

# The Ahnenerbe of the SS (1935-1945)<sup>1</sup>

A think tank for Germanic supremacy

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## Abstract

The Ahnenerbe, founded in 1935 by Heinrich Himmler, Richard Walther Darré and Herman Wirth, evolved into one of the largest non-university research institutions of the Third Reich. Encumbered by the legacy of its first president Herman Wirth, whose research has to be regarded as pseudoscience, the Ahnenerbe made a scientific turn in 1937 when Walther Wüst became the leading academic. During the following years the Ahnenerbe attracted many well-reputed researchers, especially on the field of prehistory. One of them was Herbert Jankuhn, who became one of the most influential prehistorians of the Third Reich and even had private conversations with Himmler himself on ideologically important topics. This development culminated in a splendid First Annual Meeting 1939 in Kiel, helping to substantially increasing the influence of the SS in the humanities at the expense of Alfred Rosenberg.

During the Second World War, the Ahnenerbe widened the scope of its activities and involved itself within the propagandistic justification of Germany's policy of expansion, occupation and genocide. In the so-called Germanic countries it endeavored to attract collaborators and Waffen-SS volunteers. Simultaneously and closely related, the Ahnenerbe conducted field research and excavations throughout Europe and took part in the looting of Eastern Europe.

After WWII, the Nuremberg Trials found the whole SS a criminal organisation. Nevertheless many Ahnenerbe academics returned into influential positions in Western Germany, whereas the organisation itself later became a focus of interest and inspiration for many extreme right-wing intellectuals.

## 1. Introduction and aims

Even though the Ahnenerbe has drawn some attention in the recent years, especially regarding its influence in the fields of prehistory<sup>2</sup>, German studies<sup>3</sup> and at an international conference dealing mostly with its role during the occupation of Norway<sup>4</sup>, the inner workings, financing and networking of this large SS-based research organisation and think-tank are still only partially understood. When Michael H. Kater wrote his ground-breaking study on the Ahnenerbe<sup>5</sup> in the 1960s, he relied to a certain extend on interviews conducted with former Ahnenerbe members who had returned into influential academic positions in post-war Germany. This had a strong impact on his analysis, especially regarding his differentiation between coryphées and more or less incompetent ideologists, neglecting the think-tank and advisory function of the Ahnenerbe. The one remaining publication

dealing with the Ahnenerbe as a whole by Heather Pringle<sup>6</sup>, albeit very thorough and insightful, focuses heavily on the expeditions and Himmler's input into the Ahnenerbe and mostly neglects its vast interior activities as well as – like Kater – the active and constitutive part of many of the Ahnenerbe academics.<sup>7</sup>

This paper tries to integrate recent studies and new original research into a better grasp of the Ahnenerbe's development and inner dynamics. Due to the current state of research, it will necessarily have a focus on prehistory and related humanities. Especially the relation between research, academic standards, ideology and organizational necessities will be key question of this paper. Furthermore reasons why certain Ahnenerbe endeavors succeeded while others never left the planning stage will be ascertained.

## **2. Origin and Early Development**

### 2.1 Backgrounds

The arts and humanities dominating within the Ahnenerbe were comparatively young disciplines. Therefore one has to look at some major ideological currents within the NSDAP as well as the history of the partaking sciences, arts and humanities to understand the foundation and development of the Ahnenerbe.

#### 2.1.1 History of humanities

German prehistory and cultural as well as physical anthropology only emancipated themselves from German studies, history and biology during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, establishing themselves as independent university subjects and disciplines. This process was not free of conflicts; especially prehistory was frowned upon by historians as the study of the insignificant and unimportant. One reason for this attitude can be found in a long-term, strong and prevalent affinity towards Greek antiquity among Germany's Bildungsbürgertum. In the aftermath of the War of the Sixth Coalition this slowly started to change. During the long 19<sup>th</sup> century – but rooted in older discourses and inspired by a wide reception of Tacitus *Germania*<sup>8</sup> – history and prehistory developed a founding myth, anchoring Germany and its people in a perceived continuous glorious Germanic past, partly complementing the affinity to ancient Greece and Rome, partly competing with it and even partly supplanting it. Especially prehistory developed under this premise and severely competed with Classical Archaeology since Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931)<sup>9</sup> had formulated the paradigm of *Vorgeschichte*<sup>10</sup> at the turn of the century. In the aftermath of WWI, the still rather small field became increasingly politicised and several prehistorians – like many historians – also started to involve themselves in scientific policy advisory. By then, *völkische* and racist ideologies in varying degrees and compositions were quite common among historians, prehistorians and cultural

anthropologists. Additionally prehistory was divided into several regional schools, providing additional friction.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1.2 Principal protagonists and their ideology

For Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) – and most SS leaders as well – the source of all western culture was its Nordic Aryan roots, best conserved within the Germanic people. He was profoundly influenced by “*ex septentrione lux*” ideas and the founding myth pertaining the *Germani*. Beginning early in age, he engaged in German history and prehistory. On the other hand, his world view and conception of history were comparatively flexible; the only constant was the leitmotif of an eternal struggle of “*Germanic heroes*” against “*Asian subhuman beings*”<sup>12</sup>. This flexibility not only allowed Himmler to adapt his world view in differing ways to the respective political situation, but also to gradually integrate divergent information and ideas brought up by academics as will be exemplified in the course of this paper.<sup>13</sup>

Regarding the influence exerted on science, arts and humanities Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), the so called *Chefideologe der NSDAP* (chief ideologist of the Nazi Party), became Himmler’s primary rival. “*Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*”<sup>14</sup>, written by Rosenberg, was perceived by many as the second most-important book of National Socialism. His works not only show a high esteem for the Germanic culture, but also the idea of a constant struggle for life between the “Nordic” race and their Christian, Jewish and Bolshevik adversaries. Within this framework Rosenberg believed all ancient civilisations had a “Nordic-Aryan” root developed in the distant past in a Nordic cradle of civilisation. Rosenberg was also the first leading NSDAP politician establishing contacts with prehistorians and citing – at last once – their works. In 1928 he established contact with Gustaf Kossinna and in 1931 with Hans Reinerth (1900-1990)<sup>15</sup>, even though he does not seem to have read their publications. Only the reading of Wirth’s “*Der Aufgang der Menschheit*”<sup>16</sup> can be proven. At large, Rosenberg was, compared to Hitler or Himmler less influenced by racial biology since his ideology and its concepts of science were under the primacy of the mental-spiritual. Therefore he was also less susceptible to tactical or contentual arguments than Himmler and more radical.<sup>17</sup>

Both Himmler and Rosenberg founded organisations to promote ideologically important research. Whereas Rosenberg had early connections to parts of the academic community and already in 1928 founded the *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur* (KfDK, Militant League for German Culture), Himmler initially sympathised strongly with more esoteric theories and pseudoscientific research<sup>18</sup>, most importantly with Herman Wirth (1885-1981). Concurring during the Third Reich, both had an important impact on many fields of the humanities. Through the KfDK, Rosenberg had a head-start and was especially able to dominate the field of prehistory since Reinerth, who became his department head for prehistory, became the successor of Kossinna at Berlin University and in several societies and boards. With the establishment of the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (Reich League for German Prehistory) by Rosenberg and Reinerth in 1933/1934 from the KfDK and Kossinna’s *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (Society for German Prehistory), they practically dominated the field. But the initially almost total cooperation with and support of Reinerth dwindled away during

the following years due to his vain attempts at completely domineering over the field, his ongoing hassles with German classical archaeology and - most importantly - a growing disappointment with his leadership skills, leaving a power vacuum.<sup>19</sup>

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) on the contrary did not care much about ancient Germanic pasts, even though he continued to stress the historic mission of the German people. Accordingly neither “*Mein Kampf*”<sup>20</sup> nor most of his speeches contain passages dealing with the Germanic past. Starting only in 1934, his speeches show some positive public remarks on the *Germani*, whereas many private comments show his disregard towards them and their material culture. Hitler’s view on history was mainly formed by Social Darwinism and the antagonism of Aryans vs. Jews, which he transferred into all epochs, regions and cultures. Additionally he held Classical Archaeology in high regard since he adored Greek architecture and to lesser extends the Roman Empire. The German(ic) People only interested him from the formation of the empire of Charlemagne in early medieval times and the German eastward expansion in high medieval times onwards. Accordingly Hitler paid little to no interest in the conflicts between Himmler and Rosenberg about control of Germany’s prehistoric research, whereas he sometimes sponsored Classical Archaeology, e.g. via resuming the German excavations in Olympia.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.2 Preliminaries

### 2.2.1 Building the SS spirit

When Himmler was appointed *Reichsführer-SS* in 1929 – by then merely a subordinate position to the *Oberste SA Führung* (supreme command of the SA) – the SS numbered only 280 men mostly occupied with selling party newspapers and pamphlets. Himmler changed the organization radically and forged the infamous Black Order with its strict membership requirements, ensuring that all members were dedicated to its cause and of pure “Nordic” blood. By the end of 1932, its numbers had increased to 52.000, exceeding 200.000 the following year and gaining complete independence from the SA after and by the so called *Röhm-Putsch* in July 1934. Besides their political impact the SS was essential for Himmler’s goals in demographic development. But broadening the breeding-stock for a future master race was only half of his aim. Himmler also wanted his SS men to act and think like ancient Germanic farmers and warriors as he imagined them to have been. To further the racial selection process and the indoctrination of SS members alike, he established the *Rasseamt* (race office) in December 1931, headed by the blood-and-soil-ideologist Richard Walther Darré (1895-1953) – a close friend of Himmler – and renamed it *Rasse- und Siedlungsamt* and finally *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt* (RuSHA; race and settlement main office) in 1935. In the RuSHA, ever-increasing numbers of experts worked on developing and refining racial screening procedures applied to SS-candidates and – later – subjugated people as well. Additionally the RuSHA was responsible for the *SS-Leithefte*, a periodical for indoctrination of the rank and file of the SS, and trained the *SS-Schulungsleiter* (SS training facilitators), for example by visits to the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Museum for Pre- and Early History, part of the Berlin State Museums). But for his higher echelons, Himmler wanted a more diligent and exclusive education. Additionally he wanted to

further the development of a SS-specific religiosity supplanting Christianity in the long-term and spearheading the genesis of a new “Germanic” and racially adequate religion for all Germans.<sup>22</sup> In order to accomplish these objectives, he needed scholars to uncover the assumed lost ways and truths of ancient Germanic life, culture and religion. Therefore several departments working on academic research and its use in indoctrination and propaganda evolved, mostly under the auspices of the RuSHA, but some within the *Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS* (SD, security service of the Reichsführer SS) as well, one of the former being the Ahnenerbe, founded in 1935. Additionally Himmler started various other projects in this context, including the acquisition of the Wewelsburg castle. Himmler himself relied at first – besides museum exhibitions and published results of archeology and German studies – strongly on Karl Maria Wiligut (1866-1946), a former Austrian Imperial Army colonel who was considered to have psychic capabilities.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.2.2 Herman Wirth and the society for *Geistesurgeschichte*

Herman Felix Wirth (1885-1981) was born in 1885 in Utrecht. He studied Dutch philology, German studies, history and musicology at Utrecht and Leipzig, gaining a PhD degree at the later university in 1910. During the WWI, he volunteered for the German Imperial Army and was assigned to a post in occupied Belgium where he privately supported the Flemish separatist movement leading to his demission. In 1916 he was awarded a *Titularprofessur* (professorship by title only)<sup>24</sup> by Emperor Wilhelm II. In 1923 Wirth settled in Marburg, lecturing at Marburg University and joining the NSDAP in 1925. Two years later he let his membership slip without changing his political opinions, only to rejoin the NSDAP and become a SS-member in 1934. Wirth – who also adhered strictly to the life-reform movement – worked on the supposed earliest history of the “Atlantean-Nordic Race”, primeval Germanic religion and language, conceiving himself mainly as *Symbolforscher* (researcher on the origin, meaning and development of ancient signs and symbols). His works enjoyed certain popularity among *völkische* circles throughout the 1920s, finally gaining large-scale fame and notoriety with the publication of his book “*Der Aufgang der Menschheit*”<sup>25</sup> (The Dawn of Mankind) in 1928, further increased by the following “*Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit*”<sup>26</sup> (The holy primeval script of mankind), published in twelve installments from 1931 to 1936 and his edition of the “*Ura-Linda Chronik*”<sup>27</sup> (the Oera Linda Book) in 1933 as well as various articles<sup>28</sup>. To further his ideas and collect funding, Wirth founded the *Herman-Wirth-Gesellschaft* in 1928, sometimes also called *Gesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte* (society for primeval thought), with dependencies in several German cities, but his publications also provoked harsh reactions from serious scholars. The geologist and prehistorian Fritz Wieggers (1875-1955) published an anthology containing numerous articles from specialists – including an anthropologist, an ethnologist and a philologist –, rebuking Wirth’s theories and<sup>29</sup>. The monthly periodical *Germanien*, edited by Wilhelm Teudt’s *Vereinigung der Freunde der Vorgeschichte*, (association of the friends of prehistory), as well as the philosopher Alfred Baeumler (1887-1968), a key follower of Alfred Rosenberg, both responded by publishing articles in support of Wirth<sup>30</sup>, further boosting the dispute and its publicity.<sup>31</sup>

Already in October 1932 Wirth was invited by the Nazi state government of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to open a *Forschungsinstitut für Geistesurgeschichte* (research institute for primeval

thought) in Bad Doberan. Additionally they were pushing for the establishment of a teaching position for German Prehistory at the University of Rostock, resulting in severe protests from established prehistorians, including Karl Hermann Jacob-Friesen (1886-1960)<sup>32</sup>, director of the State Museum of the Prussian Province of Hannover. Underfunding and Wirth's expensive lifestyle caused financial problems and the closing of the institute after only one year. His private society seems to have withered simultaneously and for the same reasons. To support Wirth after the debacle in Bad Doberan, his patrons within the NSDAP arranged for him to get the position and salary of an associate professor from Berlin University, although he does not seem to have held lectures. Instead he re-founded his society as *Gesellschaft für germanische Ur- und Vorgeschichte* (society for Germanic primeval and prehistory) and engaged in negotiations with the Prussian Ministry of Education for the establishment of a *Freilichtschau* called "*Deutsches Ahnenerbe*" (open-air exhibition "German ancestral heritage"). Despite political and academic support<sup>33</sup>, these negotiations faltered and Wirth decided to hold a travelling exhibition called "*Der Heilbringer*", as will be discussed later.<sup>34</sup>

Even though some minor hints indicate earlier informal talks of Wirth and Himmler at a public presentation by Wirth, they probably first met in 1934 at a private meeting held by Johann von Leers (1902-1965)<sup>35</sup> and his wife. Wirth was at first reluctant to attend since he feared the concurrence of Wiligut and had to be coaxed to come by Darré who also attended. But Himmler was immediately impressed by Wirth and ready to support his research and career which did lead more or less directly to the foundation of the Ahnenerbe.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.2.3 Nordic Things

Important steps in networking *völkische* intellectuals and academics were the two "*Nordische Things*" organized by the wealthy coffee merchant, industrialist, gifted publicity strategist and important *völkische* patron Ludwig Roselius (1874-1943)<sup>37</sup> and held in Bremen in 1933 and 1934. Roselius patronage was widely spread. He supported not only the artists' colony of Worpswede but remodeled the *Böttcherstraße* in the center of Bremen, too. Located in direct vicinity to the city hall, Roselius successively funded acquiring and reshaping this street. The new design reflects Roselius concept of a superior Nordic race which was deeply influenced by Wilhelm Richard Wagner, Julius Langbehn, Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Herman Wirth and Roselius sympathies towards the life-reform movement. The reconstructed *Böttcherstrasse* promoted not only his romanticized views of a Germanic past, but also served his business interests and deepened the public perception of him as a patron of the arts and euergetist. The *Böttcherstraße* included exhibition space for Roselius's extensive collections of art, a gym, a toiletries showroom, a Frisian library, applied arts workshops, one dependency of his Kaffee HAG company at each end and spacious rooms for the *Club zu Bremen*, where influential industrialists and politicians met. The latest addition into the ensemble, Roselius built *Haus Atlantis* and founded the *Museum "Väterkunde"* (museum "ancestry's lore") within the *Böttcherstrasse*, where he displayed his own impressive collection of ancient artifacts, models and replicas. The *Böttcherstrasse* presents itself to the visitor as a mix of two different artistic styles, a very unique style, featuring a glorified and romanticized Germanic past with as well naïve as heroic elements, and expressionism. Responsible for the latter was Bernhard Hoetger (1874-1949), a famous

German sculptor, painter and handicrafts artist, who wanted to recreate a strong art worthy of the Nordic men, free of supposedly evil Jewish influence and reminiscent of Viking Age art<sup>38</sup>. The former part was mainly built by the architect's office Scotland & Runge.<sup>39</sup>

Roselius had already funded Wirth's research for years with large sums, including financing the special exhibition "*Der Heilbringer. Von Thule bis Galiläa und von Galiläa bis Thule*" (the bringer of salvation, from Thule to Galilee and v.v.) shown in Berlin and Bremen and the printing of "*Der Aufgang*" as well as providing a vast library and – from time to time – car and driver. Consistently, *Haus Atlantis* was intended to become a life-and-work place for Wirth<sup>40</sup> and represented his ideas architecturally the clearest.<sup>41</sup> Additionally he had funded Alfred Rust's (1900-1983) excavations in Yabrud, Syria.<sup>42</sup>

The First Nordic Thing was held Whitsun 1933 and opened by Roselius, who styled himself as "*Rufer des Things*" (caller of the thing) and declared Germany to have been awakened and to be in the need of remembering the glorious Germanic past and culture to prevent the decline of the West.<sup>43</sup> Corresponding to Roselius view on history, the Thing was more or less only a presentation platform for Herman Wirth and his theories, intermixed with some presentations by regular scholars. Both the opening of *Museum "Väterkunde"* – presented by its director Hans Müller-Brauel (1867-1940)<sup>44</sup> – and of the Bremen installation of the *Heilbringer*-exhibition as well as a presentation by Wirth himself on the religion of the megalithic age and the origin of the occidental script<sup>45</sup> consumed a considerable part of the First Nordic Thing. Additional room was given to Hermann Wille (1881-?46), an architect working for Darré and lay prehistorian, to present his concepts of megalithic tombs being only the foundations of Neolithic wooden cathedrals, giving one lecture and at the concluding field trip<sup>47</sup>. The other six speakers were academics, four of them Germans supporting *völkische* views on history and prehistory and discussing the migrations of Germanic tribes, the settlement of north-western Germany and the origin of the runes<sup>48</sup>. The two remaining scholars were Prof. Harald C. Dunning from the London Museum talking on Anglo-Saxon arts and culture and the well-known Swedish prehistorian Nils Åberg lecturing on the relationship of Scandinavia to Germany. Åberg published a strong verdict of Wirth right after his return home, warning against the nationalistic and activist undertones in Wirth's work<sup>49</sup>. The Thing was extensively and mostly positively covered in various newspapers and a radio feature.<sup>50</sup>

On the occasion of the Second Nordic Thing, Roselius had the *Himmelssaal* (heavens hall) – centerpiece of *Haus Atlantis* and canopied with a glass brick dome – refurbished with engravings of the names of 14 German(ic) heroes from Arminius to Hitler and had a carillon dedicated to 12 Nordic "*Atlantikbezwinger*" (conquerors of the Atlantic Ocean) with a speech by Ernst Hanfstaengel (1887-1975), head of the NSDAP Foreign Press Bureau.<sup>51</sup>

Interestingly at the Second Nordic Thing focusing on the heroic aspects of Nordic men, the mood seems to have changed towards a more academic approach, since more tenured lecturers were invited, whereas Wirth and Wille do not appear on the lists – neither as speaker nor as participants<sup>52</sup>. In Wirth's case this can be explained since he cancelled his lecture in the last minute due to extreme workload and proposed Walther Wüst (1901-1993)<sup>53</sup> to talk in his place; additionally Roselius had decided that – except Wirth – every speaker would only lecture once at a Nordic Thing.<sup>54</sup> At the other

hand already the first speaker of the Second Nordic Thing had criticized Wirth's ideas outright as "*ungermanisch*" (not or anti-Germanic)<sup>55</sup>. Adding to total of 16 academic speeches<sup>56</sup>, one report of an aviation pioneer as a practitioner of "Germanic heroism" and another dedication for the carillon, the Thing covered topics like the origin, development and expansion of the Germanic people, their heroic myths, legends and nature, their genetic material, their trials and tribulations during Migration Period and Viking Age and their legacy in the Mediterranean, the Hanseatic League and in German music as well as their connections to the Indian Rigveda. All German speakers and most of the five speakers from abroad again expressed *völkische* and/or racist views on prehistory and history to varying extends. Still, the Second Thing made a less cohesive impression than the First. But again the Thing was extensively and mostly positively covered in various newspapers.<sup>57</sup>

Adding to the difference in focus, both Things seem to have aimed at slightly different audiences, even the majority of the nonresident attendees were only at one Thing.<sup>58</sup> As the First Thing was a meeting of selected people, the Second Thing was even more so. Although neither Hitler, Rosenberg, von Schirach nor Heidegger attended, with Martin Mutschmann and Josef Wagner two *Gauleiters* (Nazi Region Leader), as well as Viktor Lutze, upcoming *Stabschef der SA* (Chief-of-Staff of the SA), Hans Frank (who also held a lecture), a few other members of the *Reichstag* and Thilo von Trotha, Werner Petersen and Wilhelm Stuckart representing Rosenberg, Darré and Bernhard Rust, Reich and Prussian Minister for Science, Education and Culture, respectively and several university rectors were present at the second one. More important the Nordic Things were occasions where members, collaborators and supporters of the future Ahnenerbe met. Wirth, Wolfram Sievers, Joseph Otto Plassmann, Gerhard Heberer and Otto Huth attended the First Thing. Walther Wüst and Alexander Langsdorff - who during the following years was representing the Berlin *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* as well as Himmler himself concerning archeological matters<sup>59</sup> - were at the Second Thing. Johann von Leers and Otto Siegfried Reuter attended both. Of some other Ahnenerbe members at least their patrons were present. Gustav Schwantes, who attended both Things, sponsored the whole Kiel school of prehistory, including foremost Herbert Jankuhn, one of the most influential Ahnenerbe scholars<sup>60</sup>, as well as Alfred Rust. Leo Frobenius, who talked at the Second Thing about his theories on cultural morphology and cycles, was a friend of Franz Altheim, who became Ahnenerbe department head for *Alte Geschichte* in 1937<sup>61</sup>. Even some foreign contacts to be of importance later attended the Second Thing, including fascist philosopher Julius Evola and the Norwegian race hygienist Jon Alfred Mjøen. Bernhard Kummer and Hermann Mandel, two future opponents of the Ahnenerbe, attended the Second Thing.<sup>62</sup>

These networks still have to be examined more closely.

The Things themselves were conceived as part of the Nordic Movement and were planned to take place annually. In 1935 Roselius was too occupied to organize one, but why the planning for 1936 came to an abrupt end is not yet fully understood. Possible reasons lie within two disastrous critics that were published quickly after the Second Nordic Thing in "*Rasse*"<sup>63</sup>, a major journal of the Nordic Movement edited by H. F. K. Günther (1891-1968) and Richard von Hoff (1880-1945; Bremen Senator for Education), and tardily in "*Germanen-Erbe*"<sup>64</sup>, official periodical of the *Reichsbund*. The critic in "*Rasse*" mainly criticized the lack of stringency at the Second Thing and advised to abstain from holding further Things. Interestingly, the Third Thing was planned for 1936 but seems to have



never developed beyond a general idea after a minor quarrel between Roselius and Wirth – who was involved again – concerning the formulation of its topic. Other possible explanations lay within the financial strain they put on Roselius who also was in a rather poor state of health.<sup>65</sup>

Roselius himself – an independent and headstrong man – seems to have remained between the forming organizational borderlines for a while. In late 1933 he was appointed chairman of the Bremen *Kontor der Nordischen Gesellschaft* (branch office of the Nordic Society)<sup>66</sup>, soon to be a sub-organization of Rosenberg's *Außenpolitischem Amt der NSDAP* (APA; foreign policy office of the NSDAP), which was responsible for the whole Gau Weser-Ems and resided in *Haus Atlantis*. Around the same time he became a *förderndes Mitglied der SS* (supporting SS-member)<sup>67</sup>. Additionally he was a member of the *Akademie für Deutsches Recht* (Academy for German Law) and of the *Zentralausschuss der Reichsbank* (central committee of the Reichsbank) as well as chairman of the supervisory board of Focke-Wulf Flugzeugbau AG.<sup>68</sup> But his connection to Wirth seems to have slowly faded in the following years due to personal and financial differences, probably quickened by the Ahnenerbe management.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless Eduard Scotland, one of the architects who built *Böttcherstraße* for him, adhered to Wirth and the Ahnenerbe at least until 1936 and helped to collect material against Jacob-Friesen.<sup>70</sup> After Hitler's attacks on Wirth and *Böttcherstraße* at the Nuremberg Party Rally in 1936, which will be discussed later, Roselius is said to have had somewhat alienated from the Nazi movement. Over the years *Böttcherstraße* itself – or more accurately the parts designed by Hoetger – had been repeatedly attacked as degenerate by local Nazis who – like Wirth himself – could not relate to its expressionistic design vocabulary. In 1937 the street became a class-listed monument via intervention of Adolf Hitler and Albert Speer.<sup>71</sup> Interestingly Roselius sponsored the Ahnenerbe, presenting it with the vast library he had allowed Wirth to use in 1936<sup>72</sup> and becoming a *förderndes Mitglied* (supporting member) in early 1939<sup>73</sup>. Additionally there is yet no evidence Roselius retreated from his various public functions; in 1938 he even published an edition of some of Fichte's most nationalistic and anti-Semitic writings emphasizing his support of Hitler in the preface<sup>74</sup>. Only the chairmanship of the Bremen *Kontor* passed to Gauleiter Carl Röver (1889-1942) in 1935, von Hoff became managing director.<sup>75</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Public invalidation of Wirth's thesis

Two weeks before the Second Nordic Thing, on May 4<sup>th</sup> 1934, one of the most public discussions of German studies ever dealt a considerably stronger blow to Wirth's reputation than the following attacks in Bremen. A panel of respected experts gathered in the Magna Aula of Berlin University and discussed for many hours the authenticity of the Oera Linda Book. Among the participants were several scholars from Rosenberg's circle. They had supported Wirth before and even Rosenberg himself had read "*Der Aufgang der Menschheit*"<sup>76</sup>, but around 1933 they changed sides, partly due to Rosenberg accusing Wirth of taking money from Jews, but also due to Wirth's steadily decreasing academic reputation and accumulating evidences to the Oera Linda Book being a fraud. At the public discussion they opposed Wirth together with Jacob-Friesen and a few others. Only Otto Huth (1906-1998)<sup>77</sup> and – more cautiously – Walther Wüst still supported him. First speaker of the panel was Gustav Neckel, who initially had supported Wirth strongly and had spoken at the First Nordic Thing,

but tergiversated during the second half of 1933 because of Wirth's edition of the Oera Linda Book. After this dispute, Wirth's public and academic reputation was severely damaged.<sup>78</sup>

A similar dispute regarding the term *Odal*, signifying a certain unalienable part of peasant landowning rights, occurred shortly afterwards. *Odal* had become a central term in Darré's blood-and-soil concepts and his actual agricultural policy, but its use by him and the SS was severely criticized by Otto Behagel and others.<sup>79</sup>

#### 2.2.5 Immediate organizational forerunner

Only weeks after the public discussion in Berlin and the Second Nordic Thing, Wirth made his next attempt at founding a private society called "*Deutsches Ahnenerbe*" e.V. with the solemn purpose of furthering his *urreligionsgeschichtliche Sammlung* (history of primordial religion collection) and its presentation in an open air museum. Wirth's earlier attempts had been thwarted by Rust neglecting them, which enabled Wirth's opponents to mobilize the Prussian Minister of Finances against them. This new attempt was supported by Werner Haverbeck (1909-1999), head of *Reichsmittelstelle für Volkstumsarbeit der NSDAP* (Reich Main Office for strengthening German folkdom of the NSDAP) and founder of the *Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat* (Reich League for folkdom and homeland). Additionally, Müller-Brauel was to join the expanded executive board of the society while Wirth wanted Roselius to take up seat in an *Ehrenausschuss* (honorary committee), representing undisclosed ministries and government agencies. The "*Deutsches Ahnenerbe*" e.V. was to be founded at June, 26<sup>th</sup>, 1934 in Berlin, but whether this was carried as planned out has yet to be ascertained.<sup>80</sup>

Support for this attempt came from Wirth's *Gesellschaft für germanische Ur- und Vorgeschichte*. By then the society pursued the support of Kossinna, Wirth and Wilhelm Teudt with the married couple von Leers as one of its driving forces emphasizing neo-paganism.<sup>81</sup>

#### 2.3 Foundation

The Ahnenerbe was finally founded with a broadened scope at July, 1<sup>st</sup>, 1935 as "*Deutsches Ahnenerbe – Gesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte e.V.*" (German Ancestral Heritage – Society for Primeval Thought) and was a joint venture of Heinrich Himmler, Richard Walther Darré and Herman Wirth. Himmler and Darré even missed official appointments for this. After drafting the charter, Wirth was appointed president of the Ahnenerbe responsible for its research. Darré – by then head of the *Reichsnährstand* (Reich Sustenance Corporation or Nazi's farmer association) and the *Agrarpolitischen Amtes* of the NSDAP (Nazi party department for agricultural policy) and Reich Minister of Nutrition and Agriculture in addition to his position as SS-Gruppenführer and head of RuSHA – provided for infrastructure and manpower. He sent several of his close associates to man key positions of the Ahnenerbe's board and administration. In return, the Ahnenerbe cooperated closely with the *Reichsnährstand*, providing lectures and exhibitions, moving within the overlap of

Himmler's and Darré's interests. Even though the day-to-day work and research of the Ahnenerbe was managed by Wirth and Darré's men, Himmler had retained the complete, but not necessarily obvious, control installing himself as *Kurator* (trustee or superintendent) and chairman of the board.<sup>82</sup>

Right at the beginning Wolfram Sievers (1905-1948) was appointed Secretary-General. Sievers had dropped out of a renowned Lutheran high school in Hildesheim in 1921 due to his *völkische* activities and engaged in prehistory, history, German studies and racial biology while working as clerk for several newspapers, including the position of department head of the advertisement division of Eher Publishing. In 1929 he joined the Nazi party, helped founding subdivisions of the KfDK and converted in 1933 to Germanic neo-paganism. From 1932 to 1935 he worked for Wirth as private secretary and manager of the institute in Bad Doberan. Shortly after his appointment as Secretary-General, Sievers joined the SS. He was a gifted organizer and confident representative of the SS and their ideology.<sup>83</sup>

The main goal of the Ahnenerbe was to establish a society to support ideologically important research and its use for propaganda, filling the open position of an ideological think-and-research-tank dealing with arts and humanities and – to a lesser extend – natural sciences, whereas the think-tanks at the SD mainly dealt with political sciences. Besides the propaganda its major aim was to help further the education and indoctrination of the SS-leadership both academically and ideologically.<sup>84</sup>

The foundation was partly a reaction to the disputes about the Oera Linda Book and the term *Odal*, even though the gap of one year between Wirth's public invalidation and the foundation of Ahnenerbe still has to be closer examined.<sup>85</sup> Additionally the Ahnenerbe was meant from its beginning on to balance Rosenberg's growing influence on science and humanities. Rosenberg's office as "*Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP*" (Commissar for the Supervision of Intellectual and Ideological Education of the NSDAP, the so called Amt Rosenberg), established in early 1934, gave him an official party position, stabilizing and expanding his influence after the withering of the KfDK in the same year.<sup>86</sup>

Interestingly the Ahnenerbe administration saw itself in a longer tradition, starting with Wirth's first institute in Bad Doberan in late 1932 and his negotiations about the first free-air exhibition the year after. This also explains why the Ahnenerbe records contain many files going back to before its founding.<sup>87</sup>

### 2.3.1 Organization and funding

Starting with its very first charter, the Ahnenerbe was an organizational hybrid between a regular SS office – initially subordinate to the RuSHA – and an "*eingetragener Verein*" (short: *e. V.*; private registered society). This meant theoretically everybody could join the Ahnenerbe as a card-bearing member, whereas Ahnenerbe officials were to be SS-members and often also full- or part-time employees of the SS and accordingly subordinate to SS-jurisdiction. Moreover the dual nature gave

the Ahnenerbe its own legal personality and established almost complete fiscal independence from the *Reichsschatzmeister der NSDAP* (Reich Treasurer of the Nazi Party), who was – at last in theory – in charge of the budgets of all *NSDAP Gliederungen* (official sub-organizations of the Nazi Party), including the SS. This setup was not completely unusual since the *Lebensborn* was also founded as an *e. V.* and simultaneously subordinate to the RuSHA<sup>88</sup>. Wirth was appointed SS-Hauptsturmführer and – like all employees and SS-members of the Ahnenerbe – allocated to the RuSHA shortly after the foundation of Ahnenerbe<sup>89</sup>. Consistently with the purposes of the dual nature and their respective responsibilities, Sievers, not Wirth, became registered as chairman of the *Verein*.<sup>90</sup> Since the SS itself was not funded regularly by either Reich or Nazi party until 1938, the Ahnenerbe initially relied on its membership fees, private and public grants and financial support by the *Reichsnährstand*.<sup>91</sup>

### 2.3.2 Departments and projects

During its first years the Ahnenerbe was primarily focused on Herman Wirth, his collection of rock carvings and his work on primeval thought. With its founding, Ahnenerbe incorporated Wirth's collections and library into its *Pflegstätte für Sinnbildkunde* (department for research on symbols), headed by Wirth. His pet project was still the open-air exhibition on rock carvings and the history of primordial religion he had been planning since the late 1920s. He even put the exhibition on the letterheads of his department. It was also this department that executed the first Ahnenerbe expeditions, when Wirth traveled to Sweden and Norway to research rock carvings in 1935 and 1936.<sup>92</sup>

The second department was established in 1936 for Wilhelm Teudt (1860-1942), named *Pflegstätte für Germanenkunde* (department for research of the ancient Germanic people). Teudt was a former pastor who turned to *völkische* views on history and prehistory in the course and aftermath of WWI. From 1925 onwards he focused on Germanic prehistory and started publishing on rather esoteric prehistoric topics, gathering more and more devotees. He presented the essence of his research in 1929 in his book "*Germanische Heiligtümer. Beiträge zur Aufdeckung der Vorgeschichte, ausgehend von den Externsteinen, den Lippe-Quellen und der Teutoburg*"<sup>93</sup> (Germanic sanctuaries. Contributions to the revelation of the prehistory emanating from the Externsteine, the wells of the Lippe river and the Teutoburg), claiming the Externsteine were the place of the central Saxon sanctuary and position of the Irminsul. Additionally, he regarded the Saxons as the last pure, untainted and pagan Germanic people outside of Scandinavia who were conquered and corrupted by Charlemagne. To prove these severely contested hypotheses which he regarded as the absolute truth, Teudt and his *Vereinigung der Freunde der Vorgeschichte* (association of the friends of prehistory) pressed for excavations at the Externsteine. Those were conducted in 1933/34 by Julius Andree, who was recruited at the First Nordic Thing. Already in 1933 the *Externsteine Stiftung* (Externsteine foundation) was established with Himmler as president. Additionally Reinerth and the *Reichsbund* conducted excavations in 1935 at a nearby site where Teudt assumed another minor sanctuary<sup>94</sup>. Both SS and Reichsbund courted Teudt since he was quite influential with as well *völkische* groups as the local Nazi party in Westphalia and often took the initiative, even though his works were regarded pseudoscience by the academic community due to his lack of reviewable evidences and methods. Harboring a view on history similar to those of Himmler and Rosenberg, the *Vereinigung* maneuvered between the forming power blocks for a while before Teudt decided to join the Ahnenerbe in late 1935

/ early 1936. The *Vereinigung* became corporately member of the Ahnenerbe, Sievers was appointed new chairman and its monthly periodical “*Germanien*” was edited together with the Ahnenerbe. Adding to the overall aspects of centralizing ideological important activities in the Ahnenerbe and simultaneously broadening its scope, the primary advantages for the Ahnenerbe were the acquisition of a periodical with over 2000 subscribers and Teudt bringing his own budget of about 21.000 RM with him into the Ahnenerbe. This development was eased by the fact that Joseph-Otto Plassmann – a prominent member of the *Vereinigung* and editor of “*Germanien*” – already worked for Darrè and the SS.<sup>95</sup>

Four additional departments were in the Ahnenerbe established in 1936 and early 1937, one for *indogermanisch-finnische Kulturbeziehungen* (Indo-Germanic – Finish cultural relations) headed by Yrjö von Grönhagen, one for *Märchen- und Sagenkunde* (folkloristics) headed by Plassmann, one for *Wortkunde* (lexicology) established for Wüst and finally one for *Wetterkunde* (meteorology) headed by the meteorologist Hans Robert Scultetus and dealing with long range weather forecasts and the World Ice Theory. Additionally the Ahnenerbe planed several ambitious expedition projects including Wirth’s two expeditions to Sweden and Norway.<sup>96</sup>

## 2.4 Problems

During its first years the Ahnenerbe had to struggle with several, partially connected problems. Despite their efforts, its research was mostly regarded as pseudoscience and attacked by the academic community. This assessment was amplified by the lasting lack of presentable and reviewable results. Neither the excavations at the Externsteine nor Wirth’s expeditions provided any conclusive evidence for their respective theories. Additionally Wirth’s final installment of “*Die heilige Urschrift*” did once again not comply with academic standards. At the other hand, Teudt was an impulsive and aggressive personality who provoked increasing quarrels. The still insufficient funding on Ahnenerbe operations added to the situation even more, especially since Wirth’s spending habits were difficult to control. On top of this all, the RuSHA was operating way beyond its financial means since the SS as whole was yet to be regularly funded by both Nazi party and Reich. Therefore Himmler had started to disentangle the Ahnenerbe from the *Reichsnährstand*, strengthening his own position within the Ahnenerbe during this process. Most notably he dispatched Bruno Galke (1905-?97) as his personal representative already in late 1935. Galke was head of the *Wirtschaftliche Hilfe* (economic help) - a department of the adjutancy / Personal Staff RFSS responsible for a pool of savings of all SS-members and for funding endeavors of the Reichsführer-SS - and a close friend of Karl Wolff (1900-1984), Himmler’s adjutant. Galke’s first assignment was to investigate Wirth’s budget and private finances.<sup>98</sup>

In September 1936 the problems of the Ahnenerbe increased even further since Hitler attacked a certain type of *völkische* culture and research at the 1936 party rally in Nuremberg:

“*Wir haben nichts zu tun mit jenen Elementen, die den Nationalsozialismus nur vom Hören und Sagen her kennen und ihn daher nur zu leicht verwechseln mit undefinierbaren nordischen Phrasen,*

*und die nun in irgendeinem sagenhaften atlantischen Kulturkreis ihre Motivforschung beginnen. Der Nationalsozialismus lehnt diese Art von Böttcher-Straßen-Kultur schärfstens ab.*<sup>99</sup>

No other quotation of Hitler can be found more often within the Ahnenerbe files at the German Federal Archive.<sup>100</sup> Hitler, who met Wirth in 1928, became vexed by Wirth's theses in the early 1930s<sup>101</sup>. Additionally Wirth's continuous attacks against Christianity did not fit well into Hitler's own tactics and schedule regarding the elimination of the Christian Churches<sup>102</sup>. Then again, Lerchenmüller and Simon see the main reason for Hitler's remarks within the impending resolution of the Four Year Plan and an overall re-alignment of Nazi science and research policy towards more military-related topics.<sup>103</sup>

But beside Wirth, Roselius' *Böttcherstraße* - whose modernist architecture is said to have displeased Hitler<sup>104</sup> - and the Nordic Things were the main targets of these attacks. This raises the question why Hitler chose to attack Roselius - an influential industrial, who had supported Hitler for a long time - with his remarks. Looking at the negative critics dealing with the Nordic Things, one essay published in "*Germanen-Erbe*" was as late as September 1936 has to be taken into special consideration. Contemporaneously with the Nuremberg Party Rally and much too late for the discussion about the Third Nordic Thing (which was originally scheduled for Whitsun 1936), Bernhard Kummer, Rosenberg's specialist for religious studies and *Volkskunde*, had repeatedly attacked Roselius' Things in the previous years<sup>105</sup>, but now he assaulted them simultaneously with the theories of Otto Höfler<sup>106</sup>. The later dispute became extremely important for the Ahnenerbe in 1937. Additionally, the periodical "*Germanen-Erbe*" was founded in May 1936 by Reinerth and perceived by the Ahnenerbe leadership as competitor for their own journal "*Germanien*" which was acquired a few months earlier.<sup>107</sup> Therefore it seems likely that Hitler's attack on Wirth and Roselius was at least partly prompted by Rosenberg at that time. Another cause might have been that Hitler bore a grudge against Roselius for spending large amounts of money on the *Böttcherstraße* in the Weimar Republic instead of donating it to the NSDAP.<sup>108</sup>

Whatever the ultimate cause for Hitler's attack was, afterwards, Party organizations and the academic community alike shunned the Ahnenerbe, making Himmler's need to take actions even stronger.<sup>109</sup>

Additionally Himmler had started to fund other archeological excavations and visit them on a regular basis, bringing him in closer contact with academic prehistorians which influenced his view on prehistory. A pivotal role hereby played Alexander Langsdorff (1898-1946), *Kustos* (curator) of the *Berliner Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Museum for prehistory and early history, part of the Berlin State Museums), since he was a participant of the Beer Hall Putsch and had advanced to Himmler's personal delegate for prehistory before the excavations were centralized within the Ahnenerbe. Langsdorff was well connected among the academic community, especially among those who opposed Reinerth and Rosenberg.<sup>110</sup>

### 3. Scientific turn

#### 3.1. Preparation and change of command

Due to Ahnenerbe's internal and external problems, Himmler started thinking about replacing Wirth already in April 1936. One of his first steps into that direction was to let Galke and Sievers evaluate Walther Wüst as a potential replacement. Wüst, by then full professor for indology and dean of the department of philosophy at Munich University, who had come to Himmler's attention shortly before, was invited to Quedlinburg where Himmler commemorated the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Heinrich I. the Fowler's death in the company of his uppermost echelons. Additionally, they met in August 1936 in Himmler's private estate at Tegernsee while Wirth was away on his second expedition to Sweden and Norway. Soon enough Himmler had become rather impressed by Wüst and ordered to have the department for lexicology established for him. Interestingly Hitler's attacks on Wirth delayed any actions Himmler might already have prepared against Wirth. Himmler was in contrary even forced to support Wirth to save his face. Additionally Himmler still seems to have considered the traditions the Oera Linda Book was supposed to stem from to be at least partly genuine. At other hand, Himmler had Wirth's freedom of action within the Ahnenerbe ever-increasingly restricted. Already in October 1936, he interdicted any open-air shows, which were still Wirth's pet projects. This was especially bitter for Wirth since Rust seems to have had once again promised funding in late 1935. During the following escalation Wirth returned from Berlin to the Marburg idyll, giving Himmler even more excuses and reasons to depose him.<sup>111</sup>

Finally Himmler ordered a complete reorganization of the Ahnenerbe which was conducted partially parallel to the upcoming reorganization of RuSHA. Already in January 1937 the Ahnenerbe got in touch with the *Freundeskreis Reichsführer SS* (Circle of Friends of the RFSS), which provided additional funding later. Several prominent Ahnenerbe academics held presentations until 1943 at meetings of the *Freundeskreis*. During the next months, Wüst held a series of lectures at the *SS-Oberabschnitte* (SS-Senior Districts) about Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as a mirror of Aryan worldview. Additionally the Ahnenerbe had become responsible for the cultural supervision of the Externsteine. But the greatest changes were conducted in March 1937, when Himmler had the first charter superseded and shortly thereafter its name changed. Now the Ahnenerbe was called *Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft "Das Ahnenerbe" e.V.* (Study and Teaching Society "Ancestral Heritage"). With its second charter the Ahnenerbe implemented the *Führerprinzip* more strongly; Siever's office was strengthened and renamed *Reichsgeschäftsführung* (Reich managing directorate). But most important Wirth was deposed, he became honorary president without any authority. Wüst was established new president instead of Wirth while Himmler strengthened his own position as *Kurator* by abandoning the presiding committee and the publication committee where Darré's men held important positions. Wüst almost immediately started to realign the Ahnenerbe's research concepts. During the following months the Ahnenerbe was transferred to the Personal Staff RFSS and Oswald Pohl (1892-1951) – chief administrator of the SS and its businesses – became responsible for the Ahnenerbes financial management. During this process Galke lost his influence to Pohl, Karl Wolff (1900-1984) and Rudolf Brandt (1909-1948), Himmler's personal aide. Pohl ensured all members of the Ahnenerbe staff to be SS-members, which was achieved almost completely. Already before the transfer this was an organizational aim, giving Sievers and Wüst, who was always one echelon higher than his

*Reichsgeschäftsführer*, full disposal according to the SS regulations<sup>112</sup>. Interestingly enough, this goal was to be achieved by academics volunteering for the SS and there is no known case where the strict racial and political requirements of SS membership were voided for Ahnenerbe members<sup>113</sup>. Further control was established with two agreements: all participating members of the Ahnenerbe had to sign a statement they were to follow Ahnenerbe guidelines in publications and to resolve academic discrepancies internally<sup>114</sup>. Additionally efforts to edge Teudt out of the Ahnenerbe began, resulting in his non-public dismissal in February 1938 and his public exclusion a few months later at the annual meeting of the *Vereinigung* with the help of Jankuhn.<sup>115</sup>

Simultaneously the RuSHA was restructured. From 1937 onwards RuSHA concentrated on the practical side of racial anthropology and eugenics, positive and negative selection, support of SS-families and settlement policy, while Ahnenerbe became responsible for germanophile fundamental research and indoctrination while propaganda was taken over by the SS-Hauptamt. Besides financial and organizational reasons this restructuring was prompted by Darré retiring from administrating the SS into private life.<sup>116</sup>

As part of the restructuring process the Ahnenerbe leadership came in close contact with high-ranking members of the *SD-Hauptamt* (main office of the SD, one forerunner of the RSHA), including Franz Alfred Six, resulting in routine consultations and joint endeavours to strengthen the influence of the SS on universities together. Even before, some Ahnenerbe members had close ties to the SD since they already worked as informants<sup>117</sup>. Regular contacts were also established with the *Rasse- und Siedlungsführern* (race and settlement officers), local representatives of the RuSHA, and the official organ of the SS “*Das Schwarze Korps*”, which was the second-highest circulation weekly newspaper of the Third Reich.<sup>118</sup>

After the scientific turn took effect, Himmler passed a third and final charter in 1939, implementing minor changes, most important interchanging the titles but not duties of both Wüst’s and his offices within the Ahnenerbe to describe more accurately their respective roles. This also can be seen as another adaption to academic conventions, where *Kurator* – Wüst’s new official title as acting head of Ahnenerbe – indicated someone responsible for a museal collection or the academics and policy of a university. During the war the integration of Ahnenerbe into the Personal Staff RFSS was further pressed ahead, creating *Amt A* as an organizational duplicate of the Ahnenerbe finally establishing itself fully as a regular office of the Personal Staff RSS without completely abandoning its hybrid nature.<sup>119</sup>

### 3.2. Realignment of research and publicity concepts

#### 3.2.1. Large scale research plans

Several steps prepared the actual scientific turn, finally enabling the Ahnenerbe to acquire new members of staff. Already in April 1937 the concept of a concise handbook of research on the Germanic people and their descendants, including prehistoric and cultural anthropological aspects as



well as those of Indo-Germanic studies, arose.<sup>120</sup> Additionally a concept was prepared – most likely by Plassmann – on the further development of RuSHA department *RA II* which was dealing with German studies in the widest sense. One important aspect of this concept was to develop a broad interdisciplinary strategy for the research on the Germanic people of the Migration Period, another to make the results fruitful for propaganda purposes, to further the development of SS ideology and identity which was partially aimed against the Catholic Church. To advance these aims, the concept proposed to pool all academics with SS membership.<sup>121</sup> One of the next steps was a plan devised by a member of the Ahnenerbes *Reichsgeschäftsführung* to actually expel Wirth, Teudt and Scultetus and to divest their departments to Galke's department *Wirtschaftliche Hilfe* at the Personal Staff, stating they were never again to be mentioned together with Wüst, Plassman or Höfler.<sup>122</sup> And even though this last radical plan did not find Himmler's approval, the Ahnenerbe reorganized its research on the grounds of these drafts, holding an initial meeting of the academic members of staff in October 1937,<sup>123</sup> and developing ever-growing research plans to systematically investigate ideologically relevant topics in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. In this context *Germanenkunde* became one of the key phrases, meaning interdisciplinary research on all topics related to the ancient Germanic People and their alleged descendants<sup>124</sup>. Already before the first staff meeting several unofficial talks regarding the dispute between Kummer and Höfler, in which Plassmann was directly involved, took place, resulting in additional research ideas and plans<sup>125</sup>. The integration of several former RuSHA departments and the excavation department of the Personal Staff RFSS into the Ahnenerbe contributed largely to this process and provided new members of staff<sup>126</sup>. Additional impact had Himmler's sometimes diverse interests, leading to everything from a short reply note up to the establishment of a new department. Accordingly the number of Ahnenerbe departments multiplied and expanded into neighboring fields, including natural and earth sciences. The evolving research concepts included not only Germanic finds or sites but also history, German studies and other philologies, art history, *Volkskunde* (cultural anthropology and German/European ethnology) as well as physical and racial anthropology. All research topics had at least one of two aspects in common: they either dealt with religion, myths, daily life etc. of the perceived Nordic-Aryan resp. Germanic ancestors and thereby uncovering not only their glorious past, but also the appropriate lifestyle for the men of the SS and/or they focused on furthering Himmler's far-reaching settlement plans through research on live stocks, plants or parasite prophylaxis. To the former complex belonged all research trying to prove the impact of Nordic-Aryan men on civilizations in other parts of the world, especially ancient Greece, Rome and India or even the descent of those civilizations from Nordic Aryans. At least in theory these topics were to be researched interdisciplinary, but only a few larger projects including the research on "*Wald und Baum in der arisch-germanischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte*" (forest and tree in the Aryan-Germanic intellectual and cultural history)<sup>127</sup> as well as most excavations were beyond the planning phase before the German invasion of Poland started. In summer 1939 the Ahnenerbe boasted about 40 departments, including one observatory, more than 130 scholars and academics on their payroll, more than 80 persons in the administration and service staff and a yet-to-be counted number of card-bearing members.<sup>128</sup>

### 3.2.2 Regarding naming conventions

Initially the departments of the Ahnenerbe were named *Pflegstätten*, indicating a *Stätte* (place) for care, fosterage, nurturing and support of the respective humanities. With the scientific turn this naming convention was abandoned in March 1938 in favor of more academic sounding and coherent one. Subsequently the departments were called *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte* (teaching and research department) or *Forschungsstätte* (research department). Contrary to the position found within the current discussion the institutional status of a department – i.e. whether it was called *Forschungsstätte* or *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte* – does not seem to have been necessarily connected to the academic position of its department head<sup>129</sup>. E.g. Ernst Schäfer (1910-1992), head of the *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Innerasienkunde und Expeditionen* (department for research on Central Asia and expeditions) never achieved a habilitational degree<sup>130</sup>, although he later even became a deputy *Kurator* responsible for all natural sciences within the Ahnenerbe. The *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Schrift- und Sinnbildkunde* kept its status even after Wirth was deposed as its head in December 1938.<sup>131</sup> Actually current research indicates these naming conventions rather reflect different rankings of the departments within the Ahnenerbe; e.g. several departments dealing with prehistory, but initially only one, the oldest and most influential one, was designated *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte*. With their grown importance in the course of the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the Balkans two of them were upgraded to *Lehr- und Forschungsstätten*<sup>132</sup>.

### 3.2.3. Improved propaganda

The new research concepts were closely related to their use for propaganda. Had the Ahnenerbe until 1937 been somewhat shrouded and primarily presented itself at events hosted by Darré's institutions, it began to pursue publicity actively in the course of the scientific turn. Already in December 1936, Himmler had decided that the freshly acquired monthly journal "*Germanien*" was to be distributed for free among SS officers.<sup>133</sup> Under the editorship of the Ahnenerbe the so far regionally oriented journal changed fundamentally to aim at a very broad readership. Nevertheless it boasted several articles by high-ranking Ahnenerbe academics like Jankuhn and Franz Altheim. "*Germanien*" covered diverse subjects like the excavations of the Ahnenerbe, settlement and expansion of Germanic tribes, the layout of Thing places, the construction of farmhouses in Norway, Nordic storage buildings, runes or ancient Germanic religion as well as German folklore and customs. Even reports on the latest finds of hominid specimen were included. Additionally a full issue was dedicated to Henry I. the Fowler.<sup>134</sup>

But most important all conferences the Ahnenerbe took part in 1938 and 1939, including its first annual meeting in Kiel and the prestigious *Salzburger Wissenschaftswochen*, co-hosted by the Ahnenerbe, were extensively covered in the local and national press, orchestrated by Friedhelm Kaiser<sup>135</sup>, SS-member, journalist and later editor-in-chief of the *Ahnenerbe Stiftungsverlag*. The later, Ahnenerbe's own publishing house, was founded in 1938 to publish the results of its research, differentiated into a series for academic and one for more popular books. Additionally the Ahnenerbe founded two new academic journals and acquired the editorship or co-editorship of several high-

ranking academic journals and the literary critics' journal "*Weltliteratur*" (world literature).<sup>136</sup> Furthermore current research indicates the historian and writer Kurt Pastenaci (1894-1961), who already had operated an archaeological news service supported by Roselius in the years before, played an important part in popularizing Ahnenerbe research results.<sup>137</sup>

Beyond that, some Ahnenerbe academics – including Wüst and Jankuhn – commented on their research as well as on the politics of the day in local newspapers. Plassmann at the other hand was already contributing to the *SS-Leithefte* on a regular basis, as did Wüst, who also published in the Nazi party newspaper *Völkische Beobachter*.<sup>138</sup> Additionally, von Leers wrote various articles on prehistory and related topics for the pupil's magazine "*Hilf mit!*" (Assist!), published in millions of copies by the *Nationalsozialisten Lehrerbund* (NSLB, National Socialist Teacher League), using Ahnenerbe material.<sup>139</sup>

The Ahnenerbe explored contemporary new media as well, producing film features and creating plaster reconstructions of Scandinavian rock art.<sup>140</sup>

Even though Hitler was not very interested in the research topics of the Ahnenerbe, Himmler saw it fit to order the production of a large and richly crafted volume presenting the works, achievement and ethics of the Ahnenerbe as one of his presents for Hitler's 40<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1939; additionally a few hundred numbered copies were distributed among selected persons from party, academia and economy.<sup>141</sup>

#### 3.2.4. Supremacy politics

A first memorandum for installing a *Germanische Leitstelle* – the very same institution later responsible for recruiting foreign volunteers for the Waffen-SS – was discussed already in early 1938. Primary objective was to influence the so-called Germanic countries<sup>142</sup> as well as the Anglo-Saxon world towards a more benevolent view on the Third Reich, which could be expanded to a cultural and political hegemony in the Germanic countries later. The idea seems to originally come from Max Robert Gerstenhauer (1873-1940), grandmaster of the *Deutschbund* (German League)<sup>143</sup> and was further developed for the Ahnenerbe by Plassmann and Jankuhn. Talks with the REM and the *Auswärtigen Amt* (AA; foreign office) were at least intended, whereas Rosenberg's *Außenpolitisches Amt* (APA; NSDAP foreign office) – partly due to Reinerth's behaviour towards Scandinavian academics – was specifically excluded. To achieve its objectives, the *Leitstelle* was meant to promote the idea of the common roots of all Germanic countries and Germany's splendid accomplishments in their research. This plan formed the basis for Ahnenerbe's initiatives regarding the *Leitstelle* during WWII.<sup>144</sup>

First steps in this direction were taken immediately after the *Anschluß* of Austria. Ahnenerbe academics including Jankuhn and Höfler provided human intelligence on their Austrian counterparts for the SD. But already in early May 1938 Wüst and Sievers met with Wilhelm Spengler from the *SD-Hauptamt* (SD main office, one of the forerunners of the RSHA) to discuss SS-dominated cultural

policies in Austria. At the end of the month the decision was made to found the Ahnenerbe *Aussenstelle Südost* (branch office south east), administrated by Rampf and using the confiscated building and library of the *Institut für religiöse Volkskunde* (institute for religious cultural anthropology) in Salzburg as basis. The first department located at the branch office became the *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für germanische Volkskunde* (department for Germanic cultural anthropology), headed by Richard Wolfram, whereas Hans Ernst Schneider became one of the members of staff. Additionally the Salzburg *Haus der Natur* (house of nature, a museum focused on natural history), headed by Eduard Tratz (1888-1970), professor for zoology, was incorporated.<sup>145</sup>

### 3.3. Integration and incorporation

Originally independent from the Ahnenerbe, several departments of RuSHA's *Amt für Rassenfragen* (RA; department for racial questions or Racial Office)<sup>146</sup> and of the Personal Staff RFSS were concerned with research usable for ideological purposes. As part of the scientific turn of the Ahnenerbe and due to the large-scale restructuring of RuSHA, these departments were transferred and incorporated into the Ahnenerbe. Thereby a division of duties and work was established, greatly enhancing the academic and organizational status of the Ahnenerbe and making it solely responsible for basic research on all things Germanic, whereas the RuSHA concentrated on the more practical aspects of racial selection and settlement policy.

#### 3.3.1 RuSHA, dept. RA II

The department RA II of the „*Rassenamt*“ of the RuSHA focused on German language, literature and cultural anthropology. Headed by Joseph Otto Plassmann since January 1937, its origin and development has yet to be investigated. A wide-reaching concept was developed for this department – most likely written by Plassmann borrowing ideas from an earlier SD memorandum – which later became one basic element for Ahnenerbe's actual realignment of research concepts. After Plassmann's dismissal in the wake of the dispute between Kummer and Höfler the department was dissolved in favor of the Ahnenerbe.<sup>147</sup>

#### 3.3.2 RuSHA, department for prehistory

The „*Abteilung RA III b Vor- und Frühgeschichte*“ (dept. for pre- and protohistory) of the „*Rassenamt*“ of the RuSHA was established as early as 1934. In theory it was responsible for prehistoric research as well as its popularization. As far as we currently know, the department did not conduct or support any excavations by its own. But it was intended to become the „*Generalstab für das gesamte Gebiet der Vorgeschichte für die SS*“<sup>148</sup> (general staff to the SS for the whole field of prehistory) and was therefore – at least in theory – a central instrument in expanding the influence of the SS to museums, universities, state offices and departments for prehistoric research and heritage

management. In practice this role was mostly taken over by Alexander Langsdorff, operating from the Personal Staff RFSS. Additionally the department RA III b played an important part in employing prehistory for indoctrinating SS units and in propaganda. From February 1934 onwards the department was led by Dr. Rolf Höhne<sup>149</sup>, a geologist with a prehistory minor. Höhne left the department in March 1937 to be transferred to the Personal Staff RFSS, where he assumed the command of the excavations department. From March to September the department stayed without a department head before Dr. Peter Paulsen (1902-1985)<sup>150</sup> came in charge in October 1937. Overall the performance of the department did not suffice since it was dissolved in favor of the excavations department during the restructuring of the RuSHA and transferred into the Ahnenerbe a few months later.<sup>151</sup>

### 3.3.3 RuSHA, Karl-Maria Wiligut

In addition to the established departments Wiligut worked on prehistoric research within the framework of RuSHA. From October 1934 onwards he was director of the archive section of the RuSHA, from January 1936 he was in charge of *Sonderaufgaben* (special projects) within the RuSHA. Even though Wiligut's exact role and institutional integration has yet to be investigated closely, his influence during the first years was rather strong. This was partly due to his importance as Himmler's seer, who took him along while visiting prehistoric sites. He and his antagonist Langsdorff were responsible for the agenda of RuSHA's department for prehistory.<sup>152</sup> Additionally, current research indicates Wiligut travelled throughout the Reich in 1936 within the scope of his special projects to prepare an archaeological survey to be conducted by the SS, starting in Bremen. This seems to have been an attempt to establish an independent SS-controlled archaeological office operating across the Reich since Himmler had acquired official excavation permits, for most, if not all German States the year prior.<sup>153</sup>

### 3.3.4 Pers. Staff RFSS, department for excavations

This department of Himmler's adjutancy was established in April 1935, probably due to the initiative of Alexander Langsdorff, who was also in charge of setting it up. Among the members of this department was the architect and archaeologist Hans Schleif (1902-1945), who became responsible for the German excavations of Olympia in late 1937. From March 1937 onwards this department was headed by Höhne, who had led the department for prehistory of RuSHA prior to his transfer. Before, the department seems to have had a more informal nature and primarily served Langsdorff in coordinating his science policy activities; current research indicates no department head before Höhne's appointment. From 1935 onwards the SS had taken over the patronage of several excavations. Starting in 1937 the latest, the department was essential in supervising and conducting these excavations. Therefore it employed a secretary, a photographer, a conservator and an assistant conservator, two excavation technicians, an archivist and a student research assistant.<sup>154</sup>

In February 1938 the excavations department was transferred into the Ahnenerbe and re-named *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte Ausgrabungen*, concentrating practically all archaeological activities of the SS within itself. Because of severe objections against Höhne's administration, he was simultaneously dismissed and the financial records audited. New full-time department head became Hans Schleif, whereas Langsdorff stayed within supporting capacity. Additionally the position of an assistant department head was established which seems to have been a complete and singular novelty within the Ahnenerbe, especially since this doubling of the leading position contradicted the *Führer* principle. Appointed to it was Jankuhn, whose prestigious excavation of the Viking site of Hedeby Himmler had taken under his patronage a few months earlier and for whom the position seems to have been especially created since there was no successor after his advancement.<sup>155</sup>

### 3.3.5 The library of the SS and the *SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg*

In the context of the reorganization of the SS the role of the *SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg*, the research academy at Wewelsburg castle was put up for discussion also. In early 1938 Himmler decided to transfer the *Bibliothek der Schutzstaffeln* (library of the SS) from Wewelsburg to a yet to be built Ahnenerbe branch office, rendering the *SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg* inoperable. Therefore the *Schulungsleiter* at Wewelsburg opted to get into closer contact to the Ahnenerbe. The library itself was to become part of a complex of large-scale buildings located at the Hiddeser Berg near Detmold and designed by the Wewelsburg architect, where Himmler wanted to house the Ahnenerbe, or at least several central departments including the *Pflegstätte für Germanenkunde*. Due to the outbreak of WWII the following year the complex, which was to be funded by the local *Gauleiter* in eternal commemoration of the NSDAP victory in the November 1932 state elections, never got built.<sup>156</sup>

### 3.3.6 Other acquisitions

In addition to the increased financial support we will discuss later, two important DFG-funded projects were transferred to the Ahnenerbe: The *Hauptstelle für Sinnbildforschung* (central office for research on symbols and emblems) and the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* (atlas of German ethnology). Both projects were originally within Rosenberg's sphere of influence.

In late 1936 the DFG disengaged itself from the *Hauptstelle* and in March 1937 it was taken over by the Ahnenerbe. Initially the Ahnenerbe leadership was ambiguous since it was not sure whether the DFG would continue to fund the project, which primarily catalogued symbols on houses, landmarks and prehistoric objects throughout the Reich; but this obstacle was overcome in May, and later on two Ahnenerbe departments dealing with the results of the *Hauptstelle* were established.<sup>157</sup>

The *Atlas* on the other hand was a prestigious, large-scale project of *Volkskunde* (German ethnology, cultural anthropology & folkloristic studies) right from the beginning on. It was launched in 1930 and one of the biggest endeavours of humanities and contributed largely to the establishment

of *Volkskunde* as an independent field. During the early stage of the Third Reich the Atlas was extensively sponsored by Eduard Wildhagen, vice-president of the DFG and one of Rosenberg's followers; after 1937 it was led by Heinrich Harmjanz (1904-1994), full professor for *Volkskunde* at Frankfurt University and head of the *Amt Wissenschaft* (office for science and humanities) of the REM. In 1938 Harmjanz, who was directly responsible for the REM's part in the appointment procedures of all university professors, brought the *Atlas* into the Ahnenerbe and shortly thereafter became head of the *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für deutsche Volksforschung und Volkskunde*.<sup>158</sup>

In both cases the *Reichsbund* tried to acquire the project or to establish competing ones, but the Ahnenerbe presented lower budget plans and had the better connections – both within the administration and the academic community – to continue them.<sup>159</sup>

Another important acquisition was the *Reichsinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichte* (Reich institute for older German history), which was the successor of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH), a large-scale project collecting and editing all medieval diplomas pertaining to German history. In 1939 the Reich institute had outgrown its budget and the REM planned to merge it with Walter Frank's *Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands* (Reich institute for the history of the New Germany). To prevent this, Edmund Ernst Stengel (1879-1968) asked the SD for help. With the support of Reinhard Heydrich the institute was instead prepared to be partially merged into the Ahnenerbe; to which extent this plan was carried out will have to be closer examined.<sup>160</sup>

### 3.4 Improved funding

Funding for the Ahnenerbe was acquired through a complex pattern which was partially caused by its hybrid nature as both private society and SS office. This pattern has still to be thoroughly examined. The funding from the SS always provided only for a smaller part of the Ahnenerbe budget due to constraints within the overall SS budget; the transfer from the RuSHA to the Personal Staff RFSS paid tribute to the SS as a whole operating at its financial limits warranting a larger restructuring. Furthermore the membership fees only amounted for a rather small part of the budget, even though the numbers of members were increasing. Especially during the early years, private grants played an important part, particularly since both Mathilde Merck – widow of the pharmacy-industrial from Duisburg – and Ludwig Roselius financed projects of Herman Wirth generously. During the later years this was taken over by the *Freundeskreis Reichsführer SS*, additional money came from various private and industrial sponsors.<sup>161</sup> Even after the disentanglement of the Ahnenerbe from the *Reichsnährstand*, Darré and his men provided additional funding on a large scale at least once, when they bought the land Hedeby was located on<sup>162, 163</sup>.

To bring the finances of the Ahnenerbe further to solid grounds, Himmler established the *Ahnenerbe-Stifterverband* (Ahnenerbe foundation) in 1937. With the help of Emil Georg von Stauff (1877-1942) – member of both the Reichstag and the supervisory board of the Deutsche Bank – the foundation acquired starting assets of 50.000 RM from a few corporate donors including Daimler-Benz and BMW. Another 77.740 RM in 1938 alone came from a joint venture the SS had formed with

the inventor Anton Loibl. Loibl, a driving instructor, machinist and former chauffeur of Hitler, had invented pedal reflectors for bicycles. But since he was not the only inventor, Himmler ensured Loibl by getting the patent as well as passing a regulation making the reflectors mandatory in new bikes. But the accruing interests from the foundation could only cover a small part of Ahnenerbe's expenses; after all the main budget accounted for more than 675.000 RM<sup>164</sup>, which equals about \$3.5 million today, in the fiscal year 1938/39 alone; costs for the publishing house and periodicals not counting.<sup>165</sup>

Beginning in late 1937, the largest part of the Ahnenerbe budget was provided by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG; German Research Foundation). This change was enabled by several factors. During the first phase of the Third Reich, the DFG was allied with Rosenberg, who even had been appointed *Ehrenpräsident*. In 1936, this allegiance changed due to pressure from various factions and the downfall of both the president and the vice-president of the DFG. New acting president of the DFG became Rudolf Mentzel (1900-1987), at that time already a member of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science, head of the department for natural sciences in the *Amt Wissenschaft* of REM and a high-ranking SS-officer. During his two-year term as acting president, Mentzel exerted fundamental influence on the policy of the DFG, setting marks for the years to come. Since this change of command was partially the result of an intrigue by Walter Frank it alone does not suffice to explain why the DFG started funding the Ahnenerbe large-scaled. Only in conjunction with the already discussed scientific turn of the Ahnenerbe, Sievers and Wüst were able to acquire funding from the DFG<sup>166</sup>. Coincidentally in late 1937 two prominent projects were taken over into the realm of the Ahnenerbe and could be used as figureheads, Jankuhn's excavation of Hedeby and Schäfer's expedition to Tibet. From this point on the DFG contributed largely to the Ahnenerbe budget. Additionally Mentzel saw to the transfer of various DFG-funded projects to the Ahnenerbe as already discussed.<sup>167</sup>

Additionally the Ahnenerbe profited directly from Aryanization when it purchased a large estate in Berlin-Dahlem in late 1938 for half its worth to house its headquarters. Another estate was purchased in Munich in 1940 to house Wüst's department, and yet more acquisitions were planned to house the various departments scattered across the Reich. Furthermore the Ahnenerbe took the libraries of Ludwig Feuchtwanger (1885-1947) and of the *Salzburger Universitätsverein* (Salzburg University Society) as wells as the whole Salzburg *Institut für religiöse Volkskunde* (institute for religious cultural anthropology) over from the GeStaPo.<sup>168</sup>

### 3.5 Staffing policy

The way the Ahnenerbe recruited its members has yet to be investigated closely and systematically. In several well documented cases Ahnenerbe department heads were already informants of the SD and/or regular SS members. About the recruitment of ordinary card-bearing members not much is known. The Ahnenerbe seems to have had different types of memberships, whereby *teilnehmendes Mitglied* (participating member) – the status of most academics – indicates a certain amount of active participation, whereas regular dues-paying members participated only passively. After the annual meeting at Kiel many prehistorians joined the Ahnenerbe with the status of



*teilnehmende Mitglieder*, but to which extend they participated still remains to be investigated more closely in most cases. In several cases Sievers was in regular contact with them, corresponding about research projects, career planning and cultural policy, relaying relevant information to the department heads.

But the Ahnenerbe did not only try to attract influential members, it also furthered the careers of its members whenever feasible. Already in early 1936 Sievers exerted his influence to secure Gerhard Heberer to the position of full professor for zoology at Frankfurt University Heberer substituted at that time. Although Himmler intervened personally in November 1936, this very first effort failed due to a strong opposition to Heberer's candidacy and the Ahnenerbe's bad position before the scientific turn<sup>169</sup>. Later efforts were more successful, particularly in prehistory. After 1940 Sievers and Jankuhn, whom the Ahnenerbe helped to consecutively become director of Kiel Museum of Antiquities, supernumerary professor at Kiel University and full professor for prehistory at Rostock University, were able to influence practically every single appointment in this field in their favor<sup>170</sup>. Other academics who could acquire their position of choice with support from the Ahnenerbe included Gerhard Heberer, Otto Höfler, Otto Maußer, Hans Schleif, Rudolf Till, Joachim Werner and Richard Wolfram.<sup>171</sup>

### 3.6 Ambiguity

Despite this scientific turn within the Ahnenerbe, many projects still have to be regarded as ambiguous or even outright pseudoscience, most importantly those dealing with Hörbiger's *Welteislehre* (World Ice Theory) embraced by Himmler and many others<sup>172</sup>.

In this context the Ahnenerbe planned to fund an expedition by the architect and writer Edmund Kiss to the Andes. Kiss had already written a book on his theory that the Gate of the Sun and the whole site of Tiwanaku were the relicts of a Nordic colony dating back more than one million years<sup>173</sup>. To collect additional proofs for his theory, which in itself was based upon the *Welteislehre*, Kiss wanted to lead a large scale expedition to the Bolivian Andes. This endeavor would have cost several 100.000 RM, but Himmler was willing to fund it. Sievers' preparations came only to a halt with the German invasion of Poland.<sup>174</sup>

Additionally, even after the downfall of Herman Wirth, the Ahnenerbe continued its research on the Oera Linda Book for a while, partially based on the assumption that at least parts of the tradition the book was supposed to stem from were genuine. Therefore Himmler and Wüst ordered a complete revision, calling in another expert and respected scholar.<sup>175</sup>

But to regard the Ahnenerbe after 1937 as invariably almost complete within the realm of pseudoscience – as some scholars still do<sup>176</sup> – ignores the extent of the scientific turn, especially since it took about two years for the new policy and the extensive restructuring to fully take effect. Additionally, regarding the research carried out within the Ahnenerbe, two different levels have to be differentiated: pseudoscience vs. established academics and scholarship on the one hand; research

conform with NS-ideology vs. non-conformist research on the other hand. The totality of research done by the Ahnenerbe was surely conform with NS-ideology, but academics like Herbert Jankuhn, Walther Wüst, Ernst Schäfer and many others moved within the framework of established scholarly principles and practices of their time. Part of this complexity is the fact that Ahnenerbe research more often than not integrated results from racial anthropology. This field of biology, as it was practiced in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in itself contains aspects of what is considered to be pseudoscience today, even though it was embraced by many leading biologists and scientists from neighboring disciplines.<sup>177</sup>

Another dimension involved Himmler's plans for the re-creation of an authentic Germanic spirituality and particular customs and traditions for the SS. Consistently Ahnenerbe members contributed considerably to the preparation and realisation of the *Heinrichsfeiern* (commemorations of Heinrich I. the Fowler) at Quedlinburg and relating public tours<sup>178</sup>. The Ahnenerbe was also part of the discussions around the Externsteine and their further use. Interestingly several important Ahnenerbe members, including Höhne, Huth, Langsdorff and Sievers as well as Heberer adhered to Germanic neo-paganism<sup>179</sup>, whose role in the development and research of the Ahnenerbe has still to be examined closely and carefully. This applies especially since Otto Siegfried Reuter's, leader of the *Deutschgläubigen Gemeinschaft* (German-believing community; one of the major neo-pagan groups), relation to the Ahnenerbe has yet to be discerned. He took part in both Nordic Things and lectured at the Ahnenerbe annual meeting in Kiel, additionally he seems at least to have been part of the review procedure for several articles published in "*Germanien*"<sup>180</sup>. Furthermore Wirth, Teudt, Huth and von Leers were also important figures in neo-pagan circles.

#### **4. Impact of prehistory**

One of the most important areas of operation of the Ahnenerbe – both in terms of ideological aspects, financial budget and of involved academics and mission statements– was the field of prehistory.

##### 4.1 Positioning

##### 4.1.1 Institutional

Starting in 1935 the SS had begun to sponsor excavations, whereby the SS always accounted only for a small part of the total costs; the rest was taken over by state offices or the DFG. At the other hand the SS provided local units as support personal and increased the publicity of the endeavor through its own publications<sup>181</sup>. Initially two departments of RuSHA and the Personal Staff of the Reichsführer SS (Pers. Staff RFSS) respectively were responsible for support and supervision of these excavations; but both of them were combined and transferred into the Ahnenerbe in February 1938. There the *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte Ausgrabungen* attained a central position. In the fiscal year 1938/39 it alone accounted for about 11% of the total Ahnenerbe-budget, boasting the excavation of Hedeby as Ahnenerbe's single most important endeavor.<sup>182</sup>

After the appointment of Jankuhn as vice-head of the excavations department, the Ahnenerbe methodically expanded further into the field of prehistory. He organized the formation of four new *Forschungsstätten* to complement the department. These minor departments engaged in *germanisches Bauwesen* (Germanic tradition of building), *naturwissenschaftliche Vorgeschichte (Laboratorium für Pollenanalyse)* (archaeometry & pollen analysis laboratory), *Wurtenforschung* (research on terps) and *Urgeschichte* (prehistory and palaeontology). The latter was headed by Assien Bohmers (1912-1988), a Dutch citizen and adherer of pan-Germanic ideas. The pollen analysis laboratory, headed by Rudolf Schüttrumpf (1909-1986), took over contract work for other archaeological institutions as long as it had free capacities, and expanded its field of expertise stepwise.<sup>183</sup>

Two of these departments were upgraded to *Lehr- und Forschungsstätten* in the course of WWII due to the increased importance of their respective department heads overseeing Ahnenerbe operations in the Protectorate and on the Balkans.<sup>184</sup>

#### 4.1.2. Personnel

Within the archaeological departments worked several of Ahnenerbe's best connected and renowned academics.

Alexander Langsdorff was a prehistorian and classical archaeologist, who studied at Marburg University. Allegedly he took part in Hitler's 1923 coup d'état attempt. After a longer stay abroad, where he worked on various excavations including that of Persepolis, he joined the SS in 1933 and became a member of Himmler's personal staff around 1935. But he never worked full time for the SS because he pursued his career within the Berlin State Museums— becoming curator in 1935 at the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* and supernumerary professor shortly thereafter. With the outbreak of the Second World War he rejoined the Wehrmacht and held several influential positions within the administration of the Occupied Western Territories, last as member of the *Kunstschutz* (art protection services) responsible for the massive relocation of objects of art from Florence to Germany. He died in 1946 from illness.<sup>185</sup>

Hans Schleif was an architect, architectural historian and classical archaeology minor. He was protégée and favourite student of Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940) and became responsible for the German excavations at Olympia in 1937. Having been a member of the SS since 1933, he was transferred to the Personal Staff RFSS in 1935 where he became co-responsible for the excavations conducted by the SS. From February 1938 till early 1940 he headed the Ahnenerbe excavations department, but his star in the Ahnenerbe fell since he talked too loud about his self-perceived intimacy with Himmler and about Hitler's strong despise of the Germanic past. Additionally he favored working on classical archeology and architecture. In 1939 he was appointed associate professor at Berlin University for classical archaeology. In the following years Schleif and the Ahnenerbe struggled to gain him an appointment as full professor for architectural history at the Berlin university for applied science against the opposition of the faculty. In late 1944 his appointment was decided, but should take place after the ultimate victory. After partaking in the plundering of Poland

from 1939 to 1941, Schleif went back to lead the excavation of Olympia. Later he worked as architect and deputy of Hans Kammler at the *SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt* (WVHA; SS Economic and Administration Main Office). Schleif committed extended suicide in late April 1945, killing his second wife, their twin boys and himself.<sup>186</sup>

Herbert Jankuhn (1905-1990) was one of the most brilliant and influential German prehistorians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After studying prehistory, German studies, philosophy, physical anthropology and physical education at Königsberg, Halle and Berlin, he started his academic career at the Kiel Museum of Antiquities, where he became excavator of the Viking site of Hedeby and worked on the Thorsberg moor. Being an ardent Nazi and already a member of the SA since 1933, he applied for SS-membership in 1936 and was transferred in early 1937. Immediately thereafter he won Himmler to take over the sponsorship of the Hedeby excavation. Before the scientific turn he refused to have anything to do with the Ahnenerbe since he regarded Teudt and Wirth as pseudoscientists, but he played a pivotal role afterwards and became one of its most important members. Accordingly his promotions within the SS followed each other as quick as possible within the SS regulations. To speed it up a bit, Himmler even backdated Jankuhns promotion to SS-Obersturmführer.<sup>187</sup> By 1944 he had risen to the rank of a SS-Obersturmbannführer of the Allgemeine-SS, the equivalent of a Lieutenant Colonel, outranking almost any other member of the Ahnenerbe as well as other scientists important for the regime and the SS like Mengele and Wernher von Braun. Additionally he pursued a military career with the Waffen-SS, last he was SS-Sturmbannführer (F) and intelligence officer of the IVth SS-Panzer-Korps. Jankuhn was able to continue his academic career after the war.<sup>188</sup>

Additionally other renowned German prehistorians, including Karl Kersten (1909-1992), Ernst Petersen (1905-1944), Peter Paulsen (1902-1985), Gustav Riek (1900-1976), Martin Rudolph (1908-1992), Alfred Rust (1900-1983), Rudolf Robert Schmidt (1882-1950), Rudolf Schüttrumpf (1909-1986), Gustav Schwantes (1881-1960), Wilhelm Unverzagt (1892-1971) and Joachim Werner (1909-1994), participated at Ahnenerbe projects. Furthermore several talented young prehistorians earned their first merits at Ahnenerbe projects, including Hermann Schwabedissen (1911-1996) and Günther Haseloff (1912-1990).

Among the anthropologists working on the skeletal remains from the Ahnenerbe excavations was Bruno Beger (1911-2009). The physical anthropologist and ethnologist Beger originally worked as racial expert for the RuSHA, but from 1937 onwards he was temporarily transferred to the Ahnenerbe repeatedly. He participated in Schäfer's Tibet expedition and in other Ahnenerbe endeavors also.<sup>189</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Projects

The most important and outstanding single project was the excavation of the famous Viking site of Hedeby, an important trading port and city-like settlement of the Early Medieval next to Sleswick boasting rich finds. Hedeby's defenses were part of the Danevirke, blocking travel on the Jutes peninsula. After a few campaigns before WWI, excavations began anew in 1930 and were already having anti-Danish as well as pan-Germanic undertones. Due to financial restrains the first campaigns

were rather small. Himmler interested himself for the site at least since 1934 and finally visited in March 1937. Jankuhn – by then *SS-Anwärter*<sup>190</sup> – showed Himmler and his entourage personally around, winning Himmler to take over the sponsorship of the excavations. After some preparations and the establishment of the Ahnenerbe excavations-department the budget of the *SS-Grabung Haithabu* (SS-excavation Hedeby) – as it was called from then on– had eight-folded. Additionally Ahnenerbe provided its pollen analysis lab and the *Reichsnährstand* bought the grounds for the SS, eliminating the costly need to rent it. Concurringly the excavation was drastically expanded including additional personnel and a train as well as new digs in the vicinity of Hedeby and at the Danevirke.<sup>191</sup>

Besides Hedeby several other excavations in Sleswick-Holsatia were taken over by the Ahnenerbe. During this process practically every prehistorian in this Prussian Province became an Ahnenerbe member. Most notably new excavations were started at the famous Thorsberg moor, a place that was used for votive deposits during the Roman Iron Age including the sacrifice of a large number of weapons and armors. In focus of the research was the assumption the site was a place of continuous worship of Thor/Donar from the Iron Age to the Viking Age as well the place were the Angles held their things.<sup>192</sup>

The excavations in the Lone Valley started in 1931 and were under the patronage of the SS from 1935 onwards. Along the valley several blocked-up caves contained rich archaeological finds, most importantly from the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. In the course of these excavations the fragments of the Lion Man of the Hohlenstein Stadel were discovered in 1939. Additionally Riek had written a popular book on “*Die Mammutjäger im Lonetal*”<sup>193</sup> (hunters of the mammoth in the Lone valley) during his honeymoon, and presented a copy to Himmler in late 1937.<sup>194</sup>

The Hohmichele is one of the largest Celtic tumuli in Europe and the namesake of a cluster of at least 36 burial mounds located 3.5 km west of the Heuneburg hill fort. The excavation of the tumulus started in January 1937 by Gustav Riek and was triggered by the fear the *Reichsbund* might beat Tübingen University and the SS to it. The large-scale excavation was supported by local industrialists and two *Trupps* (section-sized units of about 17 men) of the RAD.<sup>195</sup>

The Caves of Mauern were discovered by R. R. Schmidt in 1936. Since the former teacher of Reinerth had lost his university position in 1929/30 due to intrigues and financial mismanagement and was bound to leave for Croatia in late 1936, Schmidt did not want to conduct the excavations himself. The Ahnenerbe employed the Dutch prehistorian Assien Bohmers, who became department head of the newly established *Forschungsstätte für Urgeschichte* in the course of the excavation. The caves once again were important sites for the research on the Palaeolithic.<sup>196</sup>

The Pfalz Werla was a royal palace located north of the Harz Mountains with some importance for the political history of the era of Heinrich I. Therefore Martin Rudolph (1908-1992), head of the *Forschungsstätte für germanisches Bauwesen*, conducted large parts of the excavation, while Plassmann dealt with historiographical aspects several times. This project is especially interesting since it was the only excavation where Ahnenerbe and Reichsbund actually cooperated more or less – forced by the fact that the responsible representative of the Hannover State Museum and head of the excavation team was a stout follower of Reinerth.<sup>197</sup>

Furthermore the Ahnenerbe conducted a number of additional major and minor excavations including at the Kriemhildenstuhl near Bad Doberan, at the Karnburg in Carinthia and at Dolní Věstonice, then in the Reichsgau Lower Danube.<sup>198</sup>

Besides the excavations Ahnenerbe pursued additional projects. E.g. in early 1937 R. R. Schmidt developed plans for a large open-air museum "*Deutsche Vorzeit*" (German antiquity) showing example villages and ritual sites from every prehistoric and historic epoch perceived to be Germanic. Schmidt envisioned it as a joint venture of the Ahnenerbe and Germany's leading prehistoric museums. Sievers approved this concept in general, especially since it allowed the Ahnenerbe to tie in with its earlier preparations for an open-air exhibition, albeit on a more academically sound level. But due to financial restraints such a large-scaled project had to be postponed until after the second Four Year Plan and was thus ultimately abandoned.<sup>199</sup>

With support from Hermann Fegelein (1906-1945), head of the Reiter-SS and dues-paying member of the Ahnenerbe, Ahnenerbe academics even planned to revive alleged ancient Germanic sports, dating as far back as to the Bronze Age. Already in 1937 Karl Schlabow (1891-1984), director of a textile museum in Neumünster and Jankuhns's expert of choice on the reconstruction of prehistoric clothing, had made several replicas of Bronze Age chariots based upon Mycenaean examples and sparse finds from northern Europe and used them during a sports meeting for propaganda. In the summer of 1939, after Sievers read about the sulkies from the Reiter-SS and with Himmler's placet, Ahnenerbe contacted Fegelein and agreed with him upon performing trial runs; but the chariots ordered for these were never constructed due to the executing company had to many war-related orders.<sup>200</sup>

#### 4.2 The Kummer – Höfler conflict

In the mid-1930s two of the most important experts on ancient Germanic myths and religion engaged themselves in an academic dispute about certain aspects of ancient Germanic beliefs and society: Bernhard Kummer (1897-1962)<sup>201</sup> and Otto Höfler (1901-1987)<sup>202</sup>. At the center of this conflict was the simple question whether *Kriegerbünde* (warrior fraternities) played an important role in Germanic religious life as well as in Germanic military expansion – or not.

Otto Höfler was a student of Rudolf Much (1862-1936), studying German studies and Scandinavian philology in Vienna, and joined the *völkisch* and anti-Semitic *Wiener akademischen Germanistenverein* (Vienna academic society of Germanists) in 1921 and was from 1922 to 1924 member of the SA. After his dissertation in 1926 he lectured several years at Uppsala University. By 1935 Höfler was full professor for German studies at Kiel University and was appointed to the advisory board of the *Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands* in the following year. In 1934 he had published his habilitational thesis on *kultische Geheimbünde* (cultic secret fraternities) of the ancient Germanic<sup>203</sup>, immediately followed by his study on the so-called problem of Germanic continuity<sup>204</sup> he presented at the *Deutscher Historikertag* 1937 in Erfurt. His theories revolved around the idea that a strong continuity of Germanic cultic and social practices to modern German folk

customs existed and that *Kriegerbünde* played a crucial role in the expansion of the Germanic people and the formation of their kingdoms and hierarchies. Additionally he associated these fraternities with the cult of Wotan/Odin.

Kummer had studied German studies, history, philosophy and *Zeitungskunde* (an early form of communication studies focusing, on newspapers) at Leipzig University. After his dissertation in 1927 he joined the NSDAP and SA, but left the party and SA a few years later to become eligible for public stipends. In Berlin he became the assistant of Gustav Neckel around 1931. In late 1934 he came into trouble with Neckel since the latter seems to have favored a younger, female student<sup>205</sup>. From 1936 onwards he was first lecturer, later professor at Jena University. Kummer's work focused on the religious meaning and connotation of the *Sippengemeinschaft* (kinship) he associated with the warrior and farmer god Thor/Donar and believed to be rooted in blood and soil. To him the cult of Odin was a degenerative manifestation of the final days of Germanic paganism which was by then already under the – in his view – destructive influence of Christianity. Additionally Kummer was an active promoter of Germanic neo-paganism, supporter of Hauer's *Deutsche Glaubensbewegung* (German Faith Movement) and author of several books.

Kummer, supported by Hermann Mandel and others, refused and opposed Höfler's theories at least from the publication of the latter's habilitational thesis on with almost religious fervor, publishing many articles against them – including his critic of the Nordic Things. But Höfler was strongly supported by Plassmann and Wüst leading to numerous articles and even legal proceedings and verdicts against Kummer. The conflict became even more aggravated, when *Das Schwarze Korps* published a series of articles on warrior fraternities from the Germanic past through the Medieval Ages up to the SS<sup>206</sup>. In the course of this conflict Plassmann was even dismissed from the SS for a year. Plassmann had attended the *Farbenfest* (a graduation festivity that is evocative of German fraternity traditions) of his former Catholic school in Munster which was attacked by HJ-members. Plassmann had interfered, earning him the suspicion of higher SS-echelons. Kummer heard about this incident and used it to his advantage going as far as saying Plassmann worked in secret for the *Katholische Aktion* (the leading Catholic lay organisation) subverting the Nazi movement. This whole affair led to an SS-internal investigation and Plassmann's dismissal in early September 1937, even though HJ officials had admitted their misbehavior by then. But Plassmann appealed and was found innocent, partly due to strong support by Wüst, Sievers and others. But since Plassmann had acted against members of the HJ and in favor of students of a Catholic school he got reprimanded and had to wait a year before he was accepted back into the SS while still working for the Ahnenerbe. During this time he even had to publish his articles for the *SS-Leithefte* anonymously. The case was decided by Himmler himself.<sup>207</sup>

In this context Himmler became aware of the underlying academic conflict. Originally the RFSS strongly preferred the concept of *Sippengemeinschaft* over that of *Kriegerbünde* for several reasons, one of them being the suspicion male homosexuality being common in fraternities. Additionally Darré supported Kummer, for his theories fitted well into Darré's concepts of blood-and-soil. Jankuhn, who personally knew Höfler, achieved a synthesis of both theories with a focus on Höfler's thesis while stressing Höfler's predominance stating that *Kriegerbünde* and (rural) *Sippe* were not mutually exclusive but indeed both the fundamental social units of the Germanic people. Furthermore Jankuhn

emphasised the importance of the special relationship between *Führer* and retinue manifesting itself in the *Kriegerbünde* throughout the Germanic past. This was one of the very first Ahnenerbe activities Jankuhn was involved in. Finally in late October 1937 Jankuhn met Himmler in private and talked over two hours about the whole topic, Jankuhn presenting his synthesis. Afterwards Jankuhn reported Sievers to have reached complete agreement on it with the RFSS.<sup>208</sup> In parallel Sievers prepared with Plassmann and Höfler an expose on the danger imposed by Kummer and his writings on the SS for Himmler.<sup>209</sup>

Even afterwards this topic stayed important for the Ahnenerbe; and in late 1938 to early 1939 Jankuhn and Höfler lectured and published in close cooperation on the political structure and expansion of the Germanic people in the Migration Period and before. Additionally Jankuhn repeated his lectures at Salzburg and on conferences in the context of the *Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften* (VFG, ethnic German research trust) and of the *Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften* (war effort of the humanities). The importance of this research for the Ahnenerbe cannot be stressed too much. Even during the last months of WWII Jankuhn's latest publication on this topic was immediately send to Himmler himself, who seems to have actually read it, like Höfler's and Jankuhn's earlier publications.<sup>210</sup>

Accordingly Himmler supported Höfler's call to Munich University where Wüst created a full professorship for Höfler in late 1937.<sup>211</sup>

Further attempts to contest and criticize these concepts within the SS were suppressed. The last recorded attempt happened in late 1938 / early 1939, when members of the *SS-Mannschaftshaus* (SS-owned student dorm with both fraternity and barracks qualities) at Kiel University - including Mandel's son - unavailingly supported Kummer's theories and tried to attack Jankuhn.<sup>212</sup>

But most importantly Höfler's theories with Jankuhn's modifications contributed to the overall SS ideology, strengthening its dual role as *Kriegerbund* conquering new territories and as *Sippengemeinschaft* colonizing and defending them.

#### 4.3 First annual meeting of the Ahnenerbe in Kiel 1939

In its early years the Ahnenerbe did not hold conferences. Only because of the cooperation with Wilhelm Teudt and the following assimilation of the "*Vereinigung der Freunde der germanischen Vorgeschichte*" the Ahnenerbe held a conference in Detmold at Witsun 1938. This was simultaneously and primarily the 11<sup>th</sup> *Germanenkundliche Tagung* (Germanic research conference) of the *Vereinigung*. But it was also the time and place where the Ahnenerbe publicly broke with Teudt and finished the assimilation of the *Vereinigung* while Jankuhn and Kersten showed the advantages of the archaeological methods over the intuitive approach of Teudt and other lay prehistorians.<sup>213</sup>

To continue the *Germanenkundliche Tagungen* and to represent itself, the Ahnenerbe held its first own annual meeting at Whitsun 1939 in Kiel. Here the Ahnenerbe not only wanted to draw large-



scaled attention but also demonstrate its scientific turn and court Germany's prehistorians and *Volkskundler* (academics conducting *Volksunde*) to entice them away from the Amt Rosenberg. Since the meeting was a conceptual continuation of the *Germanenkundliche Tagunge*, there were no talks about natural sciences beyond archaeometrical topics included. Primarily responsible for the organisation were Jankuhn, who most probably had initiated the whole project<sup>214</sup>, and Sievers, supported by Plassmann, Wüst and Schwantes, by then full professor for prehistory at Kiel University. The conference had a well-tuned comprehensive schedule that – compared with similar events by the *Reichsbund* – focused mainly on the actual meeting and abstained from mass rallies. In addition to the opening evening several *Kameradschaftsabende* (social evenings with a military connotation) were held at the Seeburg, a university dining hall next to the seat of Kiel University and a marina, a special exhibition was shown at the *Kiel Kunsthalle* and the *Museum vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer* had expanded opening hours. In addition to the lectures a three-day field trip through Sleswick-Holsatia was arranged completely with a special travel journal and demo excavations.<sup>215</sup>

The lecture program was divided into three blocks. The first one contained primarily contributions from cultural anthropologists and philologists and presented the vast Ahnenerbe activities throughout the Reich. The two other blocks were self-contained and concentrated on prehistory. First the Stone Ages were dealt with, presenting the Ahnenerbe excavations at the Mauern caves and in the Lone valley as well as field research in Sleswick-Holsatia. Alfred Rust (1900-1983) and Hermann Schwabedissen (1911-1996), both from Kiel, elongated the origin and continuous history of the *Germani* almost to the end of the last Ice Age. Rust even saw the origin of the Irminsul in incised bone decorations from the Mesolithic representing – in his view – a cultic pole with a reindeer skull<sup>216</sup>. The last block focused on Viking Age and Early Medieval Age. More than half of the contributors of this panel were not yet members of the Ahnenerbe. Besides the eastern policy of Heinrich I. the Fowler and the alleged continuity of Germanic settlement and even supremacy in many eastern European territories the speeches mainly dealt with Hedey, Truso, Wolin, Jomsborg, and the burial site at Mokhovoye.<sup>217</sup>

Looking more closely on the speeches and published articles one can easily show that all of them were bound by the paradigm of *völkische Vorgeschichtsforschung* (völkisch research on prehistory). This paradigm is based upon the *Kulturkreislehre* and the idea that ancient regionally delimited ethnicity could be defined by the material culture excavated from a site; moreover it takes the superiority of the *Germani* and the inferiority of the Slavs, who often were ruled by Germanic aristocracy, as well as the first appearance of the Germanic people in the late Neolithic for granted. Hence central elements of the lectures given in Kiel were the unity of Germanic and Scandinavian tradition as well as the supposed fact that Eastern Germany and Western Poland were never truly abandoned by Germanic settlers, who by default became the ruling aristocracy during the Slavic settlement period. Already in Kiel a pan-Germanic impetus was present. Simultaneously the *völkische Vorgeschichtsforschung* did pioneering work regarding excavation techniques and the usage of archaeometry, especially at those projects conducted by Kiel Museum and Ahnenerbe. Accordingly this topic was at the center of the accompanying special exhibition.<sup>218</sup>

Therefore the Ahnenerbe conference was an ideal representation of as well the Ahnenerbe's scientific turn as of the ambivalence of prehistoric archaeology in the Third Reich. Unlike Kater's

assessment, the First Annual Meeting has to be regarded as a full success, even though the number of participants was around 450 and therefore less than half of the early annual meetings of Rosenberg's *Reichsbund* 1934 in Halle or 1935 in Bremen. But in contrast to the *Reichsbund* the Ahnenerbe had abstained from mass rallies and enlistments of NSLB or NSDStB members. The meeting was intensely covered in newspapers throughout the Reich and several of the lectures were immediately published in a dedicated issue of *Offa*<sup>219</sup>, a high ranking journal for archaeology edited by Schwantes and Jankuhn and named after the legendary Anglo-Saxon king. The other lectures and reports on the exhibitions and the field trip were published in a conference volume<sup>220</sup>. All this helped to fully achieve the main goals of the conference, presenting the Ahnenerbe's scientific turn and courting Germany's prehistorians. Except for a few still adhering to Reinerth and Rosenberg – Jankuhn estimated 5 to 10% in various reports including one to the RSHA – almost all turned from the *Reichsbund* towards the Ahnenerbe. Additionally contacts were made and research designs planned. One of them regarding Gothic finds in the Crimea region became immensely useful during Jankuhn's part in Operation Barbarossa.<sup>221</sup>

#### 4.4 The struggle for power in prehistory and the *Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte*

The establishment of a *Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte* (Reich Institute for German Prehistory) was proposed well before the rise of the Third Reich. Whereas research institutes for Classical Archaeology and Provincial Roman Archaeology were well-established with the *Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reiches* (AIDR; Archaeological Institute of the German Reich, later renamed German Archaeological Institute) and its subsidiary *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (RGK, Romano-German Commission), both subordinate to the Foreign Office; prehistory lacked such an integrating and coordinating institute. First proposals to correct this issue were made as early as 1913, and the discussion continued throughout the Weimar Republic without much result. Strategies proposed included extending the field of work of the RGK, founding a newly dedicated institute for (Nordic) prehistory as part of the AIDR or establishing a Reich Institute for prehistory subordinate to the Reich Ministry of the Interior into which the RGK was to be absorbed. An important aspect of the discussion was that quite many participants - including foremost Gustaf Kossinna and his students - accused the AIDR and RGK of neglecting the prehistory of Northern and Eastern Germany in favor of Classical Antiquity. In 1931 Reinerth had developed his own concept, demanding the formation of a *Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte* with budget and facilities comparable to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institutes. In the following years he mobilized the support of Rosenberg for his plans and revised and expanded them several times, integrating racist arguments. In Reinerth's view the RGK concentrated too much on Provincial Roman Archaeology and therefore should be abolished in favor of the new *Reichsinstitut*; the budget of the AIDR should also be reduced and prehistory given more money. The claim was prehistory not being as popular as it could be and should be due to the influence of alien racial elements. Additionally he wanted the *Reichsinstitut* to be given some sort of oversight over all *Landesämter für Bodendenkmalpflege* (offices of the state curators for the preservation and care of field monuments), archaeological museum collections and university institutes. This increased the hassle between classical archaeology and prehistory and led the AIDR, which feared for its influence and funding, to mobilize its supporters. While many

prehistorians more or less accepted Reinerth's proposals, his candidacy for the founding presidency became more and more controversial due to the conflicts around Reinerth and the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte*. One of the first rival candidates the SS tried to position around 1936 was Langsdorff, but he was seen as too weak by his own SS peers. In between Werner Buttler, referee for the preservation and care of field monuments with the REM and furloughed professor for prehistory at Göttingen University, was also discussed as a potential rival candidate, but he lacked Himmler's support. After the scientific turn the Ahnenerbe successfully monopolized the SS activities in prehistory. In December 1938 Ahnenerbe officials named Herbert Jankuhn, Ernst Petersen and Gustav Schwantes as their candidates of choice. The outbreak of WWII postponed the founding till the ultimate victory was won, but nevertheless controversial consultations between REM, Ahnenerbe, the Nazi Party Chancellery and the Amt Rosenberg went on. By 1940 it was clear that Himmler and the Ahnenerbe would accept no other founding director of the *Reichsinstitut* but Jankuhn, while Rosenberg stuck to Reinerth. Finally in 1942 Rosenberg's men tried to entice Jankuhn away from the Ahnenerbe, offering him the directorship of an *Institut für germanische Forschung* (institute for Germanic research) as an *Außenstelle* (branch office) of the *Hohe Schule der NSDAP* (party academy) to be established in Kiel. This maneuver backfired massively, clearing the way for Jankuhn, who had no intentions of deserting the Ahnenerbe and had played Rosenberg's men in close cooperation with Mentzel and Sievers. Concurrently Rosenberg had tried to found branch offices of the still not existing *Reichsinstitut* in the Occupied Eastern Territories and on the Balkans without the consent of the REM, which by then was - at least regarding prehistory - only doing Sievers' and Jankuhn's bidding. To prevent Jankuhn's appointment in the last minute, Rosenberg tried to clear Reinerth's name by pressing the party trial at the *Oberstes Parteigericht*, which should have ended in favor of Reinerth and thus opened the door to Reinerth's appointment. In the mid-1930s several prehistorians had started a smear-campaign against Reinerth, imputing sexual misconduct, financial mismanagement and friendship with Jews to him. To further their accusations, Bolko von Richthofen (1899-1983) even had a suite against himself filed himself stating he talked bad about Reinerth, a fellow *Parteigenosse*. Rosenberg tried to use these suites to clear Reinerth's reputation and save the presidency of the *Reichsinstitut* for him, but once again the maneuver backfired. After a lengthy trial, Reinerth finally became excluded from the Nazi Party in March 1945. Although this made Jankuhn the founding president apparent, the *Reichsinstitut* was ultimately never founded due to the German capitulation shortly thereafter.<sup>222</sup>

## **5. The Ahnenerbe at war**

During WWII the Ahnenerbe took all opportunities to expand its operations into the newly conquered and occupied territories. Behind this development were several reasons. First but not least important all not war-related research departments throughout the Reich were closed down stepwise during the war, naturally affecting humanities and social sciences more than natural and technical sciences. Therefore Ahnenerbe immediately cut back its activities.<sup>223</sup>

More important were three aspects: War and occupation provided various new opportunities, promising full access to otherwise restricted museum collections, libraries, excavation sites and

financial resources. Second the Ahnenerbe competed for these opportunities with various factions within the Nazi party, the SS, Wehrmacht and national administration, most importantly Alfred Rosenberg who was appointed Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories in 1941. And finally the Ahnenerbe staff wanted to do their share within the total war of people and their ideologies regarding it as the Germanic hour of fate and destiny and as a special trait of the Germanic people to mobilize mind, art and arms alike.

### 5.1 Art theft, looting and intelligence operations

With its operations in Poland Ahnenerbe gave the starting signal for Nazi art theft. The first plans for these endeavors were most probably hatched at the *Salzburger Wissenschaftswochen*, a conference in late August and early September, co-hosted by the Ahnenerbe and terminated by the outbreak of WWII. Several key Ahnenerbe members including Wüst and Jankuhn attended. Already in early September – a few days after the start of the invasion – Sievers corresponded with Himmler over the issue of Germanic artifacts in Polish museums, followed by plans from Paulsen, Petersen and Jankuhn respectively to secure the collections of museum and university institutes as well as excavation sites in Poland<sup>224</sup>; the exact influence on the planning of the various Ahnenerbe decision makers has yet to be investigated. Finally Himmler approved the plans and put Paulsen, by then a subordinate academic of the Ahnenerbe excavations department and supernumerary professor at Berlin University, in charge of a *Sonderkommando* (special task force). Initially just a one-man unit under the formal command of RSHA since it was only a trial balloon, Paulsen reported directly to Six and Sievers. He reached Kraków in the first days of October while a few Polish forces still fought against the invaders in the eastern parts of the country. Having arrived there, Paulsen was able to locate each piece of the Veit Stoss Altar from St. Mary's Basilica, even though Polish authorities had dismantled and stacked it away in the countryside. On October 14, 1939, Paulsen returned to Berlin with the altar, and had it stored in the locked treasury of the *Reichsbank*. When Hitler was made aware of the operation, he decided to send the altar to an underground vault in Nuremberg. After Paulsen reported to Heydrich, his task force was enforced by Sievers and several Ahnenerbe experts - including Harmjanz, Petersen, Schleif and Tratz - and returned to Poland in order to seize additional museum and university collections and excavation reports. In the meantime Göring had sent a team commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Kajetan Mühlmann (1898-1958) to loot the museums. But Mühlmann agreed to let Paulsen take the prehistoric and scientific artifacts back to the Ahnenerbe, while keeping the artwork for Göring. During the looting however, Hans Frank—by then leader of the German-controlled Polish General Government—issued an order prohibiting the “unapproved export” of Polish items on November 22, 1939. Paulsen obeyed the order, but his colleague Schleif arranged for five freight cars of loot from the Warsaw Archaeological Museum to be shipped to Poznań, which was outside Frank's control. In his report to RSHA Paulsen tried to take credit for the freight cars' contents, but was reassigned and ultimately dumped by the Ahnenerbe for his lack of courage.<sup>225</sup>

In mid-October 1939 Göring had founded the *Haupttreuhandstelle Ost* (HTO, Main Trust Agency East) as a subordinate to the office of the Four Year Plan. Enabled by Frank's administration, the HTO was responsible for the management of the assets of the Polish State and confiscated properties of

murdered or expelled Polish intelligentsia, Jews and insurgents as well as the Aryanization of the Polish economy. All these assets were to be used in benefit of the Third Reich. To further the looting, Ahnenerbe experts, most notably Harmjanz, Petersen, Schleif, Schütrumpf and Tratz, lent their expertise and worked for the HTO; Schleif was appointed trustee for the Wartheland in return for his earlier recklessness, Sievers became managing director. By the end of 1941 the HTO had confiscated treasures and works of art worth at least 3 million RM - about \$16 million today - according to Sievers estimations. Even though the lion's share went to Göring's office, the Ahnenerbe charged 10 percent of the total for its service.<sup>226</sup>

Archive files indicate similar agencies seem to have been established for the Alsace, Lorraine and South Tyrol, again supported or staffed by the Ahnenerbe. In the case of South Tyrol and Gottschee County the Ahnenerbe also staffed and managed the *Kulturkommission* responsible for collecting cultural heritage and official records after the South Tyrol Option Agreement and the Balkans Campaign respectively. The status enhancement of Martin Rudolph's department stemmed from his work for the *Kulturkommission*.<sup>227</sup> A similar operation was initiated for the Baltic States, but the Ahnenerbe does seem to have dropped out with the start of *Unternehmen Barbarossa*.<sup>228</sup> The overall responsibility for these resettlements was given to the *Stabshauptamt des Reichskommissars für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums* (office of the Reich Commissar for Strengthening of German Volkstum), one of the SS main offices.

Parallel to looting Poland, the Ahnenerbe started to engage itself in the protection of archeological sites in the Reich and the occupied territories. Key feature of their concepts was to implement prehistorians into every relevant command structure, at least as advisors. Awhile Jankuhn even planned to establish the position of a *Heeresarchäologe beim OKW* or *beim OKH* (chief army curator of prehistoric monuments either with the OKW or the OKH) for Langsdorff. Even though this plan did not get implemented, it laid the grounds for Ahnenerbe's operations in the Scandinavia.<sup>229</sup>

Due to a different setup of German administration of the Western occupied countries, Norway and Denmark - including the establishment of the *Kunstschutz* (art protection service), a subordinate branch of the Wehrmacht - Ahnenerbe was not able to loot valuable collections in the West. Interestingly the leading Ahnenerbe members did not seem to bother. Their large-scaled research plans to be conducted in France, the Netherlands and Belgium were mostly to be carried out after the ultimate victory<sup>230</sup>. Rosenberg at the other hand established his *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (ERR; Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce) and came to an agreement with Göring so the ERR could operate in France. Part of the booty of the ERR was destined to equip the *Hohe Schule der NSDAP* (party academy) planned by Rosenberg.<sup>231</sup>

Nevertheless the Ahnenerbe members conducted preparatory expeditions and worked simultaneously as field operatives for the SD. Jankuhn e.g. embarked as part of the taskforce of the *Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* to Norway. Here he resided with the SD office in Oslo wearing its uniform and evaluated the situation of prehistory in Norway. But he did not only give expertise about the protection of prehistoric sites and findings, arranged for protection of archeological objects and sites (including the Viking ships) and engaged himself in the propagandistic usage of these endeavors; he also reported on the political and ideological orientation of the Norwegian people in general and the

Norwegian prehistorians in particular back to the SD office. Some evidence even suggest he was part of an operation to trade Ernst Wollweber (1898-1967) - a communist and former member of the Reichstag who had organized sabotage against German, Italian and Spanish ships - against Swedish citizens who had supported the Norwegian resistance.<sup>232</sup> Additionally Jankuhn operated in Brittany and Normandy, where he investigated the disposition of the population regarding the formation of ethnically based petty states on the French national territory on request by Werner Best (1903-1989).<sup>233</sup> Other Ahnenerbe members travelled with similar orders, Plassmann operated in France and the Netherlands, Kersten in Denmark, Schwabedissen and Asmus in the Protectorate. Some of the research plans hatched in this phase were later integrated into the *Germanischer Wissenschaftseinsatz*.<sup>234</sup>

Finally the Ahnenerbe was once again able to stage a looting operation after the invasion of the Soviet Union. Due to his good contacts to the SD, especially to Six, Jankuhn knew at least a whole month before the general public about the upcoming *Unternehmen Barbarossa*. Immediately he informed Sievers and proposed far-going operations within the territories still to conquer. Besides securing the control over libraries, museum collections and potential excavation sites the primary objective was to further large-scale research on the ancient Goths, an undertaking Jankuhn and Petersen were hatching at least since the Ahnenerbes annual meeting in 1939. Initially Jankuhns plans envisaged implementing Ahnenerbe experts directly into the *Einsatzgruppen*, but by that time the killing squads were already on the move. Additionally the Ahnenerbe lacked the manpower for the necessary preparations at that time since Sievers served his time with the Waffen-SS and his deputy died in a car accident. Additionally most of their experts were occupied elsewhere. Jankuhn e.g. lead a task force to investigate the Bayeux Tapestry, while others were in South Tyrol or on the Balkans.<sup>235</sup>

Shortly after the start of the invasion Himmler authorized Jankuhns plans, effectively enabling the establishment of a *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, but Rosenberg became Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMfdbO) only four weeks later. Therefore the ERR could operate freely within the *Reichskommissariate*, which were under civil administration subordinate to the RMfdbO, while the operations of the Ahnenerbe were severely hindered. This became evident in January 1942 when Jankuhn - accompanied by Wolf von Seefeld, a prehistorian speaking Russian - traveled to Kiev to lay the grounds for his operations and stumbled upon the ERR already working in that area. The solution to this problem was rather easy; on advice from the Ahnenerbe, Himmler decided Jankuhn should operate under the jurisdiction of Waffen-SS battlefield commanders. In this way jurisdictional and other quarrels with the ERR were minimized, but not completely avoided. First, it was planned to attach the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* to the *1te Waffen-SS Panzergrenadierdivision "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler"* (1<sup>st</sup> SS Armored Grenadier Division "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler"), but changes in their respective areas of operations resulted in a subordination to the *5te Waffen-SS Panzergrenadierdivision "Wiking"* (5<sup>th</sup> SS Armored Grenadier Division "Wiking"), a unit made up of *Waffen-SS* veterans and SS-qualified volunteers from Scandinavia, Finland, Estonia, The Netherlands, and Belgium. Before he was send to Russia, Jankuhn, who also wanted to prove himself on the field of battle, received additional military training with the reinforcement battalion of the 4<sup>th</sup> SS Police Division, hardly more than a renewed infantry training. After that he was commissioned as SS-Hauptsturmführer (F)<sup>236</sup>. Operational support for his taskforce was provided by the parent unit. To

further increase his area of operation Jankuhn even asked Sievers for his own vehicle, including driver and automatic weapons. Instead additional support for his operations came from the local SD representatives, especially from SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Werner Braune (1909-1951), commander of EK 11b from Einsatzgruppe D, who traveled alongside the divisional headquarters, bringing their gas-wagon with them. Together with the division they provided for transportation, intelligence reports and security details. Due to this close nature of the cooperation with the killings squads of the SD it is quite likely that every member of the *Sonderkommando* knew about the genocide<sup>237</sup>. During the planning stage the personnel of Jankuhn's *Sonderkommando* changed several times. Petersen and Kersten, Günther Thaerigen, Bernt von zur Mühlen and Wolf von Seefeld were all supposed to accompany Jankuhn. But in August 1942 only Kersten and von Seefeld, whose primary function was translator, went with him. The *Sonderkommando* went in for two runs, late summer and autumn 1942 and summer 1943, equipped with knapsacks, steel helmets, personal side arms, Waffen-SS uniforms and ranks and authorization papers. Shortly after reaching their area of operation, Kersten was detached to the Crimea to conduct field research on the Crimean Goths and to prepare an itinerary for Himmler's visit to the region, while Jankuhn and von Seefeld stayed with the main body of the division and operated in the Northern Caucasus. On the second run the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* was greatly enlarged and distributed among the I<sup>ST</sup> and III<sup>RD</sup> "Germanic" SS-Corps. Besides Jankuhn and Kersten, Alfred Rust and the classical archeologists Joseph Wiesner (1913-1975) and Hans Bernhard Jessen were assigned. The later were detached from the AIDR which still worried about its sphere of influence, but was appeased by Sievers and Jankuhn. Instead of deploying von Seefeld again, translators were now provided by the Waffen-SS and the SD. On both runs they visited every museum on their way, inspected their collections and transported all suitable material back to Berlin. Furthermore they looked for potential excavation sites, inspected presumed Germanic settlements and graves and wrote intelligence reports about the local people to the local SD offices and the central direction of the Ahnenerbe. Additionally collaborating *Volksdeutsche* (people perceived to be ethnic German) and so called non-German Germanic academics - prehistorians from the Netherlands and Denmark - were enlisted to investigate and excavate several sites in the summer of 1943. Even the leading archaeologist of Fascist Spain, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, planned to participate in those excavations but changes in Spanish foreign policy doctrine and intra-Spanish quarreling prevented him from coming. Support for these excavations came from the local *RuS-Führer*, who even had requested the Ahnenerbe.<sup>238</sup>

Because the Waffen-SS was always somewhat short on officers, SS-Gruppenführer and Lieutenant General of the Waffen-SS Felix Steiner, commanding officer of the 5<sup>te</sup> *Waffen-SS Panzergrenadierdivision "Wiking"*, was still looking for qualified personnel for the staff of his division when Jankuhn arrived at his HQ in August 1942. Although Jankuhn never received any proper training for field or staff officers, which would have taken at least five to seven years, he was nevertheless a fully-educated university professor with plenty of experience regarding indoctrination, aerial photography, data collection and data analysis speaking Danish, English, French and Norwegian. Therefore Steiner used Jankuhn's capabilities as much as he could. First he made Jankuhn *pro tem* head of the *Abteilung VI* of "Wiking"'s staff, responsible for political indoctrination, recreation and moral. Jankuhn's tour of duty furthermore laid the grounds for Steiners participation in the opening conference of the *Germanischen Wissenschaftseinsatz*, which will be discussed later.

After his return to the division in the summer of 1943, Steiner's successor as commander of the 5<sup>th</sup> SS Division, Herbert Otto Gille, kept using Jankuhn as staff officer. In the September 1943 the latest, Jankuhn became first *pro tem*, afterwards regular Third Officer of the divisional staff, the so called Ic, responsible for military intelligence, counter intelligence, force security, prisoner interrogation and *Nichtsoldatische Feindvernichtung* (defense against partisans and destruction of non-military enemies)<sup>239</sup>. Jankuhn stayed in this position until he was transferred alongside Gille to the *4te SS-Panzerkorps* (4<sup>th</sup> SS Armor Corps), where he became Ic of the whole corps.<sup>240</sup>

But art, books and prehistoric finds were not the only loot Ahnenerbe was after. To further its research on crops, which were conducted partially in cooperation with the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Züchtungsforschung* (KWI for Plant Breeding Research), a task force headed by Heinz Brücher (1915-1991), a student of Heberer, operated in Southern Russia and the Ukrainian in 1943, raiding Soviet agricultural research stations within that area. Their primary targets were seeds suitable for harsher climates to further Himmler's settlement plans for Crimea.<sup>241</sup>

Another line of expedition concepts started with plans for exercising political influence. Already in the autumn of 1939 Schäfer was supposed to lead a small task force via USSR into Tibet and Afghanistan to further actions against the British presence there. Even though the operation was devised in cooperation with the Foreign Office and the *Abwehr* it was abandoned in March 1940, when Rosenberg, whose *Außenpolitische Amt* had a conflicting plan prepared, intervened by Lammers and Hitler. After this setback Schäfer concentrated on his scientific work for a while. His *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte Innerasienforschung und Expeditionen* (department for Research on Inner Asia and Expeditions) was established in January 1940, which was practically identical with the *Sven-Hedin Reichsinstitut für Innerasienforschung und Expeditionen*, founded in 1943 at Munich University with funding from the REM.<sup>242</sup>

In August 1942, while Jankuhn was already operating in the area, plans were hatched to send Schäfer with a large task force into the Caucasus for what Himmler dubbed the "*Totalerforschung*" (total exploration) of that region. Besides botanical, zoological and geological surveys stated goal of this expedition called "*Sonderkommando K*" was to conduct research on the racial and ethnological composition of the local population. For the latter Beger was to be responsible. His expertise and on-site research was especially needed since SS racial experts had difficulties classifying two Caucasus populations, one of them descended from a Jewish population but being Christian while the other was practicing Judaism without being of Jewish descendant. The year before a similar problem had caused Otto Ohlendorf (1907-1951) to temporarily halt the killing in the Crimea region, before racial experts defined one population as Jewish, selecting them for extermination, and another as not-Jewish, sparing them from the Holocaust. Due to the change of the fortune of war after the Battle of Stalingrad *Sonderkommando K* never was set in motion.<sup>243</sup>

Additionally Ahnenerbe representatives worked in Greece and other places; their operations that still have to be investigated. Some evidence suggests Schleif worked for the SD in Athens - even heading an *Einsatzkommando* - while and after excavating in Olympia before he was transferred to the WVHA.<sup>244</sup>



Haarnagel on the other hand provided his geological expertise for choosing suitable places for coastal defense installations.<sup>245</sup>

## 5.2. Working in indoctrination

During the war Ahnenerbe members became increasingly important as experts on ideology, giving lectures and providing expertise for exhibitions. Not all of these activities were coordinated via Ahnenerbe's offices. E. g. in winter 1941/42 Wilhelm Gieseler (1900-1976) and Jankuhn gave lectures at the *Führerschule der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (officer candidate's school of security police and SD) seemingly on a direct invitation.<sup>246</sup> But most of those activities resulted from Ahnenerbe's increasing importance. Thus it established even closer ties to the *SS-Hauptamt-Schulungsamt* (SS-HA-SA; education office of the SS main office), which had become responsible for the indoctrination of all SS-members in the course of the restructuring of RuSHA. In June 1942 Webendörfer from the SS-HA-SA met with Jankuhn, Pastenaci, Plassmann, Schneider and Sievers to outline the future cooperation. Amongst other things they agreed upon a stronger participation of Ahnenerbe academics in publishing the *SS-Leithefte*, responsible representatives of the Ahnenerbe became Plassmann and Schneider.<sup>247</sup>

Furthermore the SS-HA-SA financed the Ahnenerbes large-scale excavations and field surveys on the Balkans in exchange for the promise to be able to use the results for their publications. Aim of the research was to gain advanced insight into ethnic constellations on the Balkans and the impact of Nordic people on the region. Supported by the local representatives of the German occupational administration, the Ahnenerbe was even able to acquire the right to conduct excavations in Serbia and to ban any and all other non-Serbian researchers from the country.<sup>248</sup>

Additionally the Ahnenerbe took part in the preparations of an attempt to influence the Islamic countries to the benefit of the Third Reich. In this context Wüst and Otto Rössler lent their expertise and contacts to RSHA and AA, investigating the question whether Hitler could be linked with the "light of the prophet", an eschatological idea present in some parts of Sufism and Shiite Islam.<sup>249</sup>

## 5.3 *Germanische Leitstelle* and GWE

Based upon Ahnenerbe's pre-war drafts, Himmler finally authorized the formation of the *Germanische Leitstelle* (GL, Germanic coordination office) in 1941 as a joint venture of the SS-HA and the Ahnenerbe to subliminally influence the so-called Germanic countries in the benefit of the Third Reich and to recruit volunteers for the Waffen-SS, whereby the Ahnenerbe took responsibility for the academic and propagandistic part. Head of the GL (organized as *Amt VI*, SS-HA) became Franz Riedweg (1907-2005) from SS-HA, whereas Plassmann was appointed liaison officer to the Ahnenerbe. Additional support came from the RuSHA, whose *RuS-Führer* provided for racial screening of the prospective recruits and indoctrination in all race-related topics. Branch offices of the

GL were established in Oslo, Copenhagen, Brussels and The Hague, working as recruitment centers and propaganda offices. Besides publishing local versions of the *SS-Leithefte* and similar publications, supporting recruitment campaigns, financing local *völkische* groups and their publications and analyzing the press, Ahnenerbe initiated the *Germanischen Wissenschaftseinsatz* (GWE, Germanic academic action). While one of the GL's primary objectives was to expand the recruitment base of the Waffen-SS and to form a true pan-Germanic army from it, the GWE strived for two connected goals, researching the Germanic past of the occupied countries and winning the hearts and minds of intellectuals and general public of said occupied countries without too overt inducement.<sup>250</sup>

*“Es soll keine unmittelbare politische Beeinflussung im engeren Sinne stattfinden, vielmehr sollten die grossen Gedanken der gemeinsamen germanischen Kultur (Vorgeschichte, Volkskunde und verwandte Zweige) gefördert und gepflegt werden.”*<sup>251</sup>

The academic part drew from Ahnenerbe's earlier concepts and various initiatives. Already in late 1939 Plassmann planned for cooperation between Ahnenerbe and the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in the Netherlands and Flanders, based upon the earlier concepts, but after the invasion of the Netherlands the Ahnenerbe chose to stay within its SS circles.<sup>252</sup> Shortly thereafter Sievers ordered Hans Ernst Schneider to influence the science policy in the Netherlands according to Ahnenerbe's interests, later adding Norway, Wallonia and Flanders to the list, while Himmler issued the first orders for recruiting Dutch volunteers into the Waffen-SS.<sup>253</sup>

In May 1941 Jankuhn had planned the prehistorian's part in Ritterbusch's *Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften* (war effort of the humanities). They both knew each other personally from Ritterbusch's time as head of the local NSDDoB and rector of Kiel University. This cooperation project of all German prehistorians was, of course, to be organized under the umbrella of the Ahnenerbe and should have taken the Indo-Germanic origin of all European people into account to provide a basis for a German(ic) hegemony in Europe.<sup>254</sup> A final influence arose from Jankuhn's tour of duty as officer of “Wiking”'s divisional staff. This division was intended to become the nucleus for pan-Germanic corps integrating Waffen-SS veterans and volunteers from Nordic countries. During Jankuhn's tours of duty, volunteers from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Estonia served with the division; with exception of the Finns and the Estonians all of them had to fulfil the racial standards of the Allgemeine-SS. Right from the start Steiner emphasised not only the importance of military proficiency and tactical training down to the last soldier but also thorough and academically competent indoctrination with Nazi ideology. The latter was part of Jankuhn's responsibilities while serving with the general staff. Based on this experience and his work in Norway and France, Jankuhn presented a paper on how to increase effectiveness of the GWE and make it more attractive for non-German academics. Additionally he convinced Steiner to support the endeavor and participate at the opening conference in May 1943 in Hannover. Later on Jankuhn's active part in the GWE remained rather small since he preferred to campaign with the Waffen-SS in the east.<sup>255</sup>

In addition to the SS internal activities and support the *Germanische Leitstelle* and GWE drew authority from the fact that Hitler had given Himmler some sort of monopoly in dealing with the Germanic countries. Initially covering only party-related activities, the SS managed to systematically expand the validity of this Führer's decree so far that all representatives of the Reich were advised to

consult Himmler before taking any actions in Scandinavia and the Benelux. Even though the Reich Commissars tried to keep the freedom of their actions more than the military administration in Brussels, Arthur Seys-Inquart (1892-1946) and Werner Best both were SS-members and Josef Terboven closely cooperated with the SS, effectively making Himmler “lord of the manor” in those countries.<sup>256</sup>

Another thread of development the Ahnenerbe could capitalize on while preparing and conducting the GWE led from first initiatives for a German-controlled international German studies society in 1937 via a REM based project to an international office of the *NS Deutschen Dozentenbund* (NSDDB; Nazi German college lecturers association) with dependencies abroad in 1942. All of these projects shared the agenda of furthering the Nazi cause in the European countries with academic means. The NSDDB sought the support of the SS leading to cooperation with the GL and GWE. From 1943 onwards the *Auslandsdienst* of the NSDDB was led by SS-Obersturmbannführer Braune, who had cooperated closely and extensively with the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* while serving as head of the EK 11, Einsatzgruppe D.<sup>257</sup>

As an official start signal and first prove of capability of the GWE the opening conference in Hanover in May 1943 started with a panel on the research on and photographic documentation of the Bayeux tapestry which a team headed by Jankuhn had conducted in 1942. Among the participants of the conference was Steiner, who supported the whole endeavor. Already in Hannover the mayor difficulties of the GWE became apparent. Besides problems in The Netherlands, where Seys-Inquart had established a Germanic institute with a vague cooperative / subordinate relationship to the Ahnenerbe, the main issue was the fact many academics from the occupied countries perceived the GWE as part of the German oppression and reacted with dis-interest or open resistance. Additionally Sievers, Jankuhn and others grew dissatisfied with the work of Riedweg. Therefore later conferences were postponed several times and the planned Germanic history book never completed; these internal and external difficulties increased constantly the nearer the end of war came.<sup>258</sup>

The biggest success of the GWE were the journals “*Hamer*” and “*Storm*” modelled after “*Germanien*” and “*Das Schwarze Korps*” respectively and published by Dutch SS-members in Den Haag. The Ahnenerbe provided for funding, organizational support and articles from the “*SS-Leithefte*” and other sources. Under Schneider’s tutelage their circulation rose to about 40.000 readers, articles from both journals were even translated into German.<sup>259</sup>

Additionally Assien Bohmers operated within the occupied Netherlands.<sup>260</sup>

And even though there are no direct links established yet, the efforts of the Sven-Hedin Reichsinstitut under Schäfer in presenting the results of his expedition to Tibet and to attract Swedish researcher have to be regarded as part of the GWE.<sup>261</sup>

In the context of the GWE were not only propagandistic efforts and research project conducted within the so-called Germanic, but fascist and collaborating scholars, including Julius Evola (whose works were investigated and prepared for translation by Plassmann for the Ahnenerbe) and the Volga

German Michael Miller were evacuated to Germany when the Wehrmacht was driven out of their home countries.<sup>262</sup>

Additionally university students were brought back to Germany to allow them to continue their studies while influencing them; some of them - including large parts of the university of Oslo - were brought by force, ending in the Buchenwald concentration camp where Ahnenerbe scholars like Heberer tried to indoctrinate them.<sup>263</sup>

#### 5.4 The *Institut für Wehrwissenschaftliche Zweckforschung* and experimentation on humans

Partially in the wake of the increased SS engagement in defense industry, research and development the Ahnenerbe established its *Institut für Wehrwissenschaftliche Zweckforschung* (IfWZ, institute for military-applied sciences), officially founded on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1942. Within this institute Ahnenerbe conducted primarily biological and medical experiments. Since no director was appointed the institute was managed by Sievers, while Schäfer and Wüst oversaw the actual research. Most importantly the institute conducted the high altitude and freezing experiments of Sigmund Rascher at Dachau, first in cooperation with the *Luftwaffe*, later on its own. Almost 200 inmates were killed in the course. Further maiming, mutilating and/or lethal experiments were conducted on the usefulness of pectin as ailment for bleeding wounds, survival rates in cold water environments and treatments against hypothermia. Other experiments focused on medical plants and on the extermination of vermin; in the latter Schütrumpf was involved who also worked as liaison officer to the cooperating hygiene department of the Waffen-SS. Additionally von Stokar obtained much needed equipment in the occupied Netherlands.<sup>264</sup>

The arguably most important department of the IfWZ was headed by August Hirt (1898-1945), by then full professor for anatomy at the Reichsuniversität Straßburg. Already during his tour of duty with the Wehrmacht in 1939 he experimented on nitrogen mustard and potential cures on a small scale. Hirt had met Sievers at the opening ceremony of the Reichsuniversity in November 1941, a few weeks later Sievers informed him that prisoners and career criminals would be put at his disposal for experiments of any kind. Since his entrance into the Ahnenerbe, Hirt conducted various experiments, most of them centered on phosgene and nitrogen mustard, their use as against vermin, the experimental treatment of wounds caused by them as well as their usage as chemical warfare agent. During these experiments about 50 prisoners died, many more were severely tortured.<sup>265</sup>

Additionally the difficulty to define the Jewish race anthropologically and the delays this imposed on the ongoing Holocaust in southern Soviet Union and the closely related preparations for Schäfer's task force as well as studies on racial anthropology conducted by the RuSHA gave rise to the idea of a research project regarding the Jewish nature centered on a reference skull collection. Since appropriate specimens were extremely rare in university and museum collections of the Third Reich, Ahnenerbe officials looked for other sourced to obtain them. One option was to mail-order them from the anatomy institute of the Reich University Posen, where small numbers of dead bodies provided by the local Gestapo were rendered into anatomical specimen. But this and other means of procurement could

not provide numbers sufficient for statistical analysis. In December 1941 Beger and Sievers conferred about this problem - shortly after Sievers met with Hirt in Strasbourg - and seems to have proposed cooperation. Beger and Hirt knew each other since 1934 and had become friends in 1937. In January 1942 a research concept was prepared by at least one of them - the exact genesis is still uncertain - and given to Sievers, who relayed it to Brandt. One month later Himmler instructed Brandt to inform Hirt he would put anything necessary at their disposal. To acquire a sufficient number of skulls, prisoners of the SS were to be selected and killed. Initially the victims were to be chosen from captured political commissars right behind the front, but were finally taken from a group of inmates of Auschwitz Concentration Camp from all over Europe. The selected individuals were to be measured, photographed and killed, their remains macerated and their bones used for further studies. The resulting collection was to be housed at the Anatomy Institute at the Reich University of Strasbourg. Additional personal for the research was provided by the RuSHA. Since there was no option to transport refrigerated corpses to Strasbourg, they had to be transported alive. Due to a typhus epidemic this endeavour had to be postponed for over a year. Preparatory examinations were conducted in June 1943 by Beger and his RuSHA colleague Dr. Hans Fleischhacker (1912-1992). Beger and Fleischhacker selected 86 prisoners and brought them to Natzweiler-Struthoff where they were killed and their bones macerated. When the allied forces closed in on Strasbourg, the some of the bodies had not yet been processed and fell into allied hands. Additionally Henri Henrypierre, a forced worker assistant to Hirt managed to write down the tattooed numbers of all victims, enabling identification 60 years later.<sup>266</sup>

Finally in May 1944 the Ahnenerbe founded its "*Abteilung M*" (M stands for mathematics) in cooperation with the WVHA and the RSHA to provide for additional calculation capacities. 18 Jewish scientists were transferred to KL Sachsenhausen where they had to solve complex equations for defense research, especially for the ballistic missile program. Assignments for calculations were submitted by the RSHA, the *Reichsforschungsrat* and the OKW.<sup>267</sup>

## 5.5 Relocation

Due to the heavy bombings of German cities by the Allied air forces, Ahnenerbe had to abandon its headquarters in Berlin and relocate to various places in the countryside. The *Reichsgeschäftsführung* was transferred to Waischenfeld, a small city in the vicinity of Bayreuth, while other departments - including Ernst Schäfer's, were transferred to Schloss Mittersill in the Salzburg State. This complexified Sievers' task of managing the Ahnenerbe and its many departments and associated organisations immensely.<sup>268</sup>

## 6. Post-war development

With the unconditional surrender of the Third Reich the Ahnenerbe ceased to exist and several of its key members were arrested. Sievers was detained and persecuted for his part in Ahnenerbe's

medical experiments. Together with Rudolf Brandt he was one of only three non-medical persons convicted at the Nuremberg doctor's trial and sentenced to death. Wüst was detained until 1948 and denazified as *Belasteter* (cat. II: activist). Therefore he was retired as professor and rector of Munich University by force and lost his pension. But already in 1951 he was conferred the status of *ordentlicher Professor zur Wiederverwendung* (full professor fit for reappointment), practically making him professor emeritus with a full pension. Several other Ahnenerbe members were detained also – including Jankuhn – but nothing more than some forced expulsions from universities and occupational bans happened to them. Many of the Ahnenerbe academics – especially among the prehistorians – returned sooner or later to university posts. Jankuhn was appointed associate professor and head of the institute for prehistory at Göttingen University in 1956, advancing to full professor only a year later. After that he once again dominated the field – at least in Northwestern Germany – whereas Reinert never again gained a university position; too strong were the webs of deceit, lies and half-truths woven by the former members of Ahnenerbe. Plassmann held his associate professorship at Bonn University until he was conferred emeritus status in 1958 upon retirement. The most exotic case is that of Hans Ernst Schneider who at the end of the war forged himself the identity of a cousin. Shortly thereafter his wife had him declared dead before he married her again. Then he wrote another PhD thesis and rose to prominence as an important post-war expert on German studies collaborating with many former colleagues.<sup>269</sup>

Interestingly enough the Ahnenerbe itself has become a source of inspiration for many intellectual right-wing extremists throughout Europe building upon its pan-Germanic impetus. Some of those focus on the more esoteric aspects of Ahnenerbe's research others integrate its scientific turn, but almost all of them favor neo-paganism. Additionally many of these intellectuals are well-connected among each other, forming a network and occasionally even holding their own conferences. The Germany based *Thule-Seminar - Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft für die Indoeuropäische Kultur e.V.* (Thule-Institute - Research and teaching society for the Indo-European Culture) functions as a cornerstone of this network. Only Ahnenerbe's anti-Slavic bias has been recently neglected in favor of a pan-Indo-European impetus since parts of this network are Russian extremist groups.<sup>270</sup>

A particular strand of continuity of Third Reichs ideology and modern right-wing extremism represents Sigrid Hunke, who wrote her PhD thesis while working for the Ahnenerbe and the GWE and later contributed at and participated in the Thule-Seminar.<sup>271</sup>

## **7. Conclusion**

The Ahnenerbe developed from a harbor of pseudo-science towards an academically accepted think-and-research-tank for Germanic supremacy. Key persons in this development were Walther Wüst, Ernst Schäfer, Herbert Jankuhn, Joseph Otto Plassmann and Wolfram Sievers. The academic reputations of the former enabled increased funding and a more or less systematic expansion, especially in the field of prehistory. Thereby the Ahnenerbe managed to integrate almost all German prehistorians as well as leading germanists and cultural anthropologists. At the same time this reorientation did not lessen the ideological inclination of Ahnenerbe research. Moreover, the academic

reputation of Ahnenerbe members combined with their utter conviction made for very effective propaganda that is at work in the extreme right even today. Nevertheless parts of the Ahnenerbe dealt with pseudoscience till the end. This was partially due to Himmler's ambiguous interests having a prerogative.

Even though Rosenberg competed with the Ahnenerbe throughout its existence, Ahnenerbe's members were able to build and maintain a close network of SS members, especially after its scientific turn. Therefore RuSHA, RSHA, SS-HA and Waffen-SS granted support in various situations. During WWII, the Ahnenerbe widened the scope of its activities and involved itself within the propagandistic justification of Germany's policy of expansion, occupation and genocide. In the so-called Germanic countries it endeavored to attract collaborators and Waffen-SS volunteers as well as integrate the academic community. Simultaneously and closely related, the Ahnenerbe conducted field research and excavations throughout Europe and took part in the looting of Eastern Europe. Evidence supports the assumption that several Ahnenerbe officials directly and indirectly witnessed the holocaust. Its nature as an SS-office and its close ties to the occupation authorities amplified the rejection of its pan-Germanic efforts by many academics from the occupied territories. One of Ahnenerbe's most pressing internal problems was the shortage of personnel severely hindering many of its wartime activities. Additionally funding was an issue throughout Ahnenerbe's existence, even though the scientific turn and the SS-internal network lessened it somewhat.

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<sup>1</sup> This article is an expanded and revised edition of my presentation manuscript held at the conference "*Racial Science in Hitler's New Europe*", HL-Senteret - Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities, Oslo, October 16-17, 2009, including new research. For encouragement, exchange of ideas and critical annotations I wish to thank: Dr. Martijn Eickhoff. Dr. Terje Emberland. Benedikt Funke, Prof. Dr. Uta Halle. Prof. Dr. Doris Kaufmann. Patrick Lampert, Svea Lehmann. PD. Dr. Luitgard Löw. Bianca Mahsarski. Judith Schachtmann. Dana Schlegelmilch. Prof. Dr. Jorunn Sem Fure. Dr. Gerd Simon. Prof. Dr. Gunter Schöbel. Sabrina Schütze. Dr. Anton Weiss-Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> E. g: Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002). Achim Leube, ed. *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945* (Heidelberg, 2002). Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler, eds., *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich. Actes de la table ronde internationale "Blut und Boden" tenue à Lyon (Rhône) dans le cadre du Xe congrès de la European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), les 8 et 9 septembre 2004* (Gollion, 2007). Judith Schachtmann, Michael Strobel and Thomas Widera, eds., *Politik und Wissenschaft in der prähistorischen Archäologie. Perspektiven aus Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien, Berichte und Studien / Hannah-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung e.V. 56* (Göttingen, 2009). Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski, eds., *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext. Fundberichte aus Hessen, Beiheft 7 / Glauberg-Forschungen, vol. 1* (Wiesbaden, 2011). Dirk Mahsarski, Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. *Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Terje Emberland and Jorunn Sem Fure, eds., *Jakten på Germania. Fra nordensvermeri til SS-arkeologi* (Oslo, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974).

<sup>6</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> See: Gerd Simon, *Denkschrift zur Vorgeschichte (1939). Dokumentiert von Gerd Simon* (Tübingen, 2006). Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Publius Cornelius Tacitus: *De origine et moribus Germanorum*.

<sup>9</sup> For the life and work of the librarian and first German professor for prehistory Kossinna see: Heinz Grünert, *Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). Vom Germanisten zum Prähistoriker. Ein Wissenschaftler im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2002). Heinz Grünert, "Gustaf Kossinna - ein Wegbereiter der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie." in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 307-320.

<sup>10</sup> *Vorgeschichte* as a *völkisch* influenced paradigm supplanted the earlier, not fully developed paradigm of *Urgeschichte* formulated by Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902). Both terms can be translated with the word prehistory, but *Urgeschichte* indicates the earliest part of a perceived continuous history of men whereas *Vorgeschichte* emphasis the time before written history. The names of many prehistoric institutions in Germany reflect the time and/or impetus of their foundation through the usage of either *Ur-* or *Vorgeschichte*. For an in-depth analysis of both paradigms see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 18-26. Research results of Ahnenerbe prehistorians working under the paradigm of *Vorgeschichte*, will be discussed further down.

<sup>11</sup> Allan A. Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus. Zur Rezeption der "Germania" des Tacitus im "Dritten Reich"* (Heidelberg, 1995), 11-30. Sybille Ehringhaus, *Germanenmythos und deutsche Identität. Die Frühmittelalter-Rezeption in Deutschland 1842-1933* (Weimar, 1996), passim. Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie. Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1998), passim. Heinz Grünert, *Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). Vom Germanisten zum Prähistoriker. Ein Wissenschaftler im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2002), passim. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 93-138. Rainer Kipper, *Der Germanenmythos im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Formen und Funktionen historischer Selbstthematization* (Göttingen, 2002), passim. Gerhard Binder, "Vom Schicksal einer Schicksalschrift der Deutschen im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Germania des Tacitus", in *Religion zwischen Kunst und Politik: Aspekte der Säkularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Manfred Jakobowski-Tiessen (Göttingen, 2004), 26-47. Uta Halle, "Die ‚Jugend‘ des Faches. ‚Förderung zur wissenschaftlichen Pflege der Heimatkunde‘ oder ‚Gebot vorausschauender Nationalpolitik‘", in: *Die Anfänge der ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie als akademisches Fach (1890-1930) im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Johan Callmer (Rahden / Westfalen, 2006), 73-79. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 27-51. Bruce G. Trigger, *A history of archaeological thought* (Cambridge 2009), 167-171, 207-223 & 248-261. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 20f. & 24-30. And particularly: Ingo Wiwjorra, *Der Germanenmythos. Konstruktion einer Weltanschauung in der Altertumsforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 2006), passim. Regarding this founding myth, one has to remind that already in Cesar's and Tacitus' time the ancient Germanic people were a political construct.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler. Biographie* (München, 2008), 769.

<sup>13</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 17-24. Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie. Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1999), 212-231. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 62-66. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 15-25. Uta Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008) 109-166, 119. Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler. Biographie* (München, 2008), 265-308 & 759-770. Even though Longerich's Himmler biography lists newer



treatise of Himmler's involvement in the humanities, notably the works of Halle and Pringle, he does not seem to have them incorporated into his line of argumentation.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenberg 1930. Regarding composition and structure see: Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe* (München 2005), 179-201.

<sup>15</sup> Reinerth was lecturer for prehistory at Tübingen University where his career came to a halt due to internal quarrels. He became Rosenberg's protégé and primary prehistorian. See: Gunter Schöbel, "Hans Reinerth. Forscher - NS-Funktionär - Museumsleiter," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 321-396. Gunter Schöbel, "Hans Reinerth: From Archaeologist to Reichsamtsleiter (1918-1945)," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 45-59.

<sup>16</sup> Herman Wirth, *Der Aufgang der Menschheit* (Jena, 1928). For the evidence see: Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe* (München 2005), 192 and annotation 81.

<sup>17</sup> Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie. Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1999), 101-153. Reinhard Bollmus, "Das 'Amt Rosenberg', das 'Ahnenerbe' und die Prähistoriker. Bemerkungen eines Historikers," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 42-45. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 60ff. Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe* (München 2005), 179-231. Uta Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008) 109-166, 118.

<sup>18</sup> For the definition and an in-depth discussion of the disputed concept of pseudoscience, see: Dirk Rupnow, ed., *Pseudowissenschaft. Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner : Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart, 1970), 28f, 47, 53f, 58f, 176ff. & 186ff. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 87-90, 139-154 & 364-373. Gunter Schöbel, "Hans Reinerth. Forscher - NS-Funktionär - Museumsleiter," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 321-396, 334-344. Günter Wegner, "Auf vielen und zwischen manchen Stühlen. Bemerkungen zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Karl Hermann Jacob-Friesen und Hans Reinerth.," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 397-417, 404-407. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 53-63.

<sup>20</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Band 1: Eine Abrechnung* (München, 1925). Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Band 2: Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung* (München, 1927). Regarding composition and structure see: Karl-Dietrich Bracher, *Die deutsche Diktatur. Entstehung, Struktur, Folgen des Nationalsozialismus* (Köln, 1993), 138-142. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler. 1889-1936 Hubris* (London, 1998), 240-253.

<sup>21</sup> Ian Kershaw, *Hitler. 1889-1936 Hubris* (London, 1998), passim. Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie. Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1999), 29-98. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 57-60. Uta Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008) 109-166, 118.

<sup>22</sup> Himmler repeatedly emphasized that within the SS there was no place for atheism. The SS-specific religiosity was called „gottgläubig“ (God-believing / deistic), „deutschgläubig“ (German-believing) or „schicksalsgläubig“ (believing in destiny) and registered accordingly in the SS-membership records.

<sup>23</sup> Josef Ackermann, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe* (Göttingen, 1970), passim. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 17-24. Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie. Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1999), 212-231. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 69-115. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 62-66. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 49-76 & 88-112. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 15-25 & 37-51. Uta

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Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008) 109–166, 119. Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler. Biographie* (München, 2008), 292-295 & 759-770. Markus Moors, "'Die SS als geistiger Stosstrupp'? Dr. Hans-Peter des Coudres, Schulungsleiter der 'SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg' 1935-1939", in *Die SS, Himmler und die Wewelsburg*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2009), 180-195. Armin Nolzen, "'...eine Art von Freimaurerei in der Partei? Die SS als Gliederung der NSDAP, 1933-1945'", in *Die SS, Himmler und die Wewelsburg*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2009), 23-44. Regarding the operations of RuSHA in general, see Isabel Heinemann, "*Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut*". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003). Regarding think tanks within the SD see also: Gerd Simon, *Germanistik in den Planspielen des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS* (Tübingen, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> This right to call oneself professor without tenure or university position was awarded by the German Reich or State governments, most often to teachers and principals, but sometimes also to lay scholars. Recipients need not necessarily have an academic education.

<sup>25</sup> Herman Wirth, *Der Aufgang der Menschheit* (Jena, 1928).

<sup>26</sup> Herman Wirth, *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit* (Leipzig, 1931-1936).

<sup>27</sup> Herman Wirth, *Die Ura-Linda-Chronik, übersetzt und mit einer einführenden geschichtlichen Untersuchung herausgegeben* (Leipzig, 1933).

<sup>28</sup> Eberhard Baumann, *Verzeichnis der Schriften, Manuskripte und Vorträge von Herman Felix Wirth Roeser Bosch von 1908 bis 1993, sowie der Schriften für, gegen, zu und über die Person und das Werk von Herman Wirth von 1908 bis 1995 / zsgetr. und verf. von Eberhard Baumann. Hrsg. von der Gesellschaft für Europäische Urgemeinschaftskunde e.V. ("Herman-Wirth-Gesellschaft")* (Toppenstedt 1995).

<sup>29</sup> Fritz Wiegner, *Herman Wirth und die deutsche Wissenschaft* (München 1932).

<sup>30</sup> In those years the monthly periodical *Germanien* had its own heading *Rufer im Streit* (caller in conflict) for dealing with critic against Teudt, Wirth and Co. Alfred Baeumler. *Was bedeutet Herman Wirth für die Wissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1932) Among the authors were Eugen Fehrle ((1880-1957) and Gerhard Heberer (1901-1973).

<sup>31</sup> Josef Ackermann, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologie* (Göttingen, 1970), p. 48f. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 11-16. Ingo Wiwjorra, "Herman Wirth - Eine gescheiterte Ideologie zwischen 'Ahnenerbe' und Atlantis," in *Historische Rassismusforschung. Ideologen, Täter, Opfer*, ed. B. Danckwortt, T. Querg, C. Schöningh et. al. (Hamburg, 1995), 73–106. Sybille Mulot, "Wodin, Tunis, und Inka. Die Ura-Linda-Chronik," in *Gefälscht! Betrug in Politik, Literatur, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Musik; [33 Fälle, die die Welt bewegten, von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart] Universalgeschichte des Fälschens*, ed. Karl Corino (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 263–275. Ingo Wiwjorra, "'Ex oriente lux' - 'Ex septentrione lux'. Über den Widerstreit zweier Identitätsmythen," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus. Die mittel- und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 73-106. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 57-62. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366–378, 368ff. Luitgard Löw, "På oppdrag for Himmler - Herman Wirths ekspedisjoner til Skandinavia hellerestninger," in *Jakten på Germania. Fra nordensvermeri til SS-arkeologi*, eds., Terje T. Emberland and Jorunn Sem Fure (Oslo, 2009) 180–201, 182-186.

<sup>32</sup> About Jacob-Friesen see: Günter Wegner, "Auf vielen und zwischen manchen Stühlen. Bemerkungen zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Karl Hermann Jacob-Friesen und Hans Reinerth.," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 397–417. Halle 2004. Halle 2005. Kirsten Hoffmann, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte - eine unpolitische Wissenschaft? Die urgeschichtliche Abteilung des Landesmuseum Hannover in der NS-Zeit," *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte* 74 (2005) 209–249.

<sup>33</sup> To the preparatory board belonged: Karl Bornhausen (1882-1940), professor for theology at Breslau university and exponent of the *Deutsche Christen*; Hugo Bruckmann (1863-1941), publisher in Munich and board member both of the KfDK and the German Museum, Munich; Niels Diederichs (1901-), one of the sons and successors of the publisher Eugen Diederichs, Jena; Hugo Dingler (1881-1954), full professor for philosophy at Darmstadt university; Eugen Fehrle (1880-1957), supernumerary professor for classical philology and lecturer for cultural anthropology / German ethnology at Heidelberg university; Gerhard Gesemann (1888-1948), full professor for Slavic philology at the German University Prag; Konrad Hahm (1892-1943), director of the *Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde* (Museum for German ethnology and folkloristic), part of the Berlin State Museums; Hellmuth von Hase, publisher in Leipzig; Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, full

professor for religious studies and indology at Tübingen university and founder of the German Faith Movement; Arnold Krumm-Heller (1876-1949), occultist and founder of the Fraternitas Rosicruciana Antiqua; Mac Lean of Coll, Regierungsrat (higher administrative officer) at Berlin; Friedrich von der Leyen (1873-1966), full professor for German philology at Köln university; Princess Olga zur Lippe (1885-1972); Mathilde Merck (1864-1958), widow of the pharmacy-industrial Willy Merck; Gustav Neckel (1878-1940), full professor emeritus for German studies at Berlin University; Prof. Dr. Petersen, Jena; Konrad Theodor Preuss, professor for ethnology at Berlin university; Karl Robert Sommer (1864-1937), professor for psychiatry at Giessen university; Dr. Wieser, Berlin-Spandau.

<sup>34</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 11-16. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 116-123. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 58-62. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 368ff. Luitgard Löw, "På oppdrag for Himmler - Herman Wirths ekspedisjoner til Skandinavias hellerestninger," in *Jakten på Germania. Fra nordensvermeri til SS-arkeologi*, ed. Terje T. Emberland and Jorunn Sem Fure (Oslo, 2009) 180-201.

<sup>35</sup> The jurist and historian von Leers was an arvent and influential anti-Semite and an important exponent of Germanic neopaganism with vast contacts including Wirth and Wiligut. See Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch, eds., *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften : Personen, Institutionen, Forschungsprogramme, Stiftungen* (München, 2008), 115 & 231.

<sup>36</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 16, 19f. & 41ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 55ff. & 61f.

<sup>37</sup> Roselius patronage of prehistory and *volkische* ideology is currently one focus of a research project conducted by the author at the Focke-Museum – Bremen State Museum for Art and Cultural History in cooperation with the Bremen State Archaeologist and the history department of Bremen University, sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from B. Hoetger to L. Roselius, dated 07.04.1933; letter from B. Hoetger to L. Roselius, dated 14.04.1933; letter from B. Hoetger to L. Roselius, dated 25.04.1933, in: BArch, NS 21 / 406.

<sup>39</sup> Arn Strohmeier, Kai Artinger and Ferdinand Krogmann, *Landschaft, Licht und niederdeutscher Mythos. Die Worpssweder Kunst und der Nationalsozialismus* (Weimar, 2000). Arie Hartog, "Gedanken-Nebelmeer. Einige Beobachtungen zu Bernhard Hoetger und Ludwig Roselius," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 83-99. Arie Hartog, "Zur Ideengeschichte der Böttcherstraße bis 1945," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 341-357. Arn Strohmeier, *Parsifal in Bremen. Richard Wagner, Ludwig Roselius und die Böttcherstrasse* (Weimar, 2002). Arn Strohmeier, "Die Idee Atlantis und Väterkunde," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 327-339. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 61. Elisabeth Schmidle, "Schandmal oder Mahnmal? Vom Umgang mit dem architektonischen Erbe der NS-Diktatur. Architekturgeschichte und der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit," *Der Bürger im Staat* 56, 6, (2006), 184-190. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 370f.

<sup>40</sup> Löw, Luitgard. (15.07.2010), Nordkappmuseet, Honningsvåg / Bamberg University. Personal communication. In his correspondence with Wirth Roselius emphasized several times throughout 1934 he could fully support Wirth, if he turned to Bremen. See especially the first letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 10.12.1933, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874).

<sup>41</sup> Ludwig Roselius, *Erstes Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, (Bremen, 1933), 11f. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 15. Arie Hartog, "Gedanken-Nebelmeer. Einige Beobachtungen zu Bernhard Hoetger und Ludwig Roselius," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 83-99. Arie Hartog, "Zur Ideengeschichte der Böttcherstraße bis 1945," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 341-357. Arn Strohmeier, *Parsifal in Bremen. Richard Wagner, Ludwig Roselius und die Böttcherstrasse* (Weimar, 2002). Arn Strohmeier, "Die Idee Atlantis und Väterkunde," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 327-339. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 61. Elisabeth Schmidle, "Schandmal oder Mahnmal? Vom Umgang mit dem architektonischen Erbe der NS-

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Diktatur. Architekturgeschichte und der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit,” *Der Bürger im Staat* 56, 6, (2006), 184–190. Luitgard Löw, “Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought,” in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366–378, 370f.

<sup>42</sup> The artifacts uncovered by Rust became part of the *Museum “Väterkunde”*. See: Correspondence, accounting and acquisition acknowledgements, in: Archive of the Böttcherstraße.

<sup>43</sup> Ludwig Roselius, *Erstes Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, (Bremen, 1933), 7f.

<sup>44</sup> Hans Müller-Brauel, “Das ‘Väterkunde’ Museum zu Bremen,” in *Erstes Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, ed. Ludwig Roselius (Bremen, 1933), 14-27. The person and work of the autodidact, lay regional historian and archaeologist Hans Müller-Brauel, Roselius research associate, has yet to be closely investigated.

<sup>45</sup> Herman Wirth, “Die Religion der Megalith-Kultur und die Entstehung der abendländischen Schrift,” in *Erstes Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, ed. Ludwig Roselius (Bremen, 1933), 57-59.

<sup>46</sup> Date of death unknown.

<sup>47</sup> He presented his theories also in: Hermann Wille, *Germanische Gotteshäuser zwischen Weser und Ems* (Leipzig 1933). Plassmann brought the book into a readable form before print. See: Letter from H. Wirth to L. Roselius, dated 27.11.1933, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874). On Wille see also: Uta Halle, “‘Pfleger exakter Wissenschaft und Bekämpfung aller Auswüchse’. Das Provinzialmuseum Hannover und die völkische Laienforschung”, *Die Kunde (NF)* 55 (2004), 103-114. Jörg Eckert, “Großsteingräber im Spiegel von Politik und öffentlicher Wahrnehmung am Beispiel der ‘Kleinenkneten Steine’, Ldkr. Oldenburg” in *Archäologie und völkisches Gedankengut. Zum Umgang mit dem eigenen Erbe; ein Beitrag zur selbstreflexiven Archäologie*, ed. Ulf F. Ickerodt (Frankfurt am Main 2010), 103-114. Jörg Eckert, “Die ‘Großen Steine’ von Kleinenkneten - die Mär von den Germanischen Kulthallen,” in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 193-206.

<sup>48</sup> The other speaker in order of occurrence were Otto Reche (1879-1966), full professor for physical anthropology and ethnology at Leipzig University, Julius Andree (1889-1942), lecturer for geology and palaeontology at Munster University, Gustav Schwantes (1881-1960), supernumerary professor at Kiel University for prehistory and director of the Sleswick-Holsatian State Museum for Antiquities; and Gustav Neckel (1878-1940), full professor emeritus for German studies at Berlin University. To Andree see Uta Halle, “Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!”, *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002). To Schwantes see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011). For the published versions of the lectures see: Ludwig Roselius, ed., *Erstes Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, (Bremen), 1933.

<sup>49</sup> Nils Åberg, “Herman Wirth: En germansk kulturprofet”, *Fornvännen* 28 (1933), 247-249.

<sup>50</sup> Program and list of participants of the First Nordic Thing and news coverage in: Archive of the Bremen State Archaeologist. See also: Arn Strohmeyer, “Die Idee Atlantis und Väterkunde,” in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 327-339, 336f.

<sup>51</sup> Arn Strohmeyer, “Die Idee Atlantis und Väterkunde,” in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 327-339, 337f. Elisabeth Schmidle, “Schandmal oder Mahnmal? Vom Umgang mit dem architektonischen Erbe der NS-Diktatur. Architekturgeschichte und der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit,” *Der Bürger im Staat* 56, 6, (2006), 184–190, 188.

<sup>52</sup> Program and list of participants of the Second Nordic Thing in: Archive of the Bremen State Archaeologist.

<sup>53</sup> To Wüst, see: Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935–1945* (München, 2008). Schreiber covers Wüst’s activities as supporter of Wirth and – later – head of the Ahnenerbe only fragmentary. Compare: Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), passim. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), passim. In 1933/34 Wüst must be regarded as a close associate of Wirth, they were even planning to edit a journal together, see: Letter from H. Wirth to L. Roselius, dated 20.06.1934; letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 22.06.1934, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874).

<sup>54</sup> Substantial correspondence on this topic was conserved in the Ahnenerbe archives, see especially: Letter from H. Wirth to L. Roselius, dated 18.01.1934, in: BArch, NS 21 / 406. Letter from Prof. Grober to L. Roselius, dated 07.07.1933; letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 18.11.1933, second letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 10.12.1933; letter from

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L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 28.12.1933, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874).

<sup>55</sup> Hans Naumann, "Altgermanische Philosophie," in *Zweites Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstrasse zu Bremen*, ed. Ludwig Roselius (Bremen, 1934), 9-21, 13.

<sup>56</sup> The academic speaker in order of occurrence were Hans Naumann (1886-1951), full professor for German studies at Bonn University and speaker at the Nazi book burnings, Hans Müller-Brauel, Mathias Thordarson, director of the Icelandic National Museum, Albert Egges van Giffen (1884-1973), full professor and director of the Biological-Archaeological Institute of Groningen University, Wolfgang La Baume (1885-1971), director of the West Prussian State Museum at Danzig, Bernhard Schmeidler (1879-1959), full professor for medieval history and diplomatics at Erlangen University, Thomas Downing Kendrick (1895-1979), director of the British Museum, Julius Evola (1898-1974), fascist philosopher and author, Fritz Rörig (1882-1952), full professor for medieval history at Kiel University, Friedrich von der Leyen (1873-1966), full professor for German philology at Köln University, Erich Jung (1866-1950), full professor for law at Marburg University and lay historian, Walther Wüst (1901-1993), supernumerary professor for indology at Munich University, Axel Ludvig Romdahl (1880-1951), professor and director of the Gothenburg Museum of Art, Joseph Maria Müller-Blattau (1895-1976), associate professor for musicology at Königsberg University, Jon Alfred Mjøen (1860-1939), one of Norway's leading racial biologists and eugenicists, Hans Frank (1900-1946), Minister of Justice for Bavaria, head of the National Socialist Jurists Association and President of the Academy for German Law, Leo Frobenius (1873-1938), a pioneer of ethnology, honorary professor at Frankfurt University and director of Frankfurt Museum of Ethnology. For the published versions of the lectures, see: Ludwig Roselius, ed., *Zweites Nordisches Thing in der Böttcherstraße zu Bremen* (Bremen, 1934). The lecture of Hans Frank was not included.

<sup>57</sup> Program and list of participants of the Second Nordic Thing and news coverage in: Archive of the Bremen State Archaeologist. Roselius 1934. See also: Arn Strohmeier, "Die Idee Atlantis und Väterkunde," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 327-339, 337f.

<sup>58</sup> Program and list of participants of the First and Second Nordic Thing in: Archive of the Bremen State Archaeologist.

<sup>59</sup> To Langsdorff see: Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), passim. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), passim esp. 194.

<sup>60</sup> Jankuhns involvement with the Ahnenerbe will be discussed extensively later. See also: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011).

<sup>61</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 104ff. To Altheim, see also: Volker Losemann, *Nationalsozialismus und Antike. Studien zur Entwicklung des Faches Alte Geschichte 1933-1945*, Historische Perspektiven, vol. 7 (Hamburg, 1977).

<sup>62</sup> Program and list of participants of the First and Second Nordic Thing in: Archive of the Bremen State Archaeologist.

<sup>63</sup> Editorship: "Das Zweite Nordische Thing", *Rasse*, Vol. I, (1934), 205f.

<sup>64</sup> Bernhard Kummer: „Das Nordische Thing“, *Germanen-Erbe*, 5 (1936), 149-153. Interestingly Kummer used his review also to attack the theses of Otto Höfler without naming him. The dispute between Kummer and Höfler occupied the Ahnenerbe as will be exemplified below.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 02.07.1933; letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 10.12.1933; letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 23.02.1935, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874).

<sup>66</sup> Newspaper article: "Nordische Gesellschaft: Das Bremer Kontor gegründet", *Bremer Zeitung*, 09. December 1933. Bremen seems to be the only case, where the *Kontor* was not headed by the Gauleiter.

<sup>67</sup> „Fragebogen zur Bearbeitung des Aufnahmeantrages in die Reichsschriftumskammer“, filled in by L. Roselius, dated 10.05.1938, in: BArch (former BDC), RK, Reichskulturkammer, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874). See also: Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945?* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 497.

<sup>68</sup> Arie Hartog, "Zur Ideengeschichte der Böttcherstraße bis 1945," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 341-357, 352. Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945?* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 497.

<sup>69</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 63. Löw, Luitgard, (15.07.2010), Nordkappmuseet, Honningsvåg / Bamberg University: Personal communication.

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<sup>70</sup> Letter from H. Wirth to E. Scotland, dated 03. January 1936, in: BAArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Jacob-Friesen, Karl Hermann (06.01.1886).

<sup>71</sup> Arie Hartog, "Zur Ideengeschichte der Böttcherstraße bis 1945," in *Projekt Böttcherstraße*, eds., Hans Tallasch and Nils Aschenbeck (Oldenburg, 2002), 341-357; 351f. Elisabeth Schmidle, "Schandmal oder Mahnmal? Vom Umgang mit dem architektonischen Erbe der NS-Diktatur. Architekturgeschichte und der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit," *Der Bürger im Staat* 56, 6, (2006), 184-190, 188.

<sup>72</sup> Letter from L. Roselius to B. Galke, dated 12.04.1936; copy of a letter from B. Galke to H. Himmler, dated 25.08.1936; letter from B. Galke to L. Roselius, dated 14.10.1936; copy of a letter from W. Sievers to L. Roselius send to B. Galke, 06.11.1936, in: BAArch, NS 21 / 725. As a gift in return Roselius obtained copies of the plaster casts made during Wirth's expedition to Scandinavia.

<sup>73</sup> Letter from Reichsgeschäftsführung to L. Roselius, dated 14.09.1939, in: BAArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874).

<sup>74</sup> Ludwig Roselius, *Fichte für heute: aus den Schriften Johann Gottlieb Fichtes* (Bremen, 1938).

<sup>75</sup> Letter from R. von Hoff to H. Müller-Brauel, dated 02.03.1935, in: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Dokumentationsarchiv, Archivalien des ehem. Ludwig Roselius-Museums für Frühgeschichte, Worpsswede (Slg. Roselius), Bestand 2 Unterlagen Hans Müller-Brauel, 1. Korrespondenzen mit Personen, 23. von Hoff. The reasons behind this change are not yet fully understood. Most probably Röver became chairman since all other branch offices were headed by the respective Gauleiter also.

<sup>76</sup> Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe* (München 2005), 192 and annotation 81.

<sup>77</sup> To Huth see: Horst Junginger, *Von der philologischen zur völkischen Religionswissenschaft. Das Fach Religionswissenschaft an der Universität Tübingen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Dritten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1999), 248-268.

<sup>78</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 15. In particular: Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 116-123. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 370f.

<sup>79</sup> Matthias Eidenbenz, "Blut und Boden": *zu Funktion und Genese der Metaphern des Agrarismus und Biologismus in der nationalsozialistischen Bauernpropaganda R. W. Darrés* (Bern, 1993). Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 127.

<sup>80</sup> Letter from H. Wirth to L. Roselius, dated 20.06.1934; letter from L. Roselius to H. Wirth, dated 22.06.1934, in: BAArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Roselius, Ludwig (02.07.1874). Letter on behalf of H. Wirth to H. Müller-Brauel, dated 20.06.1934, in: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Dokumentationsarchiv, Archivalien des ehem. Ludwig Roselius-Museums für Frühgeschichte, Worpsswede (Slg. Roselius), Bestand 2 Unterlagen Hans Müller-Brauel, 1. Korrespondenzen mit Personen, 75. H. Wirth.

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Gesine von Leers to H. Müller-Brauel, dated 03.02.1933. Letter from Gesine von Leers to L. Roselius, dated 23.02.1934. Poster for the „Zweite Tagung über das heidnische religiöse Ringen unserer Tage“ (second conference on the neo-pagan religious struggle of our days) held by the *Gesellschaft für germanische Ur- und Vorgeschichte*, on 01.03.1934 in Berlin. Letter on behalf of L. Roselius to Gesine von Leers, dated 07.03.1934. Letter from Gesine von Leers to H. Müller-Brauel, dated 13.05.1934. Letter from Gesine von Leers, dated 10.02.1935, in: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Dokumentationsarchiv, Archivalien des ehem. Ludwig Roselius-Museums für Frühgeschichte, Worpsswede (Slg. Roselius), Bestand 2 Unterlagen Hans Müller-Brauel, 1. Korrespondenzen mit Personen, 41. von Leers.

<sup>82</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 11-28 & 37-41. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 116 & 123ff. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 50-55.

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Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366–378, 371f.

<sup>83</sup> For Sievers see also: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 28-36. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 67f. & passim. Achim Leube, "Wolfram Sievers, der gewichtige Mann im SS- 'Ahnenerbe'," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 121-131.

<sup>84</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 37-57. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 123-135. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-91. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 50f. & 143f

<sup>85</sup> A close link between the dispute about the Oera Linda Book and the foundation of Ahnenerbe is stated in: Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 116f.

<sup>86</sup> Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner : Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart, 1970), 28f, 47, 53f, 58f, 176ff. & 186ff. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 87–90, 139–154 & 364–373. Gunter Schöbel, "Hans Reinerth. Forscher - NS-Funktionär - Museumsleiter," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 321–396, 334-344. Günter Wegner, "Auf vielen und zwischen manchen Stühlen. Bemerkungen zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Karl Hermann Jacob-Friesen und Hans Reinerth.," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 397–417, 404-407. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 53-63.

<sup>87</sup> For the conflict regarding the naming of the schoolbook series of G. B. Teubner, see: Letter from W. Sievers to B. Galke, dated 01.04.1936, letter from K. Wolff to B. Galke, dated 22.04.1936, letter from W. Sievers to B. Galke, dated 23.04.1936, in: BArch, NS 21 / 725. The first letter by Sievers references Wirth's negotiations with Minister Rust regarding his exhibition including the corresponding Aktennummer.

<sup>88</sup> Andrea Böltken, *Führerinnen im " Führerstaat ". Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, Trude Mohr, Jutta Rüdiger und Inge Viermetz*, *Forum Frauengeschichte* 18 (Pfaffenweiler 1995), 106f. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-112.

<sup>89</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 38 & 66. Achim Leube, "Wolfram Sievers, der gewichtige Mann im SS- 'Ahnenerbe'," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 121-131, 126f. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366–378, 371ff.

<sup>90</sup> Sievers' position is stated e.g. in the contract on the acquisition of the library of Prof. Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935) from his estate, dated 28.05.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 725.

<sup>91</sup> Neither Kater nor Pringle sufficiently discuss the dual nature of the Ahnenerbe. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 37-41 & 66. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-112. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), passim. Mario Wenzel, "Die NSDAP, ihre Gliederungen und angeschlossenen Verbände. Ein Überblick," in *Wie wurde man Parteigenosse? Die NSDAP und ihre Mitglieder*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), 19–38, 21f, 24ff. & 31f.

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<sup>92</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 41ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 63-75. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 372-376.

<sup>93</sup> Wilhelm Teudt, *Germanische Heiligtümer. Beiträge zur Aufdeckung der Vorgeschichte, ausgehend von den Externsteinen, den Lippequellen und der Teutoburg*, (Jena, 1929).

<sup>94</sup> The cooperation between Reichsbund and Teudt was primarily tactically motivated. Already in late 1935 Reinert began to distance himself from Teudt while it became clear that the excavation at Oesterholz would not yield the results predicted by Teudt. See: Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 119f. & 366ff.

<sup>95</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 43-46 & 54ff. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 61-68. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 69-79.

<sup>96</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 37-57. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 116-134. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), passim. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 372-375.

<sup>97</sup> Date of death is unknown.

<sup>98</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 42f. & 47-65. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-118. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 134-152. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91-98. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 376. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935-1945* (München, 2008), 205ff.

<sup>99</sup> „We do not have anything in common with those who know National Socialism only from hearsay and therefore easily confuse it with indefinable Nordic phrases, and now start their research on motifs in some legendary Atlantic culture. National Socialism strongly repudiates this type of Böttcherstraßen-culture.” Hitler's speech was published in *Völkischer Beobachter* 255, (11.09.1936), 4-6.

<sup>100</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 136 and annotation 80.

<sup>101</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91 and annotation 2.

<sup>102</sup> Ian Kershaw, *Hitler. 1936-1945 Nemesis* (London, 2000), 39ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91.

<sup>103</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 137f.

<sup>104</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), p. 91.

<sup>105</sup> Letter from L. Roselius to B. Kummer, dated 22.07.1935, in: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Dokumentationsarchiv, Archivalien des ehem. Ludwig Roselius-Museums für Frühgeschichte, Worpsswede (Slg. Roselius), Bestand 2 Unterlagen Hans Müller-Brauel, 1. Korrespondenzen mit Personen, 35. B. Kummer.

<sup>106</sup> Bernhard Kummer: "Das Nordische Thing", *Germanen-Erbe*, 5 (1936), 149-153.



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<sup>107</sup> Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 378ff. & 400f.

<sup>108</sup> Copy of a circular letter from K. H. O. Heider, mayor of Bremen, to the senators of Bremer, dated 12.06.1936, in: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 3-S.8.b. Böttcherstraße Nr. 9.

<sup>109</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 138. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 92f.

<sup>110</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), passim. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), passim. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 175-177 & 194.

<sup>111</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 58-65. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 134-152. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91-98. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 373 & 376. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935-1945* (München, 2008), 205ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 175-177.

<sup>112</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 66. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 138ff.

<sup>113</sup> Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 73-79 & 441-445. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 144, 175 & 178.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. see the copy signed by Sievers 23.10.1937: BArch, NS 21 / 406.

<sup>115</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 58-65. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 134-152. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 434-445. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-91 & 112-125. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91-98. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 376. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935-1945* (München, 2008), 205ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 175-178.

<sup>116</sup> Taken the arguments provided by Heinemann into account, there is no need to assume a break-up between Himmler and Darré as Kater did. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 58-82 & 91-119. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 88-91 & 112-119. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 91-98 & 121ff.

<sup>117</sup> Most importantly W. Wüst, see: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 43-47. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 93-98. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935-1945* (München, 2008), 39ff. Plassmann seems to have cooperated with the SD at least since 1938, see: Gerd

Simon, *Rassist oder Widerständler? Der Germanenkundler Plassmann* (Tübingen, 2007), 4. Jankuhn's affiliation with the SD began around 1937 when he came in contact with Dr. Löw, head of the Kiel SD office; see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 73-78 193 & 195ff.. The anatomist Robert Wetzel, conducting the Ahnenerbe excavations in the Lone valley, was an SD informant also; see: Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 31 and annotation 73. The Ahnenerbe expedition by Franz Altheim and Erika Trautmann served intelligence gathering purposes on the Balkans and in the Middle East as well as academic ones; see: Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 102-120.

<sup>118</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 68ff.

<sup>119</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 91-95 & 302-306. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 138-152 & 180-188.

<sup>120</sup> Comment on „*Ein Handbuch der Germanenkunde*“ by J. O. Plassmann dated 16.04.1937, in: BArch, NS21 / 297.

<sup>121</sup> Managing head of the department RA II (presumably J. O. Plassmann): "Gedanken zum weiteren Ausbau der Hauptabteilung II im Rassenamt des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt", concept sent to the RuSHA chief of staff, dated 16.04.1937, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph Otto (12.06.1895). For a more detailed discussion of this concept and a reprint, see also: Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 74 & 408-412.

<sup>122</sup> Text written by Rampf, dated 07.09.1837, in: BArch, NS 21 / 179.

<sup>123</sup> Report by W. Sievers and W. Wüst, dated 25.10.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 46. Report by W. Wüst, dated 25.10.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 669.

<sup>124</sup> A first evaluation of this concept was conducted by Malte Gasche, even though his approach disregarded important aspects and focused too much on the *Salzburger Wissenschaftswochen*. Gasche 2006.

<sup>125</sup> See. Chapter 4: The Impact of Prehistory.

<sup>126</sup> See: Chapter 3.3 Integration and incorporation.

<sup>127</sup> Bernd-A. Rusinek, "Wald und Baum in der arisch-germanischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte". Ein Forschungsprojekt des 'Ahnenerbe' der SS 1937-1945", in: *Der Wald – Ein deutscher Mythos? Perspektiven eines Kulturthemas*, ed. Albrecht Lehmann and Klaus Schriewer (Berlin and Hamburg 2000), 267-363.

<sup>128</sup> The genesis and development of these plans, including expeditions to North Africa, Iceland and Italy as well as research on Gothic sites in the Black Sea area, and departments are only partially understood and have still to be closely examined. See also: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 72-90 & 95-122. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 123-152. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 141ff. & passim.

<sup>129</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 186.

<sup>130</sup> In German university tradition and regulations the *Habilitation* is the prerequisite to being appointed professor.

<sup>131</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 62f. Luitgard Löw, "Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366-378, 376. For the status of the department and its later fusion with the *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Runenkunde* (department for research on runes), see correspondence and notes for the records in: BArch, NS 21 / 302.

<sup>132</sup> These additional departments for prehistory were founded on the initiative of Jankuhn as will be shown later.

<sup>133</sup> Letter from Galke to the exchequer of the Personal Staff RFSS, dated 09.03.1937, in: BArch, NS21 / 740. The actual circulation figures for "Germanien" have yet to be ascertained since they are not included in the imprint of the journal.

Therefore whether the term “SS Führer” was used in its normal meaning – i.e. any and all officers of the SS – or more specifically only referred to the higher echelons, is not clear. But the first screening of an estate of a junior SS-officer unearthed all “Germanien” issues from 1938 onwards indicating the former.

<sup>134</sup> “Germanien”, especially editorials and annual indices of the years 1936-1943. Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 104ff. Uta Halle, “Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 72, 77f, 377-380, 400, 438, 476 & 511. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 144. Kater’s rather negative assessment of “Germanien” misses the point, since it was aimed at a broad readership and had to be realigned as well since it was taken over from Teudt’s circle. Additionally his opinion, Jankuhn and others had severe difficulties writing for “Germanien” due to their academic ethos, is – at least in Jankuhn’s case, plain wrong. See: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 73-199.

<sup>135</sup> For Kaiser, see: Uta Halle, “Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 441-445.

<sup>136</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 104-110. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 148ff. & 160-173.

<sup>137</sup> BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Pastenaci, Kurt (28.09.1894). Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Dokumentationsarchiv, Archivalien des ehem. Ludwig Roselius-Museums für Frühgeschichte, Worpswede (Slg. Roselius), Bestand 2 Unterlagen Hans Müller-Brauel, 1. Korrespondenzen mit Personen, 48. Kurt Pastenaci.

<sup>138</sup> Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935–1945* (München, 2008), passim. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 78f.

<sup>139</sup> J. v. Leers, “Nordische Symbole im Spielzeug”, *Hilf mit!*, December issue, 1936; J. v. Leers, “Das grosse Heiligtum”, *Hilf mit!*, June issue, 1937; J. v. Leers, “Unser täglich Brot. Geschichten um unsere Nahrungsmittel”, *Hilf mit!*, September issue, 1937. Von Leers explicitly used pictures from the Ahnenerbe and his article „Das grosse Heiligtum“ (the great sanctuary) promotes Teudt’s theses regarding the Externsteine. *Hilf mit!*’s articles on prehistory still have to be investigated more closely.

<sup>140</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 143f. Luitgard Löw, “Herman Wirth and the History of Primeval Thought,” in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 366–378, 372-377.

<sup>141</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 110ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 1ff.

<sup>142</sup> This term was often used to indicate Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Swiss and Scandinavia.

<sup>143</sup> The *Deutschnord* was one of the oldest organisations of the *völkische* movement and one of the very few Nazi party members were allowed to be members of after 1934. The *Deutschnord* was elitist and radically anti-Semitic.

<sup>144</sup> Memorandum for record by J. O. Plassmann, dated 25.02.1938, in: BArch, NS21 / 563. Letter from J. O. Plassmann to W. Sievers, dated 03.05.1938, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Gerstenhauer (30.09.1873). For the further development during WWII, see: Chapter 5.

<sup>145</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 97f. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 152f. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 193.

<sup>146</sup> In 1935 – after its upgrading into a *Hauptamt* (main office) – the RuSHA was subdivided in seven departments each holding the status of an *Amt* (office). Like all Nazi offices these could be further subdivided into *Abteilungen* (departments) and *Unterabteilungen* (sub-departments).

<sup>147</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 69-78.

<sup>148</sup> „2. Entwurf. Das Arbeitsgebiet der Abteilung R:A: IIIb, Vorgeschichte, im Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt SS“ (2nd draft: field of action of the department RA IIIb, prehistory, of the RuSHA), cited according to: Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 357. The draft was originally written by Höhne and authorized by Wiligut and Langsdorf on 18.09.1935. See: Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 355, annotation 51.

<sup>149</sup> To Höhne see: Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 80ff. & 87. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 176f. & 194.

<sup>150</sup> Paulsen was a fully fledged prehistorian who was initially a follower of Hans Reinerth and the Amt Rosenberg. He left Kiel University after a series of quarrels with Gustav Schwantes and Herbert Jankuhn and changed sides to the SS. After a stay at RuSHA and later Ahnenerbe he lectured at the SS-officers school at Bad Tölz, where he again came into trouble with Jankuhn and the Ahnenerbe. BAArch, R 58/9002, Bl. 381. Henning Haßmann and Detlef Jantzen, “*Die deutsche Vorgeschichte - eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft*’. Das Kieler Museum Vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer im Dritten Reich,” *Offa* 51 (1994), 9–23, 13. Jörn Jacobs, “Peter Paulsen. Ein Wanderer zwischen den Welten,” in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 451–459, 451f. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 196, Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 50, 53-63 & 194.

<sup>151</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 67 and annotation 71. Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 355–358. Isabel Heinemann, “*Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut*”. *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 95 and annotation 129. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 122. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 176f.

<sup>152</sup> Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 62f, 77 & 355-358. Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler. Biographie* (München, 2008), 292-295. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 28 & 176f.

<sup>153</sup> Correspondence and travel journal of Wiligut’s visit in Bremen and surrounding territories in September 1936, in: BAArch, NS 19 / 4047. Correspondences regarding the general excavation permit for the Prussian Provinces and the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, in: Bremen State Archive, 3-B.13 Nr. 165. Letter from the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Education, dated 21.10.1936, regarding the amendment to decree Vb 70/35, dated 10.1.1935, in: LAS Abt. 309 Nr. 35 756. Another permit is documented for the Free State of Lippe, see: Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 63. In both cases the initiative was taken by the Prussian and Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (REM) after they gave Himmler their initial permit. How this first permit came to pass has yet to be discerned.

<sup>154</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 67 and annotation 71. Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 345-358. Veit Stürmer, “Hans Schleif. Eine Karriere zwischen Archäologischem Institut und Ahnenerbe e.V.” in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 429–449, 432f. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 122. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 176f.

<sup>155</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 67 and annotation 71, p. 112 and annotation 201. Uta Halle, “*Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!*”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 345-358. Veit Stürmer, “Hans

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Schleif. Eine Karriere zwischen Archäologischem Institut und Ahnenerbe e.V.” in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 429–449, 437. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 122-125. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 176f. & 183f.

<sup>156</sup> Uta Halle, “Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 432. Markus Moors, “‘Die SS als geistiger Stosstrupp’? Dr. Hans-Peter des Coudres, Schulungsleiter der ‘SS-Schule Haus Wewelsburg’ 1935-1939”, in *Die SS, Himmler und die Wewelsburg*, ed. Jan Erik Schulte (Paderborn, 2009), 180-195, 188-193.

<sup>157</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 140ff.

<sup>158</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 141f.

<sup>159</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 140ff.

<sup>160</sup> Photocopy of a letter from R. Heydrich to H. Himmler, dated 16.02.1939; letter from K. Wolff to R. Heydrich, dated 28.02.1939; letter from W. Sievers to R. Heydrich, dated 20.03.1939, in: BArch, NS 21 / 406.

<sup>161</sup> The documents on financial commitments still having to be examined closely in: BArch, NS 21/592.

<sup>162</sup> See: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 173ff. Even though the Ahnenerbe documents name no sums the amount of money must have been substantial since Jankuhn and others over the years repeatedly complained about the hefty prices for fields and estates around the Hedeby areal.

<sup>163</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 59ff. Isabel Heinemann, “*Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut*”. *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 109ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 137ff. & passim. Pringle only makes some overall investigations and examines the budgets or better financial problems of a few expeditions

<sup>164</sup> Letter from W. Sievers to the president of the DFG, dated 30.05.1938, in: BArch, NS/21, 722.

<sup>165</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 59f. & 91 Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 139ff.

<sup>166</sup> Letter from W. Sievers to H. Himmler written 10.12.1937, in: BArch, NS 21/734. Letter from R. Mentzel to W. Sievers written 24.12.1937, in: BArch, NS 21/281.

<sup>167</sup> Letter from W. Sievers to the president of the DFG, dated 30.05.1938, in: BArch, NS/21, 722. See also: Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 74-78 & 91. Notker Hammerstein, *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich. Wissenschaftspolitik in Republik und Diktatur; 1920 - 1945* (München, 1999), 228-234 & 255-261. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 139ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 179-183. Hammerstein’s analysis – as well of the overall impact of the Third Reich on research policies as of the DFG funding Ahnenerbe projects – is highly problematic. See: Ingo Haar, *Rezension zu: Hammerstein, Notker: Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich. Wissenschaftspolitik in Republik und Diktatur. München 1999*. <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/id=482>>.

<sup>168</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 122f. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 153. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 137f.

<sup>169</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 137. Dirk Mahsarski, “Gerhard Heberer: Mitläufer oder Avantgardist der ‘Neuen Ordnung’?,” *NIK Nachrichten und Informationen zur Kultur* 6/05 (2001), 34–52, 46.

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<sup>170</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 172-199 & 223-233.

<sup>171</sup> Heberer became full professor at Jena University in 1938, this time successfully supported by the Ahnenerbe. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 137ff. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 148f. & 328. Dirk Mahsarski, "Gerhard Heberer: Mitläufer oder Avantgardist der 'Neuen Ordnung'?", *NIK Nachrichten und Informationen zur Kultur* 6/05 (2001), 34–52, 47. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 230f.

<sup>172</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 47-57. Brigitte Nagel, *Die Welteislehre. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Rolle im "Dritten Reich"* (Berlin, Diepholz, 2000). Christina Wessely, "Welteis. Die 'Astronomie des Unsichtbaren' um 1900," in: *Pseudowissenschaft. Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Dirk Rupnow (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 163–193.

<sup>173</sup> Edmund Kiss, *Das Sonnentor von Tihuanaku und Hörbigers Welteislehre* (Leipzig, 1937).

<sup>174</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 178-183.

<sup>175</sup> The specialist for German Studies Otto Maußer (1880-1940) professor at Munich University and changed to Königsberg University with support by the Ahnenerbe. He died before he could finish his revision of the Oera Linda Book. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 60 & 137f. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 148f.

<sup>176</sup> E.g. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935–1945* (München, 2008), 207.

<sup>177</sup> Andreas Lüddecke, *Rassen, Schädel und Gelehrte: zur politischen Funktionalität der anthropologischen Forschung und Lehre in der Tradition Egon von Eickstedts* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000). Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Rassenforschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut vor und nach 1933*, *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 3 (Göttingen, 2003). Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Grenzüberschreitung. Das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik 1927-1945*, *Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 9 (Göttingen, 2005). Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 27-36. Dirk Rupnow and Thomas Pegelow Kaplan, "Rassenkonstruktion und Verfolgungspolitik im NS-Staat". *Zeitgeschichte* 34, H. 1, (2007). As an example from a neighboring field Heinz Gert Fischer deserves to be mentioned. The psychologist and educationist was director of the institute for psychological anthropology of Marburg University. In the summer of 1942 he was interested in both joining the SS and the Ahnenerbe on the basis of research conducted in Flanders by one of his junior faculty members in cooperation with the Ahnenerbe. See the correspondence in: BArch, NS 21 / 406. Fischer later turned to the Amt Rosenberg and became department head at the *Institut der Hohen Schule der NSDAP für nationalsozialistische Volkspflege* in 1944.

<sup>178</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 80f. & 94. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 31ff, 140-187 & 242-268. Uta Halle, "NS-Propaganda im Spiegel archäologischer Quellen", in *Geschichte und Propaganda. Die Ottonen im Schatten des Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Christoph Mühlendorfer-Vogt and Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt (Quedlinburg 2005), 31-35 & 40-45. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 194.

<sup>179</sup> BArch (ehem. BDC), SSO, Heberer, Gerhard (20.03.1901). BArch (ehem. BDC), SSO, Höhne, Rolf (26.09.1908). BArch (ehem. BDC), SSO, Langsdorff, Alexander (14.12.1898). Horst Junginger, *Von der philologischen zur völkischen Religionswissenschaft. Das Fach Religionswissenschaft an der Universität Tübingen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Dritten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1999), 248-268. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 329ff. Dirk Mahsarski, "Gerhard Heberer: Mitläufer oder Avantgardist der 'Neuen Ordnung'?", *NIK Nachrichten und Informationen zur Kultur* 6/05 (2001), 34–52. Achim Leube, "Wolfram Sievers, der gewichtige Mann im SS- 'Ahnenerbe'", in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les*

*pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 121-131, 124-130.

<sup>180</sup> Report on his activities by Rampf, naming Reuter as reviewer of articles dealing with Kummer and Höfler, dated 10.08.1937, in: BArch, NS21 / 679

<sup>181</sup> E.g. Alexander Langsdorff "Auf den Spuren unserer Ahnen. Die Erdenburg bei Köln, eine germanische Wallburg," *Das Schwarze Korps*, 19. Folge, Ausgabe vom 18. Juli 1935, 8. Alexander Langsdorff "Auf den Spuren unserer Ahnen. Die Erdenburg bei Köln, eine germanische Wallburg Teil II," *Das Schwarze Korps*, 21. Folge, Ausgabe vom 25. Juli 1935, Berlin 1935, 11.

<sup>182</sup> Basis for the budget of Ahnenerbe and the excavations department used here is a declaration by W. Sievers to R. Mentzel, acting president of the DFG, dated 30.05.1938, in: BArch, NS/21, 722. The initial budget draft for the department by R. Höhne estimated about 9.000 RM higher costs and does not completely correspond with the projects named by Sievers in his letter. Letter from R. Höhne to W. Wüst including the department budget of 1937 and an estimation for 1938, dated 24.03.1938, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Höhne, Rolf (26.09.1908). See also: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 81f. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 175-182.

<sup>183</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 182f. On Bohmers, see: Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 306f. & 417f.

<sup>184</sup> For the activities of A. Bohmers and M. Rudolph see chapter 5. For the increased status of their departments, see "Tafel II: Das "Ahnenerbe" (1943/44)", published in: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974).

<sup>185</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), passim. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), passim. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 193f. & passim.

<sup>186</sup> Walter Naasner, ed., *SS-Wirtschaft und SS-Verwaltung. "das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die unter seiner Dienstaufsicht stehenden wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen" und weitere Dokumente*, Schriften des Bundesarchivs, vol. 45a (Düsseldorf, 1998), 45. Veit Stürmer, "Hans Schleif. Eine Karriere zwischen Archäologischem Institut und Ahnenerbe e.V." in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 429-449. Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945?* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 475. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler, eds., *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich. Actes de la table ronde internationale "Blut und Boden" tenue à Lyon (Rhône) dans le cadre du Xe congrès de la European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), les 8 et 9 septembre 2004* (Gollion, 2007), 459. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 195 & passim.

<sup>187</sup> Letter from SS-Standartenführer Ullmann, chief of staff of Himmler's personal staff, to the SS-Personalhauptamt, written 31.08.1939, in: BArch (former BDC), SSO Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905).

<sup>188</sup> For a detailed analysis of Jankuhn's career, ideology and academic work, see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011).

<sup>189</sup> Beger's work for the excavation department is e.g. noted in a letter by R. Höhne „Betr.: Eingliederung der Abteilung Ausgrabungen in das „Ahnenerbe““ (regarding the transfer of the excavation department into the Ahnenerbe) including the department budget of 1937 and an estimation for 1938 to W Wüst, dated 24.03.1938, in: BArch (ehem. BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Höhne, Rolf (19.06.1907).

<sup>190</sup> *SS-Anwärter* (SS-candidate) is the lowest rank, indicating a probationary who had passed all selection processes and proven himself to be of Nordic blood and true to the Nazi cause. *SS-Anwärter* were automatically advanced to *SS-Staffelmann* (Private) after three months.

<sup>191</sup> Henning Haßmann and Detlef Jantzen, "Die deutsche Vorgeschichte - eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft". Das Kieler Museum Vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer im Dritten Reich," *Offa* 51 (1994), 9-23. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn*

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[1905-1990]. *Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), passim, especially 179f.

<sup>192</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 180ff.

<sup>193</sup> Gustav Riek, *Die Mammutjäger vom Lonetal* (Stuttgart, 1934).

<sup>194</sup> Hans-Jürgen Müller-Beck, "Lon(e)talforschung von 1931-1941. Wissenschaftliches Projekt - Projekt des NSD-Dozentenbundes an der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie Tübingen - ab 1935 unter der Schirmherrschaft des Reichsführers SS Heinrich Himmler," in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 121-140.

<sup>195</sup> Hans-Jürgen Müller-Beck, "Lon(e)talforschung von 1931-1941. Wissenschaftliches Projekt - Projekt des NSD-Dozentenbundes an der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie Tübingen - ab 1935 unter der Schirmherrschaft des Reichsführers SS Heinrich Himmler" in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 121-140.

<sup>196</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 123ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 182f & 185. Hans-Jürgen Müller-Beck, "Lon(e)talforschung von 1931-1941. Wissenschaftliches Projekt - Projekt des NSD-Dozentenbundes an der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie Tübingen - ab 1935 unter der Schirmherrschaft des Reichsführers SS Heinrich Himmler" in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 121-140.

<sup>197</sup> Marcus C. Blaich and Jörg Weber, "Im Banne des Zeitgeistes - Hermann Schroller und die Ausgrabungen in der Pfalz Werla von 1936-1939," *Die Kunde N.F.*, 59 (2008), 147-188. Marcus C. Blaich, "Rezeption der Grabungen in der Pfalz Werla in Archäologie und Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Archäologie und völkisches Gedankengut. Zum Umgang mit dem eigenen Erbe ; ein Beitrag zur selbstreflexiven Archäologie*, ed. Ulf F. Ickerodt (Frankfurt am Main 2010), 45-54. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 182f & 188.

<sup>198</sup> Martijn Eickhoff, "Der 'Unterschied zwischen Russen und uns'. Die Vor- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den besetzten Niederlanden 1940-1945" in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 351-364. Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, "Eine Ausgrabungsstätte im 'Dritten Reich' als Erinnerungsort - einige theoretische Überlegungen," in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 225-232. Heimo Dolenz, "Die SS-Grabungen des Jahres 1939 in Karnburg (Kärnten) im Lichte neuer Feld- und Archivforschungen" in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 233-252. Thomas Kreckel, "'Sonnenheiligtum' und 'Kultburg'. Die Geschichte der Grabungen auf der 'Heidenmauer' und im 'Kriemhildenstuhl' bei Bad Dürkheim in den 1930er Jahren," in *Archäologie und Politik. Archäologische Ausgrabungen der 30er und 40er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts im zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext*, eds. Egon Schallmayer and Katharina von Kurzynski (Wiesbaden, 2011), 271-278.

<sup>199</sup> Letter from R. R. Schmidt to W. Sievers, dated 08.02.1937. Letter from W. Sievers to R. R. Schmidt, dated 25.02.1937, in: BAArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Schmidt, Rudolf Robert (25.05.1882).

<sup>200</sup> Letter from K. Schlabow to W. Sievers, dated 09.05.1939, and accompanying photos from the 1937 sports meeting, in: BAArch, NS 21 / 2321. Letter from W. Sievers to H. Fegelein, dated 15.05.1939; letter from H. Fegelein to W. Sievers, dated 23.05.1939; letter from W. Sievers to K. Schlabow, dated 15.08.1939; letter from K. Schlabow to W. Sievers, dated 26.01.1940; undated photos from the 1937 sports meeting, in: BAArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Schlabow, Karl (27.04.1891).

<sup>201</sup> Gerd Simon, *Chronologie Nordistik, Schwerpunkt Otto Höfler* (Tübingen, 2002). Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945?* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 351f. Felix Wiedemann, *Rassenmutter und Rebellin. Hexenbilder in Romantik, völkischer Bewegung, Neuheidentum und Feminismus* (Würzburg, 2007), 151-155.

<sup>202</sup> Allan A. Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus. Zur Rezeption der "Germania" des Tacitus im "Dritten Reich"* (Heidelberg, 1995), 50 & 55. Esther Gajek, "Germanenkunde und Nationalsozialismus. Zur Verflechtung von Wissenschaft und Politik am Beispiel Otto Höflers," in *Völkische Bewegung - konservative Revolution - Nationalsozialismus*.



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*Aspekte einer politischen Kultur*, Walter Schmitz and Clemens Vollnhals, (Dresden, 2005) 325–356. Julia Zernack, “Nordische Philologie,” in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008), 691-713.

<sup>203</sup> Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1934).

<sup>204</sup> Otto Höfler, *Das germanische Kontinuitätsproblem. Nach einem Vortrag, gehalten am 6. Juli 1937 auf dem Deutschen Historikertag in Erfurt*, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für die Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands, vol. 11 (Hamburg, 1937).

<sup>205</sup> Letter from B. Kummer to Kasper, dated 08.10.1934; letter from B. Kummer to Kasper, dated 15.11.1934; letter from dean W. Horn to REM, dated 04.02.1935, in: BArch, 4901 REM 1392 Bl. 315, 385-388. See also: Gerd Simon, *Chronologie Nordistik, Schwerpunkt Otto Höfler* (Tübingen, 2002), 14 & 17.

<sup>206</sup> An article by Plassmann in *Germanien* and the article series in *Das Schwarze Korps* were discussed in a letter from O. Huth to O. Höfler, dated 29.05.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 345.

<sup>207</sup> *Aktenvermerk* by W. Sievers, dated 15.06.1937; letter from B. Galke to H. Himmler, dated 06.08.1937; letter from K. Wolff to SS-court Munich, dated 19.08.1937; letter from K. Wolff to B. Galke, dated 19.08.1937; letter from C. Steinhaus to J. O. Plassmann, dated 13.09.1937; letter from C. Steinhaus to J. O. Plassmann, dated 28.09.1937; letter from Reichsgeschäftsführung Ahnenerbe to RFSS Pers. Abtl. Stab Wirt. Hilfe, dated 24.11.1937; in: BArch, NS 21 / 702. Letter from B. Schweizer to W. Sievers, dated 08.12.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 710. Letter from W. Sievers to B. Galke, dated 27.04.1937, in: BArch, NS 21 / 820. *Geheimer Aktenvermerk* by J. O. Plassmann, dated 22.04.1937; letter from W. Sievers to B. Galke, dated 27.04.1937; *Aktenvermerk* by J. O. Plassmann, dated 21.06.1937; *Aktenvermerk* by W. Sievers, dated 05.08.1937; letter from K. Wolff to SS-court, dated 04.09.1937; *Geheimer Aktenvermerk* by J. O. Plassmann, dated 11.09.1937; letter from W. Wüst to B. Galke, dated 27.09.1937; letter labeled “secret” from B. Galke to H. Himmler, dated 03.11.1937; letter labeled „top secret“ from W. Sievers to von Löw, dated 02.01.1938, *Aktennotiz* by Rampf regarding conference with SD-HA, dated 02.02.1938, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph Otto (12.06.1895). See also: Gerd Simon, *Rassist oder Widerständler? Der Germanenkundler Plassmann* (Tübingen, 2007), 29ff.

<sup>208</sup> Letter from H. Jankuhn to J. O. Plassmann, dated 28.09.1937; letter from W Sievers to W Wüst dated 03.11.193, in: BArch, NS 21/763.

<sup>209</sup> Letter from W Sievers to W Wüst dated 03.11.1937, including an attachment titled: “Nur für den Reichsführer SS bestimmt: Das Bedenkliche und Gefährliche in der Germanenauffassung von Dr. Bernhard Kummer, besonders im Hinblick auf die SS” (“For the eyes of the RFSS only: The questionable and dangerous of the view of Dr. Bernhard Kummer on the Germanic, particularly with regard to the SS”), dated November 1937 and naming W. Wüst as its author, in: BArch, NS 21/763.

<sup>210</sup> Otto Höfler, *Die politische Leistung der Völkerwanderungszeit. Rede gehalten in der Sitzung am 21. Mai 1938*, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie des NSD-Dozentenbundes der Christian-Albrechts- Universität Kiel, vol. 7, (Neumünster 1939). Herbert Jankuhn, *Gemeinschaftsform und Herrschaftsbildung in frühgermanischer Zeit*, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie des NSD-Dozentenbundes der Christian-Albrechts- Universität Kiel, vol. 6, (Neumünster 1939). Herbert Jankuhn, “Politische Gemeinschaftsformen in germanischer Zeit”, *Offa* 6/7, 1941/42 (1944), 1-39. Offprints of both essays by Jankuhn were sent immediately to Himmler. Jankuhn’s first essay circulated together with Höfler’s corresponding essay as a combined offprint. See: Letter from O. Höfler to H. Jankuhn written 19.04.1939, in: AALSH, Jankuhn estate, Bündel Grün 27. Letter from H. Jankuhn to W. Sievers written 06.02.1939; file note from W. Sievers written 01.03.1945, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). For an in-depth analysis of Jankuhn’s lectures see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 101-105.

<sup>211</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 149. Maximilian Schreiber, *Walther Wüst. Dekan und Rektor der Universität München 1935–1945* (München, 2008), 121ff.

<sup>212</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 195ff.

<sup>213</sup> Uta Halle, “Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!”. *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 73-79 & 441-445. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 139-146, 178 & 183.

- <sup>214</sup> Jankuhn wrote a draft in late 1938, to which Sievers responded positively in January 1939, see: Copy of a letter from W. Sievers to H. Jankuhn, dated 21.01.1939, in: BArch, NS / 21, 323a.
- <sup>215</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 183f. & 189ff.
- <sup>216</sup> Kaiser 1939, p. 21. Rust 1944, p. 107. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 186.
- <sup>217</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 184-189.
- <sup>218</sup> Kater only references a testimony by Schwantes stating the high academic standard of the meeting and suppressing the ideological aspects. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 116. For an in-depth-analysis, see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 169-172 & 183-191.
- <sup>219</sup> *Offa*, Vol. 4, 1939.
- <sup>220</sup> Herbert Jankuhn, ed., *Das "Ahnenerbe". Bericht über die Kieler Tagung 1939* (Neumünster, 1944).
- <sup>221</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 113-116. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 183-191 & 234f.
- <sup>222</sup> Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 108-115, 132-138, 347-350, 354f, 373-376, 384-391, 394f, 449f, 452f, 487-490 & 502f. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 223-232.
- <sup>223</sup> See: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 191. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 180-184.
- <sup>224</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 147ff. Andrzej Meżyński, *Kommando Paulsen. Organisierter Kunstraub in Polen, 1942 - 45* (Köln, 2000), passim. Uta Halle, "Die Externsteine sind bis auf weiteres germanisch!". *Prähistorische Archäologie im Dritten Reich* (Bielefeld, 2002), 467. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 195ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 201-204.
- <sup>225</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 147ff. Andrzej Meżyński, *Kommando Paulsen. Organisierter Kunstraub in Polen, 1942 - 45* (Köln, 2000), passim. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 195-209.
- <sup>226</sup> It's not yet clear, whether Göring settled the account. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 149-155 & 289. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 207ff. Regarding the HTO see also: Jeanne Dingell, *Zur Tätigkeit der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost, Treuhandstelle Posen. 1939 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main 2003). Bernhard Rosenkötter, *Treuhandpolitik. Die 'Haupttreuhandstelle Ost' und der Raub polnischer Vermögen 1939 - 1945* (Essen, 2003).
- <sup>227</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 159-170.
- <sup>228</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 176 & 187f.
- <sup>229</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 202-205.
- <sup>230</sup> Letter from H. Jankuhn to W. Sievers, dated 26.09.1940, in: BArch Berlin (former BDC), SSO Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). See also: Achim Leube, "Deutsche Prähistoriker im besetzten Europa 1940-1945. Das 'Ahnenerbe' der SS in Westeuropa," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 93-119, 100-118. Uta Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008), 109-166, 154-162.

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Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 201-205 & 232f.

<sup>231</sup> Anja Heuß, "Prähistorische 'Raubgragungen' in der Ukraine," in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 545-554.

<sup>232</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 205-211. Tempel 2011, p. 45. Hide, Mette (04.04.2011), Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo University. Personal communication.

<sup>233</sup> Ulrich Herbert, *Best. Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903-1989* (Bonn, 2001), 290-298. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 214f.

<sup>234</sup> To some of Plassmann's activities in France see e.g.: letter form J.O. Plassmann to OKVR Dr. Winter, dated 22.09.1941, in: BArch, RW 35/483. For the GWE see chapter 5.3. See also: Achim Leube, "Deutsche Prähistoriker im besetzten Europa 1940-1945. Das 'Ahnenerbe' der SS in Westeuropa," in *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich*, ed. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler (Gollion, 2007), 93-119, 100-118. Uta Halle, "Ur- und Frühgeschichte," in *Kulturwissenschaften und Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Jürgen Elvert and Jürgen Sikora (Stuttgart, 2008), 109-166, 154-162. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 201-205, 211-216 & 230-233.

<sup>235</sup> Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 234ff.

<sup>236</sup> Commission as SS-Hauptsturmführer (F), Fachgruppe "Presse und Kriegswirtschaft", issued 05.11.1942, in: BArch Berlin (former BDC), SSO Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). The (F) indicates that Jankuhn was a *Fachführer*, a special type of officer with limited command authority specific to the Waffen-SS, more closely integrated than and meant to replace the *Sonderführer* common both to Waffen-SS and Wehrmacht. These officers filled military positions and performed other war related jobs ("*kriegswichtige Aufgaben*") according to their respective occupational specialties (*Fachgruppen*). Almost all *Fachführer* were civilians or low ranking men transferred into this special career path. This system is in some ways similar to the warrant officer programs of the US armed forces, but it also included scientists working on war related research in various fields. SS-Befehl Reichsführer-SS, not dated, in: BArch Berlin NS 19 / 2089.

<sup>237</sup> Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941 - 1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 415-418, 444ff, 477 & 581ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 223-226. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 256-268.

<sup>238</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 155-158. Hufen 1998, pp. 75-95. Anja Heuß, *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub. Eine vergleichende Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion* (Heidelberg, 2000), 234-237, 247-249. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 221-226, 233-237 & 311ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 234-240 & 246-275.

<sup>239</sup> The equivalent of the Ic is the S-2 / G-2 / J-2, the intelligence officer of the US armed forces. In addition to their regular duties the Ic were also directly tied into the preparations of the Holocaust due to their control over food allocations to the civilian population and their close cooperation with the killing squads of the SD.

<sup>240</sup> During his tour of duty Jankuhn was promoted to SS-Sturmbannführer (F), was considered and reviewed for promotion to SS-Obersturmbannführer (F) and was awarded several decorations including the Iron Cross Second and First Class indicating that he did his job to the full approval of his superiors. Additionally Sievers tried to get Jankuhn a commission as regular Waffen-SS officer without the attendance of the SS-Junkerschule. The Iron Cross First Class in particular was awarded to him while units under the command of the IV<sup>TH</sup> SS-Armor-Corps helped to brutally suppress the 2<sup>ND</sup> Warsaw uprising. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 275-282.

<sup>241</sup> Uwe Hossfeld and Carl-Gustav Thornström: "'Rasches Zupacken': Heinz Brücher und das botanische Sammelkommando der SS nach Rußland 1943," in *Autarkie und Ostexpansion: Pflanzenzucht und Agrarforschung im Nationalsozialismus*, Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus, vol. 2, ed., Susanne Heim (Göttingen, 2002), 119-144.

<sup>242</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 211-218. Kater describes the *Sven-Hedin Reichsinstitut* and its affiliation with three parent institutions - Ahnenerbe, Munich University and REM - as an institutional anomaly within the structure of the Ahnenerbe, even though this was no singularity. The department for *Wurtenforschung* already existed with dual affiliation, as would have been the case with the *Reichsinstitut für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* and the Ahnenerbe's own excavations department.

<sup>243</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 213-218, 251ff. & 295. Warren Green: "The Fate of the Crimean Jewish Communities: Ashkenazim, Krimchaks, and Karaites." *Jewish Social Sciences* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 169-176. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941 – 1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 326-331. Peter Mierau, *Nationalsozialistische Expeditionspolitik*, (München, 2006), 365-393 & 458-504. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 239-256.

<sup>244</sup> Veit Stürmer, "Hans Schleif. Eine Karriere zwischen Archäologischem Institut und Ahnenerbe e.V." in *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus Die mittel und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, ed. Achim Leube (Heidelberg, 2002), 429-449, 441. Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier and Bernadette Schnitzler, eds., *L'archéologie nationale-socialiste dans les pays occupés à l'ouest du Reich. Actes de la table ronde internationale "Blut und Boden" tenue à Lyon (Rhône) dans le cadre du Xe congrès de la European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), les 8 et 9 septembre 2004* (Gollion, 2007), 459.

<sup>245</sup> See correspondence and reports in: BArch Berlin (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Haarnagel, Werner (07.12.1907). BArch Berlin (former BDC), SSO Haarnagel, Werner (07.12.1907).

<sup>246</sup> Gieseler was full professor for racial biology at Tübingen University and worked at Ahnenerbe's excavations in the Lone valley. Among the participants of the courses was SS-O'Stuf Joachim Hamann (1913-1945), who was a member of EK 3, EG A and boasted himself with the numbers of Jews he had killed in the Baltics. See: lecture schedule for the winter semester 1941/42, in: BArch, R 1501 / 3776. Letter from H. Jankuhn to W. Sievers, written 27.03.1942, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). Knut Stang, *Kollaboration und Massenmord. Die litauische Hilfspolizei, das Rollkommando Hamann und die Ermordung der litauischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 154f. & 170-173. Gerd Simon, *Chronologie Schulung und Elitebildung im 3. Reich. Schwerpunkt: SS* (Tübingen, 2008), 32 & 51f. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 88f. & 236f.

<sup>247</sup> Note for the records by W. Sievers, dated 25.06.1942, in: BArch, NS 21 / 568.

<sup>248</sup> Organized and supervised by Jankuhn and Sievers, the actual field work was mainly carried out by W. Dehn, A. Rust, R. R. Schmidt, W. Unverzagt. See: Note for the records by W. Sievers about a travel with Jankuhn to Croatia and Serbia, dated 18.07.1942; letter from Jankuhn to von Reisswitz, dated 20.07.1942; letter from Webendorfer to Fitzner, dated 31.10.1942; copy of a letter from Fitzner to Webendorfer, dated 12.11.1942; letter from W.-D. Wolff to Raab, dated 10.03.1943; note for the records about a telephone conversation with Webendorfer, dated 11.03.1943; copy of a letter from W. Sievers to von Reisswitz, dated 10.04.1943; in: BArch, NS 21 / 311. Detailed report by R. R. Schmidt regarding the excavation at Sarvazin, Croatia, dated 01.03.1945, in: BArch, NS 21 / 354. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 230f.

<sup>249</sup> Correspondence in: BArch, NS 21 / 35. See: Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi propaganda for the Arab world* (New Haven, 2009), 202 & 300.

<sup>250</sup> Note for the records by Komanns, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph Otto (12.06.1895). See also: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 170-190 & 338-352. Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers Politische Soldaten. Die Waffen-SS 1933-1945* (Paderborn, 1997), 291-294 & 303-317. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 196-229. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 341-356. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 232ff.

<sup>251</sup> „Direct political propaganda in the narrower sense should not take place; rather should the great ideas of the common Germanic culture (prehistory, cultural anthropology and relating fields) be furthered and cultivated.“ Note for the records by

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Komanns, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph Otto (12.06.1895). See also: Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 198f.

<sup>252</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 177f.

<sup>253</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 196ff.

<sup>254</sup> Letter from H. Jankuhn to W. Sievers, dated 13.05.1941, in: BArch, NS 21 / 354. Note for the records by H. Jankuhn regarding the prehistorians part of the *Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften*, dated 05.12.1941, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). See also: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 232f.

<sup>255</sup> Bernd Wegner, *Hitlers Politische Soldaten. Die Waffen-SS 1933-1945* (Paderborn, 1997), 310–316. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 232f, 240-245 & 275-280.

<sup>256</sup> Clifton J. Child, "The political structure of Hitler's Europe - legal aspects," in *Hitler's Europe*, eds. Arnold Toynbee and Veronica M. Toynbee (London, 1954), 11-153, 75. Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 170-190 & 338-352. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 196-229.

<sup>257</sup> Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941 – 1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 444ff. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 256ff.

<sup>258</sup> W. Sievers to H. Jankuhn, dated 26.05.1943, letter from W. Sievers to H. Jankuhn, dated 27.09.1943, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Jankuhn, Herbert (08.08.1905). Note for the records on the preparation of the GWE opening conference and the Germanic history book by H. E. Schneider, dated 13.01.1943, in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph-Otto (12.06.1895). See also: Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 170-190. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 217-246.

<sup>259</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 222-226.

<sup>260</sup> Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 306.

<sup>261</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 213.

<sup>262</sup> For the Ahnenerbe activities regarding Evola, see correspondence and notes in: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Plassmann, Joseph-Otto (12.06.1895). For Miller, who had worked for the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, see: Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 261, 269-272, 275 & 327.

<sup>263</sup> Heberer's diary contains the following description of one of his lectures, dated 17.03.1944: "Fahrt nach Buchenwald (internierte norwegische Studenten). Mit der Bahn nach Weimar (Franz im Zug getroffen, Unterhaltung zu Haeckel-Jahrbuch...). Am Bahnhof SS-Auto-Astel abgeholt. Dann ins Lager. Prächtige Kerle, diese Norweger, ob es gelingt, sie auf unsere Seite - auf die Seite Germaniens zu bekommen. Astel leitete ein. Ich spreche dann über die Abstammungslehre, über ihre Bedeutung zur Weltanschauung und Weltbild u. über die Stellung des Menschen... Gespannte Aufmerksamkeit... (Gute Sprachkenntnisse). Fragen wurden gestellt." (Ride to Buchenwald (detained Norwegian students). By train to Weimar (met Franz in the train; talked about Haeckel-almanac...) At the station picked up by SS-car-Astel. Then into the camp. Magnificent lads, these Norwegians, whether one succeeds to win them for our side - the side of Germania. Astel opened. I

talked about the theory of descent, its meaning for Weltanschauung and world view & about the position of men... Curious attention... (Good language skills). Questions were asked.) Cited after Uwe Hossfeld, *Gerhard Heberer (1901–1973). Sein Beitrag zur Biologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1997), 92f. annotation 255. Hossfeld presents the passage - like many other aspects of Heberer's political biography - un-discussed. For a short discussion, see: Dirk Mahsarski, "Gerhard Heberer: Mitläufer oder Avantgardist der 'Neuen Ordnung'?", *NIK Nachrichten und Informationen zur Kultur* 6/05 (2001), 34–52, 47f. On the detained Norwegian students, see: Jorunn Sem Fure, "Å vekke norske akademikerens rasebevissthet," in *Jakten på Germania. Fra nordensvermeri til SS-arkeologi*, eds., Terje T. Emberland and Jorunn Sem Fure (Oslo, 2009), 244-261.

<sup>264</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 227-264. Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 250-258. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 239-279. Schütrumpf's role has yet to be investigated closely. For his appointment, see: BArch (former BDC), DS, Lehr- und Forschungsamt Ahnenerbe, Schütrumpf, Rudolf (30.09.1909). In this context one has to mind the Ahnenerbe files contain a large assortment of publications and *Werbemittel* (publications for advertisement) regarding the usage of Zyklon B in sanitizing rooms, wagons and cars, in: BArch, NS 21 / 406. Von Stokar's, who was a trained chemist / pharmacist before he turned to prehistory, exact role and the extent of his knowledge is still uncertain too.

<sup>265</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 246ff. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 244ff.

<sup>266</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 245-255. Isabel Heinemann, "Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut". *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas*, *Moderne Zeit*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2003), 530-539, 610 & 615f. Jans-Joachim Lang, *Die Namen der Nummern. Wie es gelang, die 86 Opfer eines NS-Verbrechens zu identifizieren* (Hamburg, 2004). Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 239-279.

<sup>267</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 223.

<sup>268</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS. 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1974), 187, 194, 213ff, 225, 249f, 255, 284, 306, 316f, 331f, 338f, 353f, 355 & 416. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 269-279.

<sup>269</sup> Joachim Lerchenmueller and Gerd Simon, *Masken-Wechsel. Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999), 265-391. Heather A. Pringle, *The master plan. Himmler's scholars and the Holocaust* (London, 2006), 291-325. Dirk Mahsarski, *Herbert Jankuhn [1905-1990]. Ein deutscher Prähistoriker zwischen nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und wissenschaftlicher Objektivität* (Rahden / Westfalen, 2011), 285-320.

<sup>270</sup> See: Dirk Mahsarski, "Intellektueller Rechtsextremismus und die Rezeption nationalsozialistischer und faschistischer Wissenschaft am Beispiel einer deutsch-russischen Internetseite," in *Archäologie und völkisches Gedankengut. Zum Umgang mit dem eigenen Erbe ; ein Beitrag zur selbstreflexiven Archäologie*, ed. Ulf F. Ickerodt (Frankfurt am Main 2010), 131-140.

<sup>271</sup> Kerstin Hammann, *Frauen im rechtsextremen Spektrum: Analysen und Prävention*, (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), 52. Horst Junginger, "Sigrid Hunke. Europe's New Religion and its Old Stereotypes," in: *Antisemitismus, Paganismus, Völkische Religion*, eds., Hubert Cancik and Uwe Puschner (München, 2004), 151–163. Felix Wiedemann, *Rassenmutter und Rebellin. Hexenbilder in Romantik, völkischer Bewegung, Neuheidentum und Feminismus* (Würzburg, 2007), 188ff.