

in history/philosophy of science. For English-language readers, its French slant, citing more French than British philosophers, adds to its value. It is thought-provoking and salubrious, and well worth a read.

I did find one slip: on page 165 Stoczkowski cites in a footnote, 'McGrew 1986' for a reference on Chipewyan. The only McGrew in the bibliography, W.C., is not listed as having a 1986 publication, and what is listed is his work on chimpanzees. Neither Henry Sharp nor Brumbach and Jarenpa, the ethnographers one would expect to have been referenced for Chipewyan, are listed, and Stoczkowski's page 164 claim that Chipewyan exemplify a sexual division of labor that lessens the productive potential of one gender, is not supported by Brumbach and Jarvenpa's observations and analysis of the gendered division of tasks among Chipewyans.

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**Heinz Grünert, *Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931). Vom Germanisten zum Prähistoriker. Ein Wissenschaftler im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik. Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen, Vol. 22. Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf, 2002. 405 pp. ISBN 3-89646-504-X. 71.50 EURO.***

Reviewed by *Hubert Fehr*

For several decades Gustaf Kossinna has presumably been the most disputed figure in the history of Central European archaeology. Within the last 50 years a considerable number of essays has been dedicated to him and his work (Eggers 1959, pp. 199–254; Klejn 1974; Smolla 1980; Veit 1984; Smolla 1985; Adler 1987; Trigger 1989, pp. 163–167; Veit 2002), and he is still one of the few German prehistorians regularly mentioned in international biographical dictionaries on the history of archaeology (e.g. Klejn 1999; Gran-Aymerich 2001, pp. 380f.). In most cases, however, these works only focus on certain aspects of his life and work. Just a few years ago Ulrich Veit pointed out again the lack of biographical information on Kossinna and stated that, although there is still a great deal of interest into his methodological principles, nobody seems to be interested in Kossinna himself (Veit 2002, p. 42). The only monograph on Kossinna hitherto published was a genuine example of National Socialist hagiography and thus of limited value (Stampfuß 1935), while the recent works of the Japanese Kossinna-specialist Tatsuo Hoshino (Fujisawa) are unfortunately not accessible in European languages. Exactly one hundred years after Kossinna obtained the first chair for Prehistoric archaeology in Germany, Heinz Grünert, emeritus professor at Berlins Humbolt-University, now published a comprehensive and fundamental biography. Unlike previous works it is based on a variety of archival records, and not mainly on Kossinna's publications. In nine years of research, Grünert has collected about 16 meters of material from 66 different archives (p. 14), giving detailed primary information on all important aspects of Kossinna's life. Apart from the book, this material is another valuable outcome of Grünert's work: the copies of various records are now enriching Kossinna's bequest, which unfortunately had been scattered to several places after his death. The surviving parts have been united in the last years in the Archive of the Humboldt-University, where they are put at disposal for further research. According to Grünert, the principle aim of his study was to break the spell on Kossinna's selfportrayal and the myths created around him (p. 13). Without being able to demonstrate this here in detail, one has to say that Grünert surely managed to solve the task he tackled. The author traces Kossinna's life in 29 roughly chronological chapters, using the decisive points of Kossinna's biography as starting points for digressions on more general topics.

Additional chapters are dedicated to misuse and reappraisal of Kossinna scientific heritage

and the history and content of his bequest. After describing family background and youth in Tilsit (nowadays Sovetsk/Russia) Grünert traces in detail Kossinna's long way before becoming a professional prehistorian. During his studies Kossinna specialised into the field of Germanic philology (not philosophy: Trigger 1989, p. 163). In this period Kossinna also changed his first name from 'Gustav' to 'Gustaf', although – much to Kossinna's displeasure – some of his relatives and colleagues (as several scholars interested into the history of archaeology still today) kept to the more usual original spelling (p. 22–24). The most important result of this time, however, was his passion for the search into the origins and the ancient homeland of the ancient Germans, a topic much en vogue in the second half of the 19th century. Working as a librarian in the following years, Kossinna published a respectable number of articles on language and history of the Ancient Germans, which gained him some recognition in the academic world, but could not prevent him from getting increasingly dissatisfied with the limited possibility of philology and history concerning the problems he was actually interested in. On Sunday, 29th of April 1894 he finally made a decision and noted in his diary: 'I am starting insistent studies on Prehistoric archaeology' (p. 64). Several months later he made his public debut as a prehistorian, remarkably with a lecture on the history of archaeology: 'the history of the debate on the culture of the Nordic Bronze Age'. Only one year after Kossinna finally turned to prehistoric archaeology he presented in December 1895 at Kassel a programmatic paper on 'the prehistoric spread of the Germans in Germany', where he outlined his methodological approach, the *Siedlungsarchäologie*, for the first time. While Kossinna praised this lecture as a spectacular turning point later on – and scholars into the history of archaeology frequently followed his view (e.g. Eggers 1959, pp. 210–214) – Grünert shows that it actually provoked nearly no response at all (pp. 66–70), a fact, which left Kossinna deeply disappointed. Kossinna's reaction to this – actual or alleged – lack of recognition is a key for the understanding of his personality, which Grünert strikingly describes as 'sensitive, distrustful, aggressive' (pp. 191–194). This character, knowing only friend or foe but hardly anything in between, shows up in all chapters, which Grünert dedicated to Kossinna's academic surrounding, especially his fellow scholars at the University of Berlin (pp. 140–162), the Classical archaeologists (pp. 164–173) and his famous rivalry with Carl Schuchhardt (pp. 174–183). Oscar Montelius, on the other hand, was one of the scholars, Kossinna respected deeply and with whom he maintained a fruitful and long-lasting intellectual exchange (pp. 185–190).

The basis for Kossinna's reputation as an archaeologist was his immense knowledge of the archaeological material, which was acknowledged even by his opponents. On numerous travels to museums in several European countries he documented prehistoric findings in a very efficient way (pp. 75–90). Kossinna's original catalogue of archaeological findings is preserved in his bequest. It is maybe the most valuable part of his scientific legacy, because many of the originals were destroyed, especially during World War II. Since Gustaf Kossinna is frequently referred to as an outstanding example of a nationalist and racist archaeologist, the chapter on Kossinna's changing political attitudes is especially important. Grünert proves wrong Günter Smollas theory, who had argued that Kossinna first around the year 1913 turned into a radical nationalist (Smolla 1980, p. 4f.). Already since the beginning of the 1890s, Kossinna regularly read the publications of the *Alldeutscher Verband* ('Pangermanic league') (p. 229) and became member of this organisation, at the latest, in 1896 (p. 304). Since the year 1902 he was also in close contact with Ludwig Schemann, the influential promoter of Count Gobineau's racist theories in Germany (p. 240). Kossinna's nationalism increased around 1911 and from 1912/13 on it became a characteristic of his public appearance (p. 232). The outcome of World War I finally turned him completely into an active supporter of racial nationalism (p. 254). Like most German scholars of his generation, Kossinna felt the military defeat and the following revolution as breakdown of everything valuable in his world (p. 267). With

great vigour he argued against the Versailles treaty. Grünert, however, found no prove that Kossinna actually sent his booklet 'The Eastern Mark, an native land of the Germans' to the German delegation at Versailles, which thus might be just another myth connected to Kossinna (p. 268). During the 1920s Kossinna approached to the National Socialism. Because of the fact, that his theories on the superiority of the Ancient Germans were adopted by several important followers of the Nazi-party, he became – as Grünert finally states – objectively an intellectual forerunner of the Nazi ideology (p. 340). Altogether Grünerts book, which would have benefited from a more generous layout, is much more than a sound biography of a controversial prehistorian. It offers a panorama on academia and society in the late 19 th and early 20th century; a period, decisive for the establishment of Prehistoric archaeology as an academic discipline. It is a lively and even exciting reading, in which Grünert treats his object critical, sometimes ironic, but without ever denouncing him personally. In such a way, the book convincingly solves a problem raised by Günter Smolla (Smolla 1980, p. 1): to explain the human side of Kossinna's life and its effects.

In my opinion, what has not been answered, on the other hand, is the question of Kossinna's significance for the development of prehistoric archaeology in general. However, this was not the main focus of Grünert's study. Especially scholars interested into the history of archaeological theory tend to concede Kossinna a decisive role for the establishment of a national(ist) archaeology based on the ethnic interpretation of archaeological 'cultures'. Repeatedly he has been described as the archaeologist, who gave European archaeology a paradigm (e.g. Smolla 1980, p. 8; Veit 1984, pp. 348–350; Smolla 1985, p. 12; Veit 2002, p. 54). Against this view, for example Ingo Wiwjorra had denied Kossinna role as initiator of a new paradigm in archaeology (Wiwjorra 1996, p. 174), and in the same manner Sebastian Brather recently stated that Kossinnas function as theoretical innovator has been heavily overrated (Brather 2002, p. 390), pointing out to the fact that the concepts for 'culture' and 'peoples' were already widely spread at the end of the 19 th century. Although Grünert clearly identifies Kossinnas forerunners concerning the concept of archaeological cultures and their equation with people (pp. 71–75), he agrees that Kossinna established in this field a new paradigm (p. 100). But regarding the fact, that even avowed opponents of Kossinna methodological principles regularly made use of ethnic interpretations, it seems that the genesis of the 'ethnic paradigm', which was by no means limited to Central European archaeology, was far more complex than sometimes presumed. It will take more thematic and biographical studies – preferably of the same solid quality as Heinz Grünert's book – on a number of Kossinna's nowadays less prominent contemporaries to answer this question in the future.

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## VII. Forthcoming conferences

Two conferences on the history of archaeology advertised in the BHA 13(2) are both in the final phases of organization.

### **Histories of Archaeology: Archives, Ancestors, Practices**

A major international conference on the history of archaeology will be held in Göteborg, Sweden, on June 17–19, 2004. Organised by the AREA research network – **Archives of European Archaeology** ([www.area-archives.org](http://www.area-archives.org)) – with the support of the **Culture 2000** programme of the European Commission, this conference will promote the latest directions and advances in the field.

The histories of archaeology explored here will move beyond traditional regional or chronological frameworks, and encourage thematic and problem-oriented historical approaches which, drawing notably on archives and other primary sources, will shed new light on the scientific, cultural and ideological contexts of archaeology.

The conference will be held in the Department of Archaeology, Göteborg University. Address: Olof Wijksgatan 6, Göteborg. Tel +46 31-773 46 14, Fax +46 31-773 51 82. Website [www.hum.gu.se/ark/](http://www.hum.gu.se/ark/).

The conference will begin at 14:00 on Thursday the 17th June and end on the evening of Saturday the 19th. Poster sessions will be held in the main hall of the Archaeology building. The language of the conference is English. The themes covered by the speakers include 'Sources and methods for the history of archaeology', 'Visualising archaeology', 'Archaeological practices', 'Questions of identity'. Speakers, both established scholars and emerging researchers, will come from across the world, and cover a range of archaeological periods, areas, and themes. There will be no parallel sessions, and enough time will be left to ensure further discussions and exchanges.

It is envisaged to publish the proceedings of the conference, depending on their quality and interest. As part of the social programme are planned a reception at Dicksonska palatset and also a boat excursion with onboard festive dinner on the steamship S/S Bohuslän (costs included in the conference fees).