

Miriam Sénécheau

# **Archäologie im Schulbuch**

**Themen der Ur- und Frühgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen  
Lehrplanforderungen, Fachdiskussion und populären Geschichtsvorstellungen**

Schulbücher, Unterrichtsfilme, Kinder- und Jugendliteratur

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# English Summary

*Miriam Sénécheau*

## Archaeology in Textbooks

Representations of Pre- and Protohistory between the Contexts of Curricular Requirements,  
Science Expertise, and Popular Concepts of History

Schoolbooks, Educational Films, Children's and Youth Literature

### 1. Questions, Organization of the Text, Materials, Research Status

#### 1.1 Subject Matter and Questions

This investigation deals with pre- and protohistory in the current German curricula, schoolbooks, educational films and children's books. The study examines how the epochs from the Palaeolithic up to the Middle Ages are presented in the media to a young public, and how these depictions mirror the public reception of archaeology and the history of archaeological research. The study represents a qualitative analysis of the contents from an archaeological perspective.

Schoolbooks, educational films and children's books exhibit certain characteristics which qualify them particularly well as research material for the questions posed. Most of them were written or published by people who have not been educated in prehistoric archaeology, i.e. are not specialists in the field, coming from unrelated professional backgrounds. Yet the authors, at least in the case of schoolbooks and educational films, wish to meet the requirement of scientific conformity, i.e. to present up-to-date archaeological and historical knowledge. The media analysed reflect which results of scientific specialities the authors preferred to integrate in their depictions and how they obtained their information. The media compress knowledge for their target audience, i.e. children and adolescents, knowledge that is to be conveyed in a lively and interesting manner. Educational conceptions influence the selection and presentation of specialized knowledge in the media. Thus the latter are also a mirror of society, its interaction with history, or a reflection of the questions that society puts to history.

From an archaeological perspective, in the media under consideration a number of factual errors begging correction are initially obvious, ranging from grossly false information to incorrect details to common clichés. Error analysis and correction as well as identification of the cause of these factual errors thus constitutes an essential part of the work. This also involves identifying which false information and current popular images originate from the research history of the field itself, i.e. are scientific in origin. Furthermore, the attitude toward the topics of pre- and protohistory in the media studied clarifies the gaps in the communication of information which are not filled in Germany due to a scarcity of archaeological publications aimed at a wide public.

Textbooks, educational films and books for children and adolescents show how history is used and interpreted today and what role and function pre- and protohistory plays therein. They elucidate which results from this branch of science are assimilated by a part of the public (i.e. by the media producers) and in which form and in what manner they are processed for and pre-

sented to a specific public (youth). Archaeology as scientific discipline, history didactics as well as the influence of popular images of history result in a 'sphere of conflict' that provided the frame of reference for the analysis of the media.

## **1.2 Organization**

This work consists of a text volume (1), a catalogue volume (2) and a plate volume (3).

The **text volume** consists of three parts in addition to an introduction to the subject matter and questions posed: an introductory part pertaining to theoretical aspects and basic information relevant to the topic (I.); a main part with a subject-specific analysis of the research material (II.); and a final synoptic evaluation (III.).

Part I is concerned with the teaching of history in Germany in general, its goals, the incorporation of pre- and protohistory into history instruction, as well as the form, function and development of curricula (I.A). Furthermore, it deals with aspects of schoolbooks, schoolbook research and pre- and protohistory in schoolbooks (I.B.) as well as the medium of educational films in general (I.C.) and literature for children and adolescents (I.D.), followed by a summary (I.E.). The current research status of each is described within the individual sections I.A.-D.

Part II begins with an overview of the significance of pre- and early historical epochs in the media analysed (II.1), presents the results of individual epochs, from the Palaeolithic until the Merovingian Period (II.2-9) and considers aspects reaching across the epochs in four further chapters (II.10-13). Each of these chapters covers curricula (A.), schoolbooks (B.), educational films (C.) and literature for children and adolescents (D.) separately. The results of the individual studies are each summarized as the last part of a chapter (E.). The schoolbook analyses take up the most space (B.); they also include the critical comments on the state of research the media contain.

The **catalogue volume** contains extracts from curricula relevant to the study (A.) as well as descriptions of the contents, comments and further information on the media analysed (B. schoolbooks, C. educational films, D. literature for children and adolescents).

The **plate volume** contains reproductions of the media studied. Its organization corresponds to the succession of topics in Part II of the text volume. The plates are preceded by overviews of the media studied, with a key to the abbreviations used for them, as well as statistical tables and graphics pertaining to chapter II.1.

## **1.3 Materials**

The topics of pre- and protohistory are taught in Germany mostly at the beginning of regular history or social-studies classes in grades 5, 6 or 7; the pupils are between 11 and 14 years of age. The curricula of the various federal states and their specific school types determine the subject matter. The schoolbooks have to conform to the curricular contents and the teaching goals expressed. This fact necessitated the analysis of 31 curricula for this study (one to four for each state<sup>1</sup>). Familiarity with the curricula, as this study shows, is an important prerequisite for judging the contents of schoolbooks, since the source of much information considered false from an archaeological viewpoint can already be located in the curricula.

### *1. Questions, Organization of the Text, Materials, Research Status*

In Germany, schoolbooks are subject to authorization: only those schoolbooks which have been authorized by the individual states' ministries of education come onto the market. During the approval procedure they are tested with respect to curricular conformity as well other – principally didactic and ethical – criteria. Current historical didactics makes great demands on history teaching, setting goals of basic proficiency (professional and methodological expertise, social and self-competence, as well as decision-making and responsibility). The subject matter is chosen with an eye to communication of these competences; historical topics are reduced in scope and simplified, keeping the target audience in mind. It is imperative to take this into account when scientifically evaluating schoolbooks from an archaeological perspective.

The 47 schoolbooks which were examined date from 1991 to 2003. They are part of 25 educational series published for specific states and adapted for special types of schools (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium* and similar secondary-school types). This is a representative choice from a programme of ten different publishers and a total of about 120 schoolbooks simultaneously authorized in Germany in 2003 for teaching 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> graders.

History and social studies books are currently edited in Germany by author collectives. The authors (mostly teachers, history instructors at universities or colleges or teacher trainers) have usually studied history didactics and have had a number of years of experience in schools or in the training of teachers. Thus they write the schoolbook chapters on pre- and protohistory as 'strangers' with regard to their archaeological background. Cooperation between schoolbook authors and archaeologists is rare.

The 56 films under consideration were produced between 1984 and 2003 (except for unaltered new versions of films from the 1970s). These are films produced especially for instruction in Germany and made available to teachers via media centres. They are seldom longer than 20 minutes and contain supplemental information sheets. Most of the films come from the producers WBF and FWU,<sup>2</sup> which are specialized in instructional media. In these productions, sequences which have been excerpted and adapted from television documentaries are often used. The authors of the scripts and supplementary material have different educational backgrounds; they are pedagogues, historians or journalists, and, sometimes, archaeologists.

The analysis covers 72 books for children and adolescents, originally published in German between 1980 and 2003. They are novels or stories (but not textbooks for young people) on topics relating to European pre- and protohistory. This media group has the largest scope of communicative intent (entertainment, information or both) as well as personal backgrounds of the authors (writers, teachers, historians, archaeologists).

Within the media group analysed various correlations exist: the curricula establish the minimum of schoolbook subject matter; some curricula recommend educational films and books for young people; many schoolbooks contain excerpts from literature for young adults; young people's books are also recommended in supplementary material to the films.

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<sup>1</sup> All curricula representative of the schoolbooks analysed were examined; the most recent curriculum concerned is dated 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Their films on pre- and protohistory were included in their entirety; furthermore, the analysed films represent the entire collection at the media centres in Baden-Württemberg.

## 1.4 Research Status

The presentation of archaeological topics in educational media constitutes a field often overlooked, not only by historical didactics but also by schoolbook research and pre- and protohistory. The few studies edited and published by archaeologists are mostly short and the result of a rather marginal occupation by the author with the topic.

One exception is the monograph ", "Pre- and Protohistory as an Educational Task"<sup>3</sup>, published in 2005. In spite of its scientific-archaeological research basis, its emphasis is nevertheless on a didactical judgement of current history schoolbooks. Due to various characteristics of the medium, educational films are traditionally granted special didactic importance for history instruction. Yet there are still no archaeological studies on educational films. Until now, historical stories in the realm of books for children and adolescents as a medium for teaching history have rather represented a field of history-teaching research, partially of children's literature research as well. Thus archaeological questions were seldom pursued.

The present study seeks to close the gaps in past research on the part of archaeology. Since scientific schoolbook criticism is always reproached for not taking the interests of technical didactics sufficiently into account, this study includes historical-didactic and theoretical aspects (Part I of the text volume; curriculum analyses in Part II; and curriculum synopsis in Catalogue A.), in order to confront the media against this background from an archaeological perspective (Part II and Catalogues B.-C.).

## 2. General Results

### 2.1 Relevance of Pre- and Protohistory in the Media

Pre- and protohistory are basically anchored in all curricula with at least one of their epochs. Regularly required are, above all, the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic as well as the Roman Period. The other epochs appear less often, the Mesolithic never.

**Incidence of Epochs and Topics in the 31 Curricula Studied**

Epochs und Topics in Curricula	required	optional	percentage of curricula that mention the topic
Palaeolithic Period	29	2	100 %
Neolithic Period	29	2	100 %
Bronze Age and Iron Age <sup>4</sup>	14	2	52 %
Roman Period: Germanic Peoples	15	6	68 %
Roman Period: Romans in the Provinces	22	5	87 %
Migration and Merovingian Period	14	3	55 %

In schoolbooks, treatment of pre- and early historical themes takes up an average of 40.8 pages. These pages represent just a third of those dealing with the history of the Palaeolithic to the beginning of the early Middle Ages. The remaining two-thirds are devoted to descriptions of early civilizations and classical antiquity. Within the chapters on the beginnings of history until the early Middle Ages (on the average, 150 pages), the description of individual pre- and protohistorical epochs sometimes marginal; the Bronze Age, for example, occupies only 1% of

<sup>3</sup> Gaedtke-Eckardt, *Urgeschichte als Bildungsauftrag*.

<sup>4</sup> Often the curricula refer to the 'Metal Age' without differentiating between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

## 2. General Results

the general framework.

The 40.8 pages on pre- and protohistory are spread unequally among the individual epochs. The schoolbooks devote an average of 10.4 pages to the Palaeolithic, for example, but only 6.6 to the Neolithic; 1.3 to the Bronze Age; and 2.6 to the Iron Age. The treatment of Roman history (on the average, 9.1 pages) takes up nearly as much space as that of the Palaeolithic. Apart from these two average values, the actual situation in the schoolbooks exhibits a marked disparity: between 4 and 18 pages for the Palaeolithic; 0 to 7 for the Bronze Age; and between 0 and 8 for the Germanic peoples during the Roman Period. Thus, the schoolbooks mirror, on the one hand, the divergent relevance of topics in the various curricula of the states and, on the other, a certain freedom on the part of the authors and publishers to exceed the required minimum of subject matter.

**Percentage and Frequency of Epochs and Topics in the 47 Textbooks Studied**

Epochs and Topics in Textbooks	average page number (of 40.8 on pre- and protohistory)	pages in % (of 40.8)	minimum and maximum page number	percentage of schoolbooks that mention the topic
Palaeolithic Period	10,4	25,5%	4-18	100%
Neolithic Period	6,6	16,2%	2-17	100%
Modern Foraging People <sup>5</sup>	0,9	2,2%	0-8	45%
Bronze Age	1,3	3,2%	0-7	70%
Iron Age: Celts	2,6	6,4%	0-7	83%
Roman Period: Germanic Peoples	1,7	4,2%	0-8	60%
Roman Empire: Romans in the Provinces	9,1	22,3%	0-20	98%
Migration and the Merovingian Period	3,7	9,1%	0-12	72%
Other	4,2	10,3%	0-12	94%

The educational films are spread relatively equally among all epochs. One peculiarity is the great number of films dealing with the Romans in the provinces. This is most probably due to the fact that Roman ruins are more conspicuous and easier to "grasp" than archaeological traces of other epochs, so that it seems simpler to make a comprehensible and colourful film on Roman themes.

The distribution in children's books focuses, as in the curricula and schoolbooks, on the Palaeolithic. In addition, the many stories about the Iron Age are remarkable, reflecting the popularity of, in particular, the Celts among the broad public. There are no novels dealing with the Germanic peoples separately from the Romans, and vice versa. The interest of authors in this period focuses mostly on a description of Roman-Germanic (or Roman-Celtic) contacts.

**Distribution of Epochs and Topics in the 56 Educational Films and 72 Children's Books Studied**

Epochs and Topics in Films and in Books for Children and Adolescents	number of films	% (of 56)	number of children's books	in % (of 72)
Palaeolithic Period	6	11%	18	25%
Neolithic Period	7	13%	8	11%
Stone Ages in General	4	7%	4	6%
Bronze Age	2	4%	4	6%
Iron Age: Celts	5	9%	15	21%
Roman Period: Germanic Peoples	3	5%	12	17%
Roman Period: Romans in the Provinces	18	32%		
Migration Period	6	11%	3	4%
Merovingian Period	1	2%	5	7%
Archaeology in General	4	7%	3	4%

<sup>5</sup> Almost half of the schoolbooks contain information about the life of modern foraging people (so-called 'primitive peoples'), which is compared with life in the Stone Ages.

## **2.2 Sources of information and illustrations used by the authors**

Schoolbook authors and film producers make little use of scientific literature in their media. If they do have recourse to scientific publications, they draw mostly on exhibition catalogues and illustrations from museums for their information and graphics. Additionally, they use primarily sources like the press, children's books, popular-science textbooks and pedagogical material. The origin of their information is often only indirectly accessible via illustration copyrights and the bibliography of the texts cited in the schoolbook. The ancient world written sources in the schoolbooks are not taken by the authors from primary scholarly text editions but mainly from other (popular-scientific or didactic) publications.

The scenic tableaux of everyday life and technical reconstruction drawings were not prepared primarily for schoolbooks, but come instead from other instructive media (popular-scientific books, children's books, archaeological books aimed at a broad public), or from motifs copied from the former. The originals upon which they are based sometimes date back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As observed in scientific publications, a kind of 'archaeology of picture motifs' can be carried out, exposing a chain of picture traditions. In particular the very colourful and life-like reconstructions of former depictions of history live on in new pictures.

Educational films are often shot in museums and open-air museums. Many an exhibition can have been the inspiration for producing a film. The films aim at presenting individual findings as well as life-like reconstructions: scenic tableaux of everyday life; dioramas; life-size replicas, etc. When museums serve as sites of films, this does not automatically mean that scientific experts have been consulted during production. Thus museums seem to be more a background for film production than a source of information. Scientists interviewed in films often serve only as diversion between pictures, commentary and direct quote. The influence of television documentaries on the production of educational films should not be underestimated. The cutting and pasting of already available film material generally entails a minimum of productive effort, so that the school-film producers hardly need to do any historical research.

All kinds of literature are mentioned in the supplementary material for films; the value of scientific literature is not especially great. Often the references are out-dated. Here, as with schoolbooks, improvements could be made by making scientific literature available to the special target group of instructors.

Authors of children's books have divergent informational foundations; this depends in part on the goal of the stories and the educational background of the individual authors. Many authors, like, for example, Gabriele Beyerlein or Arnulf Zitelmann, did extensive research; they incorporated archaeological publications by scientists, and contacted experts. Other authors may get the information that is integrated into the tale from such sources as their 'general knowledge', children's books or the press. A visit to an exhibition may have provided the idea for a setting or theme of a novel, just as catalogues of large special exhibitions may also have contributed to research. Very often, ruins in the region in which the author lives can serve as a setting.

In the media studied, and considered in their entirety, there are rarely references to specific scientific publications. Especially apparent is the subordinate role that archaeological findings play compared to that of written sources in the reconstruction of bygone cultures. As soon as written sources for the epoch in question are available, authors incorporate much more intensively information gained from ancient reports rather than archaeological results into their accounts.

### 2.3 Characteristics of the Media with Regard to Topic Selection

In schoolbooks, as a result of curricular requirements, primarily topics that trace the larger developmental steps in human history play a role. Schoolbooks pose questions aimed at understanding the present on the basis of the past. They thereby partially select other topics than research does. Due to the meagre sources, division of labour, the role of the sexes, and social structures in the Palaeolithic, for example, do not rank among the problems intensively discussed in science.

With respect to the choice of concrete findings and results, schoolbook chapters on pre- and protohistory are scarcely international; they concentrate on archaeological sources predominantly from Germany. Only for individual topics (e.g. evolution) or as an example of outstanding witnesses to human history (e.g. cave paintings) do they resort to locations of finds in other European regions or other parts of the world. Furthermore, in many schoolbook editions for specific federal states, there is an obvious effort to include historical evidence from the local area, in accordance with an important didactic principle.

Educational films focus their attention more on choice findings and find complexes (e.g. 'Neanderthal Man', 'Glacier Man', 'The Prince of Hochdorf', 'The Varus Battle' or 'the digging at Kalkriese'). Colourfully presented history in open-air museums and in the form of archaeological performances play an important role. Films ask questions above all about the life and daily routines of human beings and about scientific research on these topics. Films contain a great deal of material comprising re-enacted scenes and animated models, thus bringing the past to life for the observer.

Books for children and adolescents embed fictitious individual fates in pre- and early-historical contexts. Authors of children's books like to select topics which clearly show the differences between two cultures, or depict inter-human conflicts or personal paths of life. The epoch selected serves as an exciting setting, the strangeness of which is supposed to, or can, fascinate the reader. When concrete archaeological finds and find complexes are integrated, the sources are usually exceptional, well preserved or particularly well documented, whereby children's books are significantly more 'international' in their choice of sites than schoolbooks are. With regard to the epochs considered, children's books on the Celts represent a core topic, a fact which proves the special popularity of the Celts among the general public.

Photographs in schoolbooks as well as the material in school films show a preference for exceptional, i.e. particularly valuable or beautiful findings. This choice conforms to most archaeological exhibitions and illustrated books, which, likewise, focus on aesthetics and preciousness. However if, as required by the curricula, teaching is to focus primarily on the everyday life of a large population, evidence of everyday life of bygone epochs ought to be selected more often. With respect to this, children's books represent an important supplement since, due to better possibilities of identification, the life of human beings in general, especially that of children, is the focus of attention.

### 2.4 Depiction and Function of Archaeology as Science in the Media Studied

Archaeology as a science gains in significance in the context of methodical learning. Archaeology is introduced in schoolbooks and curricula as 'the science of exploring the past'. Archae-

ology, together with its working methods, is described mostly factually. Thereby, 'discovery stories' about particular finds are often told and in this manner, personified contexts are established. Furthermore, these usually involve the discovery of human remains (Lucy, Turkana Boy, Neanderthal Man, Glacier Man, Girl from Windeby). Among the working methods described, natural scientific rather than archaeological classic methods predominate.

With regard to the presentation of archaeology and archaeologists, educational films, unlike schoolbooks, emphasize suspense, adventure and sensation. Current excavations (and the discovery of treasures or sensational finds) are often documented. However, in many cases it would be possible to go into more detail about concrete working methods, since the film medium is particularly suitable for this purpose. Experimental archaeology and museums' pedagogical activities are often the setting for, or main topic of, films on archaeology. 'Living history' seems to be more alluring than 'studied history'.

In children's books, archaeology provides an element of excitement, where individual stories simultaneously offer very colourful depictions of everyday archaeology, for example, at the site of an excavation. Two authors, who are not archaeologists, had participated in excavations themselves before writing their books.

### **3. General Problems in the Presentation of Pre- and Early History**

#### **3.1 Interpretations of History: Progress, Gender-Specific Division of Labour, Professions**

In the school media, as a rule, the epochs from the Palaeolithic until the Iron Age serve to describe the evolution in everyday life and important developmental steps in human society. Schoolbooks and educational films fundamentally present the course of history as a progress, a fact that greatly influences the description of material culture and coexistence. Thus, by their mode of coverage, the descriptions reflect and support a belief in progress that is rooted in our Western society. They point out how 'man', by creating culture, has elevated himself above nature, which is hostile to him, becoming increasingly independent of it; how he continually simplifies his life through technical inventions ('always better tools') and thus develops the prerequisites for the social structures of society. In the process, human social life progresses from 'horde' to 'clan' to 'tribe'. 'Primitive peoples' of today would have remained at the 'Stone Age stage of development' and can thus serve as a comparative example of Stone Age life. These interpretations of history date back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to various scientific theories that are closely linked to the societal contexts from which they come. They have also left traces in archaeological research, so that not only popular-science versions of history are responsible for the extensive circulation of these ideas.

As a result of the use of their catchwords and explanations, the media studied here, especially curricula, schoolbooks and school films, strengthen the popular idea that gender differences stem from a gender-specific division of labour that already evolved prehistorically, a separation of roles supposedly adapted to biological requirements. They describe, for example, the man as a hunter and toolmaker; the woman as a gatherer, 'housewife' keeping the fire and children (Palaeolithic); the man as responsible for the heavy fieldwork or house construction, and the woman as a weaver and cook (New Stone Age), etc. Scenic portrayals of life emphasize these

### 3. General Problems in the Presentation of Pre- and Early History

clichés and do not take into account (in company with numerous scientific publications) that these role models have their roots in the middle-class world views of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archaeological and ethnographic investigations, on the other hand, permit few conclusions and display, instead, a great variance in conceivable role models.

Particularly the school media focus – for all epochs – on the description of activities related to procurement of food and to craftsmanship up to the description of 'professions' in pre- and early history. Together with the often dominating aspects of technological history, our current appraisal of work and technology as important attributes of 'Western civilisation' is obvious here, and is carried over to prehistory.

For these topics and interpretations, controversial from an archaeological point of view, catchwords in the curricula like 'horde', 'clan', 'progress', 'division of labour' or 'professions' are often responsible. Criticism of instructional media must therefore begin with the criticism of curricula as well as of traditional views of history.

#### 3.2 Anachronisms and Factual Errors

The media studied, particularly the schoolbooks, contain a number of anachronisms. This applies especially to descriptions and illustrations of material culture. Thus, objects from different periods of time appear in the same picture, or finds from one epoch serve to illustrate texts concerning another epoch. With illustrations, unspecified units of measurement and the intermixing of objects which have been portrayed using different measurement units present further problems. Anachronisms are also to be found in some children's books, for example in stories that do not differentiate between the Palaeo-, Meso- and Neolithic, combining their elements into a 'Stone Age'. Here, traces of the Three-Age System (Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age) are obvious, which have left its mark on the public view of prehistory.

Schoolbooks and supplementary material for films contain numerous minor factual errors: mistakes in dating, incorrect use of archaeological technical terms, mistaken terminology for objects, inaccurate descriptions of archaeological methods, over-interpretation of archaeological sites and finds in didactic contexts, errors of detail in the illustrations done by archaeological laypersons. Errors of this kind could easily have been avoided by working together with archaeologists.

The problem of anachronisms is less marked in films, since they concentrate on specific epochs, finds or events. Factual errors are also less common, perhaps because limiting oneself to particular topics facilitates research. Problems do occur especially in films from the seventies that were brought out again in the nineties and thereby represent an outdated research status. Numerous mistakes are generally to be found in supplementary material for films, mostly prepared by educators and not by the screen-play authors. The information sheets contain misinterpretations of film content in favour of a historical-didactic view or ideas about history espoused by the educators or the general public.

Novels and stories in books for children and adolescents are not subject to the same criticism by specialists as schoolbooks and educational films are. Whereas the latter have been produced explicitly for imparting knowledge and claim a solid informative foundation, authors of children's books permit themselves poetic licence in order to create exciting and entertaining story for their readers. Certain clichés are found in these books more often than in schoolbooks and

educational films, either due to a lack of factual knowledge or because the authors, wishing to fulfil possible expectations the topic has generated in readers, are willing to put up with factual errors. Some authors use pre- and early history simply as a more or less fictional setting, especially when a journey in time is involved. Many other authors aim at conveying knowledge about history. In this case the quality of the books varies significantly; some authors, especially archaeologists and historians, incorporate a great number of accurate details into, what ends up becoming a rather boring story. Archaeological laypersons are able to integrate a great deal of information into an exciting story, but sometimes make numerous serious factual errors in the process. Only few authors are successful in combining entertainment with factual accuracy.

### **3.3 Activity-Oriented Instruction**

The curricula suggest teaching activity-oriented history: experimenting with handicraft techniques and constructing copies of objects or models of settlements. Schoolbooks contain corresponding suggestions which are sometimes problematic, since they need to be adapted to the limited possibilities available in a classroom, with respect to the choice of activity and materials. Thus students often work distant from the historical situation (painting animals on paper, for example, does not approximate cave painting on rock walls). Some directions for activities are so far simplified that certain experiments cannot possibly succeed (for example, for the production of ceramics). In other cases, the authors apparently are not aware of the complexity of many techniques involved (as in the steps needed to fabricate a hand axe) or the length of time necessary (as in the grinding of flour using a millstone and muller like in the Neolithic). With regard to these points, museums, through their pedagogical offers, provide a more authentic framework than a classroom for activities of this kind.

The historical-didactic interest in re-enacted and thus experienceable history is mirrored by the significant role that museum pedagogy and experimental archaeology play in the educational films analysed.

### **3.4 Archaeology and the Politically Motivated Construction of Identities**

Topics from pre- and early history have been used at all times in recent history as a justification for political ideas, especially in schoolbooks. The analysis of current German schoolbooks showed that archaeology in the framework of scholastic education still serves to propagate political guidelines or at least reflects political influences. One must distinguish grounds for identification which are connected to region, nation, Europe or the world, especially in curricula and schoolbooks, i.e. in requirements and in media influenced by the ministries.

As a result of the instrumentalisation of history during the Third Reich, identification with the nation seems to have been replaced by regionalism, which focuses on the 'homeland region' of the student for which the schoolbook was conceived. One could argue that, by relating to the concrete environment of the student, essentially a didactic principle is being applied; nevertheless, teaching 'love of homeland' is also a political guideline in some curricula primarily of the conservatively governed federal states (with corresponding characteristics in schoolbooks, especially for *Hauptschulen* [general education secondary schools]).

#### 4. Results for the Individual Epochs

Identification with the nation remains – at least unconsciously – an important reference base in schoolbooks for the choice of examples of archaeological finds. The finds, especially those from early history, rarely originate from other countries, even when non-German finds would fit the topic; for example, for the Celts, who are sometimes considered as the first Europeans or 'our predecessors in Europe'.

Europe plays a role in the representation of different pre- and early historical themes, for example in the description of people and peoples as 'Europeans' or as 'our predecessors in Europe' with the clear goal of creating a common European identity or at least of illustrating it. One focal point is on Roman history. Here, the schoolbooks now compare the Roman Empire with the European Union and point out the 'roots of European culture'. The new image of the *limes* reflects the change in attitude toward inner European borders, and the cohabitation of different cultures in the Roman Empire often serves as an example of the up-to-date topic of the integration of immigrants into a society.

With respect to evolution, the focus is on the world, on the origins of modern humans in Africa, whereby the schoolbooks advance the idea of a global, multi-ethnic society.

The examples comply with current educational guidelines. In most cases, the problem is that what the findings have to say about this is exaggerated, i.e. sources are consciously interpreted in specific ways. Thus the question arises of whether the use of historical topics for political purposes is legitimate. The goals are different from those of nationalism or National Socialism, but the principle of political misappropriation of archaeology is similar, especially where the establishment of a common European identity (replacing the idea of the nation) is concerned.

## 4. Results for the Individual Epochs

### 4.1 Palaeolithic

The Stone Age periods often comprise a thematic unit in the curricula and schoolbooks. For purposes of didactic reduction, the Mesolithic is seldom treated; it is the least well-known epoch in the media studied.

Schoolbooks emphasize the hunting and collecting activities of Palaeolithic man, his tool making, art and religion. With regard to material culture, many schoolbooks do not sufficiently differentiate between various periods within the Palaeolithic, each with its own kinds of tools. Usually this is a result of simplifications for educational purposes. From the view of experts, a widely used cliché can be criticized: the notion of hunting with bow and arrow already in the Palaeolithic. The bow and arrow is a weapon typical of the Middle Stone Age; the majority of archaeological laypersons, however, apparently consider it as belonging to the Palaeolithic. Schoolbooks reinforce this erroneous impression by illustrating texts about hunting in the Palaeolithic with rock art from the Spanish Levant, which are much more recent.

A widely spread concept interprets cave paintings as proof of a hunting-magic cult. Many schoolbooks attempt to support this thesis by referring to cave art with hunting scenes or with weapons. Unequivocal hunting scenes on cave paintings are, however, unknown for the Palaeolithic, and, according to an analysis of animal-bone finds, the animals shown on the walls do not represent animals hunted at that time. The idea of a hunting-magic cult goes back to older ideas based on science (ethnology, archaeology), which have become part of the history of science.

As far as hunting is concerned, schoolbook representations focus on big-game hunting; the films even show dioramas and re-enactments. Many schoolbooks still pass down (in pictures and texts) the *idée reçue* of the mammoth hunt using traps. The media generally do not deal with the hunting of small animals and the significance of collecting for food. There can be different reasons for this: Is a popular cliché being used because of a lack of information on the part of the author, or is this a case of didactic reduction? One argument certainly plays a role: the big-game hunt is more spectacular and can supposedly better spark young people's interest in the epochs.

The typical big-game hunter is, according to the media, Neanderthal Man. In the media, a change can be observed from the traditional 'dumb savage' to the 'man like you and me'. Only a few children's books, e.g. those from the realm of science fiction, as well as the oldest film from 1973 contain obsolete representations of his character and lifestyle. The accounts of the past 20 years show a stepwise modification of the Neanderthal cliché toward the picture of an intelligent, sensitive being, extremely well adapted to his environment. This new image is being propagated by different museums (like the Mettmann Neanderthal Museum, which is also the source of most of the illustrations in the recent schoolbooks) as well as by the public media (television documentaries, scientific magazines). In this context, public interest seems to be served by a new fascination generated by the new technological opportunities offered by science (e.g. DNA analyses.) The 'modern Neanderthal' is thereby virtually developing into a new myth, leading to erroneous associations in the media: they attribute to Neanderthal Man, for example, wide-spread specific burial rituals (originally a scientific thesis, meanwhile disputed) or hunting with bow and arrow (this being an anachronism; see above).

The popular cliché of the caveman has been replaced today by images of life under shelters or tents. The sites most often mentioned in the media are the settlements at Gönnersdorf and Bilzingsleben. Here, a good publication state facilitates the very good incorporation of scientific results in schoolbooks (with photographs, diagrams, plans, reconstructions and informative texts).

## 4.2 Neolithic

The Neolithic is a mandatory topic in almost all curricula and part of all schoolbooks. The latter address in particular settling down, farming, inventions in the realm of material culture, developments in society as well as religious aspects. These topics are to be seen as a direct continuation of the depictions of the Palaeolithic, since many descriptions evaluate 'progress' and fundamental changes compared to previous epochs. The dominant idea is that man, through agriculture and animal breeding, has liberated himself from a meagre existence shaped by hunger, and now leads a much easier life.

This 'progress perspective' often leads to erroneous interpretations of material culture; the meaning of certain innovations is overestimated, while simultaneously a differentiation with respect to their appearance within the Neolithic periods is totally lacking. Under the heading 'inventions' in schoolbooks, the bow drill is particularly conspicuous. It is stereotypically shown on reconstructive drawings based on models dating back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Even at that time these pictures were produced without any explicit proof of the existence of such a drill. The 'progress perspective' is further manifested in descriptions of societal struc-

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tures. Schoolbooks refer (even for linear pottery cultures) to the first hierarchies and professions, over-interpreting thereby the archaeological source material.

An antiquated research status is encountered especially in erroneous dating for the beginning of the Neolithic for which the schoolbooks do not differentiate sufficiently between the Near East and Europe or between the various European regions. Archaeologically defined cultural groups are equated with ethnic groups, as was common in New-Stone-Age research until recently; for example, terms like 'the linear-ceramic people' are used. Very often megalithic buildings are described as proof of a 'megalithic culture' or of a 'megalithic people'. The subject of the megaliths in schoolbooks reveals an interesting discovery: only one federal state refers to it in a curriculum; yet half of the schoolbooks treat the topic. This attests, in my opinion, to the importance of megalithic buildings in the public's view of history, where the megaliths are so closely associated with pre- and protohistory that the schoolbook authors automatically place the topic in the chapters on the Neolithic.

The texts and figures (plans or reconstructions) for specific settlements are often still geared to the results of the Köln-Lindenthal excavation. This is an 'old dig' of the archaeologists Buttler and Haberey from the 1930s; by using this example the schoolbooks still disseminate old interpretations of linear-ceramic settlements. Just as popular are the results which were published about Çatal Hüyük by Mellaart in the 1970s. Here, interpretational problems also arose; these could be bypassed by taking up more recent research projects (e.g. the Aldenhoven Plateau).

The example of the 'Glacier Man', found in half of the schoolbooks analysed, shows that finds which have gained popularity through the press or television can find their way into accounts quickly and without curricular requirements. Some factual errors make clear that descriptions are based primarily on non-scientific publications, e.g. on newspaper reports, because here the spread of information via media reports occurred more quickly and widely than through scientific literature or the museum that was opened relatively late.

The 'Glacier Man' is also a popular topic for educational films, which integrate a substantial amount of graphic material taken from television documentaries. In addition, for films, 'living history' is important in the form of re-enactment and archaeo-technical demonstrations, as at open-air museums like the 'lake dwellings' in Unteruhldingen. The errors and problems encountered are mostly the same as those found in schoolbooks.

The few children's books available on the Neolithic centre mostly on the subject of 'Glacier Man'. The books can be divided into three groups: Some of the stories about life in the Neolithic are told factually, differentially and in a lively manner and offer a great deal of information, like one book in which the author – in contrast to most schoolbooks and films – deals critically with the topic 'progress'. Another group consists of many clichés and misrepresentations, like those found in schoolbooks and films. The third group contains stories that do not differentiate between the Old-, Middle- and New Stone periods, lumping the elements of material culture of these epochs together under the heading 'Stone Age'.

### **4.3 Bronze Age**

The Bronze Age plays hardly any role in the media studied. In the curricula, it does not constitute a teaching unit, and schoolbooks devote only a few pages to it, if at all. There are only two

educational films from 1973 and 1974 about it, and only four children's books in a total of 72 analysed.

The schoolbooks limit their focus, as do the curricula, on metallurgy, i.e. on technological progress, and with the social consequences related to metalwork. This results in a very one-sided picture of the Bronze Age, which ignores the everyday life of people as well as questions of archaeological Bronze Age research. Outdated research status dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be observed in some reconstruction drawings (of copper mining). Some schoolbooks link 'Germanic' heroic sagas with the Bronze Age, thereby complying with ideas of the Romantic Period and of nationalism and National Socialism, which apparently still represent a part of the public's view of history.

The educational films approach concrete archaeology much more closely and are more informative than the schoolbooks. They ought to be replaced because of their age (they are produced in 1973 and 1974). The supplementary information sheets partially turn the contents of the films into one-sided statements, more appropriate for the paradigms progress, division of labour, etc.

The four children's books greatly enrich the image of the Bronze Age, since they elucidate completely different topics and facets than the educational media do. They investigate everyday life more deeply, depict religious aspects and contain more concrete examples of finds than the other media do. The obvious focus on life in lake dwellings is remarkable, a topic that is (often briefly) mentioned in schoolbooks in the context of the Neolithic.

#### 4.4 Iron Age: The Celts

In the majority of curricula and schoolbooks the Iron Age builds a thematic unit with the Bronze Age, combined as the 'Metal Age'. The prevalent interest by the media is in metal as a new material. The Celts appear solely in guidelines for the southern and southwestern federal states and thus predominantly in their respective schoolbooks. The contents focus on accounts of iron processing, on 'princely seats' (e.g. Hochdorf) as well as on *oppida* (e.g. Manching). They appraise the information in a line of technical progress having its seeds in the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age evolution of artefacts.

Expert criticism of all three media groups applies to the following problems: the media mirror the wide-spread notion that the Celts were 'a people' of identical heritage, language and culture. They mix the elements of the Hallstatt and the La Tène periods. In their description of the Celts, the authors often blindly borrow from ancient texts and in this way pass on Greek and Roman clichés. Terms like 'princes' und 'princely seats' tempt many authors to create pictures of daily life in this epoch based on the Middle Ages. Popular portrayals of history originating in research history of the 18th and 19th centuries are seized upon, especially in schoolbooks, when the supposed continuation into the present of 'Celtic traditions' or 'Celtic languages' stemming from the ancient Celts is involved.

Archaeological material culture is represented especially by high-ranking finds, above all by rich grave furnishings like those of the 'Celtic prince' at Hochdorf. Many accounts of archaeological methods (excavating, dating, restoring) are based on this example and thereby reflect the rather marked influence of the exhibition "Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf: Methoden und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie"<sup>2</sup> or the exhibition catalogue (1985). Unlike the schoolbooks,

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<sup>2</sup> "The Celtic Prince of Hochdorf – Methods and Results of State Archaeology".

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the films and novels incorporate important find locations in regions outside of Germany.

#### **4.5 Roman Period: The Germanic Peoples**

The Germanic peoples of the Roman Period are normally not treated as a separate topic in the curricula, schoolbooks or novels for young people; rather, they are portrayed in the general context of the Roman Empire and in accounts of Roman history or Roman-Germanic confrontations. This fact is remarkable, if one considers the comparatively great importance attributed to the Germanic people in the political and moral education of Germany in the first half of the 20th century. Only two educational films portray everyday Germanic life without discussing the Romans as well.

In general, the media concentrate on the everyday life of the Germanic peoples, influenced greatly by ancient texts. In particular, Tacitus' 'Germania' serves as a basic source for the description of the Germanic people themselves, their way of life and societal organization; sagas from the Middle Ages serve (as they already did in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) as sources of information about 'Germanic religion.' Knowledge gained from ancient texts usually eludes critical analysis. Archaeology, which in some cases could be helpful as a corrective on some topics or popular clichés, is represented either scarcely or not at all; the Germanic people appear to be considered a historical rather than archaeological topic. An almost ubiquitous absence of concrete archaeological findings from the epochs in question can be observed in the schoolbooks and novels, except for descriptions of settlement types (based on finds by Feddersen Wierde) or photographs of bog bodies or finds. Material culture in the form of originals could be included in all presentations more often than before. If archaeological objects are considered in schoolbooks as illustrations in the chapters on the Germanic peoples, these examples stem from different periods: from the Bronze Age and the Roman Empire to Merovingian Period to the High Middle Ages – almost everything is used, independent of the date. This is evocative of the scientific and popular notion of 'Germanic culture' in romanticism, nationalism or National Socialism.

The problems described can be explained in part by the reticence of research with respect to the 'Germanic topic' after it was exploited by the National Socialists. Up-to-date accounts of the current status of research, directed at a broad public and available to the public as a source of information, are lacking.

#### **4.6 Roman Period: The Romans in the Provinces**

Roman history in the provinces north of the Alps is part of all curricula. It is either a teaching unit within all of Roman history or is a self-sufficient unit, representative of all of ancient Roman history. The films on the Romans in the provinces comprise the largest group of the didactic films studied here. The schoolbooks and films address in particular everyday life in the provinces. Agricultural aspects and technological achievements in building, illustrated by many examples of monuments, are characterized as 'advanced' elements of Roman 'civilization'. The newest schoolbooks and films contain sections on excavations at Kalkriese, the supposed site of the Varus Battle.

Amongst other things, the schoolbooks deal with the contacts between the Romans and the

indigenous peoples (described as less civilized), speak of their assimilation and of the Romanisation of the provinces. In this context, the Germanic peoples are traditionally ascribed the role of martial enemies and as a threat to Roman culture. The perspective of the subordinate peoples is seldom shown, nor the possibility of cultural transfer in both directions.

Particularly remarkable in the past ten years is the change in the image of the *limes*, from a 'bastion against the barbarians' with a long, closed border into a peopled (especially by traders) site with open passages and trade of merchandise. These developments reflect, in my opinion, a new picture of the increasingly permeable borders within today's European Union, where peace and cultural exchange are granted particular importance. And it is probably not by chance that economy and trade play so significant a role in recent reconstruction drawings of the *limes*.

Whereas the films concentrate on Roman life without mentioning the everyday life of the non-Romanised peoples, the children's books analysed always picture encounters of different peoples, either in the context of the Varus Battle, the Batavar Revolt or Germanic 'migratory movements'. Aside from a few exceptions, most stories contain evaluatory comparisons between the life of the 'barbarians' and the 'civilized' Roman culture. In this way, these books – like the schoolbooks – pass on the clichés and evaluations already present in ancient descriptions.

#### 4.7 Late Antiquity and Migration Period

Late Antiquity and the Migration Period appear in the curricula as headwords in the context of Roman history. The schoolbooks primarily describe the end of the Germanic *limes* and the so-called invasion of the barbarians. Above all, they convey the notion that the Roman Empire perished as a result of external menaces.

In the schoolbooks, educational films and children's books, the 'Migration Period' is described in the traditional manner as movements of entire peoples. Maps and stories emphasize these popular clichés, which originate in ancient historiography.

The educational films use archaeological finds more frequently than the schoolbooks do. The function of the finds is to illustratively support the clichés pertaining to the Migration Period (especially in two school films that draw on a television documentary as a source of material). Two other films on the Huns break with traditional presentations and offer information that is in accord with state-of-the-art research. One of these was produced in cooperation with a leading historian.

#### 4.8 Merovingian Period

The Merovingian Period is an epoch that is neglected in the media studied. A few curricula, especially for southern Germany, evoke as topics bearing regional reference certain early Middle Age *gentes* (the Alemanni, Baiuvarii, Franks). Many curricula and schoolbooks leap from the Migration Period directly to Charlemagne. Some mention the rule of Theoderich in Italy (a topic that serves mostly to illustrate the end of Roman rule) or the Franks (i.e. the Merovingian kings) as founders of the Frank empire. Archaeology plays practically no role in this context.

Some schoolbooks for the southern German states, two films and two children's books deal with

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the Alemanni, bringing in archaeological finds. In the reconstruction drawings of clothing, jewelry and weapons (which also serve to illustrate the pages on the Germanic peoples at Tacitus' time), mostly grave finds are introduced. The influence of the exhibition "Die Alamannen"<sup>3</sup> (1997) is obvious; it led to certain film and book productions, and the catalogue served as an informational and material basis for all three media groups.

The 1994 curricula for Baden-Württemberg contained as a link to the present – in connection with the beginning of the early Middle Ages – the terms 'place names' und 'dialect borders' (for 'Swabian', 'Franconian', 'Alemannic', interpreted as proof of early Middle Age settlement by the Swabians, Franks and Alemanni). Thereby, theories on this topic, handed down from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, still live on in the schoolbooks in question.

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### 5.1 Experience Orientation of the Study and Possibilities of Improving the Situation

The main goal of this study was to analyse the public role of archaeology and its effectiveness in disseminating scientific knowledge as reflected in the media groups studied. In addition, schoolbook publishers and authors, as well as archaeological experts, were and are to be made aware of the existing problems, in order to improve the situation in the long run.

Each publishing company received at least one detailed commentary on one of its educational products while work on this study was progressing. This commentary was not limited to a listing of factual errors; rather, it also contained concrete recommendations for text alterations as well as literature references. Contact with the publishers led to cooperation on new schoolbooks (correction of individual chapters prior to printing of the book). In 2003, the possibility of participating in the development of new curricula in Baden-Württemberg arose. Some of the suggestions made by the author of this study, including a detailed commentary, were implemented and led to an improvement of curricular content. A further activity within the framework of this dissertation comprised the evaluation of an educational book that had been submitted for authorization on behalf of a ministry. On the basis of this, corrections were presented to the publishers by the ministry, without which the book would not have been authorized. The problem of the informational foundation could be solved by having experts make selective recommendations of literature to authors. This approach was basic to a literature guideline that was edited by the "Arbeitsgruppe Archäologie im Schulbuch" of the "DGUF" (Workgroup Archaeology in Schoolbooks of the German Society of Pre- and Protohistory) with the participation of the author of this study<sup>4</sup>.

The examples named simply indicate possibilities of the direction in which further activities could go in improving the situation of educational material. In order to make long-lasting changes, further efforts are necessary. The results of the study show that for presentations of pre- and early historical themes to the general public, more easily understandable overviews with vivid, state-of-the-art graphic material provided by experts are necessary. Cooperation between publishers, authors and archaeologists as well as between teachers and archaeologists

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<sup>3</sup> "The Alemanni".

<sup>4</sup> Arbeitskreis Archäologie im Schulbuch: Literaturempfehlungen zur Archäologie.

would be as helpful as the establishment of an illustration or photo archive in museums, with special conditions for schoolbook publishers, so that the problem of highly priced picture copyrights could be approached. The possibility of founding a kind of archaeological hotline for publishers and other people involved with imparting history should be considered. Moreover, many problems facing schoolbook publishers could be solved if entire schoolbooks did not need to cover an entire year of history lessons; instead, individual booklets on pre- and protohistory could be flexibly combined with booklets on other epochs.

## **5.2 Prospects**

Despite the extent of the present study, only important aspects of the epochs analysed could be highlighted. Some topics of this study should be further pursued individually and in more depth, e.g. in comparison to earlier instructional materials. Furthermore, the analysis comprises only a small part of the entire educational material available. One might ask how other archaeological and historical sub-disciplines are represented in these schoolbooks (Egyptology, Near Eastern archaeology, ancient history, history of the Middle Ages), and if no problems or other problems arise. Numerous other media for teaching history had to be omitted because of the work involved (slide shows with supplementary material, worksheet compilations, collections of proposals for activity-oriented learning, story collections for classroom teaching, topic booklets on pre- and protohistory from magazines for teachers) – how is archaeology reflected in these media? In addition, fundamental examinations of pre- and protohistory in teaching practice (teacher and student perspectives) as well recipient analyses (interviews with students about their schoolbooks and the problem of which areas of knowledge are assimilated by the students and why).

From the author's perspective, an intensification of research, especially with regard to the current and past forms of exploitation of archaeology, would seem worthwhile. The arguments presented in Chap. II.13 of the study make it clear that politically motivated interpretations of history and the exploitation of finds and findings – whether intentional or not – represent a topic of current relevancy. In an appropriately planned research project, the question of interplay between political initial situations and accounts of pre- and protohistory in schoolbooks as a mirror of a society could be pursued. Interesting results are to be expected here, especially from a comparison of individual nations with each other, respectively disclosing mechanisms of the functionalisation of historical interpretations<sup>6</sup>.

## **5.3 Résumé**

The representation of pre- and protohistory in schoolbooks, educational films and historical novels for children and adolescents is still not without factual errors, erroneous interpretations and popular clichés. This has not changed appreciably in the past years, despite the appeals of various archaeologists and historians.

The popular images of pre- and protohistory are mostly rooted in antiquated theories of –

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<sup>6</sup> In the framework of a research group, a corresponding application was filed with the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/German Research Foundation) and has meanwhile been approved (DFG Research Group 875 "Historical in Popular Cultures of Knowledge").

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admittedly – scientific origin, which have become part of a *mémoire collective*. In the visions of history that they pass on, schoolbooks, films and fictional history stories reflect a history of ideas and science, and they are an interesting source for their exploration.

Other, from an archaeological point of view, problematic factual contents are rooted in didactic considerations. Major associations are to be established in history lessons and long developmental lines of history drawn; moreover, links to the present are to be made. The questions thus asked of history and the answers given from this perspective are a mirror of our society.

The influence of archaeological science on the media as a data source and corrective of factual errors could be much greater in many cases. Imparting history using scientific information involves museums, exhibitions and supplementary catalogues as well as scientific books aimed expressly at the general public. However, other, non-scientific media are used frequently. This shows that the relationship between archaeology and the public needs to be improved. Numerous problems could be solved by a more intensive cooperation between the media producers and archaeologists, as well as through a greater number of scientific publications aimed at reaching the general public.

The factual errors discovered in the schoolbooks are to be taken seriously, not only from an archaeological, but also from a pedagogical-didactic point of view, because they conflict with some fundamental didactic guidelines and requirements of history teaching: communication of scientifically based knowledge; proper use of scientific language and terms; critical approach to text and graphic sources; communication of the ability to recognize the exploitation of history for political purposes. The schoolbooks do not satisfy these requirements in their chapters on pre- and protohistory. Nor are demands of schoolbook research met: consideration of controversially discussed topics and corresponding presentations from many perspectives; critical treatment of stereotypes; texts and illustrations free of stereotypes.

"Let us not be misled: the image that we have of other peoples or of ourselves depends on the image of history that we were taught when we were children. It shapes us for the rest of our lives. To this early representation of history, which also, for everyone, means a discovery of the world, of the past and of society, are joined opinions, transient or long-lasting ideas – similar to love –, whereby the traces of our initial curiosity, our first feelings, remain indelible"<sup>7</sup>. If the French historian Marc Ferro is right in his statement (that could be contested), then it is time we concerned ourselves more intensely with the representation of pre- and protohistory in schoolbooks and other media aimed at young people – from both an archaeological as well as a pedagogical-didactic angle.

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<sup>7</sup> Ferro, *Geschichtsbilder*, 11.