The studies on archaeology of the Nazi Period have lately become the topic of work of researchers. Among many works concentrated on knowledge of the Nazi Period there are only few books, which tell about the use of archaeology for propaganda. The aim of it was to teach the Germans to respect their past and to justify expansion on the areas, which always ‘belonged’ to the Germans. In this article I shall try to show in what way the Nazis used archaeology for propaganda. I shall concentrate on the organization SS–‘Ahnenerbe’ and the researches on the hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoñ (Alt Christburg) – especially on propaganda issue1.

In 1933 the new directions opened for the German archaeology. Archaeology with history, ethnology and linguistics became privileged, it was caused by need of government structures for further research confirming rights of German Reich to different areas in Europe, especially for the Polish part of Pomerania, Lithuania and Latvia. Many researchers treated their work as a very important mission for spreading the Nazi ideology and were proud of their participation in it. The conversation between Paul Lemke and Otto Kleemann may serve a good example.

In Summer 1935 Lemke was on a bike trip with a group of people in the area of barrows cemetery from Early Iron Age in Glamslack. He asked the leader of researchers Dr. Kleemann: ‘Why do you actually study these graves?’, Kleemann said: ‘We, with our spades,
fight for our country in the same way as soldiers with their weapon. In newspapers you can still read, that the Lithuanians, and, first of all, the Polish people claim that our East and West Prussia were Lithuanian or Polish lands. That is why we must prove – and it is our task – that neither the Lithuanians nor the Polish people ever settled these lands. Instead of written texts we just have silent archaeological monuments and finds, which prove it. Every piece of ceramics, every rusted arrow-head is important for us, because it contains the information that their claims are unfair. We asked every worker and farmer to tell about any find to teacher or archaeologist immediately. Thank to these proofs, we can scream to the world: this country should stay German, because no other nations settled it, but our German ancestors!’ (Lemke, 1936, 56).

Beside the excavations, the educational work had to confirm the rights of the Third Reich to Poland and Baltic countries. The main efforts were put on education of the staff at universities, and on spreading of archaeology as a teaching subject on various levels of education. Teachers also had to be correctly educated to have knowledge in that field and to convey it to pupils. Special schools were created, e.g. a school in Elblag (Elbing): *Hochschule für Lehrerbildung*, an identical school was in Lębork (Lauenburg) (Hoffmann, 2005, 6).

The special methodological books helped the teachers to go further with the topic. In 1935 one of the leading Nazi archaeologists Walter Frenzel edited the work: *Grundzüge der Vorgeschichte Deutschlands und der Deutschen: ein Hand- und Hilfsbuch für den Lehrer* (Stuttgart), afterwards appeared other works like: *Der Bücherschatz des Lehrers: Vorbereitungen und Unterrichtsbilder für den Geschichtsunterricht* (Berlin, 1939) edited by Adolf Rude, or the work of Erwin Rude: *Deutsche Vorgeschichte im Schulunterricht* (Osterwieck/Harz, 1941).

Museums and press also played a huge role. Thematic exhibitions, especially the ones about local lands became an occasion for school trips. The schools subscribed magazines like edited in Königsberg: *Altpreussen. Vierteljahresschrift für Vorgeschichte und Volkskunde* or edited in Lipsk: *Germanen-Erbe. Monatsschrift für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (Fig. 1). Hans Reinerth, the editor in chief of ‘Germanen-Erbe’ took care about the possibility to subscribe this magazine by even the smallest schools in the country. He offered subscription for a very low price of 1.80 marks (Hassmann, 2002, 114). Schools also got the slides prepared by Carl Engel and Hans Reinerth: *Deutsche Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Lichtbildern* (12–58 slides) about the history of Germany from the Stone Age to the Vikings times, the true price being between 15 and 72.5 marks (Hassmann, 2002, 116).

Such actions weren’t new. Since 1920 the Germans tried to support their theories about the history, especially about the Teutonic Knights Period (Szczeapański, 2007, 69–70). The Nazis widely referred to German symbols. Especially those
gullibly treated as Aryan and using the runic alphabet (Heller, Roth, 2000, 59, 64–65). Among members of the National Socialist German Worker’s Party (NSDAP), it was very popular to refer to pagan rituals. One of more interesting examples was the barrows cemetery from Early Iron Age situated in Stolno (Stollen) (district Ostróda/Osterode), next to which an ancestral cemetery of family von Kuenheim was situated. SA Sturmbannführer Karl Freyburger (*21.8.1904) who came from nearby Mitakowo (Liebstadt) was buried in one of the barrows. This place was marked by large granite boulder. An inscription on it said that Karl Freyburger died on 27.4.1931 and that he is a Nazi. The Nazis tried to portray him as a symbol and a martyr, who fought for strong Germany.

Many streets of cities in East and West Prussia were called by his name, despite of his controversial character. According to the official version, he was murdered by communists (Decker, 1938, 116). However, the facts, spread by the press, suggested something different (Scheer, 1937, 156). Karl Freyburger participated in the local SA conference in Ilawa (Deutsch Eylau) and in the evening acted aggressively with his drunk friends. He was shot by a police officer Granitza during intervention. At court the policeman said that he had to shoot in self-defence and was acquitted (Ehoff B., (no year of edition), 220–221).

That was the way the Nazis were referring to old traditions. In the Nazi Period an important role in education of symbols, old rituals and philosophy of life was played by the SS association: Deutsche Ahnenerbe. Studiengesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte (German Ancestral Heritage. Study Society for Primordial Intellectual Science) (Grünberg, 1975, 111–116; Kater, 2006), shortly called SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’. It was created on 1.7.1935 by Heinrich Himmler, Herman Wirth and Richard Walter Darré. As the main aim, written in the statute, it proposed the research on range of spirit, actions and heritage of Indogermanic-Nordic race and the spreading to German nation the results of such research in a most interesting form. The symbol of the association was Odal rune – the symbol of homeland, family and house. In 1937 the association was renamed into: Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft das Ahnenerbe e.V. (Research and Searching Community the Ancestral Heritage).

The association was informally subordinated to the Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler; since 1938 it was taken over by him. According to the regulations, the association concentrated on studies around three issues: space – inspired by Aryan settlement, spirit and philosophy of life – inspired by engagement in the case and scorn for the dead, Nordic heritage – concentration on studying runes, Old-Icelandic literature, Vedic literature, customs of the Germans and Spartans. Furthermore, over time, in the SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ 46 departments and 15 commissions appeared. The key role in research was played by archaeologists concentrated in the faculties: Lehr- und Forschungsstätte Ausgrabungen and Forschungsstätte für Germanischen Bauwesen.

Heinrich Himmler tried to concentrate around his organization many scientists. At the beginning he did not demand to join NSDAP. He played a role of a person interested in science about past, not the one who would like to create an alternative to research centers. During inspection (2.7.1935) of first archaeological researches organized under SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ on Erdenburg near by Köln, he said: ‘We organize these excavations not to compete, we want to look for things, which form philosophy of life through science and we want to introduce and use them’ (Langsdorff, Schleif, 1937, 80). The results of all the research were presented in magazines edited by SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’: Zeitschrift für Namensforschung, Das Sippenzeichen, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, and others like: Der Arbeitsmann, Geistige Arbeit, Germanen-Erbe. Undoubtedly, the most popular was
the monthly magazine edited by J. O. Plassmann: 
*Germanien. Monatshefte für Germanenkunde zur Erkannnis deutschen Wesens* (Fig. 2). Dr. J. O. Plassmann is mentioned as a leading editor since number 3 (March) 1936 (‘Germanien’, Heft 3, 1936, 1). SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ edited books as well. Many of them were, however, scientifically worthless, but there were also some exceptions like the still actual work of professor Walter Wüst from the University in Münich: *Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Alt-Indoarischen (Altindischen)* (Wüst, 1935; Edgerton, 1936, 364–370).

Despite these actions, the way of treating studies presented by the Reichsführer SS was far from academic criticism. Hermann Rausching described Himmler as the one, who put input on sense of propaganda of research made by SS. According to him, it is totally meaningless whether somebody reconstructs the truth about the history of Germanic tribes: ‘Every few years science changes its hypotheses either way and chooses one of them and then goes to another one. So there are no bases for which NSDAP couldn’t establish that one can accept a hypothesis even if it is in conflict with opinions popular in science. The important thing for it was to persuade people like professors (that is why they had salaries from the country) to have such opinions about history, that will strengthen society in its national pride (…)’ (Grünberg, 1975, 111).

Adolf Hitler himself watched with kind of anxiety the results of work of SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’. In his opinion, archaeological research not always cooperated with ideas of strong, great Germans, presented by Nazis. According to Albert Speer – Hitler acrimoniously commented the excavation works led by SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’: ‘Why do we demonstrate to the whole world, that we don’t have any past? Isn’t it enough that the Romans had already created great buildings, when our ancestors lived yet in mud huts. Himmler is starting now to dig out clay villages and is excited with every clay piece and small stone axe he finds. We prove with it only that we were still throwing stone axes and sitting in front of fires under sky, when Greece and Roma were at the highest level of culture. We have all reasons to keep silence about our past. Instead of it, Himmler announces it to whole world. How scornfully must nowadays Romans laugh at it’ (Speer, 1973, 135).

Hitler’s opinion, however, did not disturb the progress of research made by SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’. The Department of Archaeology ran at least 18 complex researches at wide area from Germany, through East and West Prussia, Carantania and Greater Poland. With the beginning of war, the members of SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ were to participate in taking over cultural goods in conquered countries (Oestelle, 1994, 226). They did not forget about archaeological works either: a good example can be the research led in Biskupin (then Urstätt) (Schleif, 1942, 431–436). As it was mentioned, the key work of SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ was confirmation of rights to the lands, which were owned by the
German Third Reich and to the ones, which were beyond its possession. East and West Prussia had a very special role in it (Hoffmann, 2005, 2).

Since 1933 many efforts were put to confirm rights to ownership on these lands. The key role in this case was played by excavations led by Hans Schleif (Fig. 3). During the period between 1935–1937 he researched the hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoñ2. These excavations were a propaganda reflection on Nazi ideas. They became a pattern to further researches. In this place it is important to look over the life of Schleif, because he was the key character who played a very important role then (Stürmer, 2002, 429–449; Hoffmann, 2006, 142).

Hans Filip Oswald Schleif was born on 23.2.1902 in Wiesbaden, his father Fritz Schleif was a tradesman, his mother Luiza was from the Ruppel family. In 1911–1020 he went to the Joachim-Friedrich-Realgymnasium in Berlin.

In 1920–1924 he studied architecture in Drezno and München and achieved his bachelor’s degree in the Technical High School in Berlin. In 1924–1927 he worked by Berlin architects Bielenberg and Moser, on 8.5.1926 he married Gizela Maria Francisca Wilhelmina Lehmann. In 1927 he abandoned his work and started to prepare models of buildings. In 1929 after 16 months of work, he finished the first model ‘Old Nuremberg 1625’, which was made for the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The model consisted of 4000 buildings, made out of light, strong paper (Scherer, 1929, 257).

At the same time he has been working on reconstruction of the ancient Olimpia for Olimpia Museum and for Berlin Hochschule f. Leibesübungen, later he created models of imperial aqueducts in Trier, ancient Delphi, Miletus and Pergamon. After receiving scholarship from Archäologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches, he started the researches in Anibe (Nubia), on Samos, Korfu and Olimpia. Especially Olimpia was a special place for him and his researches; whenever he could he returned there. In 1933 he got the title of Dr. Ingenieur. In the same year his daughter Edith was born. After degree he wanted to go further and to work in the Technical High School, but he felt pressure for money that is why in November 1935 he started working in the Department of Excavations by SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’. The work for the Reichsführer SS helped him in promotion, he got the degree of Untersturmführer SS and finally made his higher doctorate (21.9.1937). As architect specialized in antique

2 The reports from the research of hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoñ can be found in the Archives of Archaeological Department in the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. They are together with Schleif files a piece of Schleif’s inheritance. It consists of 115 briefcases and 1003 folders with description of archaeological places. The piece of Schleif’s materials went to the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in 1967 as a gift of Józef Kostrewski, the rest of materials was bought from Barbara Antoniewicz in 1971. The part of files obtained in 1967 was described by Miroslaw J. Hoffmann in Barbaricum (Hoffmann, 1992, 20–38).
architecture, he got a full time job in the Philosophy Department of Frederick Wilhelm University in Berlin. In the same year he got professor’s degree. At the beginning of Second World War he volunteered to Waffen SS. On 1.12.1939 he became ‘Chief of protection of German cultural goods on the area which previously belonged to Poland’ in Poznań district. He became notorious for robbing cultural goods from Polish museums and for hostile treatment of Polish archaeologists (Kaczmarek, Prinke, 2000).

In that period of time Schleif was not any longer an idealist researcher as he was at the beginning. The duty in SS changed him completely. When it was possible, he used his contact with the Reichsführer SS. Besides, he ostentatiously wore black uniform in front of his colleagues archaeologists (Allen, 2002, 321). In 1944, after divorce, he married his assistant and co-worker in SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ Leonore (Lore) Thomass. He had twins Alexander and Konstantin with her. In September 1944 he became ordinary professor and got work in one Technical High School in Berlin. He was to start working after war, but did not wait to see it. He shot his wife and twins and committed suicide on 25.4.1945 (Stürmer, 2002, 432).

During work in SS, Hans Schleif led many excavation researches: in Stary Dzierzgoñ (1935–1937), Stare Miasto (Alt Stadt) (1936), Bensberg (1937–1938), Kriemhildenstuhl near Bad Dürkheim (1938–1939), in 1939–1940 in Carantania on Krnski Grad. From Spring 1940 till Summer 1942 as professor, Sturmbannführer SS and chief of protection of cultural goods he led excavations in Biskupin (Schleif, 1942, 431–436), but whenever he had free time he returned to Olimpia.

His works in research of prehistory and Early Middle Ages were obviously under propaganda influence. A great example of it are excavations in Stary Dzierzgoñ, those researches were first of such kind and first where propaganda issues were introduced. They lasted from 1935 till 1937 and were led by Hans Schleif, Johann Löhausen and baron Wolf von Seefeld (Fig. 4). Schlief was not a specialist in Baltic archaeology (his interests were mainly concentrated on Mediterranean archaeology). The only person who had qualifications was Seefeld. He was born on 19.6.1912 in Degallen in Latvia. During studies he participated in the year and half SS course in Latvia. He studied prehistory, history, and ‘raceology’. About 1935/1936 he became a SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ co-worker in the Department of Excavations as a specialist in Baltic lands. He specialized in settlement archaeology of Balts and Germans in the southern area of Baltic Sea and thought himself to be an expert in ceramics. In 1942, during war with USSR, Seefeld was sent to the front, and as a researcher of Caucasus and Scythian Culture, he robbed monuments from USSR (Kaczmarek, 1996, 340–341; Kater, 2006, 156).

During excavations they uncovered finds from the Early Iron Age connected with Pomeranian Culture (according to Gustaw Kossina Ethnical
Method this culture was connected with Early-Germanic tribes), Gothic artefacts from the Roman Period, Old Prussian and Teutonic Knights finds. It is unknown whether they expected so many results. Schlief wrote in his report with great enthusiasm: ‘Luckily we managed to achieve for the first time in East Prussia the clear and characteristic schedule of fortifications for three main chronological periods – Early Germanic, Old Prussian, Early Teutonic. The same thing is with Early Germanic settlement pottery’ (Schleif, 1937a, 3).

In research of Slavic pottery he crossed out any historical base of ownership by Poland Prussia and Pomerania territories. Each time the researchers insisted that this area belonged to Germanic tribes in any cultural and military way. They marked that this area was ‘the earliest German base over Vistula River’ from which after thousands years of fights with Baltic tribes the Germans had temporarily to withdraw (Langsdorff, Schleif, 1937, 81). Wolf von Seefeld wrote in ‘Germanen-Erbe’ how important were these researches for the German Reich: ‘Nothing but the hillfort will precisely show how these tribes moved and settled (...). The Eastern Early Germanic tribes became first colonists and lords of this hillfort thousand years BC. Then the Goths took over the hillfort as a dwelling-place for many centuries. After Old Prussian migration and occupation of the hillfort in the 13th century it was taken over by the Teutonic Knights as a sign of regaining right to this land’ (Seefeld, 1937, 282).

He fulfilled perfectly advices of Reichsturmführer SS. Firstly he found traces, that could be interpreted as ethnically owned by the Germans, then he connected them with constant border fights, and afterwards, after a one-thousand-year period, with return to Germany. He created a vision of colonists from nearly 2500 years ago, who protected the land against aggressive Balts. Schleif used discovered artefacts to create a nice image of the civilized Burgundians and Goths, who got involved with the Old Prussians coming to this area at that time. The Old Prussians became finally subordinated by the Teutonic Knights. Then Seefeld added: ‘The history of hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoń finished along with creating borders of this land within Germany’ (Seefeld, 1937, 282).

This story in many parts resembles more a German Stara Bašň (Old Tale) than scientific theory, but remembering Himmler’s words, this
suits to vision presented by SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’. Certainly beside some criticism about the use of these ethnical issues, one has to admit that these archaeological finds gave many important discoveries, they helped to find the chronology of use of this hillfort, what helps to find answers to some important questions (Antoniewicz, 1964, 23–79; Szczepański, 2008, 18–24). Schleif knew the range of this find, he tried to spread results to as many people as possible by works, articles and reports edited in SS press.

During practical work, the area was often visited by school trips. In his report Hans Schleif wrote: ‘Hundreds of children saw the excavation during work, the students from the lowest classes of the country school in Stary Dzierzgoń to 170 boys from school in Koszalin (Koslin), who spend here with their teachers 6 hours, found out about work’ (Schleif, 1937a, 4).

Especially important from political and educational point of view was participation in excavation of local Reichsarbeitsdienst Abt. 2/31 Rosenberg (Reich Labour Service Department 2/31: Susz/Rosenberg) – 45–50 people (Fig. 5). Thanks to that, one of the ideological points of SS programme of excavations was fulfilled: ‘It is not the science itself, but the gathering knowledge and experience through work that is important for young Germans’ – wrote Schleif and Langsdorff (Langsdorff, Schleif, 1937, 82). The participation of ‘Reich Labour Service’ in this project became a propaganda pattern for other such organizations. The hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoń became a place obligatory to see for 6 sections of female Arbeitsdienst during their trips through ‘over-border’ (Schleif, 1937a, 2).

Reichsführer SS gave even a truck Daimler-Benz to drive (Fig. 6). Another important visitor was Reichsarbeitsführer Konstantin Hierl (McCann, 1990, 80) (Fig. 7) and Gauleiter of East and West Prussia Erich Koch – 19.6.1937 (Schleif, 1937a, 2). The photo of Hierl signed: ‘Der Reichsarbeitsführer auf dem Baustelle Alt-Christburg’ is also in the article about activity of RAD 2/31 Rosenberg, the association with the place of building is incorrect, it is situated next to tree so it means that is about the hillfort (Der
Beside students from local schools, students and researchers, the area was visited by participants of *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* Meeting – 23.10.1937, which took place in Elbląg. Hans Schleif also tried to have contacts with ordinary people and elites. He had an agreement with NSDAP and SS member baron Alexander zu Dohna-Schlobitten to lead research as well on the hillfort in Stare Miasto (18–28.5.1936) (Schleif, 1936a, 218–227). He probably also gathered information from local people and from Dohna’s archives. It was not always successful – for example, in an unpublished text about the Early Teutonic pottery heater from the hillfort in Stary Dzierzgoń, he suggested that after destruction of hillfort in the Medieval Age a local blacksmith had field of potatoes (Schleif, 1937b, 1).

Schleif also had support of local administration to display artefacts in the chairman’s stable. Thank to that, a large amount of finds could be cleaned. Beside that, a small museum was organized there (Fig. 8) (Schleif, 1937a, 1–2). Artefacts were segregated thematically with names and maps, what showed the expansion of Germans in Europe (Fig. 9). Hans Schleif himself made not only schedules, but also picturesque reconstructions of hillfort (Fig. 10). Another task of SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ was to express thanks for that.

The Nazi Period put archaeology in privileged subjects, but, on the other hand, being an archaeologist was involved with the obeying the official ideology. Himmler, creating SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’, on one hand, denied any competition, he gave...
false appearance of freedom of German science, on the other hand, he took away the financial support for university organizations or researchers, who were not engaged in NSDAP. He controlled archaeology, which was concentrated on finding proofs for rights to posses lands in different parts of Europe.

The showing of the results of work to as many people as possible became very important from the point of view of excavations policy. One of the best examples of it can be excavations in Stary Dzierzgoń. Giving work to unexperienced young people, organizing school trips, visits of important members of NSDAP, spreading results via articles, reports and exhibitions etc. – all of it was a way of SS – ‘Ahnenerbe’ for creation of New Germany for formation of a person who would joyfully go to fight, knowing that he is fighting for his land, as ancient Germans did.

Translated by Marta Kamińska and Seweryn Szczepański

REFERENCES


Seweryn Szczepański

Santrauka


ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

3 pav. Hansas Schleifas (Stürmer, 2002, 447, Fig. 1).
4 pav. Baronas Wolf’as von Seefeld’as SS uniforma (Kaczmarek, 1996, 340, Fig. 19).
5 pav. Reicho darbo tarnybos būrys 2/31: Rozenbergas ant piliakalnio Senajame Dziergonyje (1935) (Seefeld, 1937, 281, Fig. 5).
6 pav. Heinrich’o Himmlerio dovanotas Daimler-Benz sunkvežimis (Schleif, 1937).
7 pav. Reicho Darbo tarnybos vadovas Konstantin’as Hierl’as vizito Senajame Dziergonyje metu (McCann, 1990, 80, Fig. 6.1).
8 pav. Muziejus arklidėje (Schleif, 1937).
9 pav. Gotų ekspansijos Europoje žemėlapis (Schleif, 1937).
10 pav. Pagrindinių vartų piliakalnyje Senajame Dziergonyje rekonstrukcija (Schleif, 1936).