

## II. Papers

# Relations between Spanish Archaeologists and Nazi Germany (1939–1945). A preliminary examination of the influence of *Das Ahnenerbe* in Spain

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### Abstract

Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, appointed Commissioner-General for Archaeological Excavations at the Spanish Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts in 1939, established, with the support of the *Falange* (Spain's fascist political organisation), relations with the Third Reich's *Das Ahnenerbe*, a research institute that formed part of the *Allgemeine SS* commanded by *Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler. The first collaboration between the two institutions comprised the excavation of the Visigothic necropolis of Castiltierra (Segovia).

In October 1940, during Himmler's official visit to Spain, the personal relationship established between Himmler and Martínez Santa Olalla resulted in a plan to set up a *Falange*-sponsored institution for archaeological research modelled on that of *Das Ahnenerbe*. Political, academic and personal relations were maintained between Martínez Santa Olalla and SS members Sievers, Wüst, Langsdorff and Jankuhn, and also with the *Amt Rosenberg* directed by *Reichsminister* Alfred Rosenberg, until the fall of the Nazi regime. This study analyses these and other relations between Spanish archaeologists and Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945.

[Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, Comisario General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas del Ministerio de Educación Nacional y Bellas Artes desde 1939, estableció, con el apoyo de Falange, relaciones científicas y personales con la sociedad *Das Ahnenerbe*, una de las instituciones de investigación englobadas en la *Allgemeine-SS* dirigida por el *Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler. La primera colaboración entre ambas instituciones se centró en la excavación de la necrópolis visigoda de Castiltierra (Segovia).

En el mes de octubre de 1940, durante la visita oficial de Himmler a España, la relación personal entre Himmler y Martínez Santa Olalla se tradujo en un proyecto de desarrollo de una institución de investigación arqueológica copiada de *Das Ahnenerbe* y dependiente de Falange que substituyera a la Comisaría General. Las relaciones políticas, personales y científicas de Martínez Santa Olalla con los miembros de las SS Sievers, Wüst, Langsdorff y Jankuhn continuaron hasta la caída del régimen nazi, así como también con el *Amt Rosenberg*, dirigido por el *Reichsminister* Alfred Rosenberg. El estudio analiza también las relaciones entre otros arqueólogos españoles y la investigación nazi entre 1939 y 1945.]

### Introduction

At the end of the Spanish Civil War many of the leading figures in Spanish archaeology went into exile. For those that stayed behind, an arbitrary process of cleansing was set in motion in which personal relations, political influences and the ability to adapt to the new circumstances proved decisive. In the years between 1939 and 1945, the political alignment of Franco's government, in addition to the outbreak of the Second World War, were to greatly determine the relations that were

forged between Spanish archaeologists and the Axis powers (Italy and Germany), those that were dependent on them (Vichy France), and their political allies (Portugal). Among these links were those promoted by various sectors of the *Falange* (Spain's fascist political organisation) with Nazi Germany via the SS's *Das Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg*.<sup>1</sup>

### **Martínez Santa Olalla and *Das Ahnenerbe***

Julio Martínez Santa Olalla taught Spanish Culture at Bonn University in Germany, between 1 April 1927 and 1 August 1931, a position to which he was officially appointed by the Spanish Ministry of State<sup>2</sup>. During this period he became a true Germanophile, a passion that had begun to develop during his previous stays funded by the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* (JAE; the Board for Further Studies) and that was also clearly influenced by the prehistorians, Bosch Gimpera and Obermaier. Later, as he sought to find a permanent position at a Spanish university (something that occurred in June 1936 when he was appointed to the Chair of Art History at the University of Santiago<sup>3</sup>) he established contacts with German prehistorians and archaeologists who were becoming increasingly involved with the Nazi power structure. Thus, on 4 December 1934, the Spanish Ministry of State communicated to its business attaché in Berlin when Martínez Santa Olalla would arrive in Germany, and that he had been invited by the university to give a series of lectures<sup>4</sup>: to the *Romanisches Seminar* at the Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität on “Visigothic remains in Spain” on 12 December; and at Cologne University on “*Die Westgotischen funde in Spanien*” (sic) on 19 December. During this trip Martínez Santa Olalla became a member of the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire (Deutsches Archäologisches Reichsinstitut)<sup>5</sup> and was an official guest of the Roman-Germanic Commission in Frankfurt. On his return to Spain he asked Agustín de Foxá, member of the Ministry of State's press office, to intercede on his behalf with the Viscount of Mamblás<sup>6</sup>, chief of Cultural Relations at the Ministry, so that a press notice could be issued reporting his visit to Germany<sup>7</sup>. Mamblás acceded to his request, and an interview was arranged for 20 January. A press notice was sent out by the Ministry on the 21 January and published on the following day<sup>8</sup>. The press cuttings were subsequently sent by the chief

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<sup>2</sup> AGA. (05). 10519-98. *Application for the Chair of Art History in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Madrid University. Curriculum vitae Julio Martínez Santa Olalla (JMSO)*.

<sup>3</sup> AGA. (05). 10519-98. *Application for the Chair of Ancient and Medieval World History in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, University of Barcelona. Curriculum vitae JMSO*.

<sup>4</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-743/71. *Telegram from the State Minister to the business attaché in Berlin*.

<sup>5</sup> Established in 1833 as Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, became Reichsinstitut from 1874 to the end of WWII.

<sup>6</sup> José Ruiz de Arana y Bauer, Viscount of Mamblás. General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Personal record of José Ruiz de Arana y Bauer*, P-462/33.375.

<sup>7</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-743/71. *Letter from Agustín de Foxá to the Viscount of Mamblás, 17/01/1935*.

<sup>8</sup> The press notice read as follows: “Dr. J. Martínez Santa Olalla, Professor at Madrid University, has given two lectures in Berlin and Cologne on the Visigothic remains in Spain and the Bronze Age in Spain, invited by the Institute of Prehistory of the former University and as official guest of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt, where he was commissioned to prepare a general work on new Visigothic materials to be published as part of this institution's series of publications. Dr. Martínez Santa Olalla's lecture in Berlin was attended by the Spanish Business Attaché and all Embassy staff, the ambassador of Portugal and representatives from most of the South American republics. Dr. Martínez Santa Olalla was received as a member of the Archaeological Institute of the Reich” (sic). General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-743/71. *Ministry of State. Cultural Relations. Press notice, 21/01/1935*.

of Cultural Relations to Martínez Santa Olalla<sup>9</sup>, who acknowledged their receipt in a letter dated 24 January, in which he also recorded his intention to continue to build relations with Germany, and the support of Gregorio Marañón (a leading twentieth-century Spanish intellectual)<sup>10</sup>.

After the military uprising in 1936, Martínez Santa Olalla abandoned the university only to be arrested in Madrid. However, in 1937 he managed to take refuge in the French embassy. He fled to France at the beginning of 1938, and after a short stay at a refugee camp, he returned to the nationalist-held territory of Spain, and volunteered at the *Academia de Oficiales de Estado Mayor* in Valladolid, where he was declared unfit for duty because of his poor eyesight. Because he was a *camisa vieja* (one of the earliest members of the *Falange*), he was appointed a representative of the National Government and the *Falange Española Tradicionalista* (FET) and *Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista* (JONS) at the Frankfurt Jubilee in June 1938. During this trip he also gave a number of lectures in various German cities to promote Franco's cause and to denounce 'the red menace'. Upon his return he was appointed personal representative of the minister-secretary of FET and JONS at the Head Office of Archaeological Excavations of the *Falange*<sup>11</sup>.

On 7 March 1939 (BOE – Official State Gazette – 8 March), Martínez Santa Olalla was appointed Commissioner-General for Archaeological Excavations. This appointment was ratified on 7 December 1940 (BOE 11 December) following the publication of the decree creating the General Commission for Excavations (CGEC) on 17 October 1940, which substituted the order of 9 March 1939 (BOE 14 March), by which the same institution had been created within the Head Office of Archives, Libraries and Museums<sup>12</sup>.

Martínez Santa Olalla's contacts with the archaeological institutions of Nazi Germany intensified at the start of 1939. On 10 January 1939<sup>13</sup>, the Institute of Spain in San Sebastian called on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Burgos to telegraph the ambassador in Berlin so that Martínez Santa Olalla might be accredited as the official representative of the archaeological section at the meetings and lectures to be held in the Reich's capital. This request was answered at the Ministry the following day<sup>14</sup> by order of Gómez-Jordana. The contacts established during this trip must have been particularly fruitful since, at the end of June, the President of the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire (DAR), on the occasion of the parade to honour the volunteers of the Condor Legion held in Berlin on 6 June, addressed a message to Martínez Santa Olalla – subsequently released by the press – in which he affirmed that:

“we, the German people, consider the Spanish victory to be that of the just cause, and are proud to have contributed to it. Germany and Spain have enjoyed strong ties during a long period of their long history; never have they been enemies and they are united in sharing the same world

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<sup>9</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-743/71. *Note Mamblás-JMSO*, 23/01/1935.

<sup>10</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-743/71. *Letter from Julio Martínez Santa Olalla to Viscount of Mamblás*, 24/01/1935.

<sup>11</sup> AGA. (05) 1.03 31/1531. *Application for the Chair of Ancient and Medieval World History in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, University of Barcelona. Curriculum vitae JMSO*.

<sup>12</sup> On JMSO's performance at the head of the CGEA, see: Díaz Andreu, M. (2002): “Teoría e ideología en Arqueología. La arqueología española bajo el régimen franquista”. *Historia de la Arqueología. Estudios*. Ed. Ediciones Clásicas. Madrid, pp. 89–101.; Díaz Andreu, M. (1997): “Prehistoria y Franquismo”. In: G. Mora and M. Díaz Andreu (eds.). *La cristalización del pasado. Génesis y desarrollo del marco institucional de la arqueología en España*. Madrid, Málaga. Ed. Ministerio de Cultura, pp. 547–551; Díaz Andreu, M.; Ramírez Sánchez, M. (2001): “La Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas (1939–1945): la administración del Patrimonio Arqueológico en España durante la primera etapa de la dictadura franquista”. *Complutum*, 12, pp. 325–343.

<sup>13</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317/56. *Official telegram. San Sebastian 10/01/1939. From the Delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in San Sebastian to the Minister of Foreign Affairs*.

<sup>14</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317/56. *Official telegram Burgos 11/01/1939. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Berlin*.

view. For these reasons we, as Germans, wish Spain a happy reawakening and we look forward to the revival of our long-standing friendship.”<sup>15</sup>

Archaeological and political links were not only strengthened with Germany. The position of authority that Martínez Santa Olalla had attained in Spanish archaeological research allowed him to represent the new state at various international forums, in particular at the series of lectures organized by the Institute of Roman Studies<sup>16</sup>, in which he participated on 21 February 1940 with the lecture “*Spanish-Roman Archaeology*”, attended by the Spanish ambassador to Mussolini’s government. His visit to Rome was completed, according to an agency press release, with a radio address on the “*Hispanization of Rome*”, and a lengthy visit to the archaeological work being carried out by the Italian Fascist government<sup>17</sup>.

In fact, Martínez Santa Olalla’s interests found fertile ground in Germany, since *Das Ahnenerbe* had at least two areas of research interest in Spain. In 1934 and 1936, a team from the Frobenius Institute, comprising draughtsmen E. Volhard, A. Bayrle, K. Marr, E. Pauli, E. Trautmann, and M. Weyersberg, the photographer M. Lippmann and, at least during the 1934 campaign, the archaeologist F. Altheim, travelled around the north and north-east of the Iberian Peninsula making tracings of the hill shelters and caves containing cave paintings<sup>18</sup>. Years later, in 1939, Otto Huth, one of the researchers from the *Das Ahnenerbe*’s headquarters at Dahlem, proposed the organisation of an expedition to the Canary Islands to study the rituals and religious practices of the archipelago’s natives as a means of analysing the primitive beliefs of Aryans<sup>19</sup>. Although the outbreak of the war and the problems posed by its funding were to lead to the repeated postponement of the expedition, Wolfram Sievers, manager of *Das Ahnenerbe*, maintained his interest in the subject, requesting Martínez Santa Olalla’s help in 1944 in obtaining copies of manuscripts, cartularies and other documents on the Canary Islands deposited in the National Library in Madrid<sup>20</sup>.

On 21 and 22 October 1940, the *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler visited Madrid. As a *Falangist*, and as a high-ranking government official proficient in German, Martínez Santa Olalla was assigned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the retinue of the German chief of police. He accompanied Himmler on his visits to El Escorial, to visit José Antonio’s provisional tomb, and to the Alcázar of Toledo. These visits were organized by the Spanish chief of police, José Finat y Escrivá de Romaní, the Count of Mayalde. Later they also visited the Prado Museum and the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (MAN), whose collections were of particular interest to Himmler<sup>21</sup>. At the MAN he was received by the president of the Board of Trustees, the Count of Casal; the museum’s director Blas Taracena; and the chief of the Numismatics section, Casto María del Rivero. Himmler was especially interested in the Iberian sculpture and Visigothic art collections. Martínez Santa Olalla presented him with a sixth-century Visigothic brooch, and the Count of Mayalde gave Himmler a reproduction of the sculpture of the *Dama de Elche* (the Lady of Elx). Two days later, Blas Taracena described the visit to the members of the MAN Board of Trustees, stressing Himmler’s interest in the museum’s facilities, reiterating his congratulations on their work, and highlighting “his academic curiosity and thorough grounding on Visigothic and graphic remains of the period of the migration of the Germanic peoples”<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> ABC newspaper, 01/07/1939, p. 6. *A message from the president of the German Archaeological Institute.*

<sup>16</sup> ABC newspaper, 23/01/1940, p. 8. *Spanish-Roman archaeology.*

<sup>17</sup> ABC newspaper, 06/03/1940, p. 12. *The Spanish-Italian relations.*

<sup>18</sup> *Vorgeschichte I (Felsbilder) July-August 1934: Südfrankreich und Ostspanien.* FIA LF 514.

<sup>19</sup> HUTH, O. (1937): “Die Gesittung der Kanarier als Schlüssel zum ur-Indogermanentum”. *Germanien*, 2.

<sup>20</sup> San Isidro Museum. MSO Archive. *Letter from Martínez Santa Olalla to Sievers, 30/06/1944.*

<sup>21</sup> ABC newspaper of 23/10/1940, p. 5. *Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler’s trip to Spain. Visit to the Prado and Archaeological Museums.*

<sup>22</sup> MAN Archive. *Book 1 of Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the National Archaeological Museum 1939–1944*, p. 30.



October 1940. SS leader Heinrich Himmler visit El Escorial guided by the Spanish chief of archaeology Julio Martínez Santa Olalla.

However, the most interesting part of Himmler's visit was the proposed trip that did not take place. The "*Program of the activities to take place on the occasion of the visit to Spain of His Excellency the Reichsführer SS and German chief of police Heinrich Himmler*" included, on Tuesday 22 October, a trip to Segovia at 10.30 to "visit in this province the Visigothic excavations (Castiltierra)". This proposal is proof, in the first place, of Martínez Santa Olalla's influence in drawing up the programme and the German leader's interest in archaeology. In the second place, the inclusion of the site of Castiltierra also proves that Martínez Santa Olalla's interest in this site pre-dates 1941, reflecting his pre-war work, when he took over from Emilio Camps' position, and probably, at the same time took advantage of his important position in the CGEC and the MAN.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of these initial contacts, Himmler issued a personal invitation to Martínez Santa Olalla to travel to Germany so that he might study, along with the members of the *Das Ahnenerbe*, the best way to establish collaboration between the General Commission for Excavations and the archaeological activities of the *Falange*. Martínez Santa Olalla set off on 12 December 1940, and the first agreements reached included the organization of a series of lectures, the publication of some of his work in German, and an exchange of experts who would participate



October 1940. Heinrich Himmler and Martínez Santa Olalla in the National Museum of Archaeology (Madrid).

<sup>23</sup> We thank Pilar Casado Liso, head of section of the MAEC General Archive, for drawing our attention to this document.

in work at various archaeological sites.<sup>24</sup> During his stay in Berlin Martínez Santa Olalla visited the headquarters of several research centres and held interviews with the heads of *Das Ahnenerbe* and *Amt Rosenberg* so as to become acquainted with the “archaeological and artistic studies in the occupied territories, as well as the protection of monument programmes and the archaeological excavations currently taking place in various countries”.<sup>25</sup>

On 20 January 1941, the *SS-Sturmbannführer* Alexander Langsdorff<sup>26</sup> wrote from Paris to *SS-Obersturmbannführer* Wolfram Sievers<sup>27</sup>, manager of *Das Ahnenerbe*, commenting on the projected series of lectures by Martínez Santa Olalla, while at the same time mentioning the presence in the French capital of the archaeologists Joachim Werner and Wolfgang Kimmig, who were attached to the office for Prehistory and Archaeology of the administration of the German occupying forces in France, and who were responsible for plundering art collections. In this letter, he stressed the confrontation between the scientists of the *Das Ahnenerbe* and those of the Roman-Germanic Commission.<sup>28</sup>

In Madrid Spanish-German cultural relations were institutionalised with the inauguration of the German Institute of Culture on 22 May 1941. The event was presided over by the Minister of National Education, José Ibáñez Martín, representing the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ramón Serrano Suñer, and the German ambassador to Spain, von Stohrer, was attended, among others, by the Minister of the Party, José Luis Arrese, and Martínez Santa Olalla. After the customary political speeches, the director of the new Institute, Theodor Heinermann, delivered a lecture on the Holy Grail and the traditions of the mountain of Montserrat in relation to German legends and the foundations of Spanish-German cultural interchange, exactly the same subject which had inspired the visit by *Reichsführer* Himmler to the Catalan sanctuary in October of the preceding year.<sup>29</sup> Two years later, in November 1943, the Centre for Archaeological Studies was established in a number of

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<sup>24</sup> ABC newspaper of 13/12/1940, p. 6. *Spanish-German cultural collaboration. Visit by the Spanish Commissioner-General for Archaeological Excavations to Germany.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>26</sup> Alexander Langsdorff (1898–?) NSDAP: 1657761/ SS 185091, was a pupil of Philip Jacobsthal, and from 1932 he was curator and Unverzagt’s assistant at the Staatliches Museum Berlin, where from 1934 he developed the policy of adapting collections to the postulates of national socialist ideology. He was appointed “Adviser in Prehistory for SS excavations”. During the war he was responsible, among other missions, for the plundering of the Italian museums and collections, and transferred the objects to Austrian Tyrol. He was arrested by the British army after the surrender of the German troops in Italy in May 1945. On his activities in Italy, see: Nicholas, L. H. (1996): *El saqueo de Europa*. Ed. Destino. Barcelona. On the organizational structure of Nazi archaeology in the occupied territories, see: Junker, K. (1998): “Research under dictatorship: the German Archaeological Institute 1929–1945”. *Antiquity*, 72, pp. 282–292.; Arnold, B. (1990): “The past and propaganda: totalitarian archaeology in Nazi Germany”. *Antiquity*, 64, pp. 464–478; Maischberger, M. (2002): “German archaeology during the Third Reich, 1933–1945: a case study based on archival evidence”. *Antiquity*, 76, pp. 209–218.

<sup>27</sup> Wolfram Sievers (Hildesheim, 10/07/1905 – Nuremberg, 02/06/1948) was scientific director of *Das Ahnenerbe* from 1935, director of the Institute for Military Scientific Research (Institut fuer Wehrwissenschaftliche Zweckforschung), and executive delegate of the Council of Directors of the Reich’s Research Council. Tried as a war criminal in Nuremberg, he was found guilty of crimes against humanity because of the pseudo-scientific experiments conducted in the Struthof-Natzweiler concentration camp, in the Dachau extermination camp, and the organization of a collection of human skeletons at the Anatomical Institute of the Reichsuniversitaet Strasburg. Sentenced to death in 1947, he was subsequently executed. For more information, see: *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10. Nuremberg, October 1946–April 1949*. USGPO 1949–1953. On the structure of *Das Ahnenerbe* and the researchers involved, see: Simon, G. (2006), *Denkschrift über Vorgeschichte*. Tübingen.

<sup>28</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. Das Ahnenerbe Berlin 015977 A/23/11/B/41/f5/1. Letter dated 20/01/1941. German prehistorian and archaeologist Wolfgang Kimmig at the beginning of WWII, he belonged to Stab Graf Metterich for the protection of archaeological museums and cultural heritage in France.

<sup>29</sup> ABC newspaper, 23/05/1941, p. 7. *Solemn inauguration of the German Institute of Culture.*

rooms belonging to the German Institute. Its first director, Helmut Schlunk, curator of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, member of the Institute of Archaeology of the German Empire, and specialist in Visigothic art, was responsible for the work of the institution until the occupation of the premises by the Allied Control Commission at the end of the Second World War<sup>30</sup>. In March 1943 Schlunk gave a series of lectures in Madrid at the invitation of the CSIC (the Spanish National Research Council).<sup>31</sup>

The first major collaboration between the General Commission for Excavations (CGE) and *Das Ahnenerbe* was planned for the Visigothic necropolis of Castiltierra (Segovia), for which Party Minister José Luis Arrese issued a special invitation to Heinrich Himmler. But because of the German invasion of Russia, most of the teams working in German archaeological institutions had been sent to the Eastern European front following the advance of the army. However *Reichsführer* Himmler replied to Arrese on 4 August 1941 thanking him for the invitation to participate in work which would “illuminate and strengthen the relations existing today between our two peoples”, and promising support when the current military operations had finished<sup>32</sup>. Because of this the *Falange* took charge of the excavations, which were led by Martínez Santa Olalla with the support of José María Mañá de Angulo, Bernardo Sáez Martín, Emilio Martínez Santa Olalla, and the commissioner for excavations in the province of Segovia, Antonio Molinero Pérez. The CGE issued a positive report prior to the granting of a subsidy of 10,000 pesetas “because of their relevance, political interest and the need to hasten the excavations, so they will be managed directly by the General Commission for Archaeological Excavations”<sup>33</sup>. The strained nature of relations between Martínez Santa Olalla and the Marquis of Lozoya, the Director General of Fine Arts, were once more evident during these negotiations and on 24 June 1941 the Commissioner-General had to repeat his request for funding issued on 15 April, insisting again that it was the CGE management who were responsible for organizing the excavations, and communicating their willingness to deposit their finds in the MAN until a suitable museum had been built in Segovia<sup>34</sup>.

On 23 August, José Luis Arrese, visited the excavation and informed the press that representatives of the Roman-Germanic Commission and the Archaeological Institute of the German Reich would be visiting the site soon. He also announced “a joint scientific publication, one of political comradeship between the Spanish and German peoples” as requested by Himmler in his letter dated 4 August 1941.<sup>35</sup> In order to prepare this publication, on 9 September, Professor Joachim Werner from Tübingen University (assistant director of the Roman-Germanic Institute in Frankfurt and Inspector General of the Belgian Museums) who had been specifically invited by José Luis Arrese and the Seminar of Primitive History of Man at Madrid University, terminated his work at the excavation site. Werner praised the work being undertaken, and in 1946 he published an article in the *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*, directed by Martínez Santa Olalla, in which he recalled his impressions of his visit to the site. However the political nature of his trip became obvious when he first made a visit to José Antonio’s tomb on 8 September<sup>36</sup>. This was not Werner’s first visit to Madrid. At the beginning of August, accompanied at all times by Martínez Santa Olalla, he had visited the Prado Museum

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<sup>30</sup> ABC newspaper, 13/11/1943. On the subject, see: AA.VV. (2004): *50 Años del Instituto Arqueológico Alemán de Madrid*. Ed. Instituto Arqueológico Alemán/Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Blech, M. (2002): “La aportación de los arqueólogos alemanes a la arqueología Española”. In: AA.VV. *Historiografía de la Arqueología Española. I. Las instituciones*. Madrid, pp. 83–118.

<sup>31</sup> ABC newspaper, 06/03/1943, p. 12. *National Research Council. Dr. Schlunk’s second conference*.

<sup>32</sup> Bundesarchiv- Berlin. NS 21/349. *Letter Himmler-Arrese, 04/08/1941*.

<sup>33</sup> A.G.A. (03) 109.02. CA 219 TOP 12/25.

<sup>34</sup> A.G.A. (03) 109.02 CA 219. TOP 12/25. *Letter CGEA-DGBBAA, 24/06/1941*.

<sup>35</sup> ABC newspaper, 24/08/1941, p. 8. *The minister-secretary visits the archaeological excavations of Castiltierra*.

<sup>36</sup> ABC newspaper, 10/09/1941, p. 11. *The archaeological excavations at Castiltierra. Professor Werner satisfied with work being done*.



July 1941. Party minister José Luis Arrese and Martínez Santa Olalla in the Visigoth site of Castiltierra (Segovia).

and the National Archaeological Museum, where he had shown a particular interest in the Visigothic collections, the primary interest of *Das Ahnenerbe*. He also visited the Ethnological Museum, guided by José Pérez de Barradas, and again expressed a keen interest in the work being carried out by the General Commission for Excavations and the Madrid City Council on the sandy shores of the Manzanares River.<sup>37</sup>

On the completion of the excavation work, Martínez Santa Olalla and his collaborators agreed that the proper treatment of the archaeological materials – in particular of the bronze objects – would be impossible in Spain, given the lack of resources available to them. He therefore organized their transfer to the Berlin headquarters of *Das Ahnenerbe*, setting in motion a process of dispersal of this significant material that persists to this day. All attempts at this collection's reconstruction since then have been undermined by the different sources and accounts of the provenance of the materials subsequently deposited at the Germanisches National Museum. This is further complication because of material from Professor Walter von Stokar, dated 14 July 1958, but actually deposited in the museum on 2 December 1964.<sup>38</sup> Not all of the archaeological materials were analysed in Berlin: a letter addressed to Sievers on 18 January 1943 indicates that some materials had been in Vienna, where they were analysed by Oswald Menghin and Franz Hancar, before being returned to Berlin at the beginning of 1943.<sup>39</sup> In fact, on 30 June 1944, Martínez Santa Olalla thanked Sievers two letters dated 27 May and 9 June, in which Sievers communicated news regarding the process of restoration of the material, somewhat delayed because of the course of the war. He also acknowledged receipt of the slides of the restoration work which the representative of the Gestapo at the Embassy in Madrid, Paul Winzer<sup>40</sup>, had sent him, and announced that he would prepare a report for *Das Ahnenerbe* on the

<sup>37</sup> ABC newspaper, 06/08/1941, p. 21. *Professor Werner's visit to Madrid*.

<sup>38</sup> We thank Dr. Tobias Springer for information concerning the vicissitudes of their arrival at the GNM in Nuremberg. Personal communication 20/10/2005. According to his information “*there is no reason, apart from Prof. Werner's claim, to think that Professor V. Stokar was not the legal owner of the objects. On 24/08/1952, Wilhelm Reinhart offered objects from Castiltierra which, according to him, he had bought at the site in 1938 and 1939. The objects were not purchased. Mr. Reiner Hofman affirms that the same was true of the collections in Barcelona, Madrid, Granada and Malaga. In New York, objects from Castiltierra were sold at auction. Prof. Hans Zeiss, in his work Die Grabfunde aus dem spanischen Westgotenreich, listed objects from different private collections in 1934 (...) In the excavations of 1941, Juan García, alias the Deaf, collaborated with Martínez Santa Olalla; he was an antique merchant from whom the Barcelona Museum had purchased objects originating from this site*”.

<sup>39</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. NS 21/319.. B/41/p10.

<sup>40</sup> On Paul Winzer and his activities in Spain, see: Ros Agudo, M. (2002): *La guerra secreta de Franco*. Ed. Crítica. Barcelona, pp. 180–181.

excavations when the rest of the documents and materials had been returned to Madrid.<sup>41</sup>

At a much earlier date, on 23 December 1941, Martínez Santa Olalla sent a report to the President of the Board for Cultural Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he noted that the rector of Berlin University had invited him to give a lecture there on 15 January 1942, for which he was requesting a travel grant for what he termed a “scientific mission abroad”,<sup>42</sup> as well as an official passport to leave Spain. The passport (an ordinary non-diplomatic document) was issued immediately, on 24 December 1941 (no. 2552)<sup>43</sup>, but the grant (1,500 pesetas) was not made available until the 7 February 1942, by which time Martínez Santa Olalla had already returned<sup>44</sup>. He left for Berlin in mid-January 1942, and gave a lecture on 15 January at Berlin University entitled: “The Indoeuropeanization of Spain During the First pre-Christian Millenium”, after which there was a banquet in his honour, attended by academic authorities, the directors of the Berlin museums and the advisers to the ministers of the Home Office, and Science, Education and Culture of the Reich, Wilhelm Frick and Bernhard Rust. Nevertheless, the scientific nature of the visit became charged with political significance when, in his reply to the welcome speech, Martínez Santa Olalla called for the demonstration of “the underpinnings of intelligence in the scientific arena, stressing and disseminating the significance of the great struggle against international communism, whose first battle was won in Spain and whose second battle is currently being fought and won in the fields of Russia, with the Falangists of the Blue Division in place of honour”. During his stay in Berlin he also visited the wounded from the Blue Division who were recovering in a nearby. Although no reports have been preserved from the Spanish embassy with regard to his activities, the political nature of some of them cannot have escaped the notice of the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,<sup>45</sup> and probably accounted for their later decisions.

As a direct result of this trip, the manager of *Das Ahnenerbe*, Wolfram Sievers, wrote to Himmler, the society’s president, on 10 February 1942<sup>46</sup>, requesting his approval for an archaeological project in Spain<sup>47</sup>. In the letter he mentioned Martínez Santa Olalla’s recent visit to Berlin, and the receipt of materials obtained during the excavation of the necropolis at Castiltierra in August and September 1941 so that they might be restored and studied. He also mentioned the invitation to *Das Ahnenerbe* to participate in this many of the archaeologists working for the society were scattered around Europe, busily engaged in pseudo-investigations and plundering in the south of Russia and Paris in section I, group 4, of the General Administration, which depended on the military governor of France, General von Stülpnagel.<sup>48</sup> The Party Secretary, José Luis Arrese, patron of the excavations, however once more sent an invitation through Martínez Santa Olalla to the *SS-Reichsführer* Himmler and the researchers of *Das Ahnenerbe* asking them to participate in the planned excavations in 1942.

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<sup>41</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. NS 21/349. *Letter Martínez Santa Olalla-Sievers, 30/06/1944.*

<sup>42</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317/56. *Request from JMSO to the Cultural Relations Assembly of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 23/12/1941.*

<sup>43</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317/56. *Document from the acting undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Head of the Staff Section of this Ministry.*

<sup>44</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317/56. *Document from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Payment of 1,500 pesetas to cover Professor Julio Martínez Santa Olalla’s travel expenses.*

<sup>45</sup> ABC newspaper, 23/01/1942. *Spanish-German cultural exchange.*

<sup>46</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. Ahnenerbe documents NS 21/319. *Letter Sievers-Himmler, 10/02/1942.*

<sup>47</sup> Díaz-Andreu, M. (2003): “Arqueología y dictaduras: Italia, Alemania y España”. *Antigüedad y franquismo (1936–1975)*. Ed. Diputación Provincial de Málaga. Málaga, pp. 33–74.

<sup>48</sup> Despite this, a member of the administration in occupied France, Professor Joachim Werner, from Tübingen University, did participate in the excavations as a representative of the German Reich’s Archaeological Institute and of the Prehistory Department of Marburg University directed by Professor von Merhart. Werner, J. (1946): “Las excavaciones del Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre, en 1941, en el cementerio visigodo de Castiltierra (Segovia)”. *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*, 1, pp. 46–50.

Arrese also expressed his interest in receiving German advice regarding the establishment of a structure similar to that of the Nazi's *Das Ahnenerbe* in Spain (separate, of course, from the university system and the Ministry of Education) and dependent exclusively on the *Falange*. He, therefore, requested an interview with Sievers as the manager of the German organization. Himmler was also informed of the interest expressed by the Spanish Foreign Office in organizing an exhibition on the expansion of the Visigoths in Spain, one of Himmler's favourite subjects, and for which Nazi support was also sought. Sievers, after consulting with the nominal leader of *Das Ahnenerbe*, *SS-Oberführer* Dr. Walter Wüst<sup>49</sup>, proposed sending *SS-Sturmbannführer* Professor Dr. Jankuhn<sup>50</sup> and *SS-Untersturmführer* Docent Dr. Ing. Rudolph to the excavations, the latter being assigned the specific task of comparing Visigothic architecture in Spain with the results of his research in the north of Italy and south Tyrol. As for the advice sought by minister Arrese, Sievers decided to assign this task to either the *Kurator* or *Reichtsgeschäftsführer*, depending on their availability. Finally, Sievers proposed that *SS-Sturmbannführer* Dr. von Leutzburg should give a lecture within the framework of the exhibition, because of his mastery of Spanish and the interest expressed by the Spanish people of having the lecture given in this language, and requested permission to loan to the Spanish ministry exhibition materials from the German exhibition in Copenhagen to complement others that had been promised by the *Reichsluftfahrtministerium* (Reich Air Force Ministry) on the use of aerial photography in the research field of prehistory.

It is not surprising, therefore, that around the same time, on 19 February 1942, following an invitation from the Movement's vice-secretary of Popular Education, Martínez Santa Olalla gave a lecture in the auditorium of the Naval Museum in Madrid entitled "Aviation and Archaeology". In his speech he claimed that: "Germany, who had fallen behind in aerial archaeological research because of the Treaty of Versailles, was organizing courses for archaeologists and making progress in this science", and he praised the cooperation of General Juan Vigón with the General Commission for Excavations in the development of aerial photography in Spain,<sup>51</sup> a topic to which he would return in later articles.<sup>52</sup> It is also unsurprising that during the ordinary session of the Spanish Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory of January 1942, of which Martínez Santa Olalla was secretary, the Minister of the Movement, José Luis Arrese, was elected to the board of directors, and the Minister of the Air Force, Juan Vigón, was welcomed as a new member<sup>53</sup>. The network of political and military support developed by Martínez Santa Olalla was not only maintained but also strengthened at the beginning of the year, and even included references to Franco's position on archaeological research: "the Caudillo has a keen interest in our archaeological activities and, on one occasion, he

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<sup>49</sup> Walter Wüst (Kaiserslautern, 07/05/1901–21/03/1993) *SS-Oberführer*. NSDAP 3208696/SS 278951. Member of Himmler's permanent council, he was director of *Das Ahnenerbe*, president of the Deutsche Akademie, and rector of Munich University.

<sup>50</sup> Herbert Jankuhn could not attend the excavations at Castiltierra in 1941 as he was following the advance of the German troops in Russia after the commencement of Operation Barbarossa on 22/06/1941. Jankuhn was responsible for the plundering of the museums in the south of Russia and of the Ukrainian and Crimean archaeological sites during the first stages of the war. See in this sense: Schnapp, A. (2003): "L'autodestruction de l'archéologie allemande sous le régime nazi". *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 78, pp. 101–109.; Krall, K. (2005): *Prähistorie im Nationalsozialismus: Ein Vergleich der Schriften von Herbert Jankuhn und Hans Reinerth zwischen 1933 und 1939*. Universität Konstanz. Konstanz.; Hassman, H. (2002): "Archaeology in the Third Reich". In: Härke, H. (Ed.): *Archaeology, Ideology and Society. The German Experience*. Ed. Peter Lang. Frankfurt am Main, pp. 67–142. Hufen, Ch (1998): "Gotenforschung und Denkmalpflege: Herbert Jankuhn und die Kommandounternehmen des "Ahnenerbe" der SS". *Betr. Sicherstellung*, pp. 75–95.

<sup>51</sup> ABC newspaper of 19/02/1942, p. 10. "Cycle of lectures on aviation. Lecture on the topic 'Aviation and archaeology' by Mr. Martínez Santa-Olalla".

<sup>52</sup> ABC newspaper, 10/12/1943, p. 23. "Aviation at the service of archaeology".

<sup>53</sup> ABC newspaper, 04/02/1942, p. 9. "Scientific session of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. The minister-secretary general of FET and JONS, Mr. Arrese, is part of the new board, and the minister of the Air, general Vigón, is among the new members".

outlined a complete plan, well wrought, magnificent and ambitious in its undertaking – a plan that would be perfect for Spain, and which if, only half of it was to see fruition, would place us at the head of Europe in this field”<sup>54</sup>, so that there was no reason why collaboration with *Das Ahnenerbe* should be subject to setbacks.

The excellent relations between Sievers, on the one hand, and Arrese and Martínez Santa Olalla, on the other, were rewarded when the head of *Das Ahnenerbe* was granted the Knight’s Cross of the Order of Isabel la Católica on 12 March 1942, on the recommendation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by Serrano Suñer.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, Martínez Santa Olalla was decorated with the Medal of the Order of the German Eagle (Verdienstorden vom Deutschen Adler).

But the excavations at Castiltierra planned for 1942 did not take place, nor was work resumed in the following. In fact, in the reports published prior to the distribution of funding for the years 1942, 1943 and 1944, drawn up by the General Commission for Excavations for approval by the Director General of Fine Arts, the site is not mentioned. In 1942 and 1943 Martínez Santa Olalla twice obtained 7,000 pesetas, large budgets, for the excavations being carried out by the Seminar of Primitive History of Man at Madrid University. During the first year, no sites in particular were mentioned, but in 1943 the report mentions excavations scheduled to take place in Huelva and Almería provinces. In 1944, he was awarded 17,000 pesetas for excavations in Murcia province, and was appointed commissioner of this work. Among work carried out during these years, mention should be made of the Bronze Age settlement of Castillico de las Peñas (Totana).<sup>56</sup> At the same time, Martínez Santa Olalla, in collaboration with Bernardo Sáez Martín, started working in the African Sahara and in Spanish Guinea. An expedition to Ifni and Río de Oro took place in January and February 1941, and continued between June and September 1943 along with the First Paleoethnological Expedition to the Spanish Sahara. In July and August 1946 the expedition went to Guinea. These expeditions, together with his interest in the archaeology of the Canary Islands, explain why Martínez Santa Olalla gave up his work in the Visigothic world. Another explanation, suggested by R. Castelo, is that he was disappointed with the subject, because he was forced to publish a revised opinion of several false Visigothic jewels that he had considered to be authentic in two previous works.<sup>57</sup>

But, in all likelihood, the reasons why collaboration between the leaders of *Das Ahnenerbe* and Martínez Santa Olalla was temporarily suspended, probably lies in his confrontations with other Spanish archaeologists, unhappy with the way in which he was directing the activities of the General Commission for Excavations. In Vienna, on 17 July 1942, Herbert Jankuhn held a meeting with Menghin<sup>58</sup>, who told him that during a recent visit to Barcelona<sup>59</sup>, Martín Almagro<sup>60</sup> had made clear

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<sup>54</sup> ABC newspaper 10/07/1942, p. 13. “A great cultural undertaking. Spain’s archaeological works”.

<sup>55</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-4909. Dossier 40. *Exchange of decorations between Spain and Germany*. According to documents found in the ministry archive, Sievers accepted the decoration in Berlin on 15/02/1943, and received the certificate on 16/03/1945. The proposal for his award has not, however, been found.

<sup>56</sup> AGA. (03) 109.02.CA 219. TOP 12/25. *General Committee for Archaeological Excavations. Payments for 1942 and 1943*.

<sup>57</sup> Castelo, R., Cardito, L. M.; Panizo, L.; Rodríguez, I (1995): *Julio Martínez Santa Olalla. Crónicas de la Cultura Arqueológica Española*. Madrid, pp. 81–82.

<sup>58</sup> On Almagro Basch’s relations with Menghin, see: Cruz Berrocal, M.; Gil-Carles Esteban, J. M.; Gil Esteban, M.; Martínez Navarrete, M<sup>a</sup>.I. (2005): “Martín Almagro Basch, Fernando Gil Carles y el Corpus de Arte Rupestre Levantino”. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 62,1, pp. 26–45. On the political involvement of Oswald Menghin, see: Kohl, Ph. L.; Pérez Gollán, J. A. (2002): “Religion, Politics, and Prehistory. Reassessing the Lingering Legacy of Oswald Menghin”. *Current Anthropology*, 43,4, pp. 561–586.

<sup>59</sup> Menghin’s visit to Barcelona was at the personal invitation of the rector of the University of Barcelona, Francisco Gómez del Campillo, addressed to E. Krotz, director of the German Institute of Culture in Barcelona. AHUB 38/4/2/24. On 17 June 1942, at the University of Barcelona, Menghin delivered the lecture “*The formation*

to him that there were difficulties between Martínez Santa Olalla and the other Spanish researchers, who accused him of monopolizing relations with Germany, and also of claiming credit for the success of the excavations in Castiltierra, where any results were essentially attributable to Emilio Camps' work conducted before the Civil War. He passed on this information to Sievers who, in turn, issued a report addressed to the head of the Gestapo in Spain, Paul Winzer, with a copy to the director of *Das Ahnenerbe*, Brandt, on 23 July 1942 asking for confirmation of the information provided by Menghin, and also complaining of the use Martínez Santa Olalla made of his friendship with Himmler to strengthen his position "placing him, and by extension ourselves, in an uncomfortable situation. We will be extremely careful in future in our dealings with him".<sup>61</sup>

The report sent to Sievers informing him of the conversation held with Menghin highlights the development of Almagro's career, seeking to assess his suitability as an informant, and also stating that "according to Professor Almagro, Santa Olalla is completely isolated in Spanish research in the field of prehistory. The other researchers have distanced themselves from him, since his way of proceeding in the scientific field and his personal political relations have given cause for deep displeasure". The report questioned the viability of the excavation work in Castiltierra given the confrontations between the Ministry of Education and the *Falange*:

"Olalla got himself involved in this exploration, forced out the other researchers, and assumed the task as his own. Because of this exploration of the Visigothic cemetery, a dispute has arisen between the minister of the Falange, with whose financial support Santa Olalla has been able to complete the exploration, and the Spanish Minister of Education, as a result of which, as Almagro claimed, we have to conclude that Olalla has lost all influence at the Ministry of Education, and that his position with the Minister of Falange is under threat".

Similarly, the politicisation of these excavations was evaluated negatively:

"His relations with Germany, in particular his friendship with the Reichsführer-SS, are being used unscrupulously by Santa Olalla to strengthen his own position. It is for this reason that among Spanish researchers of prehistory there reigns the impression that all official relations with German research in the field must pass through Santa Olalla and that all other Spanish researchers of prehistory have no influence in the making of these relations".

It was also recommended that, in addition to Almagro, Winzer might in the future consider Pericot and García Bellido, who, according to Menghin, had received an invitation to travel to Germany, but had indicated his decision not to accept it while Martínez Santa Olalla continued travelling to Germany<sup>62</sup>. The report ended with a political warning: "in this judgement of Santa Olalla conducted by his Spanish colleagues it should be borne in mind that in addition to the personal opposition expressed, politics also plays a role. Olalla seems to be the only researcher in prehistory who belongs to the Falange, while the others, as Menghin points out, show monarchist leanings".<sup>63</sup>

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*of the Egyptian people in the light of the German excavations 1929–1939*", and was introduced by Martín Almagro. *La Vanguardia Española*, newspaper, 18/06/1942, p. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Martín Almagro had travelled to Germany between 12/01 and 24/02/1942 sponsored by the Humboldt Stiftung des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes, during which time he met Oswald Menghin and agreed to invite him to Barcelona. AHUB. Personal record Almagro Basch.

<sup>61</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. NS 21/349. See: Prof. Dr. Olalla. *Letter from Sievers to Winzer, 23/07/1942*.

<sup>62</sup> Antonio García Bellido had travelled to Germany in 1931, 1933, 1934 and 1935, and since 1934 had been an ordinary member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin. His refusal to accept this invitation would not, therefore, have gone unnoticed. He was also one of the first professors to have undergone the process of cleansing without suffering a sanction from the Spanish government in 1939, which demonstrates his support for the regime.

<sup>63</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. NS 21/349. See: Prof. Dr. Olalla. Note attached from Herbert Jankuhn to Sievers, 20/07/1942. *Relationship between Professor Santa Olalla and the other Spanish researchers of prehistory*.

Although Martínez Santa Olalla's relations with *Das Ahnenerbe*, and with Wolfram Sievers in particular, continued until the end of the war, independently of any internal dissensions between the followers of Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg, Santa Olalla also accepted invitations from Rosenberg to participate in scientific meetings in Germany. Thus, on 27 September 1942, he wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Count of Jordana, asking for permission to travel to Germany during November to give a lecture "which will be strictly scientific in nature, concerning my studies and excavations on the Visigoths, in which the Reichsminister is particularly interested given their relations with the south of Russia".<sup>64</sup> The invitation had been issued by the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (the Reich's Association for German Prehistory) of the *Amt Rosenberg* in the name of the Minister of the Reich for the Eastern territories.

Martínez Santa Olalla's remarks concerning the strictly scientific nature of his trip should be seen in the context of the struggles within the heart of Franco's government, which had resulted in the dismissal of Serrano Suñer as Minister of Foreign Affairs on 1 September 1942, and the beginning of a shift in Spanish policy as it moved progressively away from its former alignment with Germany. Serrano had been the main promoter of this earlier policy, whose shadow hung also over less prominent members of the regime, including Martínez Santa Olalla, who were known in public circles as having been close to Nazi Germany at various times in the past. There are no records confirming that Martínez Santa Olalla received authorization to travel. On 17 December 1942, the ambassador in Berlin, César Vidal-Saura, sent a new invitation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* regarding Martínez Santa Olalla giving a lecture at Berlin University between the end of February and the beginning of March 1943, an event of the "utmost interest for our joint research in the field of archaeology and, in particular, for our work on the Gothic period in both countries". On this occasion, the application for visas from the Spanish embassy was made personally by its director, Professor Hans Reinerth, former *Privatdozent* at Tübingen University and at the time, professor in Berlin, who had control over all German archaeological museums (with the opposition of Unverzagt) and later of the Roman-Germanic Commission itself, after forcing its director Gerhard Bersu into retirement in 1937 (on the basis of his Jewish descent). On 13 January 1943, the head of Cultural Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Enrique Palma, informed the undersecretary of the ministry of the request received from Vidal-Saura in room 490 on 17 December 1942, proposing approval be transferred to the Ministry of National Education (MEN) so that this institution might determine whether Martínez Santa Olalla was willing to give the lecture.<sup>65</sup> This request was unusual, as the note from the ambassador in Berlin already included the acceptance of the Commissioner-General for Archaeological Excavations. The communication to the Minister of National Education was not issued until the 21 January 1943, requesting "that it be decided whether this invitation be accepted or not, as soon as possible", that is, decided not by Martínez Santa Olalla, but rather by the minister, José Ibáñez Martín.<sup>66</sup> No record of the reply is to be found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the existence of a handwritten note – "Antecedentes" (or previous record) – in the margin of the document is probably significant, as it might refer to the non-academic activities carried out by Martínez Santa Olalla during his trip in January of that same year.

The dates of the applications are particularly significant given that the minister, José Luis Arrese, patron of the excavations at Castiltierra and promoter of the foundation of a similar society to that of *Das Ahnenerbe* in Spain just a year earlier, was on an official visit to Berlin between 17 and 22 January 1943. During his stay, which included attendance at several cultural and political events, as well as an interview with Hitler, he did not, according to the detailed confidential report issued by Vidal-Saura

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<sup>64</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1375/97. *Letter from JMSO to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 27/09/1942.*

<sup>65</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1735/97. *Information issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cultural Relations. Invitation to Professor Martínez Santa Olalla to give a lecture in Germany, 13/01/1943.*

<sup>66</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1735/97. *Telegram from the undersecretary of Foreign Affairs to the Minister of National Education (Foreign Affairs Subsection), 21/01/1943.*

on 22 January 1943<sup>67</sup>, make any contact with members of the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte* or *Das Ahnenerbe*, which suggests that, at least at certain levels, the subject had been shelved, if not forgotten.

However, not everyone had forgotten about it. On 26 July 1944, Wolfram Sievers wrote once more to his “dear comrade” Martínez Santa Olalla to tell him that he had received two boxes containing restored materials from Castiltierra, together with an extensive photographic documentation of the processes. The letter also encouraged Martínez Santa Olalla to resume excavation work and thanked him for the reviews of the activities of *Das Ahnenerbe* which had appeared in the *Journal of the Spanish Society for Anthropology*, and assured him that, in spite of the Anglo-American terrorist bombings, the work of the institution continued uninterrupted. He included a copy of Herbert Jankhun’s monograph on the Haitabu site,<sup>68</sup> and signed off “with the solidarity between old comrades”. Martínez Santa Olalla maintained his relationship with *Das Ahnenerbe* through the German embassy until the end of the war. On 18 January 1945, Ernst Hammes<sup>69</sup>, Winzer’s replacement as the head of the Gestapo in Spain, wrote to Sievers for an explanation of his relationship with Martínez Santa Olalla, who had written to him again and expressed “his pro-German sympathies and his unshakeable faith in our victory”, and his desire to maintain their links in spite of the difficulties imposed by the course of the war.<sup>70</sup>

### The Lecture Series

Independent of the support given by Nazi Germany to Fascist rebels during the Spanish Civil War, the preferential relationship between Spanish archaeologists and their German counterparts was forged long before the conflict. The work of the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* ensured that, from as early as 1910, Spanish archaeologists and prehistorians completed their post-doctoral training at European research centres, especially in Germany, because of the prestige of German academics in this field. Following the pioneering experience of Bosch Gimpera, who won a scholarship to Berlin (1912–1914) mention should also be made, among others, of Antonio García Bellido, Elías and José de Calasanz Serra Ráfols and Juan Cabré. Among the prominent figures of Francoist Spain during the first post-war period, both Antonio Tovar and Martín Almagro Basch were on scholarships in Germany when the rebellion of July 1936 broke out. The latter studied at Marburg University with Gero von Merhart, and in Vienna with Oswald Menghin, R. Pittoni, Wilhelm Koppers and Pater Wilhelm Schmidt.<sup>71</sup> Martínez Santa Olalla maintained the relationships and contacts begun during his residence as a teacher in Bonn between 1927 and 1931, and strengthened them through his political activities. Pericot built a solid international reputation based on the protection of Bosch Gimpera, and on the dissemination of his studies on the Parpalló cave that were presented at the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences held in London in 1932.

For these reasons, relations with German archaeologists during the period 1939 until 1945 were not limited to the direct contacts maintained with *Das Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Roseberg*. On 19 December 1940, the Board of Trustees of the National Archaeological Museum organized a lecture by Hermann Trimborn, Professor of Ethnology at Bonn University, and former head of pre-Columbian Ethnology and American prehistory at the Universidad Central between 1933 and 1936, entitled: “Study Trip to Mexico’s Archaeological Areas”.<sup>72</sup> This was the first event in a series of lectures given by German,

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<sup>67</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-2221/32. *Trip made by the Minister-Secretary of FET and JONS, José Luis Arrese, to Germany. Report dated 22/01/1943.*

<sup>68</sup> San Isidro Museum. Martínez Santa Olalla Archive. ASO/12-173.

<sup>69</sup> On the activities of Ernst Hammes in Spain, see: Collado Seidel, C. (2005): *España. Refugio nazi*. Ed. Temas de Hoy. Madrid.

<sup>70</sup> Bundesarchiv-Berlin. NS 21/349. See: Prof. Dr. Olalla. *Letter Hammes-Sievers, 18/01/1945.*

<sup>71</sup> Archive of the *Residencia de Estudiantes*. Archive of the Secretary of the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* (JAE) (1907–1939). 4/199. Box 4. *Personal record Martín Almagro Basch.*

<sup>72</sup> ABC newspaper, 18/12/1940, p.7. “*Doctor Trimborn*”.

Italian and Portuguese researchers (the three allies of Franco's Spain) organized by the Board of Trustees at a meeting held on 29 November 1940<sup>73</sup>, when it was agreed to apply to the Ministry for National Education for an extraordinary loan to cover the costs of a series of lectures by foreign researchers to be programmed at the MAN.<sup>74</sup> At a meeting held on 8 January 1941, the board decided that the lecturers would include, in addition to Pericot, Ballester, Pemán, Carro, Pérez de Barradas and Collantes de Terán, the Count of Pellati (Rome) and German researchers Hans Zeiss (Munich), Adolf Schulten (Erlangen), and Ernst Kühnel (Berlin). A month later, at a session held on 12 February 1941, the board decided that Zeiss's lecture would be given on 26 February and Kühnel's on 18 March; the former on "The Tombs of the Germanic Magnates During the Period of the Germanic Migrations"<sup>75</sup>, and the latter on "East and West in Medieval Art", at a session presided over by ambassador von Stohrer and the Marquis of Lozoya. On 24 April, the Hispanist Adolf Schulten, at a time when his personal confrontation with Martínez Santa Olalla was at its most critical, spoke about "Tartessos: Spain's Most Ancient Culture".

While the structural difficulties faced by the MAN at this time and its problems in finding adequate financial support prevented the repetition of a series of lectures as broad as those organized at the start of 1941, proposals for lectures continued to be received, albeit less frequently. At the meeting held on 11 July 1941<sup>76</sup>, the MAN board received a request from the secretary general of the German Institute of Culture concerning the visit of Rudolf Paulsen, Professor at Erlangen University and Schulten's colleague. But what had until this time been an easy relationship, began to encounter administrative obstacles and bureaucracy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This reflected new political guidelines calling for a progressive cooling in relations with Germany after Serrano Suñer's dismissal (3 September 1942) and the change in the course of the war. On 28 October 1942, the board decided to invite Eberhard Lutze, director of the Nuremberg Museum to lecture. But the invitation could no longer be sent to him directly. In accordance with a circular from the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Cultural Relations Section, dated 10 October 1942, sent to the MAN on 30 October, all relations with foreign countries would henceforth require the prior authorization of the Ministry. Undersecretary of the Ministry of National Education, Foreign Affairs sub-section, Jesús Rubio made the request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on 2 November 1942.<sup>77</sup> The Ministry approved the invitation, according to the note sent on 13 November 1942 to the Ministry of National Education, who in turn informed the director of the MAN on 24 November, as appears in the minutes of the board on 26 November. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed in this document that "the above-mentioned invitations shall be issued, when appropriate, through this Ministry and the corresponding representations of the Nation in Lisbon and Berlin, as soon as the dates of the corresponding lectures are known".<sup>78</sup> It was not until 22 March 1943 that the German Embassy sent an urgent verbal message to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informing them that Lutze's lecture, on the "Influence of German 16th-century Art in Europe", was scheduled to take place on 6 April, and so they sought maximum support in having the Spanish Consulate in Berlin issue the entrance permit to Spain. This request was duly answered, but the lecture suffered a short delay, finally taking place on 13 April.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> The following members were present: Count of Casal, Álvarez Ossorio y Farfán de los Godos; Marquis of Lozoya, Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, José Ferrandis Torres, Julio Martínez Santa Olalla, Blas Taracena, Antonio García Bellido and Luis Moya.

<sup>74</sup> Archive National Archaeological Museum. Book 1 of the minutes of the MAN Board of Trustees 1939–1944, p. 30.

<sup>75</sup> ABC newspaper of 28/02/1941, p. 7. *Meetings, readings and lectures at the National Archaeological Museum.*

<sup>76</sup> Archive National Archaeological Museum. Book 1 of the minutes of the MAN Board of Trustees 1939–1944, p. 44.

<sup>77</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317. Dossier 59. *Lectures at the Archaeological Museum given by Messrs Vasco, Couto and Lutze from Portugal and Germany.*

<sup>78</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1317. Dossier, 59. *Lectures at the Archaeological Museum given by Messrs Vasco, Couto and Lutze from Portugal and Germany.* Cultural Section no. 2089 of 13/11/1942.

<sup>79</sup> ABC newspaper, 11/04/1943, p. 16. *Meetings, readings and lectures.*

The case of Kurt Anton Neugebauer, professor at Berlin University and head of section in the Direction of Museums of the Reich in Berlin, was somewhat more complex. At a meeting of the MAN Board of Trustees, held on 21 January 1943, Antonio García Bellido reported an invitation sent by Martín Almagro Basch, Professor at Barcelona University, to Neugebauer to give a lecture in Barcelona on the Pergamon Museum. The board decided to invite the German archaeologist to give two more lectures in Madrid on “Greek Archaic Bronzes Held at the Pergamon Museum” and “The Pergamon Museum in Berlin”<sup>80</sup>. On 2 February, the sub-section of Foreign Affairs at the Ministry of National Education transferred the request from the board (dated 26 January) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs “that this department might be informed as to whether it is possible to agree to the wishes of the National Archaeological Museum”. The request was considered and the following remark was written in the margin “nothing has been found in this section on this gentleman”. Nothing more is known of the request until 12 February when the agreement of the Ministry Foreign Affairs was finally transmitted to the Ministry of National Education, where the process came to a standstill.

For this reason, on 20 March 1943, the German Embassy sent a verbal message (no.776/43) pointing out that Dr. Neugebauer “has been invited by Professor Almagro Basch of the University of Barcelona to give a lecture on: ‘The Nature and Purposes of the Pergamon Museum in Berlin’. This lecture has been programmed for the 29 April next. Similarly, the Diego Velázquez Institute of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) has expressed its wish to have professor Neugebauer give the same lecture in Madrid at the beginning of May”, and adding that the Embassy “would be extremely grateful” if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its opinion on these projects and took the necessary measures to facilitate the entrance permit to Spain to be issued by the Spanish Consulate in Berlin. Once more the Ministry of Foreign Affairs referred the matter to Education on 26 March, stressing the fact that the German Embassy wanted a quick reply. This was eventually provided on 31 March and Neugebauer was granted permission to visit Spain. However, the request to the Passport Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 26 March, to authorize the visa in Berlin was delayed for more than a month. The order to the Berlin delegation was not released until the 29 April and the decision was communicated to the German Embassy on 30 April.<sup>81</sup> But when the documents reached Germany, Neugebauer was already in Barcelona, where on 30 April, invited by Martín Almagro and the private society ‘Friends of Ampurias’, he finally gave the lecture on the Pergamon Museum in Berlin<sup>82</sup>, having avoided the need to obtain an official permit to give the lecture at the University.

Once the permit had been granted, the Ministry of Education communicated its approval of the invitation to Neugebauer on 7 May to the Rector of the University of Barcelona, who transferred it to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts on 18 May<sup>83</sup>. The Barcelona lecture took place on that same day,<sup>84</sup> after those given in Madrid on 12 and 13 May.<sup>85</sup> The bureaucratic obstacles also affected those who had already visited Spain in 1941, including Kühnel. In this case the bureaucratic trail meant the University of Barcelona had to send its request successively to the General Direction of University Education, the Ministry of National Education’s Foreign Affairs sub-section, the Cultural section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and back again during the month of June 1944.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Archive National Archaeological Museum. Book 1 of the minutes of the MAN Board of Trustees 1939–1944, pp. 68–75.

<sup>81</sup> General Archive Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1735. Dossier 91. *Lectures of Professor Anton Neugebauer*.

<sup>82</sup> *La Vanguardia Española* newspaper dated 29/04/1943, p. 6; and 01/05/1943, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Historical Archive of the University of Barcelona. File 24/8/6/1.

<sup>84</sup> Neugebauer arrived in Barcelona on 16 May from Madrid. The lecture he gave at the University was: “*Classical Greek bronze statuettes at the State Museum in Berlin*”, and was introduced by Almagro. *La Vanguardia Española* newspaper dated 16/05/1942, p. 9 and 19/05/1942, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Archive National Archaeological Museum. Book 1 of the minutes of the MAN Board of Trustees 1939–1944, p. 75.

<sup>86</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-1729. Dossier 97. *Dr. Kühnel. Lectures in Barcelona*.

In other cases, there is no evidence that the requests actually reached the ministry. On 26 May 1944, Carl Engel, rector of the Ernst Moritz-Arndt University Greifswald, asked the Reich's Ministry of Science, Education and Popular Culture for permission to travel to Spain, stating that the purpose of his visit was "to finalize my work on the peoples and the history of race in ancient Europe". He wished to enter Spain on 20 June and stay for a fortnight. Interestingly, Engel asked the ministry to issue his visa through the Japanese consul in Stettin. There is no record of the trip having taken place<sup>87</sup>.

Not all visits made by German researchers to Spain during the period 1939–1945 were as difficult to organize as those invitations sent out to archaeologists. Antonio Tovar, a JAE scholarship-holder in Germany at the outbreak of the Civil War, and secretary of CSIC's Antonio de Nebrija Institute in 1941, organized the visit to Spain of the Latinist from Berlin University, Johannes Stroux, in 1942. Given Tovar's influence over the government, the application was processed quickly – permission was requested from the Cultural Relations Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 2 February, and two days later Serrano Suñer's order was issued to the embassy in Berlin informing it to communicate the acceptance of the invitation.<sup>88</sup> On 21 February, the head of the Cultural Relations Section was able to inform the Antonio de Nebrija Institute of the steps being taken in Berlin and before the General Direction for Security in Madrid so that Stroux might enter Spain. Three days later, Juan Beneyto, general secretary of the Spanish-German Association, expressed his interest in the visit to Enrique Valera, Marquis of Muñón and Secretary of the Cultural Relations Assembly of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, on the 15 April, asked that a lecture be given at the headquarters of the Society.

Stroux's visit – the authorisation for which was telegraphed to Berlin on 8 April – acquired greater significance later that month when General José Moscardó, President of the Spanish-German Association, also became involved. Through Beneyto, he communicated his wish of receiving Stroux to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, José María Alvareda, secretary general of the CSIC, also wished to welcome him, and so the Ministry began mediations between the two institutions. On 27 May 1942, Spain's ambassador in Germany issued a formal invitation to the German Ministry of Foreign Business, and on 2 July he reported that Stroux was organising the details of the visit in conjunction with Tovar. The Spanish tour of the German Latinist took place during November, and included, among others, visits to Salamanca, Madrid, Barcelona and Ampurias, where he studied Latin inscriptions, and suggested that they should be included in a *Supplementum* of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* because of their importance. In declarations made to the press, he emphasised his friendship with Tovar, and praised the most recent studies of the Antonio de Nebrija Institute, in particular the *Clásicos Emérita*. In the political arena, he praised the structure of the German Reich, defining Austria as part of the Reich, and Germany as heir of and participant in the Imperium, and he called for "the desirable and beneficial Spanish-German collaboration" in the field of research.<sup>89</sup>

### **The Case of Adolf Schulten**

The most prominent German Hispanist of the first half of the 20th century was Adolf Schulten. Since the publication of the first volume in the *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* series by the University of Barcelona in 1925, Schulten's main contacts had been with the Spanish prehistorians, Bosch Gimpera and Lluís Pericot. However, after Pericot had published *Historia de España* he became Schulten's favourite, and his relations with Bosch Gimpera declined because Schulten considered Gimpera's *Etnología de la península Ibérica*, inferior.

Schulten's position during the Spanish Civil War changed as the conflict progressed. On 31 December

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<sup>87</sup> Greifswald capitulates 30 April 1945 to the Russians due to Engel's initiative.

<sup>88</sup> General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. File R-2575. Dossier 8. *Invitation to Professors Anspach and Stroux*.

<sup>89</sup> *El Español*. *Weekly magazine on politics and the spirit*. Published 14/11/1942, pp. 1–2.

1937, he wrote to Pericot “I end this letter with the fervent wish that Catalonia remain unaffected by the war and that it finishes soon”<sup>90</sup>. He reminded him of the intellectual levels attained by Spain and Catalonia before the war thanks to the works of Bosch and Pericot<sup>91</sup>, and hoped “that Catalonia might preserve its autonomy” as late as 16 September 1938, almost at the end of the battle of the Ebro. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, his interests centred on Pericot’s personal situation<sup>92</sup> and the proofs<sup>93</sup> of volume V of *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae*. Schulten fell out with Bosch Gimpera even further because Gimpera took the proofs of volume V of *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* with him into exile, Schulten pressed Pericot<sup>94</sup> to redo all the work<sup>95</sup>. At the same time Schulten volunteered to intercede with the Minister of Education so that the excavations at the Sant Miquel de Lliria settlement might continue, a site he described as “the most important in Spain in recent years”.<sup>96</sup>

But on 8 July 1939, in a letter addressed to Pericot, Schulten expressed his anger with Martínez Santa Olalla, and asked for the address of the Marquis of Lozoya, General Director of Fine Arts, so that he might complain directly to him about the attitude of the Commissioner-General for Excavations. Schulten’s motives are explicit:

“I feel I must complain about Santa Olalla, who either had the brazen cheek, or who was mad enough, to denounce me before our ambassador because of my academic links with Bosch Gimpera. He accuses me of having sent copies of volume IV to Taracena and others. He is either mad or a swine, rather the latter, because on my 60th birthday he wrote to me of his undying gratitude and now he attacks me (and Obermaier as well). I fail to understand how this man has been appointed head of excavations! He ruins everything. What a way to go about rebuilding using such people!”<sup>97</sup>

In the weeks that followed his invectives grew:

“This business with Santa Olalla is unheard of, and I have already filed my complaint. Tell me whether he is a Jew, as more than one person has told me and as the people here are speculating. If this is the case, everything falls into place, if not, then I do not understand anything. I have met Spanish people of all classes and from all regions over forty years but I have never known such a swine”.<sup>98</sup>

The letters clearly indicate that Martínez Santa Olalla was seeking to discredit Schulten, denouncing him for his collaboration with Bosch Gimpera before and during the Spanish Civil War. The German researcher responded forcefully using his contacts in the Nazi government to offset the information sent to the ambassador, von Stohrer, while his reference to the possible Jewish origins of Martínez Santa Olalla is a clear indication of Schulten’s way of thinking and the general climate of the time. However, the position of the Commissioner-General was very strong, supported by the *Falange*, Serrano Suñer and his contacts among the German authorities. Thus, Schulten, who arrived in Spain on 21 August in search of the location of Cato’s camp in Ampurias before the battle of 195 BC, having first secured Almagro’s help from Pericot, entrusted the latter with a letter in Barcelona on 23 August to be delivered to the Marquis of Lozoya. Schulten wished to take advantage of the Marquis’ friendship with Pericot, which dated back to the time when they were both teaching at the University of Valencia before the war. This friendship was reiterated by the Marquis after Franco’s troops had

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<sup>90</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 31/12/1937.

<sup>91</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 10/07/1938.

<sup>92</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 19/05/1939.

<sup>93</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 15/03/1939.

<sup>94</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 29/04/1939.

<sup>95</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 26/05/1939.

<sup>96</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 19/05/1939.

<sup>97</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 08/07/1939.

<sup>98</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 01/08/1939.

entered Barcelona<sup>99</sup>, and it supported<sup>100</sup> and safeguarded Pericot during the cleansing process, that lasted until October 1940 and even some years later.<sup>101</sup>

In his letter Schulten said:

“I find myself once more in my dear Spain, happy to see it free of its past disasters and firmly established on its road to recovery. I have reencountered my old friendships and the country’s hospitality. As you know, in 1922 I discovered the site of the old Greek colony of Mainake near Malaga. I would be grateful if you could issue me with a permit to undertake a simple exploration of this place. The aim of this exploration is merely topographic. I would like to see if there still exist any remnants of the street network, which according to Strabo followed a rectangular plan. According to my previous work, the Iberian town seems to have been located at Cerro del Peñón (Torre del Mar) and the Greek settlement at Cerro del Mar. I would like to spend two or three weeks working there. I trust you will not reject my request for this permit, as it was I who discovered the location of the town and I am only able to undertake this exploration this year, since I am almost 70 years old and do not know when I will be able to return to Spain. It goes without saying that I will adhere to the prevailing regulations, keeping plans of what we explore and handing over all finds to the Monument Commission in Malaga. I feel my work deserves this support given my intense activity for Spain since 1898 and the publications with which you are familiar. I apologize for having to bother you in order to obtain this permit but I cannot write to Santa Olalla because he behaved so badly towards me that our relations are at an end. Despite the fact that he treated me with all respect up until 1936, even writing to me on my 60th birthday saying that he owed me “undying gratitude”, he subsequently forgot all this and dared to denounce me before the German ambassador for my earlier relations with Bosch which, as he well knew, were purely academic in nature and which were aimed at the publication of a work as patriotic as Fontes. I leave it up to you to condemn such behaviour and I will only say that in my 40 years of study for Spain I never encountered such bad behaviour which to me can in no way be considered Spanish. It seems this behaviour can only be explained by the suffering he underwent under the control of the red swine and, indeed, he wrote to me from Madrid in 1936: “your Visigoth friend has gone crazy”. I hope to see you in October in Madrid and I congratulate you on having completed your magnificent book on the History of Spanish Art and for the high position you hold so successfully. I do not doubt that, given your relations with the Minister, you will be able to see that a project as scientific and of such great interest for Spanish archaeology as this does not run into any obstacles. Please send the permit requested as soon as possible to Cartagena (the German consulate) as I would like to begin work in September”.<sup>102</sup>

Pericot’s recommendations to the Marquis of Lozoya, and in turn, those of the latter to the Minister of Education, had an immediate effect, and Schulten not only obtained his prospecting permit, but was also able to undertake the first excavations at Cerro del Peñón in 1939<sup>103</sup>. However, his problems did not end there. During his next visit to Spain in 1941, the German researcher had need to resort once more to his contact with the General Director for Fine Arts in order that Martínez Santa Olalla might grant him an excavation permit. This was given reluctantly, as we can gather from the tone of his reply in April 1941: “in view of your letters dated 23 and 25 April and the note from the Minister of National Education, the corresponding authorization is immediately granted, as the Minister orders, to Professor Adolf Schulten to undertake some prospecting at the site of the old town of Mainake”.<sup>104</sup> This time excavations began at the Cerro del Peñón and were then extended to Cerro del Mar, as different Iberian and Roman levels were identified.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Marquis of Lozoya’s correspondence*. Letter of 09/03/1939.

<sup>100</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Marquis of Lozoya’s correspondence*. Letter of 26/07/1939.

<sup>101</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Marquis of Lozoya’s correspondence*. Letter of 15/10/1943.

<sup>102</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten’s correspondence*. Letter of 21/08/1939.

<sup>103</sup> Schulten, A. (1940): “Forschungen in Spanien 1933–1939”. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1940, 75–121.

<sup>104</sup> AGA. (03) 109.02.CA 218. TOP 12/25. *Letter from the General Commissioner for Archaeological Excavations to the General Director of Fine Arts of 28/04/1941*.

<sup>105</sup> Schulten, A. (1943): “Forschungen in Spanien 1941”. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1943, 19–61.

The confrontation between Schulten and Martínez Santa Olalla was a significant and clear demonstration of Schulten's Nazi ideology. Later hagiographic accounts of Schulten have tried to suppress or disguise his political positions by describing him as remaining true to the ideal of the Imperial Germany which disappeared in 1918. Their confrontation was public knowledge even in Germany, to the extent that in 1938, when the German Ministry of Science tried to appoint him to a post in Spain with the Burgos government, the director of the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire, M. Schede, pointed out that Schulten's "relations with the Spanish, according to our information, have not been as good as they should ... in the first place, we will have to weigh up carefully whether he is the appropriate person to maintain and establish relations"<sup>106</sup>. The proposal was not successful. It would be interesting to know just who Schede's informant was in 1938. In the Burgos government at that time there were at least three people who knew him directly: Martínez Santa Olalla, Almagro Basch and Tovar.

Schulten's relations with Pericot were amicable throughout the Second World War. During this period when Schulten was lobbying the Marquis of Lozoya to receive the insignia of the Grand Cross of Alphonse X, the Wise<sup>107</sup>, he also wrote on several occasions<sup>108</sup> about the publication of three works: *Los Cántabros y los Astúres y sus guerras con Roma* (published in 1943)<sup>109</sup>; *Iberische Landeskunde* (not published until 1955–1957)<sup>110</sup>; and the second edition of *Tartessos* (published in 1950)<sup>111</sup>. Pericot was the only Spanish researcher with whom Schulten maintained a certain degree of friendship, in spite of his somewhat egocentric and contemptuous attitude towards the publications, theories and contributions made in Spain since the 1930s and he was a regular critic especially after 1939. Notwithstanding, the University of Barcelona paid homage to him in 1940<sup>112</sup> and they also awarded him the degree of *Doctor honoris causa* in 1936 shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. The CSIC, at the request of Antonio García Bellido among others, granted Schulten a pension between 1945–1950, renewed it in 1954 and 1955, thanks to which he was able to enjoy his status as a political refugee in Spain during the last phase of the war and the harsh post-war period.

## Conclusions

Our conclusions are necessarily provisional since many more of the documents held in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin and in the Martínez Santa Olalla Collection at the San Isidro Museum in Madrid have yet to be examined. However, we can see that relations between German and Spanish archaeologists in the period 1939–1945 were ongoing and productive in spite of the difficulties associated with the Second World War and the changes in Spain's foreign policy as the war progressed – and its course changed. Although it might be thought that those with the greatest interest in the relationship were a small number of Spanish archaeologists, it is also true that a number of German researchers, belonging or related to *Das Ahnenerbe*, started to develop projects in Spain in 1934, with an expedition headed by Franz Altheim and Erika Trautmann in the northeast of the country undertaking a study of post-Palaeolithic rock paintings. However, it was, undoubtedly the Canary Islands, associated in Nazi ideology with the mythical Atlantis, and the search for points of comparison with the early Aryans, that captured most of the interest of SS archaeologists until almost the end of the war.

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<sup>106</sup> Quoted by F. WULFF (2004): "Adolf Schulten. Historia Antigua, Arqueología y racismo en medio siglo de historia europea". In: Schulten, A. (2004). *Historia de Numancia*. Ed. Urgoiti, Pamplona, p. CXCVI.

<sup>107</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten's correspondence*. Letter of 12/06/1941.

<sup>108</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten's correspondence*. Letter of 30/07/1942.

<sup>109</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten's correspondence*. Letter of 05/02/1941.

<sup>110</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten's correspondence*. Letter of 28/10/1942.

<sup>111</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya. Lluís Pericot legacy. *Adolf Schulten's correspondence*. Letter of 20/08/1942.

<sup>112</sup> Pericot, L. (1940): "Adolfo Schulten. Su vida y sus obras. Homenaje de la Universidad de Barcelona a su doctor Honoris Causa con motivo de su 70º aniversario". *Anales de la Universidad de Barcelona. Memorias y Comunicaciones*, 1940. Barcelona.

Beyond question, the longest-standing relationship was that maintained between Julio Martínez Santa Olalla and the highest ranks of *Das Ahnenerbe* and *Amt Rosenberg*. This resulted in the excavations that were undertaken at the necropolis at Castiltierra, and Himmler and Sievers' interest in the development of this project, a joint initiative that would only come to an end with the German defeat. The links between archaeology and politics in fascist ideology were particularly evident in the desire of Martínez Santa Olalla and the minister of the Party, José Luis Arrese, to create an archaeological society dependent on the *Falange*, one which would replace the existing system run by the General Direction of Fine Arts and the Ministry of National Education. Thus, the *Falange* would have controlled the ideological bases of Spanish prehistory and archaeology, being able to mould the results of its research and archaeological excavations to the benefit of the regime, in a similar way to that practised by Himmler's men in Germany. The fact that this project was not completed was due, in part, to the opposition of many leading figures in Spanish archaeology, estranged from Martínez Santa Olalla and fiercely opposed to him on academic grounds, and also to the change in orientation of Franco's foreign relations. A *Falangist* from the earliest days of the organisation, Martínez Santa Olalla sought the support of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ramón Serrano Suñer, and of the Party, José Luis Arrese, both in his relations with Germany and in the development of his own research, but it was precisely these relations that were to mark the beginning of his difficulties as he was to appear excessively Germanophile at a time when Spain was abandoning its "non belligerent" status and adopting a more neutral position.

Despite everything, Martínez Santa Olalla remained true to his German correspondents even as the course of the war changed, which served, however, only to isolate him within Spanish archaeology, as those who controlled it also changed. He was eventually considered to be almost an intruder in the vacant chair of the Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid, once held by archaeologist Hugo Obermaier until 1936, who distrusted Martínez Santa Olalla's absolute power at the General Commission for Excavations. This ruling class stood against him in 1954–1956, taking advantage of timid movements towards political liberalization promoted by the Minister of National Education, Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, to oust him from his post.

However, Martínez Santa Olalla was not alone. The documents that have survived allow us to trace the relationships between other researchers, such as Martín Almagro Basch and Antonio Tovar, and their German counterparts during the period 1939–1945. All of them visited Germany, regularly sponsored by the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* before the Civil War, to advance their studies, and to maintain and strengthen their presence in the international arena through their contacts with German researchers. The relationship between Almagro and Menghin, and that maintained between the latter and Sievers through Jahnkhun are vital to any understanding of how, throughout 1942, the leaders of *Das Ahnenerbe* distanced themselves from Martínez Santa Olalla. Also the relationships that Pericot and Almagro maintained with Adolf Schulten were also important, especially with regard to the latter's confrontation with Martínez Santa Olalla over the excavations at Mainake, a dispute that also profited from the political influence of both German and Spanish governments.

Further studies of the documentation should be able to provide answers to a number of questions: What was the degree of involvement of the *Falange* in the design of a new system of archaeological research in Spain? What were the keys to its links with *Das Ahnenerbe*? What were the personal, professional and political relationships between Spanish archaeologists and German researchers who were members of the Nazi party or formed part of its organisation? And what were the influences of the two totalitarian ideologies on the formulation of research projects and the writing of history in Spain?