

RECENT RESEARCH IN CELTIC STUDIES AND THE THIRD REICH¹

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This article will take the form largely of personal reminiscences, backed up where relevant by documentary evidence, concerning recent research into Celtic Studies and the Third Reich, particularly, but not only, that leading to Joachim Lerchenmüller's book '*Keltischer Sprengstoff*'. *Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie über die deutsche Keltologie von 1900 bis 1945*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997.² This article seeks to document how this research came to pass. In so doing it falls into two parts: 1. The Preamble, 2. The Aftermath.

1. The Preamble

1.1. Heinrich Wagner: Belfast

From 1976 to 1978 I was a junior scholar in the Institute of Irish Studies in the Queen's University of Belfast (QUB) under the supervision of numismatist Prof. R. H. M. (Michael) Dolley (1925-1983).³ I had got to know Dolley during his sojourns in the Isle of Man as from 1974 to sort out the provenance of the various coin-hoards buried in Man during the Scandinavian period (10th-13th centuries) and today housed with Manx National Heritage in Douglas. As a result of his researches Dolley was able to throw new light on the then current view of Manx history during that period. In 1975 he invited me to come to Belfast for two years from autumn 1976 to work under his aegis in researching the connections between Man and Ireland during the Scandinavian period.⁴

It was during these two years that I got to know Prof. Dr. Heinrich Wagner (1923-1988), Professor of Celtic and Comparative Philology in the Queen's University of Belfast. I had first met him at the interview for the scholarship in May 1976 and I began attending his lectures on Old Irish during 1977-78 and afterwards. From 1978 to 1980 I was integrated into the Celtic Department as a PhD student to work on Late Spoken Manx. After his Old Irish classes I would sometimes accompany Wagner to the QUB staff-club bar, and occasionally he would tell me about Julius Pokorny (1887-1970) and how he got to know him, that Wagner was a student of his in Zürich (Wagner's home town) 1944-45⁵ from whom he obtained his basic training in Celtic studies, primarily Old Irish, in

1 First published in P. Sure Ureland & Lelija Sočanac (eds.) (2016): *Glottogenesis and language conflicts in Europe. Studies in Eurolinguistics* 10. Berlin: Logos Verlag: 197-218. Here with minor adjustment and additional material (March 2019).

2 This book deals with the activities of German Celticists from 1900 to 1945. The first half covers the years 1900-1920 (mainly centred around the First World War), the second half 1920-1945 (mainly the Third Reich). It is the second half that is the most contentious for Celticists, particularly in Germany, hence the above title.

3 For details of Dolley's career, see Lyon (1983: 265-271).

4 Resulting from this research period were my works of 1979, 1980. See Bibliography.

5 Lerchenmüller (KS 421) quotes from a report by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Zürich dated February 1953 concerning Pokorny: *Im Jahre 1943 kam er als Emigrant in die Schweiz; seit 1944 ist er in Zürich wohnhaft. An der Zürcher Universität hielt er vom Sommersemester 1944 bis zum Sommersemester 1945 und vom Sommersemester 1948 bis Wintersemester 1949 je einen Zyklus von Vorlesungen mit Lehrauftrag. Von der Universität Bern hatte er von 1944-49 Lehraufträge. Seine Hoffnungen auf ein Extraordinariat in Bern (1949) oder auf eine Berufung auf den Indogermanischen Lehrstuhl in Wien (1950) erfüllten sich allerdings nicht.*

Durch seine Zürcher Tätigkeit ist Herr Pokorny der Fakultät genügend bekannt, mit allen seinen wissenschaftlichen und

the university, having already studied Germanic and Indo-European studies there for eight semesters beforehand (see letter below). He said that he got to know Pokorny quite well. Wagner added that Pokorny was also a womaniser.⁶ "He used to come to us for Sunday lunch," he said, "and after a few visits began casting an eye on my mother. When my father realised what was going on," he said, "he threw Pokorny out of the house there and then!" That was apparently the end of Pokorny's Sunday lunches in the Wagner household! He would regale me with other stories of this sort about Pokorny from time to time.

Wagner then told me that Pokorny had urged him to go to Ireland and there learn and study Modern Irish. To this end, he said, he wrote to Séamas Ó Duilearga, Professor of Irish Folklore in UCD, on 30 July 1945 expressing his intention of coming to Ireland in the autumn of that year and to seek advice and assistance in expediting matters. In his letter to Ó Duilearga (published in facsimile in MCMHW 10-11) Wagner wrote:

Auf Anregung von Herrn Prof. Dr. Julius Pokorny erlaube ich mir, Ihnen zu schreiben. Ich studiere hier in Zürich seit 8 Semestern germanische und indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft (bei den Herren Leumann und Hotzenköcherle). Durch den Aufenthalt von Herrn Prof. Pokorny in der Schweiz wurde mir die Gelegenheit geboten, mich mit den keltischen Sprachen zu beschäftigen, vor allem mit dem Altirischen. Die Sache hat mich sehr begeistert und ich habe auf Anraten von Herrn Pokorny den Entschluss gefasst, nach Irland zu reisen, um dort meine keltischen Studien fortzusetzen. Ich hoffe deshalb, falls mir die Einreise in Irland bewilligt wird, einmal bei Ihnen vorsprechen zu dürfen, zumal da meine Kenntnisse der englischen Sprache praktisch noch nicht sehr gross sind.

Ich habe nun auch noch eine Bitte mehr geschäftlicher Natur an Sie. Wie Sie wissen, braucht es für die Einreichung eines Visumbegehrens die Reverenzen von Einheimischen. Herr Pokorny hat mir deshalb Ihre Adresse angegeben und ich habe mir erlaubt, Ihren werten Namen als Reverent auf das Formular zu setzen. Ich bitte Sie davon Kenntnis zu nehmen und in Irland Auskunft zu geben, falls Sie von Seiten der irischen Behörden über mich angefragt würden. Wie Sie wissen, bin ich in Zürich ein Schüler von Herrn Pokorny geworden, dem ich wissenschaftlich und auch menschlich sehr viel verdanke.

Falls Sie mir einige Ratschläge geben möchten hinsichtlich des Studiums keltischer Philologie in Irland, so wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar dafür. Ich hoffe, dass ich Ende September reisen kann. Mein Hauptziel wird sein, eine praktische Kenntnis des Neuirischen zu gewinnen, um so in die Tiefe der Struktur dieser für den Indogermanisten so eigenartigen Sprache zu dringen (Letter 30.07.1945 Wagner - Ó Duilearga).

This, he told me, led to his visits to Dunquin (*Dún Chaoin*), Kerry (12/1945 - 04/1946), and to Teelin (*Teileann*), Donegal⁷ ("long periods between 1946 and 1948")(Ó Cuív 1988: 233), and ultimately to work on his *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (1958-69), his *magnum opus*.⁸

1.2. Heinrich Wagner: Dublin

Wagner left Belfast for Dublin in 1979 where in October he took up an ordinary professorship⁹ in

menschlichen Vorzügen und Schwächen. In den acht Jahren seines hiesigen Aufenthalts hat er es nicht vermocht, sich den Zürcherischen Verhältnissen und ihren speziellen Bedingungen in der vom schweizerischen Standpunkt wünschenswerten Form anzupassen. Jedoch gelang es ihm, in seinem Zürcher Unterricht in erster Linie rein forschungsmässig interessierte Studenten für die Keltologie zu begeistern und selbst zu gewinnen, so den jetzigen Ordinarius für germanische Sprachwissenschaft in Basel, Heinrich Wagner, für mehr rezeptive Studenten ist sein Unterricht wenig systematisch und konzentriert [...].

6 In his Pokorny obituary (ZCP 32 (1972): 313-319 (at 314)) Wagner noted: [...]. *Das Interesse an Wein, Weib und Gesang beschränkte sich bei ihm jedoch auf die beiden letzteren und er war stets einem einfachen, gesunden Lebenswandel verpflichtet.*

7 Wagner asked me to pass on his best wishes to a former lover of his in Dún Chaoin during a visit I made there in 1977. Her eyes lit up at the mention of Wagner's name and she asked that her warm wishes be returned (which they were). But she regretted he had not been back to visit her since. I experienced a similar disappointment from some of Wagner's former informants in Teileann during my 1978 visit there.

8 For details of Wagner's publications, see MCMHW 355-365.

9 Wagner told me that he did not want a senior professorship in the Dublin Institute, as he would have to take on periodically the

the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.¹⁰ I followed him to the Institute a year later, in October 1980. I was a scholar there until early February 1984. My research topic was concerned with Manx and Irish, and during my first year I was allocated to the then Director Prof. David Greene (1915-1981), who intimated to me that he had studied Manx with Carl Marstrander (1883-1965), Professor of Celtic Languages in the University of Oslo,¹¹ in 1938. However, Greene died suddenly on 13 June 1981 while returning from a conference in the Faroe Islands (Ó Cuív 1981: 154), whereupon I was then re-allocated to Heinrich Wagner. We arranged our meetings for Friday afternoons between 15:00 and 16:30 in his office in the Institute. We would then continue our discussions in the *Waterloo House* bar in nearby Lower Baggot Street, a hostelry frequented at that time by Institute personnel.

It was during my time in Dublin that informal discussions regarding Pokorny and other Celticists continued. Wagner reiterated the stories he had told me in Belfast. In Dublin he told me on several occasions that Pokorny constantly denied his Jewish background. He said his father was Jewish, but not he; although born in Prague (06.12.1887) he was brought up as Roman Catholic in Vienna. Joachim Lerchenmüller (KS 282-283) takes up the story:

Im Zuge der Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7.4.33 war offiziell bekannt geworden, dass Pokorny jüdische Vorfahren hatte. Nach eigenen Angaben kam dies für den gebürtigen Prager als eine Überraschung:

This Easter I got a form from the [German] Government, asking to give particulars about my grandparents. To my astonishment my father informed me, that my mother's father had not been an 'Aryan'. He had died long before I was born and I had never known him. According to a new law, everybody, one grandparent of whom is a Jew, is looked upon as a Jew and to be dismissed from office, except if he has fought in the war or been in office before August 1914. Though I was a lecturer since April 1914, I have been suspended from office [Pokorny's underlining] (Letter: Pokorny to Douglas Hyde 05.05.[1933]).¹²

In this regard Lerchenmüller (KS 283) notes:

Dass sich Pokorny nie für seine Familiengeschichte interessiert haben sollte, bzw. in der Familie nie darüber gesprochen wurde, scheint mir recht unwahrscheinlich, zumal wenn es sich um einen Indogermanen-

directorship of the Institute, and he did not want that. He said that in all his time in Belfast he never attended a single faculty meeting (he was never Dean of the Faculty, he said) - he would send another member of staff instead - as he did not want to be, as Wagner put it, a "glorified office boy", permanently swamped with bureaucracy. In this regard I sought confirmation from the Dean's Office QUB on 27.06.2014, but was advised (30.06.14) that their records do not go that far back. In leaving Belfast Wagner had basically retired from teaching and instead took up a research position in the DIAS to work on "A Comparative Grammar of the Celtic Languages". But this never materialised (cf. also Ó Cuív 1988: 234).

10 I. e. *Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath*; established in 1940 by the then Taoiseach Éamon de Valéra under S. I. 308/1940 - Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies) Establishment Order, 1940 (cf. Irish Statute Book, Internet, retrieved 28.04.2014).

11 For details of Marstrander's work on Manx and his visits to Man 1929-33, see Broderick 1999.

12 Pokorny's comments refer to the *Reichsbürgergesetz* of 07.04.1933, Articles 3.1., 3.2. As Ordinarius in the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (now the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) Pokorny would not be sacked but pensioned off (*pensioniert*) (cf. KS 283, fn. 170). In fact he was suspended from duty (*beurlaubt*) on 29.04.1933. However, this was lifted on 23.11.1933 and he could then resume his lecturing. On 27.08.1934 he took the oath to Hitler (*Hitlereid*). However, we learn from Pokorny's letters of 21.10. and 30.10.1935 to the university's *Verwaltungsdirektor* that all four of his grandparents were in fact Jewish "by race and religion" (*Rasse und Religion nach jüdisch*), though this was later adjusted to *Mischling*. And so, as a result of the *Reichsbürgergesetz* of 04.11.1935, he was immediately and permanently suspended (Schachtmann 1999: 50-51). According to Heinz & Albrecht (2000: 138), the appointment of Pokorny's successor seemingly fell victim to prolonged discussion: *Laut den Personalakten Mühlhausens wurde dieser [Mühlhausen] am 19. September 1936 zum Nachfolger Pokornys und Direktor des Indogermanischen Seminars berufen* (PA 267: Bl. 11) *und am 1. November 1936 ernannt* (Heinz & Albrecht *ibid.*). From 21.12.1935 until 19.09.1936 Pokorny seems to have continued with his lectures on an unscheduled basis in the Indogermanisches Seminar (Heinz & Albrecht 2000: 142).

Heinz (2002: 297) notes in addition: *[Pokorny] selbst beantragte im Mai 1936 eine staatliche Pension und begründete seinen Antrag mit einer "Unbedenklichkeitsbescheinigung der NSDAP-Ortsgruppe" und damit, dass er seit mehr als 20 Jahren Vorkämpfer der Völkischen Idee sei. Die Pension bezog er bis 1943, erst dann ging er in die Schweiz. Offensichtlich ist Pokorny geschützt worden.*

isten und Prähistoriker handelt. Dass Pokorny, wie er schreibt, lediglich mütterlicherseits jüdische Vorfahren hatte, erscheint bei näherer Betrachtung als nicht zutreffend. Weshalb Pokorny seinen irischen Kollegen und Freunden nicht die Wahrheit sagte, darüber können wir heute nur noch spekulieren. Eine Schutzbehauptung kann es eigentlich nur dann gewesen sein [...]. Tatsächlich sprechen alle von mir gesammelten Informationen dafür, dass (auch) sein Vater jüdischer Abstammung war: Er trug den Vornamen Samuel und wurde am 25. August 1855 in Herman Mestec geboren. Eingetragen wurde die Geburt im Register der "israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Herman Mestec". Da der Vater zumindest die zweite Ehe auch kirchlich schloss, ist davon auszugehen, dass Samuel Pokorny zum Katholizismus konvertiert war - ein Schritt, der nach nationalsozialistischer Auffassung sowie nach deutschem Recht freilich nichts daran änderte, ihn und seine Nachkommen als Juden zu definieren. Es gibt natürlich keinen Grund, weshalb sich Julius Pokorny - zumindest vor 1933 - zur jüdischen Tradition in seiner Familie in irgendeiner Weise gegenüber Dritten hätte äussern sollen. Es war sein gutes Recht, das als Privatangelegenheit zu sehen. Vor dem Hintergrund der antisemitischen Äusserungen, die sich sowohl in seiner Privatkorrespondenz wie in seinen Veröffentlichungen finden, liegt allerdings der Schluss nahe, dass Pokornys Verhältnis zu eigenen jüdischen Herkunft von Ablehnung und Selbsthass bestimmt wurde, ein gerade unter Deutschösterreichern nicht selten verbreitetes Phänomen (Lerchenmüller KS 283).

Wagner then told me that Pokorny came to Switzerland during 1943, allegedly pursued by the Gestapo¹³ because of his Jewish descent on his father's side.¹⁴ He was then helped to find work seemingly by Wagner's former French teacher and the Swiss Romance philologist Johannes U. Hubschmied. Wagner (1972: 314) takes up the story in his Pokorny obituary:

Auf Grund jüdischer Abstammung väterlicher Seite wurde Pokorny während des zweiten Weltkrieges abgesetzt¹⁵ und von der Gestapo verfolgt. Es gelang ihm jedoch im Jahre 1943, die Grenze zu überschreiten und sich in der Schweiz niederzulassen. Wissenschaftliche Gönner, vor allem mein alter Französischlehrer, der Ortsnamen- und Keltenforscher J. U. Hubschmied, verhalfen Pokorny, seine Tätigkeit in Zürich fortzusetzen und daselbst bis zu seinem Lebensende ein mehr oder weniger sorgenloses Dasein zu führen. Die Grundlage dazu boten ihm Lehraufträge an den Universitäten Zürich und Bern und später auch Freiburg i. Ue. [...] (Wagner 1972: 314).¹⁶

With regard to Pokorny's apparent bizarre entry into Switzerland in 1943, Ó Dochartaigh (2004: 126) first outlines the new instructions issued shortly after Christmas 1942 to Swiss border-guards to return immediately any foreigners stopped at the border to the country they had come from, and persons seeking entry "only on grounds of racial persecution are not to be regarded as political refugees." This seemingly applied to Jews in an order of August 1942. He then takes up the story of Pokorny's entry into Switzerland (*ibid.* 127):

13 In a letter to his close friend Richard Best (1872-1959), dated 30.08.1945, Pokorny wrote: "My father reached 87 years in spite of the terrible moral persecutions of the Nazis. He was only spared deportation on account of his purely Aryan wife, whose brother happened to be vice-president of the Vienna police, who did his best to protect him. He saved my life in dying on the 10th of April 1943, for on account of his death I was absent from Berlin the very day the Secret Police [Gestapo] came to arrest me in my Berlin flat! [...]" (KS 300). Ó Dochartaigh (2004: 127) notes that Pokorny's name appeared on a Berlin government list of persons whose property it had confiscated. This is consistent with Pokorny's statement of visits by the Gestapo to his Berlin flat while he was attending his father's funeral in Vienna. However, Heinz (2002: 297, fn. 44) seeks to modify the amount of personal belongings actually confiscated: *In Personalakte des Archives der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin zu Mühlhausen (PA-Mühlhausen, Blatt 11, A 146 (Pokorny), Bd. II, Bl. 72; 74). Siehe auch Anm. 38 zu finanziellen Verhandlungen mit der Universität. Ständen diese möglicherweise im Zusammenhang mit der Beschlagnahme von Pokornys Eigentum, von dem die Akten berichten (vgl. Lerchenmüller 1997, 299)? Wurde tatsächlich alles beschlagnahmt? Pokorny berichtet später, dass er vor seiner Ausreise seine Sachen auf Freunde verteilt hätte, die alles zu seiner Stiefmutter schickten (Lerchenmüller 1997, 300).*

14 Although Pokorny fell victim to Nazi racial ideology, he himself was no stranger to thinking of that sort, as can be seen in articles by him regarding Ireland, e.g. 'Rasse und Volk in Irland' (Pokorny 1917). For a full discussion of Pokorny's excursions into racial ideology, see Heinz 2002.

15 In fact 04.11.1935 (see fn. 11 above).

16 Wagner makes clear at the start of his Pokorny obituary that, because he does not have access to Pokorny's papers [his books and papers are now in the Kantonsbibliothek in Freiburg i. Ue., KS 422, fn. 48], he has to rely on his memory for the biographical details in the obituary (*Da ich keinen Zugang zu seinem Nachlaß habe, stammen die hier gegebenen biographischen Einzelheiten aus meinem Gedächtnis* - Wagner 1972: 313).

The Swiss reports highlight the amount of luggage that Pokorny had with him, and one expresses the suspicion that "the Germans had consented to his crossing the border". He did so by land onto a small piece of Switzerland on the rightbank of the Rhine that juts into German territory and is known as the 'Iron Hand' [*Eiserne Hand*]. He [...] had been told not to cross by night, but to wait until daylight, when people regularly crossed and his movements would thus be less suspicious. He went to the first farm he saw, from where the border police were called. He was then taken to Riehen, the main town in the territory. Pokorny was in possession of a German passport and an Irish visa valid until February 1944 [...]. On no statements written for the Swiss did he betray the names of those with whom he had hidden. Nor did he even claim to have had any help in escaping. Rather, he told the border police that he had taken a train from Freiburg to Lörrach and walked from there to the border. The police expressed surprise at the large amount of luggage that he was carrying. Pokorny's story does not seem credible, but it is the only version we have. Pokorny may have been helped either by those with whom he had hidden out in Freiburg or by others higher up in the Nazi hierarchy. Unfortunately, the true nature of his escape must remain in the realms of speculation¹⁷ (Ó Dochartaigh 2004: 127).

In a more detailed analysis of Pokorny's "flight" to Switzerland Sabine Heinz (2002: 297) states, as noted above, that Pokorny drew his state pension until 1943 when he emigrated to Switzerland, but comments that there is some uncertainty, as Ó Dochartaigh (*ibid.*) also notes (above), as to how he managed to enter the country:

Unklar ist, ob hier der Einfluss von Mitgliedern der irischen Regierung einschließlich des Präsidenten Douglas Hyde - Präsident Irlands von 1938-1945 und gleichzeitig auch Freund von Pokornys Nachfolger und Widersacher Mühlhausen - wirkte und / oder die Unterstützung aus politisch einflussreichen Kräften in Deutschland selbst kam (Heinz 2002: 297).¹⁸

During this time Wagner also spoke about Ludwig Mühlhausen who, as we have seen, succeeded Pokorny as incumbent of the Chair of Celtic Philology in the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin, on 1 November 1936. Wagner told me that while in Donegal collecting Irish folklore material Mühlhausen was seen photographing beaches, seemingly for possible later use by German military intelligence.¹⁹ I heard this same story²⁰ during a visit with Celtic students from QUB to Gort an Choirce, Donegal, in April 1978 from Seán Ó hEochaidh (1913-2002), who had worked for the

17 Some speculation as to who in the NS-hierarchy might have helped Pokorny escape to Switzerland has already been made. Lerchenmüller (KS 300) offers his step-mother's brother, then deputy police-chief in Vienna, who could have spoken on his behalf in Berlin, as a possibility, or academic colleagues, such as Ludwig Mühlhausen (1888-1956), Gerhard von Tevenar (1912-1943), Otto Huth (1906-1998), Leo Weisgerber (1899-1985), Josef Weisweiler (1900-1987), who because of their SS connections could have pulled strings in the RSHA. Ó Dochartaigh (2004: 127, fn. 9) notes Lerchenmüller's speculations, but adds that "Professor Hildegard Tristram [then] of Potsdam University also wrote to me [18.03.2000] that a common rumour is that Mühlhausen was Pokorny's protector." I myself had also heard this from Gearóid Mac Eoin at the Berlin Conference in 1998 (see below). However, Ó Dochartaigh (*ibid.*) is sceptical, given Mühlhausen's hostile treatment of Pokorny till 1939, and that after 1945 Pokorny had no time for Mühlhausen. Nevertheless, Lerchenmüller (KS 301) does not exclude the possibility of SS intervention: *es hätte aus der Sicht der SS ausser "humanitären" andere, "triftige" Gründe gegeben müssen, weshalb man Pokorny schonen sollte. Da es dafür bis heute keine Belege gibt, bleibt vorläufig nur Pokornys eigene Erklärung: "I must have a very great friend in heaven, maybe St. Patrick himself."* Gerd Simon, Tübingen' (see below), suggested to me ca. 1995 that there were indications, but no hard evidence, that Pokorny had been assisted into Switzerland by the SS in order to provide them with information on Jews living there. At no time, however, did I hear any speculation of this sort from Wagner. I get the impression that he was deliberately kept in the dark on such matters, probably by Pokorny himself.

18 In a footnote Heinz (2002: 297, fn. 45) adds: *Hier scheint noch einmal der Hinweis auf v. Tevenar nicht unangebracht. Dieser stirbt im April 1943, ebenso wie Pokornys Vater, zu dessen Beerdigung er ausgereist war. Nach eigenen Aussagen fuhr er danach nach Freiburg i. Br., bevor er schließlich am 27. Juli 1943 bei Lörrach über die Grenze in die Schweiz ging. Während Pokornys eigene Angaben generell genau auf ihren Wahrheitsgehalt hin zu prüfen sind, ist in den Akten des Schweizerischen Bundesarchivs, Signatur E 4264 1985/196 Bd. 1029 Dossier N 11874 sein Grenzübergang in die Schweiz bei Tageslicht und mit viel Gepäck protokolliert (näheres dazu in: Ó Dochartaigh 2000).*

19 This evidently took place during a visit made by Mühlhausen to Teelin (*Teileann*), Donegal, from August to October 1937. For details of the purposes of Mühlhausen's visit, see Lerchenmüller (KS 352-360).

20 Seán Ó hEochaidh was seemingly the source of this story also for Wagner. This story does not appear in Lerchenmüller 1997.

Irish Folklore Commission (see below) in Donegal (1935-1971) and later for the Dept. of Irish Folklore in UCD.²¹ Ó hEochaidh told me he had got to know Mühlhausen during his 1937 visit to Donegal and added that he would also measure the depth of water in the harbours both at low and at high tide.²² Ó hEochaidh said that Mühlhausen got on well with the local people because he could speak Irish.²³

There matters rested. Nothing new²⁴ on the topic of Celtic Studies and the Third Reich²⁵ that I can think of came up in conversation with Wagner during the rest of my time in the Institute.²⁶

1.3. Mannheim

1.3.1. Sture Ureland, Mannheim

In the months prior to my departure Wagner organised with Karl Horst Schmidt (1929-2012), Professor of Celtic Studies in the University of Bonn (1974-1994), that I obtain a stipendium from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung which specialises in bringing in external scholars to spend some time in Germany. The stipendium is held for a maximum of two years; in my case it came in three tranches. The topic of my research would be a phonology of Late Spoken Manx, thus completing the trilogy on the subject. My first year (1 April 1984 - 31 March 1985) was spent in the University of Hamburg, the second (1 April 1985 - 31 March 1986) in the University of Mannheim. An initial two months (February & March 1984) was spent brushing up my German in the Goethe Institut, Mannheim.

21 Seán Ó hEochaidh, Internet, retrieved 05.05.2014.

22 These apparently contributed to the Wehrmacht's *Militärgeographische Angaben* for Northwest Ireland (cf. MAI 1941).

23 It may be that Mühlhausen's acquisition of Irish served primarily his non-academic activities in Ireland in order to deflect any suspicion that might arise in that respect. It also served to ingratiate himself with the local Irish-speaking community. Details of Mühlhausen's activities in and about Ireland, but more so those of his protégé Hans Hartmann, feature in the three-part documentary film *Glaoch ón Trú Reich* ('a call from the Third Reich'), first broadcast on TG4 on 21 November 2012. Available on *YouTube*.

24 There was one exception. One Monday afternoon in October 1981 I had a 45-min. chat with Prof. D. A. Binchy in his room in the Institute about his time in Germany. Mentioning only the salient points, we first of all talked about his three-years as a postgraduate student in Munich (1921-24) when with an Austrian fellow-student, he said, he attended an early NSDAP meeting in the Bürgerbräukeller, Munich, one evening in November 1921, at which Hitler spoke. Binchy said that Hitler at that time spoke with a thick Austrian accent and at times even his fellow-student had difficulty understanding him. Nevertheless, Hitler could speak, he said. He could hold people under his spell. He told me he was also in Munich at the time of the so-called "Hitler-Putsch" of 9 November 1923, also in the Bürgerbräukeller. He said the main figure then was Ludendorff, not Hitler. Binchy said, we all thought then that Hitler was finished politically.

We also chatted about his time as Ireland's plenipotentiary to Berlin 1929-1932, during which, Binchy said, he was introduced to Hermann Göring at a diplomatic function - "I thought he was a boozier!", he said. In January 1932 just prior to Binchy's return to Ireland he said he had a £50.00 bet with the British ambassador, that Hitler would become Reichschancellor within one year. "I won the bet!", he said. For a percipient assessment of Adolf Hitler, see Binchy 1933.

25 During my time in the Institute Wagner showed quite some interest in the period of the Third Reich. He told me privately he used to listen to Hitler's speeches, partly to get at his father, whom he regarded as narrow-minded and conservative. But mainly because he saw Hitler as a strong man, particularly regarding his handling of the Treaty of Versailles and German interests vis-à-vis France and England. He said he had read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as well as Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (qv). Wagner would often speak about the Third Reich in a manner that suggested the period meant something to him.

26 My sojourn in the DIAS lasted from 1 October 1980 to 4 February 1984. This was unusually long for a scholar, whose scholarship could extend to a maximum of three years. In my case, however, Wagner had obtained at the start of my third year (October 1982) a contract for me from Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, to publish my PhD thesis on Manx Gaelic native speech. As I had to type out the material myself (evidently to save expensive type-setting costs by the publisher), I was from then on to dedicate myself to that task. The whole resulted in the production of volumes 1 & 2 of *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (Broderick 1984). The School's Governing Board agreed in all to a four-month extension of my three-year contract, from 1 October 1983 to 31 January 1984, to enable completion of the work. The camera-ready copy was photocopied before it was sent off on Monday 4 February 1984 to the publisher. On the same day I left Ireland for Germany.

Monday 4 February 1984 saw my departure from Ireland. Wagner drove me to Dublin Airport. I then bade farewell to Heinrich Wagner who had been a father-figure to me over the past seven or so years. I flew to Frankfurt/Main, then continued by train to Mannheim where I was to head for the Goethe Institute to be checked in and allocated accommodation for my two-months' stay. On reaching the Goethe Institute I was met by a young female student who was there to welcome the new arrivals. She said that her professor in the University of Mannheim was Sture Ureland, Professor of General Linguistics (*Allgemeine Linguistik*), and she urged me to come along and visit him. This I did shortly after. I found Prof. Ureland most congenial and we got along very well together. I visited him a few times during my two months' stay in Mannheim.

Ureland and I stayed in occasional telephone contact during my year in Hamburg. On 31 March 1985 I travelled by train to Mannheim and took up my task with Ureland on 1 April. During the next few months I continued on with my work on the phonology, and I got to know the sort of work he was involved with in his Seminar. This also included the use of language in the promotion of ideology, which embraced totalitarian ideologies, such as Communism and Fascism / National Socialism, etc. In this regard Ureland also took an interest in the Third Reich.

1.3.2. Gerd Simon, Tübingen

One Saturday during August of that same year (1985) Ureland invited me along to visit a colleague of his in Tübingen, Dr. Gerd Simon, Senior Lecturer (*Oberrat*) in Germanic Studies in the Deutsches Seminar (1970-2002), University of Tübingen. His specialist research topic was *Sprachwissenschaft im Dritten Reich* on which he had published widely.²⁷ When we arrived at his home, a modest bungalow on the south-east side of Tübingen, Simon greeted us warmly, and, as with Ureland, I got on very well with him. Ureland explained to Simon my interest in Celticists and their activities during the Third Reich, as I had heard a fair bit, particularly about Pokorny and Mühlhausen, from my former supervisor Heinrich Wagner, and I asked Simon if he had anything in his quite extensive library and archive on these two, and possibly on any others. He then pulled out a cabinet drawer and took out a file containing photocopies of documents from various archives he had visited in Germany. The documents he took out concerned mainly Pokorny and Mühlhausen, as well as material on the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für keltische Studien* (DGKS).²⁸ He said he would photocopy a selection of them and send them to me during the course of the following week. I then told Simon what Wagner had told me, and he was able to corroborate / correct / add to what I had learned from Wagner. He then proposed that we (he and I) put together a joint article on "Celtic Studies in the Third Reich". He then asked me to find out whether Wagner, as co-editor of the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (ZCP) (the other co-editor was Karl Horst Schmidt (1929-2012)),²⁹ would publish such an article. I said I would ask him when I visited him later in the autumn (1985). Ureland and I stayed with Simon that night and returned to Mannheim the following day.

When I visited Wagner that autumn I brought with me the papers Simon had photocopied containing information about Mühlhausen,³⁰ German activity and personnel in Brittany (1940-44), and the DGKS and its membership. We met in his office in the DIAS. I showed Wagner the papers and mentioned to him what Simon and I had in mind. He asked if he could have a couple of days to look through the papers. I said fine, and we agreed to meet later that week on the Friday. When we met, I

27 For full details see Homepage Gerd Simon (retrieved 16.08.2014).

28 An academic unit set up in December 1936 designed also to serve the interests of the State. The DGKS served not only the interests of the Abwehr, but also of SS military intelligence (cf. Lerchenmüller KS 383-410).

29 Herbert Pilch's name also appeared on the cover of ZCP at that time (mid-1980s), but his *Mitwirkung*, according to Wagner, was negligible, if not absent altogether.

30 For details of Mühlhausen's wartime activities, see KS 401-409.

asked him what he thought of the papers. He said he recognised many of the names mentioned in them, particularly in the Breton section, e.g. Leo Weisgerber,³¹ Roparz Hemon (1900-1978),³² etc., as well as members of the DGKS, e.g. Adolf Mahr (1887-1951),³³ Helmut Clissmann (1911-1997),³⁴ Josef Weisweiler (1900-1987),³⁵ etc. But some names, he said, were unfamiliar to him.

Part of the batch of papers sent to me by Simon included a DGKS protocol concerning the setting up of a Celtic facility within the *Ahnenerbe der SS*.³⁶ German scholars abroad, including Celticists, particularly if they were in receipt of monies for research purposes from the *Ahnenerbe der SS*, were also expected to serve the interests of the State,³⁷ and, in the context of Ireland, this might include making contact with the IRA with a view to collaborative action with the Abwehr / SS. (cf. Stephan 1965). The protocol is typed on the headed notepaper of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für keltische Studien e.D., Der Generalsekretär* [i.e. Mühlhausen], with the address as Berlin 7, Dorotheen-Strasse 6, Indogermanisches Seminar, and dated 10 May 1942 (underlining as per original document).³⁸

Aufzeichnung über den Aufgabenkreis
einer Abteilung für keltische Volksforschung im "Ahnenerbe"

1. *Es ist das Ziel unserer neubelebten keltischen Volksforschung, die geistigen Werte der lebenden keltischen Völker (Iren, Schotten, Waliser und z.Zt. vor allem Bretonen) als der Nächstverwandten des Germanentums von dem Blickpunkt nationalsozialistischer, d.h. politischer Wissenschaft zu erarbeiten. Vor allem die alte Schule der Sorbonne sah als "Kelten" vorwiegend das romanisierte Galliertum des Festlandes; demgegenüber gilt es heute, die sog. "Inselkelten" in ihrer Verflechtung mit den Nord- und Westgermanen und als schöpferisches Element des nordischen Kulturkreises herauszustellen. Jede Arbeit in den germanischen Ländern West- und Nordeuropas ist nur möglich bei gleichzeitiger Abstützung durch keltische Volksforschung.*
2. *Die Forschungsarbeit muss sich dementsprechend in erster Linie den im folgenden umschriebenen Fragen zuwenden:*
 - *Kelten und Germanen als Träger vorchristlicher Kultur in Europa.*
 - *Das keltische Substrat Süd- und Mitteldeutschlands als Bereicherung in Rasse und Kultur.*
 - *Keltische und nordgermanische Heldensage und Religion.*

31 In the summer of 1938 the *Ahnenerbe der SS* (see fn. 36 below) recruited Metz-born Johann Leo Weisgerber as a propagator of the close relationship of "Sprache und Volk", and was therefore highly thought of in the RSHA, and from a Foreign Office viewpoint as a desirable colleague in matters "Westforschung". His theses also found support among Breton nationalists; Roparz Hemon was evidently deeply influenced by him. During the German occupation of Brittany (1940-44) Weisgerber functioned as "Sonderführer" in the propaganda department of the German military commander in France. He set up a radio station that broadcast in Breton, and in the context of NS policy in France supported Breton efforts towards autonomy. In 1941 he was party to the setting up of the "Keltisches Institut der Bretagne" in Rennes, and by 1944 at the latest he was working for the RSHA. At no time was he a member of the NSDAP, however (Simon 1982: 30-52, Lerchenmüller 2000: 175-196). For full details of Weisgerber's publications, see Dutz (2000: 237-266).

32 Breton nationalists Roparz Hemon (alias Louis Nemo), Yann Goulet, and others were recruited from an Abwehr prisoner-of-war camp for Breton prisoners in the summer of 1940 to work for the Germans in Brittany, which became the main area of work for German Celtic Studies. As Lerchenmüller (KS 402) puts it: *Die Bretagne wurde überhaupt während der folgenden vier Jahren [1940-44] zum Hauptarbeitsgebiet der deutschen Keltologie. Das hatte zum einen damit zu tun, dass mit der dauerhaften Besetzung Frankreichs die SS, Sipo und SD, die Zuständigkeit für die "innere Sicherheit" auch in der Bretagne übernahm. Hier eröffnete sich für das Ahnenerbe - und damit für die Keltologen - die Möglichkeit, vor Ort wissenschaftlich und kulturpolitisch aktiv zu werden.*

33 Director of the National Museum of Ireland and head of the Dublin branch of the NSDAP-AO. He worked for the SS as "Vorkämpfer der Germanenforschung in Irland." During the war he co-ordinated the radio propaganda to Ireland for the German Foreign Office (KS 384-85).

34 At the time of the founding of the DGKS (1936) Clissman was the official representative of the DAAD in Ireland (KS 385).

35 Along with Mühlhausen, Weisweiler was the only high-ranking German Celticist among the founders of the DGKS. He was a student of Pokorny. Later he worked for the *Ahnenerbe der SS* (see next) in matters to do with Brittany (KS 385).

36 Set up on 1 July 1935 by Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, Richard Walther Darré (Reichsbauernführer and Leiter des Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamtes) and the Dutch scholar Herman Wirth (Kater 2006: 11-28). In 1942 it became "SS-Amt" labelled "Amt A" within the Hauptamt of the personal staff of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler (KS 265, fn. 88).

37 cf. Simon (1985a, 1985b), Lerchenmüller (KS 265, footnote 88).

38 Bundesarchiv, Abteilung III (Berlin) Mühlhausen file.

- Wikingereinflüsse auf Iren, Waliser, Schotten und Bretonen.
 - Keltische Prägung der nord-und westgermanischen Heldendichtung und Ornamentik.
 - Irland und die Bretagne als Hüter megalithischer Erbschaft[t].
 - Unsterblichkeitsglaube und Totenkult bei Kelten u. Germanen.
 - Der keltische Beitrag zur frühmittelalterl. Hochkultur.
 - Die Keltenvölker als Opfer und Landsknechte des englischen und französischen Imperialismus.
3. Die Methode der keltischen Volksforschung beruht auf einer Zusammenfassung und Querverbindung zwischen Ur-und Vorgeschichte, Volkskunde, Religionswissenschaft, Volkstums-und Landeskunde mit der früher zu Unrecht dominierenden Sprachwissenschaft; Grabungen und Studienreisen erscheinen ebenso wichtig wie die Beschaffung einer bislang fehlenden Fachbibliothek.
 4. Die Veröffentlichungen müssen sich anschliessen an die 1937 begonnene "Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Gesellschaft für kelt. Studien" und die "Zeitschrift für kelt. Phil. und Volksforschung" beide herausgegeben von L. Mühlhausen. Es gilt dabei, zugleich die Erbschaft der kürzlich eingestellten französischen Fachorgane, der "Revue Celtique" und der "Etudes Celtiques" anzutreten und die skandinavischen und westeuropäischen Forscher auf unsere Arbeit und unsere Veröffentlichungen auszurichten.
 5. Die praktisch-politische Seite betrifft u.a. die Pflege eines Austausches von jungen Gelehrten und Studenten vorallem mit der z.Zt. von uns besetzten Bretagne. Das "Keltische Institut" in Rennes und die "Schule für keltische Studien["] Dublin erwarten unsere Förderung.³⁹

Wagner and I discussed the above protocol and its import in some depth. As noted above, the protocol foresees the setting up of a Celtic research facility within the *Ahnenerbe der SS*, and that the Keltisches Institut⁴⁰ in Rennes and the School of Celtic Studies (DIAS)⁴¹ awaited their support / sponsorship. I then asked Wagner who the Director of the School at that time (May 1942) was. He thought for a minute and then said T. F. O'Rahilly.⁴² I then asked him whether O'Rahilly would have agreed to such support, as outlined in the above protocol. Wagner said, "If I knew O'Rahilly as well as I think I did, then yes." In view of its import Wagner then asked me not to publish the protocol for a while, as it might cause difficulties for the DIAS. At that time, according to Wagner, the Progressive Democrats (PDs), a break-away group from the then governing party Fianna Fáil, were asking awkward questions in the Dáil concerning Government funding for the Institute. I naturally acceded to the request. However, Joachim Lerchenmüller (see §1.3.4. below) told me in the Isle of Man in late July 1995 that while working on his PhD thesis 1992-94 he sought access to the minute relating to the above protocol from the DIAS, but, according to him, access was denied. In this regard I wrote to the current Director of the School of Celtic Studies (DIAS), Prof. Ruairí Ó hUiginn, about the matter on 6 February 2019. On 14 March 2019 I received the following reply:

I've checked through our archives and the O'Rahilly material we have relates to academic material; unpublished notes, chapters, proofs, etc. The only correspondence is with Gerard Murphy and that relates to a publication of his. O'Rahilly's library and material seems to have been dispersed widely after his death. Much of his library made its way to QUB [Queen's University Belfast]. Perhaps also items of correspondence - if they survived (Email: Ó hUiginn - Broderick 14.03.2019).

Wagner and I then discussed the proposed joint article by Simon and myself. Wagner said he would be prepared to print such an article, but added that Karl Horst Schmidt, as co-editor, would also have to agree to it first. I asked Wagner if Schmidt would agree; he thought he would not, but

39 In July 1942 Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler appointed Mühlhausen to the Ahnenerbe and entrusted him with the leadership of the "Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für keltische Volksforschung" (KS 405-406).

40 *Framm Keltiek Breizh*, the Keltisches Institut, was set up in October 1941 in Rennes by Leo Weisgerber and put under the directorship of Roparz Hemon. In mid-May 1942 it organised the second "Kongress des Keltischen Instituts" in Nantes. The Institute boasted a membership of 350 persons (KS 405).

41 Whether the DIAS was aware of the political function of the Ahnenerbe, or wittingly or unwittingly facilitated possible SS-IRA contact, is not clear.

42 T. F. O'Rahilly (1883-1953) was Acting Director of the School of Celtic Studies DIAS from 02.07.1941 to 09.11.1941 and Director from 10.11.1941 to 21.03.1947 (cf. 50th Anniversary Report, School of Celtic Studies, DIAS, 1990).

added:

We Celticists should have broad-enough shoulders to be able to weather any criticism that might arise from publishing the material. If we don't, then others would "crawl out of the woodwork" and do the job for us, and at the same time point an accusing finger at us for not "having the guts" to publish the material ourselves (Wagner, DIAS, Autumn 1985).

When Simon and I next met just after the New Year 1986 in Tübingen, I said to him that the prospect of publishing our article in ZCP looked bleak, unless Schmidt agreed, which Wagner believed he would not. I said I would seek out other possibilities of publishing. However, in the meantime Simon said he would continue with his research work on the Germanic Studies' scholars who played a role in the Third Reich. These matters lay dormant for a while. Then something quite out of the blue occurred.

1.3.3. Mühlhausen's *Mabinogi* reprint 1988

In 1988 Stefan Zimmer, then of the Seminar für Indogermanistik, Freie Universität Berlin (1975-1995), later successor to Karl Horst Schmidt in Bonn (1995-2012), published a reprint of Mühlhausen's edition of the *Mabinogi* (Middle Welsh literary tales) of 1925 in the *Buchreihe der ZCP* to mark the 100th anniversary of Mühlhausen's birth (1888). I obtained two copies of the book, one for myself, the other I sent to Gerd Simon for comment. Shortly after, I visited Simon in Tübingen and discussed the book with him. We agreed to write a joint review. I would concentrate on the reprint as a contribution to Celtic Studies today, while Simon would comment on the Appendix, as given by Zimmer, outlining Mühlhausen's career during the Third Reich and before. The review was written in October 1988 under both our names.

A short while prior to the *Mabinogi* reprint Ureland had invited Schmidt to visit Mannheim to talk to his students on an aspect of Celtic Studies. In return Schmidt invited myself to Bonn to talk to his students about Manx. This I agreed to do. However, in the meantime the *Mabinogi* reprint appeared and our review was written. Before my visit to Bonn I sent Schmidt a copy of the review for consideration for publication in ZCP. Schmidt refused it point blank. I then sent it to a number of other Celtic Studies journals for publication, but to no avail.

In November 1988 I travelled by train to Bonn to give my lecture. Karl Horst Schmidt invited a number of us, including personnel from the Embassy of Ireland, myself and others, to lunch in a hotel near the university. During lunch Schmidt, sitting diagonally opposite me, leaned forward and said in a low voice, but looking me straight in the eye, "*Wollen Sie die ZCP zu Grunde richten?*" Meant, of course, was the review. I replied in the negative, whereupon no further discussion on the matter took place. After the lunch I returned with Schmidt to his Institute, gave my lecture, joined some students of his afterwards in a local bar, then returned by train to Mannheim. The following day I reported to Ureland what had happened, and asked him whether he knew of a suitable journal that would print the review. Ureland suggested I contact Jacek Fisiak, editor of *Folia Linguistica Historica* (FLH) and a renowned Polish Professor of English Studies. I thereupon sent Fisiak a copy of the review and a week or two later received a positive reply from him. The review eventually came out in FLH XII/1-2 (1991 [1992]): 237-241.

In the meantime Simon published an abridged version of the review under the title "Ein NS-Wissenschaftler wird 100 Jahre – was macht man da?" in the Berlin universities magazine *Hochschulwesen* for January 1992 (Simon & Broderick 1992). The effect of the review was devastating.

Zimmer was apparently badly shaken.⁴³ Simon accused Zimmer of deliberately suppressing relevant information⁴⁴ concerning Mühlhausen's political activities with the Nazis:

Wenn es stimmt, welche Archive Zimmer eingesehen und welche Zeitzeugen er befragt hat, müßte Zimmer eigentlich über mehr Informationen verfügen als wir, da wir unsere Kenntnisse im wesentlichen nur dem Bundesarchiv in Koblenz und dem Berlin Document Center entnommen haben, deren Informationen er angeblich ebenfalls verwertet hat. Unerfindlicher Weise ist aber augenscheinlich das Gegenteil der Fall. Zunächst wären einige Geringfügigkeiten richtigzustellen: [...] (Simon HSW 1992/1: 45, col. 3).

Four months later an emotionally-loaded reply from Zimmer entitled "Wissenschaftsgeschichte oder Polemik?" was published in the May issue of *Hochschulwesen* (Zimmer 1992) in which he mentions Schmidt by name as being behind the *Mabinogi* reprint:

Als ich die Arbeit in Angriff nahm, hatte ich keine näheren Kenntnisse über die Person Mühlhausen. Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Karl Horst Schmidt, Bonn, der Herausgeber der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, schlug mir vor, als Anhang einen Abriß von Leben und Werk eines Mannes zu geben, der bekanntermaßen später ein fanatischer Nationalsozialist wurde, der aber durchaus seinen Platz in der Geschichte der deutschen Keltologie hat. Daß der Nachdruck dann gerade im Jahre 1988 erschien, ist nichts als ein Zufall. Die Tatsache mag manchem anstößig erscheinen und zu dem Mißverständnis Anlaß gegeben haben, es sei "eine Ehrung eines NS-Wissenschaftlers" beabsichtigt gewesen (Zimmer HSW 1992/5: 234, col. 1).

Whatever might be commented on in Zimmer's reply,⁴⁵ most devastating of all was Schmidt's apparent reaction to his name having been mentioned in Zimmer's response.⁴⁶ Although we had an idea that he might have been involved in the enterprise, we were unaware of Schmidt's actual involvement until Zimmer made clear in his response that he had been. Patrizia de Bernardo-Stempel⁴⁷ confirmed our suspicions of apparent acrimony between Schmidt and Zimmer over the matter when she spoke to me about it at a conference in the Isle of Man in September 2004.

Simon suspected that Schmidt had been behind the enterprise right from the very start. He took the view that the Mühlhausen family probably contacted Schmidt initially to see if he would agree to a reprint of Mühlhausen's edition of the *Mabinogi* in the ZCP *Buchreihe* to mark the 100th anniversary and honour the work of a German Celticist. If so, then Schmidt clearly agreed to do so and, being probably aware of Mühlhausen's NS career, handed over the task to Zimmer in order to avoid any controversy that might arise from the reprint.⁴⁸

1.3.4. Joachim Lerchenmüller, Tübingen

43 I learned this later when discussing the matter with Martin Rockel (d. 2003) at the Humboldt Celtic Conference in March 1998 (see below).

44 This was apparently not the first time that Zimmer deliberately suppressed relevant information. See his rephrasing of Pokorny's first letter of 08.03.1920 to John Morris-Jones (1864-1929) (Bangor 3249, Nr. 64) in ZCP 41 (1986): 283, fn.8 (reproduced by Lerchenmüller in KS 246, fn. 10), in which Pokorny's anti-semitic comments are omitted. Lerchenmüller prints the full text of this letter in KS 245.

45 e.g. the appearance of the reprint in 1988 was surely not an accident, as Zimmer maintains, as the year 1988 marked the 100th anniversary of Mühlhausen's birth? There could even be questions about Mühlhausen's overall contribution to Celtic Studies. See, for example, Pokorny's review of Mühlhausen's *Mabinogi* edition of 1925 in ZCP 16 (1927): 464-466 "[...] *Am schlechtesten ist es mit der Etymologie bestellt, die durchaus auf veralteten Quellen beruht und besser ganz fortgeblieben wäre. Ich füge einige Korrigenda bei: [...]*" (Pokorny ZCP 16 (1927): 464-466 (p. 465).

46 Schmidt was in general furious that the review had appeared in print at all. His point-blank refusal to print it in ZCP suggested that he had something to fear from it. After its appearance in print I was from then on with Schmidt *persona non grata*.

47 PhD in Celtic Philology with Karl Horst Schmidt 1985-86, *Venia legendi* der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn für "Vergleichende indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft" 1998 (cf. Patrizia de Bernardo-Stempel CV, Internet, retrieved 08.05.2014).

48 This, of course, is pure supposition. But it may serve to explain Schmidt's over-reaction to his name appearing in Zimmer's response.

After it became clear that our joint article would not be published, Simon said to me that he would wait awhile until a suitable PhD student of his came along who would be interested in tackling the topic. In the meantime he had enough on his plate dealing with the various Germanic Studies' scholars and their activities in the service of the Third Reich.

In 1992 Simon announced to me that he had found a suitable student in the personage of Joachim Lerchenmüller.⁴⁹ Lerchenmüller registered for a PhD on the topic in 1992 in Trinity College Dublin (TCD) and was awarded his PhD in 1994. His supervisor was the then Professor of German, Eda Sagarra, his external examiner Gerd Simon, University of Tübingen, and his internal examiner the Celticist Liam Breatnach, until 1996 Associate Professor of Early Irish in TCD,⁵⁰ who, according to Simon, recommended that the PhD be published. It was in fact published by Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, in 1997 (qv.).

1.3.5. The Edinburgh Congress of Celtic Studies, 23-29 July 1995

In the late spring of 1995 Lerchenmüller asked me whether I knew of a forum where he could deliver a lecture on the activities of Julius Pokorny in the field of Celtic Studies and their attendant nationalist politics, etc., ca.1910-1945. I suggested that he might try the forthcoming Congress of Celtic Studies to be held towards the end of July 1995 in the University of Edinburgh. A short time later he advised me that his offer of a lecture on Pokorny had been accepted for delivery. In addition, Lerchenmüller expressed an interest in visiting me in the Isle of Man for the latter part of that week. We then arranged to meet on the Sunday afternoon in the Edinburgh Waverley train station and then proceed to the Pollock Halls campus which served as the Congress venue and place of accommodation.

Lerchenmüller's lecture was to take place on the Monday afternoon (24.07.1995) of the Congress week. In the chair was Gearóid Mac Eoin, former Professor of Old and Middle Irish and Celtic Philology in University College Galway (1966-1994). Before the actual lecture began I had a look round the room to see who was present. As I knew what to expect from the lecture I had an idea who might be taken aback, or even offended, by the revelations. A number of Celticists were in fact quite astounded at what they had heard, probably for the first time, e.g. that Pokorny claimed he was National Socialist-minded and sought to ingratiate himself with the Nazis.⁵¹ In the course of the lecture Lerchenmüller touched on the DGKS and its founding-fathers. Its Honorary President was

49 Lerchenmüller had studied History and German in Tübingen. In 1992 he was awarded the *Graduate Diploma in Middle Eastern Studies* in the American University, Cairo. In 1994 he was awarded a PhD for a thesis on the academic and political activities of German Celticists from 1900 to 1945. From 1995 to 1997 he worked in the section for International Language Programmes in the University of Tübingen, and from 1998 as Assistant Lecturer in German in the University of Limerick. His areas of research embrace academic history, history of National Socialism, German-Irish relations as well as German as a foreign language (cf. Heinz 1999: 258). At present he is a teacher in the Französische Schule, Tübingen (Joachim Lerchenmüller, Internet, retrieved 22.04.14).

50 At present Director of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

51 Pokorny was evidently outraged at his being treated "wie ein Jude" in his suspension from duty as Professor of Celtic in Berlin (on 29.04.1933; see fn. 11 above). He then lodged several complaints with Ortsgruppe Berlin-Halensee of the NSDAP protesting his "völkische Einstellung" (i.e. support for the NS regime). In his reply to Pokorny dated 17.08.1933 NSDAP Ortsgruppenleiter Berger did not doubt his support for the regime (*Ich glaube feststellen zu können, dass an Ihrer einwandfreien Gesinnung, die ja schon im Jahre 1916 [i.e. his support for the Irish cause] unter Beweis gestellt wurde, kein Zweifel zu hegen sein dürfte*), but added that, although he had no negative information about Pokorny, he could not speak for others who might have wanted to know more (cf. KS 288-289). Although Pokorny resumed his professorial duties on 23.11.1933, as a result of the *Reichsbürger-gesetze* of 04.11.1935, he was, as already noted, immediately and permanently suspended from duty.

the renowned Celticist Rudolf Thurneysen (1857-1940).⁵² The initial meeting of the DGKS seemingly took place in the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin, on 22 January 1937, where the guest lecturer was Prof. Séamas Ó Duilearga (1899-1980), founder of the Irish Folklore Commission (*Coimisiún Béaloideasa Éireann*) in 1935.⁵³ Ó Duilearga's lecture, entitled (in German) "Volkskundliche Arbeit in Irland von 1850 bis zur Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der 'Irischen Volkskunde-Kommission'",⁵⁴ was published in ZKPV⁵⁵ 23 (1943): 1-38. Looking round I noticed that Ó Duilearga's successor as head of the Department of Irish Folklore (Séamas Ó Catháin),⁵⁶ for instance, was not at all enamoured by what he heard about his predecessor's close associations with the Nazis. There were several questions afterwards during which more brisant information came to light. The lecture served as a wake-up call to Celticists to take matters in hand.

1.3.6. Reiner Luyken's article in *Die Zeit*, 19 July 1996

The following day (Tuesday) Lerchenmüller and I left Edinburgh for the Isle of Man. During his four-day stay with me in Ramsey we talked further about the activities of Pokorny and other German Celticists in the services of the Third Reich. Lerchenmüller, if I understood him correctly, said he had earlier contacted a certain Reiner Luyken, an established reporter with the quality German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* who was then living in Scotland, and asked him whether he would be interested to come along to his lecture which he might find of interest. Luyken duly came along and as a result published a rather provocative article on Celtic Studies in Germany in the issue of *Die Zeit* Nr. 30 of 19.07.1996 under the title "Keltisch als Geheimwaffe. Seit jeher liefern alte Sprachen Munition für das Arsenal nationalistischer Politik". In it he quotes Lerchenmüller as saying *inter alia* that the discipline of Celtic Studies in Germany has difficulty in coming to terms with its "Nazi past":

Jeder wissenschaftliche Diskurs mit deutschen Keltologen wendet sich ins Peinliche, weil sie sich weigern, historische Tatsachen und Forschungsergebnisse über die politische und ideologische Rolle ihres Fachs zur Kenntnis zu nehmen (Die Zeit Nr. 30 19.07.1996).

Karl Horst Schmidt was evidently livid at the article. He thereupon drummed up a number of col-

52 I asked Wagner whether Thurneysen was Nazi-orientated. He said quite definitely not. He said Thurneysen would not see any political angle in accepting the post of Honorary President of the DGKS (even though we now know it was heavily politicised). Nonetheless, Thurneysen, in addition to his academic work, also on one occasion served the interests of German propaganda during the First World War. In a lecture entitled *Irland und England*, delivered on 24 February 1915 in the University of Bonn. in the context of cooperation between Germany and Irish / American-Irish nationalists, he noted: *Ein besiegtes England, welch eine Aussicht! Kann nicht endlich der Traum, den so viele Generationen von Iren in Irland und Amerika im Herzen getragen haben, zur Wirklichkeit werden? Die Befreiung von England! ein freies Irland!* [...] (Thurneysen 1915: 35). Otherwise, Thurneysen seemingly kept his opinions to himself (KS 148-149).

53 It was Séamas Ó Duilearga, at the request of Taoiseach Éamon de Valéra, who sent the Irish Folklore Commission in the personage of Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danchair to the Isle of Man in the spring of 1948 to make sound-recordings of the last native Manx Gaelic speakers. This was evidently the first systematic sound-recording ever made by the Commission (cf. Broderick 1999: 62-63).

54 The lecture was evidently delivered in English and later translated into German by DGKS member Helmut Clissmann for publication in ZKPV (cf. KS 396, fn. 66).

55 i.e. *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie und Volksforschung*. This was the title given to *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* by Mühlhausen after he took over the editorship of it in 1941. Former editor Julius Pokorny was removed from ZCP while preparing Vol. XXI (1940) on racial grounds in 1939, as, according to Thurneysen in a letter to R. I. Best (25.06.1939), the publishers of ZCP, Niemeyer, would receive no more money (*keinen Zuschuss mehr bekommen*) for it, so long as a "Jude" ran it. The second part of Vol. XXI was dealt with by Thurneysen. Mühlhausen edited Vols. XXII (1941), XXIII (1943) and XXIV (1945) of ZCP (as ZKPV) with funding from the *Ahnenerbe der SS*. But Vol. XXIV never appeared. Instead a completely different Vol. XXIV, but now under its old title (ZCP) and containing articles largely from foreign scholars, appeared nine years later, in 1954, under Pokorny's restored editorship (KL 398-399 and fn. 78, Ó Dochartaigh 2003: 77).

56 Successor in 1971 to the Irish Folklore Commission (cf. Irish Folklore Commission, Internet, retrieved 22.04.2014).

leagues together (viz. Patrizia de Bernardo-Stempel, Rolf Ködderitzsch, Herbert Pilch, Pádraig Ó Riain) to put their names along with his own to a counter-article. This appeared in the 100th anniversary issue of ZCP 49-50 (1997): 1055-67 under the title "Philologie und ihre Instrumentalisierung" which sought to counter the arguments made in the Luyken article. In what was tantamount to a damage-limitation exercise. In justification of printing their reply, Schmidt and his colleagues argued:

Grund für diesen Anhang ist ein am 19.7.1996 in Nr. 30 der Wochenzeitung DIE ZEIT erschienener Artikel von R. Luyken, der die Herausgeber der Zeitschrift veranlaßt, einige Richtigstellungen vorzunehmen. Um dem Leser ein eigenes Urteil über dieses unsachliche, unfaire und von wenig Kenntnis der Materie zeugende Elaborat zu ermöglichen, haben wir das Pamphlet vollständig, ohne Unterbrechungen und redaktionelle Änderungen abgedruckt und anschließend kommentiert [...] (ZCP 49-50 (1997): 1055).⁵⁷

I suggested to Pádraig Ó Riain when I met him nine years later at the Zeuss-Tagung held in Kronach, Oberfranken, 22-23.07.2006, that they ought not to have replied to a newspaper article, as such articles vanish quickly from the public memory, unlike their article in ZCP which would be there for all to see, even many years down the line when future colleagues would want to know what all the fuss was about. I added that in putting their names to their article they had in fact shot themselves in the foot. Ó Riain agreed with me, but said they felt they had to do something as a matter of support for Celtic Studies in general and solidarity with Karl Horst Schmidt in particular, as he was specifically named in the Luyken article.

2. The Aftermath

The appearance of Lerchenmüller's book in 1997 caused quite some consternation among some German Celticists in particular, as evidently for the first time an in-depth critical analysis of the activities of German (and other) Celticists during the period of the Third Reich was addressed. But it was not the first time that the activities of Celticists in Germany had been catalogued. Information in this regard appeared in two articles by Prof. Dr. Hildegard L. C. Tristram, formerly of the University of Freiburg, latterly of the University of Potsdam,⁵⁸ the first under the title "Celtic Studies at Freiburg im Breisgau" in Tristram (1985), the second "Celtic Studies in West Germany" in Tristram (1986). The Freiburg article concentrates on post-war Celtic Studies in that university. The second article spans the gamut of Celtic Studies in Germany from the time of I. C. Zeuss's (1806-1856) *Grammatica Celtica* in 1853 down to the present (1986). But remarkably it fails to mention anything at all about Celtic Studies activity in the Third Reich. Even though it mentions the names of some of those who had taken an active part, e.g. Julius Pokorny, Leo Weisgerber, Josef Weisweiler, it does not say anything, not even in passing, about what they were doing during that period.

Shortly after New Year 1997 I remembered Tristram's two articles, and using them as a cue, I wrote to Tristram on 10 January intimating to her what Wagner had said to me some twelve years before:

In the autumn of 1985 I visited my ex-boss the late Prof. Dr. Heinrich Wagner in Dublin and showed him a number of photocopies of documents [...] relating to Mühlhausen and others and their activities during the period of the Third Reich [...]. Wagner and I discussed the contents of the documents in some depth and [...]

⁵⁷ According to Lerchenmüller, Luyken told him shortly after that both Schmidt and Zimmer apparently sent in letters of complaint about his (Luyken's) article to *Die Zeit*, Schmidt even threatening the newspaper with legal action for libel!

⁵⁸ In November 2006 Tristram returned to Freiburg as an Honorary Professor (cf. Hildegard L. C. Tristram, Internet, retrieved 06.05.2014).

we came to the conclusion that [...] it would be preferable to publish everything, warts and all, concerning Celtic Studies and its use by various personalities in the interests of certain nationalist causes or political ideologies [...]. The reason for our decision was as follows: it is better if Celticists themselves [...] dealt with such matters, no matter how unpalatable or possibly injurious the facts may be, since to seek to suppress unwelcome facts [...] can only lead to a suspicion that Celticists have something to hide [...]. Much better to lay all cards on the table at the start, rather than seek to suppress information in the hope that it will not be noticed. It will [...] (Letter: Broderick - Tristram 10.01.1997).

Fourteen months later matters were taken in hand.⁵⁹

2.1. The Berlin Conference, 27-28 March 1998

And so it came to pass. A conference dealing precisely with that issue was set up in the Humboldt University, Berlin, by Dr. Sabine Heinz,⁶⁰ then responsible for Celtic Studies there, for 27-28 March 1998, on the recommendation of Hildegard Tristram (as the latter reminded the Conference). A number of Celticists, including myself, were invited to deliver a paper on the topic and many aspects were covered. The Conference proceedings were published by Peter Lang Verlag, Berlin, 1999, under the title *Die Deutsche Keltologie und ihre Berliner Gelehrten bis 1945. Beiträge zur internationalen Fachtagung Keltologie an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität vor und während des Nationalsozialismus vom 27.-28.03.1998*, edited by Sabine Heinz.⁶¹

Delivering a paper also at the Conference was Joachim Lerchenmüller himself (Lerchenmüller 1999). As was probably to be expected, he came in for some heavy criticism, especially from former head of Celtic Studies in HUB, Prof. Dr. Martin Rockel (1961-1965), who accused him of an unjustified and malicious attack on Celtic Studies in Germany. In addition, a number of Celticists found his book at times vindictive in tone, while others regarded his attitude towards Celtic Studies as somewhat arrogant. His reference to Celtic Studies as an "Orchideenfach" did not go down too well at the Conference either, especially as Celtic Studies in its traditional place in Germany was about to face closure.⁶²

Nevertheless, it has to be said that, were it not for the fact that non-Celticists Gerd Simon and Joachim Lerchenmüller "kicked ass" and forced Celticists to tackle the issue, as Wagner had urged in the 1980s (see above), it is unlikely that anything would have been done at all.⁶³

59 In addition, according to Lerchenmüller, Tristram invited him to Potsdam during the summer of 1997 to deliver a lecture to her seminar and interested parties on Celtic Studies and Celticists in the Third Reich. Lerchenmüller said he took up the invitation.

60 Now Sabine Asmus (maiden name), Professor of Celtic Studies in the University of Szczecin, Poland. Prof. Asmus at present also looks after Celtic Studies in the University of Leipzig.

61 The politicisation of Celtic Studies has a long tradition in Germany dating back to 1878. In this regard Sabine Heinz (2002: 301) notes: *Anfänge der Politisierung des Faches Keltologie finden sich bereits bei Heinrich Zimmer, der 1878 auf Mommsens Wirken hin eine Privatdozentur für Keltologie erhielt und 1901 die Professur. Kuno Meyer, Professor für Keltische Philologie in Berlin von 1911-1919, wurde im Ersten Weltkrieg als erster Keltologe - soweit bekannt - politisch direkt aktiv. Er engagierte sich als Wissenschaftler, als geistige Elite, politisch und nicht als Parteimitglied, das sich allein durch seine Zugehörigkeit zu einer Partei auf eine bestimmte Seite von Konfliktbeteiligten innerhalb der Gesellschaft stellt* (Heinz *ibid.*). *Diese Aussage trifft auch auf Pokorny zu [...]* (Heinz 2002: 301, fn. 63).

62 In this last instance see Heinz (1999: 5ff.).

63 In his assessment of the activities of German Celticists during the Third Reich, Lerchenmüller (KS 409) has this to say: *Die bruchstückhafte Überlieferung des Aktenmaterials und mangelnde Auskunftsfreudigkeit auf Seiten der Agierenden in der Nachkriegszeit machen es sehr schwer, Umfang und Struktur der Beziehungsmatrix zu bestimmen, die im Vorfeld und während des Zweiten Weltkrieges zwischen deutschen Keltologen, der SS, dem Sicherheitsdienst, der Abwehr, dem Auswärtigen Amt und dem Propagandaministerium entwickelt wurde. Die hier vorgelegten Informationen dürften indes hinreichend deutlich machen, wie sehr gerade im Bereich der deutschen Keltologie wissenschaftliche Arbeit und politisch-militärische Zielsetzungen miteinander verzahnt wurden. Unter der Regie von DGKS und Ahnenerbe wurde die Keltologie zur reinen Zweckwissenschaft. Dass der 'keltistische Kriegseinsatz' den Wissenschaftlern nicht aufgezwungen wurde, sondern vielmehr als Teil des wissenschaftspolitischen Programms der Diziplin angesehen wurde, der mit der Geschichte der deutschen Keltologie untrennbar verbunden war, machte wie kein anderer Leo Weisgerber deutlich, der bedeutendste unter Thurneysens Schülern:*

As it happened, the Conference seemed to clear the air. As a result, the earlier reluctance of Celticists to discuss the matter gradually disappeared. The consternation among some German colleagues on the issue mostly melted away. Today, the air is much fresher and younger Celticists, especially in Germany, are quite prepared to discuss matters openly, dispassionately, and without rancour.⁶⁴

3. Abbreviations

AE - Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office).	(Mac Mathúna & Ó Corráin 1997).
AO - Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP.	NS - Nationalsozialist / National Socialist.
AvH - Alexander von Humboldt (Stiftung).	NSDAP- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Nazi Party).
DAAD - Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst.	QUB - Queen's University Belfast.
DGKS - Deutsche Gesellschaft für keltische Studien.	RHSA - Reichsicherheitshauptamt.
DIAS - Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (here the School of Celtic Studies section).	SD - Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführer-SS (Himmler).
FLH - Folia Linguistica Historica.	Sipo - Sicherheitspolizei.
HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx.	SS - Schutzstaffel.
HSW - Das Hochschulwesen.	TCD - Trinity College Dublin.
HUB - Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.	TG4 - Teilifís na Gaeilge 4.
KS - Keltischer Sprengstoff (Lerchenmüller 1997).	UCD - University College Dublin.
MAI - Militärgeographische Angaben über Irland... (MAI 1941).	ZCP - Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
MCMHW - Miscellanea Celtica in Memoriam Heinrich Wagner	ZKPV - Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie und Volksforschung.

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"Während des [Ersten] Weltkrieges untersuchte R. Thurneysen in einer Rede über "Irland und England" die damalige Situation Irlands und er kam zu dem Ergebnis: "Das nächste Aussenfort (Irland) der feindlichen Festung (England) ist unterminiert und Sprengstoff genug vorhanden, aber von selber wird er sich nicht entladen. Wir müssen mit eigenen Händen die Zündschnur bis zu ihm hinführen, um ihn zur Explosion zu bringen [...]." Immerhin können wir aus dem Worte von der Zündschnur etwas entnehmen, was auch in einem anderen Sinne wichtig ist: nicht zuletzt deutsche Forscher waren es, die den keltischen Völkern im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts den Blick in ihre eigene Vergangenheit wiedereröffnet haben, die die Sprache der alten Denkmäler enträtselten, die von den Hochleistungen keltischer Kultur genauere Kunde erarbeiteten und die den Eigenwert dieser Schöpfungen zu seinem Recht brachten [...]. In diesem Sinne wird jeder Sachkenner es als eine Aufgabe von geschichtlicher Gerechtigkeit ansehen, auch für die anderen keltischen Völker solchen Zündstoff zu sammeln. Sind diese Werte gross genug und ist der Lebenswille noch ungebrochen, dann werden diese Völker selbst die Folgerungen daraus zu ziehen wissen. Und wie die keltischen Leistungen früherer Zeit vielen Völkern zugute gekommen sind, so wird aus einer freien Entfaltung der keltischen Eigenwerte auch das kommende Europa Anregung und Bereicherung gewinnen können" (Weisgerber 1941: 53-54, cf. also KS 410).

⁶⁴ Neither Schmidt nor Zimmer attended the Conference. I am grateful to Sabine Asmus (formerly Heinz), Szczecin / Leipzig, and Gerd Simon, Tübingen, for helpful comment in the preparation of this article. I take full responsibility for any remaining errors.

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