharfe Kritik an der Partei geübt*] (Gripp 9.8.1948). These statements were largely substantiated by the remaining referees. To Schmieder, Jankuhn had never made ‘nazi-ideological’ [*nazi-ideologische*] comments (Schmieder 16.12.1947). Zylmann saw him as free from any ‘political inclination’ [*politische Voreingenommenheit*]. In the latter’s eyes, Jankuhn had not been an ‘advocate of the views stipulated at the time’ [*Förderer der damals gewünschten Anschauungen*], and his connection to National Socialist

institutions had merely been a ‘nominal’ [*nominell*] one (Zylmann 26.11.1947). The Dutchman Felix further underlined this view:

Whenever political subjects were touched upon in private exchanges between Prof. Jankuhn and the signatory, a distancing from the occupying regime’s frequently brutal methods and the desire for an exchange, especially with England, with which Prof. Jankuhn had long maintained scientific relations, became apparent. (Felix 23.10.1947)

Madsen added a new component. Highlighting Jankuhn’s ‘restraint in political conversations’ [*Zurückhaltung in politischen Gesprächen*], he went on to suggest a potential reason for this political moderation: an unnamed colleague of Jankuhn’s had informed him – Madsen – that Jankuhn’s ‘Christian’ [*christlich*] mindset had necessarily conditioned an unfavourable stance towards National Socialism (Madsen 4.8.1947). This is the only known reference to a presumed religiosity on Jankuhn’s behalf. One might expect that Jankuhn would have been loath to join a National Socialist elite troop, such as the SS, had he opposed the regime on grounds of faith.

The referees very much accentuated Jankuhn’s scientific integrity. Gripp characterised him as an ‘excellent researcher and outstanding organiser [...], who expended all his energy on the promotion of his scientific work’ [*ein hervorragender Forscher [...], der seine ganze Energie auf die Förderung seiner Wissenschaft verwandte*] and attempted to ‘steer his science and himself through these difficult situations as irreproachably as possible’ [*seine Wissenschaft und sich selber so einwandfrei wie möglich durch die schwierigen Situationen hindurch zu bringen*] (Gripp 9.8.1948). Schmieder commended him for his ‘distinguished capabilities’ [*ausgezeichnete Fähigkeiten*], referring in particular to his excavations at Haithabu (Schmieder 16.12.1947). Zylmann, for his part, stressed Jankuhn’s ‘eminent scientific weight’ [*eminente wissenschaftliche Bedeutung*] (Zylmann 26.11.1947). Wildhagen characterised him as an ‘internationally [...] appreciated’ [*in internationalen Kreisen hochgeschätzt*] scholar in possession of an ‘incorruptible scientific sobriety’ [*unbestechliche wissenschaftliche Nüchternheit*]. He deemed his work ‘exemplary’ [*mustergültig*] and his person ‘genuine’ [*lauter*] and ‘borne by scientific idealism’

[*vom wissenschaftlichen Idealismus getragen*]. Personally appealing for Jankuhn's exoneration, he concluded that

German science would welcome the release of a merited scholar [...]. The spirit, with which he pursued his studies during times of the gravest terror, is the same we now desire for the reconstruction of our world. (Wildhagen 20.1.1948)

Jankuhn's Dutch referee Felix joined in the eulogy by pointing towards his teacher's 'sober accuracy' [*nüchterne Exaktheit*] and 'scientific astuteness' [*wissenschaftlicher Scharfsinn*] (Felix 23.10.1947). Esenwein, rather more moderately, simply remarked on Jankuhn's 'knowledge' [*Kenntnisse*] and 'objectivity' [*Objektivität*] (Esenwein 20.10.1947). Jankuhn's excavation assistant Werner Madsen composed the most exhaustive reference, testifying to Jankuhn's 'unusual scientific calibre' [*ungewöhnliches wissenschaftliches Format*] and to his 'exemplary factual' [*vorbildlich sachlich*] teaching (Madsen 4.8.1947).

According to Jankuhn's referees, the National Socialist period and its widespread corruption of archaeological research had not affected Jankuhn's own scientific activities. In order to substantiate this claim, one of the main incriminating factors in Jankuhn's résumé – his membership with the *Schutzstaffel* – was essentially explained away. Madsen illustrated the events and considerations leading to Jankuhn's membership in some detail:

In 1938 Professor Jankuhn informed me in a conversation that the excavations at Haithabu had been taken over by the SS. However, the SS' involvement would limit itself to the funding of the excavations and to the purchase of the excavation grounds.

[...] at that time, the SS annexed scientific institutes and research centres on a large scale in order to secure its authority in historic, prehistoric and ethnographic matters. [...] To ensure a personal influence and to guarantee the institutions' complete entwinement with the SS, the leading scientists within those research centres were automatically signed up with the SS and granted intermediate or higher ranks.

Following the seizure of Haithabu at the hands of the SS, Jankuhn was thus automatically accepted into the SS and conferred the rank of Lieutenant. (Madsen 4.8.1947)

Wildhagen provided a largely similar assessment of Jankuhn's course of action, although he placed greater emphasis on the pressurising role played by the *Amt Rosenberg*:

This institute [the *Amt Rosenberg*] did not see its main occupation in the promotion of prehistoric research but in the elimination of those scholars who were conducting unbiased research. This campaign was led with the greatest ruthlessness. [...] Due to [Wilhelm] Unverzagt's great diplomatic aptitude, the protection of the *Reichsführer-SS* was secured for a small circle of scientifically and personally integral prehistorians. This gave rise to a paradoxical situation: Himmler became the guardian of scientific liberty in opposition to the terroristic endeavours by the people surrounding Rosenberg. This protection could only be effective if the people in question sought asylum directly with the SS.

Professor Jankuhn, famous for his excavations in Schleswig-Holstein and esteemed in international circles due to his incorruptible scientific sobriety, had to take this path to protect his scientific work and his students from obliteration. Nobody who is familiar with the state of German science could reproach him for taking this step at a point when no German could have gauged the true character of the SS. As far as I know Jankuhn from a long-standing insight into his exemplary works [...], his enrolment with the SS was not even aimed at his own protection, but exclusively at the unhampered continuation of his work and the protection of his students and friends. [...] He has been punished severely enough for this aberration, which was committed for the noblest of reasons. (Wildhagen 20.1.1948)

This judgment was echoed by Zylmann and Schwantes. According to Zylmann, Jankuhn had only ever been interested in the 'solution of his great and weighty tasks that were associated with the name Haithabu' (*Lösung seiner großen wichtigen Aufgaben, die mit dem Namen Haithabu verbunden sind*). Jankuhn had effectively been caught between the 'Scylla Rosenberg' and the 'Charybdis Himmler': had he not taken sides and enlisted with either the *Amt Rosenberg* or the

Ahnenerbe, work at Haithabu would ‘probably’ [*wahrscheinlich*] have ceased (Zylmann 26.11.1947).

Schwantes went even further by asserting that Jankuhn – in tandem with Schwantes himself – had long resisted Himmler’s involvement in the Haithabu-enterprise. Disappointingly, their opposition had ultimately fallen on deaf ears: the president of Kiel University, Paul Ritterbusch, had failed to back Schwantes’ and Jankuhn’s efforts, and the SS had consequently assumed responsibility for Haithabu in 1938. Although the SS had guaranteed the project’s ‘scientific nature’ [*Wissenschaftlichkeit*] and consented to retaining Jankuhn as its excavation director, he had ignored repeated invitations to join the SS ‘voluntarily’ [*freiwillig*]. According to Schwantes, Jankuhn had only reconsidered his position once the SS had threatened to remove him from his post. Ultimately, Schwantes explained, Jankuhn had been compelled to accept SS-membership in order to save his ‘life’s work’ [*Lebensaufgabe*]. To underline Jankuhn’s limited enthusiasm for the SS, Schwantes declared that he – Jankuhn – had only ever held the rank of an *Ehrenführer* or, literally, ‘honorary commander’ and that he had ‘never’ [*niemals*] completed SS-service or belonged to an SS-unit (Schwantes 16.4.1947).

The referees largely concurred on Jankuhn’s presumed reasons for joining the *Schutzstaffel*. Jankuhn had acted as a real scientist, who, by taking a personally unwelcome course of action, had saved his project from politicisation and exploitation. Jankuhn was effectively portrayed as a near-martyr for the archaeological cause. Suspicions that Jankuhn had moved to secure his personal benefit through professional advancement were neutralised from the very outset. Though the nefarious and pressurising role played by the *Amt Rosenberg* was emphasised to differing degrees, it was agreed – or simply declared – that the *SS-Ahnenerbe* had offered many scientists a sort of safe haven. Wildhagen’s – as he himself admits, ‘paradoxical’ – claim that Himmler became a ‘guardian of scientific liberty’ is shocking in light of the gruesome and/or baloney ‘research’ carried out by *Ahnenerbe*-scientists (Kater 1974). The enduring notion that the *Amt Rosenberg* was primarily or even exclusively responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of German archaeology presumably derived from such declarations (Halle & Schmidt 2001: 271-272).

As well as establishing that Jankuhn had joined the SS out of a sense of scientific duty, his referees downplayed his personal contribution towards the workings and projects of that organisation. Madsen asserted that Jankuhn had merely been a formal member, while Schwantes and Zylmann even claimed that he had not carried out SS-service or belonged to an SS-unit. Sections 2 and 3 have shown that Schwantes' statement could not be further from the truth. Whether his account was based on faulty information (possibly provided by Jankuhn himself) or whether he consciously lied (again, perhaps at Jankuhn's request) is difficult to establish.

Finally, in order to provide at least some evidence of Jankuhn's limited involvement with and internal distance to the *Schutzstaffel*, the referees uniformly pointed towards his outstanding record of scientific excellence and integrity. Madsen and Schwantes both held that Jankuhn's archaeological writings of the 1930s and 40s had remained purely 'factual' [*sachlich*] (Madsen 4.8.1947) and that the Haithabu-project and the pertinent publications had been of a 'flawlessly and highly scientific character' [*einwandfrei hochwissenschaftlicher Charakter*] (Schwantes 16.4.1947). In a statement that is surprisingly relevant to the central subject matter of this thesis, Madsen contended that 'all his writings could also have been composed before 1933 or today' [*könnten alle seine Schriften auch vor 1933 oder heute geschrieben sein*] (Madsen 4.8.1947). Chapters IV, V and VI examine whether Madsen's assertion is correct.

5.3 The official verdict

Finally, it remains to be seen how the Denazification authorities evaluated Jankuhn's involvement with institutional National Socialism in the late 1940s. Jankuhn's Denazification case transpired in two distinct phases. The Denazification questionnaire and references treated above were submitted to the relevant authorities, and an initial verdict was reached by the *Entnazifizierungs-Hauptausschuß* or the Central Denazification Committee for the city of Kiel in late 1948. In September 1948, the public prosecutor requested that the defendant Herbert Jankuhn be classified as a 'fellow-traveller' or *Mitläufer* (category IV of the Denazification classification system) and sentenced to a fine of 100 Deutschmark. Jankuhn's affiliation with the *Allgemeine SS* was seen as particularly incriminating, though his 'honorary' [*ehrenhafter*] rank as *Sturmbannführer* (the equivalent of a *Major* or

major in the German army) – not in fact Jankuhn’s highest rank while in the SS – was not. The prosecutor resolved that, according to the information provided on Jankuhn’s Denazification questionnaire, his support of the National Socialist system had been ‘marginal’ [*unwesentlich*] and hence characteristic of a ‘fellow-traveller’ or *Mitläufer*. The references supplied by Jankuhn had certified that the defendant’s character was essentially ‘good’ [*gut*], but they had failed to lead to a significant exoneration on political grounds (Öffentlicher Kläger des Entnazifizierungs-Hauptausschusses für den Stadtkreis Kiel 18.9.1948). The Denazification committee largely followed the prosecutor’s reasoning in its verdict of 2 October 1948: Jankuhn was classified as a *Mitläufer* and sentenced to the payment of a penalty of 85 Deutschmark (Entnazifizierungs-Hauptausschuß für den Stadtkreis Kiel 2.10.1948).

Unsatisfied with the outcome of his Denazification trial, Jankuhn appealed for a re-opening of the proceedings in the early months of 1949. According to him, the Central Denazification Committee had misinterpreted the available evidence by discounting the fact that he – Jankuhn – had joined the SS ‘under duress’ [*unter Zwang*] (Jankuhn 22.5.1949; Jankuhn 21.1.1950). On 15 March 1949, the case was therefore heard for a second time.

The judges Blumenthal, Zwanziger and Hirsch argued as follows: Jankuhn had become intimately involved in the well-known excavation at Haithabu from the early 1930s onwards, and he himself had developed the project into ‘one of the most significant undertakings of its kind’ [*eine der bedeutendsten Unternehmungen dieser Art*] (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 1). Following the National Socialist *Machtergreifung*, Haithabu and its excavation director Jankuhn had soon become entangled in the burgeoning power struggle between the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. The former, the judges established, had embarked on a ‘political battle’ [*politischer Kampf*] against the defendant and his superior at the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities in Kiel, Gustav Schwantes, and, in the context of its defamatory campaign, the *Amt Rosenberg* had concretely envisioned the appropriation of the Haithabu-project. Unwilling to expose the excavations to the ‘political-propagandistic ideas’ [*politisch-propagandistische Ideen*] espoused by the *Amt Rosenberg* but increasingly unable to manage the project without institutional backing, Jankuhn had – at first reluctantly – approached Himmler’s *Ahnenerbe*.

During a visit to Haithabu, Himmler had apparently assured Jankuhn that he sponsored ‘meticulous science’ [*exakte Forschung*], and the defendant had consequently gained the impression that Himmler would refrain from any ‘party political manipulation’ [*parteipolitische Beeinflussung*]. Unsurprisingly however, Himmler’s protection came at a price: should Jankuhn refuse to enlist with the SS, he would be replaced as excavation director by an existing SS-member (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 2-3).

According to the judges, Himmler’s requirement had thrust the defendant into an ‘emotional dilemma’ [*seelische Zwangslage*]. A refusal to join the SS would have exposed Haithabu to the political-propagandistic pressures exerted by the *Amt Rosenberg*. In light of the delicate nature of Haithabu’s archaeological record, this might have proven disastrous. In addition, the site’s significance in a German as well as a wider northern European historical and cultural context made its proper scientific investigation all the more important (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 3-4). Finally, the judges brought to bear the defendant’s scientific responsibility:

For a true scientist, scientific research represents a personal element of life, an assignment to which he dedicates his entire life, often at the expense of all personal interests [...]. The defendant has [...] chosen the comprehensive investigation of all those questions pertaining to Haithabu as his life’s work. For that reason, there was more at stake for him than merely a job or a favourite pastime. (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 4)

The judges stated that, having carefully weighed his options, Jankuhn had reached the conclusion that his personal enrolment with the *Schutzstaffel* would be less damaging than the full subjection of the Haithabu-project to the nefarious control of the *Amt Rosenberg*. In their words, ‘his duty to protect the excavation from unbidden hands’ [*seine Pflicht, die Ausgrabung vor unberufenen Händen zu schützen*] had superseded ‘his duty to shun the SS’ [*seine Pflicht, der SS fernzubleiben*] (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 4).

Finally, the judges resolved that Jankuhn had, wherever and whenever possible, kept his involvement with the SS to a minimum. He had not held any ‘time-consuming responsibilities’ [*zeitraubende Verpflichtungen*], and he had only been a ‘nominal’ [*nominelles*] member. The SS had continually treated Jankuhn as a pre- and

protohistorian: during his service with the *Waffen-SS*, Jankuhn had only been deployed to areas that promised the discovery of ‘Viking Age traces’ [*Spuren aus der Wikingerzeit*]. The judges concluded that, on the whole, his relationship with the *Schutzstaffel* had therefore remained ‘acceptable’ [*tragbar*]. The ruling of October 1948 was hence declared invalid and the defendant was acquitted (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 4-5). Jankuhn was re-classified as a ‘non-offender’ or *Entlasteter* (category V of the Denazification classification system) by the Central Denazification Committee (Bunjes et al. 13.12.1950; Bunjes et al. 15.12.1950).

Assessments of Jankuhn’s involvement with the SS during the 1930s and 40s are basically analogous. Indeed, the Denazification authorities chiefly based their (final) ruling on the personal appraisals provided by Jankuhn’s referees. Jankuhn’s personal character and professional abilities were unanimously portrayed as outstanding, and his enrolment with Himmler’s *Ahnenerbe* was commonly depicted as an act of professional self-defence and scientific commitment. Both Jankuhn’s referees and the judges Blumenthal, Zwanziger and Hirsch implied, rather bizarrely, that Jankuhn’s decision to join the SS had represented a personal and professional sacrifice, rather than a morally dubious choice. Finally and even more astonishingly, the defendant’s international assignments within the *Ahnenerbe* were almost entirely disregarded by the Denazification authorities. By implication, Jankuhn’s work for the secret service in Brittany or his involvement in the unlawful confiscation of cultural heritage in south Russia had no real effect on the evaluation of his conduct and the calculation of his responsibility. Jankuhn’s full exoneration and complete professional and societal re-establishment of March 1949 are thus strongly debatable, if not seriously flawed.

6 Summary and conclusions

Chapter III has provided an in-depth illustration and assessment of Jankuhn’s activities within the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, one of two powerful National Socialist culture-political organisations. The opening sections have served to outline the political, ideological and organisational context in which Jankuhn operated. Section 1 has introduced the ruthless and methodical elimination of political, social and cultural opposition to National Socialist rule and thought in the aftermath of Hitler’s *Machtergreifung* throughout the spring and summer of 1933. In the academic sphere,

for instance, the process of *Gleichschaltung* entailed the ‘harmonisation’ of university personnel, administrative structures, research and teaching. In addition, section 1 has specifically emphasised the significance of pre-existing anti-democratic and völkisch beliefs among university lecturers, students and wider elements of German society. In other words, the presence of related and accommodating political, ideological, social and scientific currents not only facilitated the process of *Gleichschaltung* but also encouraged an often voluntary espousal of National Socialist prescriptions.

Section 2 has addressed the institutional framework of archaeological policy and research in Nazi Germany. Alfred Rosenberg and Heinrich Himmler, respective patrons of the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, shared some underlying notions regarding the politico-ideological role of history and archaeology in the National Socialist system, the racial and cultural superiority of the prehistoric *Germanen* and the need to recover traditional German greatness in the present. Despite this basic philosophical and ideological concurrence, the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* clashed on countless occasions, both at home and abroad. While neither organisation was able to impose an absolute dominion over German pre- and protohistory, the *SS-Ahnenerbe* undoubtedly scored a resounding public relations victory. Despite significant evidence to the contrary, historians of archaeology frequently continue to maintain that the *Amt Rosenberg* was primarily responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of German archaeology and that the *Ahnenerbe* tolerated and even fostered fairly ‘neutral’ research.

As section 2 has indicated, the politicisation of archaeological research in National Socialist Germany did not transpire in a consistent fashion. On the contrary, archaeological institutions and personnel were both fragmented and antagonistic. In a sense, this intense polyvalence stood in stark contrast to the ‘harmonised’ and uniform political, ideological, social and cultural environment supposedly created by the process of *Gleichschaltung*. On the other hand, the composite and competitive structures of pre- and protohistoric research enabled exceptionally talented and determined scholars to exert a degree of control that may have eluded them in an entirely monolithic system. As seen above, Jankuhn was among those who played the game to great effect.

Section 3 has investigated Jankuhn's activities in France. He was initially charged with the documentation of Brittany's megalithic monuments, although interference by members of the *Amt Rosenberg* brought about the abrupt and premature end of his mission. Himmler personally ordered the termination of Jankuhn's survey in order to avoid an open clash with his rival Rosenberg. Jankuhn found himself in the midst of and played a central part in one of many National Socialist institutional power struggles.

Jankuhn's assignment itself was of a highly political nature. For one, he appears to have adapted his research questions to the politico-ideological prescriptions of his age. His sudden concern with the cosmological arrangement of the Breton megaliths – his archaeological writings do not divulge any previous preoccupation with this subject – is a case in point: he may well have pandered to Himmler's eclectic and often outlandish research interests. In addition, Jankuhn actively pursued Nazi Germany's political and military aims by assisting the SS' secret service in its attempt to exploit ethnic tensions and foster secessionist tendencies in Brittany. Although it is unclear whether Jankuhn maintained direct contact with separatist forces, his work for the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* was of a blatantly political nature. In fact, it had lost any scientific or archaeological relevance. The claim that Jankuhn (and other *Ahnenerbe*-members) conducted 'neutral' research has thus been significantly undermined.

Jankuhn's second assignment to France – an examination of the famous Bayeux Tapestry depicting the Norman conquest of England in 1066 – was handled as a matter of considerable importance and urgency by *Ahnenerbe*-chief Sievers and Jankuhn himself. This pronounced interest doubtless resulted from the object's perceived politico-ideological value: Jankuhn initially emphasised the allegedly frequent occurrence of population movements from the European mainland to the British Isles throughout pre- and early history. Nazi Germany's attacks on Britain's sovereignty were depicted as logical and justifiable continuations of the medieval Norman and prehistoric onslaughts on the island. In addition, the Bayeux Tapestry served to corroborate some of the most widespread contemporaneous notions regarding the pre- and protohistoric Norman, Viking or Germanic peoples: according to Jankuhn, they had been predisposed towards colonial endeavours, the formation of

states abroad and the introduction of advanced cultural expressions. Conspicuously, Jankuhn's description of the Vikings' novel and effective political system as one that 'subordinated' all aspects of society to a 'centralised governing authority' invoked the totalitarian structures of the National Socialist regime itself.

Section 4 has dealt with Jankuhn's missions to the Ukraine and the Caucasus, and it, too, has shown that Jankuhn plainly recognised the politico-ideological significance of foreign archaeological material. In Jankuhn's mind, the archaeological record of southeastern Europe in general and of southwest Russia in particular mattered for several reasons: the area had undergone an 'Indogermanisation' during the Stone Age, it had seen the creation of the Gothic empire – supposedly a Germanic foundation – in the Migration Period, and it had witnessed several state formations during the Viking Age. In other words, numerous Nordic population movements had reached southwest Russia from the Stone Age until the Viking period. As before, Jankuhn aspired to 'prove' the early and continued presence of Germanic settlers and, consequently, 'blood' in the region. Nazi Germany's aggressive territorial expansion and the re-settlement of ethnic Germans or *Volksdeutsche* in eastern Europe were once again rationalised on the basis of historical precedent. Given the *Ahnenerbe*'s explicitly politico-ideological orientation (as, for instance, exhibited by its own mission statement), it seems reasonable to suggest that the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* and its commander set out with precisely that goal in mind.

Jankuhn's assignments within the *SS-Ahnenerbe* yielded some highly explicit historical accounts. As Chapters V and VI continue to illustrate, his work during the 1930s and 40s customarily characterised the early Germanic peoples as historically continuous, culturally eminent, geographically expansionist and prone to political state formations. When conferred onto contemporary Germans and seen in the context of National Socialist foreign policy goals, these qualities understandably assumed immense politico-ideological value.

Notably, Jankuhn himself openly criticised an all too blatant politico-ideological exploitation of archaeological remains and research – when practised by the other side! Bolshevik Russia, he held, had customarily hidden, destroyed and misinterpreted Germanic finds in order to downplay or even negate Germanic cultural

and racial influences in southwest Russia. Unsurprisingly and hypocritically, Jankuhn wholly failed to question his own, essentially identical practices.

Section 4 has also highlighted that the bitter institutional quarrel between the *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg* tangibly affected and hampered Jankuhn's operations. As in Brittany, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn's* tour of south Russian museums and collections often presented itself as a race against Rosenberg's people. In order to curb the *Amt Rosenberg's* influence, Jankuhn willingly and recurrently appealed to his superior Sievers and, through him, to the *Reichsführer-SS* himself. Interestingly, the archaeological record itself was transformed into an argumentative tool in this dispute. The Gothic remains of the Crimean peninsula, it was argued, were essential to the study of an ancient Germanic cultural and racial presence in southwest Russia and fell under Himmler's jurisdiction; after all, the *Reichsführer-SS* acted as the 'Reich commissioner for the strengthening of the German national character'. In this instance, politically and ideologically charged historical interpretations effectively rationalised the *Ahnenerbe's* attempted seizure of the investigatory rights from the *Amt Rosenberg*. Archaeological remains thus acquired politico-ideological significance both within and beyond the National Socialist *Führerstaat*.

Finally, section 4 has attempted to gauge Jankuhn's personal motivations. Initially, Jankuhn expressed his eagerness to make a personal contribution to the German war effort on several occasions. The sincerity of these declarations – Jankuhn may simply have wished to please his boss Sievers – is impossible to ascertain.

Secondly, Jankuhn's correspondence has revealed an unstinting concern with the war's damaging impact on Europe's archaeological heritage, both at home and abroad. In his eyes, the archaeological record in southwest Russia had been inadequately protected. Since Jankuhn's harsh and outspoken criticism was overwhelmingly directed at the safeguarding measures taken by Rosenberg's men, caution is warranted: Jankuhn's censure may have been politically motivated. Nevertheless, his concurrent efforts to salvage archaeological sites in Germany appear to corroborate his commitment to the conservation of the material record.

In addition, Jankuhn likely regarded his involvement in the *Ahnenerbe's* operations as an exceptionally valuable scientific opportunity. He displayed

considerable initiative both in the planning and execution of his assignments and contributed significantly to their successful outcome. Jankuhn was by no means coerced into cooperation with the SS, and his youthful scientific enthusiasm may have led him to accept and even welcome the *Ahnenerbe*'s unlawful appropriation of foreign archaeological material.

Historians have held that the process of Denazification practically translated into swift and large-scale rehabilitation. As section 5 has shown, Jankuhn himself exemplifies that assertion. In his Denazification questionnaire, Jankuhn effectively provided an indirect, incomplete and sometimes insincere appraisal of his own involvement with the National Socialist system. By indicating lower ranks than those in fact held, by shortening the period of membership in various National Socialist organisations and by altogether concealing his *Ahnenerbe*-mission to southwest Russia, Jankuhn successfully minimised his institutional involvement. The questionnaire's stipulation of a full disclosure of his publications and lectures was merely met with the declaration that he – Jankuhn – had produced only 'scientific' writings. Given Jankuhn highly politicised work for the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, this professed belief in the separation of politics and research is strikingly disingenuous.

The character references or *Persilscheine* submitted in support of Jankuhn did little to redress the imbalance of his own account. Jankuhn's referees unvaryingly praised his personal character, commended his scientific excellence and integrity and defended his complete political neutrality. Rationalisations of Jankuhn's decision to enrol with the *Schutzstaffel* were downright bizarre. In the eyes of his referees, Jankuhn had made a bitter personal sacrifice to save his archaeological research from politico-ideological manipulation. The dubious notion that Himmler's *Ahnenerbe* had protected 'serious' scientists from the nefarious dealings of the *Amt Rosenberg* was commonly brought to bear. Given that Jankuhn's *de facto* membership of the *Schutzstaffel* could not be ignored entirely, it was systematically minimised: while the majority of referees contended that Jankuhn's SS-membership had been a mere formality, others went further by falsely declaring that he never completed SS-service or joined an SS-unit. Needless to say, the referees' accounts do not tally with that presented in this chapter. Their illustrations served to whitewash, rather than candidly assess, Jankuhn's actions and behaviour.

The verdict in Jankuhn's Denazification case followed the referees' appraisals. According to the judges, Jankuhn had become entangled in a National Socialist power struggle, and, in this context, institutional backing from the *SS-Ahnenerbe* had paradoxically shielded the Haithabu-project from the blatant political and propagandistic pressures exerted by the *Amt Rosenberg*. Rather than furthering his own career, Jankuhn had shouldered his scientific responsibility. His SS-membership had been nominal and his support for the National Socialist system marginal. Jankuhn's work for the secret service in Brittany and his involvement in the unlawful confiscation of cultural heritage in south Russia hardly affected the judges' decision. His acquittal was thus based on questionable and partial evidence.

Herbert Jankuhn was an integral and dynamic member of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and showed distinct initiative and ability in the completion of his tasks. The examined documentary record has yielded few to no indications that he was coerced into cooperation with the *Ahnenerbe*. Quite the contrary, he clearly perceived and exploited the benefits of SS-membership. By deftly positioning himself within a polyvalent and antagonistic institutional system, he acquired considerable clout within National Socialist pre- and protohistoric research. Although Jankuhn faced a Denazification trial in the late 1940s, his most dubious activities – the confiscation of archaeological material in the occupied territories and the collaboration with the secret service in Brittany – were all but overlooked. On one hand, Jankuhn therefore actively sustained the regime's organisational structures. On the other, his intricate involvement with the National Socialist system did not prevent his re-admittance into post-war German society.

CHAPTER IV

From Kossinna's to Jankuhn's 'settlement-archaeology'. Changing research interests and methodologies in Herbert Jankuhn's work

'A culture is defined as an assemblage of artifacts that recur repeatedly associated together in dwellings of the same kind and with burials by the same rite. The arbitrary peculiarities of implements, weapons, ornaments, houses, burial rites and ritual objects are assumed to be the concrete expression of the common social traditions that bind together a people.'

[Vere Gordon Childe, Prehistoric Migrations in Europe, 1950: 2]

'In the primitive archaeological remains of Europe, it is exceptional to find any indications of nationality, except in the case of a highly differentiated insular culture.'

[Aarne Michael Tallgren, The Method of Prehistoric Archaeology, 1937: 158]

Having gauged Jankuhn's involvement with National Socialist institutions, Chapters IV, V and VI now undertake an examination of his scientific writings. Chapter IV initiates the survey by addressing a crucial point: how did Herbert Jankuhn view his own discipline and how did his perceptions change over time? Such an evaluation serves two purposes: it initially throws light on the discipline's contemporary situation and places Jankuhn into a theoretical and methodological context. Second, it prepares the ground for a more specialised probe into his personal thematic foci, carried out in Chapters V and VI.

Section 1 provides a concise illustration of the archaeological work and intellectual impact of Gustaf Kossinna. His so-called 'settlement-archaeology', which enabled the identification of prehistoric ethnic entities by use of material remains, was to have a profound effect on German archaeological practice – and other national pre- and protohistoric traditions – for much of the twentieth century. It also became the methodological basis for the nationalistically and racially inspired archaeology of the Nazi period. Jankuhn's methodological framework can hardly be discussed

without reference to Kossinna's writings, not least because he – Jankuhn – both applied and reviewed the 'settlement-archaeological' method in his own research. Kossinna's methodological paradigm proved extraordinarily pervasive, and few to no pre- and protohistorians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were able to ignore or discount it entirely.

Section 2 examines Jankuhn's research interests and methods during the National Socialist period. More specifically, it addresses the following questions: why did Jankuhn consider pre- and protohistoric research as a worthwhile pursuit? In Jankuhn's eyes, what did society (and politics) gain from the practice of archaeology? Secondly, what principal research questions should pre- and protohistoric scholars tackle, and why were these particular issues considered as important? Did they remain constant or did they adapt to changing intellectual, political and ideological conditions? What were the basic parameters that, in Jankuhn's opinion, should guide pre- and protohistoric research? Finally, the section investigates Jankuhn's stance on Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology'. Did he recognise Kossinna's methodological construct as a valuable contribution to pre- and protohistory? Did he harness it in his own work? Did Jankuhn criticise Kossinna's construct, and, if so, on what grounds?

Section 3 considers Jankuhn's research interests and methodologies in the post-war period. Did archaeology assume a different status among the historical sciences? Did Jankuhn adapt his scientific foci in the post-war period? Significantly, how did Jankuhn (and the wider archaeological community) grapple with Kossinna's legacy in a drastically altered politico-ideological environment? Did Jankuhn's methodological framework undergo a major re-orientation, and, if so, how did this transformation relate to his previous censure of Kossinna? Finally, the section traces Jankuhn's thorough re-definition of the 'settlement-archaeological' concept in the post-war era.

1 Gustaf Kossinna and the 'settlement-archaeological' method

Gustaf Kossinna's (1858-1931) impact on the development of German pre- and protohistory was both significant and multi-faceted. For one, his so-called 'settlement-archaeological' method was to shape the conduct of German archaeological research for decades after its initial formulation: Grünert has

adequately dubbed Kossinna's paradigm as one of the most 'fruitful errors' in the history of the discipline (Grünert 2002a: 348). On a more positive note, the philologist-turned-archaeologist vigorously championed the establishment of prehistoric archaeology as an independent scientific subject and promoted the inclusion of pre- and protohistory into the academic repertoire of German universities (Grünert 2002a: 348-349). Today, Kossinna's name is almost mechanically associated with the nationalist and racist exploitation of archaeological research during the National Socialist period (see, among others, Brather 2000; Grünert 2002a; Haßmann 2002a: 69-72; Jones 1997: 2-3; Veit 2002). Grünert (2002b: 307) has unequivocally characterised Kossinna as a 'forerunner of National Socialist ideology'.

Born in the East Prussian town of Tilsit, Kossinna grew up in an intensely conservative environment: the Prussian-German military victories of 1864, 1866 and 1870/71 (against Denmark, Austria and France, respectively), the political consolidation of Prussia and the subsequent foundation of the German Reich had cultivated a profoundly nationalistic atmosphere. Kossinna's chauvinism was typical of the prevalent politico-ideological climate (Grünert 2002a: 229-230; Grünert 2002b: 308-309; Stampfuß 1935: 9; Veit 2002: 42). In the course of the 1880s, while pursuing a protracted opening career as a librarian in, among other places, Berlin, Leipzig and Bonn, Kossinna developed a profound interest in Germanic antiquity (Grünert 2002a: 27-46). Only two decades later was he able to establish himself as a salaried university professor. In July 1902, the philosophical faculty of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin finally summoned him to 'represent German archaeology in lectures and tutorials' (quoted in Grünert 2002a: 140). In Kossinna's eyes, his belated appointment was just one in a series of discriminatory and humiliating slights aimed at his person and the nascent prehistoric discipline (Halle 2002a: 112; Grünert 2002a: 164-173; Grünert 2002b: 309).

As Chapter II has illustrated, prehistory's gradual establishment as a scholarly and professional discipline was closely related to the rise of Romanticism and nationalism in Europe. An increased interest, cultivated particularly by the educated middle-classes, in national antiquities resulted in the gradual establishment of a number of national archaeological museums in the course of the nineteenth century

(see, among others, Bahn 1996: 93-95; Sklenár 1983: 67-69; Trigger 1989: 148-150; Trigger 1995: 269). Kossinna was firmly rooted in these political and intellectual currents, as his personal understanding of prehistoric archaeology demonstrates. He was determined to put his scientific research at the service of his fatherland.

At the first general meeting of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichte* (German Society for Prehistory), its founder Kossinna hailed prehistory as ‘our beautiful, national discipline’ [*unsere schöne, nationale Wissenschaft*] (quoted in Grünert 2002a: 232); and, in 1912, he famously described the subject as *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft*, ‘An Eminently National Discipline’. According to Kossinna, the study of Germanic history before the advent of written sources was of great contemporary relevance: ‘our long-gone ancestors have not only handed down their flesh and blood, but also their thoughts, their spirit and their character’ [*unsere längst erloschenen Ahnen haben uns nicht nur ihr Fleisch und Blut, sondern auch ihre Gedanken, ihren Geist und ihren Charakter vererbt*] (Kossinna 1912: IV). Kossinna requested that, precisely for that reason, prehistory be incorporated into the historical sciences on an equal footing (Grünert 2002a: 233). Kossinna’s concerted efforts to establish prehistoric archaeology as a respected scholarly discipline were often met with considerable scepticism: the classical scholar and historian Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) is said to have characterised prehistory as an ‘innocent activity and pastime’, while the great anthropologist Rudolf Virchow, though more appreciative of prehistory’s scientific contribution, categorised the discipline as a branch of anthropology. He maintained ‘that prehistory is not a subject and probably never will be’ [*daß die Prähistorie kein Fach ist und wahrscheinlich keines werden wird*] (quoted in Grünert 2002a: 128).

Kossinna promoted German national self-confidence by following a strictly Germanocentric path in his archaeological research (see Chapter V for a brief discussion of other, non-Germanocentric accounts of German prehistory). By postulating the Germanic peoples’ ethnic longevity and purity and emphasising their presumed *Kulturhöhe* or cultural achievements, Kossinna sought to counteract the widespread notion that the *Germanen*, the Germans’ prehistoric ancestors, had remained ‘wretched, wild barbarians’ [*armselige, wilde Barbaren*] until their civilising encounter with the Roman Empire or, as he sarcastically put it, with the

‘southern-classical cultural sun’ [*südlich-klassische Kultursonne*] (Kossinna 1912: 2). Unwilling to stay on the political sidelines, he produced two treatises intended to bolster Germany’s territorial claims at the post-war peace talks at Versailles in 1919: based on his reading of the prehistoric record, Kossinna established defeated Germany’s historical entitlement to the – ultimately ceded – regions of Upper Silesia and West Prussia (Grünert 2002a: 267-268; Grünert 2002b: 314).

Kossinna’s investigations of Germanic prehistory were founded on a specific methodological basis. In a short treatise dated to 1911, he illustrated the underlying principles of his ‘settlement-archaeology’ [*Siedlungsarchäologie*]. His method, Kossinna explained, employed a process of analogy in as far as the ‘illumination of ancient, dark times [was undertaken] by means of inferences from the clear present’ [*Erhellung uralter, dunkler Zeiten durch Rückschlüsse aus der klaren Gegenwart*] (Kossinna 1911: 2). Kossinna summarised the crux of his method in the following familiar statement:

Sharply defined archaeological culture provinces correspond at all times to specific peoples or tribes. (Kossinna 1911: 3)

According to Kossinna, large cultural territories that were delineated through general formal attributes – he never in fact defined the parameters of these attributes satisfactorily – were indicative of entire peoples, such as the *Germanen* or the Celts. Smaller archaeological provinces that were demarcated through more specific typological characteristics represented sub-groupings or individual tribes. In Kossinna’s words, ‘every culture province, however small, denotes a distinct tribe’ [*jede eigene, noch so kleine Kulturprovinz bedeutet [...] einen eigenen Stamm*] (Kossinna 1926/27: 6).

Following their recognition and demarcation, archaeological culture groups were, in a second step, identified with historically known peoples and tribes (Kossinna 1911: 18-19; Kossinna 1926/27: 6-7). In this undertaking, Kossinna relied on his excellent knowledge of classical literature on central and northern European geography and ethnography, in particular Caesar, Tacitus and Ptolemy. Having associated a culture province with a specific, named tribe, he subsequently traced it back into prehistory on the basis of typological continuity; once again, he never

precisely circumscribed this concept. In short, Kossinna determined the prehistoric roots of contemporary nations by projecting their protohistoric, historically attested ethnic state onto preceding millennia, thus implying, of course, that both ethnic groups and their definition remain static over thousands of years (Grünert 2002a: 74; Kossinna 1911: 17).

Although there had been earlier efforts – for instance, by the Swedish antiquarian Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) – to treat archaeological assemblages as the manifestations of prehistoric ethnic groups, Kossinna used the presumed equation between material culture collections and peoples far more consistently and, indeed, exclusively than had hitherto been the case (Grünert 2002a: 71-74). Kossinna usually rejected criticism of his ‘settlement-archaeology’ by disparaging his censors. As more than one critic pointed out, the core element of his methodological construct – the correlation between archaeological culture areas and ethnic groups – remained largely unsubstantiated. Linguist Otto Schrader’s (1855-1919) reservations, for instance, were merely met with the sardonic comment that he – Schrader – had failed to invalidate Kossinna’s argument (Kossinna 1911: 9). Kossinna certainly never conceded that the occurrence of homogeneous material culture provinces may simply have resulted from a necessarily subjective classification of the archaeological record.

Although Kossinna died in December 1931, well over a year before Hitler’s *Machtergreifung*, his intellectual contribution to National Socialist archaeology – or, rather, his appropriation by National Socialist ideologues – was significant. In the words of his biographer and eulogist Rudolf Stampfuß, Kossinna had taken up a ‘daunting decisive battle for the re-evaluation of a racially bound German prehistory’ [*gewaltiger Entscheidungskampf um die Neuwertung der rassenmäßig gebundenen deutschen Vorzeit*] (Stampfuß 1935: 7). His determination to demonstrate the cultural supremacy of Germanic (and therefore German) civilisation and his concerted efforts to substantiate historically Germany’s territorial claims to large parts of central and eastern Europe undoubtedly buttressed the regime’s aggressive political and military goals. The inclusion of racial concepts into Kossinna’s theoretical and methodological framework (see also Chapter II) – he recognised ‘race’ as one of four shared features of a people, in addition to territory, language and culture (Grünert

2002a: 240-248) – tallied particularly well with National Socialist politico-ideological designs.

Though Kossinna's work was criticised throughout his lifetime and during the National Socialist period (see below), his central methodological contribution – the identification, description and evaluation of (supposed) prehistoric ethnic groups on the basis of (more or less) distinct archaeological culture provinces – maintained an extremely wide circulation. Of course, his popularity may have owed much to his institutional status, rather than to the quality of his archaeological arguments. Jankuhn himself, though often critical of Kossinna's work, failed to explicitly or fully distance himself from his methodological approach until well after the end of the Second World War. Potential reasons for this partial, yet continued adherence are suggested below.

2 Research interests and methods during the National Socialist period

2.1 The aims of pre- and protohistoric research and its relationship with history

The following paragraphs sketch the central elements of Herbert Jankuhn's publicly professed understanding of the aims, themes and methods of archaeological research during the 1930s and 40s. At the outset, three unpublished lecture scripts (Jankuhn 3.12.1939; Jankuhn n.d.f; Jankuhn n.d.g) illustrate Jankuhn's perception of the intrinsic purpose and value of pre- and protohistoric studies. The first, public talk was given as part of a lecture series entitled 'War lectures for the German people' [*Kriegsvorlesungen für das deutsche Volk*] in December 1939 (Jankuhn 3.12.1939). While the latter two are undated, their content and tone preclude a post-war origin, as the analysis below shows (Jankuhn n.d.f; Jankuhn n.d.g).

The first of these undated talks, a treatise on the methods employed in the study of 'indigenous prehistory' [*heimische Vorzeit*], initially drew on the following quote by the Führer himself:

We should nurture the great traditions of our people, of its history and of its culture with humble reverence as inexhaustible sources of a true inner strength and of a possible renewal in gloomy times. (quoted in Jankuhn n.d.g: 1)

According to Jankuhn, Hitler's statement summarised the overriding aim of all archaeological work: 'the cultivation of our national history as the legacy of our ancestors' [*die Pflege unserer nationalen Geschichte als das Erbe unserer Ahnen*] (Jankuhn n.d.g: 1). Next, he cited Kossinna to explain why prehistory should be so particularly well-suited towards the realisation of that goal:

Where should we recognise our forefathers more clearly than in [...] the earliest, prehistoric times! [...] Whoever wants to experience our earliest and most specific character in an authentic and uncorrupted way, must fall back on prehistory. And this is why this young discipline holds such an outstanding contemporary significance, such great national value. (quoted in Jankuhn n.d.g: 2-3)

According to Kossinna, the study of prehistory laid bare the true, fundamental and unchanging character of a people such as it had been from its earliest origins. While Jankuhn agreed that a people's culture and historical development were in the first instance rooted in those 'indigenous forces' [*einheimische Kräfte*] that had remained unchanged for thousands of years, he subsequently qualified his forthright assertion by emphasising the significance of outside influences on the development of a people's character. Only a weak and timid nation that was ashamed of its own history, Jankuhn held, would feel the urge to falsify its past by squarely denying those external forces. However, he concluded that the internal and indigenous component ultimately took precedence due to the fact that it remained 'racially bound' [*rassisch gebunden*]. Not only did the inner element determine a people's temperament, but it also enabled and induced it to adapt any incoming external impulses to its own national and natural disposition (Jankuhn n.d.g: 2-3). In this instance, Jankuhn thus assigned considerable significance to racial determinants.

The concept of an intrinsic, long-standing and unchanging national character represented a central component of Jankuhn's historical and archaeological framework during the 1930s and 40s. In a public lecture on 'Southeastern Europe as a potential Germanic colony' [*Südosteuropa als germanisches Kolonialland*] dating from December 1939, Jankuhn discussed the political consolidation of that region. While the colonisation of eastern and southeastern Europe by Germanic settlers was commonly regarded as a medieval phenomenon, archaeological remains

demonstrated that the Germanic and German movements during the early medieval and medieval periods merely represented the ‘last act’ [*letzter Akt*] of an historical process that spanned several millennia. The prehistoric record revealed that similar migrations and colonisations had taken place as early as the Neolithic and the Bronze Age:

Over four thousand years, Germanic and subsequently German settlers have flowed towards the South-East and have carried Nordic blood and Germanic-German culture into a region, which [...] belongs to the German people’s *Lebensraum*. (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 9)

According to Jankuhn, recent political events – in view of the lecture’s date, he was possibly referring to Germany’s military assaults on eastern Europe and particularly to the invasion of Poland in September 1939 – represented the latest elements in an historical process that continued into the present day (Jankuhn 3.12.1939; see also Jankuhn 1941/42c).

For Jankuhn, the contemporary relevance of pre- and protohistory was considerable. Prehistoric research uncovered the true, original character of a people and demonstrated the historical constancy of its temperament. The permanence of a people’s ethnic disposition and the resultant link between the ancient past and the immediate present tangibly revealed themselves in the material record. Seen in this light, pre- and protohistory assumed immense politico-ideological potential and significance. Rather than passively reflecting bygone eras, archaeological accounts presaged and justified contemporary principles and actions by drawing on presumed historical precedents.

The investigated lectures indicate that Jankuhn recognised and appreciated these propagandistic possibilities and that he viewed them as one of the very *raisons d’être* of archaeological research. Similar statements are also encountered elsewhere. In a lecture series on the ‘Basic concepts of German prehistory’ [*Grundzüge der deutschen Vorgeschichte*], dating from the winter semester of 1936, Jankuhn expounded the view that the prehistoric period generally, and the centuries immediately preceding the turn of the millennium in particular, had moulded and guided the entire course of medieval German history (Jankuhn 1936/37: 1).

The concept of an ethnically or racially bound historical continuity had considerable bearing on Jankuhn's perception of the relationship between historical and archaeological research. In Jankuhn's opinion, archaeology not only took on the role of an indispensable complementary tool but also acted as a crucial foundation for all synthesised historical accounts. In a lecture on 'German prehistoric monuments and German history' [*Denkmäler deutscher Frühzeit und die deutsche Geschichte*] (Jankuhn n.d.f), Jankuhn emphasised the importance of arriving at a clear and detailed definition of the connection between archaeology and history; the failure to do so would expose and endanger a new 'historical understanding' [*Geschichtsauffassung*] that had developed since 1933. Fortunately, Jankuhn reflected, ordinary Germans had already made considerable progress towards perceiving the prehistoric period as an essential introduction – or even a basis – to German history. At the same time, they had come to appreciate that the Bronze Age *Germanen* had been a highly sophisticated, rather than a barbaric and uncultivated people.

Jankuhn once again used Germany's political and ethnic relationship with eastern Europe to illustrate his argument. He drew attention to the relative speed, confidence and ease with which German settlers had taken hold of eastern European regions during the early medieval and medieval periods. According to Jankuhn, the pre-existence of Germanic population elements in those areas – due to prehistoric colonial movements and the subsequent introduction of a lasting Germanic racial stock into the foreign lands – had facilitated the renewed establishment of highly advanced and dominant Germanic and German outposts in eastern Europe.

Reaching the crux of his argument, Jankuhn concluded as follows: the prehistoric and early historic monuments had provided a 'different perspective on one of the most impressive achievements of our nation during the Middle Ages' [*einen anderen Blickpunkt für eine der Großleistungen unseres Volkes im Mittelalter*] (Jankuhn n.d.f: 4). Since the earliest periods in history could simply not be approached by means of traditional documentary analysis, archaeological studies considerably widened the scope of historical research. Only a chronological extension of the traditional historical outlook and the subsequent inclusion of the prehistoric period into the established historical regime would engender the realisation that 'our

people's existence is borne by the great historical forces contained in our national character' [*unser völkisches Leben getragen [...] von den großen geschichtlichen Kräften unseres Volkstumes*] (Jankuhn n.d.f: 8).

The archaeological and historical disciplines effectively examined the same historical phenomena, processes and forces that had been prescribed and conditioned by the permanent national character of the Germanic people. The successes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Jankuhn argued, were the practical manifestations of an ethnic energy that had been at work for millennia previously. It therefore made little sense to study these subsequent historical events in isolation. Medieval and later developments could only be understood with reference to the preceding, prehistoric circumstances (Jankuhn n.d.f).

Elsewhere, Jankuhn argued that the beginning of a nation's history was not, as was so widely believed, determined by the 'coincidental' [*zufällige*] appearance of writing. The frequently attempted separation of historical periods – rather than serving any real descriptive or analytical purpose – merely satisfied what he called a 'principle of order' [*Ordnungsprinzip*] inherent to the human mind. The division between prehistory and history was 'purely conventional' [*rein konventionell*] and valid only in that the examination of different historical stages required the use of different scientific methodologies. Summing up his argument, Jankuhn stated that 'There is only one history that brings together everything in itself' [*Es gibt nur eine Geschichte, die alles in sich umschließt*] (Jankuhn 1936/37: 2). He thus effectively boosted pre- and protohistory's position within the historical disciplines.

The postulation of a direct historical link between prehistoric, medieval and modern Germanic/German history, as witnessed in Jankuhn's work, was customary during the 1930s and 40s; the works of contemporary German archaeologists abound with references to this supposed historical continuity. As already noted, Kossinna himself had pioneered a nationalist view of archaeological research and underlined a direct connection between prehistoric Germanic tribes and modern Germans. The subsequent generation followed suit. The prehistorian Ernst Sprockhoff (1892-1967), for instance, held that the birth of the *Germanen* – kickstarted through the fusion of two distinct peoples in the late Neolithic – had given rise to the 'organic' [*organisch*] growth of a 'new Nordic circle' [*neuer nordischer Kreis*] during the Bronze Age and

to that circle's seamless transition to the 'familiar Germanic culture of the early medieval period' [*bekannte germanische Kultur der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit*]. As a result, the Neolithic Germanic ethnogenesis represented a 'process of unique importance' [*Vorgang von einzigartiger Bedeutung*] for the entire course of 'German history' [*deutsche Geschichte*] (Sprockhoff 1938: 153).

In his studies on the Merovingian period, Hans Zeiss (1895-1944) held that artistic differences in the early medieval archaeological record had arisen on the basis of permanent and indelible distinctions between the German and French national character. Northern Bronze Age art forms were more familiar to modern-day Germans than southern traditions. Like Jankuhn (and earlier, Kossinna), Zeiss also emphasised that the true, indigenous nature of a people was contingent on its racial core (Fehr 2001: 378-379). In a similar vein, the prehistorian Ernst Wahle (1889-1981) asserted that the remote Germanic past held the key to the authentic character of the German people. Prehistoric monuments, Wahle explained, mattered in the present 'because the blood of those who erected them still lives in us' [*denn das Blut derer, die sie errichteten, lebt noch in uns*] (Wahle 1932: 50). Similar ideas were also advocated by the infamous German race scientist [*Rassenkundler*] and eugenicist Hans Günther (1891-1968). According to Günther, too, a racially distinct Germanic national character had emerged as early as the Bronze Age, and the Germanic peoples, distinguished by their laws, beliefs, social structures and physical appearance, had been able to maintain their racial originality and purity until their damaging encounter with Christianity in the medieval period (Günther 1935). The recovery of a nation's true, original character – that was, according to many, based on an unalterable racial core – and the subsequent portrayal of a people's history as a linear, almost predetermined process constituted fundamental and common objectives of pre- and protohistoric research during the 1930s and 40s.

2.2 The potential of pre- and protohistory. Jankuhn's principal research questions in the 1930s and 40s

In order to attain the comprehensive historical overview they sought, Jankuhn explained, pre- and protohistoric scholars tended to break down their examination of archaeological material into a series of individual and manageable research questions. If archaeological studies were conducted professionally, he suggested in an untitled

lecture, they contributed significantly towards the exposition of political, cultural and ‘intellectual history’ [*Geistesgeschichte*] (Jankuhn n.d.g: 3). Archaeological scholars had initially worked towards the establishment of – an ever more sophisticated – ‘chronological skeleton’ [*zeitliches Gerippe*] for the pre- and protohistoric periods (Jankuhn n.d.g: 5). Jankuhn at times discussed existing attempts to divide Germanic pre- and protohistory into a detailed sequence of periods that transcended the basic and long-standing separation into the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages (Jankuhn 1936/37: 14-20).

Moving beyond the construction of a meaningful and accurate chronological sequence, archaeologists had increasingly tackled different aspects of pre- and protohistoric life. In his introductory lecture series on the ‘Basic concepts of German prehistory’ [*Grundzüge der deutschen Vorgeschichte*] (Jankuhn 1936/37), Jankuhn identified various categories of archaeological remains as well as the research areas they illuminated. Burial types and grave goods revealed funerary cults and the ‘spiritual demeanour’ [*geistige Haltung*] of a people’s ancestors (Jankuhn 1936/37: 24-29; Jankuhn n.d.g: 5). Another promising data set were individual archaeological finds, such as pottery, weapons and ornaments. The examination of imported goods, for instance, shed light on import routes and trade patterns (Jankuhn 1936/37: 30-34).

According to Jankuhn, there was another, almost wholly untapped category of pre- and protohistoric data: early Germanic settlements had until now received only inadequate attention from archaeologists. The study of settlements, he explained, usefully complemented the archaeologist’s understanding of material culture; after all, the objects customarily found in graves represented only a selection, rather than the full range, of pre- and protohistoric remains. Surveys of house forms supposedly denoted ‘tribal circumstances’ [*Stammesverhältnisse*] and hence contributed to the establishment of ethnic identities. Section 2.4 discusses Jankuhn’s stance towards Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeological’ method and his attitude towards the identification of ethnic, racial or national entities in the archaeological record in more detail.

Moreover, Jankuhn underlined potential insights into economic processes and structures. For example, the archaeological record could frequently clarify whether a prehistoric community had reared livestock or cultivated crops. Jankuhn finally

pointed out that, under exceptionally auspicious circumstances, settlement patterns even illuminated constitutional and legal matters (Jankuhn 1936/37: 36). The emphasis Jankuhn placed on the significance of settlement studies in general, and on their potential for the explanation of pre- and protohistoric economic processes in particular, clearly foreshadows the direction his interests were to take in the post-war years. However, this specific research interest made up only a small part of a far more extensive range of scientific foci in the 1930s and 40s.

2.3 Basic parameters of pre- and protohistoric research in the 1930s and 40s

At this point, attention is briefly drawn to some of the principal parameters that, according to Jankuhn, circumscribed and moulded the conduct of archaeological research. Jankuhn initially commented on the archaeologist's principal tasks of 'find retrieval' [*Fundbergung*] and 'find analysis' [*Fundverarbeitung*]. Due to the relative youth of the discipline and the concurrent need to create a comprehensive material record base, the former currently had to take precedence over the latter (Jankuhn n.d.g: 3-4). Even a cursory perusal of contemporary pre-and protohistoric publications makes plain that data collection by no means outweighed data interpretation during the 1930s and 40s: the recurrent ethnic and racial labelling of archaeological assemblages – as undertaken by Jankuhn and many of his colleagues – is a case in point and attests to the inaccuracy of Jankuhn's claim.

Moreover, Jankuhn's clinical separation between the 'retrieval' and the 'analysis' of archaeological finds is reminiscent of a common and lasting idiosyncrasy of German archaeological research: the notion that data collection and classification are 'value-free' enterprises has survived well into the post-war period. A clear distinction between 'impartial' compilation and 'ideological' interpretation enabled the archaeological community in the post-war decades to distance itself from the ideologically corrupted enquiries conducted under National Socialist rule (see, for instance, Arnold & Haßmann 1995; Härke 1991; Härke 1995). Jankuhn's statement reveals that the roots of this notion reach back well beyond the National Socialist period. In fact, he appears to have been strongly marked by an historical positivism in the tradition of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) (Muhlack 2003: 141-142).

According to Jankuhn, the archaeological discipline suffered from difficulties that specifically related to its relative immaturity. The subject's youth frequently led outsiders to discount its findings. This disregard, Jankuhn explained, had led to a 'strange oscillation' [*eigenartiges Schwanken*] that had become typical of the entire discipline. An 'uncritical and unconditional acceptance and enthusiastic defence of all, even hypothetical and specious conclusions' [*bedingungs- und kritiklose Übernahme und begeisterte Verteidigung aller auch der hypothetischen Scheinergebnisse*] stood opposed to an absolute rejection of pre- and protohistory's methods and results, based purely on a fearful unwillingness to tread new scientific ground (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 2). Jankuhn may have been alluding to the likes of Wilhelm Teudt (1860-1942), a former pastor and prehistoric fanatic best known for his ludicrous Germanocentric interpretations of the Externsteine sandstone formation (Halle 2005: 93-96); or Herman Wirth (1885-1981), a Dutch-born archaeologist whose fiercely disputed theories postulated an 'atlantic-nordic race' [*atlantisch-nordische Rasse*] that had originated in the northern polar region, devised a primeval religion and a matriarchal society and civilised much of the world (Wiwjorra 1995: 97-101).

Jankuhn particularly railed against those irrational revellers, who, like Wirth, had completely divorced archaeological studies from their scientific and logical basis: according to Jankuhn, Wirth had repeatedly postulated a 'Mongolian and eastern streak' [*mongolischer und ostischer Einschlag*] in the Germanic people's racial make-up, although his theories failed to tally with the archaeological and anthropological record (Jankuhn n.d.g: 5-8). Although Wirth's scientific reputation was severely contested at the time (see Baeumler 1932), Jankuhn may have criticised his theory on political and ideological grounds. Hypotheses that assigned a decisive developmental role to the East were deeply unpopular during the National Socialist period; civilisation (and the *Germanen*), it was held, hailed from the North. Chapter V addresses this controversy in greater detail. Wirth, the 'spiritual father' of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, was increasingly ostracised from the German archaeological community in the late 1930s (Wiwjorra 1995: 106-107), and Jankuhn may simply have distanced himself from an unpopular colleague.

While Jankuhn granted that only research conducted ‘in a state of enthusiasm’ [*in einem Zustand der Begeisterung*] would yield concrete results, he simultaneously emphasised that scientific fervour ought to be curbed and directed ‘by critical reason’ [*durch die kritische Vernunft*]. Acknowledging once more the politico-ideological potential of pre- and protohistoric research, Jankuhn concluded that only the knowledge thus created would shape the *Weltanschauung* of coming generations (Jankuhn n.d.g: 7).

2.4 Jankuhn and Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’. An uneasy relationship

In an apparent analogy to Kossinna’s own ‘settlement-archaeological’ work, Jankuhn investigated a variety of Germanic and, to a lesser degree, non-Germanic tribal groupings. His lectures frequently featured investigations into the cultural traditions, economic structures, political system and territorial development of the ‘Eastern Germani’ [*Ostgermanen*], the ‘Western Germani’ [*Westgermanen*], the ‘Balts’ [*Balten*] or the ‘Celts’ [*Kelten*], as well as smaller groupings such as the ‘Rhenish Germani’ [*Rheingermanen*] or the ‘Elbe Germani’ [*Elbgermanen*] (Jankuhn 1936/37; Jankuhn 1935/36b). Jankuhn made use of terms and concepts that Kossinna had drawn on decades before him: the establishment of a clear demarcation between the so-called *Ostgermanen* and *Westgermanen*, for instance, had represented one of the latter’s major scientific themes (Grünert 2002a: 96).

As Jankuhn explained, the settlement areas or provinces associated with these groups were highly revealing: it was the archaeologist’s task ‘to infer the boundaries of peoples and tribes from the distribution of the finds’ [*aus der Verbreitung der Funde die Grenzen der Völker und Stämme abzuleiten*] (Jankuhn n.d.g: 5). According to him, the distributive patterns of different cultural phenomena and types had clearly not arisen coincidentally (Jankuhn 1936/37: 39). Jankuhn’s proposition to deduce ethnic borders from material culture areas directly reflected Kossinna’s main tenet: he employed and maintained the dubious equation of archaeological culture and ethnic entity that the latter had established.

While resorting to Kossinna’s paradigm in his own pre- and protohistoric studies, Jankuhn also supplied more conscious and direct methodological evaluations of Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’. In a lecture on ‘The value of the settlement-

archaeological method for protohistoric research' [*Der Wert der siedlungsarchäologischen Methode für die frühgeschichtliche Forschung*], Jankuhn raised the following, central question: while archaeological material undoubtedly illuminated prehistoric artistic traditions and economic structures, did it also promise to address the *political* or *ethnic* history of the pre- and protohistoric periods (Jankuhn n.d.i: 3; Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 2)? In Jankuhn's eyes, Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' method accomplished exactly that. By identifying and classifying complex spatial and temporal differences in archaeological remains, Kossinna's 'ethnographic prehistory' [*ethnographische Vorgeschichte*] (Kossinna 1911: 13) delineated archaeological cultures and subsequently assigned these assemblages to specific peoples or tribes (Jankuhn n.d.i: 3-4).

Although Jankuhn questioned the 'settlement-archaeological' paradigm on certain accounts, his criticism did not concern Kossinna's basic premise. In Jankuhn's opinion, it was nearly always possible to differentiate Germanic material from Slavic or Celtic remains. While he fully advocated the association of material remains with sizeable ethnic or national entities, Jankuhn rejected the identification of 'individual tribal groups and even subdivisions' [*die Herausstellung von einzelnen Stammesgruppen sogar mit Unterteilungen*]. In one of his own areas of interest – the settlement area of the *Ostgermanen* – Kossinna's efforts had been facilitated by a complete lack of written evidence regarding pre- and protohistoric ethnic boundaries. In other words, Kossinna's settlement maps as well as his 'settlement-archaeological' method could be neither corroborated nor invalidated (Jankuhn n.d.i: 5).

To illustrate his argument, Jankuhn highlighted two Germanic peoples in the North Sea area whose political boundaries were clearly documented by written evidence. The Frisians and the Saxons had shared a 'common transport region' [*einheitliches Verkehrsgebiet*] or, presumably, a connected economic system, 'a uniform culture area' [*gleiches Kulturgebiet*] and 'a near-identical racial composition' [*annähernd gleiche rassische Zusammensetzung*]: on the basis of their archaeological remains, they were indistinguishable. Nevertheless, historical sources attested that they had formed two distinct political entities (Jankuhn n.d.i: 6). Jankuhn hastened to stress that these difficulties did not mar Kossinna's method entirely. East Prussia, for instance, featured five separate culture areas, set apart both 'by their material culture

and their mental character' [*auf dem Gebiet der materiellen Kultur und der geistigen Eigenart*], and all five districts could indeed be assigned to historically known tribes. In this particular case, the correlation between cultural attributes and ethnic – or what Jankuhn sometimes dubbed 'political' – identity was real and apparent (Jankuhn n.d.i: 6-7).

In his own, amended version of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' method, Jankuhn held that the equation of 'cultures' [*Kulturen*] with peoples was tenable only where very large entities were concerned: for instance, it effectively applied to the 'individual Indogermanic peoples' [*indogermanische Einzelvölker*]. By contrast, 'culture provinces' [*Kulturprovinzen*] – the less sizeable archaeological culture areas – could not be associated with smaller tribal groupings with any confidence (Jankuhn n.d.i: 7; see also Jankuhn 1935/36b: 7). Ultimately, Jankuhn's conclusion was ambivalent at best:

Culture provinces may correspond to tribal groups, perhaps they do in most cases, but they do not always have to. (Jankuhn n.d.i: 7)

At first sight, the methodological divide erected by Jankuhn between large, overriding groups – those denoted by umbrella terms such as *Germanen* or *Kelten* – and small, particular tribal communities – for instance, the *Sachsen* or *Friesen* – seems somewhat arbitrary. If an ethnic group's essential character is manifested in its material culture – as, according to Jankuhn, it unmistakably was in the case of the *Germanen* or *Kelten* – it seems specious to argue that the same does not apply to smaller ethnic communities too. On one hand, Jankuhn may have presupposed a shorter lifespan and, by implication, a significantly decreased archaeological visibility in the case of minor ethnic groups (see, for instance, Grünert 2002a: 74-75).

On the other, the close correlation between the Saxon and Frisian archaeological culture areas may, in Jankuhn's eyes, have resulted from a perceived intrinsic, racial connection; after all, Jankuhn himself had highlighted that the *Sachsen* and *Friesen* had shared 'a near-identical racial composition'. Confusingly, Jankuhn did not consistently postulate that racial identity shaped archaeological culture distribution. As seen above, he held that common trade or transport links potentially produced analogous archaeological culture areas. Nevertheless, he

likewise emphasised that the correspondence of Saxon and Frisian material culture was – at least partly – owed to a shared racial core. Logically, therefore, the definite cultural differences between Celts and *Germanen* must have been due to racial distinctions in their turn. To put it simply, Jankuhn’s stance on the racial character of prehistoric peoples was anything but unequivocal.

Other texts reinforce this impression of ambiguity. In his lecture on ‘Southeastern Europe as a potential Germanic colony’, Jankuhn commended Kossinna for uncovering a ‘connection between the material remains of prehistory and the political organisation of their carriers’ [*Zusammenhang zwischen den materiellen Hinterlassenschaften der Vorzeit und der politischen Organisation ihrer Träger*]. According to Jankuhn, the universal applicability of Kossinna’s ‘paradigm’ [*Lehrsatz*] had not been conclusively established; and, given the available research methods, it was unlikely to be validated in the near future. Nevertheless, the ‘settlement-archaeological’ method had yielded valuable information regarding the protohistoric period and therefore functioned as a ‘useful research base’ [*brauchbare Forschungsgrundlage*] (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 2-3).

Besides, when taking into account the ‘stability of prehistoric conditions’ [*Stabilität vorgeschichtlicher Verhältnisse*], Kossinna’s method could even be applied to previous chronological periods. Since clearly delineated cultural groups or provinces had been fully established by the Neolithic, the ‘settlement-archaeological’ method could be harnessed when studying the ethnic conditions of that period. By contrast, enquiries into the Mesolithic or Palaeolithic stood to gain very little from the application of Kossinna’s paradigm. As Jankuhn explained, the correlation between culture areas and ethnic groupings was only ‘vaguely’ [*schattenhaft*] perceptible for the oldest prehistoric phases (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 4-5), although he failed to clarify why exactly that should be the case. Having previously objected to the examination and identification of small tribal groupings, Jankuhn subsequently opposed the method’s application to the earliest prehistoric stages. In other words, he stressed the need to select both the appropriate object of study – that is, large, overarching groups, such as the *Germanen* or *Kelten* – and the suitable chronological period – that is, anything from the Neolithic onwards.

Jankuhn also commented on what one might call the success rate of ‘settlement-archaeology’ (Jankuhn n.d.h). He granted that Kossinna’s methodological innovation had promoted archaeology’s establishment as an historical and scientific discipline (Jankuhn 1935/36a: 7), and he maintained that, in a number of cases, the territorial development of individual tribes had been determined via their archaeological culture areas. At the same time, however, he argued that archaeological assemblages had often failed to produce the ‘expected illustration of known historical facts’ [*erwartete Untermalung bekannter historischer Tatsachen*]: certain population movements during the Migration Period and specific Germanic tribal boundaries had not been detected archaeologically. In these instances, Kossinna’s method displayed ‘shortcomings or faults’ [*Mängel oder Fehler*], and its ‘undiscriminating generalisation’ [*kritiklose Verallgemeinerung*] became untenable (Jankuhn n.d.h: 2-3).

Finally, Jankuhn suggested that a shared ethnic or political identity may not have been the sole factor in the formation of homogeneous material culture assemblages. He argued that ‘extensive river systems’ [*große Flußsysteme*] were doubtless capable of generating ‘uniform economic areas’ [*einheitliche Wirtschaftsräume*] and, by implication, homogeneous archaeological culture areas (Jankuhn 1935/36a: 6; 1936/37: 40-41). However, Jankuhn invariably returned to a familiar theme: ‘Germanic tribes on German soil’ [*Germanenstämme auf deutschem Boden*] had always been marked out by a considerable consistency with regard to their ‘racial foundation’ [*rassische Grundlage*] (Jankuhn 1936/37: 41).

In his – admittedly muted and even confused – criticism of Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’, Jankuhn followed important precedents. As early as 1928, Jankuhn’s doctoral examiner Carl Schuchhardt (1859-1943) had charged Kossinna with a ‘chauvinistic outlook’ [*chauvinistische Auffassung*] (quoted in Grünert 2002a: 236). In the same year, Karl Hermann Jacob-Friesen (1886-1960) reproached Kossinna’s tendency to base his scientific work on ‘preconceived ideas’ [*vorgefaßte Meinungen*] (Jacob-Friesen 1928: 192). In addition, he articulated an uncomplimentary appraisal of Kossinna’s method:

It would be very interesting if Kossinna were once to show where his methodological paradigm has been tested a thousand times [...] and if he

were to demonstrate that he never lost the continuous connection with the beginnings of history [when carrying out] his ethnic identifications in early prehistoric times. (Jacob-Friesen 1928: 142)

According to Jacob-Friesen, Kossinna had ignored the ‘findings of ethnographic research’ [*Ergebnisse der völkerkundlichen Forschung*] and misconstrued the ‘concept of culture in its entirety’ [*Begriff Kultur in seiner Gesamtheit*] (Jacob-Friesen 1928: 139). Significantly, Jacob-Friesen did not oppose the equation of cultures and peoples categorically. He merely held that, until the breadth and diversity of the archaeological record were more comprehensively understood, caution remained warranted (Jacob-Friesen 1928: 230).

The German philologist Gustav Neckel (1878-1940) echoed Jacob-Friesen’s reservations. According to Neckel, more recent historic periods patently demonstrated that types and forms of material culture spread ‘regardless of ethnic or state boundaries’ [*ohne Rücksicht auf Völker- und Staatsgrenzen*]. There was, in his words, ‘not the slightest reason to assume that this should ever have been different in prehistory’ [*nicht der leiseste Grund anzunehmen, daß dies jemals in der Vorzeit anders gewesen sei*] (Neckel 1934: 9).

The prehistorian Ernst Wahle was one of Kossinna’s most vocal critics. By using specific prehistoric case-studies, he too cast significant doubt on Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeological’ paradigm: for one, Wahle held that the historically attested Suebi could not be recognised in the archaeological record. Conversely, he maintained that the distinct artistic styles associated with the Hallstatt and La Tène periods had not corresponded to changed ethnic structures. However, much like Jacob-Friesen, Wahle was loath to discard Kossinna’s methodological construct in its entirety. Far from rejecting the ethnic interpretation of pre- and protohistoric remains, he contested the universal applicability of Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’ and called for its elaboration and improvement (Hakelberg 2001: 252-255).

Jankuhn’s own attitude towards the so-called ‘forerunner of Nazi ideology’ was similarly ambiguous. On one hand, Jankuhn recognised that Kossinna’s work had been instrumental in transforming prehistoric research into a historical discipline. Jankuhn himself investigated and differentiated early human groups – whether large or small – on the basis of their associated material culture collections (Jankuhn

1936/37; Jankuhn 1935/36b). At times, he appears to have extended Kossinna's methodological construct: his suggestion that building styles may be indicative of ethnic affiliation is a case in point. On the other hand, Jankuhn questioned the general applicability of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology' on several occasions and for various reasons. He admitted that Kossinna's ideas were 'hotly disputed' [*heiss umstritten*] (Jankuhn 1935/36b: 6).

While Jankuhn concurred with the central charge laid at Kossinna's door – the latter had not demonstrated a conclusive correlation between archaeological culture areas and ethnic groups – his censure was somewhat more constructive. Contemporary critics, such as Jacob-Friesen and Wahle, deplored Kossinna's failure to test his method but often proved reluctant to abandon it themselves. Jankuhn, however, trod a new path. What if a common economic system, rather than a shared ethnic identity, had prompted the development of homogeneous archaeological culture areas? If Jankuhn was aiming to float a radically different theoretical and methodological concept, he did so most inconsistently. As shown above, Jankuhn continued to work with Kossinna's concepts and method: ethnicity and race shaped material culture distribution, at least to a degree and certainly in the case of the *Germanen*. Jankuhn's allusions to economic factors are more haphazard, perhaps indicating that he regarded his novel approach as incompatible with an intellectual climate that fostered a near-obsession with the ethnic and racial roots of nations. If pressed, one might have to concede that Jankuhn followed Kossinna, albeit sceptically and unwillingly. Jankuhn's new ideas only came to fruition well after the end of the Second World War.

3 Research interests and methods in the post-war period

3.1 The aims of pre- and protohistoric research and its relationship with history

In 1951, Jankuhn once again illustrated the relationship between the archaeological and historical disciplines (Jankuhn 1951). In a lecture entitled 'Prehistory and history', Jankuhn charted the confines of archaeological research. He explained that, in much of central and northwestern Europe, the beginning of the historical era – in other words, the period documented in written records – had approximately coincided with the reign of Charlemagne; in northern and eastern

Europe, writing had only made an entry between 1000 and 1200 AD. Only an ‘exceptionally small fragment of human history’ [*ausserordentlich kleiner Abschnitt der Menschheitsgeschichte*] could therefore be studied by means of documentary sources; the greater part remained in the dark despite the fact that some of the most ‘decisive transformations in humanity’s development’ [*entscheidende Wandlungen der Menschheitsgeschichte*] had occurred centuries or even millennia before the arrival of the written word (Jankuhn 1951).

As before, Jankuhn pointed out that history and archaeology did not represent two qualitatively distinct disciplines. Rather, they broached the same subject matter with different sources and, consequently, methods. He maintained this position for decades. As his opening remarks at a conference on ‘Historical science and archaeology’ [*Geschichtswissenschaft und Archäologie*], held on the Reichenau Island in Lake Constance in 1974 and 1975, spelled out, pre- and protohistoric research could supply valuable methodological approaches and source material ‘for the illumination of problems that are of common interest’ [*für die Erhellung gemeinsam interessierender Probleme*] (Jankuhn 1979: 9).

As seen above, Jankuhn had customarily upheld archaeology’s significance for historical research during the National Socialist period. Nevertheless, there were some notable differences in emphasis. Jankuhn did not, in the 1950s, highlight archaeology’s ability to reveal the true, original and racially determined character of ancient peoples. He altogether distanced himself from an excessive concern with ethnic or national histories: as pointed out above, his lecture alternatively referred to ‘human history’ and ‘humanity’s development’ in the post-war period (Jankuhn 1951).

In a publication series on ‘German agrarian history’ [*Deutsche Agrargeschichte*] – he contributed the volume on ‘Pre- and protohistory from the Neolithic to the Migration Period’ [*Vor- und Frühgeschichte vom Neolithikum bis zur Völkerwanderungszeit*] (Jankuhn 1969) – Jankuhn commented on the concrete difficulties involved in the compilation of a German historical account. According to him, the precise confines of such a work were difficult to establish. The term ‘German’ inconveniently lacked any equivalent in the pre- and protohistoric periods. Unlike today, it had not then acted as a national denominator (Jankuhn 1969: 9). An

‘Agrarian history of Germany’, Jankuhn explained, would prove similarly anachronistic. Germany’s geographical extent had fluctuated violently over the centuries, and none of the numerous medieval, early modern or modern boundaries of the German state(s) would be remotely relevant to pre- and protohistoric conditions (Jankuhn 1969: 9-10). An ethnic definition of the term ‘German’ engendered further difficulties. Although Germanic tribes had stood at the beginning of German history, they had absorbed numerous recognisable and unidentifiable foreign elements by the early medieval period. It was impossible to fully determine the nature and course of these ‘blending processes’ [*Mischungsprozesse*]. If a ‘German agrarian history’ were to be circumscribed on the basis of ethnicity, the complex histories and relations of various other contributing tribes and peoples would inevitably require exploration (Jankuhn 1969: 9).

According to Jankuhn, the production of national histories thus involved considerable complications: contrary to his assertion in the 1930s, the historical development of a people, its ethnic character and its territory represented anything but a linear progression. Since ethnic, national or racial entities no longer represented archaeology’s main classificatory tools, pre- and protohistoric research lost much of its national and patriotic significance. As a result, Jankuhn must have adapted his central research aims: ‘the cultivation of our national history as the legacy of our ancestors’ [*die Pflege unserer nationalen Geschichte als das Erbe unserer Vorfahren*] (Jankuhn n.d.g: 1) was evidently outdated.

The underlying aims of pre- and protohistoric research had been profoundly transformed since the 1930s, and Jankuhn outlined these new scientific foci on several occasions. In a lecture entitled ‘Prehistory and history’, he specified the following six areas of interest: ‘political history’ [*politische Geschichte*], ‘art and cultural history’ [*Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*], ‘technology’ [*Technik*], ‘trade and economy’ [*Handel und Wirtschaft*], ‘social circumstances’ [*soziale Verhältnisse*] and ‘settlement history’ [*Besiedlungsgeschichte*] (Jankuhn 1951). The latter term in particular alludes to a significant conceptual shift. While the pre-existing *Siedlungsarchäologie* or ‘settlement-archaeology’ had been exclusively associated with Kossinna’s paradigm, the novel phrase *Besiedlungsgeschichte* referred to an altogether different subject of study. ‘Settlement history’ involved the investigation of

actual, physical settlements and their environment, rather than the identification of supposed prehistoric ethnic groups.

Elsewhere, Jankuhn divided pre- and protohistoric research into four neat categories: settlements, demography, the economy and early political institutions, such as the Church (Jankuhn 1979: 10). Additionally, archaeology – in cooperation with jurisdictional, constitutional and economic history, sociology and geography – shed light on the ‘emergence of urbanism‘ [*Entstehung des Städtewesens*] and urban life in northwestern and northern Europe. In so doing, the discipline illuminated one of the most profound social and structural transformations since the spread of agriculture in the Neolithic (Jankuhn 1954: 213). Chapter VI discusses Jankuhn’s own extensive research in this field, carried out predominantly in the context of his long-standing excavations at Haithabu. Promising as this catalogue of research opportunities sounded, Jankuhn cautioned that the interpretation of archaeological material was still fraught with difficulties, that the discipline’s methods were often complicated and that its success at accurately depicting the human past was ‘variable’ [*schwankend*] at best (Jankuhn 1951).

3.2 Post-war critique of Kossinna

In the post-war decades, pre-existing criticism of Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’ was gradually resumed and elaborated upon. According to Jankuhn (1976b: 2; 1976c: 23), Albert Kiekebusch (1870-1935), Ernst Wahle and, later, Hans Jürgen Eggers (1906-1975) had supplied seminal evaluations of Kossinna’s method. Kiekebusch, whose doctoral dissertation had in fact been supervised by Kossinna himself (Müller 2000: 480), acknowledged the intrinsic merit of ‘ethnological questions’ [*ethnologische Fragen*] in pre- and protohistoric research, but highlighted major methodological shortcomings (Kiekebusch 1928: 103). For one, he held, the material record usually failed to yield the clear-cut archaeological culture provinces required by Kossinna’s ‘settlement-archaeology’ (Kiekebusch 1928: 105). More significantly, Kossinna’s method entirely neglected the ‘systematic detection and investigation’ [*systematisches Aufsuchen und Erforschen*] of prehistoric human dwellings; traces of human habitations and settlements frequently remained unidentified. In Kiekebusch’s eyes, this ‘vexing deficiency’ [*empfindlicher Mangel*] resulted from Kossinna’s exclusive emphasis on funerary finds (Kiekebusch 1928:

107). Kiekebusch himself carried out significant excavations on the Bronze Age settlement of Berlin-Buch (see Kiekebusch 1921: 47-52). As will be seen below, Kiekebusch's appeal for a greater concentration on prehistoric human dwellings and settlements was to be vigorously echoed by Jankuhn himself.

Whereas Ernst Wahle had questioned the universal applicability of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology' in the 1930s (see Eggers 1950: 49-50; Hakelberg 2001: 252-255), Hans Jürgen Eggers produced a notable treatise on 'The issue of ethnic interpretation in prehistory' [*Das Problem der ethnischen Deutung in der Frühgeschichte*] in 1950. He explained that Kossinna had – erroneously – conducted his work from an exclusively ethnic perspective and squeezed his material for 'ethnic answers' [*ethnische Antworten*] it was often unable to supply. According to Eggers, Kossinna had simply asked the wrong question:

The entire conflict concerning 'ethnic' interpretations loses its acuteness [...] when one refers to an h i s t o r i c interpretation of archaeological remains and when one considers an ethnic interpretation as only one among its many possibilities. (Eggers 1950: 58)

Kossinna, he continued, could have disarmed his many critics by carefully deliberating whether a distinct material assemblage denoted 'a state, a religious community, a social or professional group' [*ein Staat, eine Religionsgemeinschaft, eine soziale oder Berufsgruppe*] (Eggers 1950: 58).

Eggers clarified his point by means of an example. Charlemagne, he held, had conquered the Saxons around 800 AD, and this subjugation was, somewhat circuitously, visible in the archaeological record: pagan cemeteries had ceased to exist, and Christian churches and burial rites had appeared in their stead. As a consequence, a mere side-effect of Charlemagne's successful campaign – the Saxons' 'conversion to Christianity and the concomitant inclusion into the occidental culture circle' [*die Bekehrung zum Christentum und damit die Einbeziehung in den Kreis der abendländischen Kultur*] – had made its archaeological mark, rather than the political and military events themselves (Eggers 1950: 57).

While Eggers conceded 'that the presence of finds in their landscape demonstrates the presence of people' [*daß das Vorhandensein von Funden in einer*

Landschaft die Anwesenheit von Menschen bezeugt], he simultaneously advocated an extension of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' framework: archaeological culture areas could, but did not inevitably, derive from an ethnic or political affiliation; they could equally be indicative of socially, religiously, professionally or otherwise constituted entities (Eggers 1950: 58). Eggers' proposition was patently analogous to a suggestion previously voiced by Jankuhn himself. According to him, other factors, such as a shared economic system, may also have prompted the development of homogeneous archaeological culture areas.

According to Jankuhn, the 'complete rejection of Kossinna's theses' [*vollständige Ablehnung der Kossinnaschen Thesen*] had given way to their 'careful examination' [*vorsichtige Überprüfung*] (Jankuhn 1976b: 20). Jankuhn himself maintained that the 'settlement-archaeological' paradigm had represented a real, if methodologically inadequate attempt to address 'historical problems' [*historische Fragestellungen*] (Jankuhn 1976a: IX). In Jankuhn's opinion, Kossinna had effectively prompted the first 'historical interpretations in the field of German prehistoric research' [*historische Interpretationen im Bereich der deutschen Vorgeschichtsforschung*] (Jankuhn 1976b: 2).

Though Kossinna himself had failed to prove the existence of archaeological culture areas, their reality could no longer be seriously doubted. Jankuhn argued that the Neolithic Linear Pottery Group – the *linearbandkeramische Gruppe* – in central Europe was plainly distinguishable from its neighbouring culture provinces. The merger of two distinct culture provinces – the megalith-culture [*Megalithkultur*] or *Trichterbecherkultur* and the single grave-culture [*Einzelgrabkultur*] – in Jutland and on the Danish islands similarly attested to the reality of archaeological culture areas. Differentiated archaeological provinces existed and called for an interpretation. Nevertheless, Jankuhn questioned whether ethnic differences adequately accounted for variations in material culture distribution. In some cases, the equation of cultures and peoples apparently worked. The central European La Tène culture, for instance, stood out from the surrounding culture provinces, and its extent largely followed a presumed Celtic settlement area (Jankuhn 1976b: 20-21).

On the other hand, Jankuhn held that Kossinna had supplied an 'inadequate methodological foundation' [*ungenügende methodische Grundlegung*] for the study

of past ethnic entities (Jankuhn 1976b: 21; Jankuhn 1979: 12). ‘Flawless criteria for the identification of distinct ethnic groups’ [*einwandfreie Kriterien für die Aussonderung verschiedener ethnischer Gruppen*] were immensely rare, and the verification of pre- and protohistoric ethnic conditions therefore remained fraught with ‘uncertainty’ [*Unsicherheit*] (Jankuhn 1976b: 22). Nonetheless, Jankuhn concluded that ethnic enquiries continued to represent a legitimate and desirable pursuit for the archaeological scholar (Jankuhn 1976b: 22; Jankuhn 1979: 12).

Jankuhn also recommended that Kossinna’s work be viewed in its contemporary intellectual, political and ideological context. According to him, nineteenth-century thinkers had typically established strict ‘linear boundaries’ [*lineare Grenzen*] between perceived ethnic entities. Thus, the emerging link between ethnicity and archaeology had to be seen from this perspective (Jankuhn 1976b: 21). Elsewhere, Jankuhn explained that perceptions of pre- and protohistoric tribes and peoples were commonly built on the medieval concept of ‘tribal duchies’ [*Stammesherzogtümer*] (see Wenskus 1961). In Jankuhn’s eyes, this was a mistake: at the time of Tacitus, tribes and peoples had been ‘less stable’ [*labiler*] and ‘smaller’ [*kleiner*]; and they had differed from medieval ethnic entities in their ‘form’ [*Art*], their ‘size’ [*Größe*] and their ‘formation’ [*Entstehung*] (Jankuhn 1964/66: 305; Jankuhn 1971b).

In a twentieth-century context, Jankuhn declared, archaeologists should abandon such ideologically contingent, outmoded and rigid concepts and assume a greater measure of ‘blending’ [*Durchmischung*] between pre- and protohistoric ethnic groups. Migrations almost certainly led to population mergers, and newly entering ethnic elements probably settled alongside and between ‘large remains of the indigenous population’ [*große Reste der ursprünglichen Bevölkerung*]. In Jankuhn’s eyes, these complex processes still awaited adequate study (Jankuhn 1976b: 21).

3.3 The new ‘settlement-archaeology’

As Jankuhn explained, several prominent archaeologists had previously been reluctant to adopt the term ‘settlement-archaeology’ [*Siedlungsarchäologie*] as the accepted appellation for Gustaf Kossinna’s methodological approach. In fact, *Siedlungsarchäologie* came to denote a rather different scientific endeavour in the

post-war period. According to Jankuhn, the early decades of the twentieth century had seen a growing interest in the study of ‘settlement processes’ [*Siedlungsvorgänge*] in various regions, and, from the 1920s onwards, human settlements themselves were increasingly singled out for detailed investigation. Jankuhn explained that, as a consequence, the term *Siedlungsarchäologie* today stood for the study of settlements on the basis of material remains and archaeological methods (Jankuhn 1976b: 2). The new ‘settlement-archaeology’ yielded information on ‘settlement processes’ [*Besiedlungsvorgänge*] and explored the development of settlements and populations in specific regions (Jankuhn 1977: 6).

Of course, this new orientation was not wholly without precedent. In one of the first large-scale investigations of a prehistoric settlement in Germany, Albert Kiekebusch had explored the Bronze Age settlement at Berlin-Buch during the early decades of the twentieth century (Müller 2000: 480). The German exile Gerhard Bersu (1889-1984) had conducted seminal work on the Iron Age site of Little Woodbury in Wiltshire. One of Jankuhn’s express war-time foes, Hans Reinerth, had, from 1919 onwards, investigated the well-preserved Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement remains in the Federsee marshlands of southwestern Germany. Reinerth made extensive use of advanced scientific methods, incorporating botany, zoology, geology and aerial photography into the project (Schöbel 2002: 324-325; see also Strobel 2000). Unsurprisingly perhaps, Jankuhn’s influential textbook – ‘An introduction to settlement-archaeology’ or *Einführung in die Siedlungsarchäologie* – fails to mention Reinerth’s early advances in the field (Jankuhn 1977).

The nature of archaeological source analysis had undergone rather significant modifications. Traditional pre- and protohistoric interpretations, Jankuhn stated, had centred on the close study of the form and structure of grave goods, hoards or single finds. Archaeologists had focused on the ‘qualitative features of the individual piece’ [*qualitative Kriterien des einzelnen Stückes*] (Jankuhn 1976c: 24). By contrast, the new ‘settlement-archaeology’ placed far greater weight on the remnants of buildings and settlements and on their position within the landscape (Jankuhn 1976c: 25). Jankuhn’s call for a greater concentration on the setting of early settlements recalls the analogous British development towards a ‘landscape archaeology’ during the

1950s and 60s (Aston & Rowley 1974; Fowler 1972; see Johnson 2007 for a more recent discussion).

The new ‘settlement-archaeology’ focused on two broad themes: first, it investigated the historical development of settlement patterns. Secondly, it scrutinised the individual settlements themselves. According to Jankuhn, a variety of sources was available for analysis. Cemeteries were often associated with settlements, and burials and grave goods yielded important information concerning their inhabitants (Jankuhn 1974; Jankuhn 1975a; Jankuhn 1977: 8-13). In addition, the settlements themselves provided a range of archaeological data. Jankuhn explained that excavations of complete settlements remained exceptional owing to the immense financial costs involved. Deplorably, pre- and protohistorians thereby forewent significant insights into ancient life.

To begin with, the new ‘settlement-archaeology’ shed light on the location, size and shape of settlements and illuminated their economic structure and social organisation. Did inhabitants engage in agrarian or manufacturing activities, and was the society egalitarian or stratified (Jankuhn 1974; Jankuhn 1975a; Jankuhn 1976c: 26; Jankuhn 1977: 13-16)? In addition, ancient traces of agricultural production attested to the continued presence of agriculturally active populations, therefore pointing towards the nearby existence of settlements and indicating the use of a particular economic system over an extended period of time (Jankuhn 1971a; Jankuhn 1977: 16-17). The prehistoric extraction of raw materials, such as copper, flint or salt, had likewise left traces in the material record. These remains cast light on ‘economically motivated settlement processes’ [*wirtschaftlich bedingte Siedlungsvorgänge*] and on the entailed ‘interventions with the natural environment’ [*Eingriffe in die natürliche Landschaft*] (Jankuhn 1977: 20; Jankuhn 1974). According to Jankuhn, fortifications at times provided valuable source material. Their detailed investigation revealed their position within contemporary trade networks and their interaction with the surrounding economic region. Unlike most other source types investigated in the context of the new ‘settlement-archaeology’, fortified sites likewise shed light on political structures (Jankuhn 1974; Jankuhn 1977: 20-21). The study of pre- and protohistoric defences had previously been advocated and practiced by Gerhard Bersu (see, for instance, Bersu 1945).

The National Socialist period had seen a forceful assertion of pre- and protohistory's position among the social and historical sciences. Jankuhn had often extolled his young discipline's scientific potential. Conversely, the new 'settlement-archaeology' placed far greater emphasis on interdisciplinary research. Indeed, Jankuhn called for the intimate involvement of the natural sciences, including palaeobotany, zoology, geography, geology, biology, physics and metallurgy, among others (Jankuhn 1975b; Jankuhn 1976c; Jankuhn 1977).

Secondly, Jankuhn harboured a greater interest in pre- and protohistoric economic structures and trade relations. As he explained, the new 'settlement-archaeological' method primarily aimed for the reconstruction of ancient production processes and subsistence schemes. At the same time, he postulated a closer engagement with ancient demography. In his eyes, this would not necessarily imply a return to the familiar – and sore – topic of ethnicity (Jankuhn 1976c: 28). Though Jankuhn had effectively studied pre- and protohistoric settlement patterns during the 1930s and 40s, he had then regarded these as the territorial expressions of early peoples and tribes: in other words, the delineation of a people's settlement area had been an essential part of writing its national history. With the advent of the new 'settlement-archaeology', this ostensibly ceased to be the case; as noted above, settlements were now essentially studied from a socio-economic perspective. Nevertheless, Jankuhn was unable to wholly free himself from national and ethnic concepts in the post-war period: he insisted that ethnic enquiries continued to represent a legitimate pursuit and that a correlation between archaeological culture areas and ethnic identity could not be ruled out entirely.

4 Summary and conclusions

Chapter IV has dealt with Jankuhn's principal research interests and methodological parameters both before and after 1945. Section 1 has introduced the pivotal figure of Gustaf Kossinna, whose 'settlement-archaeology' acted as the methodological basis for much of the nationalistically and racially inspired pre- and protohistoric research of the National Socialist period. Kossinna advocated the identification of archaeological culture groups with historically known tribes and thereby provided an historical basis for Nazi Germany's territorial claims to large parts of central and eastern Europe. In addition, his determination to demonstrate the

cultural supremacy of Germanic civilisation as well as his application of racial hierarchies to archaeological studies bolstered the regime's aggressively chauvinistic and destructive ideologies.

Section 2 has addressed Jankuhn's view of the aims and value of pre- and protohistoric research. In the first instance, Jankuhn held during the National Socialist period, archaeological research enabled enquiries into the national past: in his eyes, prehistoric studies unveiled the true and original character of a people. The frequently postulated notion of a continuous Germanic/German historical development (see Chapter V, in particular) logically presupposed the existence of an intrinsic and unchanging national or ethnic character. At times, Jankuhn also maintained that this shared disposition was racially defined. The concept of a common national or ethnic core in turn conditioned Jankuhn's perception of the relationship between history and archaeology. Since prehistory alone facilitated the recognition of a people's authentic and fundamental character, it acted as an indispensable foundation for all historical studies.

The establishment of a direct link between prehistoric, medieval and modern Germanic/German history undoubtedly represented a significant politico-ideological tool. National Socialist ideologies made particularly systematic use of such accounts. Chapter III has suggested that evidence of unbroken cultural influences, continued political activities or permanence of settlement was employed to validate political and territorial demands. Jankuhn's postulation of such a connection was therefore by no means exceptional: as Chapter V illustrates, depictions of an unbroken Germanic/German past had been cultivated for decades, if not centuries, and section 2 has shown that a variety of contemporary scholars employed similar techniques.

In Jankuhn's eyes, the pre- and protohistoric record shed light on a variety of topics. Archaeological research contributed to the understanding of political, cultural and intellectual history and illuminated trade routes, patterns and economic processes. In addition, archaeologists had gradually developed an increasingly refined chronological structure for the pre- and protohistoric periods. Significantly, Jankuhn also emphasised the importance of early Germanic settlements, thus foreshadowing the direction his interests were to take in the post-war years. It is important to note that, in the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn still conceived the significance of ancient

settlements in ethnic or national terms. For instance, he held that house forms served to denote pre- and protohistoric tribal circumstances.

The underlying parameters that shaped Jankuhn's archaeological research have also been highlighted. Initially, Jankuhn established a strict separation between the 'retrieval' and the 'analysis' of finds, recalling the commonly held notion that certain stages in the process of pre- and protohistoric research – namely, the collection and classification of data – are 'neutral' and 'value-free' activities. The rather tenuous distinction between 'impartial' compilation and 'ideological' interpretation harks back at Jankuhn's alleged belief in the separation of politics and research, as referred to in Chapter III.

In a similar vein, Jankuhn emphasised that the solution of archaeological problems necessitated the application of 'reason' and 'logic', principles that, regrettably, had been abandoned by a number of pre- and protohistorians. Once again, he underlined the dubious notion that archaeological research remained unbiased and apolitical as long as explicit exploitation and manipulation were sidestepped. Jankuhn's own attempts to attune the public to the national significance of pre- and protohistory plainly clashed with these ostentatious calls for objectivity and rationality.

Finally, section 2 has examined Jankuhn's ambiguous stance on Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' method. On one hand, Jankuhn commended Kossinna's contribution to pre- and protohistoric research and (partially) maintained his equation between archaeological culture provinces and ethnic identities. As seen above, Jankuhn himself differentiated and explored early human groups on the basis of their associated archaeological remains. By putting forward that building styles denote ethnic membership (see particularly Chapter VI), he even seems to have developed Kossinna's basic methodological concept further.

On the other hand, Jankuhn listed a whole catalogue of criticism: the 'settlement-archaeological' method could only be applied to sizeable ethnic groups and from the Neolithic onwards, its results frequently clashed with the available documentary evidence, and, most damagingly, it had never actually been substantiated by its creator. Though Jankuhn's 'yes – no – maybe' position was never

effectively clarified, his tentative allusion to the potential homogenising effect of economic – rather than ethnic – factors on archaeological culture groups undercut Kossinna's paradigm and perhaps underlined his notional eagerness to tread new scientific ground.

Jankuhn was not Kossinna's only (cautious) critic. Section 2 has established that a number of well-known scholars likewise questioned the universal applicability of the 'settlement-archaeological' method and cautioned that Kossinna's paradigm had yet to be conclusively tested. Although these condemnations differed in their severity, their mere existence indicates that an unreserved conformity with Kossinna was considerably less prevalent than might have been assumed. As suggested in Chapter III, the organisational polyvalence of cultural and archaeological policy and research in Nazi Germany was mirrored in a significant intellectual multiplicity. National Socialism, in other words, never created a single National Socialist archaeological tradition. The critical position adopted by a number of prominent pre- and protohistorians on Kossinna, the imputed 'forerunner of National Socialist ideology', supports this suggestion.

As section 3 has shown, Jankuhn's research aims, interests and parameters underwent notable shifts after the National Socialist period. On one hand, Jankuhn continued to maintain that archaeology and history were not qualitatively distinct disciplines; in his eyes, they merely tackled different sources and therefore employed different methods. On the other hand, Jankuhn assigned markedly less significance to the national, ethnic or racial significance of archaeological research. Rather than revealing the original, genuine and intrinsic character of a people, pre- and protohistoric studies were now seen to shed light on the early history of humanity. In addition, the historical development of peoples and nations was no longer perceived as a strictly linear process. According to Jankuhn, the term 'German' had been neither geographically nor ethnically stable and homogeneous through time. On the whole, national, ethnic and racial entities lost much of their utility as classificatory units in the post-war period.

Pre-existing criticism of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' method was resumed and developed after 1945. Although Jankuhn maintained that Kossinna had introduced historical questions and interpretations into German archaeological

research, he continued to emphasise the methodological deficiencies of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology'. Homogeneous archaeological culture areas, he argued, represented real phenomena but did not inevitably derive from an ethnic or political affiliation. As Jankuhn explained, social, religious or economic factors could likewise have played a fundamental role. A more pronounced concentration on economic, social and demographic questions in the post-war period reflected this analysis. Though Jankuhn had highlighted the potential impact of a shared economic or trade system on material culture distribution as early as the 1930s and 40s, the actual and detailed study of such non-ethnic factors may have been considerably facilitated by the drastically changed politico-ideological environment of the post-war era.

The recognition of a further underlying weakness in Kossinna's methodological construct contributed to one of the most significant post-war re-orientations in Jankuhn's archaeological research. Albert Kiekebusch's early criticism of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology' – the former accurately held that the latter had neglected the identification and, crucially, the examination of prehistoric human habitations and settlements – was forcefully echoed by Jankuhn himself. In addressing this criticism, Jankuhn effectively elaborated an entirely new variety of 'settlement-archaeological' research: as section 3 has demonstrated, this novel approach entailed the study of actual, physical settlements and their environment, rather than the identification of prehistoric ethnic groups. Unlike Kossinna's *Siedlungsarchäologie*, Jankuhn's new *Besiedlungsgeschichte* investigated the size and shape, the economic, social and demographic structures of pre- and protohistoric settlements as well as their position within and impact on their environment. As shown in Chapter VI, Jankuhn's altered approach towards the examination of the early medieval settlement Haithabu mirrored these fundamental changes.

Jankuhn did not unreservedly discard ethnic and national concepts in his post-war work: he maintained that ethnic enquiries represented a legitimate and even desirable pursuit for archaeological scholars and continued to address the ethnic or national character of pre- and protohistoric groups in his own writings. Nevertheless, the identification of national, ethnic and racial entities in the material record had been stripped of its overriding and central significance. Instead, social, economic, demographic and technological questions were rapidly gaining ground. Section 2 has

demonstrated that Jankuhn's own preoccupation with such issues in fact predated the end of the National Socialist period.

Though Jankuhn's research aims and methodological direction underwent perceptible and major adaptations, the charted modifications transpired in a gradual and fluid manner. Although the year 1945 represented a political, ideological, social and intellectual watershed, certain pre- and protohistoric concepts and trends subsisted well into the post-war period and were adjusted with a considerable chronological delay. Others, by contrast, originated under National Socialist rule but only came to full fruition several years after Nazi Germany's demise.

Interestingly, Jankuhn himself (perhaps inadvertently) admitted that such scientific shifts were contingent on political, ideological and intellectual conditions. According to Jankuhn, Kossinna himself had been indelibly marked by the nineteenth-century notions of ethnic distinction and delimitation. Seen in this light, his – Kossinna's – concerted efforts to forge an immediate and intrinsic connection between ethnic identities and material culture assemblages were perhaps understandable. In spite of this recognition, Jankuhn failed to acknowledge that his own archaeological work had been affected by similar political, ideological and intellectual currents.

CHAPTER V

From *Indogermanen* to Vikings. Changing representations of German pre- and protohistory in Herbert Jankuhn's work

‘Von Ewigkeit her kommt unser Volk und in die Ewigkeit hinein geht der Germane.’

*[Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer-SS and Head of the German Police,
speech in Bitsch, 1944, quoted in Smith and Peterson 1974: 237]*

‘The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuers of all that was exalted and heroic in its past [...]. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany which pursue only one aim – to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion. The new-baked National Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousand years, by virtue of some “historical law”, a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national “saviour” [...]. In these books the greatest figures of the German people in the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.’

[Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Comintern, speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, 1935, Dimitrov 1935: 69]

While previous chapters have illustrated, discussed and juxtaposed Jankuhn's central research interests and methodological conceptions during and after the National Socialist period, Chapter V examines and evaluates specific aspects of Jankuhn's archaeological interpretations. More precisely, the chapter addresses Jankuhn's account of Germanic pre- and protohistory: how did he describe the historical development of the Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German peoples? What were the central and recurring themes of his descriptions? To what extent did his representations adhere to and reinforce elements of National Socialist ideology? And, finally, did his narrative change over time?

In order to contextualise Herbert Jankuhn's interpretations of real or perceived historic groups, sections 1 and 2 briefly introduce some of the most long-standing and common portrayals of the Germanic/German past. While section 1 sketches the formulation of Germanic ideologies from approximately the fifteenth century onwards, section 2 enumerates the most fundamental components of Germanic imagery. In other words, what internal and external traits purportedly characterised the Germanic/German peoples? This concise and necessarily cursory account is indispensable, because it places Jankuhn's work into an ideological context that extends well beyond the National Socialist period. It demonstrates that the ideological circumstances in which Jankuhn was acting, working and writing had been in the making for decades and centuries before the National Socialist takeover. In order to determine whether Jankuhn adhered to and perpetuated common Germanic ideologies, sections 3 and 4 repeatedly consult this catalogue of qualities.

Section 3 investigates Jankuhn's representations of Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German peoples during the National Socialist period. To begin with, the section addresses the ethnogenesis of the *Germanen*. It initially attempts to gauge Jankuhn's stance on a highly controversial and ideologically charged issue, that is, the precise provenance of the *Germanen* and, more specifically, of their constitutive prehistoric groups. In addition, the particular characteristics of the proto-Germanic and early Germanic population elements are specified: a pronounced attachment to the soil, superior intellectual and cultural capacities and a proactive, bellicose attitude are among the most prominent qualities.

Next, the section focuses on Germanic culture and society in the Bronze and Iron Ages. In particular, it scrutinises Jankuhn's depictions of Germanic religious customs, artistic traditions, territorial developments and socio-political structures during those periods. The section subsequently turns towards the political and territorial developments of the first millennium after Christ. More precisely, it treats the conflict between the Roman Empire and the Germanic North as well as the expansion and consolidation of the Germanic settlement area during the Migration Period and the Viking Age. Jankuhn's emphasis on the continuous and enduring nature of Germanic colonial endeavours and on a presumed Germanic predilection for

the formation of new, politically viable states in eastern Europe are especially noteworthy.

Section 4 finally examines Jankuhn's accounts of Germanic prehistory after the National Socialist period. It once again addresses Jankuhn's take on the issue of the Germanic ethnogenesis, it discusses his descriptions of Germanic Bronze and Iron Age culture, society and economics, it delineates his view of the relationship between Rome and the Germanic North, and it summarises his account of Migration Period and Viking Age political and military developments. Although Jankuhn's interpretations of Germanic pre- and protohistory did not undergo drastic changes, his analysis became more nuanced and his language more moderate.

1 Germanic ideologies in history

As seen in Chapter II, historical accounts and perceptions of a shared past played (and play) an integral and standard role in the formulation of ethnic and national identities (see, for instance, Hobsbawm 1983; Lowenthal 1985; Smith 1986; Smith 2004a; Smith 2004b), and past German political and ideological developments demonstrate this particularly well. The political consolidation of the myriad of nineteenth-century German-speaking states – excluding, of course, Switzerland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire – culminated in the formation of the German Reich in 1871. Although Germany's emergence as a state only occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century, national myths of origins and racial lineages had existed in the German-speaking lands for decades and even centuries.

Although the following paragraphs focus on the role of Germanic ideologies in German national myth-making, it should be noted that other, non-Germanic peoples, such as the Slavs and the Celts, were at times cast as the German people's ancestors. Sommer (1999: 157) has pointed to a 'romantic fascination' with Slavonic antiquities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, exemplified, for instance, by the search for the legendary Slavonic cities of Rethra and Wolin (see also Brather 2001b: 9-10). During the National Socialist period, Slavs were overwhelmingly rendered as a culturally and racially inferior people, and the occurrence of Slavonic remains on supposedly German soil was typically seen to point to the (temporary) presence of alien invaders (Brather 2001b: 21-22; Sommer 1999: 158). Despite a

renewed interest in Slavonic archaeology in the former German Democratic Republic (Herrmann 1970; Sommer 1999: 159-161), the Slavic element of Germany's past is now commonly overlooked. As Sommer (2000: 126) suggests, Germanocentric interpretations of German history and archaeology have proven ideologically successful and hence enduring.

Elsewhere, the historical significance of the Celts has been reviewed. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the German antiquarians Heinrich Schreiber (1793-1872) and Karl Wilhelmi (1786-1857), for instance, were engaged in an intellectual controversy concerning the ethnic designation of Iron Age funerary mounds in southwestern Germany. While Schreiber postulated their Celtic provenance, Wilhelmi stressed their Germanic character (Bittel 1981: 22-26). Rieckhoff and Biel (2001: 36) have referred to fierce disputes between 'Germanomaniac' and 'Celtomaniac' scholars in the lead-up to the Franco-German war in 1870 and 1871.

The earliest reflections on the Germans' prehistoric Germanic ancestors date back as far as the fifteenth century. On the basis of Tacitus' *Germania*, a piece of classical literature that has profoundly shaped images of the *Germanen* ever since its rediscovery around 1455 AD, German humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries began to devise some of the most essential and long-lived characteristics of the prehistoric Germanic tribes, who were endowed with all sorts of virtues, including loyalty, justice and generosity. Even then, the *Germanen* were often regarded as a pure and homogeneous group. Possibly the most pivotal symbolic figure in German patriotic and nationalist thinking, Arminius or Hermann of the Cherusci, who was seen to have liberated the *Germanen* from the Roman yoke in 9 AD, was introduced into German literary culture during this period (Poliakov 1974: 81-85; von See 1970: 14-16).

While humanist Germanic imagery was customarily based on anti-Roman sentiment, baroque writers of subsequent centuries often preferred to contrast the perceived austerity of early Germanic society with the seeming daintiness of contemporary French cultural life. A tendency to define the specifically Germanic character in opposition to other, potentially rivalling peoples and cultures can thus be observed in the earliest representations of ancient Germanic life. These initial

accounts remained strictly focused on an ancient German past and consciously discounted Scandinavian history, which, as we will see, was to contribute substantively to Germanic myth-making in later centuries (von See 1970: 17-18).

Germanic imagery was developed further in the course of the eighteenth century when theories of state and society began to emphasise the differences and individuality of nations. The Germanic people were commonly believed to have remained in a largely libertarian, natural and frugal state and to have followed old, sensible conventions rather than imposed laws. Montesquieu (1689-1755) claimed that this was due to their homeland's cool and temperate climate (von See 1970: 20-21). Herder (1744-1803) perpetuated old humanist ideas of the *Germanen* by rejecting richer, alien cultures and underpinning simpler, indigenous customs. In von See's view, elements of Herder's interpretations clearly foreshadowed Romantic Germanic ideologies: Herder commended Germanic ties with the land, set up a sharp distinction between urban civilisation and traditional rural culture and opposed a perceived Romance philosophy of the state with a supposed Germanic philosophy of the *Volk* or people (von See 1970: 22-23).

The so-called 'Scandinavian Renaissance', a literary and cultural movement whose roots reach back into the sixteenth century, contributed to the increasing popularisation of Germanic ideas. In an attempt to counter Roman cultural hegemony, Nordic collectors and historians turned their attention to the study of local burial mounds, megaliths, Runic monuments and Icelandic manuscripts in order to promote a Scandinavian cultural self-confidence (von See 1970: 23-25). Although the movement was of purely Scandinavian origin and did not seek to construct a wider Germanic identity, its impact on developments in Europe was considerable: French and English intellectuals emulated the admiration for the old, Nordic peoples, and Herder underlined the close association between the brave Danish and their old Germanic 'brothers'. Von See points out that eighteenth-century traditions were at that point beginning to merge old Germanic and old Nordic or Scandinavian culture and that this synthesis was to become an essential characteristic of Germanic ideology during the Romantic period (von See 1970: 27-29; Zernack 1996). Nevertheless, he maintains that most eighteenth-century representations of the *Germanen* continued to

paint a dark, brutish barbaric Germanic world awaiting salvation through Christianity (von See 1970: 32).

The idea that the German people somehow partook in ancient Scandinavian traditions and therefore belonged to the same national or ethnic group or *Volkstum* became more firmly established during the age of Romanticism. Von See has argued that, in the course of the nineteenth century, Germans effectively borrowed their national past from the Scandinavians. While – very inconveniently – Germany’s archaeological record was mostly Roman, the Scandinavian North featured a variety of indigenous, non-Roman and hence ‘genuine’ material remains; the presence of a large body of original literature has already been mentioned. Ancient Nordic texts, such as the Edda, took on an almost meta-historical quality and were scoured for evidence of a common Germanic heritage, rather than being treated as historically contingent documents that described medieval Scandinavian or Nordic culture in a more or less accurate way (Müller-Wille 1994b; von See 1970: 35-37; Zernack 1996: 496).

Elsewhere, von See has designated the appropriation of Scandinavian history and culture as the ‘old calamity of all [...] Germanic ideology’. In his view, no single period in German history ever lent itself particularly well to the creation of a national consciousness and identity. By contrast, the pre-Christian Viking period in Scandinavia performed this task admirably and could be incorporated into the national cultural canon thanks to the existence of a rich historical record (von See 1994: 29). Fascination with the North was based on its perceived originality and purity as well as on the familiar theme of northern – and hence Germanic – independence. Given the impact of the Napoleonic wars, France’s political and military hegemony in Europe and Germany’s political disunity during much of the nineteenth century, the latter assumed particular contemporary relevance. The frequent inclination to define the *Germanen* in opposition to the Romans for the most part gave way to a Germanic-French or, more generally, a North-South antithesis (Goetz & Welwei 1995: 3; von See 1970: 39-41; Zernack 1996: 508-509).

In the further course of the nineteenth century, Germanic ideology began to incorporate more explicitly racial elements than had hitherto been the case. Under the influence of a variety of highly significant racial thinkers – Arthur de Gobineau

(1816-1882) and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927) are two of the most prominent representatives – the differences between the *Germanen* and other peoples were increasingly being explained in racial terms (see Losemann 1988: 262-263; Lund 1995: 20-21; Poliakov 1974). Race seemed to provide an immensely useful tool in accounting for both the ‘external’, physical and the ‘internal’, moral or otherwise qualitative characteristics of the Germanic people. The *Germania*, written in 98 AD, offered an excellent overview of their perceived bodily traits. Tacitus described the prehistoric *Germanen* as tall, blue-eyed and blond-haired, although he inconveniently failed to mention their frequently invoked ‘dolichocephalic’ or long-skulled appearance (Lund 1995: 34; Puschner 2001: 93).

In addition, ethnographers, literary scholars, prehistorians and racial theorists of the nineteenth century endeavoured to discover and demonstrate those ‘internal’ characteristics that were regarded as typically Germanic. The widely held belief that the intellectual and moral traits of a people are transmitted genetically or ‘through blood’ also entailed that the direct descendants of the *Germanen* – the contemporary Germans – had inherited their prehistoric forefathers’ personalities and temperaments. Therefore, genetic or racial continuity was effectively seen to have ensured the uninterrupted survival of the Germanic and hence German physique and disposition through several millennia. Such reasoning, Puschner argues, helps to explain the recurring synonymous application of the terms ‘German’, ‘Germanic’ and even ‘Aryan’ in the contemporary literature (Puschner 2001: 93-94; see also Lund 1995: 33). As illustrated below, Herbert Jankuhn’s work provides several instances of such parallel use and of a smooth narrative transition from *Germanen* to Vikings to Germans.

2 Important elements of Germanic imagery

The following paragraphs sketch the central elements of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representations of the essentially Germanic character. These attributes will subsequently be used to determine whether and to what extent Herbert Jankuhn’s descriptions of ancient Germanic, early medieval Viking and medieval German history in the 1930s and 40s used or exemplified this widespread and accepted imagery. At this point, attention must be drawn to the fact that the so-called *Germanenideologien* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were

certainly not adopted whole and unchanged into the National Socialist ideological canon. For one, not all National Socialist grandees admired the ancient Germanic tribes to the same extent. Hitler himself rarely eulogised Germanic achievements publicly; and when he did point to the cultural heights of Germanic civilisation and to the Indogermanic origins of many a European nation, he was merely pursuing the tactical aim of endowing National Socialism with historical roots. Privately, he even mocked the Germanomania displayed by Heinrich Himmler or Alfred Rosenberg and expressed his personal appreciation of the classical civilisations and the Roman Empire in particular. Rome's political and military success and its long-standing hegemony over much of the known world acted as a model for Hitler's own imperial ambitions, which encompassed the creation of a Greater German Reich on the basis of a common Indoeuropean or Indogermanic ancestry (Bertram 1991: 24-26; Fest 1980; Halle 2002a: 57-59; Kroll 1998: 72-77; Losemann 1988: 278).

Such disagreements between some of the highest-ranking National Socialist officials reveal a far more fundamental and significant feature of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. Rather than representing a coherent and monolithic ideological package, National Socialism consisted of a variety of – often conflicting – ideas and beliefs. The initial years of National Socialist rule in particular saw numerous intellectual tussles regarding the 'correct' interpretation of Germany's Germanic past. It should be noted that, given the contemporary context, the term 'correct' here stands for 'politically expedient' rather than 'scientifically accurate'. On one hand, this polyvalence led to intellectual and political infighting, as exemplified by the open power struggle between the *Amt Rosenberg* and the *SS-Ahnenerbe* that was discussed in Chapter III (von See 1994: 209-210; von See & Zernack 2004: 187). On the other, it has been suggested that the initial ideological confusion enabled the National Socialist rulers to enlist a far wider range of supporters than would otherwise have been possible (Wegeler 1996: 116).

In any case, Germanic ideologies, which had become increasingly elaborate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, came to play a significant, though by no means exclusive, part in the National Socialist belief system. Put simply, although Hitler may not have had much of a taste for the *Germanen* himself, he was still broadcast as 'the Führer of all *Germanen*' [*der Führer aller Germanen*] to the

German public. Herbert Jankuhn, himself an early medieval archaeologist by training and preference, turned his scientific attention towards the political, social and cultural development of the prehistoric Germanic tribes during the National Socialist period. This in itself provides an indication of the pervasiveness of Germanic ideologies.

The first and perhaps most basic purported attribute of the Germanic character was its originality, genuineness and freshness. Harald Grävell, a prominent supporter of the nineteenth-century *völkisch* movement, responded to the question ‘What does Germanic mean?’ by proclaiming that ‘Germanic means real’ (quoted in Puschner 2001: 94). In nineteenth-century thought, the above qualities signified racial purity and value, since only a young and unadulterated people could have maintained its original vigour and brilliance (Puschner 2001: 94). Von See, too, has suggested that the dichotomy between a young, pure and unused culture and an old, excessively civilised and declining one emerged as one of the constants of Germanic ideology. He has also argued that these character traits – originality, genuineness, freshness – had at first merely been used to describe the Germanic peoples in its early historical stages; however, they were subsequently perpetuated and turned into definite, fundamental and permanent Germanic qualities (von See 1970: 11). To a degree, the theme of the young, original *Germanen* even seems to have survived into more recent times. In their compilation of written sources on the *Germanen*, Goetz and Welwei put forward that a long-lived and common fascination with the Germanic peoples is due to the ‘appeal of the original’; at the roots of the Germanic peoples, they say, lie the ‘beginnings of a culture’ (Goetz & Welwei 1995: 2).

Widespread ideas about the typical Germanic lifestyle were closely related to the image of the original, genuine and fresh *Germanen*, as presented above. The ancient Germanic peoples were assumed to have led a rural peasant life, attached to the soil they inhabited and neither acquainted with nor tempted by degenerate city life. The peasantry was frequently seen as the source of Germanic inner strength, and the need for its preservation and cultivation featured prominently in Germanic ideology (Puschner 2001: 145-151).

During the National Socialist period, this view was most fanatically propounded by *Reichsbauernführer* Richard Walther Darré (1895-1953), who advocated a regeneration of the German people through the restoration and

empowerment of its peasantry. Darré rejected what he saw as the detrimental effects of industrialisation: in his view, these ranged from the rationalisation of working life, materialism, commercialism, capitalism, urbanisation and social decline to the destruction of the natural environment. In practical terms, his beliefs implied nothing less than the de-industrialisation of the state and the return to an agrarian economy and society. The crux of Darré's ideology was summed up by the dramatic catchphrase *Blut und Boden*, 'blood and soil', which captured well the dual significance assigned to racial purity on the one hand and to a rural, unspoilt existence on the other (Kroll 1998: 158-164; Losemann 1988: 263-264; Lund 1995: 11-13; von See 1994: 312). Like a number of Germanophiles before him, Darré chose to define Germanic identity through the use of an antithesis. The Germanic peasant, attached to his home, steadfast and hard-working, was contrasted with the drifting, inconstant nomad, whose wanderings and lack of focus prevented him from joining in the constructive labour carried out by the *Germanen* (Kroll 1998: 164-165; Lund 1995: 13). The opposition between sedentary *Germanen* and straying nomads is raised in the analysis below.

The presumed exceptional cultural capacities – *Kulturhöhe* – of the prehistoric Germanic tribes played a fundamental role in Germanic ideology. In previous centuries, the *Germanen* had been considered barbarous and primitive, but this perception increasingly came under attack during the early twentieth century, especially since disparagement of early Germanic cultural developments was voiced predominantly by classical scholars (Lund 1995: 79-80). One of the most well-known defenders of prehistoric Germanic culture was Gustaf Kossinna, whose work has already been discussed. Kossinna argued that the Germans and their Germanic ancestors had been charged with an innovating and culture-bearing mission into Europe's eastern regions. In Kossinna's eyes, the 'Nordic race' had been the 'carriers of a noble warrior posture and of impatient cultural advancement' [*Träger vornehmer Rittergesinnung und ruhelosen Kulturfortschritts*] (Kossinna 1935: 13). He customarily highlighted the beauty, delicacy and usefulness of supposedly Germanic objects, while denigrating allegedly Slavic material as crude, primitive and ugly. The political implications of viewing the Germanic tribes and their German successors as cultural carriers are obvious. German assaults on neighbouring countries could be and later were justified by pointing to the sophistication of Germanic/German civilisation

and the ensuing need for its dissemination (see, among others, Grünert 2002a; Haßmann 2002a; Veit 2002; Wiwjorra 1996a: 200-201).

During the National Socialist period, criticism of early Germanic cultural capacities – as that voiced, for instance, by the Catholic Cardinal and vocal opponent of the National Socialist system Michael von Faulhaber (1869-1952) in a widely publicised sermon in December 1933 – met with little sympathy. Faulhaber’s discourse, which argued that a pre-Christian Germanic culture had been largely non-existent, was denounced in the most virulent terms. One publication retorted that, contrary to Faulhaber’s claim, ancient Germanic culture had reached ‘truly exceptional’ or even ‘mystical’ heights (quoted in Losemann 1988: 267). Neither permanence of settlement nor cultural creativeness had been brought about by Christianity, and Germanic agriculture and crafts were similarly home-grown. In addition, Germanic civilisation had not been influenced by Christian morality, but had developed its own original, indigenous principles (Losemann 1988: 266-273). The German linguist Gustav Neckel even credited the prehistoric *Germanen* with the invention of writing (Lund 1995: 78; von See & Zernack 2004: 130). Jankuhn’s descriptions of Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German cultural capacities are examined in detail below.

The importance attached to Germanic cultural resourcefulness mirrored Hitler’s own belief in a special German civilising ‘mission’, although he saw the Aryan race, rather than the *Germanen*, as the carriers of that historic task. According to the Führer, only the Aryan race possessed the creative energy required for the advancement of civilisation, and this applied to both cultural and political progress. In Hitler’s mind, every great imperial formation in history, be it the Roman, British, Japanese or Russian empire, had been rooted in the particular genius of that privileged and inspired race and had involved the cultural and political submission of lesser peoples. Hitler used the historical precedent offered by these supposedly Aryan state formations to justify Nazi Germany’s own aggressive expansionist political and military policies (Kroll 1998: 44-48). According to Hitler, the pivotal concept *Lebensraum* had been of determining significance throughout history. The contest for living space and resources between nations and peoples represented an historical imperative and could be observed from the earliest times. Unsurprisingly, Hitler also

expected the Aryan race to prevail in this struggle (Kroll 1998: 61-63; see also Oberkrome 1993).

Again, ideas of a politically pioneering, undertaking and creative Germanic people have partly survived into more recent times. According to Goetz and Welwei, for instance, the first phases of social stratification and political organisation transpired in Germanic society. They hold that ‘Germanic history seems like the beginning of a development, like the onset of a culture’ (Goetz & Welwei 1995: 2). As shown below, Jankuhn directly associated the Germanic tribes and their Viking and German successors with an assumed predisposition towards the construction of political entities and the formation of empires via the subjugation and rule of other peoples.

The establishment of a specific and direct relationship between the ancient Germanic past and the contemporary German situation was particularly important and relevant. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century *völkisch* movement, for instance, exploited archaeological material, ancient Nordic texts and German folklore in order to capture their essentially Germanic character, adjust contemporary life accordingly and thereby bring about a so-called ‘German rebirth’ (Puschner 2002: 57).

Later, two of the leading National Socialist ideologists, Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg, emphasised the existence of an unbroken developmental sequence of Germanic cultural and political manifestations over centuries and millennia. In Himmler’s mind, historical events and currents were noteworthy and ideologically expedient only if they demonstrated the supposed continuity of a ‘Germanic worldview’ [*germanisches Weltbild*] (quoted in Kroll 1998: 235). This unbroken historical chain extended from pre-Christian Germanic culture to contemporary National Socialist society. Notable members of the Germanic/German lineage included Arminius, the sixteenth-century imperial knight Götz von Berlichingen and Frederick II, king of Prussia. According to Himmler, National Socialist historiography aimed to uncover the underlying connections between these historical traditions and thus to establish a homogeneous and consistent Germanic/German historical narrative.

In the context of medieval German history, Himmler assigned foremost prominence to the Saxon king Henry I (c. 876-936), whom he saw as the architect of the first German empire and as a challenger of the universalist medieval Church. According to Himmler, Henry had set off a lasting tradition by introducing a comprehensive and dominant empire into the repertoire of German political structures. Himmler's admiration for Henry I was also based on the latter's success in shifting the German empire's political core further into eastern Europe. Nazi Germany's drive towards the East was seen as a continuation and fulfilment of an historical development that had been initiated a millennium earlier (Kroll 1998: 235-239; see also Halle 2005).

Prussia represented a further focus of Himmler's historical worldview. He commended the purportedly characteristic Prussian virtues – conscientiousness, orderliness and truthfulness – and accentuated the strong military traditions prevalent at the time of Frederick the Great (1740-1786). Additionally, he held a high regard for Prussia's tightly structured state and military mechanism or *Ordnungsstaat*, which he saw resurrected in the structures of 'his' *Schutzstaffel*. According to Himmler, only the cultivation of a racially superior leading class had enabled the successful expansion of Germanic *Lebensraum* and an effective cultural colonisation in eastern Europe during the eighteenth century. Again, Himmler established a direct link between Frederick's eastward drive and contemporary National Socialist political and military ambitions in eastern Europe (Kroll 1998: 242-244).

The practical political implications of a perceived historical continuity from Germanic to German times are patent. Evidence of unbroken cultural influences, previous military campaigns or continuous Germanic/German settlement in a given area frequently justified and bolstered the excessive territorial claims made by the National Socialist regime. Many contemporary intellectuals were prepared to lend scientific support to the ideological principle of Germanic continuity. The German literary scholar Otto Höfler (1901-1987), for example, formulated a theory of Germanic cultural continuity, according to which cultural expressions, rather than being the prerogative of a cultivated upper class, were produced by an entire people. As a consequence, only the preservation of a people's indigenous character and the

elimination of foreign influences would lead to the uninterrupted transmission of a people's culture (von See 1994: 230-231).

An analysis of Jankuhn's writings demonstrates that his archaeological interpretations of *Indogermanen*, *Germanen*, Vikings and Germans in the 1930s and 40s supported the existence of direct historical links between the Germanic past and contemporary German circumstances. According to Jankuhn, this continuity was visible in the political, cultural and military spheres. Some historical links established by Jankuhn – particularly those involving Henry I and Frederick the Great – echo the views expressed by *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler. In some instances, therefore, Jankuhn followed the ideological prescriptions outlined by his boss. On other occasions, however, Jankuhn's interpretations – notably those regarding the impact of Christianity on Germanic civilisation (Kroll 1998: 240-242) – diverged from Himmler's line.

3 One people? *Indogermanen*, *Germanen*, Vikings and Germans

3.1 The birth of the *Germanen*

Jankuhn's most extensive and coherent published account of the prehistoric development of the Indogermanic and Germanic peoples or tribes is provided in the first two editions of a popular monograph on the early medieval trading town of Haithabu (Jankuhn 1937b; Jankuhn 1938a). A range of individual articles likewise deal with the prehistoric Germanic people's birth, historical development and disposition (Jankuhn 1935b; Jankuhn 1938f; Jankuhn 1939a; Jankuhn 1941/42b, among others).

Jankuhn recounts the Germanic people's ethnogenesis as follows: at the end of the Mesolithic, the inhabitants of the North became sedentary and, as a 'firm connection between man and the soil' [*feste Verbindung zwischen dem Menschen und dem Boden*] evolved, a fragmentation into 'plainly separated tribes' [*klar getrennte Stämme*] followed suit during the Neolithic. Jankuhn explained that two discrete and distinctive peoples had then become involved in the formation of the *Germanen*. The first of these proto-Germanic groups were the highly developed *Großsteingrableute*, named after their imposing megalithic tombs. A variety of finds related to soil

cultivation – sickles, for instance – and the nature of that tribe’s preferred funerary monuments demonstrated its sedentary lifestyle (Jankuhn 1938a: 4).

As Jankuhn explained, the megalith-building people’s abstract, stylised ornamental traditions were highly developed and manifested an ‘aptitude for mathematical thinking’ [*Fähigkeit des mathematischen Denkens*] and a certain ‘logical disposition’ [*logische Veranlagung*]. In fact, he explained, the *Großsteingrableute* – known today as the *Trichterbecherkultur* or the Funnelbeaker culture – displayed an intellectual capacity typical of the North and discernible throughout its early history. Their characteristically northern ornamentation style contrasted particularly strongly with southeastern European artistic practices – presumably those of the *Linearbandkeramik*, though the latter might more adequately be placed in central Europe – which had been brought forth by an ‘unshackled imagination’ [*ungebundene Phantasie*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 4-5).

Finally, Jankuhn held that a wave of colonising activities – engulfing modern-day east Germany, the northern Balkan and south Russia on the one and central Germany and Holland on the other hand – had originated from this highly advanced Neolithic circle. In his eyes, these moves represented the northern people’s first major expansion and hence the beginning of a continuous and steady ethnic flow from a colonising core to a receiving periphery. Germanic expansions during the Bronze Age, the large-scale migrations and the Viking expeditions during the first millennium AD, the medieval penetration of eastern Europe by the German Hanse and even the expansionist policies implemented by Frederick the Great in the eighteenth century had been brought about by the same ethnic energy (Jankuhn 1938a: 4-5).

According to Jankuhn, a second proto-Germanic group, named *Streitaxtleute* or battle axe-people after their handsomely crafted weapons, had existed alongside the *Großsteingrableute*. Today, the *Großsteingrableute* are commonly known as the *Schnurkeramiker* or, in English, the Corded Ware culture. The battle axe-people’s funerary traditions were markedly different. Rather than erecting large stone monuments, it had buried its dead in wooden coffins covered by shallow earthen mounds. Since the group’s settlements had not yet been located, it remained unclear

whether its lifestyle, like that of the *Großsteingrableute*, had also been sedentary (Jankuhn 1938a: 5).

As Jankuhn explained, weaponry had played an important role in that society. The discovered weapons were skilfully manufactured and exquisitely beautiful. Jankuhn observed that the great care lavished on the rich adornment of arms was expressive of a ‘personal relationship between a man and his weapon’ [*persönliches Verhältnis des Mannes zu seiner Waffe*]. He asserted that, at the time, men considered their weapon a living being and a named companion. The love of weapons, one of the most striking characteristics of the later *Germanen*, was directly derived from the traditions and customs of the proto-Germanic *Streitaxtleute* (Jankuhn 1938a: 5).

While the first of these groups, the *Großsteingrableute*, had probably been rooted in the North since the Mesolithic, the origins of the *Streitaxtleute* was less clear-cut. According to Jankuhn, some evidence suggested that they had entered the Nordic world from a more southern region, such as central Germany. While the racial composition of the megalith-erectors was diverse, the incoming axe-people population was more racially uniform, being mostly – though, according to more recent studies, not exclusively – ‘tall’ [*hochgewachsen*] and ‘dolichocephalic’ [*langschädlig*] and thus belonging to the ‘Nordic race’ [*nordische Rasse*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 5).

During the late Neolithic and the early Bronze Age, Jankuhn explained, the two entities merged and created a uniform racial and cultural circle in the North. From then onwards, the unified group’s material culture remained archaeologically traceable until written evidence definitively identified its ‘carriers’ [*Träger*] as *Germanen*. The amalgamated group born in the early Bronze Age could therefore be rightfully viewed as the earliest Germanic people (Jankuhn 1938a: 6; Jankuhn 1938f: 272). In Jankuhn’s opinion, it was irrelevant whether the term ‘Germanic’ had then been customarily used to denote that community; what mattered more was that ‘the carriers of this highly advanced, Bronze Age culture represent the direct ancestors of the later Germanic people’ [*daß wir es bei den Trägern dieser hohen, bronzezeitlichen Kultur mit den leiblichen Vorfahren der späteren Germanen zu tun haben*]. The Germanic heartland, Jankuhn held, had covered Jutland, the Danish islands, southern Sweden, the northeastern part of the Hanover region and

southwestern Mecklenburg; in short, it was located in the regions surrounding the western Baltic Sea basin (Jankuhn 1938a: 6).

According to Jankuhn, the product of this prehistoric merger – the *Germanen* – had exerted a critical influence on the course of world history. Out of all the ‘peoples’ [*Völker*] belonging to the Indogermanic linguistic family, the *Germanen* could trace their lineage farthest back into the past, further indeed than the Romans, Celts or Slavs. Only the Greeks and the Balts could be identified nearly as early (Jankuhn 1938a: 3). Based on their own ‘inner strength’ [*innere Kraft*], the *Germanen* had developed largely free from foreign interference and externally stimulated transformation. In Jankuhn’s words, the Germanic people had matured ‘according to its own principles’ [*nach den ihm eigenen Gesetzen*]. Its remote origin in northern Europe had certainly facilitated the elimination of foreign influences. However, Jankuhn maintained that the *Germanen* remained largely resistant to change even after they had spread to more central parts of Europe, and that internal, indigenous factors – their aforementioned ‘inner strength’ – had played a more significant role in maintaining their underlying identity than geographic isolation (Jankuhn 1938a: 3-4).

Jankuhn’s account of the Germanic ethnogenesis touched on one of the most contentious debates in Germanic prehistoric studies. The precise origins of the *Germanen* or, more specifically, of their constitutive prehistoric groups were far from established, and two contrasting positions had developed since the nineteenth century. The first theory – ‘ex oriente lux’ – assigned a decisive developmental role to the East. There, it maintained, lay the cradle of mankind and the source of all culture and religion. According to Wiwjorra, the theory originated in medieval Christian and humanist traditions and was frequently promoted by classical scholars during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wiwjorra 2002: 75-79). For instance, the well-known Danish prehistorian Sophus Müller (1846-1934) stipulated that Europe’s cultural development had been completely contingent on eastern impulses (Wiwjorra 2002: 86-87).

The opposing model – ‘ex septentrione lux’ – stood in sharp contrast to the eastern theory’s central tenet. The widespread notion that the early inhabitants of the North had been barbarous and uncivilised had come under bitter attack from the late nineteenth century onwards. Northern, Germanic civilisation, it was argued, had not

developed as a result of eastern stimulation. According to the proponents of ‘ex septentrione lux’, the Germanic North itself had reached impressive cultural heights from the earliest times. As a result of its frequent and large-scale migrations, the Nordic race itself had triggered cultural developments in far-flung regions (Wiwjorra 2002: 73). During the National Socialist period, the northern theory of cultural evolution was effectively turned into an ideological directive. In 1935, Bernhard Rust (1883-1945), the National Socialist Minister of Science, Education and National Culture (*Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*), officially decreed that ‘ex oriente lux’ was to be replaced by the ‘realisation that all occidental cultures had been conceived by predominantly Nordic countries’ (quoted in Wiwjorra 2002: 92).

A number of prehistorians wholly or partly adhered to the northern theory of cultural development. Before Jankuhn, Kossinna himself had asserted that the early Bronze Age had seen the fusion of two proto-Germanic cultures – a purely Indogermanic one that was characterised by its erection of megalithic tombs on the one hand, and a Finno-Indogermanic one that was typified by its preference for single burials and certain stone weapons on the other hand – into a culturally unified Germanic people around approximately 2000 BC (see, among others, Kossinna 1909; Kossinna 1936: 210-225; for a non-German but equivalent account of the ‘first nucleus of the Germans as a race’ see, for instance, Kendrick 1930: 63). According to Kossinna, both of these cultures had originated in a northern European homeland that extended from the Baltic Sea area to the western Norwegian coast and from northern Scandinavia to northern Germany (Kossinna 1936: 166-167). The megalith-building Indogermanic peoples in particular had hailed from a very localised core in southern Sweden, Jutland, Zealand, northern Germany and the German Baltic coast, though they had subsequently undertaken various south- and eastward population movements during the late Neolithic (Kossinna 1936: 119-158).

Jankuhn’s mentor, superior and colleague Gustav Schwantes (1881-1960) adopted a rather more ambiguous stance on the issue. Schwantes, who initially approached the Indogermanic question from a linguistic perspective, pointed to certain contemporary similarities between the Indogermanic languages. According to him, these resemblances implied that the prehistoric *Indogermanen* had been a single

people during the Stone Age (Schwantes 1926a: 69; Schwantes 1934: 108). Although Schwantes intimated that the Germanic peoples had originated in central and northern Europe, he also emphasised that a strictly Nordic provenance and the absolute negation of other, foreign influences on the Germanic North were difficult to maintain (Schwantes 1926b: 163-165; Schwantes 1934: 108-113; Schwantes 1937: 18-21; see also Gebühr 2000). On the basis of this ambivalent stance, Schwantes' political reliability was called into question on at least one occasion. In May 1937, Jankuhn felt compelled to address a letter to the National Socialist president of Kiel University Paul Ritterbusch, vouching that Schwantes had consistently opposed 'ex oriente lux' and argued for a 'northern homeland of the Germanic and Indogermanic peoples' [*Nordheimat der Germanen und Indogermanen*] (Jankuhn 5.5.1937).

Ernst Wahle was one of the few scholars who continued to advocate the concept of eastern cultural stimulation during the 1930s and 40s. According to Wahle, the indigenous, megalith-building Nordic peasant population had been overpowered and assimilated by a racially uniform 'tall and long-skulled' [*hochgewachsen und langschädelig*] population from the East. The latter group, he claimed, should be regarded as the original *Indogermanen*. The 'reciprocal fertilisation' [*gegenseitige Befruchtung*] of these two cultures during the Neolithic had subsequently resulted in the birth of the *Germanen* (Wahle 1932: 96-99; Wahle 1936: 31-35). Although Wahle was anything but a political enemy of National Socialism, he nonetheless condemned what he saw as National Socialist 'reveries' of exclusively Nordic cultural origins (Hakelberg 2001: 242). Since Wahle's stubborn insistence on the Indogermanic people's eastern origins stood in stark contrast to an officially prescribed ideological tenet, he faced considerable scholarly criticism and was, on more than one occasion, urged by the authorities to amend his analyses (Hakelberg 2001: 247-248).

Bronze Age specialist Ernst Sprockhoff similarly held that two distinct cultures (or, in his view, peoples) – the *Megalithkultur* and the *Einzelgrabkultur* or *Streitaxtkultur* – had merged during the closing stages of the Neolithic to form a uniform Germanic circle in the Bronze Age (Sprockhoff 1936). While the megalith-culture had certainly stemmed from northern Europe, the single grave-culture could not be assigned a Nordic provenance. Sprockhoff pointed to the significant 'distinctions' [*Gegensätze*] between the cultures in question: the 'agrarian-economic'

[*bäuerlich-wirtschaftlich*] megalith-culture and the ‘aristocratic-belligerent’ [*aristokratisch-kriegerisch*] single grave-culture differed sharply and hence made a common geographical origin highly unlikely (Sprockhoff 1936: 271-272). Instead, Sprockhoff held that the single grave-culture had entered Jutland ‘from the South’ [*von Süden*] (Sprockhoff 1936: 265); more specifically, it had probably reached northern Europe by following the course of the river Elbe (Sprockhoff 1936: 270).

In this web of related and conflicting interpretations, Jankuhn took a cautious stance. Like many of his contemporaries, he held that the *Germanen* had been the racially uniform product of a happy merger between the *Großsteingrableute* or megalith-people and the *Streitaxtleute* or battle axe-people during the late Neolithic. And, like many of his prehistoric colleagues, he assigned a northern origin to the sedentary and sophisticated *Großsteingrableute*. With regards to the *Streitaxtleute*, however, Jankuhn remained remarkably – and perhaps uncharacteristically – vague. He merely stated that their provenance remained unidentified and hence contentious. Jankuhn made no mention of a possible eastern origin, thereby effectively steering clear of a politically hazardous interpretation. Nevertheless, he did not follow Kossinna in explicitly proclaiming the *Streitaxtleute* a northern people either. Instead, he rather hazily pointed to a southern, potentially central German source and suggested that the *Streitaxtleute* had inhabited wide areas of Europe (Jankuhn 1938a: 5).

Jankuhn’s indecisiveness in this instance perhaps reveals an attempt to compromise between scientific inclination and political expediency. While Jankuhn may have been unwilling to propagate a fundamental National Socialist historical precept he either opposed or severely doubted, he evidently felt unable to discount ‘*ex septentrione lux*’ entirely. As a consequence, he uneasily and vaguely situated the battle axe-people’s origins in southern Germany and thus rather closer to home than the alternative and opposing viewpoint – ‘*ex oriente lux*’ – would have prescribed.

Jankuhn’s account of the Germanic people’s origins and early development contains further interesting elements. Essentially made up of two distinct peoples – the *Großsteingrableute* and the *Streitaxtleute* – the *Germanen* combined in their disposition the best traits of their constitutive groups. From the former, they had inherited a close bond with the soil they lived on. According to Jankuhn, a certain

loyalty and devotion to the homeland had characterised the Germanic population as early as the Bronze Age. From its second constitutive group, the *Streitaxtleute*, the *Germanen* had most notably acquired a predilection for beautiful arms and a bellicose attitude. Jankuhn thus awarded particular importance to two typically Germanic attributes: a close relationship with the native soil on the one and a pronounced tendency towards warfare on the other hand.

Ernst Wahle highlighted an analogous combination of peasant and warrior qualities in the Germanic people's hereditary make-up, and he declared that only the amalgamation of these features had led to the development of the typical 'Germanic-Faustian soul' (quoted in Hakelberg 2001: 245). Hakelberg has suggested that Wahle's interpretation promoted widespread perceptions of a perpetual and internalised tension in the German national character. This dual heritage had supposedly engendered a lasting conflict between the 'peasant soul' [*Bauernseele*] and the 'soldier soul' [*Soldatenseele*] of the Germanic and German people. The dichotomy purportedly manifested itself in a tendency to seek intellectual and spiritual understanding on the one hand and in a concurrent propensity for decisive and forceful action on the other (Hakelberg 2001: 246; von See 1994: 223-224). Jankuhn's own emphasis on the twin core of the German character appears to emulate Wahle's model.

At the same time, the proto-Germanic peoples had demonstrated outstanding cultural capacities, and they had transmitted these to their Germanic descendants. According to Jankuhn, the *Großsteingrableute* in particular had been blessed with superior intellectual and abstract skills, as their impressive artistic traditions demonstrated. A comparison with the contemporaneous, yet more untamed art forms found in Europe's southeastern regions worked to the proto-Germanic people's advantage. Jankuhn's juxtaposition of certain nouns – 'reasoning' [*Denken*] and 'imagination' [*Phantasie*] – or adjectives – 'logical' [*logisch*] and 'unshackled' [*ungebunden*] – evoked a stark contrast between Germanic civilisation on the one hand and other prehistoric cultures on the other (Jankuhn 1938a: 4-5). The implied disparity between a Germanic propensity for order and logic and a southeastern European tendency towards spontaneity and disorganisation underlined the presumed

exceptional capacities of prehistoric Germanic civilisation, such as already postulated by Kossinna.

Since the proto-Germanic peoples had enjoyed both an intellect worth exporting and an assertive and undertaking temperament, their inclination towards expansionist moves was, in Jankuhn's view, hardly surprising. Kossinna, for instance, had counted no fewer than ten Indogermanic advances or *Indogermanenzüge* into the east and the south of their northern homeland (Kossinna 1936: 119-158). Jankuhn himself postulated a wave of colonising activities into the eastern German region, the northern Balkan, southern Russia, central Germany and Holland; his view was hence strongly reminiscent of Kossinna's account. In addition, Jankuhn emphasised the unbroken presence of such colonialist traits throughout Germanic pre- and protohistory. He demonstrated that the *Germanen* and their ancestors, who were seen as the forebears of modern-day Germans, had undertaken both military campaigns and large-scale population movements into foreign and hitherto unexplored areas during prehistory. He constructed a link between proto-Germanic, Germanic and German expansionism, and, in doing so, he supplied an historical precedent for and rationalisation of National Socialist political and military ambitions.

Finally, Jankuhn harnessed yet another element of conventional Germanic ideologies in his description of early Germanic history. A direct comparison between the Germanic tribes and their neighbouring and rivalling groups – the Slavs, Greeks or Balts, for example – resulted in an acclamation of Germanic longevity and 'historicity'. According to Jankuhn, the reason for Germanic durability lay in that people's 'inner strength' and in its isolation from detrimental external influences. As many before him, he relied on the concepts of purity and genuineness to explain the Germanic people's ability both to evolve new capacities and to maintain its original brilliance.

3.2 Germanic culture and society in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Following the fusion of the *Großsteingrableute* and the *Streitaxtleute* and the subsequent emergence of the *Germanen* on the world stage, the Germanic people continued to flourish and evolve. Jankuhn discussed several aspects of Germanic culture and society, including religious customs, artistic traditions, territorial

development and socio-political structures. In the following, these are treated in some detail.

During the Bronze Age, Germanic burial techniques were derived from those of the *Einzelgrabkultur* or *Streitaxtkultur* (Jankuhn 1938f: 272). The Germanic dead were buried in single graves [*Einzelgräber*], placed in wooden coffins and covered with burial mounds. According to Jankuhn, a wooden construction was sometimes erected around the burial itself, thereby creating a true ‘house for the dead’ [*Totenhaus*]. The burial mounds, which often remained visible to the present day, had clearly not been positioned randomly. They predominantly followed major transport routes and thus acted as a continuous link between the ‘living generations’ [*lebende Geschlechter*] and their forefathers. Jankuhn held that the custom remained common during the early medieval period and the Viking Age and that it even survived into the Middle Ages in the form of cross-shaped stone monuments known as *Sühnekreuze* (Jankuhn 1938a: 8).

Grave goods, though common during the early Bronze Age, began to diminish in subsequent centuries, and cremations were introduced. According to Jankuhn, other religious practices possibly included a sun cult – the Trundholm sun chariot and a number of gold disks supported the idea – as well as an axe cult that probably originated in the Neolithic. Finally, contemporary rock art supposedly indicated that the Bronze Age Germanic people had worshipped anthropomorphic deities (Jankuhn 1938a: 9).

Jankuhn comprehensively described the burial of Dronninghoi in the community of Schuby in northern Schleswig-Holstein. In traditional folklore, the site was closely associated with a legend. A fierce woman – ‘Black Margaret’ [*die schwarze Margret*] – was said to have duped a prince and prevailed in a contest by cutting off his head with her sword (Jankuhn 1939b: 92-93). As Jankuhn observed, the grave itself dated to the Bronze or Stone Age and, interestingly, contained a skeleton, whose head had been severed and placed next to its feet. The case of Schuby demonstrated a striking consistency between archaeology and myth. Although the gradual introduction of cremation burials had, according to Jankuhn, prevented a continuation of this peculiar practice during the Bronze Age, the Migration Period and the Viking Age had featured several analogous burials. Jankuhn

suggested that the separation of the head represented an attempt to eradicate the dead in death. In certain cases, the departed were regarded as haunted or evil, and, as a consequence, the living would remove their head from their body to prevent a return to the world of the living. Even in medieval and early modern times, the heads of plague victims had been severed with spades to prevent an additional loss of life (Jankuhn 1939b: 102-106).

In Jankuhn's eyes, the belief in the destructive powers of certain dead, and in the perceived necessity to remove their skull, had persisted through several millennia and therefore represented a continuous religious or cultic principle. Although the custom's religious or cultic significance may have changed through time, the patent consistency in practice was likely to point towards consistency in meaning (Jankuhn 1939b: 107-108). For Jankuhn, the burial at Schuby was highly significant: first, the oral tradition associated with the grave had been exceptionally accurate and long-lived, and, second, the unusual religious practice encountered in Schuby had itself survived alongside the legend for thousands of years (Jankuhn 1939b: 100).

In his treatment of Bronze Age burial practices, Jankuhn once again emphasised a familiar theme. By erecting its funerary monuments along major roads and thoroughfares, the Germanic people had, Jankuhn explained, proactively sought to establish an immediate link between former, present and future generations. It had created a tangible and visible connection between the prehistoric past and modern times. In Jankuhn's view, by maintaining an almost active relationship with modern-day Germans, the prehistoric *Germanen* had effectively underlined their own historical continuity. As shown above, such depictions were anything but rare: Gustav Schwantes' description of Bronze Age burial practices displayed analogous efforts to establish a connection between the past and present. While similarly highlighting the burials' uninterrupted physical presence, Schwantes also brought the historical association to life by sketching the scene almost atmospherically:

A solemn mood rests on these simple groups of mounds, when the soft glow of the sinking sun pours out onto the heather bushes, when the shadows grow longer and the silhouettes of the low-lying graves become more marked. (Schwantes 1934: 124)

Both Jankuhn and Schwantes thus heavily relied on the inspirational effect of the ancient monuments they studied.

According to Jankuhn, the Dronninghoi burial served to illustrate Germanic continuity in greater detail and on a more practical level. Indeed, Dronninghoi appeared as the very embodiment of historical consistency. Schwantes, too, postulated the concrete survival of Bronze Age funerary rites: in his opinion, burial mounds had been commonly erected in Schleswig-Holstein and Scandinavia until the end of the first millennium AD (Schwantes 1934: 123). Even more remarkably, Jankuhn declared, the burial of Dronninghoi demonstrated the continuation of a Bronze – and perhaps even Stone – Age funerary practice as well as its oral transmission over several millennia.

In this particular case, however, Jankuhn strained the interpretive capacities of his object of study. His attempt to link the burial's most striking characteristic – the severed head – and its associated legend with medieval and early modern accounts of cranial separations is entirely conjectural. While the notion that these distinct and temporally removed phenomena had stemmed from a common and enduring fear of the injurious powers of certain dead may not be absurd as such, Jankuhn failed to supply archaeological (or any other) evidence in support of it. On the contrary, he even brushed aside some important reservations. First, despite the analogies between the mythical account of 'Black Margaret' and the Dronninghoi burial, Jankuhn cited little to no conclusive evidence for an actual connection between the two phenomena. Secondly, Jankuhn all but ignored the awkward fact that the practice of severing dead people's heads had been abandoned during the later Bronze Age due to the arrival of cremations. Given that the practice had been effectively suspended for several centuries, Jankuhn's mechanical association of Migration Period and Viking Age funerary customs with the much older Bronze Age tradition seems imprudent. Instead of simply indicating an interpretative possibility, he instantly established his idea as the most likely explanation. In this particular case, Jankuhn's treatment of the archaeological record was selective and ideologically predisposed. Proving a continuous and coherent Germanic cultural development apparently took precedence.

Next, Jankuhn commented on the artistic traditions of the Germanic Bronze Age. In his view, Germanic Bronze Age art maintained the predilection for abstract

ornamentation first cultivated by the proto-Germanic *Großsteingrableute*. However, it increasingly displayed a tendency towards larger patterns, while the objects themselves were also growing in size. Both brooches and hanging bowls displayed this clearly (Jankuhn 1938a: 9). Stylistically, later Bronze Age Germanic art was characterised by a ‘sense of stylisation and abstraction’ [*Gefühl für Stilisierung und Abstraktion*], though it ‘nonetheless expresses a much stronger activity’ [*drückt sich doch darin eine viel stärkere Bewegung aus*] than preceding artistic traditions. According to Jankuhn, this was indicative of parallel developments in quite another sphere. The agitation and commotion witnessed in art ran parallel to the Germanic people’s contemporaneous military and political advances east- and westwards (Jankuhn 1938a: 10).

The Germanic settlement area underwent considerable alterations during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Around the end of the second century BC, it shifted eastwards beyond the Oder river. According to Jankuhn, the newly acquired land was colonised mostly by southern settlers from Schleswig-Holstein and northern Hanover; the Nordic circle’s northern region demonstrated a less pronounced ‘desire for expansion’ [*Ausdehnungsbedürfnis*]. During the early centuries of the first millennium, Jankuhn explained, the Germanic tribes spread out once again, nearly reaching the Rhine in the West and crossing over the Vistula in the East. Although the Bronze Age saw a ‘steady expansion’ [*ständiges Vordringen*] into new settlement space, the newly founded communities did not lose a direct geographical link with their ‘mother country’ [*Mutterland*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 9-10).

During the Iron Age, Jankuhn argued, the character of Germanic expansion changed dramatically. Whereas the Bronze Age had seen steady, consistent advances on a wide front, the Iron Age was marked by explosive territorial onslaughts. Although these movements sometimes led to the acquisition of new land, they repeatedly – and, in Jankuhn’s opinion, tragically – resulted in the separation of smaller tribal groupings from the Germanic ethnic core. Jankuhn bemoaned how various Germanic tribes, ‘allured by southern splendour and wealth’ [*angelockt von der Pracht und dem Reichtum des Südens*], tore themselves from their northern homeland and settled on foreign soil. As Jankuhn explained, many of these tribes failed to survive the separation from their ethnic origins for long. After a few years of

political and ethnic independence, most were once again engulfed by their alien subjects (Jankuhn 1938a: 11-12).

According to Jankuhn, widespread ethnic dislocations had been notably characteristic of the northern European Iron Age. Though their specific causes remained unclear, he regarded climate change and subsequent food shortages as particularly significant. Interestingly, Jankuhn explicitly associated these Iron Age migrations with the *Völkerwanderung*, that is, the sequence of barbarian invasions that took place during the early part of the first millennium AD. He insisted that the *Völkerwanderung* had not, as was often thought, been a ‘unique event’ [*einmaliger Vorgang*] launched in the fourth century after Christ. On the contrary, it had merely constituted one ‘component of a great process’ [*Teil eines großen Prozesses*] that dated back to the second millennium BC. The Germanic people had been embroiled in a ‘struggle for ground and soil’ [*Kampf für Grund und Boden*] and for the ‘extension of their settlement area’ [*Ausdehnung ihres Siedlungsgebietes*] ever since. In one instance, Jankuhn even adapted the term *Völkerwanderung* to fit his own, broader understanding of the idiom. In the title of an article, he simply pluralised the phrase into *Völkerwanderungen* (Jankuhn 1933: 588).

As Jankuhn explained, Germanic Iron Age population movements did not usually flow into empty space; on the contrary, the regions in question were often densely populated and had to be conquered militarily. Great fortification complexes circled the Nordic region’s southern border, though these were subsequently captured by the Germanic invaders. According to Jankuhn, the abandonment of these fortresses in the aftermath of the Nordic onslaught shed light on the nature of the Germanic colonies. Had the Germanic victors merely established themselves as a ruling elite, the fortresses would have remained necessary to protect their territorial gains. Their absence indicated a colonisation of a ‘thoroughly Germanic character’ [*von durchaus germanischem Charakter*]. Although the remaining indigenous inhabitants had been wholly absorbed by the incoming Germanic population, Jankuhn held that their political impact had hardly been noticeable (Jankuhn 1938a: 12-13).

Jankuhn added that the Germanic invaders’ neglect of pre-existing fortresses was unsurprising. According to him, fortresses and the defensive behaviour they indicated were simply incompatible with the Germanic character. Germanic military

tactics were predominantly centred around an attacking strategy. A conspicuous lack of shields in the archaeological record further substantiated the proactive and offensive attitude of the Germanic warrior. Jankuhn observed that the only known Germanic shields held protruding metal spikes at the centre and could therefore be used as offensive weapons. This tendency, Jankuhn stressed, could be observed throughout Germanic and German history (Jankuhn 1938a: 12-13).

Elsewhere, Jankuhn laid out a Germanic partiality for seafaring and shipbuilding during the Bronze and Iron Ages (Jankuhn 1942). The *Germanen* had probably adopted these maritime traditions from their prehistoric ancestors, most likely the *Großsteingrableute*. Although material remains of Bronze Age finds remained to be discovered, other sources – southern Scandinavian rock drawings, for instance – demonstrated the high quality achieved by prehistoric Germanic shipbuilders. Early Germanic ships, Jankuhn asserted, were substantial in size and exceptionally crafted. Though the source material was indeterminate and scant, Jankuhn held that shipbuilding and seafaring had stood at the centre of early Germanic interests and that an old, traditional link to the sea had been maintained and developed (Jankuhn 1942: 23-25). In fact, later Germanic seafarers, particularly the Vikings, had built on this prehistoric experience (Jankuhn 1942: 36).

To sum up, the Bronze and Iron Age *Germanen* had undertaken different types of expansionist moves. The Bronze Age had experienced a gradual and steady build-up of additional territories still capable of upholding close ties with their Germanic homeland in the North. During the Iron Age, the *Germanen* had settled on foreign – usually southern – soil, but failed to survive the separation from their ethnic source. Despite this obvious inability to colonise, Jankuhn did not suggest that the Iron Age *Germanen* had exceeded their capacities. Instead, he held that they had ventured into regions that did not suit their ethnic disposition. Rather than being militarily defeated by the indigenous inhabitants, the Germanic colonists were overpowered by the detachment from their ethnic motherland and the immersion in an alien environment. By contrast, those Iron Age colonies that did survive took on a ‘thoroughly Germanic character’, and the incoming Germanic population completely absorbed the native inhabitants.

Jankuhn's account reveals an imperial mindset and the willingness to pander to National Socialist politico-ideological requirements. Jankuhn's repeatedly highlighted a series of themes – conquest, submission, the establishment of new 'Germanic' societies abroad and the effective absorption of native populations – that tallied with the regime's political, territorial and military ambitions. Jankuhn's insistence on the necessity to maintain strong ties with the northern mother country and, by implication, with its national essence are reminiscent of National Socialist aims for the creation of a Greater German Reich. As in prehistory, such an empire would incorporate and assimilate a range of foreign territories but remain centred on a German national or ethnic core. National Socialist ideologues – including Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and Rosenberg – mostly shared these imperial designs, although their idiosyncratic versions of the *Reichsidee* differed to some extent (see Kroll 1998). In addition, Jankuhn's terminology – for instance, 'desire for expansion' [*Ausdehnungsbedürfnis*], 'struggle for ground and soil' [*Kampf für Grund und Boden*] and 'extension of their settlement area' [*Ausdehnung ihres Siedlungsgebietes*] – often echoed National Socialist, and particularly Hitler's, parlance regarding the acquisition of *Lebensraum* in eastern Europe (Kroll 1998: 92-98).

The Germanic people's forceful territorial expansion during the Bronze and Iron Ages also represented a common theme in contemporary publications. Kossinna stressed the continuous and substantial growth of Germanic territories from the early to the late Bronze Age (Kossinna 1936: 30-33). Schwantes, too, pointed out that the *Germanen* had broken loose from their original homeland in southern Sweden, Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein and advanced the 'Germanic front' [*germanische Front*] from the early Bronze Age onwards (Schwantes 1934: 139; Schwantes 1937: 23-24). In the early Iron Age, Schwantes discerned a period of Germanic decline or, in Jankuhn's words, a time of 'unrest' [*Unruhe*], which both scholars attributed to a potential climatic deterioration (Jankuhn 1938a: 12; Schwantes 1937: 24). Schwantes associated this episode of insecurity with a growing influence of the Celts. According to him, the latter had momentarily succeeded in hindering the territorial expansion of a rapidly multiplying Germanic population (Schwantes 1937: 24). This explanatory element is absent in Jankuhn's account.

Ernst Wahle's description of Germanic population movements mostly overlapped with Jankuhn's. Wahle spoke of a 'gradual and almost premeditated enlargement of the Germanic settlement area' [*schrittweise und geradezu planmäßige Vergrößerung des germanischen Siedlungsraumes*]. In his eyes, this expansion represented 'the most important feature in central European population history during the first two millennia BC' [*die wesentlichste Tatsache in der Bevölkerungsgeschichte Mitteleuropas während der letzten zwei Jahrtausende v. Chr.*]. Wahle asserted that the movement had been powerful enough to colonise and even to 'germanise' [*germanisieren*] all the land from the Vosges to the Vistula and from the North Sea to the Danube (Wahle 1932: 126). Wahle also joined Jankuhn in drawing a direct parallel between Germanic Bronze and Iron Age migratory and military movements and the early medieval *Völkerwanderung*. He conceded that Bronze and Iron Age expansions differed from those dating to the Migration Period. Territorial gains during the *Völkerwanderungszeit* had usually entailed the loss of pre-existing possessions, while this had rarely been the case in prehistory. Nevertheless, the two phenomena were alike in their 'dimensions' [*Größe*] and 'persistence' [*Nachhaltigkeit*]. The prehistoric events represented an 'introduction' [*Einleitung*] to subsequent early historic developments (Wahle 1932: 126). Wahle's account of repeated Germanic migratory and military movements and Jankuhn's own portrayal of a continuous population flow from the second millennium BC to the early medieval period are evidently analogous. Both Jankuhn and Wahle thus accentuated the historical permanence of Germanic territorial assertiveness and advancement.

Finally, Jankuhn's commendation of Germanic excellence in seafaring and his highlighting of a supposed Germanic tendency towards attacking strategies and weapons appear as patent efforts to extol a number of typically Germanic virtues. As shown above, Jankuhn proposed that assets like ambition, drive, and restlessness had been internalised in the Germanic peoples' vivid art forms by the Bronze Age. Germanic assertiveness was also underlined by other contemporary scholars. Gustav Schwantes, for instance, painted a vivid image of the 'helmed chiefs' [*behelmtte Häuptlinge*], who led the people 'to assault foreign shores or to attack rival fleets' [*fremde Küsten zu überfallen oder feindliche Flotten anzugreifen*] (Schwantes 1934: 138). Traditional and stereotypical views of a politically pioneering, undertaking and creative Germanic people were satisfied and perpetuated, and the concept of

Germanic cultural continuity was once again demonstrated. Despite seemingly inadequate evidence, Jankuhn held that later Germanic seafarers, and the Vikings in particular, had been able to build on maritime experience gathered during the prehistoric period.

According to Jankuhn, prehistoric archaeological remains could also illuminate early Germanic socio-political structures (Jankuhn 1938f; Jankuhn 1941/42b). Historical and philological studies had so far shed light only on the later stages of Germanic history. Early Greek and Roman literature offered introductory, though often inaccurate, insights into the organisation of Germanic communities during the first centuries AD. According to these early written sources, later Germanic groups had been organised according to one of two diametrically opposed structures. On one hand, writers reported a loose coexistence of equal clans that lacked any type of overarching political institution. On the other, there were accounts of a ‘collective system’ [*Gemeinschaftsordnung*] in which a particular person or group assumed political leadership. However, Jankuhn admitted that socio-political structures were naturally contingent on changing historical circumstances and that it was therefore impossible to project these early historic representations onto an entirely different prehistoric reality (Jankuhn 1938f: 270-271).

Jankuhn explained that archaeological investigation into Germanic socio-political structures had been facilitated by enquiries into Germanic legal history. According to Jankuhn, one discovery in this field had been of particular significance for archaeologists. Legal historians had established that the Germanic dead maintained the same ‘legal status’ [*rechtliche Persönlichkeit*] they had held in life and that this rank or position was reflected in the treatment of the dead person’s body. In other words, the study of single internments and the comparison of whole burial clusters potentially revealed the position of individuals in relation to other members of the community as well as their station in Germanic society as a whole (Jankuhn 1938f: 272-273; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 8).

When practically applied, the above method yielded the following observation. As Jankuhn explained, early Bronze Age burials in the Nordic circle displayed a remarkable degree of uniformity. Nearly all internments took the form of burial mounds. Though some graves may have featured more abundant grave goods

than others, the same externally visible memorial had been chosen in all cases. The very object intended to preserve the memory and embody the status of the deceased was therefore identical. In Jankuhn's mind, this indicated that Germanic early Bronze Age society had been made up of equal clans; an overbearing elite or a disenfranchised lower class had probably not existed.

According to Jankuhn, the occurrence of so-called 'royal mounds' [*Königshügel*] during the same period did not necessarily challenge his interpretation. For one, the 'royal mounds' may have been branded as such long after their original erection. Secondly, in terms of their construction and content, the more sizeable mounds were comparable to the less conspicuous ones. As a consequence, Jankuhn suggested that the *Königshügel* had housed the burials of outstanding and influential individuals. They did not necessarily imply an entirely different, stratified socio-political make-up. Even egalitarian societies, Jankuhn argued, produced eminent and powerful personalities (Jankuhn 1938f: 273-4; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 19-22). In order to corroborate the close correlation between burial traditions and socio-political structures, Jankuhn pointed to two additional examples: the *Aunjetitzer Kultur* or Unetice culture and the Mycenaean civilisation. In both cases, burial customs were strongly differentiated and suggested a highly stratified society. In western Germany, socio-political disparities had resulted from the emergence of a ruling monarchy, while in Mycenae, they had arisen from the coexistence of two distinct ethnic entities (Jankuhn 1938f: 274-275; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 23-28).

Germanic burial customs underwent considerable changes during the later Bronze Age. Only in the northern Germanic heartland did the underlying funerary uniformity survive. Jankuhn held that initial signs of socio-political differentiation emerged most plainly in the Germanic colonies. Where a Germanic population had entered previously unoccupied territory or seized political control from indigenous inhabitants, Jankuhn identified the emergence of a centralised authority. The egalitarian clan-based structure born in the Germanic heartland was no longer deemed compatible with the changed political and military circumstances. According to Jankuhn, the impressive 'royal' burial at Seddin represented the product of such a stratified society. The construction could only have been realised by a strong and powerful individual – a king perhaps – capable of enlisting 'a large number of people'

[*eine große Anzahl von Menschen*] for his schemes (Jankuhn 1938f: 277-278; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 30-32; see also Schwantes 1934: 127-128).

The shift from a clan-based egalitarian community to a centralised, monarchical society had transpired well before the early historic period. In Jankuhn's words, the transition occurred when 'the *Germanen* reach beyond their modest place of origin and the [...] battle for the supremacy over central Europe begins' [*die Germanen reichen über ihr kleines Ursprungsgebiet hinaus, und der Kampf um die Herrschaft in Mitteleuropa beginnt*] (Jankuhn 1938f: 279; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 38). In other words, the transformation accompanied an emerging political and military pro-activity on the part of the Germanic people. It facilitated a successful adaptation to the drastically changed external circumstances brought about by Germanic territorial expansion during the Bronze Age. Contrary to common belief, growing socio-political stratification (in certain parts of the Germanic sphere of influence) had not, therefore, been a degenerative and harmful process. The two socio-political systems had subsisted comfortably alongside one another. According to Jankuhn, they represented one of the many 'seemingly inexplicable contradictions' [*scheinbar unerklärliche Gegensätze*] (Jankuhn 1938f: 281) inherent in the character and culture of the Germanic people (Jankuhn 1938f: 278-281; Jankuhn 1941/42b: 37-39).

According to Jankuhn, Germanic society had thus undergone a gradual transformation from a clan-based egalitarian society to a more centralised, perhaps monarchical system. Based on a notable degree of structural uniformity among early Bronze Age Germanic burials, he put forward that contemporary Germanic society had consisted of a loose assemblage of equal clans. Again, Jankuhn rather casually dismissed a tricky point. He assigned relatively little significance to existing, though perhaps small, discrepancies in the quality and quantity of grave goods. As he explained, social status was exhibited to the living, outside world and therefore expressed solely through the externally visible memorial. Of course, this hypothesis is debatable.

Jankuhn nonetheless asserted that early Bronze Age burial traditions had been overwhelmingly homogeneous and that a central authority had been unnecessary and, presumably, unwanted in Germanic society. While the *Germanen* were concentrated in their ethnic homeland, a clan-based system ensured an appropriate degree of socio-

political cohesion and stability. The early Bronze Age *Germanen* had lived in egalitarian, unregimented bliss. Hakelberg has highlighted comparable accounts of an idyllic, non-political state, of a sort of pre-democratic world in Ernst Wahle's work. He has suggested that Wahle intended to present prehistoric conditions as a conservative 'alternative to the modern world' (Hakelberg 2001: 266-267). Jankuhn's descriptions of early Bronze Age socio-political structures do not explicitly divulge the same objective. However, it is evident that Jankuhn sought to glorify the supposedly egalitarian system he described.

Subsequently, the egalitarian clan-based system born in the Germanic heartland gave way to a centralised authority during the late Bronze Age. According to Jankuhn, the 'royal' burial at Seddin and comparable structures had doubtless served as the resting places of those outstanding and powerful individuals, whom both stratified and egalitarian societies were likely to produce. Wahle, too, postulated the existence of such *Führergestalten* or 'Führer figures' in Germanic society from the Neolithic onwards, although he recognised the difficulties involved in their archaeological identification (Wahle 1932: 81). Hakelberg has pointed out that these so-called *Führerparadigmen* were reminiscent of long-standing *völkisch* and contemporaneous fascist ideological and historical conceptions (Hakelberg 2001: 255-256). Hitler himself underlined that strong and creative figures – men, who epitomised the intrinsic qualities of the Aryan race, such as, one would assume, himself – had prompted historical progress and human cultural development throughout history. The supposed occurrence of such leading individuals or *Führerfiguren* – Martin Luther, Frederick II of Prussia and Otto von Bismarck are prominent examples – subsequently helped to sustain the official National Socialist *Führerkult* (Kershaw 1987; Kroll 1998: 67-69; Tyrell 1975: 154-155).

Finally, Jankuhn argued that the emergence of powerful political leaders had coincided with a growing expansionist pro-activity on the part of the *Germanen* and that the appearance of outstanding and powerful individuals had been most prevalent in the new Germanic colonies. Wahle, too, suggested that 'the ongoing expansion of [the Germanic] settlement area enabled these leading individuals to deploy their strengths' [*die ständige Vergrößerung ihres Siedlungsgebietes gibt den Führernaturen Gelegenheit, ihre Kräfte zu entfalten*] (Wahle 1932: 147). In other

words, the rise of strong and undisputed leaders had both followed and facilitated greater political, territorial and military assertiveness in Germanic prehistory. Of course, the prehistoric conditions described by Jankuhn closely paralleled Germany's political, territorial and military situation in the late 1930s. As mentioned above, the Germanic tribes 'reach beyond their modest place of origin and the [...] battle for the supremacy over central Europe begins'. In the eyes of many contemporary Germans, this may have constituted an apt description of their own presumed destiny.

3.3 Germanic political and territorial developments in the first millennium after Christ

One of the central episodes of Germanic history – the conflict between the 'Germanic North' [*germanischer Norden*] and the Roman Empire – is treated rather parenthetically in Jankuhn's writings. In the course of a large-scale Bronze Age expansion, the Germanic settlement area had stretched towards the West, East and South and therefore had, for the first time, come into contact with Roman civilisation. According to Jankuhn, Rome had stemmed the Germanic tide shortly before the turn of the millennium, and the empire had maintained its defences against the northern intruders for a further three hundred years (Jankuhn 1938a: 13).

The ensuing period had been 'a time of mutual permeation' [*eine Zeit gegenseitigen Durchdringens*]. Influences flowed from North to South and from South to North, and, in Jankuhn's eyes, the Roman Empire and the Germanic North had both acted as 'instructor' [*Lehrer*] and 'instructed' [*Lernender*]. The Germanic peoples, he explained, exploited this period of relative tranquillity by further shaping their political organisation. The consolidation of the many small Germanic tribes into sizeable 'tribal federations' [*Stammesverbände*] – such as the Alamanni on the Upper Rhine, the Franks on the Lower and Middle Rhine, the Vandals in eastern Germany and the Saxons – dated to this epoch. The 'concentration of political might' [*Konzentration der politischen Macht*] that triggered the amalgamation of the Germanic tribes ultimately resulted in multiple and fierce Germanic assaults on the Roman Empire from the second century onwards. Jankuhn's description conveys the impression of a certain quiet before the storm. Rather than removing itself from world affairs, the North had concentrated on its internal development and gathered strength in preparation for its forceful and repeated assaults on the Roman Empire from the

second century onwards. By implication, the northern Germanic relative inactivity during the period immediately preceding the 'Germanic Heroic Age' could not, in Jankuhn's opinion, be regarded as a sign of passivity or weakness. (Jankuhn 1937c: 31-32; Jankuhn 1938a: 13-14).

According to Jankuhn, the North's first encounter with the Roman Empire thus led both to military conflict and war and to a vivid exchange between the two civilisations. Although he explicitly stressed that Rome and the North had interacted and competed on a level playing field, Jankuhn provided next to no detail on the practical nature of Roman-Germanic relations. Section 1 has highlighted that traditional *Germanenideologien* frequently cast Germanic identity in frontal opposition to Roman civilisation (see, for instance, von See 1994). On the other hand, prevalent perceptions of Rome during the National Socialist period were far from consistent. Some, like Darré, saw the late Roman Empire as the epitome of a decadent and degenerate state: Rome's patricians had abandoned rural life, and urban civilisation had subsequently destroyed a strong and healthy people (Kroll 1998: 171-174). Others, most notably Hitler, held up Rome (as well as Greece) as the cultural and political pinnacles of human civilisation that had to be admired and emulated (Kroll 1998: 72-74). Perhaps Jankuhn's uncharacteristically sketchy and superficial treatment of the Roman-Germanic relationship represented a reaction to these conflicting ideological positions.

Contemporary commentaries on Roman-Germanic links in the early centuries after Christ sometimes tallied with Jankuhn's description. Schwantes, for instance, explicitly emphasised that Germanic culture had not been as backward as was commonly believed and explained that the Germanic people's rural, peasant way of life had simply hampered a cultural development akin to that of the urbanised Romans (Schwantes 1934: 173-175). He also pointed to the very vivid trade relations between the Germanic and Roman spheres and highlighted that a number of Germanic goods – slaves, blond hair, amber, horses and furs, among other things – had been much sought-after by the Romans (Schwantes 1934: 178-179). In other words, similarly to Jankuhn, Schwantes denied that cultural currents had exclusively flowed from the South to the North. Nonetheless, Schwantes' account also remained rather muted. Though he supplied a relatively detailed description of Germanic war

attire and tactics, he refrained from openly eulogising the Germanic struggle against Rome's authority (Schwantes 1934: 180-185).

The same does not apply to German historian Otto Scheel's (1876-1954) rather substantial monograph on the Vikings. Focusing on the political, military and territorial development of the northern *Germanen* during the early centuries AD, Scheel's volume treats the Roman-Germanic conflict in considerable depth. He devoted the first forty pages to the subject. Scheel confidently asserted that the Germanic peoples had foiled Roman attempts to build a global empire and gloated that, in the wake of Rome's defeat, Germanic influence had unfolded throughout the western Mediterranean to produce a new Germanic empire (Scheel 1938: 7-8). Elsewhere, he described the struggle against Rome as the 'great political destiny' [*großes politisches Schicksal*] of the Germanic people (Scheel 1938: 14). In line with traditional Germanic tributes, Scheel particularly hailed the achievements of the Germanic leader Arminius, whose 'unforgettable and everlasting' [*unvergeßlich und unvergänglich*] feat – the crushing of three Roman legions under Varus – had ensured the containment of Rome's territorial expansion beyond the Rhine and hence preserved Germanic independence from the Roman yoke (Scheel 1934: 19-20).

The language and content of Scheel's work is more markedly ideological than that of either Jankuhn or Schwantes, and his account of Roman-Germanic relations displays a far greater adherence to traditional Germanic ideology. Jankuhn and Schwantes assigned considerably less importance to the construction of a Germanic-Roman antithesis; instead, they sought to demonstrate that Germanic and Roman civilisation had been equally vibrant and powerful. After all, both had accomplished the formation of a truly massive empire. Finally, as suggested, Jankuhn's relatively balanced appraisal of the Roman-Germanic association may have stemmed from a renewed appreciation of its achievements on the part of certain National Socialist grandees.

The Migration Period [*Völkerwanderung*] or, as Jankuhn preferred to dub it, the 'Germanic Heroic Age' [*Germanisches Heldenzeitalter*] ensued. This, he declared ostentatiously, was 'the time of the great battles between the Germanic peoples and the Romans, between the Germanic peoples and the Huns' [*die Zeit der großen Kämpfe zwischen Germanen und Römern und zwischen Germanen und Hunnen*].

Jankuhn once again played on a familiar theme. Although the term Migration Period commonly incorporated the large-scale population movements of the first millennium AD, he argued that

the entire Germanic history represents one great migration, not the advances of Nordic nomads, but the struggle for settlement soil of a healthy peasant people. (Jankuhn 1938a: 14)

During the Migration Period, Germanic political might had finally succeeded in engulfing the whole of western Europe. The ‘great process’ [*großer Prozess*] (Jankuhn 1933: 588) initiated during the Bronze and Iron Age Germanic expansions, had persisted into the first millennium after Christ. Jankuhn thus continued to highlight the sustained and substantial growth of Germanic territories.

During the ‘Germanic Heroic Age’, Germanic culture peaked and a new ornamental tradition emerged in the form of the Germanic animal style. Although Jankuhn conceded that this artistic innovation betrayed foreign roots, he nevertheless considered it a ‘markedly Germanic creation’ [*ausgesprochen germanische Schöpfung*]. While the ‘concept’ [*Begriff*] of the animal had perhaps been imported from elsewhere, the notion had been thoroughly adapted to a genuinely Germanic taste. According to Jankuhn, Germanic art had preserved those powers of abstraction and stylisation that had characterised it since the Stone Age. In addition, the *Germanen* had maintained – and even increased – the degree of ‘vibrancy’ [*Lebendigkeit*] inherent in their artistic traditions ever since the late Bronze Age (Jankuhn 1938a: 14).

This vigorous phase of expansion was followed by a ‘period of calm consolidation’ [*eine Zeit ruhigen Ausbauens*] when superficially colonised regions were lost once again. For instance, the Vandal northern African empire and the Gothic dominions in Spain were ceded to the Arabs. At the same time, the newly emerging Christian faith began to penetrate parts of Germanic society. The Germanic North’s more determined adherence to the pagan ‘religion of the fathers’ [*Religion der Väter*] finally brought about a rift between the northern and western Germanic tribal associations. To this day, this divide remained plainly visible both archaeologically and linguistically (Jankuhn 1938a: 15).

During the Migration Period, battles were fought on a number of fronts. Jankuhn explained that the Germanic peoples took their 'struggle for settlement soil' to a higher level, that they established colonies in the whole of Europe and that they traded even more widely than had hitherto been the case. Jankuhn's terminology was clearly suggestive of National Socialist imperialist and expansionist parlance; the expansion of Germany's settlement area or *Lebensraum* represented a prominent constant in National Socialist politico-ideological designs. By assigning to the Germanic peoples qualities such as 'health' or 'strength', Jankuhn further underlined this correlation.

In addition, Jankuhn's patent efforts to distinguish between the colonising activities of the Germanic peasants and the migratory movements of nomadic peoples are noteworthy. Jankuhn explicitly emphasised that the *Germanen* had undertaken their journeys in pursuit of a specific goal and in accordance with a strategy; their expeditions had by no means been directionless and haphazard. The construction of a direct opposition between colonisers and nomads served to highlight the Germanic peoples' deep attachment to their native soil. Although they had left their homeland for unknown destinations, they had done so in order to establish colonies abroad and to diffuse their own culture and society to distant regions. In this respect, Jankuhn's account is particularly reminiscent of ideological conceptions held by *Reichsbauernführer* Richard Walther Darré. The peasant-nomad antithesis acted as the cornerstone of Darré's worldview. Whereas the territorially rooted Germanic peasant was productive, cultured and capable of profound philosophical insight, foreign nomads led a parasitic and destructive lifestyle and were utterly incapable of creative and constructive employment (Kroll 1998: 163-165).

Jankuhn's description of the Migration Age once again featured a commendation of Germanic artistic traditions. In Jankuhn's eyes, the North had proved remarkably innovative. Though certain new concepts had undeniably originated in non-Germanic surroundings, this did not belittle the Germanic pioneering spirit. The animal form had been modified to suit a specifically Germanic taste and disposition, and this adaptation had given rise to something entirely novel and groundbreaking. While evidently underlining Germanic originality and self-reliance, Jankuhn continued to commend the traditional and unrelenting virtues of

abstraction and vibrancy inherent in Germanic art. The long-term stability of Germanic art forms thus highlighted the truly remarkable continuity of Germanic culture as a whole. According to Jankuhn, the North's opposition to the newly emerging Christian faith and its concurrent adherence to the established pagan religion further underscored a strongly developed Germanic sense of tradition and continuity.

The Viking period featured prominently in Jankuhn's account of Germanic/German history. According to Jankuhn, the Viking expeditions broke loose shortly before the turn of the eighth century after Christ and represented a novel popular movement driven by 'the northern Germanic tribes' [*die nordgermanischen Stämme*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 16). Raising a recurring theme, he enumerated the manifold antecedents of the Viking excursions. During the Migration Period, for instance, the Saxons had beset the Frankish coast. The Norwegian occupation of the Hebrides, of Orkney and Shetland likewise predated the Viking Age proper. Similar advances towards southeastern Europe had emanated from Sweden, while Germanic peoples from Denmark, too, had begun to move southwards well before the Viking period.

These thrusts, Jankuhn explained, had effectively foreshadowed the groundbreaking developments of the Viking Age. Since the preceding centuries had initiated a movement that came to its full fruition during the ninth and tenth centuries, Jankuhn saw the established chronological divide between the Migration Period and the Viking Age as largely arbitrary (Jankuhn 1933: 590; Jankuhn 1938a: 17-18; Jankuhn 1938e: 15). He extended his argument by depicting Viking endeavours as the continuation of an underlying and truly ancient historical process. The North, he explained, had provided a continuous 'human reservoir' [*Menschenreservoir*] during the Stone and Bronze Ages. And, on the basis of this pool of peoples, prehistoric northern population elements had pressed southwards time and time again. According to Jankuhn, these 'settlement waves' [*Siedlungswellen*] took on fresh vigour during the Viking Age, while their offshoots were perceptible even in the most recent past. Rather absurdly, he claimed that England's colonising efforts in various parts of the world perpetuated the tradition (Jankuhn 1938a: 25).

Whereas migrations at the time of the 'Germanic Heroic Age' had predominantly targeted neighbouring coastal strips, the Viking Age brought an aggressive infiltration of the hinterland, particularly during the ninth century AD. According to Jankuhn, the newly acquired territory was mostly consolidated and developed during the tenth century. In the West, the Irish Sea area – including England, Ireland and Scotland and the Frankish coast – received particular attention. As Jankuhn explained, the region's surrender to the Vikings primarily stemmed from its failure to muster substantial naval capacities, an ability on which the northern invaders' triumph patently rested. Germanic authority in England was secured through the establishment of a Danish colony in the area of York. In a rebellious reaction to the establishment of a unitary state and the centralisation of political power in Norway, a number of free peasants left their Norwegian homeland for Iceland. In Jankuhn's mind, the Icelandic free state that emerged from this movement represented yet another 'completely Germanic foundation' [*vollkommen germanische Gründung*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 23; Jankuhn 1942: 41). During the tenth century, a Norman dominion was established in Normandy, and the region maintained its founding name until the present day. The basis for a Norman empire in Sicily and the southern Italian mainland was laid during the eleventh century (Jankuhn 1938a: 25).

While the westward expeditions had been driven by Danish and Norwegian Vikings, the Swedish tribes had mainly become active in the Baltic Sea area and its continental hinterland. He described the process of Germanic or Viking colonisation in eastern and southeastern Europe as follows:

Masses of colonists set forth from the Germanic power centres around the western part of the Baltic Sea basin, advance eastwards along the coastline and follow the course of the Oder and the Vistula rivers towards the South-East, overcome the watershed and follow the south Russian streams into the Ukraine and the Balkan in order to gain new settlement space far away from their motherland and to merge with other peoples over the course of centuries. (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 8)

Jankuhn held that the Swedes first visited Russia around the beginning of the ninth century and began to penetrate eastern Europe a few decades later. Moving along the major waterways, the Swedes founded a Viking duchy in the area of

Novgorod in northwestern Russia as well as a southern empire centred on Kiev. According to Jankuhn, the ‘legendary’ [*sagenhaft*] realm of Bjarmaland on the White Sea coast in northwestern Russia became a crucial supplier of walrus bone, ropes and furs. In these areas, the Vikings were thus predominantly involved in trade. A number of large streams in eastern Europe – the Volga or the Northern Dvina, for instance – acted as invaluable transport links (Jankuhn 1938a: 23).

Despite an early focus on the pertinent economic opportunities, the northern Germanic tribes had, according to Jankuhn, also taken on a political role in the colonised areas. The region of Novgorod, for instance, underwent a ‘strong, peasant colonisation’ [*starke, bäuerliche Kolonisation*], and the subsequent incorporation of the colonies centred on Kiev and Novgorod into a single Viking empire in the second half of the ninth century reinforced the development towards a more regimented political structure. In Jankuhn’s words, ‘the conditions for the Russian empire were created [as an] exploit of Swedish Vikings’ [*war die Voraussetzung für das russische Reich geschaffen [als] eine Tat schwedischer Wikinger*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 23).

The establishment of the Polish state in the tenth century AD had likewise been a Germanic enterprise. In Jankuhn’s words, the ‘organic indigenous Slavic development’ [*organische innerlawische Entwicklung*] was triggered by the incoming Vikings (Jankuhn 28.11.1939: 2). Viking remains were predominantly concentrated in the ‘major centres of political and military life’ [*große Zentren politischen und militärischen Lebens*] and therefore demonstrated that the Germanic element had taken on a vital role in the region (Jankuhn 1934b; Jankuhn 1938a: 23-24; Jankuhn 28.11.1939: 3; Jankuhn 1940b). In addition, there had been a number of smaller foundations in Liebau (Liepāja in modern-day Latvia), the Samland (the Sambia peninsula in modern-day Kaliningrad), Elbing and Wollin (Elbląg and Wolin in modern-day Poland). According to Jankuhn, the Baltic Sea had effectively become a ‘northern Germanic basin’ [*nordgermanisches Becken*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 24; Jankuhn 1942: 40-41).

According to Jankuhn, the Vikings had travelled, traded and settled across a vast expanse of land and sea, stretching from Constantinople and Mesopotamia in the East to North America in the West and from the North African shores in the South to Greenland in the North (Jankuhn 1938a: 25). Despite some violent episodes, such as

the sacking of Dorchester and Lindisfarne, their expeditions had not been mere robbing or plundering excursions. Instead, he grandly declared, the *Wikingerzüge* had heralded a new era that saw a ‘formidable extension of the Germanic element’ [*gewaltige Ausdehnung des germanischen Elements*] and the last great pre- and protohistoric migration (Jankuhn 1938e: 15). As shown above, the Vikings had made numerous ‘conquests’ [*Eroberungen*] and initiated several ‘state formations under Germanic leadership’ [*Staatenbildungen unter germanischer Führung*] (Jankuhn 1935a: 79; Jankuhn 1938a: 16). In Jankuhn’s eyes, the European East had particularly profited from Viking activism. Under the Nordic aegis, the Slavs had enjoyed a sound political structure for the first time in their history. According to Jankuhn, the historical significance of the Viking Age was therefore immense.

Jankuhn provided an ideologically charged account of the Viking period. In the first instance, the northern *Germanen* had sought the acquisition and consolidation of foreign territories. Based on their superior abilities in a number of fields – shipbuilding and seafaring, for example – they had successfully established multiple colonies all over the European continent. Their impressive geographic expansion attested to their daring, self-confident and entrepreneurial nature. As Jankuhn explained, many of the colonised regions had seen both the establishment of a ruling northern Germanic elite and the arrival of Viking peasants. An ethnic influx of distinctly northern Germanic character had occurred, and the Viking communities had consequently become firmly rooted in the foreign regions they occupied. As in his description of the Migration Period, Jankuhn emphasised the northern Germanic or Viking peoples’ imperialist character, thereby echoing National Socialist expansionist rhetoric.

Jankuhn established a direct and explicit connection between early medieval Viking activities and twentieth-century German developments. According to him, ‘Germanic and German blood’ [*germanisches und deutsches Blut*] had infiltrated southeastern Europe for four thousand years (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 9). The Viking excursions had perpetuated a Stone and Bronze Age phenomenon, while subsequent events, such as the medieval penetration of eastern Europe by the German Hanse and the expansionist policies implemented by Frederick the Great, represented a further extension of the historical trend (Jankuhn 1938a: 4). According to Jankuhn, the

recognition of this ‘historical process’ [*historischer Ablauf*] facilitated a ‘deeper understanding of our current political situation’ [*tieferes Verständnis unserer gegenwärtigen politischen Situation*] (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 1):

As much as all the successes of the past weeks are ultimately due to the brilliant political conception of one man, they nonetheless fit with surprising clarity into the course of historical development. (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 1)

Jankuhn effectively incorporated Hitler’s political and military manoeuvres into a linear and nearly unbroken chain of historical precedents extending from the Stone Age to the present day. His overt rationalisation and acclamation of these recent ‘successes’ – Germany’s aggressive expansionist demeanour in eastern Europe and most notably its invasion of Poland in September 1939 – provide an instance of blatant National Socialist propaganda.

Finally, Jankuhn held that the northern *Germanen* had profoundly influenced their colonial territories. They had brought order and stability to regions that previously lacked any significant political organisation. The Germanic peoples, he declared, had played a vital role in the foundation of both the Russian empire and the Polish state (Jankuhn 1940b). The implications of these assertions are clear: for one, eastern European backwardness had precluded a home-grown political and institutional development, and the culturally and organisationally superior *Germanen* had therefore acted as a civilising force. Jankuhn at times even intimated that the Slavs had actively invited the Vikings to play such an enlightening role (Jankuhn n.d.f: 2-3). In addition, protohistoric Germanic participation or leadership in Slavic state formations provided a further historical precedent for contemporary German involvement in eastern European affairs. Eastern European scholars who curtailed the civilising and organisational impact of the *Germanen* were simply accused of ‘political tendentiousness’ [*politische Tendenz*] (Jankuhn 28.11.1939: 1; Jankuhn 1940b: 67).

Jankuhn’s description of Viking activism in eastern Europe – and particularly in Poland – tallies with several contemporary accounts. Scheel, for his part, asserted that neither the eastern nor the western Slavs had enjoyed a ‘strong state-forming energy’ [*starke herrschaftsbildende Kraft*] and that an external actor had consolidated

the Polish tribes into a ‘political community’ [*politische Gemeinschaft*]: ‘this force was a Germanic one’ [*diese Macht war germanisch*]. According to Scheel, the commander and ruler Mieszko I, who was often credited with the foundation of the Polish state, had, despite his Slavic name, been of Germanic origins (Scheel 1937: 155-156; Scheel 1938: 289). Paulsen, too, confirmed that the Vikings had been deeply involved ‘in colonising and organising’ [*im Kolonisieren und Organisieren*] numerous European regions (Paulsen 1932: 209). The ‘first Polish king’ [*erster polnischer König*], for instance, had been ‘a Norman’ [*ein Normanne*] (Paulsen 1932: 208). Some diverging views existed. According to German historian Adolf Hofmeister, it was as yet unknown whether a ‘Viking dynasty’ [*wikingisches Geschlecht*] had played a leading role in the formation of the Polish state. Nonetheless, he claimed that Poland had contained a ‘strong Nordic element’ [*stärkerer nordischer Einschlag*] and ‘certain Nordic relations among its noble families’ [*manche nordischen Beziehungen unter seinen großen Familien*] (Hofmeister 1931: 20). In other words, Jankuhn’s illustration of Viking organisational and political achievements in eastern Europe were by no means extraordinary shortly before or during the National Socialist era.

4 Accounts of Germanic prehistory after National Socialism

4.1 Abandoning historical synthesis?

As demonstrated in section 3, Jankuhn commonly discussed the development of Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German history during the 1930s and 40s. Although his interpretations of Germanic pre- and protohistory did not adhere to some clearly delineated and fixed National Socialist ideological canon, Jankuhn’s politico-ideological environment nonetheless noticeably affected his archaeological writings. Section 4 investigates whether and to what extent Jankuhn’s account of Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German history adapted to the changing politico-ideological conditions of the post-war period.

To begin with, Jankuhn’s scientific output itself underwent considerable modifications after the National Socialist period. During the 1930s and 40s, a wide range of publications had displayed a significant concern with the historical development of the German people and its ancestors. After 1945, such overarching

historical synopses appear to have lost some of their appeal or significance. Rather than synthesising the entirety of Germanic pre- and protohistory, Jankuhn's post-war publications remained more immediately rooted in his traditional area of expertise, that is, in early medieval archaeology. A tangible detachment from the production of national histories in the post-war period has been pointed out in Chapter IV.

The later editions of Jankuhn's popular publication on the early medieval trading site Haithabu demonstrate this point (Jankuhn 1956; Jankuhn 1963; Jankuhn 1972; Jankuhn 1986). The opening pages of the first and second editions of Jankuhn's Haithabu-monograph provided an extensive introduction into the historical development of the Germanic peoples, describing their origins as well as their political and cultural evolution from the Neolithic until the Migration Period (Jankuhn 1937b; Jankuhn 1938a). As shown above, Jankuhn's review stretched back into the third millennium before Christ. Given that the settlement was inhabited in the latter centuries of the first millennium AD, Jankuhn's detailed and chronologically extensive historical background seems superfluous and therefore ideologically motivated.

The post-war editions featured an introductory section addressing Haithabu's 'historical circumstances' [*historische Voraussetzungen*]. This section in turn consisted of four sub-sections, dealing with 'The Frankish-Frisian trade to northern Europe in the 7th and 8th centuries' [*Der fränkisch-friesische Handel nach Nordeuropa im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*], 'Maritime trading centres' [*Seehandelsplätze*], 'The economic and social development of the North since the birth of Christ' [*Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung des Nordens seit Christi Geburt*] and 'Peoples and tribes in Schleswig-Holstein at the time of Haithabu' [*Völker und Stämme in Schleswig-Holstein zur Zeit Haithabus*]. In short, Jankuhn's historical setting covered the period immediately preceding as well as those themes directly affecting Haithabu's emergence, growth and occupation (Jankuhn 1956: 9).

The chronological depth of Haithabu's historical context varied sharply in both instances. In addition, in none of the post-war editions did Jankuhn place quite as much emphasis on the specifically Germanic context of Haithabu (Jankuhn 1956; Jankuhn 1963; Jankuhn 1972; Jankuhn 1986). By contrast, the first and second editions had used the term 'Germanic' as an important structural tool. Jankuhn's

section on ‘The Germanic peoples until the Viking Age’ [*Die Germanen bis zur Wikingerzeit*] contained sub-sections on ‘The birth of the Germanen’ [*Die Entstehung der Germanen*], ‘Germanic culture during the Bronze Age’ [*Die germanische Kultur der Bronzezeit*] and ‘The Germanic Heroic Age’ [*Das germanische Heldenzeitalter*] (Jankuhn 1937b: 3-15; 1938a: 3-15). During the mid- to late 1930s, Jankuhn had introduced Haithabu in the context of Germanic pre- and protohistory. After 1945, he merely focused on those episodes and themes essential to the understanding of his work on the settlement.

As pointed out previously, Jankuhn explicitly addressed the difficulties involved in the composition of works of historical synthesis. As seen in Chapter IV, Jankuhn explained that the term ‘German’ – as applied to a nation or an ethnic group – possessed no relevance in the pre- and even the protohistoric periods. Although Germanic tribes had initiated German history, they had, from the Stone Age onwards, incorporated a variety of foreign population elements, and these ethnic ‘blending processes’ [*Mischungsprozesse*] were immensely difficult to review and assess (Jankuhn 1969: 9). In Jankuhn’s eyes, the intake of diverse foreign elements into the Germanic ethnic core over many centuries critically undermined the concept of a presumed continuity of the Indogermanic, Germanic, Viking and German peoples. By invalidating Germanic ethnic continuity, Jankuhn effectively defied one of the central tenets of his previous historical representations. As a consequence, he now expressed serious misgivings about the viability of synthesised historical accounts. Chapter IV has already highlighted that Jankuhn’s efforts to produce national histories were undercut in the post-war period.

Nevertheless, Jankuhn did not abandon synthesised accounts of Germanic pre- and protohistory altogether. One of his post-war publications on the ‘Prehistoric monuments between the North and Baltic Seas. Cultural currents and population movements in the ancient North’ [*Denkmäler der Vorzeit zwischen Nord- und Ostsee. Kulturströmungen und Völkerwanderungen im alten Norden*] contained an historical overview similar to that provided by the first editions of the Haithabu-monograph. Like the latter, the work in question, a selection of plates of ‘beautiful or typical finds and memorable or historically significant monuments’ [*schöne oder typische Funde und eindrucksvolle oder historisch bedeutsame Denkmäler*] (Jankuhn 1957: 5),

targeted interested laypersons rather than professionals. While the introductory pages of the publication echo Jankuhn's previous representations of Germanic history, there are also some significant differences.

4.2 Post-war accounts of the Germanic ethnogenesis

The Germanic people's ethnogenesis had formed a central component of Jankuhn's account before 1945. In 1957, he addressed the subject once again. The familiar megalith-people featured as one of the first northern populations that had been 'culturally sharply defined' [*kulturell schaft abgegrenzt*]. However, Jankuhn did not postulate that this group had originated in the North, as he had done in 1938. Instead, he drew attention to the widespread incidence of similar funerary monuments across western Europe, the Mediterranean region and the Near East. Although the 'chronological relationship' [*zeitliches Verhältnis*] between the megaliths was difficult to ascertain, Jankuhn suggested that the oldest specimen occurred in Palestine. It also remained unclear whether the funerary practice had reached the North 'as a consequence of an immigration by people from western Europe' [*als Folge einer Einwanderung von Menschen aus Westeuropa*] or whether its establishment had been 'the result of the expansion of certain ideas concerning mortuary cults' [*das Ergebnis einer Ausbreitung bestimmter Ideen im Totenkult*] (Jankuhn 1957: 17).

These statements indicate that Jankuhn had perceptibly distanced himself from a traditional, reflexive identification of material assemblages with human groups. He effectively declined to specify whether the megalithic tombs had been directly imported by an incoming population or whether they had spread across Europe as a powerful and novel trend. In his eyes, the existence of marked differences between the northern and western European megaliths denoted that the dissemination of an idea, rather than the influx of a new populace, was more likely to have triggered the development of the megalithic culture group in the North during the Neolithic (Jankuhn 1957: 17).

In addition, Jankuhn held that 'indigenous population elements' [*bodenständige Bevölkerungselemente*], deriving from older, pre-existing northern groups, had retained a significant role in the creation of the megalith-culture (Jankuhn

1957: 17). Though Jankuhn continued to regard the megalith-people as a partially indigenous northern group, he simultaneously held that its ethnic character had probably been altered through the absorption of foreign components. In other words, the concept of prehistoric ethnic uniformity had lost much of its significance and the potential diversity and complexity of a group's ethnic character were more readily acknowledged in the 1950s.

On the other hand, Jankuhn continued to refer to the 'anthropological' [*anthropologische*] characteristics of various prehistoric peoples. While the megalith-people had been of a 'polymorphic' [*vielgestaltig*] appearance (Jankuhn 1957: 17), a second group – the *Glockenbecherleute* or bell beaker-people – were described as 'short-headed' [*kurzköpfig*] (Jankuhn 1957: 19). The notion that a specific and uniform material culture record simultaneously implied a similar physical appearance had thus survived. In fact, this view has been maintained beyond Germany's border and for much of the twentieth century. Menk (1979: 281), for instance, has put forward that the bell beaker folks consisted of a 'very distinctive human stock' and therefore represented 'homogeneous populations' (see also Gally 1979).

The battle axe-people – now termed the *Einzelgrabkultur* after the prevalence of single graves – again featured in Jankuhn's narrative. As in 1938, Jankuhn commented on the difficulties involved in determining this group's provenance. On one hand, he referred to its wide distribution across large swathes of central, eastern and southern Europe. On the other, he pointed to its potential 'indigenous roots' [*eigenständige Wurzeln*]. Jankuhn also stated that, despite tenuous evidence, the *Einzelgrabkultur* had often been associated with the *Indogermanen*. He ultimately failed to resolve this issue, and, in his concluding remarks, he once again exercised the long-standing equation between archaeological assemblages and prehistoric ethnic groups. The emergence of such diverse cultural groups as the *Megalithkultur* and the *Einzelgrabkultur*, he held, most likely indicated the presence of two distinct population elements during the Stone Age (Jankuhn 1957: 18).

The genesis of the Germanic people – in the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn had maintained that it transpired through a merger of the proto-Germanic megalith- and battle axe-people during the late Neolithic and the early Bronze Age – was described in different terms in the post-war period. Jankuhn provided the following summary:

the Neolithic had represented a time of ‘profound changes in economic systems and population structures’ [*tiefgreifende Wandlungen in der Wirtschaftsweise und Bevölkerungsstruktur*], and it had featured vibrant trade relations (Jankuhn 1957: 19). By the end of that period, a ‘levelling of the various cultural and ethnic groups of the Stone Age’ [*Ausgleich der verschiedenen steinzeitlichen Kultur- und Völkergruppen*] had taken place, and the ‘relatively homogeneous formal circle’ [*verhältnismäßig einheitlicher Formenkreis*] that resulted was able to survive into the Bronze Age without any notable disruptions (Jankuhn 1957: 20).

While Jankuhn’s previous account was ostensibly analogous, the precise character of the unifying process had in fact been described in far more explicit terms. In the 1930s, it had been portrayed as the cultural and racial merger of distinct ethnic groupings. In 1957, Jankuhn referred more hazily to the homogenisation of the two cultural and ethnic entities without specifying a concrete fusion of two separate human populations. He appeared unwilling to become too deeply entangled in the nitty-gritty of ethnic or racial dynamics in prehistory. Jankuhn’s chosen term – *Ausgleich* – bears undertones of compromise and accommodation and moderated any Darwinian connotations of confrontation and competition invoked by the discussion of prehistoric ethnic encounters.

On the whole, Jankuhn’s account of the Germanic ethnogenesis is closely reminiscent of that produced in the 1930s. The core of his narrative – the creation of a uniform culture area through the amalgamation of two separate proto-Germanic groups in the late Neolithic – remained consistent into the post-war period. Nevertheless, Jankuhn’s interpretation also contained some new elements. Initially, considerable confusion surrounded the provenance of the proto-Germanic peoples. As indicated above, Jankuhn assigned potential foreign roots to the widespread megalith-culture; the second major group, the battle axe-people, seemed even harder to place.

In the post-war period, Jankuhn certainly made greater allowances for foreign influences on the prehistoric development of the North, and he admitted that the transmission of cultural expressions at times followed the dissemination of new ideas, presumably through trade or similar processes. In other words, material culture patterns were not necessarily and universally determined by the actual physical distribution of prehistoric ethnic groups. Conversely, Jankuhn also maintained that

the marked material differences between the megalith-culture and battle axe-culture indicated the presence of two distinct proto-Germanic peoples. Though Jankuhn thus recognised alternative ways of accounting for material culture differentiation, he remained somewhat attached to the notion that cultural circles straightforwardly equated ethnic groups. His efforts to assign physical-anthropological characteristics to the megalith-people or the bell beaker-people further corroborate this point. Chapter IV has already established that Jankuhn did not unreservedly discard ethnic and national concepts in his post-war work and that his stance on Gustaf Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology' remained markedly ambiguous.

The result of this half-hearted change in Jankuhn's explanatory framework was an increased confusion in his depiction of prehistoric conditions. He referred to population movements on the one and to the diffusion of ideas on the other hand, and held that prehistoric peoples had been shaped both by their indigenous roots and by external influences. Put simply, Jankuhn's post-war account was less clear-cut and more multifaceted than those dating to the National Socialist period.

4.3 Post-war depictions of the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe

Jankuhn's account of Bronze and Iron Age culture, society and economics was likewise reminiscent of earlier descriptions. As before, he pointed to the animated Bronze Age designs that revolved around the circle and spiral. As in the 1930s, Jankuhn granted that external 'stimuli' [*Anregungen*] may have led to the initial adoption of these art forms, but nonetheless insisted that they had been 'developed independently in the North' [*im Norden selbstständig entwickelt*]. He also restored that rather curious connection between decorative patterns and political developments by stating that the ornamentation's 'greater movement' [*größere Bewegung*] reflected increased political unrest during the Bronze Age (Jankuhn 1957: 21-22).

In Jankuhn's view, these political turbulences had begun in the later Bronze Age around 1200 BC when 'northern peoples and sea peoples' [*Nordvölker und Seevölker*] had appeared in southern historical sources as 'dangerous intruders' [*gefährliche Eindringlinge*] (for contemporary references to these sea peoples or *Seevölker*, see, for instance, Kimmig 1964). These Bronze Age population

movements – Jankuhn had already postulated their occurrence in the 1930s and 40s – were portrayed in a different manner after 1945. Indeed, their destructive effects were highlighted to a greater degree. According to Jankuhn, numerous settlements provided unequivocal archaeological evidence that the southern cultural circle had encountered ‘destruction and devastation’ [*Zerstörung und Vernichtung*] at the hand of the Nordic intruders (Jankuhn 1957: 21). In the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn had described this northern movement southward as a recurring process of conquest, submission and the subsequent establishment of colonial societies. In other words, Jankuhn noticeably moved away from an explicit and excessive emphasis on colonial activities, military occupation and political foundations in the post-war period.

On the other hand, Jankuhn maintained that the North had released southward population movements throughout prehistory, and that it had taken on an ‘active and decisive’ [*handelnd und bestimmend*] role in the course of Europe’s historical development. The theme of northern energy and pro-activity thus carried over from Jankuhn’s earlier archaeological writings. In his opinion, the northern circle had been historically significant, ‘whether one slights or appreciates’ [*gering einschätzen oder für bedeutend erachten*] its contribution. By choosing this cautious expression, he was perhaps avoiding an undue inflation of the North’s historical impact (Jankuhn 1957: 7-8).

Jankuhn’s post-war description once again referred to a cultural and economic regression experienced by the northern circle during the early Iron Age. As Jankuhn explained in the 1950s, a significant historical process – that is, the extensive expansion of the Celts – had driven a territorial wedge between northern and southern Europe and disrupted the regions’ vibrant trade relations. Given that it simultaneously found itself in a period of climatic deterioration, the northern circle experienced what Jankuhn called a period of ‘cultural impoverishment’ [*kulturelle Verarmung*] (Jankuhn 1957: 23). This account differed from Jankuhn’s earlier interpretation in a significant respect. As demonstrated in section 3, Jankuhn had initially justified the early Iron Age decline on the basis of a poor climate. Unlike Gustav Schwantes, Jankuhn had failed to mention the potentially stifling effect of a Celtic expansion. After 1945, Jankuhn deemed the Celtic movement ‘of great historical importance’ [*von großer historischer Bedeutung*] and assigned only secondary relevance to the

climatic situation (Jankuhn 1957: 23). Once again, Jankuhn abandoned the conscious minimisation of non-Germanic ethnic forces.

Again, Jankuhn's description of Bronze and Iron Age conditions largely overlaps with that provided in the 1930s. Though he continued to highlight the political turbulences experienced during the late Bronze Age, they were assigned a somewhat altered historical significance. In the 1930s and 40s, they had represented Germanic displays of political strength and territorial expansion; by the 1950s, they had turned into violent and destructive intrusions. Although Jankuhn continued to maintain that the European North had produced an historically active, influential and determined prehistoric population, he avoided an excessive adulation of that people's capacities. In the post-war period, Jankuhn recognised that a growing Celtic presence – rather than merely a deteriorating climate – had triggered a stage of northern cultural decline during the early Iron Age. He thus once again acknowledged that the northern circle's evolution had been anything but a purely linear and ascendant process and that foreign ethnic forces had tangibly impacted on the North in prehistory.

4.4 Post-war depictions of Roman-Germanic relations and the Viking Age

Jankuhn had only offered a vague description of the Roman-Germanic relationship in the 1930s, but took greater pains to define it more satisfactorily after 1945. The underlying premise of Jankuhn's earlier writings had been the cultural, political and economic parity of the Roman Empire and the Germanic North around the turn of the millennium. In the 1950s, Jankuhn likewise spoke of an 'epoch of particularly close relations with the Mediterranean cultural world' [*eine Epoche ganz besonders enger Beziehungen zur Kulturwelt des Mittelmeeres*] (Jankuhn 1975: 28). In addition, he addressed the precise dynamics of the relationship. Germanic prisoners of war and emissaries to Rome had disseminated knowledge of northern society in the South, and Germanic tradesmen and envoys had gathered information on the Roman Empire (Jankuhn 1957: 25).

According to Jankuhn, the North had been pervasively influenced by the South in a number of fields. On a practical level, for instance, it had adopted a rudimentary monetary system (Jankuhn 1957: 27). In the cultural realm, northern art

forms had also been markedly affected. Animal patterns found on Roman belt clasps had inspired northern art for half a millennium by triggering the adoption of the animal style [*Tierornamentik*]. Adding to this, Germanic troops had increasingly been drafted into Roman auxiliary units after the fourth century AD. As Jankuhn explained, the *Germanen* met Rome ‘not as aggressors’ [*nicht als Angreifer*], but rather as its ‘protectors’ [*Beschützer*] (Jankuhn 1957: 29). Contrary to his earlier belief in Roman-Germanic parity, he now saw Rome as the net tutor in the North-South relationship.

On a different note, Jankuhn salvaged certain aspects of the long-standing opposition between Roman civilisation and Germanic society. For instance, he commented on the existing differences in economic and social structures. The South had developed a ‘Mediterranean city culture’ [*mittelmeerische Stadtkultur*], encompassing a highly advanced urban system, extensive communication networks, an efficient central administration and a mighty military machine. The North, for its part, had continued to host an agrarian, largely unchanged and tribally fragmented population that lacked ‘any effective political and military organisation’ [*jede wirksame politische und militärische Organisation*] despite its ‘open-minded’ [*aufgeschlossen*] and ‘courageous’ [*tapfer*] character (Jankuhn 1957: 25).

Jankuhn’s description bears some resemblance to the traditional antithesis that opposed the developed, civilised, urbanised Romans and the unchanging, original, simple *Germanen*. However, certain elements often associated with the North-South opposition were absent from his account. For one, Jankuhn did not dwell on the notion of Germanic ethnic or racial purity, and neither did he contrast a perceived Roman decadence with a supposed original Germanic vigour. Additionally, he placed markedly less emphasis on Germanic cultural and political sophistication. In the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn had suggested that the consolidation of lesser Germanic tribes into more sizeable tribal associations – and hence a notable movement towards greater political order – had occurred shortly before the turn of the millennium. In the 1950s, he qualified this view. Only those Germanic leaders who had been exposed to Rome’s imperial structures had established more extensive, centralised and stable political entities. Jankuhn thus recognised a variety of Roman influences and

impulses, acknowledged significant Germanic cultural, social and political shortcomings and accepted the positive impact of a foreign input.

Political developments during the Migration Period and the Viking Age were likewise addressed in Jankuhn's post-war writings. As he explained, the Migration Period had seen a notable territorial expansion by the Germanic tribes and a subsequent period of consolidation within the newly acquired regions. The strengthening of the Frankish empire [*Frankenreich*] and a concomitant geopolitical shift from the Romanised West to a European 'East that had either remained or become more Germanic' [*stärker germanisch gebliebener oder gewordener Osten*] dated to this period (Jankuhn 1957: 33). In Jankuhn's mind, this early historic Germanic expansion had not in the first instance aimed for the accumulation of ever more extensive territories. More accurately, the movement's prime objective had been the establishment of bases on the Baltic Sea coast. In other words, the process was both 'politically and presumably economically' [*politisch und vermutlich auch wirtschaftlich*] motivated (Jankuhn 1957: 34).

Close relations between Frisians, Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons had prompted the adoption of continental cultural and political traditions by the North. For instance, the evolution of a powerful monarchy and of an influential, wealthy ruling class in northern Europe had owed much to Frankish socio-political structures. However, rather than being adopted immediately and unconditionally, western European models had frequently been modified and adapted. Jankuhn thus continued to emphasise the importance of external cultural stimulation and the resultant adjustment of new ideas and practices to local tastes and requirements (Jankuhn 1957: 34-35).

Finally, Jankuhn's account of Germanic pre- and protohistory features a section on the political and cultural development of the Vikings. The Viking excursions, Jankuhn held in the 1950s, had undergone 'a prolonged development' [*eine lange Entwicklung*] before being grasped in their full import by their contemporaries. Ever since the attack on Lindisfarne in 793 AD, northern assaults had grown both in quantity and intensity. From the middle of the ninth century, they proceeded to overwhelm large parts of Europe and threatened 'to rock the very foundations of the Occident' [*das Abendland in den Grundfesten zu erschüttern*].

While earlier expeditions had sought to control the coastal regions of western Europe as well as the Finnish and Baltic shorelines, the later Viking missions – those from approximately 800 AD onwards – increasingly targeted the interior. Access to the Volga in the East and the Dnieper in the South also opened up avenues into the Middle East and Byzantium (Jankuhn 1957: 36).

As in the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn emphasised the Viking role in the establishment of politically organised and structured entities. According to him, the foundations of Novgorod and Kiev demonstrated the Norsemen's political motivation and vigour. In Jankuhn's eyes, the European North had overcome a period of isolation, had 'embraced Europe from West and East' [*umfaßte Europa von West und Ost*] and had, contrary to widespread preconceptions, bequeathed to the European continent a lasting and substantial legacy in the form of durable state formations (Jankuhn 1957: 36).

Despite such proclamations, Jankuhn remained somewhat ambiguous in his historical assessment of the Vikings travellers and raiders. On one hand, he stressed that the Viking impact on European history could not be limited to the mere spread of 'fear and anxiety' [*Furcht und Schrecken*] (Jankuhn 1957: 36). On the other, Byzantine and Arabic historical sources squarely denied that the Vikings' eastward missions had been any more peaceful and commercially oriented than those directed against the West. According to contemporary historians, the Scandinavian presence in the East had been inextricably linked to 'raiding and plunder' [*Raub und Plünderung*] and could by no means be characterised as restrained, peaceable or purely mercantile. Nevertheless, Jankuhn most frequently and compellingly underlined the enduring positive impact of the Viking state formations on hitherto disordered regions (Jankuhn 1957: 37).

Jankuhn's portrayal of the Roman-Germanic relationship during the first centuries after Christ did not undergo any drastic alterations. However, some differences in focus have become apparent. In the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn had described the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Germanic North as firmly reciprocal. The two sides, he claimed, had been on an equal footing. In the 1950s, Jankuhn adapted his argument. While he continued to propound the relationship's essentially mutual character, Jankuhn also endeavoured to define the

concrete links between Rome and the North more closely. He pointed, for instance, to a Germanic participation in Roman military structures and to the adoption of southern artistic styles by the North. However, these examples predominantly served to underline Rome's position as the net instructor in the North-South relationship, and the concept of cultural, political and economic parity between the two circles was thus somewhat undermined.

In the post-war period, Jankuhn increasingly acknowledged the impact of foreign influences on the development of an indigenous northern civilisation and moved away from an excessive emphasis on the *Germanen's* presumed exceptional capacities and historical achievements. On the other hand, he continued to employ the long-standing dichotomy between Roman civilisation and Germanic society that had been a central element of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germanic ideologies. Selected facets of the Roman-Germanic antithesis were indeed toned down, and previous comments regarding Germanic racial purity and Roman decadence were markedly absent in the 1950s.

Jankuhn did not reverse his position on Viking Age political and territorial developments, although his focus and tone again betray certain transformations. To begin with, Jankuhn continued to stress the political, organisational and state-forming impact of the Viking raiders and settlers after 1945. He still saw the foundation of trading centres, such as Kiev and Novgorod, as their most lasting legacy. However, the nature of the Viking raids was characterised somewhat differently. In the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn held that the Vikings had left both a political and an ethnic imprint on the newly settled territories. By contrast, in the 1950s, he refrained from making such a suggestion. Once again, ethnic determinants had lost much of their currency in Jankuhn's archaeological writings.

Jankuhn's earlier efforts to portray the Viking period as the apex of several thousand years of Germanic colonisation were not echoed in the 1950s. Whereas he had previously drawn an historical arch from the Stone and Bronze Ages to the Viking Period, Jankuhn rather meekly suggested in the post-war period that the northern travellers had drawn on a protracted historical development. The narrative and interpretative concept of Germanic historical continuity, so commonly invoked by Jankuhn in the 1930s and the 1940s, was therefore accentuated to a far lesser

degree in the post-war period. While Jankuhn had previously opposed a negative representation of the Vikings, he adopted an equivocal view of the Norsemen's character and historical contribution in the post-war period. Although he continued to underline the constructive political impact of their missions, he recognised on several occasions that they had raided and plundered. After 1945, the Vikings were thus no longer simplistically portrayed as bearers of political organisation.

5 Summary and conclusions

Chapter V has analysed Herbert Jankuhn's general accounts of Germanic pre- and protohistory. Two questions have stood at the centre of the investigation: first, did Jankuhn's interpretations adhere to and sustain National Socialist and pre-existing ideologies, and, second, did his explanations change over time?

Sections 1 and 2 have illuminated the long-term ideological and intellectual circumstances in which Jankuhn was acting, working and writing. Section 1 has traced the historical development of prominent Germanic ideologies. To begin with, it has pointed to a pronounced and long-lived tendency to define the specifically Germanic character in frontal opposition to other peoples and cultures. For example, representations of early Germanic life frequently made use of a marked anti-Roman or anti-French sentiment.

Next, section 1 has emphasised the significance of Scandinavian history and culture in the creation of a Germanic identity. The merging of ancient Nordic and old Germanic historical and cultural traditions constituted an essential feature of Romantic Germanic ideologies and subsisted well into the twentieth century. Finally, the section has established that the Germanic people's external physical features and its internal moral and intellectual characteristics were increasingly being cast in racial terms. As a consequence, the belief in an uninterrupted transmission of a racially conditioned Germanic physique and disposition through several millennia gained widespread currency in the course of the nineteenth century.

Section 2 has enumerated the pivotal elements of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representations of the purportedly typical Germanic character. Initially, it has cautioned that Germanic ideologies were not incorporated whole and unchanged into a National Socialist ideological canon, not least because such a thing

never existed. National Socialist ideology consisted of a range of competing and conflicting ideas and beliefs, and Nazi leaders therefore displayed very dissimilar levels of enthusiasm for the ancient Germanic past. Chapter III has already indicated that this politico-ideological multiplicity engendered bitter institutional rivalries. Nonetheless, representations of Germanic pre- and protohistory came to play a major, albeit not exclusive, role in the composite National Socialist belief system.

To begin with, Germanic culture and society were mostly portrayed as original, genuine and fresh. The ancient *Germanen*, it was held, had led a rural lifestyle, and they had been firmly attached to their native soil. By contrast, an urban or nomadic existence was regarded as profoundly un-Germanic. In addition, Germanic ideologies customarily emphasised the exceptional cultural capacities of the ancient *Germanen*: their pioneering, creative spirit had prompted a series of culture-bearing and civilising missions to neighbouring and far-flung regions throughout the pre- and protohistoric periods. Chapters III and IV have previously explained that Nazi Germany's own aggressively expansionist political and military ambitions were commonly justified on the basis of such alleged historical precedents; Chapter V has traced numerous instances of such thinking in Jankuhn's writings.

Finally, *Germanenideologien* often sought to construct a concrete and direct connection between the ancient Germanic past and the contemporary German situation. *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler, for instance, frequently cited Henry I as the architect of the first German empire or advocated the revival of traditional Prussian values. By exposing the presumed underlying connections between these diverse historical traditions, National Socialist historiography established a homogeneous and consistent Germanic/German historical narrative.

In his representation of the Germanic ethnogenesis – described at the outset of section 3 – Jankuhn catered to nearly all of these politico-ideological preconceptions. According to him, both the *Großsteingrableute* and the *Streitaxtleute* had displayed an exceptionally high level of cultural sophistication. While the former's intellectual capacities – these compared particularly favourably with the 'unshackled imagination' encountered in southeastern Europe – were praiseworthy, the latter's belligerent and proactive nature was regarded as similarly commendable. In addition, Jankuhn highlighted the megalith-people's attachment to their native soil, their

concurrent expansionist drive and colonial activism and drew attention to the battle axe-people's racial uniformity. The merger of these proto-Germanic groups in the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age, he held, had produced a people that represented the 'direct ancestors of the later Germanic people'. On the basis of their 'inner strength' and limited foreign interference, the *Germanen* had preserved their historical lineage and original, indigenous character over centuries and millennia.

Thus far, Jankuhn ostensibly toed the pre-existing ideological line. However, the case has proved less clear-cut upon closer observation. Nearly all of Jankuhn's contemporaries advocated the dualistic origins of the early Bronze Age *Germanen*. As seen above, the fusion of megalith-people and battle axe-people allegedly created the earliest Germanic tribes. However, the proto-Germanic peoples' origins were considerably more contentious. While few scholars other than Kossinna postulated an exclusively northern provenance, the politically incorrect and unpopular theory 'ex oriente lux' was mostly circumvented as well. Jankuhn himself hesitantly maintained that the battle axe-people's precise origins remained shrouded in mystery.

For one, section 3 has put forward that Jankuhn's uneasy and vague references to a potential southern German provenance may have represented an attempt to compromise between scientific inclination and political expediency. In addition, Jankuhn's own and his colleagues' manifest reluctance to fully abide by a formally decreed position once again indicates that there remained some room for interpretative and intellectual manoeuvre in the authoritarian system. In other words, scholars did not necessarily (have to) deliver an officially delineated and politically correct National Socialist interpretation.

Next, section 3 has examined Jankuhn's interpretations of Germanic Bronze Age and Iron Age culture and society. By burying their dead in single graves, placing them in wooden coffins and covering them with burial mounds, he held, the Bronze Age *Germanen* had consciously created a visible and tangible link between past and present generations. Once again, the long-term survival of Germanic cultural and religious traditions took centre stage. In the case of the Dronninghoi burial, Jankuhn established a presumed historical continuity and consistency on the basis of rather dubious evidence.

Jankuhn's descriptions of Germanic Bronze and Iron Age territorial developments have yielded analogous observations. According to Jankuhn, the Bronze Age had seen a steady expansion both east- and westwards, while the Iron Age had experienced large-scale and fierce onslaughts that frequently led to the establishment of thoroughly Germanic colonies in previously alien regions. As section 3 has pointed out, Jankuhn's illustration of Germanic Iron Age advances disclosed a patently imperial mindset: his central themes – conquest, submission, the establishment of 'Germanic' societies abroad and the absorption of native populations – reflected contemporary, and particularly Hitler's, schemes for the creation of a Greater German Reich and thus act as an especially blatant example of Jankuhn's frequent concurrence with National Socialist ideological paradigms and political goals. In addition, section 3 has pointed out that Jankuhn's rhetoric was closely reminiscent of National Socialist parlance.

Jankuhn's account moreover perpetuated a number of presumed Germanic qualities, such as highly evolved military ambitions and skills and a predilection for an attacking strategy. Finally, Jankuhn once again sought to erect an unbroken connection between chronologically remote historical periods. By directly associating Bronze and Iron Age population movements with the later Migration Period, he depicted territorial advances and colonial endeavours as long-standing and intrinsic features of the Germanic character. While Jankuhn's interpretations plainly adhered to and sustained National Socialist ideologies, it is important to note that a number of contemporary scholars offered equivalent accounts.

Jankuhn's take on early Germanic social structures has displayed a similar observance of prevalent politico-ideological preconceptions and requirements. As section 3 has shown, he painted early Bronze Age society as largely egalitarian, while simultaneously postulating the existence of powerful and outstanding individuals. Once again, an analogy to previous *völkisch* and contemporary National Socialist conceptions of prominent historical *Führerfiguren* has been underlined. In addition, Jankuhn's correlation between the emergence of a centralised authority and the forceful expansion of the Germanic settlement area during the later Bronze Age could also be applied to the contemporary German situation: in twentieth-century Germany,

as in the Bronze Age, the rise of a 'Führer figure' and the extension of Germany's borders had coincided.

Finally, section 3 has examined Jankuhn's representations of the political and territorial development of the Germanic tribes in the course of the first millennium after Christ. To begin with, the relationship between the *Germanen* and the Roman Empire was defined in uncharacteristically vague terms. Jankuhn initially denied that Germanic civilisation had been inferior to Rome, and, contrary to traditional Germanic ideologies, he simultaneously refrained from establishing a frontal opposition between the two powers. As suggested, Jankuhn's indecisiveness may have represented a response to the conflicting positions adopted by National Socialist leaders on the Roman-Germanic relationship.

Jankuhn's account of the Migration Period and the Viking Age focused on a familiar theme. Both eras had seen abundant expansionist attempts on the part of the Germanic tribes. In Jankuhn's eyes, Stone, Bronze and Iron Age population movements had provided the historical precedents for such activities, while the subsequent penetration of eastern Europe by the German Hanse and the expansionist policies implemented by Frederick the Great had perpetuated the trend. Most significantly, Jankuhn proceeded to incorporate Hitler's own political and military manoeuvres into this near-perfectly linear historical pattern. As pointed out in section 3, he effectively provided a forthright historical justification for National Socialist territorial aggressions.

According to Jankuhn, the Viking colonising style further validated the argument. Since eastern Europeans or Slavs had been incapable of political organisation, the *Germanen* had taken it upon themselves to introduce order and structure into these remote regions. The erection of a crude dichotomy between eastern European backwardness and Germanic cultural and organisational sophistication served an obvious politico-ideological purpose. Jankuhn once again displayed a striking willingness to toe the National Socialist line. On the other hand, his accounts of Viking organisational and political achievements in eastern Europe were far from extraordinary. As section 3 has shown, many of Jankuhn's contemporaries buttressed the regime via analogous statements.

Section 4 has investigated to what extent and how Jankuhn's accounts of Germanic pre- and protohistory changed after the National Socialist period. Initially, the section has established that the significance of overarching historical accounts in Jankuhn's writings tangibly diminished after 1945. As illustrated, Jankuhn addressed the specific difficulties involved in the composition of works of historical synthesis. The inclusion of external elements into a Germanic ethnic core vitally undermined the presumed linearity of the Indogermanic, Germanic and German peoples, and hence hampered the production of synthesised historical representations. Chapter IV has already established that, in the aftermath of the war, national, ethnic and racial entities lost much of their utility as pre- and protohistoric classificatory units.

The practical consequences of this development were visible in his treatment of the early medieval settlement Haithabu. Rather than perceiving Haithabu from an exclusively Germanocentric perspective, Jankuhn placed the town into a very different historical and archaeological context. In the post-war period, Haithabu was projected against the socio-economic development of northern Europe and the growth of early medieval trade and trade centres. This shift was likewise consistent with Jankuhn's changing research foci, as illustrated in Chapter IV.

An examination of Jankuhn's post-war depiction of the Germanic ethnogenesis has yielded the following notable points. Though the essence of his narrative – the creation of the Germanen transpired through the fusion of two proto-Germanic groups in the late Neolithic – remained largely unchanged, Jankuhn's post-war description differed from that produced in the 1930s and 40s in certain specific respects. For one, Jankuhn conceded that external influences had impacted on the prehistoric development of the North; he thus placed markedly less emphasis on Germanic ethnic purity and uniformity.

Secondly, Jankuhn recognised that the dissemination of a novel idea, rather than the physical influx of a prehistoric population, could shape the distribution of material culture. His particular reference to the potential effect of trade on archaeological culture patterns echoed his previous critique of Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeology', as highlighted in Chapter IV. On the other hand, Jankuhn did not disavow the traditional equation between archaeological cultures and ethnic

entities entirely, and he continued to assign specific anthropological characteristics to prehistoric populations.

Jankuhn's account of the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Europe also differed subtly from his earlier interpretations. His descriptions of 'Germanic' Bronze Age population movements clearly demonstrate this. While he had previously regarded these advances as characteristic of the colonial and political activism displayed by the early *Germanen*, he unmistakably underlined their destructive effect after 1945. The supposed progression from territorial conquest and military occupation to the subsequent establishment of political foundations abroad featured far less prominently. Though Jankuhn continued to emphasise the traditional themes of northern pro-activity and the allegedly momentous historical importance of the Germanic peoples, he simultaneously conceded that other, non-Germanic forces – the example used was that of the Celts – had considerably influenced the course of European history.

Jankuhn's account of the Roman-Germanic relationship further underscores this point. While the parity of Roman and Germanic culture and society had been maintained in the 1930s and 40s, Rome was unequivocally portrayed as a net tutor in the post-war era. Although some aspects of a traditional Roman-Germanic opposition were upheld, others, such as the conventional emphasis on Germanic ethnic purity and on the cultural and political sophistication of the North were discarded. Finally, Jankuhn provided a noticeably more ambiguous and less exalting historical assessment of the Vikings. Whereas he continued to stress their political, organisational and state-forming credentials, he at the same time conceded that their expeditions had often wrought violence and destruction.

During the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn thus visibly adhered to and sustained traditional Germanic ideologies and specific strands of National Socialist thought. Nonetheless, he did not subscribe to a monolithic and static belief system, precisely because such a thing did not exist. Much like Chapter IV, Chapter V has established that individual archaeological scholars maintained a considerable degree of intellectual manoeuvre within the confines of a highly repressive system. Jankuhn's post-war writings underwent tangible changes. Chapter IV has already revealed certain adjustments to his research foci and methods, and these are partly traceable in

his post-war representations of Germanic pre- and protohistory. Although the essence of Jankuhn's narratives often remained unchanged, the most blatant politico-ideological elements contained in his interpretations – for instance, a pronounced Germanocentrism – were commonly toned down or removed. As a consequence, any alterations to Jankuhn's work once again transpired in a subtle and fluid manner.

CHAPTER VI

‘Germanic town’ and ‘Viking Age trade centre’. Changing interpretations of Haithabu in Herbert Jankuhn’s work

‘Through a wave of his hand, the conjuror of Haithabu reawakens the legendary old Viking town in front of his astonished audience.’

*[Anon., Caption of a photograph of Herbert Jankuhn, 1956, Bündel 27 (grün),
Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn]*

The early medieval archaeological site of Haithabu, known as Hedeby in English, Danish and also in German, is situated on the eastern side of the isthmus separating the North and Baltic Seas, in close proximity to modern-day Schleswig in Schleswig-Holstein, the northernmost German state bordering on Denmark. Haithabu lies at the head of the Schlei, a narrow water inlet that stretches for approximately forty kilometres southeast from the Baltic Sea to the town of Schleswig. Its substantial semi-circular rampart encloses an area of 26 hectares. The site hosts one of the most well-known and long-standing archaeological excavations in Germany and has been scientifically investigated nearly continuously since the beginning of the twentieth century. The Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities in Kiel initiated the investigations in 1900; they were placed under the direction of Johanna Mestorf (Jankuhn 1940a: 26; Stark 1988: 9-12).

In 1930, shortly after submitting his doctoral thesis at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (today’s Humboldt University) in Berlin, Jankuhn took up the post of excavation director at Haithabu. His former teachers Carl Schuchhardt and Wilhelm Unverzagt had supported his application for the position. In 1934, *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler became the project’s prestigious patron, and, from 1938 onwards, the SS assumed financial responsibility for the archaeological investigations (Jankuhn 1943: 10). Chapter III has addressed the nature of the SS’ involvement in the excavation.

The following case-study illuminates the relationship between Jankuhn's perception and portrayal of the Haithabu-site and his politico-ideological environment between 1933 and 1945. Initially, this entails an illustration of Jankuhn's archaeological interpretations of the early medieval settlement: section 1 discusses the explanations offered by Jankuhn for the site's location; it describes Jankuhn's perception of prevalent religious beliefs and, particularly, of the encounter between prehistoric pagan traditions and the incoming Christian faith; it considers his depiction of Haithabu's multifaceted artistic customs; it assesses his portrayal of the ethnic and racial characteristics of Haithabu's inhabitants; and, finally, it explores the factors that, according to Jankuhn, granted Haithabu such historical significance.

Jankuhn's readings are juxtaposed with specific, central facets of National Socialist thought and ideology, and potential links between Jankuhn's interpretations and contemporaneous politico-ideological currents are plainly highlighted. Section 1 frequently touches on observations previously made in Chapter V. In particular, it determines whether Jankuhn's Haithabu-interpretations tallied with elements of common *Germanenideologien* and establishes to what extent Jankuhn's representations of the early medieval town contributed to the construction of a continuous Germanic/German history.

Section 2 turns towards Jankuhn's post-war depictions of Haithabu. It investigates whether Jankuhn's work on the early medieval site underwent any fundamental alterations in the wake of the National Socialist period and places any perceptible changes into the wider framework of Jankuhn's intellectual development. The section proceeds as follows. It discusses the historical prerequisites for the town's development, its purported role as a literary, artistic and religious mediator between West and North, as well as the size and origins of the settlement's population. Finally, it considers whether Jankuhn portrayed Haithabu's historical significance in a different light after the National Socialist period; it particularly queries whether the site lost some of its weight in the context of a German national history. Like section 1, section 2 refers to previously breached topics. It specifically investigates whether the changes in Jankuhn's work on Haithabu reflect those modifications in research foci and methods laid out in Chapter IV.

1 A ‘Germanic town’. Depictions of Haithabu during National Socialism

1.1 Site location

The position of the town is consistent with the prerequisites of the Viking Age. All great locations known from these centuries lie inland rather than on the coast, though they retain direct access to the sea. (Jankuhn 1938a: 46)

According to Jankuhn, Haithabu’s situation at the extremity of the river Schlei, the narrow fjord protruding from the Baltic Sea into the interior of the southern Jutland peninsula, ensured a considerable level of security for the town and its inhabitants. A number of comparable ‘Viking ports’ [*wikingische Häfen*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 46) – for instance, Birka in Sweden, Wolin in Poland and Novgorod in Russia – displayed a similar geographical setting. They conveniently offered both ease of access and security from unwanted intrusion. Additional protective measures included the construction of defensive ramparts at strategic points and the barring of the connecting waterways in times of danger (Jankuhn 1937a: 85-90; Jankuhn 1938a: 46-47).

Jankuhn also pointed to Haithabu’s proximity to the river Treene, a short tributary to the river Eider that flows into the North Sea near the town of Tönning. Haithabu – in the words of other scholars, ‘a Nordic Corinth’ [*ein nordisches Korinth*] (Scheel & Paulsen 1930: III) – was located at a mere 18 kilometres from the Treene and therefore lay at the eastern end of a ‘radically reduced land link between the North and Baltic Sea basins’ [*auf ein Minimum zusammengedrängte Landverbindung zwischen Nord- und Ostseebecken*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 47). As Jankuhn explained, this highly expedient position gained in importance given that the Baltic and North Sea areas were being merged into a single communication, transport and trade network at the beginning of the Viking Age. According to Jankuhn, the historical record unequivocally substantiated the transportation of goods and ships across this land link during ‘the century after the Viking Age’ [*das Jahrhundert nach der Wikingerzeit*] (Jankuhn 1937a: 82), and he consequently assumed that the same

practice had been operational and customary in the preceding centuries (Jankuhn 1937a: 82-84; Jankuhn 1938a: 47-48).

A second major trade and transport route, linking north and south and running ‘from the Elbe to the north of Jutland’ [*von der Elbe bis nach Nordjütland*] was integral to the understanding of Haithabu’s origins (Jankuhn 1937a: 84-85; Jankuhn 1938: 48). Although Jankuhn dated the road to the Stone and Bronze Ages, parts of its tracks could still be distinguished by means of aerial photographs. According to Jankuhn, this ancient passage had acted as ‘the military road, on which the great migrations flooded towards the south since the end of the Bronze Age’ [*die Heerstraße, auf der die großen Völkerbewegungen seit dem Ausgang der Bronzezeit nach dem Süden fluteten*]. Runic stones had been erected as memorials to those who had travelled and died on the *Heerstraße*. These monuments revealed a firm belief in the ‘close connection between the living and their forefathers’ [*enge Verbindung zwischen den Lebenden und ihren Vorfahren*] that had existed ‘since the origins of the Germanic peoples’ [*seit der Entstehungszeit des Germanentums*]. In Jankuhn’s opinion, this conviction survived even into the modern-day ‘consciousness’ [*Bewußtsein*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 48). The point of intersection between these major historical trade routes – one running from North to South and one from East to West – thus offered the preconditions for the development of a great trading centre: Haithabu (Jankuhn 1938a: 50).

Jankuhn provided a straightforward explanation of Haithabu’s situation in northern Europe. Haithabu grew in its current location primarily due to geographical considerations on the part of its first inhabitants: it was both well connected and easily defensible (see Jankuhn 1933/34: 341-342; Jankuhn 1936: 86; Jankuhn 1938b: 743; Jankuhn 1941: 178-179 for analogous arguments). Contemporary scholars, too, customarily accentuated the particularly suitable geographic settings of early medieval trade centres. According to the Swedish archaeologist Holger Arbman, Birka’s position in southern Sweden had undoubtedly been geographically prescribed. The settlement lay at the intersection of two essential trade routes through Lake Mälaren (Arbman 1937: 24). The geographical position and topographical setting of Wolin in northwestern Poland closely resembled the conditions of Birka and Haithabu (Wilde 1953: 91). Paulsen, for his part, held that the common location of

early medieval towns along the coastlines of long and narrow water inlets had prompted their appellation as *Wike*. The term *Wik* signified fjord or bay (Paulsen 1932: 210).

According to Jankuhn, Haithabu's excellent connectivity mattered for two reasons. First, its privileged location had facilitated the pre- and protohistoric movement of goods and ships, particularly between the North and Baltic Seas. Secondly, the North-South axis had enabled large-scale southward migrations from the late Bronze Age onwards; in Jankuhn's eyes, it had fulfilled a military role. Once again, Jankuhn added a spiritual element to this largely functional account. As seen in Chapter V, the *Germanen* had, according to Jankuhn, established an immediate connection between the past, the present and the future by flanking the old North-South passage with memorials. The town Haithabu had thus stood at the centre of an age-old tradition: the conscious attempt to physically demonstrate the continuity of Germanic society and culture.

1.2 Religious beliefs

The religious beliefs of Haithabu's population occupy a prominent position in Jankuhn's writings on the early medieval settlement. A perceived conflict between ancient Germanic religious beliefs and the newly expanding Christian faith appears to have been one of Jankuhn's central and underlying concerns. Jankuhn proceeded by initially describing the external or materially visible differences and similarities between the two religious traditions and by subsequently illustrating the transitional process that led to the introduction of a novel set of cultic ideas and to the gradual, slow decline of an old one.

Jankuhn first laid out the various cultic elements that constituted the Germanic belief system. Although he underlined the difficulties implied in the (archaeological) investigation of a topic as abstract as religion, he maintained that modern knowledge of Germanic religious customs was greatly assisted by the customary assignment of specific symbolic attributes to Germanic deities. These symbols, he held, were clearly discernible in the material record. For instance, Thor, the Germanic god of thunder, was habitually denoted through a hammer. According to ancient Germanic beliefs, thunder was created when Thor hurled his utensil

through the skies. As a consequence, the occurrence of the so-called *Thorshämmer* – Thor’s hammers – indicated cultic activities devoted to that deity. As Jankuhn explained, Thor’s emblem had been employed in the decoration of a variety of objects at Haithabu, including amulets and horse bridles (Jankuhn 1938a: 186).

The chambered tombs that lay on both sides of the North-South road bypassing Haithabu – Jankuhn failed to explicitly date these structures – acted as an additional source of information on early Germanic religious customs. According to Jankuhn, the funeral traditions demonstrated by these burials made use of and derived from ideas that had been held consistently since the end of the Stone Age. Even then, the dead were habitually buried along the *Heerweg* or military road, because this practice supposedly established a close relationship between the living and the dead. The idea that the living were obligated or bound to the dead had also formed the spiritual foundation of the so-called Germanic *Kriegerbünde*. In terms of their cultic customs, these warriors’ associations had closely adhered to Odin, the god of war and battle. According to Jankuhn, it could therefore be safely assumed that the occurrence of the same cultic idea – that is, the belief in a connection between a people’s ancestors and descendants – in the material record pointed towards the veneration of Odin during pre- and protohistoric times. In the case of Haithabu, Jankuhn suggested, the high frequency of ‘early Germanic’ chambered tombs – once again, the *Trichterbecherkultur* – thus signalled the widespread acceptance of such religious concepts (Jankuhn 1938a: 187).

In addition, Jankuhn held that the relationship between the hammer – or, alternatively, the axe – and Odin had persisted into the present day: the use of the term *Donnerkeil* – or ‘thunder axe’ – to denote the stone axe in northern Germany attested to the survival of this ancient Germanic religious association in contemporary folklore (Jankuhn 1936b: 131-132). More direct evidence for the worship of Odin at Haithabu was provided by a group of small Bronze figurines that supposedly depicted the greeting of a warrior of Odin by a robed female. The woman or valkyrie was thought to welcome a newly fallen horseman to Valhalla by offering him a drink. As Jankuhn explained, casting moulds found at Haithabu confirmed that the figurines had been produced on site (Jankuhn 1936b: 123).

Ritual or cultic features in Haithabu's proximity offered additional insights into ancient Germanic religious traditions. Jankuhn put forward that certain burial mounds located around the settlement had acted as religious sanctuaries during Haithabu's lifetime. The *Königshügel* or King's Mound was one such example. Jankuhn tentatively placed its construction in the tenth or eleventh centuries AD, but upheld the possibility of an earlier date. He speculated that a sovereign from Haithabu or a mighty individual from a more distant epoch had been laid to rest in the structure. To Jankuhn, the precise identity of the personality buried underneath the *Königshügel* did not seem to matter much. He merely emphasised that the monument corresponded to 'entirely Germanic notions' [*ganz germanische Vorstellungen*] (Jankuhn 1937c: 38). First, having been positioned on a commanding height, the dead man continued to survey his realm even after his death. Second, the landmark's great visibility ensured that the memory of the deceased lived on. Finally, Jankuhn once again referred to the Germanic god of war and battle. Religiously and ritually, 'this final, glorious conclusion of Germanic prehistory' [*dieser letzte, glanzvolle Abschluß germanischer Vorzeit*] had been most strongly marked by the cult of Odin (Jankuhn 1937c: 38). As the deity of victory and death, Odin had often been revered on holy mountains, and this tradition, Jankuhn suggested, may have induced Germanic leaders to situate their tombs in elevated places. He also cited the legendary and unusual alleged interment of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, also known as Barbarossa, who, instead of being dead and (properly) buried, was said to lie asleep in the Kyffhäuser Mountain in Thuringia (Jankuhn 1937c: 38-39). Conversely, Arbman held that excavations in the late 1930s had conclusively established the mound's Bronze – rather than Viking – Age origin. Nevertheless, he confirmed that, by acting as a meeting place or *Thingstätte*, the structure may have played a central role during the Viking period (Arbman 1939: 19). Much like Jankuhn, Arbman thus emphasised the monument's cultic relevance.

Once again, Jankuhn strongly and visibly emphasised the historical continuity of Haithabu's religious beliefs. While illustrating the funerary traditions and cultic practices of Haithabu's population, he frequently evoked known prehistoric customs and explicitly highlighted their perceived similarity to the early medieval practices encountered at Haithabu. In addition, Jankuhn held that later conceptions of death and burial had been closely analogous to those observable at Haithabu. As seen in Chapter

V, Jankuhn thus sought to establish direct associations between the prehistoric 'Germanic' past and later historical stages. Once again, he willingly resorted to mythology and folklore in his purportedly scientific and archaeological examination of Germanic religious customs and burial rites, and he evidently bridged prehistoric, early medieval and medieval cultic ideas by discussing different historical periods in an undifferentiated and convoluted manner. In other words, it is frequently unclear whether Jankuhn's descriptions refer to prehistoric, early medieval or medieval phenomena. In opting for this blurred style of exposition, Jankuhn successfully produced a collective and consistent image of Germanic religious beliefs that could be applied to the prehistoric Germanic tribes, to the inhabitants of Haithabu and to medieval Germans alike.

As previously suggested, the conflict between prehistoric pagan beliefs and the newly emerging and rapidly disseminating Christian faith featured prominently in Jankuhn's account of Haithabu's religious traditions. Jankuhn held that the Christian drive northwards dated to the ninth century and had been initiated and sustained by the Carolingians. He particularly highlighted the activities of Ansgar, a Frankish monk from the Somme region. Jankuhn explained that Ansgar's mission to northern Germany had been preceded by failure. He had unsuccessfully tried to spread the Christian faith in Denmark and Sweden and had only turned towards Schleswig-Holstein when his efforts in the former regions had proved futile. As the bishop of Hamburg and later Bremen, Ansgar effectively placed the Christian religion on a broader and firmer foundation. Nevertheless, Christianity once again came under attack from the North after Ansgar's death. According to Jankuhn, the Carolingian empire had begun to disintegrate, and the newly emerging, eastern Frankish – or German – empire had not yet developed a strong and centralised political authority, leaving its geographical periphery vulnerable to outside attack (Jankuhn 1935b: 25-28).

Jankuhn subsequently considered the Christian mission's practical impact on the settlement at Haithabu. As a trading post of eminent importance, the settlement had been located at the centre of early medieval missionary endeavours. As Jankuhn explained, most early missions had oriented themselves along existing trade routes:

In these great centres of interchange, which must have featured a heavy concentration of people from many different countries, the circumstances for the mission were particularly auspicious, and so we see that the activities of the first missionaries during the Viking Age transpire in close proximity to the great trade centres. (Jankuhn 1938a: 188)

Jankuhn's contemporary Paulsen similarly emphasised the close correlation between missionary and trading activities on several occasions: as he explained, churches and monasteries had frequently been founded along trade routes and centres, and the merchant population had often constituted the Christian community (Paulsen 1932: 212; Paulsen 1933: 13).

Jankuhn held that Ansgar had been able to secure the construction of the first church at Haithabu, owing to his friendly relations with the Danish king Horich I. As a consequence, a small congregation had developed at Haithabu around the middle of the ninth century. A small church to the north of Haithabu's semi-circular rampart – the church of Haddeby – was of particular interest in this context. Jankuhn suggested that Ansgar's original chapel may have been the predecessor of the present church. In an article dedicated to the chapel, Jankuhn clarified and reinforced this suggestion. The edifice's position beyond the semi-circular rampart had possibly been contingent on the existence of a small German merchant settlement outside the main town at Haithabu that was then under Danish rule. According to Jankuhn, such a community of German traders could be expected to contain a large number of Christian followers. As a result, Ansgar may have been instructed to build his missionary church or chapel outside the settlement boundaries (Jankuhn 1941/42a: 123-124).

As he explained, a stone discovered in the churchyard wall indicated a different, even earlier origin. The stone dated to the Viking period, featured long grinding marks and was therefore strongly reminiscent of an old pagan ritual: in ancient Germanic times, swords had been whetted – and hence consecrated – on such stones. The practice supposedly endowed the weapons with magical properties in anticipation of 'warlike undertakings' [*kriegerische Unternehmungen*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 190). According to Jankuhn, the stone's occurrence in the churchyard wall conceivably implied that a 'pre-Christian cultic site' [*vorchristliche Kultstätte*] had preceded the subsequent chapel. As Jankuhn explained, the re-use of the stone tallied

with a widespread Christian practice. Early Christians had customarily adapted and adopted earlier religious rites and objects. More often than not, this involved the straightforward physical incorporation of pagan sacral items into new church structures, as had apparently been the case with the small church of Haddeby (Jankuhn 1938a: 189-190). Jankuhn repeatedly emphasised that old pagan customs had coexisted with new Christian beliefs and practices. For instance, he also held that prehistoric Germanic traditions had ‘tangibly’ [*faßbar*] evolved into the ‘Romanic art of the Haithabu-region’ [*romanische Kunst des Gebietes um Haithabu*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 190).

On a different note, Jankuhn held that the Christian faith had been utterly rejected by a large number of Haithabu’s inhabitants. The settlement’s nobility had opposed the new ideas particularly fiercely, and it had consequently attained a temporary prohibition of Christian worship (Jankuhn 1938a: 188-189). According to Jankuhn, this notion was corroborated by the archaeological evidence. For instance, fragments of two porphyry sheets that were usually affixed to portable altars bore signs of violent and intentional destruction. In Jankuhn’s mind, these broken objects indicated that Haithabu’s original inhabitants had reacted vehemently and negatively to the new faith. He declared that Christianity had effectively failed to secure a foothold in Haithabu throughout the ninth century, and that the ‘negligible advancement made by the Christian doctrine in the North was time after time obliterated through indigenous reactions’ [*daß die geringen Fortschritte der christlichen Lehre im Norden immer wieder durch heimische Reaktionen vernichtet wurden*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 190-191).

The mission’s success was also questioned elsewhere. Paulsen held that the Christian message had made little headway during the ninth century. In his view, the northern missionaries had often lacked adequate practical backing from their native lands. In addition, the inhabitants of the North had, in Paulsen’s words, been ‘purely concerned with functionality’ [*auf reine Nützlichkeit bedacht*] and had therefore failed to fully comprehend the new religious teachings (Paulsen 1933: 13). Arbman conceded that western currents had strongly affected funerary traditions in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and northern Germany, but simultaneously accentuated that the use of Christian rites did not automatically denote a Christian burial: though cross-

bearers could be confidently regarded as Christians, the opulence of certain other graves pointed towards the survival of pagan beliefs. The coincidence of a cross and a *Thorshammer* in a grave in Birka, for instance, indicated that Christ had merely entered the pagan pantheon of gods as an additional deity (Arbman 1937: 243-244). Holwerda, too, maintained that heathen rites, such as cremation, were practiced long after Christianity had been introduced into the region of Dorestad and that Christian customs were often (unsuccessfully) imposed by decree (Holwerda 1929: 104). The English Viking specialist Thomas Kendrick similarly denied that the Christian faith had progressed significantly during Ansgar's period of activity:

But neither these kings, nor the missionaries whom they introduced, made any substantial progress in overthrowing the heathendom of the north. Certain kings changed their faith, and no doubt their courts did likewise; missionaries, established and protected by these kings, preached; yet the people remained pagan and indifferent. (Kendrick 1930: 135-136)

The widespread adherence to the ancient faith throughout the Viking North in the face of the Christian mission thus featured widely in scholarly accounts of the early medieval encounter of pagan traditions and Christianity.

As Jankuhn noted, the Christian mission achieved a notable consolidation of its position in Haithabu once the new belief system came to be associated with a 'political idea' [*politische Idee*]. Indeed, the adoption of an overtly imperial strategy by the German kings resulted in the rejuvenation of the Christian mission. In 934, Henry I advanced to the Baltic coast, defeated and forcibly baptised the Danish king Gnupa. From this point onwards, 'the political might of the German empire' [*die politische Macht des deutschen Reiches*] boosted the establishment of the Christian faith as a new state religion (Jankuhn 1938a: 191). Although Jankuhn determinedly insisted on the continuity and subsistence of prehistoric traditions, he simultaneously commended purportedly Christian or, crucially, German leaders. He maintained that Henry I and his son and successor Otto I had established a close, near-symbiotic relationship between the consolidating Church and the nascent imperial system. According to Jankuhn, Otto I had not considered his territorial acquisitions in the North and East from a purely military perspective. The inclusion of these new regions

into early medieval Church structures effectively ensured their concurrent incorporation into the secular political system (Jankuhn 1938a: 191).

As Jankuhn explained, pre-Christian burial grounds were abandoned and their external burial markers flattened during the same period. However, these measures did not merely aim for an expansion of the available settlement area: in Jankuhn's view, they represented a 'conscious rupture with an ancient tradition' [*bewußter Bruch mit einer alten Überlieferung*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 191; Jankuhn 1937c: 42). The graves were important settings of family tradition and therefore tangibly symbolised the 'idea of the clan' [*Sippengedanke*] (Jankuhn 1935a: 83-84). Jankuhn suggested that this strategy was characteristic of missionary activities in northern Germany: while the 'Germanic North' [*germanischer Norden*] – presumably Scandinavia – had preserved most of its prehistoric Germanic religious and cultic traditions, the Christian missionaries in Haithabu had considered the destruction of old memorials and beliefs as the only successful method of Christianisation (Jankuhn 1935a: 83-84). Nonetheless, Jankuhn held that attacks on pagan religious traditions were aimed at the creation of a unitary and pervasive imperial principle. The destruction of ancient beliefs was a mere – and perhaps unwanted – side effect (Jankuhn 1938a: 191).

Despite rigorous and continued indigenous resistance to an ever-growing German presence in the region, Christianity strengthened its foothold in Schleswig-Holstein in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Jankuhn 1935a: 25-36). Jankuhn emphasised that the spread of the Christian religion had profoundly impacted on the political order of the North. Christianity operated through firmly organised hierarchical structures, and these simultaneously offered a useful tool for the reinforcement of political power. Although its initial introduction had entailed conflict and upheaval, the Christian faith had thus acted as an instrument of order and stability (Jankuhn 1935b: 25-31).

The late tenth century saw the loss of Otto's territorial gains and Haithabu's re-integration into the Danish kingdom, but the profound changes in political perception initiated by the German kings could not be undone. According to Jankuhn, the Danish rulers forthwith emulated their German predecessors by associating their royal status with the Christian creed. In this way, they bolstered an imperial ideology and administrative system (Jankuhn 1938a: 191). Nonetheless, Jankuhn doubted that

the ‘great Viking individuals’ [*große Wikingergestalten*] had turned into faithful Christians. While they astutely perceived the political advantages entailed in their conversion to Christianity, they ultimately remained true to their Germanic roots in their ‘thoughts and actions’ [*Denken und Handeln*]. Jankuhn asserted that, to all intents and purposes, Christian beliefs served to underpin a ‘unitary worldview’ [*Einheitsgedanke*] that had long been characteristic of Germanic thinking (Jankuhn 1938a: 191). The full dissolution of the ‘old ideology’ [*alte Weltanschauung*] occurred much later. According to Jankuhn, subsequent ‘weaker generations’ [*schwächere Generationen*] failed to uphold those ancient Germanic traditions in which their ancestors had been so naturally and firmly rooted (Jankuhn 1938a: 192).

Jankuhn patently underlined the continued survival and significance of old pagan traditions in the development of Haithabu’s religious life during and after the advent of Christianity. In his eyes, the Christian faith had failed to achieve a complete eradication of a Germanic belief system that had survived for several millennia. In addition, Jankuhn frequently portrayed the encounter between Christianity and paganism as a confrontation or battle. According to him, elements of Haithabu’s population had fiercely contested the Christian faith, and the Christian missionaries had necessarily used force to break that resistance.

In some respects, Jankuhn’s description of the Christian-Germanic encounter during the early medieval period is reminiscent of a marked National Socialist aversion towards and rejection of the Christian – and, more specifically, the Roman Catholic – faith. In the eyes of most National Socialist ideologues, including Hitler, Himmler and Rosenberg, Christian religion and the Catholic Church had thwarted the fruition of Europe for much of the first millennium after Christ. According to Hitler, for instance, the adoption of Christian values and tenets represented one of the most disastrous developments in the history of mankind (Kroll 1998: 39-40). Himmler also displayed an intense hostility towards Christian traditions. According to him, Christianity effectively epitomised un-Germanic ideals and acted as the very nemesis of a Germanic-German world order. The Christian belief in the equality of all humans, the doctrine of original sin, the authority of an exclusive caste of priests, and the perceived passivity and slavishness of the faithful were among the charges most frequently laid at Christianity’s door (Dierker 2002: 124-125; Kroll 1998: 240-242).

Jankuhn's emphasis on the longevity of ancient Germanic religious customs, on the frequent incorporation of ancient Germanic rites into Christian cultic practices, on the mission's slow progress in northern Germany and on the fierce resistance offered by some of Haithabu's inhabitants suggests that he regarded the advance of Christianity and the consequent decline of Germanic pagan religion as at least partially harmful developments. As shown above, many contemporary scholars similarly stressed the prolonged perseverance of ancient pagan beliefs and traditions.

At the same time, Jankuhn maintained that the Christian and pagan faiths had demonstrably mingled and that the resulting belief system – though substantively Christian – had been fundamentally influenced by pre-existing Germanic traditions. In this manner, a new synthesised faith had been crafted over time. In addition, Jankuhn insisted that the incoming Christian faith had been intimately tied up with a political concept: the ideology of a German empire. According to Jankuhn, the spread of Christianity had decisively shaped the political order of the North, and the religion's firmly organised hierarchical structures had enabled the incorporation of new territorial acquisitions into the German empire's secular political system.

Jankuhn's appraisal of Christianity and of its practical impact on the political conditions in the Baltic Sea area did not categorically follow the crude Germanic-Christian antithesis prescribed by prevalent National Socialist ideologies. As shown below, Jankuhn's analyses of Haithabu's artistic traditions and racial composition likewise tend to portray the town as a mediator between two fundamentally diverse political, ethnic and cultural circles. This tendency was possibly contingent on a momentous shift in Jankuhn's account of German history.

1.3 Artistic traditions

Jankuhn's writings comprehensively discussed Haithabu's artistic traditions. To begin with, he maintained that the dynamism of Haithabu's artistic workshops, visible in the presence of a large number of casting moulds for various types of jewellery, attested to Haithabu's eminent status in the ranks of early medieval settlements. In Jankuhn's words, 'only under these circumstances could a large-scale arts and crafts production have developed' [*da sich nur unter solchen Umständen ein umfangreicheres Kunsthandwerk entwickeln konnte*] (Jankuhn 1938c: 159). He

tentatively placed the height of Haithabu's productive power, as inferred from its largest output of casting moulds, into the late ninth and early tenth centuries AD (Jankuhn 1944: 227-228).

In an article on 'The arts and crafts in Haithabu' [*Das Kunstgewerbe in Haithabu*], Jankuhn laid out the nature of Haithabu's extensive trade links. Despite Haithabu's agitated past, its significance as a trading centre – attributable to its eminently opportune location, as mentioned above – had remained an historical constant. More specifically, its position 'on the southwestern edge of the northern Germanic world' [*am südwestlichen Rande der nordgermanischen Welt*] had naturally turned its exchange interests towards the Frankish region. The settlement had acted as a gate between the North and West. At Haithabu, Jankuhn explained, 'the material and intellectual products of the West found an entrance into the Germanic realm of the North' [*die materiellen und ideellen Güter des Westens fanden Eingang in die germanische Welt des Nordens*] (Jankuhn 1934a: 108).

Haithabu's pivotal position was clearly visible in the archaeological record. On one hand, the site featured a large amount of imported goods. On the other, the settlement itself had played an 'active role' [*aktive Rolle*] in arts and crafts production by accepting new, external impulses and adjusting these 'independently' [*selbstständig*] to its own artistic traditions (Jankuhn 1934a: 109). A bronze fitting found in a chambered tomb and plated with gold displayed an interesting 'degenerated floral pattern' [*entartetes Pflanzenmuster*], and its decoration technique and style clearly pointed to a western provenance (Jankuhn 1934a: 110). A second fitting that featured a cross and western-style leaf forms had possibly been imported from the Frankish West (Jankuhn 1934a: 111).

While Haithabu provided ample evidence for lively trade links with the Carolingian world during the late ninth and tenth centuries, many objects had been created as northern modifications on Carolingian themes (Jankuhn 1934a: 112). In Jankuhn's eyes, the Germanic North had attempted the stylisation of naturalistic Carolingian models. In fact, he explained, numerous casting moulds discovered at Haithabu confirmed that an extensive range of outwardly foreign objects – from 'near-naturalistic reproductions of Carolingian acanthus ornamentation to almost unrecognisable stylisations of the patterns' [*fast naturalistische Wiedergabe*

karolingischer Akanthusornamentik bis zur nahezu unkenntlichen Stilisierung der Muster] – had been manufactured in Haithabu itself. Here, the ‘translation from the naturalistic western European floral designs to the stylised northern European form’ [*Übersetzung der naturalistischen Pflanzenmuster Westeuropas in die stilisierte nordeuropäische Form*] had taken place. The trading centre had pioneered an artistic assimilation process and introduced a new artistic tradition into the northern Germanic sphere (Jankuhn 1934a: 116; for analogous arguments see Jankuhn 1935a: 81; Jankuhn 1937c: 41).

Jankuhn sustained this interpretative approach elsewhere. In an article dedicated to Haithabu’s casting moulds, Jankuhn demonstrated the same evolution from ‘naturalistic’ [*naturalistisch*] floral motives to ‘nearly disfigured’ [*bis fast zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt*], stylised forms (Jankuhn 1944: 231-233). Haithabu’s fragmented casting moulds still bore considerable similarity to the original western prototypes. And, in Jankuhn’s opinion, this implied that the process of artistic assimilation was still in full swing, and that the adjustment was being completed in Haithabu itself. Once again, Jankuhn held that the settlement had been actively involved in the conversion of foreign objects into the ‘stylistic language of the North’ [*Formensprache des Nordens*] (Jankuhn 1944: 233). Elsewhere, he affirmed that ‘the Nordic world’ [*die nordische Welt*] had confronted the ‘encroaching ideas of a western Frankish culture that was partially built on classical foundations’ [*eindringendes Gedankengut der zum Teil auf antike Grundlage zurückgehenden fränkischen Kultur des Westens*] and that this opposition had engendered the ‘intrusion of alien art forms and their fusion with old, native material’ [*Eindringen fremder Kunstformen und deren Vermischung mit dem alten, heimischen Gut*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 156).

Jankuhn frequently stressed that Haithabu’s role in the meeting of two distinct culture areas had been *vermittelnd*. The term may, depending on one’s inclination, be rendered as ‘intercessional’, ‘mediatory’ or even ‘conciliatory’, and thus indicates that Jankuhn did not perceive and portray the encounter between the northern and western spheres as an outright struggle (Jankuhn 1934a: 117-118). Despite a reference to two distinct military confrontations between the Viking North and the Carolingian West, Jankuhn largely avoided forceful and belligerent terminology in

his depiction of Viking-Carolingian (cultural) relations during the ninth and tenth centuries (Jankuhn 1944: 237). According to Jankuhn, Haithabu – though located in the northern Germanic periphery – represented an artistic and intellectual ‘mediator between the Frankish West and the Viking North’ [*Mittlerin zwischen dem fränkischen Westen und dem wikingischen Norden*] (Jankuhn 1934a: 117). The city of Kiev, Jankuhn held, offered an interesting analogy. Like Haithabu, Kiev owed its rise to prominence to business and trade, and, like Haithabu, it had played a ‘mediatory’ [*vermittelnde*] role. In Haithabu, the Viking, northern Germanic circle had met the Frankish, western Germanic circle. In Kiev, the northern Germanic sphere had encountered the Orient (Jankuhn 1934a: 117-118).

Jankuhn also commented on the origins of the artistic links between the Viking North and the Carolingian West. While the Carolingian Christian mission had often been regarded as the original stimulator, Jankuhn suggested otherwise. During the Viking Age, the *Nordgermanen* had instigated a relationship with the Frankish-Carolingian circle that had at first been of a ‘belligerent nature’ [*kriegerischer Art*] (Jankuhn 1934a: 117). However, once they had reached the West, the men from the North acquainted themselves with the artistic products they found. The distribution patterns of western-style objects indicated that the Carolingian mission had not triggered their adoption in the Germanic North. None of the main missionary centres displayed a particular concentration of finds (Jankuhn 1934a: 117-118).

The significance of a Western cultural impact on early medieval trading centres was similarly acknowledged by other contemporary scholars. Paulsen, for instance, likewise traced the inclusion of western decoration styles into northern Germanic artistic traditions. According to him, the second quarter of the ninth century had seen the increasing occurrence of western-style Viking adornments in the North (Paulsen 1932: 234). Much like Jankuhn, Paulsen held that the Vikings – he was particularly referring to the inhabitants of Haithabu and Birka – had been more than capable of adapting and absorbing the new, foreign impulses ‘quickly and vigorously’ [*schnell und lebhaft*]. In this manner, novel traditions had become inextricably connected with the ‘original essence of the Nordic peoples’ [*urtümliches Wesen der Nordleute*] (Paulsen 1932: 214).

Arbman, too, cited a long catalogue of Carolingian-style objects discovered at Birka and in other parts of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and northern Germany. Although the precise provenance of these objects often remained unclear, they had certainly derived from western, 'Frankish workshops' [*fränkische Werkstätten*] (Arbman 1937: 147-153). Carolingian cultural currents had strongly affected northern craftsmen (Arbman 1937: 173-175). According to Arbman, the introduction of western styles and objects into northern Europe had triggered the development of a new cultural tradition that synthesised western and northern forms. He held that the northward 'encroachment of the Carolingian empire' [*Vordringen des karolingischen Reiches*] and the 'extension of its sphere of interest' [*Erweiterung seiner Interessensphäre*] from the late eighth century onwards – visible in a variety of cultural expressions, such as artistic tastes or funerary rites – had brought about a significant re-orientation of Nordic culture along western European lines in the course of the ninth century after Christ. Nevertheless, the 'Nordic people' [*Nordleute*] had been able to sustain their own idiosyncracies. In Arbman's words, their culture had remained 'purely Nordic' [*rein nordisch*], and alien influences had merely been 'assimilated' [*assimiliert*] (Arbmann 1937: 247).

According to Geijer, Frisian influences at Birka had also become manifest in the field of textile production. The presence of what she called 'Frisian cloth' [*friesisches Tuch*] confirmed that the town had been situated within the confines of an extensive Frisian 'area of activity' [*Tätigkeitsgebiet*] (Geijer 1938: 41), although certain garments additionally betrayed Byzantine and Russian influences (Geijer 1938: 124-125). In his study of the early medieval trade centre Dorestad, Holwerda likewise declared that a wealth of cultural influences from western Europe or, more specifically, from Dorestad had reached northern European regions. Coins from Birka, for instance, had been identified as mere copies of western specimen (Holwerda 1929: 65).

Jankuhn proceeded to relate protohistoric artistic currents to the prevailing political circumstances. The Frankish and, later, the German empire had twice encroached on the North. Charlemagne, he explained, had moved towards but become stuck in the Saxon province north of the Elbe river in the early ninth century, and Henry I had advanced as far as the Baltic Sea in 934. An entire century thus lay

between these events, and there was no (immediate) political connection between them. However, Jankuhn considered both as attempts by the western Germanic peoples to penetrate the North and to reach the Baltic Sea area. Seen from this perspective, the two ‘measures are in no way singular and unrelated’ [*keineswegs ganz vereinzelt, miteinander nicht zusammenhängend*]: in fact, they represented separate ‘manifestations of a movement which spans the entire Viking Age’ [*Exponenten einer Bewegung, die sich über die ganze Wikingerzeit hin erstreckt*]. Charles’ initial ambitions were practically realised by Henry. Jankuhn’s concurrent failure to mention the presence of Slavic populations elements on the Baltic littoral (see, for instance, Herrmann 1970; Widajewicz 1936) is remarkable and indicates a further attempt on his part to minimise a Slavic contribution to the historical development of northern Europe.

Though the period between the two onslaughts had seen no notable political developments, cultural influences had become apparent. In Jankuhn’s words, the chronological gap between two political events had been ‘bridged by a period of profound cultural impact’ [*überbrückt durch eine Periode tiefergehender kultureller Beeinflussung des Nordens*], and the stylistic composition of Haithabu’s archaeological finds clearly confirmed this (Jankuhn 1944: 237). According to Jankuhn, Haithabu’s arts and crafts thus partook in an underlying development that affected both the cultural and political spheres and that encompassed more than two centuries.

Elsewhere, Haithabu’s artistic and cultural traditions as well as their bearing on early medieval political developments and ethnic conditions were framed in rather explicit terms. Changes in ornamentation, Jankuhn asserted, frequently pointed towards real fluctuations in the composition of Haithabu’s populace. In his own words, ‘changes in style are only partly contingent on temporary fashion [*Stilwandel hängt nur zum Teil mit Modeerscheinungen zusammen*]’. He also held that stylistic modifications were ‘ethnically shaped’ [*völkisch bedingt*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 155). As a consequence, varying ornamentation techniques often denoted the concrete ‘influx of certain population elements and thus the incursion of alien artistic styles’ [*Einströmen gewisser Bevölkerungsteile und damit das Eindringen fremder Kunstübung*].

On the basis of artistic traditions, Jankuhn thus erected an explicit divide between Haithabu's diverse inhabitants. According to Jankuhn, the animal style of the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ indicated a northern Germanic population element; it had 'breathed the Germanic spirit from its very conception' [*atmet von Anfang an germanischen Geist*]. In addition, it was related to indigenous northern Bronze Age forms (Jankuhn 1938a: 156).

Jankuhn subsequently addressed the introduction of Frankish objects and forms and their re-interpretation along northern Germanic – that is, stylised and abstracted – lines. Although the actual, physical arrival and settlement of a western Germanic population element from the Lower Frankish, Lower Saxon and Frisian regions could not be conclusively established on the basis of ornamentation and art forms alone, additional evidence from Haithabu's buildings confirmed that such a movement had indeed taken place. Incidentally, Haithabu's political integration into the German empire under Henry I in the tenth century had made such a human addition quite possible (Jankuhn 1938a: 158).

Jankuhn's account of Haithabu's artistic heritage reinforces the points made previously. As he explained, the town became the very nucleus of a cultural encounter during the Viking period. Western, Carolingian artistic traditions met and merged with northern Germanic, Viking customs. As in his description of contemporary religious beliefs, Jankuhn unequivocally emphasised that Haithabu's northern Germanic population had not abandoned its artistic practices and values altogether. On the contrary, the fusion of two distinct traditions had generated a new style that combined the best features of northern and western Germanic culture: the artistic value of Frankish-Carolingian floral patterns and the Viking intellectual predilection for stylisation and abstraction. Just as the Haithabu-area had fostered the creation of a synthesised faith blending northern Germanic pagan and western Germanic Christian religious elements, the town had hosted the cultivation of a novel and integrated art form around the turn of the first millennium AD. Significantly, Jankuhn once again explicitly characterised Haithabu's role as that of a mediator. The encounter between the northern and western spheres had not manifested itself in a struggle, and no single cultural influence had prevailed.

Finally, Jankuhn established a definite connection between Haithabu's artistic currents and its political and ethnic conditions. First, he intimated that artistic – and presumably other – cultural influences both reflected and complemented developments in the political sphere. Additionally, he maintained that variations in Haithabu's artistic and cultural practices pointed towards fluctuations in the ethnic and racial composition of Haithabu's population. The following section further explores this notion.

1.4 The ethnic and racial character of Haithabu's inhabitants

According to Jankuhn, the relatively small geographical area adjoining the settlement at Haithabu encompassed various different peoples during the early medieval period. More specifically, three major ethnic circles intersected in the region (Jankuhn 1937c: 33). First, the Danes had entered the area from their northern homeland as the 'southernmost offshoot of the northern Germanic tribes' [*südlichster Ausläufer des Nordgermanentums*]. As a result of their flourishing political and military strength, they had gradually impinged on their southern borderland. Secondly, the western Germanic peoples had begun to advance north- and eastwards. As Jankuhn explained, the northern Saxons in particular had emerged from isolation and set out to take the history of the 'Occident' [*abendländische Welt*] into their own hands. In Jankuhn's opinion, they were to shape the 'fate' [*Schicksal*] of the German empire in the Middle Ages (Jankuhn 1937c: 33). Third, an 'alien' [*fremd*] group whose 'ethnic' [*völkisch*] origins lay in the East was moving towards Haithabu: the Slavs. Though Jankuhn conceded that the Slavic tribes were then experiencing a period of political consolidation and state formation, he simultaneously stressed that this development had been initiated and sustained by 'politically more active forces' [*politisch aktivere Kräfte*] (Jankuhn 1937c: 33-34). Chapter V has revealed that Jankuhn recurrently emphasised the enduring and positive impact of northern Germanic state formations on hitherto politically disorganised regions.

Haithabu's archaeological record broadly confirmed the accuracy of this depiction. As seen above, its arts and crafts were mostly divided into two stylistic groups. Abstract animal decorations typified a northern Germanic style, while naturalistic floral designs originated in the western Germanic circles (Jankuhn 1936b: 97; Jankuhn 1944: 237). Though Jankuhn held that such artistic and stylistic

variations were indicative of different cultural influences, they did not necessarily confirm that two distinct population elements had inhabited Haithabu simultaneously.

An examination of the settlement's building styles offered more conclusive insights into the town's ethnic composition. According to Jankuhn, certain secular buildings that centred on the use of posts and beams were strongly reminiscent of later Scandinavian stave churches. Analogous structures exclusively occurred in regions that had been exposed to profound northern Germanic influences. He therefore declared that their construction style was 'bound to a Viking population element' [*gebunden an einen wikingschen Bevölkerungsteil*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 105). In other words, the occurrence of this building style at Haithabu denoted the presence of a northern Germanic population element (Jankuhn 1935c: 58-60; Jankuhn 1936b: 102-103; Jankuhn 1938a: 102-106; Jankuhn 1943: 217).

In addition, a second construction type had been revealed while excavating at Haithabu. According to Jankuhn, the buildings in question displayed an interesting type of wattling that was mirrored only in the man-made dwelling mounds – the so-called *terpen* – in the Frisian Netherlands. Wattle had of course been used in the construction of houses since the Stone Age, and it therefore occurred throughout Europe and beyond. However, the 'technical and constructive particularities' [*technische und konstruktive Einzelheiten*] (Jankuhn 1943: 217) of the technique found at Haithabu were unique and pointed to a western Germanic, Frisian provenance (Jankuhn 1935c: 60-61; Jankuhn 1936b: 104-106). Investigations into construction styles at Haithabu had thus produced two distinct ethnic elements: a northern Germanic and a western Germanic or Frisian populace. In the wake of its initial formulation, this hypothesis had met with considerable criticism. According to Jankuhn, a number of Danish scholars had opposed the idea of a western Germanic population component altogether. Jankuhn implicitly suggested that such censure was politically motivated. Danish scholars were perhaps reluctant to recognise that a great northern Germanic settlement had been inhabited by a western Germanic or German community (Jankuhn 1940a: 27; Jankuhn 1943: 216-217).

Jankuhn finally commented on the notable absence of a third construction type – the 'block house' [*Blockbau*] (Jankuhn 1936b: 106) – from the settlement. In Jankuhn's opinion, this fact was highly significant. Block houses were typically

Slavic structures, and Viking Age examples had been found at Opole, Wolin and throughout the Slavic settlement area. Their absence from Haithabu unmistakably suggested that Slavic cultural influences, faintly perceptible in the material remains of the settlement's vessels, had not extended to building types and that the existence of a Slavic constituency in early medieval Haithabu was therefore unlikely. As Jankuhn explained, the presence of Slavic vessels was more likely owed to Haithabu's extensive trade links (Jankuhn 1936b: 106-107; see Müller-Wille et al. 1995 for a more recent discussion of a Slavic presence in the Baltic Sea area).

Finally, Jankuhn showed only a superficial interest in the racial character of Haithabu's populace. The popular monograph on Haithabu provided a brief description of the population's racial characteristics. Its observations were mainly derived from the human remains discovered at a large cemetery; their anthropological investigation had been conducted by Gisela Aßmus, a member of the excavation team at Haithabu. Jankuhn held that the dead – being mainly northern Germanic, Saxon and Frisian – had mostly shared a common racial heritage. A large majority of the investigated skulls – thirteen out of nineteen, to be precise – were of the 'dolichocephalic' or long-skulled kind. According to Jankuhn, Haithabu's population had thus been 'racially fairly uniform' [*rassisch ziemlich einheitlich*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 195-196).

A small Slavic element was also perceptible: for instance, the 'tendency towards a flattened nose' [*Tendenz zur Abplattung der Nase*] displayed by a number of skulls was 'most probably contingent on a Slavic influence' [*am ehesten durch slawische Beeinflussung zu erklären*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 195). In his other writings, Jankuhn's treatment of the racial characteristics of Haithabu's inhabitants is sketchy to non-existent. The incorporation of a brief chapter on 'The racial origins of the inhabitants' [*Die rassistische Zugehörigkeit der Bewohner*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 195) into the second edition of Jankuhn's popular Haithabu-monograph may simply have represented a necessary response to the National Socialist obsession with racial origins and traits.

Having illustrated the encounter of two distinct cultural and political spheres by highlighting the co-existence and subsequent synthesis of northern and western Germanic religious rites and artistic traditions, Jankuhn turned towards the ethnic and

racial composition of Haithabu's populace. By asserting that buildings represented 'ethnically bound cultural material' [*völkisch gebundenes Kulturgut*] (Jankuhn 1936b: 138), Jankuhn once again practiced the ethnic identification of prehistoric archaeological remains. Chapter IV has examined this subject in some depth. What funerary remains and art styles had suggested, the prevalent construction types confirmed. Haithabu had hosted both a northern Germanic, Viking and a western Germanic, Frisian population element. Significantly, Jankuhn also postulated that, due to their joint Germanic descent, the two constituencies had shared a relatively homogeneous racial character. His patent efforts to downplay the Slavic contribution to Haithabu's development – particularly evident in his near-complete disregard of a supposed Slavic racial element in Haithabu's anthropological record – further served to underline the supposed propinquity of the northern and western Germanic peoples (Jankuhn 1936b: 106-107).

1.5 Haithabu's standing in history

As Jankuhn explained, Haithabu's historical significance – though always great – had changed considerably over time. Initially, Haithabu had played a crucial role in the powerful expansionist drive displayed by the northern *Germanen* around 800 after Christ. The Viking movements had gained in momentum at that time, and they had manifested themselves in onslaughts onto the English and Frankish coastlines and in territorial advances into eastern Europe (see, for instance, Jankuhn 1935a: 79). Chapter V has comprehensively analysed Jankuhn's interpretations of Viking Age expansions and state formations.

According to Jankuhn, the settlement on the Schlei for the first time assumed geopolitical and economic importance in the context of these Viking movements. Haithabu joined a large network of economically and politically influential towns established by the Vikings. As seen above, the northern Germanic movements effectively crafted a uniform communications and transport network in the North and Baltic Sea areas. Haithabu's ability to facilitate contact between these bodies of water ensured the settlement's continued significance for Viking affairs (Jankuhn 1935a: 80; Jankuhn 1938b: 743; Jankuhn 1938d: 312-313; Jankuhn 1938e: 15). Ever since the late nineteenth century, the settlement had thus been cast as an early medieval

monument that documented the ‘history of the North’ [*Geschichte des Nordens*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 199).

To this day, Jankuhn held, historians and archaeologists had failed to recognise Haithabu’s immense importance for the development of German – rather than Viking – history (Jankuhn 1938a: 199). To clarify his position, he once again pointed to Haithabu’s ethnic make-up. As suggested previously, a large quantity of western style objects had been discovered at the site. While the introduction of stylistically distinct objects into the northern Germanic circle had conceivably been promoted by Haithabu’s extensive trade links, the same did not apply to construction styles. According to Jankuhn, the presence of Saxon and Frisian constructive elements unmistakably signified that their western Germanic or German creators had themselves been resident at Haithabu. Chroniclers, such as Adam of Bremen, also confirmed the existence of a Saxon-Frisian colony in – or close to – Haithabu from the tenth century onwards (Jankuhn 1936a: 87; Jankuhn 1936b: 138; Jankuhn 1938a: 199).

According to Jankuhn, this theory gave rise to the following historical conclusion: the presence of a western Germanic building style and community at Haithabu was indicative of crucial ‘ethnic movements’ [*völkische Bewegungen*] during the early medieval period. In his eyes, the Viking Age had seen the ‘penetration of a German people into the great trading town on the border between the northern and western Germanic spheres’ [*Eindringen deutschen Volkstums in die große Handelsstadt an der Grenze zwischen nordgermanischem und westgermanischem Raum*]. Jankuhn asserted that this movement was indicative of the German West’s ‘strong need for expansion’ [*starkes Expansionsbedürfnis des deutschen Westens*] (Jankuhn 1936b: 138). As a result, a trading colony, made up of Saxon and Frisian merchants, had been established in Haithabu.

The Frankish-Christian, western Germanic or, crucially, German political and religious involvement in the North appears to have marked a momentous shift in Jankuhn’s account of both Haithabu’s and Germany’s history. As Jankuhn explained, Haithabu’s development had overwhelmingly been shaped by the northern Germanic peoples during the Viking Age. However, ethnic, cultural, religious and political influences from the Carolingian West increasingly reached the receptive trade centre

from the tenth century onwards. As laid out above, the incorporation of western Germanic elements into Haithabu's indigenous northern Germanic traditions – visible particularly in the (albeit slow and partial) adoption of the Christian faith and the creation of new, synthesised art forms – had transpired in a (largely) peaceable manner. In Jankuhn's eyes, the town on the Schlei had acted as a mediator between North and West. In view of National Socialist plans for the creation of a Greater German Reich that encompassed occupied Denmark and Norway, accounts stressing the rapprochement and assimilation of western and northern Germanic culture served an obvious propagandistic purpose (Moll 1997: 239-242; Müller-Wille 1996).

Haithabu, it seems, also acted as a link between different elements of Germanic and German myth-making. As seen in Chapter V, Jankuhn customarily emphasised that prehistoric Germanic tribes from northern Germany and Scandinavia and, later, the Vikings had been the direct ancestors of contemporary Germans. The frequent appropriation of Scandinavian history and culture in the elaboration of Germanic ideologies has already been mentioned (see Chapter V). Towards the end of the first millennium AD, the *Westgermanen* under Henry I, first in the Ottonian or Saxon line of German kings and emperors, entered the European stage as a powerful political, military and cultural force, and, to posterior observers like Jankuhn, they may have offered a new and far more immediate instrument of national identification. Henry I's perceived historical stature, considered below, corroborates this proposition.

In order to evade the charge of historical inconsistency, northern and western Germanic traditions needed to be harmonised and reconciled. By insisting on the North's steadfast adherence to its prehistoric artistic and religious customs and simultaneously acknowledging a significant western impact on northern Germanic culture and politics, Jankuhn established an historical connection between the 'old' and the 'new' ancestors of the German nation. The town of Haithabu was of course essential to this process. By hosting the amalgamation of western and northern Germanic traditions, it was effectively cast as the birthplace of a novel, synthesised German national past.

In Jankuhn's opinion, Henry I's advance towards the North during the tenth century after Christ had been more than a 'purely military move' [*rein militärische*

Aktion] (Jankuhn 1936b: 138). Henry had sought to secure a passageway into the Baltic region and, potentially, into the ‘East’ [*Ostraum*] (Jankuhn 1936a: 87; 1936b: 138). His advance towards the Baltic Sea had represented ‘the first German push towards the Baltic coast and the attempt by a German king to provide the German trader and his activities in the Baltic region with political backing’ [*der erste deutsche Vorstoß an die Ostseeküste und der Versuch eines deutschen Königs, dem deutschen Kaufmann auch politisch einen Rückhalt für seine Tätigkeit im Ostseeraum zu geben*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 199). Put bluntly, Henry I acquired the ‘German empire’s first Baltic Sea port’ [*erster Ostseehafen des Deutschen Reiches*] and at the same time placed the newly founded German Reich onto a path towards ‘great organisational duties’ [*große organisatorische Aufgaben*] in the East (Jankuhn 1938a: 199-200). Alfons Dopsch, an earlier, Austrian commentator on late Roman and early medieval economic and social conditions in Europe, likewise argued that the Frankish empire’s centre of gravity underwent a significant northward shift during the ‘period of the Saxon kings’ [*Zeit der Sachsenkönige*] (Dopsch 1924: 399).

As Jankuhn explained, the setback experienced towards the end of the tenth century – in 983, Otto II, Henry’s grandson, suffered a sobering defeat in Italy and died shortly afterwards – temporarily dissolved Henry’s political gains. Nonetheless, German traders remained in the Baltic under foreign rule, thereby defending previous colonising successes. As a consequence, a German element ‘ethnically’ [*volkstumsmäßig*] survived into the twelfth century, assisting the establishment of the German Hanse and maintaining the German empire’s unbroken influence in the Baltic region (Jankuhn 1938a: 200). In Jankuhn’s eyes, Henry had thus initiated the ‘battle for the Baltic Sea area’ [*Kampf um die Ostsee*], a struggle fought consecutively by the German colonies in Haithabu, Schleswig, Lübeck and, finally, by the National Socialist system (Jankuhn 1936a: 87).

Haithabu, Jankuhn held, was therefore the ‘oldest testimonial to the dawning of a new epoch in German history’ [*ältestes Denkmal für das Anbrechen einer neuen Epoche deutscher Geschichte*] and a ‘symbol for the German people’s rising struggle for the East’ [*Zeichen für den beginnenden Kampf des Deutschtums um den Ostraum*] (Jankuhn 1937c: 45). As such, the site assumed significance far beyond its traditionally recognised role in early Nordic history. In fact, it had been a central

scene for the historical development of Germany in general and for the Reich's colonising efforts in the Baltic region in particular (Jankuhn 1938a: 200).

Once again, Jankuhn explicitly reasoned that the German colony in Haithabu had foreshadowed ensuing historical processes. He commented on the instinctive certainty and confidence demonstrated by those German merchants who founded Lübeck during the twelfth century. Their choice of location had been remarkably practicable and suitable. The continuing economic importance of Lübeck (and other new foundations) further demonstrated that the process of site selection had been conducted admirably. As Jankuhn explained, the colonising traders had based their choice on pre-existing knowledge of the 'economic and political conditions in the Baltic Sea area' [*wirtschaftliche und politische Gegebenheiten im Ostseeraum*] (Jankuhn 1938a: 199). This familiarity in turn rested on the prior German presence in Haithabu and its successor town Schleswig. In Haithabu and Schleswig, the Frisian and German settlers had acquainted themselves with local conditions from the tenth century onwards (Jankuhn 1935c: 61-62; Jankuhn 1938a: 199):

The three hundred years of Haithabu's history are hence tied to the pioneering German merchants, whose work was necessary to allow the creation of the German Hanse and to replace the northern Germanic rule of the Baltic Sea basin with a German one. (Jankuhn 1938a: 199)

In terms of communications, transport and ethnicity, Jankuhn declared, Haithabu was Lübeck's direct precursor (Jankuhn 1936a: 87).

Jankuhn visibly and persistently portrayed Germany's expansionist and colonising activities as invariable and continuous features of its (early) history. Haithabu's German population was absorbed into that of Schleswig, and the German settlement on the Schlei paved the way for the establishment of Lübeck, the great medieval trading town and centre of the German Hanse. Jankuhn himself admitted that the German presence in the Baltic Sea area had not always manifested itself politically. Following Otto II's demise at the close of the tenth century, Henry I's territorial acquisitions in the North and East had been lost and only German merchants had remained in the region until Lübeck's rise to prominence. However, Jankuhn did not regard this political volatility as particularly critical. First, the German merchants had maintained their profound economic influence, and secondly,

the residual German populace had guaranteed a continued ethnic presence in the region. In other words, there had been a direct ethnic connection between the first Germans at Haithabu and the later Hanseatic merchants of Lübeck.

In the political and ideological context of National Socialist Germany, Jankuhn's postulation of a long-lasting western Germanic or German presence in the Baltic region from the late tenth century onwards takes on particular significance. If the Baltic was heavily influenced and inhabited by ethnic Germans in the centuries before and after the turn of the first millennium, a renewed German interest in the twentieth century made perfect historical sense. The western Germanic expansionist moves into the Baltic Sea area are also closely reminiscent of a similar political and military activism purportedly displayed by the Vikings a few centuries earlier. As Chapter V has demonstrated, Jankuhn frequently highlighted the Viking colonisation of eastern Europe as well as the establishment of a northern Germanic ethnic core through the influx of Viking peasants.

Jankuhn briefly alluded to the 'organisational duties' [*organisatorische Aufgaben*] entailed by German colonising activities in the Baltic. Again, his account of northern Germanic political involvement in eastern Europe comes to mind. Although Viking state formations – particularly those in Russia and Poland – had received greater attention than the unidentified 'organisational duties' in the Baltic region, the underlying concept remained the same. In the Baltic, too, the indigenous populations had benefitted from the civilising and organisational impact of its German colonisers. Jankuhn also made extensive use of National Socialist vocabulary in his account of early German history in general and Haithabu's historical significance in particular: the terms *Kampf*, *Deutschtum* and *Ostraum* are among those employed most frequently. As seen in Chapter V, Jankuhn's portrayal of northern Germanic or Viking imperialism likewise echoed National Socialist expansionist rhetoric on several occasions. His descriptions of the Viking and German colonisations thus coincided on various levels.

Finally, Jankuhn's depiction of Henry I echoed Himmler's judgment in certain central respects. In the eyes of the *Reichsführer-SS*, Henry was a pivotal symbolic figure, who had initiated and accomplished the creation of the first truly German empire. In particular, the erection by Henry of numerous fortifications along

the Reich's eastern border had for the first time shifted Germany's attention towards eastern Europe. Henry had thus instinctively focused on the geographical region that Himmler subsequently deemed as Germany's natural and predestined *Lebensraum*. As Himmler declared, National Socialism recovered and fulfilled these ancient geopolitical ambitions a thousand years later (Kroll 1998: 238-239). Whether Jankuhn consciously fell into line with the *Ahnenerbe*'s founder and patron remains unclear. However, there are obvious parallels between Himmler's historical perceptions and Jankuhn's depictions of a sustained German drive eastwards.

2 A 'Viking Age trade centre'. Interpretations of Haithabu after 1945

2.1 Historical prerequisites for Haithabu's development

In his post-war writings on the Haithabu-site, Jankuhn cited a number of partly familiar historical prerequisites for the development of the early medieval settlement. According to Jankuhn, the 'economic development of the Occident' [*wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Abendlandes*] (Jankuhn 1956: 14) during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods; an increasingly visible shift of political and economic clout from the Mediterranean coastal regions to the North and, more specifically, to the northern Frankish littoral (see Jankuhn 1956: 14; Jankuhn 1963: 16; Jankuhn 1972: 16); and the evolution of the early medieval trading towns – the *Wike* – in Europe (see Jankuhn 1949b; Jankuhn 1956: 21; Jankuhn 1958a: 9; Jankuhn 1963: 26; Jankuhn 1972: 26) were among the most central social, political and economic preconditions for Haithabu's establishment and growth. These are discussed below.

Jankuhn continued to emphasise the natural geographic setting that had made the strip of land between the North and Baltic Seas so eminently suitable for the development of an early medieval trading town. As pointed out before, Haithabu was located on a convenient land link between the North and Baltic Sea basins. Its proximity to the river Treene, a short tributary to the river Eider that flows into the North Sea, facilitated contact between the two water bodies, while simultaneously avoiding the often dangerous crossing of the Kattegat and Skagerrak straits (Jankuhn 1949c; Jankuhn 1956: 58-59; Jankuhn 1963: 66-67; Jankuhn 1972: 66-67).

Once again, Jankuhn explained that Haithabu lay on a crucial transport route linking the Scandinavian North with the rest of Europe. Due to the multitude of rivers that crisscrossed Jutland (and thereby accommodated communications from East to West), the direct North-South land link had been reduced to only a few kilometres on Haithabu's latitude. Jankuhn again referred to the 'most venerable' [*ehrwürdigste*] and 'ancient military road' [*uralte Heerstraße*] that followed this North-South connection. Although he noted that, to this day, the road remained flanked by 'great chains of burial mounds' [*große Grabhügelketten*] (Jankuhn 1949c), he visibly refrained from evoking those large-scale southward migrations, prehistoric religious traditions and ancestral cults he had cited during the National Socialist period (Jankuhn 1938a: 48).

In his post-war description of Haithabu's historic and geographical setting, Jankuhn for the first time considered the population of the trading centre's hinterland. He held that the surrounding area had only been thinly populated in the seventh century and that 'a disruption of trade [...] through aggressive conflicts with a densely inhabited area's populace' [*eine Störung des Handels [...] durch kriegerische Auseinandersetzung mit der Bewohnerschaft eines dichten Siedlungsgebietes*] had therefore been unlikely. In Jankuhn's mind, the 'transport-geographical' [*verkehrsgeographische*] virtues of Haithabu's situation, rather than any prospect of lucrative sales of merchandise to a rich population of peasants, had swayed Haithabu's founders to establish the town at its present position (Jankuhn 1956: 56; Jankuhn 1958a: 11).

Finally, Jankuhn commented on the 'tribal and ethnic conditions' [*Stammes- und Völkerverhältnisse*] (Jankuhn 1949c) in the Haithabu-region during the early medieval period and the Middle Ages. He emphasised that Haithabu, like other contemporary trading towns, had been situated in a border area. Four distinct tribes – the Slavs or Wends, the Saxons, the Danes and the Frisians – had inhabited Schleswig-Holstein in the first half of the ninth century (Jankuhn 1949c; Jankuhn 1956: 54-58; Jankuhn 1958a: 21; Jankuhn 1963: 62-66; Jankuhn 1972: 62-66).

2.2 Haithabu as an ‘intellectual mediator’

Despite Haithabu’s immense importance in the fields of manufacture, trade and the economy, its historical significance could not, Jankuhn held, be exclusively confined to those spheres. He repeatedly insisted on Haithabu’s ‘role as the intellectual mediator’ [*geistige Mittlerrolle*] between various cultural, artistic religious and even social currents in early medieval Europe (Jankuhn 1956: 230). In Jankuhn’s words, Haithabu had hosted a ‘startling to and fro of connections and relationships, a close tie between North and South, West and East’ [*erstaunlich reges Hin und Her der Verbindungen und Beziehungen, eine enge Verflechtung von Nord und Süd, West und Ost*] (Jankuhn 1949a: 9). The most notable cultural exchanges had transpired between the North and the Occident. A momentous ‘social impulse’ [*sozialer Impuls*] that emanated from the Frankish West had led to the development of trading centres, known as *Wike*, and to the subsequent transformation of a hitherto agricultural, northern population into ‘professionally structured’ [*berufsständisch gegliedert*] societies (Jankuhn 1958a: 29).

In addition to these social developments, Haithabu had promoted ‘intellectual encounters and connections’ [*geistige Berührungen und Verbindungen*] in the sphere of literature (Jankuhn 1956: 232). One of the most well-known fragments of the Poetic Edda, the *Völuspá*, contained narrative elements that had likely originated in Haithabu. Jankuhn suggested that they had been transferred to the poet’s homeland via Haithabu’s extensive communication network (Jankuhn 1949c; Jankuhn 1956: 233). Furthermore, clear similarities between western and northern literary themes, as encountered in the medieval epic of *Kudrun*, could also have originated in Haithabu, although the work had been composed long after Haithabu’s demise, as Jankuhn was well aware. Finally, Jankuhn suggested that even the Brunhild-motif of the *Nibelungenlied* had been transmitted from northern Europe to the West via Haithabu. He cautioned that these early ‘literary relationships’ [*literarische Beziehungen*] were often difficult to identify and that findings in the field therefore remained largely ‘hypothetical’ [*hypothetisch*]. Nevertheless, he insisted that the trade route linking the Rhine and the Baltic Sea had played a significant role for the ‘establishment of intellectual relationships in the field of literature’ [*Herstellung geistiger Beziehungen auf literarischem Gebiet*] (Jankuhn 1956: 232-233). As Jankuhn put it rather

poetically, Haithabu's long winter nights were often spent exchanging songs and legends from a variety of countries (Jankuhn 1949c).

In the realm of art, too, Haithabu had acted as a link between the West and the North (Jankuhn 1949a: 7). As during the National Socialist period, Jankuhn pointed to the significant 'artistic impulse' [*künstlerischer Impuls*] that had prompted the introduction of the Carolingian floral or acanthus ornamentation into Haithabu's artistic repertoire. According to Jankuhn, the style had undoubtedly entered the northern world via Haithabu, and moulds found on site confirmed that Haithabu's craftsmen had manufactured, rather than merely imported, the novel forms. Nevertheless, Jankuhn explained, this artistic innovation did not have a lasting effect. A permanent adaptation of the North's typical animal depictions did not take place until much later. Jankuhn estimated that the new patterns had proved too 'alien' [*fremd*] for northern tastes (Jankuhn 1956: 232). Discussions concerning the – northern or western – origin of the 'Germanic' animal style have subsisted into more recent decades (see Haseloff 1981).

Finally, instances of 'intellectual encounters and connections' could be observed in the context of the Christian mission to the North (Jankuhn 1949a: 7). According to Jankuhn, towns such as Haithabu had been of the utmost importance for the mission's success:

During the first two centuries of the Christian mission in the North, the trade route from the Rhine via Haithabu to Birka and the existing nearby trading centres represented the most significant support for the emissaries of the new faith. (Jankuhn 1956: 232)

As Jankuhn explained, early medieval missionaries had overwhelmingly followed trade routes and focused on trade centres in their endeavours. There, they were most likely to meet with a 'friendly welcome and a sympathetic ear' [*freundliche Aufnahme und geneigtes Ohr*] (Jankuhn 1956: 231). The first church foundations, for instance, had taken place in trading towns such as Haithabu in Schleswig-Holstein, Birka in Sweden and Ribe in Denmark. He also pointed to the potential presence of small Christian groups in the North even before the arrival of the Frankish missionaries Ansgar and his successor Rimbert. Certain Frankish goods, such as glass and jewellery, had been well known in certain parts of Scandinavia

during this earlier period. So why, Jankuhn asked, should knowledge (and acceptance) of the new faith not have spread in tandem (Jankuhn 1956: 231-232)?

Elsewhere, he declared that Christianity had not instantly taken a firm hold in the North. Certain unspecified Arabic sources – presumably the tenth-century traveller Ibrâhîm ibn Ya`qûb – suggested that, even subsequent to the conversion of the Danish king Harald I and to Haithabu's inclusion in the Ottonian empire around the middle of the tenth century, the Christian faith had not universally 'permeated' [*durchgedrungen*] society (Jankuhn 1958a: 20-21). Jankuhn failed to address one central aspect of the Christian creed's expansion. In his opinion, it remained unclear whether Frankish and Frisian Christian traders had introduced their religion during their travels to the North, or whether northern merchants had encountered and espoused Christianity during their journeys to the Frisian coast and the Lower Rhine region (Jankuhn 1956: 231).

Jankuhn clearly continued to consider Haithabu as an early medieval intellectual hub, and, in a number of ways, this view tallied with the interpretations he had offered in the 1930s and 40s. As during the National Socialist period, he perceived amalgamations and adjustments in the spheres of art and religion. In addition, Jankuhn explained that an important new social impulse from the Frankish West had made its mark on Haithabu: the notion of the *Wike*. In view of his increased post-war focus on economic and social questions (see Chapter IV), the incorporation of this factor into his later publications is hardly surprising. Nevertheless, the connection established by Jankuhn between these cultural and social transformations and the physical movement of peoples or ethnic groups – rather than the mere transmission of cultural and social currents – was far less distinct than it had been during the National Socialist period. In addition, Jankuhn no longer held that the appearance of a Frankish, German population and of its customs in Haithabu had prompted the fusion of the northern Germanic, Viking and the western Germanic, German constituent historical legacies of the German nation.

2.3 Haithabu's inhabitants

In the post-war period, the size, composition and appearance of Haithabu's population still featured as significant issues in Jankuhn's work on the settlement.

Investigations into the size of Haithabu's population, he explained, were fraught with difficulties and had not yet yielded any definitive results. Historical sources were rare to non-existent, and even the occasional occurrence of expressions such as 'large town' [*große Stadt*] needed to be measured in early medieval terms. Townships during that period had mostly boasted populations of only a few hundred souls (Jankuhn 1956: 218; Jankuhn 1972: 252). Similarly, the examination of Haithabu's cemeteries and the subsequent inference of population strength on the basis of human remains and funerary material posed obvious problems. A large portion of Haithabu's dead had not been interred at all, and the constant re-use of burial sites made it all but impossible to determine the precise number of buried dead in any one grave (Jankuhn 1956: 218-219; Jankuhn 1972: 252-253). Despite these complications, Jankuhn provided a (very) rough approximation. In 1964, he cautiously estimated Haithabu's population at 'certainly over 1000 people in its heyday' [*sicher über 1000 Personen in der Blütezeit*] (Jankuhn 1964: 3).

Haithabu's populace had not typically moved in from its sparsely settled hinterland; the majority had come from further afield (Jankuhn 1956: 219). Once again, Jankuhn confirmed the familiar observation that the occurrence of distinct building styles indicated the presence of a western Germanic or Frisian population element at Haithabu (Jankuhn 1949d: 14). Elsewhere, he pointed out that the incidence of western Germanic burial rites and funerary material likewise denoted the arrival of a western population element in the Schlei-region from the eighth century onwards. He now regarded the verification of that people's estimated time of arrival, rather than the mere assertion of its existence, as a crucial issue. In his words, the 'great role of western European [...] merchants for Haithabu's development' [*große Rolle westeuropäischer [...] Kaufleute für die Entwicklung Haithabus*] (Jankuhn 1956: 220) had never been seriously doubted. Whether the Frisians had also founded Haithabu was far less clear (Jankuhn 1956: 219-220; Jankuhn 1963: 254; Jankuhn 1972: 254).

The presence of a second group stood on much firmer ground. The conquest of Haithabu by Henry I and the subsequent establishment of a Saxon colony in 934 AD was historically attested. Finally, the occurrence of Scandinavian-style garments in a number of burials during the ninth and tenth centuries pointed towards the influx

of a northern population element into the Schlei-region. In Jankuhn's eyes, the ensuing – initially sluggish – population influx into the Haithabu-area had owed much to the 'prospect of participation in a rich, profitable long-distance trade' [*Aussicht auf Teilnahme an einem reichen, gewinnbringenden Fernhandel*], rather than to a 'wish for new arable land' [*Wunsch nach neuem Ackerland*] on behalf of the incoming population (Jankuhn 1956: 57). During the 1930s and 40s, Jankuhn had often implied or openly asserted that such prehistoric population movements were primarily aimed at the procurement of new settlement land. By contrast, he maintained in the post-war period that the first settlers in Haithabu's vicinity had been motivated by the area's economic potential.

According to the scarce available historical and archaeological sources, the 'national composition' [*nationale Zusammensetzung*] (Jankuhn 1956: 221) of Haithabu's populace was therefore largely a tripartite one. The earliest appearance of a western Germanic, Frisian people in the Haithabu-region had been followed by the arrival and settlement of a northern European, Scandinavian group and by the establishment of a Saxon trade colony. Jankuhn did not regard the close coexistence of diverse peoples in Haithabu's environs as a potential source of ethnic friction. On the contrary, interaction between these different tribes, he suggested, had provided the dynamism needed for active and lucrative commercial activities (Jankuhn 1956: 220-221; Jankuhn 1963: 254-255; Jankuhn 1972: 254-255).

The chapter on 'The racial origins of the inhabitants' [*Die rassische Zugehörigkeit der Bewohner*], featured in the second edition of Jankuhn's popular Haithabu-monograph (Jankuhn 1938a: 195), changed its title in the post-war period. In the volume's subsequent editions, the section was dubbed a less precarious 'Dress and appearance of the population' [*Tracht und Aussehen der Bewohner*] (Jankuhn 1956: 221; Jankuhn 1963: 256; Jankuhn 1972: 256). Despite this rather transparent move, racial concepts were not wholly purged from the content itself. Contrary to earlier assertions, Jankuhn held that Haithabu's population had not been physically homogeneous. The town's location on a major transport route and its consequent exposure to a variety of influences prevented such uniformity. As he explained, one of the most consistent anthropological 'types' of the Viking period – the 'tall, long-skulled and thin-faced' [*hochgewachsen, langschädlig und schmalgesichtig*]

Norwegian ‘type’ [*Typ*] – occurred only sporadically in Haithabu. In fact, the trade centre featured a variety of physical forms, and ‘broader facial features’ [*breitere Gesichtsformen*] and ‘shorter skulls’ [*kürzere Schädel*] were no rarity (Jankuhn 1956: 222).

2.4 ‘Transformations of an historical image over half a century’

Jankuhn’s appraisal of Haithabu’s historical significance underwent considerable alterations during the post-war years. As the title of an unpublished article – ‘Transformations of an historical image over half a century’ [*Wandlungen eines historischen Bildes in einem halben Jahrhundert*] (Jankuhn 1949a) – suggests, he himself was keenly aware of this. For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jankuhn explained, Haithabu’s history had commonly been depicted in national terms. A long-standing preoccupation with the Danevirke or *Danewerk*, the defensive earthwork system associated with Haithabu, and a relative neglect of the actual settlement on the river Schlei had been ‘unsurprising’ [*nicht auffallend*] at a time of such ‘distinctly national thinking’ [*ausgeprägt nationalstaatliches Denken*] (Jankuhn 1956: 239). Haithabu was situated in a ‘contested border area’ [*umstrittenes Grenzgebiet*] (Jankuhn 1949a: 10; see also Jankuhn 1958b: 532-533), and certain political ‘tensions’ [*Spannungen*] around the middle of the nineteenth century further served to bear out the settlement’s perceived standing as an ‘age-old battleground between North and South’ [*uraltetes Kampffeld zwischen Nord und Süd*] (Jankuhn 1956: 239). Prussia and Austria had seized the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark in 1864 and assumed joint administration of the region. A second campaign of 1866, ultimately a step towards the unification of Germany under Bismarck, pitted Prussia against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, ended in the latter’s defeat at the battle of Königgrätz and resulted in Prussia’s annexation of Schleswig and Holstein in the same year (Jespersen 2004: 22-26; Schultz Hansen 1996: 456-459).

In the post-war period, Jankuhn described Haithabu’s historical importance as twofold. First, its supremely convenient location had naturally turned it into a hub of early medieval trade. Although – as seen in section 1 – the town’s commercial importance had been recognised from an early stage, the actual extent and longevity of its trade connections were only confirmed in the course of more extensive

archaeological investigations. Secondly, Jankuhn asserted, scientific studies of Haithabu touched on an issue that historical scholars had grappled with for several decades: the ‘emergence of the occidental medieval town’ [*Entstehung der abendländischen Stadt des Mittelalters*] (Jankuhn 1956: 240). Since the large majority of early medieval towns had been destroyed (Domburg in Zealand), buried under a successor town (Dorestad in the modern-day Netherlands) or lost (Quentovic in present-day northwestern France), the archaeological records of Haithabu and Birka greatly gained in significance. Meticulous and large-scale excavations at Haithabu had yielded major results. Contrary to previous assumptions, the town had featured a sizeable permanent population; it had not merely been used seasonally. The enquiries had also illuminated Haithabu’s social structures and revealed a sophisticated stratified social system. Finally, they had offered novel insights into the settlement’s (physical) size and into the nature of its defences (Jankuhn 1956: 244).

In Jankuhn’s eyes, Haithabu thus made an invaluable contribution to the study of a crucial ‘social force emanating from the West, namely the notion of the *Wike*’ [*Impuls sozialer Art aus dem Westen, nämlich der Gedanke der Wike*] (Jankuhn 1956: 240; see also Jankuhn 1958b: 537). The ‘constricted perspective of a Viking settlement’ [*verengte Perspektive der Wikingersiedlung*] had been abandoned (Jankuhn 1949a: 8):

Seen in this way, Haithabu’s historical importance drastically shifts from a national historical perception into the broad area of economic and social considerations [...]. (Jankuhn 1956: 246)

The broad interpretative change outlined by Jankuhn – from an overriding concern with ethnic and national issues to a growing interest in social and economic subjects and, more specifically, the evolution of early medieval towns – ostensibly tallied with a more general adaptation of his research questions that transpired in the aftermath of the National Socialist period. As seen in Chapter IV, Jankuhn explicitly began to question the national and patriotic significance of pre- and protohistoric research during the post-war years, and devoted greater attention to trade, economic and social issues. Chapter IV has also demonstrated that Jankuhn developed a particular interest in the growth and evolution of settlements and their physical

environment. In this sense, Jankuhn's altered approach towards the investigation of Haithabu closely mirrored more fundamental changes in his research foci.

Jankuhn also suggested that, in the case of Haithabu, the charted interpretative shifts had occurred well before the end of the Second World War. He stated that 'the newly initiated excavations in 1930 gradually opened up new viewpoints' [*die 1930 neu beginnenden Ausgrabungen eröffneten allmählich neue Blickpunkte*] (Jankuhn 1965: 239). Jankuhn's publication record does not support this assertion. While it is true that Jankuhn cultivated an interest in economic and social questions at an early stage, overall depictions of Haithabu during the 1930s and 40s unmistakably accentuated its position on an ethnic juncture in general and its role in the development of Germanic and German history in particular. Jankuhn probably sought to downplay the use of national and ethnic explanatory elements in his previous interpretations. Kurt Schietzel, his successor as Haithabu's excavation director, continued to accentuate the town's crucial significance as an 'early medieval economic and communication hub of supra-regional calibre' [*frühmittelalterliches Wirtschafts- und Verkehrszentrum von überregionalem Format*] well into the 1980s (Schietzel 1981: 86-87).

3 Summary and conclusions

Chapter VI has examined the relationship between Jankuhn's representations of the Haithabu-site and his politico-ideological environment during the National Socialist period. Section 1 of the chapter has initially addressed Haithabu's location. In Jankuhn's eyes, the settlement was situated in an eminently suitable position: it was easily accessible, it provided protection from intrusions, and it lay on a significant land link that connected the North and Baltic Seas. However, Jankuhn did not limit himself to a purely functional description of Haithabu's location. He explained that the town had been located on an important prehistoric military road linking the North and the South. The passage had seen the southward movement of northern peoples since the end of the Bronze Age, and Haithabu had thus been positioned at the very centre of these prehistoric migrations. According to Jankuhn, the funerary monuments lining this military road or *Heerweg* had established a lasting link between past and present Germanic generations, and Haithabu had therefore stood at the heart of an ancient tradition. Chapter V has already highlighted that the

conscious emphasis of a supposed Germanic continuity represented a central element of traditional Germanic ideologies.

Section 1 has also addressed the religious beliefs encountered at the early medieval trading site. To begin with, it has dealt with the cultic elements of the ancient Germanic pagan belief system. Once again, Jankuhn's account particularly emphasised the supposed continuity of Germanic traditions. By providing a confusing and convoluted representation of chronologically separate traditions, Jankuhn produced a consistent and collective illustration of Germanic religious beliefs that allegedly applied to the prehistoric Germanic tribes, to the early medieval inhabitants of Haithabu and to medieval Germans alike. Once again, the construction of a continuous historical representation of Germanic culture and society assumed a central role in Jankuhn's archaeological writings.

In addition, section 1 has investigated Jankuhn's depictions of Christianisation. On one hand, Jankuhn forcefully underlined the longevity of ancient Germanic pagan rituals and beliefs. Early Christians, for instance, had often adopted and thereby perpetuated pagan customs. In addition, the encounter between paganism and Christianity was customarily portrayed as a confrontation. According to Jankuhn, Haithabu's nobility in particular had violently opposed the new religion. His emphasis on the durability of ancient pagan rites and on the strong resistance offered by a number of Haithabu's inhabitants may have reflected a National Socialist aversion to Christianity in general and to Roman Catholicism in particular.

On the other hand, Jankuhn stressed Christianity's significance as a political force. He specifically highlighted the Christian faith's intimate association with a German imperial ideology. Jankuhn thus refrained from unilaterally adhering to the crude Germanic-Christian antithesis prescribed by National Socialist ideological preconceptions. As section 1 has demonstrated, he instead portrayed Haithabu as a moderator between two fundamentally distinct religious traditions. A similar narrative also featured in other cultural and social spheres, as seen below.

A discussion of Jankuhn's portrayal of Haithabu's arts and crafts has also yielded noteworthy points. On one hand, Jankuhn held, Haithabu had been a great artistic centre in its own right. On the other, it had acted as a gateway between

northern and western artistic traditions. Artists and craftsmen at Haithabu had customarily adapted western Carolingian styles to a northern Germanic taste. Artistically and religiously, the town had thus staged a cultural encounter between the West and the North. As has been pointed out, the characterisation of Haithabu's role in these encounters differed slightly. In the religious sphere, western Christian and northern pagan traditions had predominantly clashed and competed. The artistic and stylistic encounter, however, had taken a rather more conciliatory form. Here, the fusion of two distinctive art forms generated a new style that combined the finest features of northern and western Germanic culture.

Section 1 has once again revealed Jankuhn's propensity to postulate an immediate connection between cultural manifestations and ethnic conditions. In his eyes, changes in ornamentation techniques clearly pointed to fluctuations in Haithabu's ethnic make-up. By asserting that the influx of western cultural influences had reflected specific political developments, he further reinforced this point.

Construction styles likewise pointed towards the physical presence of northern and western Germanic population elements at Haithabu. By insisting on the 'ethnically bound' nature of building styles, Jankuhn once more sustained and validated a direct association between archaeological culture groups and ethnic identity. Interestingly, Jankuhn held that Danish scholars had long opposed the notion of a western Germanic – Saxon or Frisian – population component on politico-ideological grounds. As pointed out in Chapter IV, Jankuhn at times recognised the impact of political, ideological and intellectual conditions on archaeological and historical interpretations. Jankuhn's admonition is disingenuous, since his manifest efforts to downplay a Slavic contribution to Haithabu's development were themselves ideologically motivated.

Lastly, section 1 has examined Jankuhn's account of Haithabu's presumed historical standing. The section has argued that, in Jankuhn's eyes, the early medieval town both facilitated and symbolised the amalgamation of two distinct historical traditions. On one hand, Haithabu could not be divorced from northern Germanic history in general and from the Viking expansions in particular. As Chapter V has indicated, traditional *Germanenideologien* commonly portrayed the northern *Germanen* or Vikings as the historical ancestors of contemporary Germans. On the

other hand, a western Germanic ethnic element – and a new potential instrument of national identification – had entered the European stage as a powerful political and cultural force towards the end of the first millennium after Christ. In order to mould a coherent and continuous national historical account, Jankuhn moved to reconcile these distinct ethnic and cultural traditions. In Jankuhn's mind, the town of Haithabu had hosted this synthesising process, and it was therefore cast as the birthplace of a novel and integrated German national past.

Jankuhn specifically highlighted the political and territorial impact of the western Germanic peoples. The Saxon king Henry I had created the first German Reich, penetrated Slavic territory and assumed his 'organisational' or colonial duties in the Baltic region. Jankuhn's emphasis on an unremitting western Germanic predilection for conquest and expansion and on a continuous political and ethnic presence in the Baltic Sea area apparently served a familiar politico-ideological purpose. Jankuhn's depictions justified National Socialist territorial claims and military aggressions. The frequent use of National Socialist vocabulary and his particular commendation of Henry, an historical favourite of the *Reichsführer-SS*, further sustain this suggestion. Of course, Jankuhn's account of western Germanic colonialism also echoed his representations of Viking imperial endeavours, as seen in Chapter V.

Section 2 has investigated Jankuhn's post-war representations of Haithabu. After 1945, the historical prerequisites for Haithabu's emergence and growth were framed in altered terms. Though Jankuhn continued to emphasise the trade centre's eminently suitable geographic setting in general and its position on major transport links in particular, he assigned more weight to Haithabu's contemporary economic and social context. Three large-scale, early medieval developments – the economic advance of the European Occident, the transferral of political and economic influence from the Mediterranean coast to the northern, and especially the Frankish, shores and the evolution of urban trading centres known as *Wike* – were primarily responsible for Haithabu's rise to prominence. On the whole, this shift in emphasis is consistent with a more general re-orientation of Jankuhn's research interests and foci after 1945.

As section 2 has shown, Jankuhn continued to depict Haithabu as an early medieval intellectual and cultural centre. The Carolingian Occident had only been one

of many exchange partners, and cultural and intellectual influences had transpired in the fields of literature, art and religion. In addition, Jankuhn held that new social impulses had entered Haithabu from the Frankish West: the concept of the *Wike* and a concurrent transformation of social structures again received particular mention. Once again, Jankuhn thus displayed a growing preoccupation with economic and social questions in the post-war era.

Although his portrayal of Haithabu's intellectual and cultural stature largely overlapped with earlier representations, one notable divergence remained. Jankuhn more or less refrained from establishing a direct and explicit association between literary, artistic and religious manifestations and the presence or absence of particular ethnic entities. By contrast, he rather inconsistently continued to determine the presence of specific ethnic groups on the basis of their alleged construction types. In addition, his post-war writings still contain references to the anthropological characteristics of Haithabu's inhabitants. Section 2 has thus demonstrated a partial and irregular distancing from the previously omnipresent equation between cultures and peoples.

Finally, section 2 has commented on Jankuhn's changing appraisal of Haithabu's historical standing. He conceded that, until 1945, the settlement had (too) often been viewed from a purely national perspective, once again acknowledging the bearing of politico-ideological currents on historical and archaeological interpretations. Since then, the town's historical meaning had altered considerably. In the post-war period, Jankuhn particularly valued the site for its ability to illuminate the nature of European trade and the growth of early medieval urban centres. The dramatic shift from a 'constricted' national to a social and economic point of view once more reflected the broader changes that befell Jankuhn's interpretative and methodological framework after 1945.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

‘The range of alternatives available to thinkers at a given time is not simply conditioned by a particular historical context. It may also be conditioned by the limited number of possible alternatives implicit in a given question. Both historical context and this limitation [...] help to condition patterns of thought in a given historical period.’

[George W. Stocking, Race, Culture and Evolution. Essays in the History of Anthropology, 1968: 43]

In conclusion, the thesis returns to the principal research questions laid out in Chapter I. To begin with, I have set out to clarify the archaeological scholar’s potential role within the organisational structures of a dictatorial regime. Chapter III has tackled this issue in detail.

Herbert Jankuhn’s involvement with organised National Socialism manifested itself specifically and tangibly in his enrolment with and – in some cases, long-term – membership in a number of National Socialist institutions, most notably Heinrich Himmler’s *Schutzstaffel*. Jankuhn’s assignments as part of the SS’ cultural-political division, the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, were of a patently political, illicit and ideologically charged nature. A close examination of his activities in Brittany, Bayeux and south Russia has unequivocally demonstrated this. Jankuhn’s contemporaneous and subsequent claims that he succeeded in shielding his supposedly scientific activities from political and ideological pressures have thus been fatally undermined.

Jankuhn’s own unrestrained participation in a fierce institutional power struggle – that between the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the rivalling *Amt Rosenberg* – further repudiates his clinical and contrived opposition of science and research on the one and politics and ideology on the other hand. Chapter III has shown that the organisational polyvalence of the National Socialist system presented individual scholars who were willing to play the power game with substantial scientific and

professional opportunities. There is no doubt that Jankuhn harnessed these to the fullest extent.

The National Socialist regime undoubtedly fostered a highly repressive atmosphere, and Jankuhn's freedom of action may have been constricted by implicit or explicit pressures. Nevertheless, Jankuhn's behaviour in the course of his *Ahnenerbe*-assignments was characterised by significant pro-activity, initiative and success. He cooperated fully with the SS, and there is little to no evidence for external coercion during his time with the *Ahnenerbe*. Chapter III has pointed out that the pre-existence of anti-democratic and *völkisch* tendencies frequently led to a voluntary and speedy *Gleichschaltung* or 'harmonisation' within German society at large. Given Jankuhn's conservative personal background, he, too, may have undergone such a process of *Selbstgleichschaltung*.

Jankuhn's potential motivations have also been addressed. Unsurprisingly, there is a striking discrepancy between the thesis' conclusions and pre-existing appraisals of Jankuhn's involvement with organised National Socialism. Based on extensive primary source investigations, Chapter III has put forward the following incentives: Jankuhn was eager to support Germany's war effort and to save Europe's archaeological heritage from the disastrous effects of the Second World War. Most significantly, however, he acted out of scientific opportunism. Jankuhn accepted and perhaps welcomed the unlawful removal of material culture from occupied territories in return for privileged access to far-flung and otherwise inaccessible material culture collections.

Posterior evaluations of Jankuhn's activities – these transpired in the context of his Denazification trial – concluded differently. By joining the supposedly hated SS, his colleagues held, Jankuhn had shown true scientific spirit and made a personal sacrifice; his SS-membership had been a mere formality. In effect, Jankuhn's particular case bears out the large-scale failure of the post-war Denazification process. By minimising his contribution and whitewashing his involvement, Jankuhn, his referees and the Denazification judges attained the absolute acquittal and rehabilitation of an exceptionally skilled and hence sorely needed scholar. The referees' patent willingness to defend and cover Jankuhn is hardly surprising. First, they were professionally and, in some cases, politically dependent on him. Secondly,

the pervasiveness of older anti-democratic, nationalistic and militaristic attitudes among the German academic establishment may have led to a common, though muted, understanding for and between collaborators.

Finally, Jankuhn himself critically influenced post-war perceptions of archaeological research during the National Socialist period. The perpetuation of the *Ahnenerbe*-myth – the notion that the *Amt Rosenberg* was primarily responsible for the politicisation of German archaeology and that the *SS-Ahnenerbe* fostered fairly ‘neutral’ research – likely owed much to such incomplete and biased representations as those manufactured by Jankuhn himself. Due to his high visibility and standing within the archaeological community, Jankuhn’s portrayal probably carried more weight than most.

The thesis has subsequently sketched the specific bearing of political and ideological circumstances on the archaeological scholar and his scientific work. It has particularly focused on the archaeologist’s role in the generation and perpetuation of ideological constructs. An examination of Jankuhn’s archaeological writings, presented in Chapters IV, V and VI, has yielded significant insights.

There can be no doubt that Jankuhn’s scientific work was influenced by prevalent political and ideological currents during the 1930s and 40s; this has been comprehensively demonstrated. In addition, Jankuhn’s archaeological writings sustained certain National Socialist ideological accounts; this, too, has been documented in Chapters IV, V and VI. Crucially, the correlation between science and research on the one and politics and ideology on the other hand was thus of a reciprocal character. Jankuhn was of course subjected to explicit and implicit politico-ideological influences and pressures. At the same time, however, he actively and consciously supported and disseminated politically and ideologically expedient representations of the human past, thereby reinforcing and perpetuating the dominant ideological and political agenda. Apart from playing an integral and practical role in the National Socialist system’s institutional and organisational structures, archaeological scholars could therefore assume a vital position within and be of intellectual, ideological and propagandistic use to the totalitarian system.

Generally speaking, archaeological and historical accounts were used to anchor National Socialism in a purportedly long-term and homogeneous Germanic/German historical development. The construction and broadcasting of a long and glorious Germanic/German past that inescapably culminated in the Third Reich bore obvious and considerable propagandistic benefits. On a practical level, archaeological interpretations were employed to justify specific courses of political action.

Chapters IV, V and VI have spelled out the diverse and colourful components of such politicised historical accounts. Jankuhn (and many of his colleagues) postulated the alleged originality and vigour of the Germanic national character, a supposed Germanic cultural and ethnic continuity over centuries and millennia, the particular sophistication of Germanic culture as well as a presumed Germanic predilection for military conquest, the submission of other peoples and state-formations abroad. These notions were consequently applied to the contemporary German situation and thereby harnessed as justifications for National Socialist claims to political hegemony and aggressive expansionist campaigns.

The thesis has also identified some of Jankuhn's most commonly employed interpretative and rhetorical tools: the establishment of frontal dichotomies between the *Germanen* and other ethnic groups, the drawing of direct analogies between ancient Germanic conditions and modern German circumstances, the production of convoluted historical accounts that ostensibly related chronologically distant phenomena, the regular use of National Socialist parlance and the fusion of various historical traditions that resulted in the creation of a unified and consistent German past all featured prominently.

On the face of it, archaeological research in the National Socialist era thus established a dominant and homogeneous account of Germany's pre- and protohistoric development. This impression is deceptive. As Chapters IV, V and VI have pointed out, National Socialist ideology was highly polyvalent and often contradictory, and this multiplicity certainly extended into the realm of pre- and protohistoric research. As a consequence, archaeologists and, presumably, other social and historical scholars maintained a considerable, though perhaps surprising, scope for intellectual manoeuvre within a brutally repressive authoritarian system. In

other words, the Nazi state failed to achieve an unequivocal adherence to a uniform pre- and protohistoric line, precisely because a single monolithic National Socialist vision of the past was never formulated and implemented. The resultant uncertainties were often countered with attempts to compromise between political expediency and scientific integrity or with a frequent vagueness in archaeological interpretation. Jankuhn's (and other archaeologists') partial and even reluctant adherence to Kossinna's 'settlement-archaeological' method and his – Jankuhn's – ambiguous portrayals of Christianity and the Roman Empire are cases in point.

Furthermore, the thesis has underlined the crucial impact of long-term intellectual currents on pre- and protohistoric research. In particular, Chapters IV, V and VI have pointed to the continued significance of long-standing Germanic ideologies and to the persistent currency of ethnic and national concepts and entities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It can be said that Jankuhn's intellectual and political framework developed against the same political, ideological and social background as National Socialist politico-ideological conceptions themselves, and such shared foundations certainly serve to explain the substantial degree of coherence between the former and the latter. In other words, Jankuhn's pre- and protohistoric interpretations did not follow National Socialist ideological notions as much as they were intricately related to them.

An investigation of Jankuhn's post-war work has further corroborated this fundamental point. Although there is clear evidence for an intellectual adaptation, the changes made by Jankuhn were noticeably less drastic than one might assume. Excepting the admittedly conspicuous elimination of or reduced emphasis on certain fundamental politico-ideological themes, Jankuhn's archaeological and historical representations after 1945 often remained largely what they had been during the 1930s and 40s. As Chapters IV, V and VI have revealed, some of the most obvious modifications that were undoubtedly aimed at the realisation of post-war political correctness included a less pronounced stress on Germanic purity, uniformity and state-forming capabilities and a greater allowance for non-Germanic influences in Europe's cultural development.

It has thus emerged that even drastic historical watersheds – after all, 1945 represented a near-perfect political, ideological, social and economic rupture in

German history – may fail to eradicate or transform certain underlying intellectual orientations. Modifications to a scholar’s work – to his theories, methods and interpretations – often occur in a gradual and fluid manner. Throughout Chapters IV, V and VI, a greater post-war focus on past socio-economic conditions has featured as one of the central adjustments to Jankuhn’s scientific framework. Nevertheless, it has also been indicated that Jankuhn had cultivated this particular interest since well before 1945. Similarly, Jankuhn manifestly shied away from a straightforward equation of archaeological cultures and ethnic identity in the post-war years. Yet, neither were Kossinna and his methodological construct entirely disavowed or ethnic and national concepts wholly abandoned after the demise of the National Socialist regime. Politico-ideological circumstances, rather than dictating pre- and protohistoric questions and answers, provide a means of identifying ‘suitable’ and ‘unsuitable’ topics and results and thereby structure and prioritise a scholar’s studies accordingly.

Finally, the thesis has detected an interesting discrepancy between professed principles and concrete actions. While Jankuhn frequently postulated the separation of science and politics, advocated the notion of scientific objectivity and recognised the impact of political, ideological and social influences and pressures on the work of archaeological and historical scholars, he made few to no efforts to apply these high standards to himself. Perhaps this inability (or unwillingness) on Jankuhn’s part indicates that a ‘critically self-conscious’ archaeology is at best a difficult and at worst an illusory endeavour. However that may be, it certainly strengthens the case for external probes into the political, ideological and social circumstances that shape scientific research.

Its concentration on an individual, prominent archaeologist has enabled the thesis to undertake a detailed study of the human, social, cultural, political, ideological, intellectual and scientific specificities that constitute a scholar’s context or ‘soil’ [*terreau*] (Kaeser 2004: 9). However, the investigation has also aimed to move beyond the spheres of the individual and, what is more, the archaeological discipline. For one, many of the particularities of Herbert Jankuhn’s environment were shared by contemporary social and historical scientists, although individual

factors, such as family circumstances, education and pre-existing political convictions, certainly differed on a personal basis.

It should be acknowledged that the nature of a scientist's role within a political system and motivations for active participation in its institutional structures, the specific nature of dominant ideological narratives and the subsequent adaptation of scientific theories, methods and interpretations must be studied on a case-by-case basis. Nevertheless, some underlying observations concerning the relationship between science, research, politics and ideology seem more widely applicable, across both historical periods and scientific disciplines. The reciprocity of the connection, that is, scholars' simultaneous subjection to politico-ideological pressures on the one and their active and conscious fortification and propagation of prevailing ideological and political agendas on the other hand; the bureaucratic and ideological polyvalence of political regimes and a resulting intellectual and scientific flexibility and ambiguity; as well as the significance of long-term intellectual currents and the gradualism of intellectual change are likely to bear relevance beyond the boundaries of the archaeological discipline.

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6 Newspaper articles

Flensburger Tageblatt 3.3.1956. Der Forscher von Haithabu. Zu Professor Jankuhns Berufung nach Göttingen.

Tagespost 15.3.1956. Professor Dr. Jankuhn geht nach Göttingen. Er übernimmt dort die Leitung des Instituts für Urgeschichte.

APPENDIX I

German originals of indented quotes

Chapter I:

- p. 16 ,Das Gebiet nördlich und südlich der Memel war schon vor der Völkerwanderung germanisches Gebiet, [...] sogar bei der Stadt Memel haben sich in Funden vorhistorischer Zeit Überreste gefunden, die jeden Zweifel an einer germanischen Besiedlung auch dieses Teils der Provinz ausschließen‘ (quoted in Steuer 2001b: 417)
- p. 17 ,Das konservative Elternhaus, das angesehene humanistische Gymnasium und die ethnisch bestimmte Spannung im deutsch-litauischen Grenzgebiet mit seiner bewußten Betonung des Deutschtums in den bürgerlichen Kreisen der Stadt kennzeichnen die Umwelt in Jugend und Schulzeit.‘ (Jankuhn 1980: 618)

Chapter III:

- p. 62 ,Deshalb möchte ich gern möglichst alle Gebiete, die Steindenkmäler enthalten, kennen lernen. Ausserdem möchte ich mir zumindestens die wichtigsten Museen in der Bretagne und das vorgeschichtliche Nationalmuseum in St. Germain-en-Laye ansehen, um zu wissen, in welchem Umfang Funde aus den Steindenkmälern vorhanden sind [...]. Das in Frage kommende Gebiet ist etwa 150km breit und 200km lang, also so gross wie Schleswig-Holstein.‘ (Jankuhn n.d.d)
- p. 63 ,Das berührt natürlich unseren Plan durchaus, denn diese Steinsetzungen sind als Schlüsselpunkte für den Nachweis astronomischer Ortung mit ein Kernstück bei der Bearbeitung der ganzen Megalithdenkmäler hier. Ich weiss nicht, ob Hülle nur diese beiden Dinge untersuchen will, oder ob er noch weitergehende Absichten hat. Auf alle Fälle ist ja in der Person von Hülle die sicherste Gewähr dafür gegeben, dass die Arbeit nur halb gemacht

wird. [...] Wahrscheinlich wird es auch hier, wie überall wo Reinerth seine Hand im Spiel hat, so werden, dass unter günstigen Verhältnissen mit ungenügenden Kräften grosse Aufgaben angegriffen und unzureichend gelöst werden, so dass für die nächsten Jahre eine fruchtbringende Arbeit verhindert wird.' (Jankuhn 16.10.1940b)

- p. 66
- ,1.) der Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft „Das Ahnenerbe“ die Genehmigung für die Bearbeitung des Teppichs zu erteilen,
 - 2.) den von uns beauftragten Forschern den Teppich zugänglich zu machen und ihnen die Genehmigung zur Herstellung photographischer Aufnahmen zu erteilen bzw.
 - 3.) uns von etwa bereits in Ihrem Auftrag gemachten Aufnahmen Abzüge in einigen Exemplaren zur Verfügung zu stellen.' (Sievers 3.2.1941b)

p. 67

,Die tragenden Kräfte waren bei den Normannen die gleichen, die die Wikingerzüge des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts veranlaßt hatten und letztlich dieselben, die als treibende Momente hinter allen germanischen Wanderungen standen. Die germanische Sehnsucht nach Abenteuer, kriegerischer Bewährung und politischer Macht, aber auch das Streben nach der Schaffung politisch geordneter Bezirke, dem fast alle germanischen Reiche des frühen Mittelalters ihre Entstehung verdanken.' (Jankuhn n.d.e)

p. 68

,Wenn auch manche Form antiken Vorbildern entlehnt ist, so spricht doch aus dem Ganzen durchaus germanische Haltung. In der ganzen Darstellung lebt die Freude an der Überlieferung großer Kriegstaten [...]. Nicht die epische Breite homerischer Gedichte, sondern die nüchterne, sachliche Erzählweise der germanischen Sage [...]. Die gleiche Zurückhaltung gegenüber Gefühlsausbrüchen, die für die germanische Heldendichtung kennzeichnend ist, bestimmt auch die Haltung der auf dem Teppich dargestellten Personen. Der Bildfries von Bayeux mutet wie eine in Bildern gefaßte germanische Königsaga

an, und es ist sehr gut denkbar, daß ein germanisches Heldengedicht vom Zuge Wilhelms, das heute verloren ist, den Anstoß zur Herstellung des Ganzen gab. [...] Die Normannen sind nicht nur die gefürchteten Seekrieger jener Zeit, die in den zahllosen Wikingerzügen wie eine Katastrophe über die Küstengebiete Westeuropas hinwegziehen und dort viele Zeugen älterer Kultur vernichten. Ihnen verdankt die germanische Welt des Mittelalters einen neuen Staatstyp, der in den staatsrechtlichen Auffassungen des Mittelalters revolutionierend wirkte. [...] Gekennzeichnet wird [der neue Staatstyp] durch eine zentrale Herrschaftsgewalt mit einem von dieser unabhängigen Beamtentum, einem stehenden Heer, der Unterordnung von Wissenschaft, Kunst und Religion unter die Belange der weltlichen Gewalt.' (Jankuhn n.d.e)

p. 72 ,Wäre es möglich gewesen, unmittelbar nach der Explosion, jedenfalls aber etwa Mitte November hier eingesetzt zu werden, so hätten wir eine sehr schöne Sammlung germanischer Funde polizeilich sicherstellen können. Seit Anfang Dezember ist der Reichsbund dabei, die Kiewer Sammlung zu verpacken. [...] Jetzt ist hier in K. nichts zu machen, denn jede Maßnahme unsererseits würde sofort Schritte des Reichsministers Ost beim Reichsführer nach sich ziehen [...]. Selbst wenn es möglich sein sollte, doch noch etwas mitzubringen, werde ich es doch nicht tun, denn wie die Dinge hier liegen, müssen wir uns doch wohl allen Schritten enthalten, die Rosenberg zu Maßnahmen gegen uns beim RFSS veranlassen würden.' (Jankuhn 27.1.1942)

p. 75 ,a) Ist das Museum unbeschädigt, so wird die zuständige Ortskommandantur auf die Bedeutung der Sammlung hingewiesen und gebeten werden, den Zugang zur Sammlung von einer Genehmigung der Ortskommandantur abhängig zu machen. In gut erhaltenen Museen sollen möglichst weitgehende Foto-Aufnahmen des vorhandenen Materiales durchgeführt werden.

b) Ist eine Sammlung teilweise zerstört, so soll sie verpackt und nach Maßgabe der vorhandenen Möglichkeiten nach Berlin geschafft werden.

c) Ist die Sammlung völlig zerstört, so erübrigt sich ein Eingreifen des SK.‘ (Jankuhn 16.8.1942)

- p. 76 ‚Fast alle Schränke waren aufgerissen und durchwühlt. Die kleine aber gute Sammlung kaukasischer Waffen war geplündert und wertvolle Funde z. T. sinnlos zerstört, die vorgeschichtlichen Funde waren durcheinandergeworfen, die Keramik war im ganzen Raum verstreut.‘ (Jankuhn 19.8.1942a)
- p. 76 ‚Die wissenschaftlich und künstlerisch wertvollen Stücke wurden in eine große Kiste gepackt [...]. Es wurde mit dem Kommandoführer vereinbart, dass diese Fundkiste im Laufe der nächsten Zeit, wenn möglich durch PKW nach Berlin transportiert und dort beim RSHA [...] abgeliefert werden sollte [...]. Eine kleine Anzahl wichtiger Funde ist bei SS-HStuf. Jankuhn sichergestellt und wird durch Kurier direkt an das Ahnenerbe geschickt werden.‘ (Jankuhn 29.8.1942a)
- p. 79 ‚[...] eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Altertümern aus dem Dongebiet, eine geologisch-paläontologische, eine historische und eine kirchliche Abteilung, außerdem eine Sammlung von Gemälden und eine wertvolle Bibliothek von etwa 15000 Bänden, in der archäologische Literatur nur schwach vertreten ist.‘ (Jankuhn n.d.c: 20)
- p. 82 ‚Die nächste große Bewegung erreichte Rußland im 3. Jahrhundert nach unserer Zeitrechnung. Sie wird bestimmt durch den Vorstoß der Goten von der Weichselmündung zum Nordufer des Schwarzen Meeres. Im Gefolge dieser gotischen Landnahme vollzieht sich zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte die politische Zusammenfassung des europäischen Ostraumes vom Schwarzen Meer bis zur Ostsee und von der Weichsel bis zur Wolga. Die Begründung des russischen Gotenreiches und der Höhepunkt seiner Machtentfaltung um 350

unter dem sagenhaften König Ermanarich stellt die großräumigste germanische Reichsbildung überhaupt dar und ist aus rein germanischer Wurzel erwachsen. [...] Trotz der politischen Zerstörung des Gotenreiches haben sich die gotischen Reste bis ins Mittelalter, ja sogar bis in die Neuzeit in einzelnen Gebieten Südosteuropas gehalten [...]. Außerdem ist ein beträchtlicher Teil germanischen, insbesondere gotischen Blutes auch in der Bevölkerung Rußlands erhalten geblieben und heute noch gelegentlich rassisch erkennbar.‘ (Jankuhn n.d.c: 4-5)

p. 83 ,Ganz offensichtlich lag den Bolschewisten an einer Beseitigung der Zeugnisse für die frühere Anwesenheit germanischer Stämme. Nur die von ihnen nicht erkannten germanischen Funde sind in den Sammlungen verblieben.‘ (Jankuhn n.d.c: 10)

p. 86 ,Bei den Arbeiten des Sonderkommandos J a n k u h n auf der Halbinsel Krim konnte festgestellt werden, daß die Gotensiedlungen samt den dazugehörigen Museen allesamt vom Einsatzstab des Reichsleiters R o s e n b e r g beschlagnahmt wurden. Der Einsatzstab [...] stützt sich dabei anscheinend auf den [...] Erlass des Chefs der Reichskanzlei. Ich bitte, dazu folgende Gedankengänge vortragen zu dürfen:

1.) Der betreffende Erlass besagt, dass der Einsatzstab des Reichsleiters Rosenberg berechtigt ist, „Bibliotheken, Archive, Logen und sonstige weltanschauliche und kulturelle Einrichtungen aller Art nach geeignetem Material für die Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe durchzuforschen“. Diese Aufgabe besteht in der „geistigen Bekämpfung der Juden und Freimaurer sowie der mit ihnen verbündeten weltanschaulichen Gegner des Nationalsozialismus“. (Sievers 17.11.1942)

p. 86 ,Für die Frage nach der Geschichte des deutschen Volkstums in der Krim, die ja zum Aufgabenbereich des Reichskommissars für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums gehört, ist es von ausschlaggebender

Bedeutung festzustellen, ob und in welchem Umfange sich die früheste deutsche Siedlung auf der Krim mit den gotischen Resten berührt hat und ob gegebenenfalls eine Anknüpfung an gotische Tradition erfolgt ist. Denn es ist erwiesen, dass sich die Goten bis in das 17. Jhrhd. hinein unter Bewahrung ihrer Sprache und ihrer Stammeserinnerungen auf der Krim gehalten haben. Sie haben sich also mit den ältesten deutschen Siedlern in Südrussland wahrscheinlich zeitlich noch berührt.‘ (Sievers 17.11.1942)

- pp. 87-88 ,Bei aller Dringlichkeit unserer Arbeit und aller Liebe, mit der ich an meinen Untersuchungen hänge, möchte ich jetzt auf alle Fälle hinaus: Es wird mir schon bis an mein Lebensende leid tun, nicht in Polen dabei gewesen zu sein, umso weniger möchte ich jetzt zurückgestellt werden. Sie werden diese Einstellung sicher begreifen und auch billigen und ich hoffe auf Ihre Unterstützung.‘ (Jankuhn 8.10.1939)
- p. 88 ,[...] und sicher sind es noch nicht die letzten Opfer, aber das alles werden wir tragen müssen, denn gemessen an den grossen Entscheidungen sind es ja fast Belanglosigkeiten. Das eigene Ich – und das lernt man ja an der Front sehr schnell – [...] es bleibt im großen Rahmen gesehen völlig unwichtig.‘ (Jankuhn 21.5.1944)
- p. 88 ,Hoffentlich ist es uns vergönnt, schon das nächste Weihnachtsfest im Frieden zu verleben, aber zunächst müssen wir ja den Krieg gewinnen, und das wird noch erhebliche Anstrengungen kosten. Davon, dass es uns gelingen wird, bin ich [...] fest überzeugt.‘ (Jankuhn 14.12.1944)
- p. 89 ,[...] verließ der Einsatzstab Rosenberg die Stadt, ohne das Geringste für die Bergung von Funden getan zu haben. [...] Das Museum wurde nach Abzug der deutschen Truppen zerstört, wie es scheint durch Sprengung oder Brand. Die darin aufgehobenen Funde aus der Ukraine sind so gut wie restlos vernichtet worden.

Neuerdings in den Trümmern des Gebäudes durchgeführte Nachgrabungen haben nur geringfügige Bruchstücke der ehemals dort aufbewahrten Funde erbracht.

Damit ist eines der bedeutendsten Museen Russlands mit wissenschaftlich wertvollsten Funden durch Dienststellen der deutschen Zivilverwaltung der Vernichtung preisgegeben worden.‘ (Jankuhn 13.8.1943)

p. 101 ,Wo immer in rein privaten Gesprächen politisches berührt wurde zwischen Prof. Jankuhn und Unterzeichnete (sic!), ergab sich deutlich die Abkehr von den oft brutalen Methoden des Besatzungsregime (sic!) und die Hoffnung auf eine künftige Verständigung gerade mit England.‘ (Felix 23.10.1947)

p. 102 , [...] daß die deutsche Wissenschaft die Freistellung dieses verdienten Gelehrten freudig begrüßen würde [...]. Der Geist, in dem er seine Wissenschaft auch in den Zeiten des schwersten Terrors betrieben hat, ist der gleiche den wir uns für den Neubau unserer Welt wünschen.‘ (Wildhagen 20.1.1948)

pp. 102-103 ,Im Jahre 1938 teilte Prof. Jankuhn mir in einem Gespräch mit, dass die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu von der SS übernommen worden seien. Die Tätigkeit der SS würde sich aber nur auf die Finanzierung der Ausgrabungen und den Ankauf des Grabungsgeländes beschränken.

[...] Die SS annektierte damals zur Sicherung ihres Einflusses in historischen, vorgeschichtlichen und volkskundlichen Angelegenheiten in grossem Umfange wissenschaftliche Institute und Forschungsstellen. [...] Um auch einen persönlichen Einfluss sicherzustellen und die völlige Verkettung der betroffenen Institute mit der SS zu gewährleisten, wurden die leitenden Wissenschaftler dieser Forschungsstellen automatisch in die SS übernommen und ihnen sofort mittlere und höhere Führerdienstgrade verliehen.

Zugleich mit der Annektion Haithabus durch die SS wurde auf diese Weise auch Prof. Jankuhn automatisch in die SS übernommen und ihm der Rang eines Untersturmführers verliehen‘ (Madsen 4.8.1947)

p. 103

„Diese Stelle sah ihre Hauptaufgabe nicht darin, die vorgeschichtliche Forschung zu fördern, sondern alle zweckfrei forschenden Gelehrten auszuschalten. Dieser Kampf wurde mit größter Rücksichtslosigkeit geführt. [...] Dem großen diplomatischen Geschick Unverzagts gelang es überraschenderweise, für einen kleinen Kreis von wissenschaftlich und charakterlich intakt gebliebenen Vorgeschichtlern den Schutz des Reichsführers der SS zu erwirken. Und so ergab sich die paradoxe Lage, daß Himmler der Beschützer der Freiheit der Wissenschaft wurde gegenüber den terroristischen Bestrebungen der Leute um Rosenberg. Dieser Schutz war aber nur wirksam, wenn die Betreffenden unmittelbar in der SS Zuflucht suchten.

Professor Jankuhn, berühmt geworden durch seine Ausgrabungen in Schleswig-Holstein und auch in internationalen Kreisen hochgeschätzt wegen seiner unbestechlichen wissenschaftlichen Nüchternheit, mußte diesen Weg beschreiten, um sein wissenschaftliches Werk und seine Schüler vor der Auslöschung zu schützen. Keiner, der die Verhältnisse in der deutschen Wissenschaft kennt, kann ihm aus diesem Schritt einen Vorwurf machen, der in einer Zeit erfolgte, als noch kein Deutscher den wahren Charakter der SS beurteilen konnte. Besonders soweit ich Professor Jankuhn aus langjährigem Einblick in seine mustergültigen Arbeiten [...] kenne, ist sein Eintritt in die SS noch nicht einmal zum Zwecke der Sicherung seiner Person erfolgt, sondern ausschließlich, um seine Arbeit ungehindert weiterführen und seine Schüler und Freunde schützen zu können. [...] Für diesen, aus edelsten Motiven begangenen Fehltritt ist er wohl hart genug bestraft.‘ (Wildhagen 20.1.1948)

p. 107

„Für einen echten Wissenschaftler ist die wissenschaftliche Forschungstätigkeit ein persönliches Lebenselement, eine Aufgabe, der er [...] sein ganzen Leben widmet und es oft genug auch dafür

einsetzt. Der Angeklagte hat sich [...] die vollständige Erforschung der mit Haithabu zusammenhängenden Fragen als Lebensaufgabe gestellt. Für ihn stand also erheblich mehr auf dem Spiel als etwa nur sein Beruf schlechthin oder eine Lieblingsbeschäftigung.‘ (Blumenthal et al. 15.3.1949: 4)

Chapter IV:

- p. 119 ‚Scharf umgrenzte archäologische Kulturprovinzen decken sich zu allen Zeiten mit ganz bestimmten Völkern oder Völkerstämmen.‘ (Kossinna 1911: 3)
- p. 121 ‚Wir wollen die grossen Traditionen unseres Volkes, seiner Geschichte, und seiner Kultur in demütiger Ehrfurcht pflegen als unversiegbare Quellen einer wirklichen inneren Stärke und einer möglichen Erneuerung in trüben Zeiten.‘ (quoted in Jankuhn n.d.g: 1)
- p. 122 ‚Wo aber sollen wir unsere Ahnen besser erkennen, als [...] in der vorgeschichtlichen Urzeit! [...] Wer unsere früheste und eigenste Art rein und unverfälscht auf sich wirken lassen will, der muss bei der Vorgeschichte anfragen. Und dadurch besitzt diese junge Wissenschaft ihren so hervorragenden Gegenwartswert, ihre hohe nationale Bedeutung.‘ (quoted in Jankuhn n.d.g: 2-3)
- p. 123 ‚Durch 4000 Jahre sind germanische und dann deutsche Siedler nach dem Südosten geströmt und haben nordisches Blut und germanisch-deutsche Kultur in ein Gebiet getragen, das [...] zum Lebensraum des deutschen Volkes gehört.‘ (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 9)
- p. 132 ‚Kulturprovinzen können Volksstämmen entsprechen, werden es vielleicht in den meisten Fällen auch tun, brauchen es aber nicht immer zu sein.‘ (Jankuhn n.d.i: 7)
- pp. 134-135 ‚Es wäre sehr interessant, wenn *Kossinna* einmal zeigte, wo sich sein methodischer Grundsatz tausendfach erprobt hat, [...] und endlich nachweise, daß er bei seinen Völkeridentifizierungen in frühen

urgeschichtlichen Zeiten den lückenlosen Zusammenhang mit den Anfängen der Geschichte niemals aus den Händen verloren hat.‘
(Jacob-Friesen 1928: 142)

p. 140 ‚Der ganze Streit um die „ethnische Deutung“ verliert aber seine Spitze [...], wenn man stattdessen von h i s t o r i s c h e r Deutung von Bodenurkunden redet und die ethnische Deutung nur als e i n e unter ihren vielen Möglichkeiten ansieht.‘ (Eggers 1950: 58)

Chapter V:

p. 174 ‚Eine weihevollere Stimmung ruht über solchen einsamen Hügelfeldern, wenn der milde Schein der sinkenden Sonne über die Heidebüsche flutet, die Schatten größer werden und auch die niedrigeren Gräber deutlich hervortreten.‘ (Schwantes 1934:124)

p. 188 ‚[...] und doch stellt die ganze germanische Geschichte eine großartige Wanderung dar, nicht die Vorstöße eines Nomadenvolkes vom Norden, sondern der Kampf eines gesunden Bauernvolkes um den Siedlungsboden.‘ (Jankuhn 1938a: 14)

p. 191 ‚Aus dem germanischen Kraftzentrum um das westliche Ostseebecken lösen sich Scharen von Kolonisten, ziehen nach dem Osten an der Küste entlang und folgen der Oder und Weichsel in ihrem Lauf nach dem Südosten, überwinden die Wasserscheide und folgen den südrussischen Strömen in die Ukraine und nach dem Balkan, um hier weit ab vom Mutterlande neuen Siedlungsraum zu gewinnen und im Laufe von Jahrhunderten mit anderen Völkern zu verschmelzen.‘
(Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 8)

p. 194 ‚So sehr alle Erfolge der letzten Wochen ihre Erklärung letzten Endes in der genialen politischen Konzeption eines Mannes finden, fügen sie sich doch mit fast überraschender Klarheit dem Bilde der historischen Entwicklung ein.‘ (Jankuhn 3.12.1939: 1)

Chapter VI:

- p. 218 ,Die Lage der Stadt entspricht ganz den Bedingungen der Wikingerzeit. Alle großen Plätze, die wir aus jenen Jahrhunderten kennen, liegen nicht an der offenen Seeküste, sondern weiter im Inneren des Landes, aber so, daß sie einen direkten Zugang zum Meer haben.‘ (Jankuhn 1938a: 56)
- p. 224 ,In den großen Mittelpunkten des Verkehrs, in denen wir ja eine starke Anhäufung von Menschen aus aller Herren Länder annehmen müssen, war der Boden für eine Mission besonders geeignet, und so sehen wir auch, wie in der Wikingerzeit das Wirken der ersten Missionare an die Nähe der großen Handelsmittelpunkte gebunden ist.‘ (Jankuhn 1938a: 188)
- p. 243 ,Die dreihundert Jahre der Geschichte Haithabus sind also verknüpft mit der Pionierarbeit deutscher Kaufleute, die notwendig war, um das große Werk der deutschen Hanse entstehen zu lassen und die nordgermanische Herrschaft im Ostseebecken durch ein deutsche abzulösen.‘ (Jankuhn 1938a: 199)
- p. 248 ,In den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten christlicher Mission im Norden bilden der Handelsweg vom Rhein über Haithabu nach Birka und die an ihm bestehenden größeren Handelsplätze den wesentlichsten Rückhalt für die Sendboten des neuen Glaubens.‘ (Jankuhn 1956: 232)
- p. 253 ,So betrachtet verschiebt sich die historische Bedeutung Haithabus stark aus dem Bereich nationalstaatlicher Vorstellung in das weite Gebiet wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtlicher Betrachtung [...]‘ (Jankuhn 1956: 246)

APPENDIX II

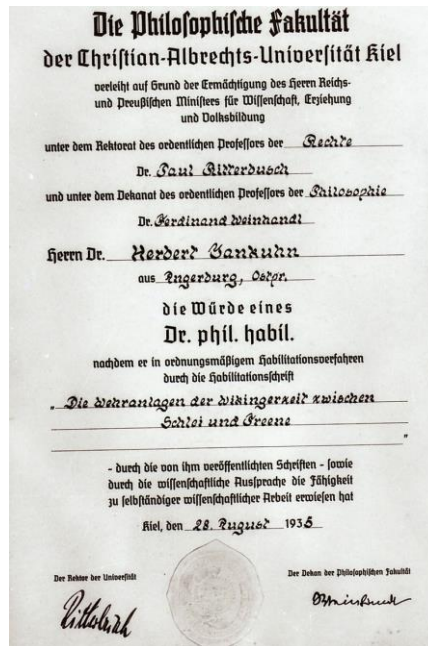
Illustrations



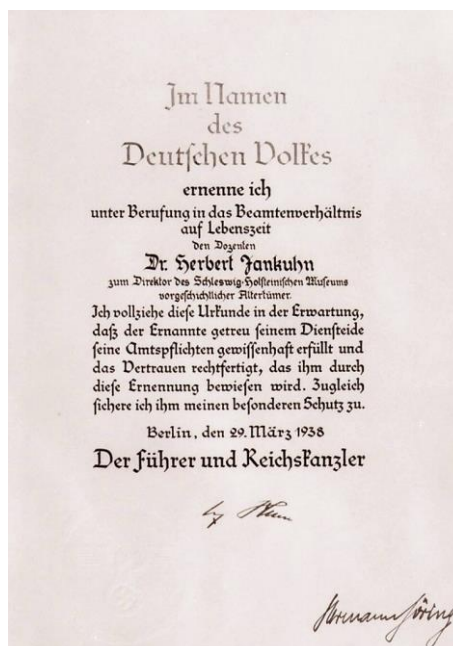
Ill. 1: Herbert Jankuhn (second from left), 1956 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



Ill. 2: Herbert Jankuhn, 1960 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



Ill. 3 Certificate of *Habilitation* from the University of Kiel, 1935 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



Ill. 4 Letter of appointment to the directorship of the Museum of Prehistoric Antiquities (*Museum vaterländischer Altertümer*) in Kiel, 1938 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



III. 5 Map of the Ukraine and the Caucasus region (Retrieved on 15 December 2008 from World Wide Web: http://encarta.msn.com/map_701511584/caucasus_mountains.html)



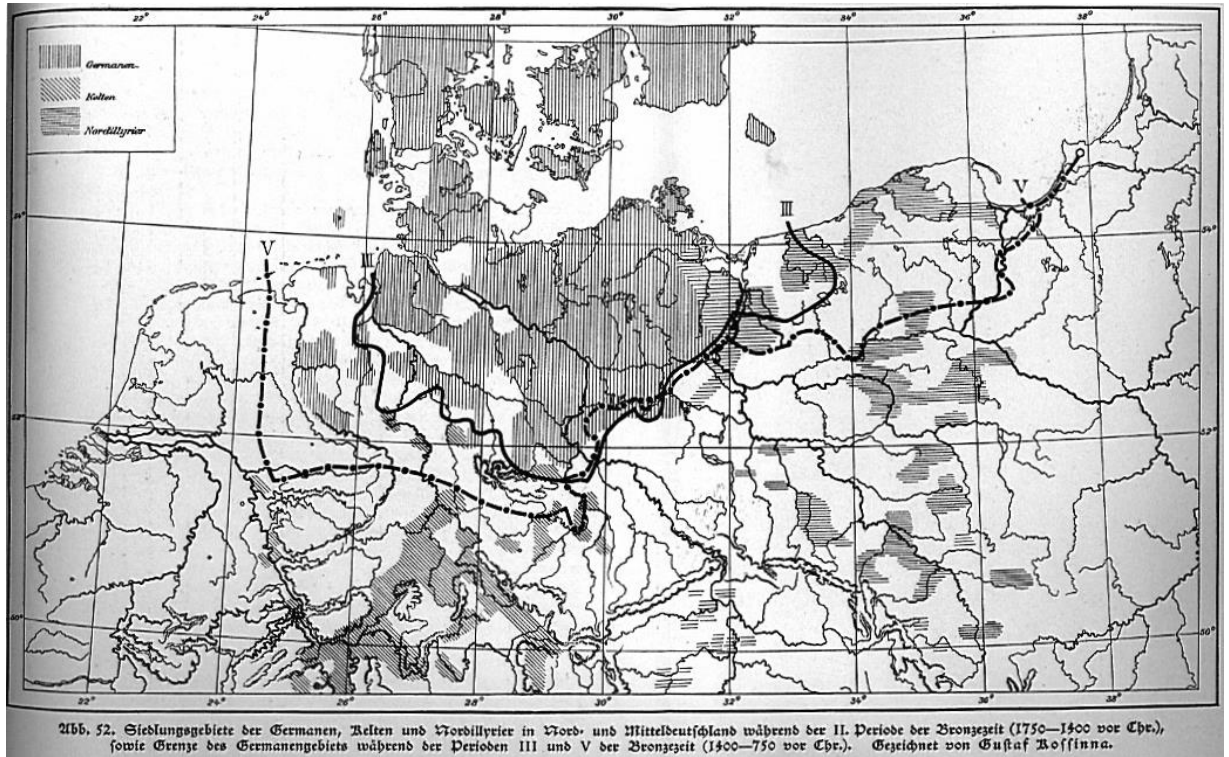
III. 6 Photograph of Russian prisoners of war taken by Herbert Jankuhn in Russia, 1942 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



III. 7 Herbert Jankuhn (second from right) in Russia, 1942 (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



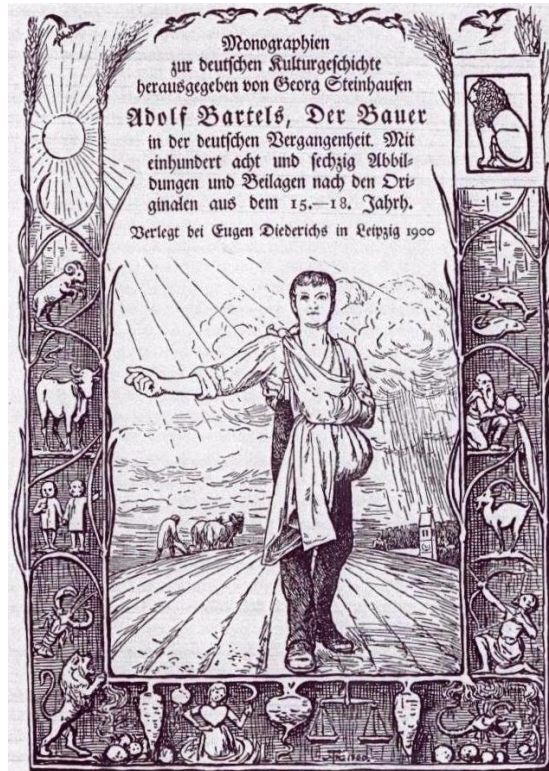
III. 8 Gustaf Kossinna, 1858-1931 (Grünert 2002a)



III. 9 Bronze Age settlement areas of the Germanic, Celtic and northern Illyrian tribes (Kossinna 1936)



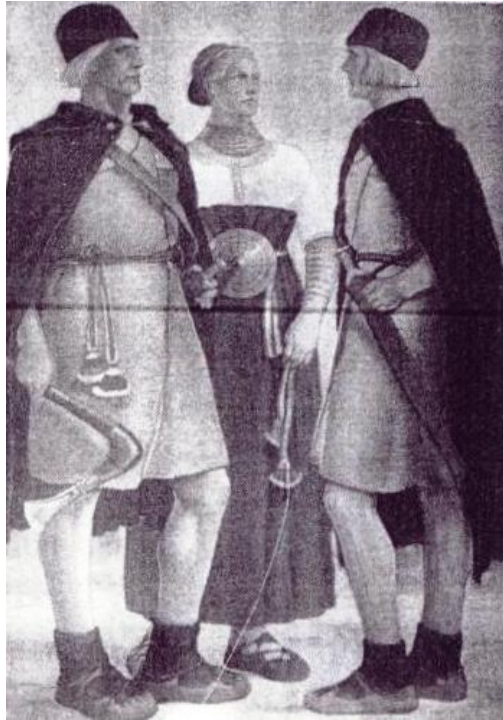
III. 10 Stereotypical illustration of a natural, healthy lifestyle (Puschner 2001)



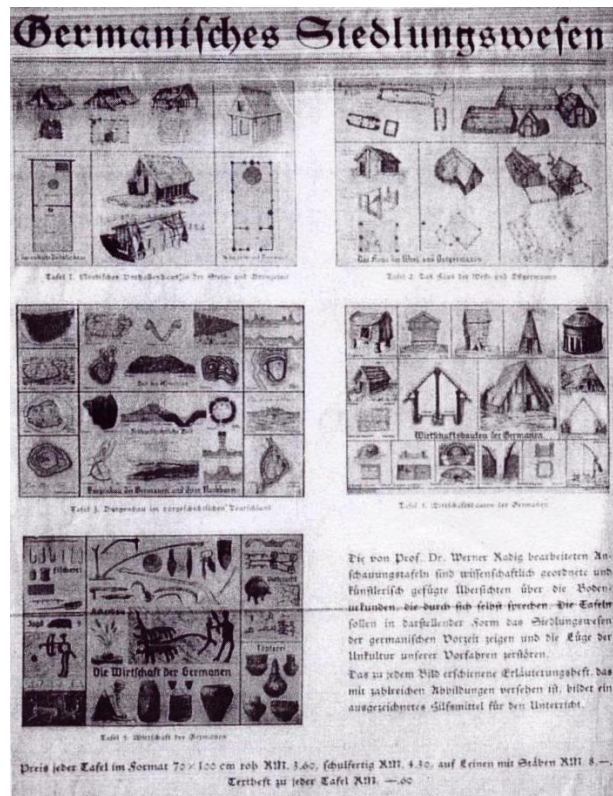
Ill. 11 Glorification of the peasant and pastoral life (Puschner 2001)



Ill. 12 'Hitler. Führer of all Germanen' (Lund 1995)



III. 13 Artistic impression of Bronze Age *Germanen* (Schöbel 2002)



III. 14 Classroom poster on Germanic buildings and settlements (Schöbel 2002)



Ill. 15 Germanic settlement area during the early Bronze Age (Jankuhn 1938a)



Ill. 16 Germanic settlement area during the late Bronze Age (Jankuhn 1938a)



Ill. 17 Germanic settlement area during the early Iron Age (Jankuhn 1938a)



III. 18 Germanic settlement area during the first centuries AD (Jankuhn 1938a)



III. 19 Germanic settlement area during the Migration Period (Jankuhn 1938a)



III. 20 Germanic settlement area during the Viking Age (Jankuhn 1938a)



Ill. 21 Viking Age trade routes (Jankuhn 1938a)



Ill. 22 Landscape around Haithabu (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)

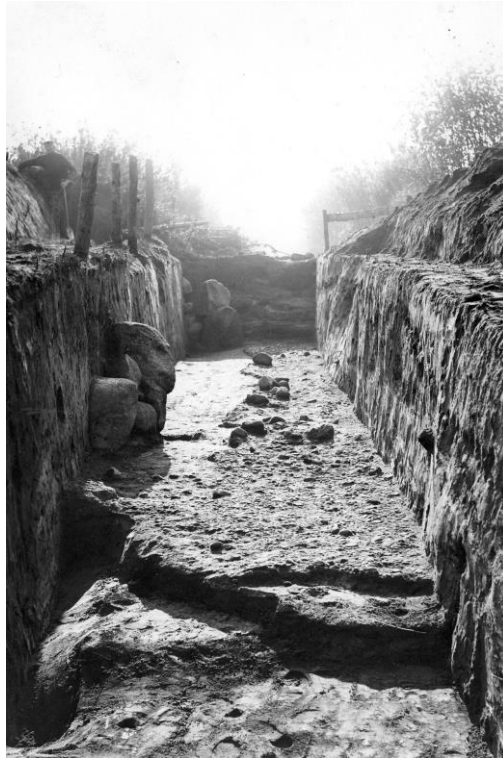


III. 23 Landscape around Haithabu (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



III. 24 Map of northern Germany and Denmark (Retrieved on 15 December 2008 from World Wide Web:

<http://encarta.msn.com/encnet/features/mapcenter/map.aspx?TextLatitude=42.3716998203484&TextLongitude=44.2027125515007&TextAltitude=6&TextSelectedEntity=6248&MapStyle=Comprehensive&MapSize=Large&MapStyleSelectedIndex=0&searchTextMap=schleswig&MapStylesList=Comprehensive&ZoomOnMapClickCheck=on>)



Ill. 25 Excavation at Haithabu (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



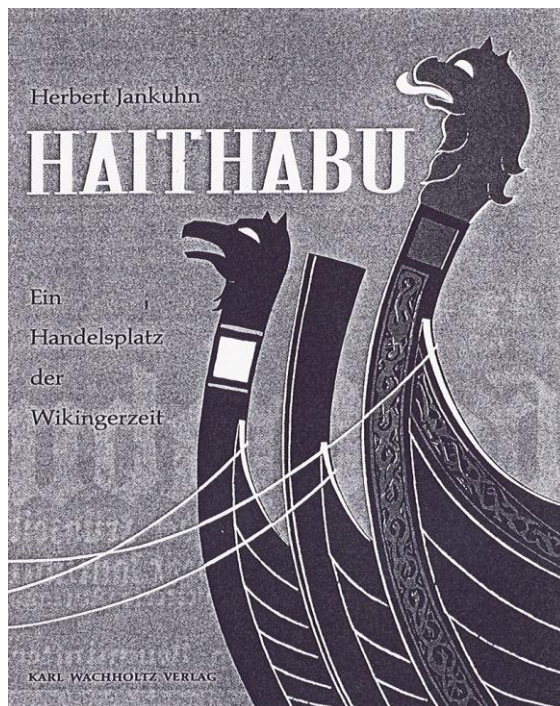
Ill. 26 Excavation at Haithabu (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



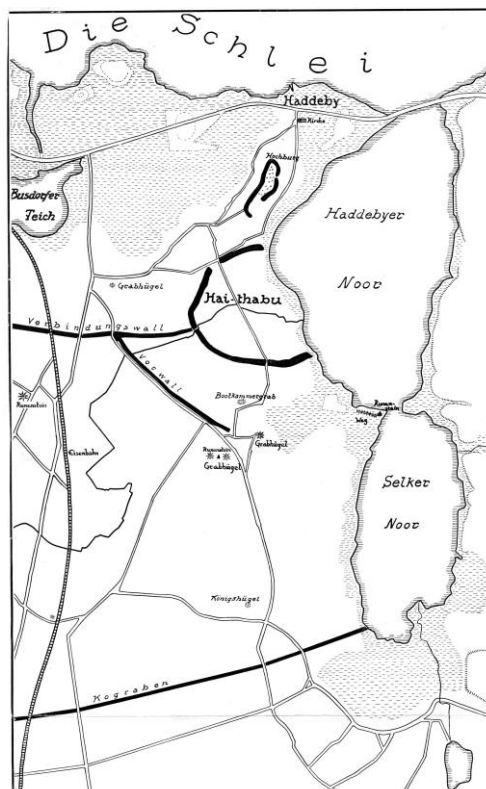
III. 27 Aerial photograph of Haithabu and its surroundings (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



III. 28 Haithabu. An early historic Germanic town. Second edition (Jankuhn 1938a)



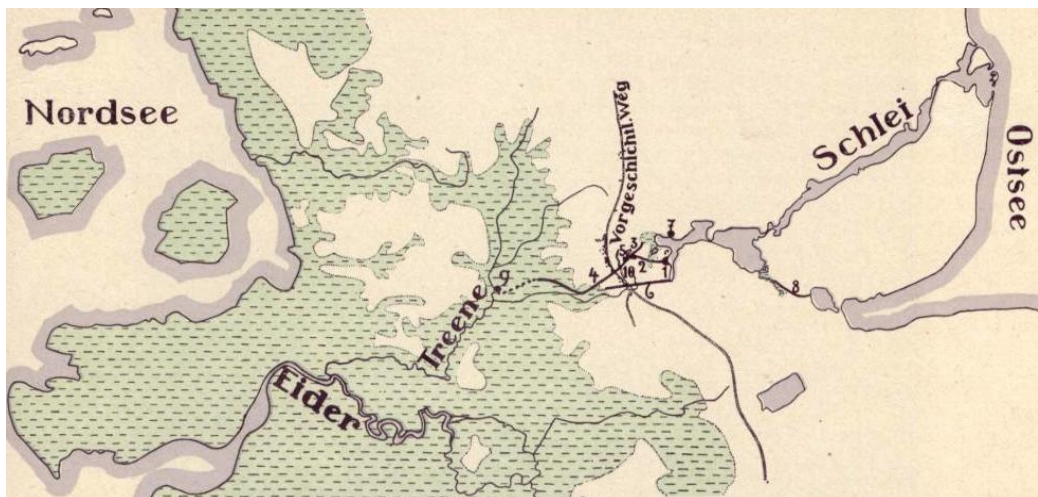
III. 29 Haithabu. A Viking Age trade centre. Third edition (Jankuhn 1956)



III. 30 Haithabu and the surrounding region (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



Ill. 31 Jankuhn (back row, third from left) and members of the excavation team at Haithabu (Nachlass Herbert Jankuhn, Archiv der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schleswig)



Ill. 32 Map of central Schleswig and the Danevirke (Jankuhn 1938a)