Ludomir R. Lozny
Editor

Archaeology of the Communist Era

A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century

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Editor
Ludomir R. Lozny
Hunter College
New York, NY, USA

Preface

In the 1980s, almost one third of the global population lived in Communist-ruled countries, but in 1991 the socioeconomic system fueled by communist ideology has failed. This collapse is epitomized by the fall of the Soviet Union. Currently, a handful of governments are run by communists (China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, and Laos), and some, China and to some extent Cuba, modified their ideological base. Thus, with the exception of North Korea, the case studies presented in this book refer to the times before 1991.

Two groups of issues are discussed here: first—Marxist-inspired archaeological theory and methodology, which contributed to an original approach to interpret the social past, and second—government-imposed policies and pressures to control archaeological practice and interpretations of the past. Therefore, the book is not just another evaluation of "Marxist archaeology" (cf. Spriggs 1984; McGuire 1992; Trigger 1993), but reports on a political history of archaeology during the communist era in selected countries. It is a synchronic, predominantly qualitative and inductive account of what I call "political ecology of archaeology under communism," in which a clear focus on causal relations between access to power and the status of research agendas, methodology, and theory is essential.

The objective is to analyze archaeological thoughts and practice under specific intellectual, political, and economic conditions in order to identify and explain a spectrum of constrains and pressures that affected archaeologists in their pursuit to investigate the social past. The analysis of theoretical and methodological aspects is guided by questions such as: What research objectives about the social past were pursued and why? What methodology was used to collect and analyze data? What theories guided research or were proposed to explain the gathered data?

Because of political and economic confines, questions related to the practice of archaeology also become critical. Among them are such as: How was archaeology administered? How was archaeology sponsored? How did centralized (state) sponsoring impact research agendas? If research topics were designed outside of the professional circles, what were the consequences of such practice for the scientific and public spheres?

A keen reader will notice, however, that, as the authors report, the authoritarian top-down political system was not as rigid in controlling of the social sciences and humanities as it might have appeared to an accidental observer. Local archaeologists invented a variety of vernacular approaches to investigate and interpret the past as well as clever tactics to diminish ideological pressures.

The contributors to this book are masters in their resected fields. They represent three cohorts of scholars. The first includes the grand masters, those who were educated and mostly practiced archaeology at the inception and during the communist era. They were taught by professors who did not always subscribe to the communist-inspired research agenda. They have significantly shaped archaeologies in their respected countries. They come from the former Eastern European Soviet Bloc. Their contribution to European archaeological legacy is unquestionable and testifies of the fact that, in case of Eastern Europe, the otherwise strict Communist policies were permeable and creative minds found a way to question the ideologized approach to the social sciences. Jerzy Gąssowski (Poland), Evžen Neustupný (Czech Republic), Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer (Germany), and Leo Klejn (Russia) represent the Eastern European group.

The second set is composed of those who were educated during the communist era by the professors who belong to the first cohort.[1] They practiced archaeology during the communist times and after the fall of Communism in Europe. Their education and early careers relate to the times of political openness in the Soviet Bloc and introduction of new methodologies and theories from the West in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. Although educated within the political context of communist ideology, they approached theoretical Marxism selectively and were eager to apply alternative ideas coming from the West. These are Ludomir Lozny (Poland), Lolita Novikowa and Diana Gergova (Bulgaria), Michael Lyubychev (Ukraine), and László Bartosiewicz (Hungary).

Especially interesting are contributions of the third group of authors represented by foreign scholars who visited and/or worked in the Communist-ruled countries. These are Sarunas Milisauskas from the USA who worked in Poland for several decades, and Yongwook Yoo from South Korea who presently gained access to North Korean archaeology. Their emic observations reveal details that may have been unnoticed, or considered insignificant, by local scholars. This group also includes two younger colleagues who study the impact of Marxist-inspired thoughts in modern archaeology. Iza Romanowska and Jonas Danckers both contributed valuable insights as fairly objective (emic) observers of the communist era. Although not all who contributed to this book apply Marxist thoughts to explain past phenomena, we all have considerable experience working as archaeologists in communist-ruled countries or researching Marxist thoughts to interpret the social past.

The authors attempt to present factual evaluations of political impact on archaeological theory and practice during the period from about 1946–1947 to 1989–1990 in Eastern Europe; for the Soviet Union the timeframe is different—it starts in the 1920s and ends in 1991. In the regions outside of Europe, the relationship between

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[1] Jerzy Gąssowski was Lozny's professor at Warsaw University in the 1970s.

political context and the practice of archaeology is still ongoing (North Korea, China, regions of Latin America). There are certain historic events that contributors considered as seminal for the timeframe of their presentations such as the Stalinist era and the times of political liberalization in the aftermath of Stalin's death, social upheavals and their impact on tightening/freeing of local political rigors (for instance, East Germany 1953, Poland and Hungary 1956, Poland and Czechoslovakia 1968, Poland 1980–1981, the fall of the Eastern European Communist governments 1989–1990, etc.). Such event history approach, which uses factual data as well as personal accounts, counters confirmation bias and is critical in understanding causal relations between certain political events and the *status quo* of archaeology.

The book is also a story of powerful archaeological leaders such as Hensel, Rybakov, Do, Han, and Herrmann who led local archaeologies for decades and profoundly crafted the image of the discipline in their respected countries. They acted as keepers of the ideology although not always with a keen eye. Nevertheless, they replicated the top-down hierarchal political structure of the government in the institutes of local Academies of Sciences they governed and thus impacted research agendas, methodology, theory, and general interest about the past.

The authors followed the methodology of ethnographic and historical studies to present idiographic accounts focused on specific event, project, or approach to illustrate the relationship between local politics and archaeology. The presented data range from problems such as politically charged selective criteria used in warranting research permits, to more systemic obstacles evidenced by prohibitions in communicating ideas due to personal political outlooks, problems with publications due to ideological disagreements, discursive status of local methodologies and theories that have been crafted to fit political agendas and not scientific goals, direct pressures from local authorities, etc. They also examined the evidence of politically inspired research agendas, the role of ideology (Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Maoism) in local research, the heuristic value of historical and dialectical materialism, and overall the impact of the organization of Soviet archaeology and its intellectual potential by contrasting it with influential western archaeologists such as V. Gordon Childe, Graham Clark, David Clarke, Lewis Binford, Francois Bordes, and Herbert Jankuhn whose published works were available in Eastern Europe and Latin America under communism. Because certain facts were not recorded in any other way but memories, some contributors also share anecdotal information that flavor their personal accounts. Understandably, it was difficult, especially for the grand masters, not to get emotional or sometimes even biased. In this ethnography of archaeology under communism we all share our firsthand experience as practitioners and/or active observers.

The book is divided into two sections: the first part documents the theory and practice of archaeology in countries governed by communists, while the second collects information regarding Marxist-inspired thought applied to archaeological studies in countries outside of the Soviet Bloc.

Overall, the book contributes to better recognition and comprehension of the interconnection between archaeology and political pressure imposed by governments in the Communist-ruled countries, but also the relationship between science

and politics in general. It offers valuable hints regarding the use and misuse of archaeological data to manipulate local histories by revealing how historical myths are filled with the substance of archaeological facts to legitimate the imaginary and frequently politically inspired past.

The book stems from a very successful TAG session held at the University of Bristol in 2011. It is not a typical post-conference publication, but it actually offers diverse views and discussions with the commonly held opinions regarding archaeology under communism. It presents a comparative, global in perspective approach to the subject, which thus far has been discussed in relation to either specific country or region (Russia, Poland, Central Europe, Latin America, etc.).

New York, Unadilla, NY   Ludomir R. Lozny
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Contents

Contributors

Diana Gergova National Archaeological Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia, Bulgaria

Institute of Archaeology, The State University of Rzeszow, Rzeszow, Poland

Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer Ostseestraße, Berlin, Germany

Evžen Neustupný Institute of Archaeology, The Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, The Czech Republic

Iza Romanowska Centre for the Archaeology of Human Origins, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK

Jonas Danckers Dottorando alle Università di Lovanio e Bologna, Aspirant FWO—Vlaanderen, Onderzoekseenheid Archeologie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, Belgium

Jerzy Gąssowski Pułtusk Academy of Humanities, Warsaw, Poland

László Bartosiewicz Osteoarchaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Leo Klejn St. Petersburg University, Russia

Lolita Nikolova International Institute of Anthropology, Salt Lake City, UT, USA

Ludomir R. Lozny Hunter College, New York, NY, USA

Michael Lyubychev National V. Karazin University, Kharkiv, Ukraine

Sarunas Milisauskas Department of Anthropology, Buffalo University, SUNY, Buffalo, NY, USA

Yongwook Yoo Department of Archaeology, Chungnam National University, Daejeon, S. Korea

About the Editor

Ludomir R. Lozny is current managing editor of the journal *Human Ecology* and an adjunct professor at the City University of New York.

Chapter 1
Introduction to Archaeology of the Communist Era

Jerzy Gąssowski

Introduction

In most part, the book presents histories of archaeologies in countries where a system recognized as Marxist was introduced by the armies liberating these countries from the Nazi occupation at the end of WWII. Marxism, as it is assumed, was a forced official "faith" and by association archaeologists were labeled as Marxist by colleagues from outside of the Warsaw Pact, who in their countries had communist parties and also applied historical (dialectical) materialism in their studies. Paradoxically, in the Warsaw Pact countries the term "communism" was not used (except the USSR) in official nomenclature to describe the existing political reality; instead euphemisms such as "socialism," "people's democracy," or "progressive country," etc. have been common. Communism, if it was mentioned at all, was presented as the future and better reality to which people should aspire. At the same time, communist or socialist (these terms have different meanings) parties existed in Western democracies and some participated in local governments.

It should also be kept in mind that countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Slovakia actively sided with the Nazi against the USSR during WWII. After the war these countries became members of the Warsaw Pact, along with East Germany (GDR), and communism became their leading ideology. The new ruling elites aspired to prove their honest and deep devotion to the enforced ideology. The most successful were those in the GDR and, to some extent, Hungary.

It seems obvious to start a review of the chapters presented in this volume from the paper describing the condition of archaeology in the Soviet Union because it significantly impacted archaeologies in other countries politically controlled by the

J. Gąssowski (✉)
Pułtusk Academy of Humanities, Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: jerzy.gassowski@gmail.com

USSR. Leo Klejn submitted a detailed account of the historical and theoretical context for the origin of Soviet archaeology. The paper shows clearly how much effort was put by the Soviet authorities to use archaeology their in political propaganda. Since the 1920s Soviet archaeology was closely related to Marxism, its Marxist-Leninist version. By that time its status was elevated from being an interest of Russians aristocracy who organized in local associations, or excavated antiquities in their lands, to becoming an academic discipline structured at university departments and institutes of the Academy of Sciences. At the same time, however, young Soviet archaeology was overshadowed by ideas of Stalin and also the linguist Marr, whose thoughts on the development of languages and cultures were initially favored by Stalin, but eventually in 1950 declared by him as non-Marxist and condemned. This was obvious to some scholars much earlier. Because I know the Russian language, I was able to read publications available in Polish academic libraries in the 1950s and later times and I do not recall any of them as contributing significant thoughts to the use of Marxists ideas in archaeology. These were solid descriptions of fieldwork of no lesser quality than what the colleagues in the West were producing at the same time.

At that time, Soviet archaeologists and medievalists were engaged in the issue of the Norse contribution to the origins of ancient Rus, supported by written sources and archaeological data. They struggle to dismiss that theory in favor of the strictly Slavic origin of ancient Rus. It seemed as either it was not possible, or there was no will to compromise ideas backed up by factual evidence in this crucial issue. One of the proponents of the Slavic origin of Rus was the long-time director of the Institute of Material Culture of the Soviet Academy of Sciences Boris Rybakov. He frequently visited Poland because his views on Slavs were shared by prof. Witold Hensel, the director of the Institute of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Rybakov was especially interested in the pagan religion and religious rites of the old Rus. It just happened that I—as a researcher at the IHKM PAN directed by Hensel—discovered a large center of the Slavic pagan religion located in the Holy Cross Mountains in central Poland. These are not high mountains and this religious center was located on top of one of them at the elevation of 598 m above the sea level. Rybakov was eager to see it and I took him there.

It was middle of hot July. We drove a wavy road to the top of the mountain and when we reached the peak, snowy storm started and wet snow covered all that was available to see of the medieval stone constructions. Saddened Rybakov said: "This is how pagan gods still jealously guard their secrets." I have met Rybakov several times when he was visiting Poland, but I never sensed that any specific Marxist ideas were present in his thoughts. I think that in the USSR it was enough to be a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) to be labeled as a communist. True, Party membership made his career easier, but it seems to me that should he had voiced communist slogans more openly he, could have been removed from his prestigeous position in the Academy. In otherwise well-put chapter by Klejn, I was curious about the frequent use of the term "Marxist" in relation to the ideology imposed on archaeologists. I think that Neustupný in his chapter in this volume is right to say that Marxism does not fit archaeological explanations, for

its primary concept is class struggle and the conflict of social interests is difficult to trace archaeologically. In fact, it was Friedrich Engels who explained the human history by elaborating the development of pre-class societies that archaeologists mostly deal with and which did not present a variety of social conflicts. So, perhaps we should say: "I say Marx, but think Engels!"[1]

If it is difficult to find true communist archaeology in such socialist country as the Soviet Union, we must point out the places where it was strongly represented and practiced. I remember that during the international archaeological conferences organized in Poland on various topics, among the papers delivered by Czech scholars at least one was usually devoted to enlightening the participants from other countries regarding the prominence of socialism and Soviet science and frequently in such presentations there was no room left for archaeology. A very good and honest Chap. 6 by Evžen Neustupný depicts Czech archaeology submerged in the forced communization, where Party membership was the necessary condition for having a job, being promoted, or able to conduct research. It does not seem strange when we learn that of about 15 million population of Czechoslovakia, over one million belonged to the Communist Party.

A very similar situation was in East Germany (GDR). This country was in a very difficult situation as it neighbored the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), West part of Germany controlled by the Western powers. Both parts of Germany were divided by a political and military boundary that separated two political and military systems: NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and any attempt to cross this border without proper authorization was usually fatal. Archaeology in GDR was organized by the people who were educated and active as archaeologists in the Nazi Germany. Some of them were former members of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and some may have also served in the SS. East Germans truly wanted to build their socialist state and they succeeded. I would like to stress the quality of the exemplary chapter by Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer with its comprehensive account on the relationship between politics and archaeology in East Germany.

One of the measures of political friendship between East Germans and their neighbors to the east was scholarly interest in archaeological research of the so-called western Slavs, who in the Middle Ages occupied the territory of the GDR. Some Slavic group survived there until the sixteenth century when a special translation of the Bible in the local language was prepared for them. In the nineteenth century Rudolf Virchow excavated some of the Slavic sites but during the Nazi era the research discontinued.

Joachim Herrmann, one of the most prominent East German archaeologists, understood that archaeological research in the country will uncover remains of the Slavic culture that existed there in the Early Middle Ages. The powerful tribal alliances of the Veleti, Obodriti, and the Lusatians, who remained in paganism, were eventually defeated by the Germans, Danes, and Poles, all bearers of Christianity. Paradoxically, the best study of the pagan western Slavs emerged due to the efforts by Herrmann and his collaborators and not in any Slavic country.

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[1] *Editor's note*: Allusion to Mayakovski's poem "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

In Bulgaria, archaeology had a difficult start after WWII because of the Bulgarian government politics during the war. The country's most renowned archaeologist prof. Bogdan Filov not only negated the role of Slavs in the creation of the Bulgarian culture, but also was a prime minister of the war-time government that sided with the Nazi against the wish of the majority of Bulgarians. In the absence of the tsar, Filov was also a member of the Regency Council. Thus, Communist-ruled Bulgaria was a country of many contradictions. The most significant for archaeology was the contradiction between the value and quantity of archaeological sites and low scientific level of Bulgarian archaeology. When in the late 1940s I traveled across Bulgaria to visit archaeological centers, in every larger center I stopped I was assured that where I am going next neither archaeologists nor archaeological institutions exist. And when I arrived, it appeared that there are archaeologists and archaeological institutions with rich archaeological collections. On the other hand, when the colleagues in the place where I arrived learned what center I visited before them, they were surprised because, as they put it, there are neither archaeologists nor archaeological institutions there. I heard similar comments almost everywhere I went. Many Bulgarians were atheists and thus Soviet indoctrination was easier than in other countires of the Soviet Bloc. Only the Turkish minority, the Sunni Muslims, were very religious.

Hungary, as Bulgaria, had a troublesome relationship with the Nazi regime during WWII and thus the relationship with the Soviets and Soviet-imposed ideology was difficult. Also in this country, as in Czechoslovakia and GDR, membership in the Communist Party was the key asset in the evaluation of an archaeologist. Hungarians did not allow indoctrination easily, as it is testified by the Budapest uprising of the 1956 brutally crushed by the Red Army and its heavy tanks.

The best elaboration of the impact of Soviet and Marxist-Leninist ideology on regional archaeologies was prepared by the Hungarian scholar, archaeologist and zooarchaeologist Laszlo Bartosiewicz. He presented the status of archaeology against a wide political background using informative statistics. He also briefly discussed normative acts that may have impacted archaeology and the humanities in general. In Hungary, archaeology was one of the least politically engaged scholarly disciplines. Under Mátyás Rákosi, a Stalinist-style hardliner who led the Party from 1945 until 1956, the communist regime recognized archaeology as the least useful in their propaganda.

Initially, archaeological research was conducted by the University of Budapest, the Hungarian National Museum and regional museums. Medieval archaeology was not included into archaeological curriculum as it was considered a part of art history. Initially, archaeology was taught at universities together with ethnography, but after 1950 these two fields separated. Scientific titles were confirmed by the Committee for the Scientific Qualifications. All scientific titles followed the Soviet system (although similar titles also existed in the tsarist Russia) and included: candidate of sciences, doctor of sciences, and the corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and eventually the full member of the Academy.

During the first 5-year plan (1950–1954) rescue archaeology emerged due to the increase in the construction of infrastructure and new investments. Hungary were to

become the country of iron, steel, and machinery. In result several significant discoveries were made such as the Bronze Age cemetery in the Dunajavaros region of about 100 burials found in 1951. Since 1953 the Archaeological Commission issued excavation permits and from 1967 this responsibility was allocated to the newly emerged Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1962, the second Department of Archaeology was formed at the newly founded Attila University in Szeged.

In 1957, Gyula László initiated the program in archaeology of the Middle Ages and in 1958 an Archaeology Research Group was initiated in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which consisted of nine members.

Since the 1950s ideas of V. Gordon Childe have been popularized in Hungary. In those days he was the only Western scholar tolerated in the so-called Socialist Camp. His views were not limited to the study of the material culture but the interactions between humans and the material world. This point of view was picked up in 1981 by Sándor Bökönyj who appealed to make man and not his material culture the focal point of archaeological studies.

Fragmentation of Hungary in the aftermath of WWI resulted in the rise of nationalistic sentiments that did not disappear after WWII. It resulted in the interest in search for the homeland of Hungarians somewhere in the Kama region in central Russia. Also, in the communist era research of small villages was initiated. A new phenomenon appeared that can be labeled as the "folk against the nation" dichotomy. Archaeology played a significant role in this discussion, but it was used mostly to moderate the discussion rather than to present decisive positions. Nevertheless, the discussion was directed to mitigate strong nationalistic sentiments deeply rooted in social conscience.

Similarly to Hungary and Bulgaria, also Italy sided with Hitler during WWII. Italy was the homeland of fascism, which was ideologically formed on the basis of archaeological and historical studies of the Roman Empire. Hitler, Franco, and Salazar crafted their ideas after the Italian-born fascism. Post-WWII Italy struggled with the troubled past and in result the second largest Communist Party after the Soviet CPSU emerged. In this full of contradictions country scholars practiced the central-European style of historical materialism, as well as its pure dialectical version imported directly from Moscow. Polish archaeologists from the Institute of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences participated in a series of research projects in Italy. Professor Tabaczyński headed long-term project in Venice and Torcello. Poles were invited not for political reasons, however, but because of the quality of their archaeological works. In those days only Brits and Poles were well-prepared archaeologists to research the medieval times. The Poles were experienced because of their millennial program to research the origins of the Polish state—as discussed in the chapter on Polish archaeology in this volume—the Brits gained their experience studying the post-Roman settlements of the British Isles by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

Polish archaeology is represented here by two chapters, one by the American archaeologists who spent many years in Poland, Sarunas Milisauskas, and the other by the author of these words. Milisauskas looks at Poland under communism from

outside and his view is more "objective," whereas mine is an analysis from inside, a personal story of my scholarly career that started in 1945. Over the past 65 years I witnessed as well as participated in many critical for Polish archaeology events. Indeed, I have, to a certain extent, shaped Polish archaeology so this is also a story of my accomplishments. Among the many achievements of Polish archaeology of the communist era, I just mentioned the international collaboration with the Italian colleagues. Another international success was in France where Polish teams have researched the so-called "deserted villages" from the medieval period. French colleagues faced the same problem as the Italians: they did not have specialists to research such sites as most of French archaeology of that time was directed to research the spectacular Paleolithic sites, or equally interesting Gallo-Roman Period with elaborate villas. Also here the dilemma was to choose the right collaborators and the choice was between the British scholars and the Poles from behind the Iron Curtain. It seems that due to nonscholarly reasons, the perspective to collaborate with the Brits was unattractive for the French decision-makers. The Poles were favored because they generally liked France, they were not arrogant, and most of all they had solid experience in researching medieval sites due to their program on the origins of the Polish state. As we might suspect, among the decisive reasons to collaborate with the Polish scholars may have been a sympathy for the left-wing ideas deeply rooted in the French intellectual circles. Many of the scholars declared that they vote for the French Communist Party, although they may have not been active members, but sympathizers. Such sympathy for the Left was present in the circle of the Annales School with its rising representative than very young Jacques Le Goff[2] who had died when I write these words. I had the pleasure to attend his seminar in Paris at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. These historians decided to bring Polish archaeologists from the Institute of the History of Material Culture to study deserted medieval villages and other sites. I directed one of the projects at the castle Montegût in the Tarn Department in southern France. Most of the Polish research teams remained in France for several years. The new cadre of French medievalists learn the practical aspects of fieldwork from the Poles and later took over the research.

In fact, archaeology was not significant in the Polish humanities nor it mattered in social life of Poles, but there were few exceptions. The millennial anniversary of the Christianization of Poland (966–1966) and celebrations planned by the Church provoked the Communist government aspiration to show that the state, although not well documented in the written sources, had existed before the religious conversion. Thus, the emphasis on the emergence of the Committee for the Research on the Origin of the Polish State in my chapter on Polish archaeology in this book. In the absence of written sources from the end of the first millennium CE, archaeology was the only science to reveal a history of the Polish state. This project invoked enormous social interests and almost each town and city wanted to be included on

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[2] *Editor's note*: Jacque Le Goff was married to Anna Dunin-Wąsowicz, sister of the Polish historian Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz. Thus, the relationship between Polish and French historians may have been based on personal contacts.

the list of places where evidence of the early birth of the state might have been confirmed. This project gave archaeology enormous recognition among the humanities and it was recognized as a significant historical science.

Ukraine and Belarus had a very special position in the former USSR. As republics of the federation they were also sovereign Soviet states with their own representations in the UN. In fact, both were under centralized dictatorship controlled by Moscow. Mikhail Lyubychev from the University of Kharkov describes the status of archaeology in Ukraine as strictly related to the Russian and later propagated by the Soviets model in which archaeology was recognized as a science auxiliary to history. This relationship still persists and it limits archaeology and its potential to advance in the fashion it has been developing as a separate social science in developed countries. The value of this chapter is in the fact that it complements the chapter by Leo Klejn and in some cases even better explains certain breakthrough events in the history of archaeology in the USSR and their impact on archaeology in Ukraine. Ukraine created well-organized system of rescue archaeology, which in the context of rapid industrialization played a significant role.

Interesting is Lyubychev's emphasis regarding a methodological paradox of the use of otherwise condemned Kossina's *Kulturkreis* by Ukrainian archaeologists to prove the antiquity of material evidence of Slavic ethnicity in Ukraine despite historical and especially archaeological records proving the existence of the so-called Eastern Germanic groups of Scandinavian origin in the region in the Early Middle Ages. The remaining Goths were recorded in the Crimean Peninsula in the fifteenth century.

Among the many similarities that characterize archaeology under communism, it seems that the Communist Party pressure and permanent control of archaeological works as well as hiring policies were most common in the Soviet-controlled Eastern European bloc.

When I write these words, scholarly interests in Marxist ideas vanished in Eastern Europe, but they still remain popular in the Americas. If, however, as I witness during my stay in Indiana University at the late 1970s, Marxism in the US remains as a philosophical interest in some universities, in South America the situation is different. It fueled social movements and military actions, and vitalized the humanities including archaeology.

Yongwook Yoo z Chungnam National University warns in his introduction that he can only provide a fistful of information on archaeology in closed to the outside world communist country of North Korea. As it turns out, this fist is plentiful enough to realize what archaeology in this self-proclaimed communist country, which in fact is a militarized ruthless dictatorship with characteristics of a dynastic monarchy, is about.

As written sources suggest, interests in ancient monuments, especially megaliths, in Korea, are at least 800 years old. The author devotes a sizable part of his essay to historical context of Korean archaeology before and during the Japanese colonization and suggests that in the beginning of the twentieth century Japanese scholars contributed to the emergence of Korean archaeology. It seems to me that

this somewhat unrelated to the main topic of the book part of the chapter might be of special interest to colleagues from outside of eastern Asia.

Archaeology in North Korea and its relationship with Marxism relates to two significant personalities, friends and adversaries, Han Hung-soo i Do Yu-ho. Han views were close to Marx and Engels' ideas. He continued his doctoral studies in Vienna in 1936 but after the Anschluss moved to Switzerland and finished his Ph.D. at the University of Freiburg. After WWII he worked for a while in communist Czechoslovakia. Do defended his doctoral thesis in Vienna in 1936 and became Han's friend. When WWII ended in eastern Asia, Korea was divided into two occupational zones, Soviet in the north and American in the south. Han, who lived in the southern part, was invited to assume professorship in the northern part of the country. A similar invitation was sent to Do in 1948, who at the time was in Czechoslovakia. Both accepted the invitations and worked together North Korea. After the Korean War of 1950–1953, the country was officially divided into North and South Korea. The first communist dictator of North Korea Kim Il-sung instigated severe changes in administration and the leadership of most institutions has been replaced with a cadre loyal to the new regime. The Korean Academy of Sciences was dismissed and the new institution called the Institute of the History of Material Culture emerged. Han's power declined and Do became the first director of the new Institute crafted after the Soviet model. At this time many significant archaeological discoveries were made.

In 1957, the Institute was renamed the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology and archaeology became instrumental in the new doctrine named Jucheism, a heavily nationalistic version of historical materialism, which still dominates the official North Korean propaganda. The key role of the new doctrine and archaeology is to prove continuity of the present Korean culture from the past. Thus, the doctrine claims that the evolution of Korean culture was an internal process without any external influences and archaeology must provide evidence for such claim. In result, nonsensical statements have been offered such as the one that the remains of a prehistoric man discovered in one of the caves prove the genetic continuity between the past and present North Korean populations. Archaeology became a slave of daunting nationalism. In 1954, the North Korean Academy of Social Sciences was formed (similar institution does exist in China), in which the Institute of Archaeology emerged as a separate from Ethnology. The chapter is well informed and factual despite the modest remarks by the author in his introduction.

Chapter 2
Sickle, Hammer, and Trowel: Theory and Practice of Archaeology Under Communism

Ludomir R. Lozny

> *He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.*
>
> *John Stuart Mill, On Liberty.*

Introduction

This chapter presents thoughts on "communist archaeology" based on a preliminary comparative analysis of archaeological theory and practice in selected Communist-ruled countries. It specifically addresses the use of Marxist-inspired methodology and theory, and their local variants, to research and interpret the social past. I deliberately use the phrase "Marxist-inspired" to stress that the analysis of both, the thought and organization of archaeological practice, allows for identification of idiosyncrasies of "communist archaeology," which was neither truly Marxist, nor a continuation of materialistically oriented and non-evolutionary culture history. The goal is to identify common patterns in governmental control of the discipline and the impact made by governmental agencies to influence research goals and interpretations of data.

The time period of interest here is the second half of the twentieth century, when archaeology became a worldwide academic discipline. A look at this global scale allows for identification of pressures inflicted on archaeologists by the overwhelmingly potent political milieu, which stimulated archaeological thought and controlled the conditions for professional engagement. This book presents a narrower,

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Capitalized "Communism" refers to the practice and organization of the idea or theory of communism, which is always in lower case, for instance: "Communist government" and "communist era."

L.R. Lozny (✉)
Hunter College, New York, NY, USA
e-mail: llozny@hunter.cuny.edu

focused on specific topic approach as opposed to a larger geographical and topical context presented in my earlier publication (Lozny, 2011).

I call the presented here approach to examine the political history of archaeology "political ecology of archaeology," which is especially fruitful in studies pursuing the status of archaeology under Marxist-inspired ideologies. Essential to correct understanding of this approach is a clear focus on researching the correlation between access to power and the status of research agendas, methodology and theory, as well as interpretations of facts. Strong communist leaders such as Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Castro, Kim, and others have created rigid top-down ruling schemes that overwhelmed all aspects of social life. These schemes also affected archaeological practice and altered interpretations of findings to accomplish certain political goals. Because of centralization of archaeological practice in the Communist-ruled countries, this approach also points out to the role of powerful archaeological leaders, individuals who through their political connections were instrumental in designing research directories and creating research agendas and thus able to control archaeologists' achievements and careers. In effect, they also controlled the status of archaeological knowledge. I consider the role of individual decision-making, historical events, public pressure, funding sources, etc., as significant factors that impacted the way how was archaeology practiced and to what purpose was it used. The correlation is easily identifiable in the former Soviet Bloc countries (cf. Table 2.2), as corroborated in the chapters of this book, but can also be recognized elsewhere.

Archaeology and Ideology

On the other hand, however, we should ask whether archaeology, or any of the social sciences, is really ideology-free. This question goes beyond the simple Popperian classification into science and pseudo-science (ideology) (see Popper, 1962). The issue has been recently debated in relation to science in general (for instance, Walker, 2003; Rollin, 2006), and politics (Sewell, 2012). Any top-down political structure operates around a powerful ideology, which engages masses and thus no (social) science in such context seems ideology-free. Such is the case of the social sciences in modern democracies on both sides of the former Iron Curtain divide, but the correlation between ideology and the practice of science, whether medicine or archaeology, is especially well visible in the new Eastern European democracies that emerged after the systemic transition of 1989–1990. Political agendas still affect research themes, theoretical perspectives and methodology, project designs, and the structuring of the discipline.

Under new democratic conditions, archaeological knowledge contributes to ideology used by nationalistic groups related to movements such as Norse-pride or Slavic-pride, etc. The perception of archaeology and its findings by the public should certainly be one of our major concerns. Archaeologists have created enormous public interest about the past and the majority of projects are publicly funded.

Communist-run governments lavishly sponsored archaeological research, but the results have often been used for political gains, a phenomenon inherent to any top-down political regimes. In Western democracies the practice and theory of archaeology is manipulated by funding institutions, power of reviewers, dissertation supervisors, etc., who act as guides and decision-makers to tell what, how, and why should be studied about the past. The bias is overwhelming and it is seen in the topics archaeologists choose to study to fulfil public expectations. Just the name of the discipline: archaeology, anthropological archaeology, prehistory or prahistory, history of material culture, etc., suggests certain methodological and also political affiliations. Attempts to manipulate data are demonstrated by a methodological dilemma recognizable among scholars who are inclined to discuss a priori assumptions based on selected factors or causes, regardless the factual evidence.[1] Such misuse and manipulation of historical facts contributes to the creation of mental imprints visible in the acceptance of such a priori assumptions as facts by the public.[2] Knowledge of the past is ideologized and archaeology is used as a venue of ideologization. The pressure for such a manipulative approach is inflicted by the political milieu, but it also comes from the public.

Archaeology and Political Change

Anthropology and archaeology developed in Europe at the time of nation-building fueled by Romanticism flavored by strong nationalistic sentiments. History and archaeology were used to glorify the past, especially if there were glorious events and/or individuals in the past. Museums were considered the bastions of the war to win the past. These were the first institutions to employ anthropologists and archaeologists as curators and research scholars. For most of the nineteenth century there was no market for anthropologists as teachers or members of state administrations. The academic (scientific) research was limited to certain institutions for the elite, like the royal academies of sciences, or Napoleonic *grandes écoles* after which the Stalinist's Academies of Sciences were fashioned. Eventually universities combined teaching and research in one institution.

At the end of the nineteenth century two distinct approaches to human culture emerged: the evolutionist approach propagating gradual change over time and the difussionist approach focusing on the distribution of cultures on the "space grid." Wolf (2001) pointed out that the rising tide of nationalism accorded increasing

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[1] A clear example of such an approach is the current discussion on the origins of state in Poland where a symbolic event such as Christianization of a leader is phrased as Christianization of the country/nation, which did not exist at that time, or in the Soviet Union where rejection of the Norse as key contributors to the origin of the Kievan Rus was propagated on ideological grounds, despite the evidence suggesting otherwise. Paradoxically, should Marxist thoughts have been strictly followed in both cases, none of that would have really mattered.

[2] A visit to any online public forum devoted to open discussions regarding history or archaeology provides ample examples to support my point.

importance to space by propagating the idea of people's distinctive souls rooted in living landscapes, thus providing ideological fuel for the territorial aspirations of nation-states. Archaeologists of the time combined the grid of time with the grid of space and offered a mixture of evolutionist and difussionist ideas to discuss the emergence and development of so-called "archaeological cultures" and their distribution over the landscape. An intellectually less engaged version of such reasoning is still strong, especially among those who research the question regarding ethnogenesis of different *volk*, for instance Slavs or Germans. On most occasions these interests present a clear case of politically inspired archaeological engagement disguised as scientific research. North Korean Jucheism is an extreme example of such scholarly deviance propelled by the supremacy of ethnogenetic studies. It fits well within the early Stalinist-era obsession inspired by Marr's theories regarding autochthonic development of cultures (cultural continuity) and discrediting migrations or cultural diffusions as factors of dynamic (dialectical) cultural changes. Other allochtonic or autochthonic propositions show a fusion of evolutionary ideas and difussionist way of thinking. Ideologically prone archaeologists of the early twentieth century accepted the reductionist view propagated by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904), who believed that regions were originally populated by people with cultures of distinct origins and characteristics and that each culture was carried outward through mass migrations in search for living space. In this perspective cultural integration preceded migration, which than carried whole cultural complexes integrally into lands of new settlement. Such reductionist intellectual template to see peoples of the past was carried out by archaeologists throughout the twentieth century. Equipped with fake or fabricated arguments,[3] it contributed to nationalistic agendas of post-WWI nation-building in Central and Eastern Europe and still continues to inspire local scholars.

The second variant of the difussionist approach was also of German origin, but practiced in the United States (Boaz). It visualized a multiplicity of diffusionary mechanisms in which aggressive migrations featured only as "crass instances of the process" (Kroeber, 1948:427). In this perspective culture complexes did not travel as integral wholes, but were only gradually assembled over time. Wolf (1999:69) points out that such diffusionism, relying on *Schlagkraft* (strike force) of its carriers in the process of migration, fits well into nationalist and imperialist ideologies, especially in the eastern borderland of Europe (Russia, Prussia, and Austria). Thus, such German-devised diffusionism was welcomed into Marxist *etnografia* after the Soviet Revolution in order to emphasize local history and diffusion, when it was allowed. This point is well corroborated by several authors in this book, especially Klejn, Lyubychev, and Bartosiewicz.

Historically, major changes in archaeological practice and theory in Europe were either directly or indirectly triggered by key political changes in certain regions such as the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires after WWI, two world wars of the twentieth century, local wars, introduction and collapse of the

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[3] For instance, the false narrative of the Early Iron Age settlement at Biskupin in Poland as pre-Slavic. Similar examples come from Hungary, Japan, China, North Korea, etc.

communist regimes, integration with the European Union, etc. (see Novaković, 2011 for his excellent discussion regarding southeastern Europe).

"Communist Archaeology" Data and Methods

I accentuate the phrase "communist archaeology" that refers to certain peculiarities related to ideologized use of archaeological thought and practice related to socio-economic conditions established by governments controlled by members of Communist parties. I also use this phrase to distinguish between Communist-controlled archaeology and Marxist-inspired archaeological methodology and theory, i.e., between historical materialism and its Leninist-Stalinist version—particularistic dialectical materialism. Thus, my approach goes beyond of what is usually considered as "vulgar Marxism" (usually strictly dialectical materialism), which is founded on narrowly understood economic determinism to emphasize the significance of the modes of production and their control as the base of culture and prime mover of culture change. I see all sorts of dynamic changes in the past as dialectical in nature, but their causes are not limited to just economic conditions.

Below I briefly discuss some of the peculiarities of "communist archaeology."

Typical Marxist approach appears as functional and structural and predominantly non-empirical in its theoretical aspects. Its vulgar versions, especially dialectical materialism, return to empirical evidence and become particularistic in the attempt to study evidence of economic determinism in the formation of antagonistic social classes. Although "communist archaeology" overwhelmingly relied on Marxist basic thoughts, in some aspects it contradicted the classic Marxist dogma. Among its key characteristics are: centralized decision-making and control of research through the organization of central institutions such as Academy of Sciences, topical emphasis on nationalistically oriented research (ethnic pride, for instance Slavic archaeology), historicism and emphasis on the material aspect of culture, lack of theoretical diversity and insistence on historical materialism or dialectical materialism as key methodologies, emphasis on the research of every-day life as opposed to spectacular evidence of culture, dominance of empiricism (but not initially in the Soviet Union) over theoretical diversity, and emphasis on cultural continuities to justify political agendas. Naturally, some of these elements exist in many other approaches to the past, but never as such a comprehensive set of dogmatic views and practices.

The point examined here is that "communist archaeology" formed under specific political conditions in the Soviet Union and was propagated through political dominance into the Soviet Bloc countries, where it was applied with some regional flavors. Although minor differences exist among archaeologies practiced in Eastern Europe, more diversities can be recognized between Marxist-inspired archaeology practiced in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, for instance Cuba, or China and North Korea. I assume that "communist archaeology" stems specifically from the Soviet

archaeology that developed in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1970s. In order to test this assumption and understand the process of forming the "communist archaeology" I review key political events in the Soviet Union and their impact on the academic context (Table 2.1) and subsequently trace such causal relationship in the selected Eastern European countries (Table 2.2). My approach relates to a methodology known as event history, which is designed to mitigate confirmation bias.

The systematic introduction of Marxist ideas to the social sciences and early Soviet archaeology occurred in the 1920s. They were introduced through the lens of Leninists, the so-called Moscow circle. The "new methodology" was presented in papers by Artsikhovsky, Brusov, and Kiselev. The emphasis was on the social aspect of material data. This was the only time in the history of Soviet archaeology when dynamic theoretical and methodological discussions were allowed before the theoretical outlook has been framed into the dogma of class struggle and further theoretical discussions ceased at the time of Great Purge and after Kirov's death (see Klejn, Chap. 3). With the advent of the Stalinist era came centralization (control) of archaeology and the emergence of the central institution—the National Academy of the History of Material Culture. During the late 1920s and the 1930s sovietization of science including archaeology progressed. The political event associated with this phenomenon is known as the Great Purge, the replacement of older scientists and scholars with a new cohort trained to follow the new dogma. In archaeology, it was the time of dubious in quality quasi-intellectual discussions on politically motivated subjects such as class struggle as a prime-mover for social culture change. The idea was to disallow free scholarly discourse in favor of entrenching the official dogma in people's minds (pure indoctrination). The move fulfilled the needs of the official political propaganda, but hindered the advancement of archaeology in the Soviet Union and politically controlled countries for another 60 years. At the time of Kirov's death, the dogma was fully entrenched and thus empirical studies to collect the data that corroborated the dogma were reintroduced and remained the key archaeological activity. The "communist archaeology" was born.

Thus, by the time Eastern Europe became the Soviet-controlled political domain, Soviet archaeology went through dramatic changes related to the period of Great Purge and Big Terror of the 1930s. Theoretical reflections ceased and particularistic empirical studies of descriptive nature became common activity disguised as scientific (scholarly) pursuits. Scholars refocused their interests from researching the spectacular to studying the evidence of everyday life and cemeteries that produced the assumed evidence of status (class) distinction. Archaeologists produced monographs of limited scholarly value as they were frequently oriented toward presenting extended catalogs of artifacts without discussions on related social contexts. Theoretical discussions were not pursued in order not to question the politically imposed dogma of class struggle as the cause of cultural effects. A shift from sociological in nature research to reveal the human condition in the past to historical particularistic studies aimed at reconstructing the past using archaeological data only (no ethnographic analogies) characterized archaeology of the times, while the slogan "archaeology is history armed with spade" guided such an approach to study the past. In the early 1950s, Marr's theory was finally rejected as unscientific (i.e.,

Table 2.1 Timeline of political events in the Soviet Union and their impact on archaeology (some factual evidence after Klejn (Chap. 3)

Year	Event	Consequence
1880s	Sieber's publication in 1883	First attempts to introduce Marxist thought to Russian archaeology
1918	Russian Academy of Sciences discussions	Academy of Archaeology or Academy of Archaeological Knowledge proposed; Pokrovsky proposed the Academy of Material Culture; Lenin added the word "history: and thus the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture emerged
1919–1922	Faculties of the social sciences at universities	Archaeological departments at universities
1920s	Moscow circle and "new methodology"; Papers by Artsikhovsky, Brusov, Kiselev	Emphasis on the sociological aspect of material data; focus on new methodology; method of ascent to reconstruct the superstructure; Systematic introduction of Marxist thoughts to the social sciences; dynamic theoretical and methodological discussions
1926–1927	Centralization of power; Stalinist era began	The Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture turned into the National Academy of the History of Material Culture
1929 and the 1930s	"The year of great turnaround" Stalin	"Great Purge"; sovietization of the Academy; dozens of academicians arrested; replacement of personnel and refocus of archaeological studies: empiricism (artefactology) rejected and emphasis on the social aspect of artifacts (class conflict); contacts with foreign archaeologists ceased
1934	Kirovs' death	Return to empirical studies and limitation of theoretical considerations
1934–	Big Terror; cult of Stalin	Repressions among archaeologists; theoretical discussions ceased; dismissal of sociology as academic discipline; faculties of history restored at universities; emphasis on descriptive elaborations of artifacts; Soviet archaeology emerged, not keen on theoretical issues
1937	The Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences	Empirical studies of descriptive nature; monographs; shift from sociological to historical studies aimed at reconstructing the past according to the archaeological data (no ethnographic analogies); archaeology as history armed with spade; foreign contacts dangerous; refocus from researching the spectacular to everyday life; focus on cemeteries and evidence of status (class) distinction
1941–1945	Patriotic War	Nationalistic feelings and sentiments reflected in archaeological studies; Institute of Archaeology transferred from Leningrad to Moscow; Moscow became the center of Soviet archaeology
1946–1950s	Escalation of the Cold War	Glorification of nationalism and interests in ethnicities to justify territorial rights in Soviet Union and the newly emerged brotherly countries; return to studies of migrations; interest in historical ethnicities Marr's theory rejected; focus on researching the ancestors; large rescue projects

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Year	Event	Consequence
1953	Stalin's death	Political change
1956	Khrushchev's report at the 20th Congress of the party The Thaw	limited foreign relations reestablished; migratory theories restored; centralized planning introduced to scholarly activities; Slavic archaeology 1957 Academ-campus in Novosibirsk
Mid-1960s– 1970s	Khrushchev removed Brezhnev's era	More rigorous scientific standards introduced; theoretical studies returned; *détente* allowed foreign contacts and introduction of Western theories; limited academic discussions allowed but overall stagnation in scientific pursuit
1985–1991	Gorbachev, perestroika and glasnost	No essential change
1991	Yeltsin; end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War	Emergence of strong nationalistic sentiments; decentralization of archaeology; strong local centers emerged focused on studying local past; limitation of funds; foreign contacts increased substantially; liberalization in methodology and theory; crisis of archaeology; archaeology declined

non-Marxist). Research related to the ancestors focused again on past migrations and interest in historical ethnicities intensified. Nationalistic feelings and sentiments reflected once more in archaeological studies and among popular research topics were studies on ethnogenesis of Slavs and other ethnicities. Glorification of nationalism and interests in ethnicities justified territorial rights in the Soviet Union and the newly emerged Eastern European "brotherly" socialist countries and at the same time contradicted the key Marxist dogma of internationalism. The structure of archaeology has been centralized and the leading institutes of the Academy of Sciences were called to existence. In the Soviet Union, the Institute of Archaeology transferred from Leningrad to Moscow and Moscow became the center of Soviet archaeology. Contacts with foreign archaeologists, outside of the Soviet Bloc, became dangerous. Large rescue projects accompanied rapid industrialization. Most of these were also reflected in the organization and practice of archaeology in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe after 1945, as demonstrated in Table 2.2. This was the time when "communist archaeology" matured.

Soviet political and economic influence in Eastern Europe lasted from the end of WWII until 1989–1990. Local Communist-led governments propagated Soviet-style policies, which included the organization and focus of the social sciences and humanities. Archaeology was no exception. Its research agendas, theory and methodology, disciplinary organization, and practice generally followed the Soviet pattern of the late 1930s. Thus, scholars of the entire region were engaged in studying similar politically inspired topics such as histories of ethnicities, origins of local states, and daily life of common folks. Archaeologists were politically engaged in

Table 2.2 Political periods/events and their impact on archaeology in the selected Eastern European countries (some data after Gąssowski, Milisauskas, Neustupný, Nikolova and Gergova, Gringmuth-Dallmer, and Bartosiewicz (Chaps. 4–6, 8 and 9, respectively)

Period/event	Poland	Czechoslovakia	Bulgaria	GDR	Hungary
1946–1953 Stalinist era	Nationalistically oriented culture-history; Slavic archaeology 1950 political tightening—Soviet style social sciences History of material culture instead of archaeology Large-scale projects related to the origins of the state; archaeological research focused on the Middle Ages Conferences with Soviet and Czech scholars in attendance 1951 central preservation and conservation agencies 1953 Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences (IHKM PAN) 1953 Polish Archaeological Society Archaeology of Slavs and ethnogenesis of Slavs	Culture-history; migration theories Slavic archaeology 1953 Academy of Sciences and centralization of control of archaeological works nation-wide Empirical research dominated Large-scale projects related to the origin of the state	Nationalistically oriented culture-history; Slavic archaeology National Archaeological Institute and Museum Empirical nature of studies Archaeology of the Middle Ages Ethnogenesis of the Bulgars Emphasis on the studies of common people	Nationalistically oriented culture-history; Slavic archaeology Academy of Sciences 1954 Bodendenkmalpflege 1953 first attempts to use Marxism-Leninism (Otto) 1952 Museum of German History (state propaganda) Mandatory classes on Marxism-Leninism	Nationalistically oriented culture-history; V. Gordon Childe Political tightening after 1947 until 1953; medieval archaeology not part of the curriculum before 1947 From 1948 archaeological training for museologists Marrist theory 1949 Hungarian Academy of Sciences become central institution; massive rescue excavations due to rapid industrialization; increase in university enrollment and guaranteed employment 1950 Hungarian version of the journal *Sovietskaja Arkeologija* 1951 HAS publishing house monopolized publications on archaeology Methodology and chronological terms borrowed from Soviet archaeology; dialectical materialism common but not dominating Archaeology of social classes (powerless and oppressed) Ethnogenesis of Hungarians

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

Period/event	Poland	Czechoslovakia	Bulgaria	GDR	Hungary
1954–1960s Hungarian Uprising 1956 Polish uprising of 1956 Post-Stalinist era The Thaw of 1954–1964 1961 Berlin Wall Prague Spring 1968 Brezhnev Doctrine of 1968	Academy of Sciences and centralization of archaeological works; millennial anniversary works and emphasis on the origins of the state; international cooperation—projects in France, Great Britain, and Italy	Liberalization and first foreign contacts 1966 rescue works increased Empirically oriented archaeology continued Paleolithic research diminished and medieval archaeology flourished Early attempts at processual archaeology and new methodology that included interdisciplinary approach and ecological approach	Limited travel abroad and foreign contacts Decentralization of funds—money allocated to local museums Rescue projects intensified New archaeological journals	Kulturbund Interdisciplinary approach Herrmann research at Tornow	1956 regional museums 1957 Department of Medieval Archaeology 1958 Archaeological Research Group of the HAS Western influences after 1960 1967 Institute of Archaeology HAS "Red tails" common Foreign expeditions
After 1968–1970s Socialism with a human face	Archaeological Survey of Poland; international cooperation; limited methodological and theoretical discussions Lack of synthesizing studies	Despite ideological liberalization Party recruitment increased (conformist membership) Secret police infiltrations Foreign contacts	1969 new law on museums and heritage preservation; Long-term, large-scale excavations to commemorate the increase in international contacts after 1976; interdisciplinary studies; low methodological and theoretical standards (culture history) Thracology, related to ethnicity of modern Bulgarians Archaeological Map of Bulgaria	Significant reforms of universities and the Academy 1968–1969 ideological toughening 1972 foreign expeditions	Late 1960s Archaeological Topography of Hungary—nation-wide survey Interdisciplinary approach
1980s 1985 Gorbachev in power Perestroika	Foreign contacts increased	Foreign contacts increased	1981 sizable budget to research the origins of the state Later 1980s—collapse of state funding Rescue projects Empirical approach dominates Treasure-hunting and trafficking of artifacts	1982 official textbook used in university courses Limited interdisciplinary approach	Revival of nationalistic research agendas after 1989 Foreign expeditions increased

the creation of an image of the past to fit the local propaganda, even if personally they felt indifferent to the overwhelming (totalitarian) political pressure. Colleagues investigating older epochs were under less pressure, but also received less funds from those who studied agrarian, sedentary societies, where class conflict, if not clearly visible in the archaeological records, could have been assumed. The teaching structure and the number of graduates who specialized in certain topics strongly suggest that the emphasis was on researching the class structure of the Roman Period and feudalism of the Middle Ages (cf. also Lozny, 2011 regarding the structure of graduates in Polish archaeology 1946–1980), the periods for which the archaeological data and written sources could have been used to corroborate political agendas. Archaeologist supported by the data from well-funded projects and dubious-quality historical written sources engaged in lengthy discussions on the origins of Slavs and the origin of states to corroborate territorial claims or common to some modern states (so-called brotherly-nations) ethnic ancestry (identified as Slavic), disregarding their multiethnic (coalescent) compositions that formed over time. In effect, for instance the historically justified cultural Polish-German dichotomy fueled heated debates regarding territoriality of past cultures, which disallowed the recognition of a possibility that the societies of the 400–500s CE that formed in Central Europe during the so-called Migration Period could have been in fact coalescent groups (Lozny, 2013) composed of migrating groups (imagined as Slavs) and remaining Germanic stock, as a total replacement of the societies existing in the region at that time seems simply impossible. During the 800s CE, also the Norse who penetrated the Baltic region, left their imprint among the populations of Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, the early medieval population of Central Europe was certainly not ethnically homogenous.

Based on my analysis of political events and/or processes presented in Table 2.2, I have divided the period of "communist archaeology" of Eastern Europe into four subperiods: the Stalinist era (1945–1953), the Thaw (1954–1955 to 1968), socialism with the human face (from about 1970 until 1985), and perestroika (from 1985 until 1989–1990), when Communist governments vanished and the USSR was dissolved in 1991.

The Stalinist Era

This is the time when mature "communist archaeology" was introduced in Eastern Europe. Post-WWII archaeology in the region, which after WWII became the Soviet domain, was strongly related to what in the late 1920s and early 1930s in Soviet Union has been labeled as the bourgeois science of artefactology, that is strictly empirical, positivistic studies. Empirical studies returned to favor in the Soviet Union during the Great Purge and Big Terror of the 1930s and thus studies limited to theory-free descriptions favored by Eastern European archaeologists of the 1945–1955/1956 fit the Soviet model of "communist archaeology" as materialistic, nonevolutionary, particularistic, and nationalistic in nature. This approach

resembles Childe's culture-history, but is limited to data presentation with none or minor interpretation of the data in a social evolutionary context. It was used to oppose the overwhelmingly simplistic Kossinnian version of culture-history of Central and Eastern Europe, flavored by the modern version of the nineteenth century pan-Slavic movement propagated in its Soviet version as the "brotherly nations" model, in which the only cultural change referred to the type of social formation. If the closest to Childe's culture-history approach may have been followed in Hungary, the rest of the region devised equally simplistic anti-Kossinnian response and thus I do not refer to the empirical studies of the Stalinist era, and also later times, in Eastern Europe as culture-history, but particularistic quasi-culture-history indicative of the matured "communist archaeology", an approach which was not ideology-free but designed to serve ideological purposes.

Such a model to practice archaeology was in sync with a larger nationalistic in nature agenda to create "archaeology of ethnicity," a methodologically dubious concept still favored by archaeologists of Eastern Europe. Thus, the archaeology of Slavs emerged as neither archaeology, nor history, but a history-with-spade, the Soviet version of what was later called medieval archaeology, a subdiscipline in which archaeological data and historical sources merged to serve primarily political gains.

During this era, the question on the origins of state was also raised and gained significance in Poland and Czechoslovakia due to the link with the introduction of Christianity into both regions. Thus, the origins of the state were not researched to answer the question: How and why states emerge? The focus was not on revealing the (pre)conditions of the process of state formation, on understanding how states form, but on juxtaposing the otherwise historically nonsensical statement, at least in the Polish case, but favored by nationalists and the Catholic Church, that refers to "Christianization of Poland" in the tenth century. In effect, an unprecedented in scale archaeological project was launched that produced minor results, except accumulating overwhelming amount of data still awaiting proper elaborations. Neither "Christianization" of the country, nor the existence of the state at that time, has been corroborated or disproven. Perhaps this was the latent goal of these studies: to contradict the nationalists and the Church's claim. Nevertheless, the project served public expectations to search for the origins of the state (nationalistic pride), linked with the introduction of Christianity (most Poles identify as Roman Catholics) and thus produced mythologized origins of Poland.

Another common theme was sovietization of science in terms of its structure. During the post-WWII period archaeology in the Soviet satellite countries was restructured to fit the Soviet model. In all countries selected for the comparative analysis presented in Table 2.2, Institutes of the History of Material Culture were established as centers to lead and control archaeological investigations state-wide. Centralization of decision-making inflicted especially on research agendas and distribution of funds.

On the other hand, due to rapid industrialization throughout Eastern Europe large-scale rescue excavations have been organized. Without a clear strategy regarding how, why, and what archaeological remains should be "rescued," these works

produced massive amount of data, which without proper documentation contributed to the assemblage of facts, rendered useless for further elaborations.

Sovietization of archaeology in the Warsaw Pact countries is symbolized by the publication of the journal *Soviet Archaeology* in Hungarian. In other countries the journal was available in its original language.

The Thaw

During the second period, which lasted from about 1954-1955 until the end of the 1960s, the status of "communist archaeology" in Eastern Europe has been established. The title of Ehrenburg's novel "The Thaw" is used here to point out the sort of political change introduced after Stalin's death (1953) until the imposition of the Brezhnev Doctrine in 1968. Loosening of political grip in the USSR also resulted in a series of unsuccessful social upheavals and uprisings in some Warsaw Pact Soviet allies. Especially remembered are the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Poznań uprising of 1956, and the Prague Spring of 1968. These were preceded by not-widely remembered the first significant rebellions in the Warsaw Pact, the country-wide uprising of June 1953 in Soviet-occupied East Germany, initiated by a strike of construction workers in East Berlin and commemorated by Berthold Brecht[4] in the poem *Die Lösung* (The Solution), and also the June 1953 Plzeň uprising in Czechoslovakia. Paradoxically, the period dubbed as "The Thaw" is also symbolized by the most tragic move to separate the European political East and West, the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

Political changes of this period have not inspired significant alterations in archaeological thought and practice. Empirical, particularistic studies continued with limited use of historical and dialectical materialism. Academy of Sciences remained the key science-controlling governmental agency (some writers used the term "the ministry of science"). Slavic archaeology, disguised now as medieval archaeology to diffuse its highly nationalistic context, gained region-wide recognition and the history-with-spade methodology was still followed and, in fact, favored. Slavic archaeology became the key area of archaeological interest in expense of other periods, especially studies of the Paleolithic Period.

Rescue works continued and specialized state agencies emerged to handle the volume of works. As in the previous period, these projects produced quantity of data not fully elaborated. Reports in the form of catalogs of artifacts sometimes identified as typological studies were the most common outcomes of such projects.

Interestingly, however, some innovations in the existing methodologies were introduced, namely experiments with interdisciplinary approaches, which included ecological outlooks (especially interesting are works by Herrmann at Tornow), the processual approach in Czechoslovakia propagated by Neustupný, the emergence of

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[4] Recipient of Stalin's Peace Prize in 1954. The award was later renamed as the International Lenin Peace Prize.

new professional journals, etc. Researchers also reported liberalization of rules regarding travel abroad either to the Warsaw Pact countries or to the West, but international contacts were still limited to conferences and sporadic visits. Only trusted people were allowed to travel abroad. The period is also characterized by a very limited number of expeditions in foreign countries. Nevertheless, all these were not clear reroutes from the dogma of "communist archaeology" of the time although at the same time Soviet archaeologists introduced more rigorous scientific standards, theoretical studies returned, and the official policy of *détente* at the end of this period and through the next period allowed for increased foreign contacts and the introduction of some Western theories. Overall, despite limited academic discussions, stagnation in scholarly pursuit of the past prevailed.

Socialism with a Human Face

The decade of the 1970s in Communist-ruled countries was characterized by the policy of *détente* known in Russian as *разрядка* (relaxation of tension). The policy was underlined by the SALT I treaty and the Helsinki Accords. It ended in 1980 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow by the USA. The Cold War intensified with the introduction of Ronald Reagan's foreign policies, who won presidency in 1980 running on anti-*détente* platform. The Cold War officially ended in December 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union by presidents of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, known as the Belavezha Accords.

   The Helsinki Accords of August 1975 with the provisions to grant civil rights was crucial for the social scientists in the Soviet-controlled countries. It profoundly weakened the Brezhnev's Doctrine of 1968, which retroactively justified Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 and the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 by the Warsaw Pact forces. The Doctrine officially ended in 1989 when Gorbachev refused to intervene in Poland allowing free elections in the aftermath of the so-called Round-Table talks between the ruling Communist Party and members of political opposition, which resulted in the establishment of the first non-Communist government in Poland after 1945. Thus, the decade of the 1970s was the first time in the Communist-controlled countries of true political "thawing out." I characterize this decade, along with the early 1980s, as the "carrot and stick" policy. In archaeology it was revealed as toughening of the ideological grip and limitations in methodological and theoretical approaches, increase in secret police infiltrations among students and faculty, reforms of universities and academic institutions in the GDR, and the emergence of a new ethnically oriented subfield—Thracology—in Bulgaria. On the other hand, the authorities allowed for an increase in foreign contacts and foreign expeditions. Also, the participation of foreign scholars in projects conducted in the Warsaw Pact countries intensified. These contacts paved grounds for the introduction of new theories and methodologies, especially interdisciplinary approaches to the past, which mostly materialized within the following decade of the 1980s.

Large-scale subsurface projects continued and a new initiative emerged in several Warsaw Pact countries at the same time—country-wide pedestrian survey to create a map of distribution of archaeological sites within the country. This period introduced first, but minor cracks in the "communist archaeology" dogma.

1980s and Perestroika

The decade of the 1980s ended with dismantling of the Communist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989–1990. During those politically turbulent times, especially in Poland 1980–1981 and later within the entire Soviet Bloc in 1989–1990, state-sponsored financial basis of archaeology crumbled and never regained its status of the earlier "affluent" communist times. At the end of this period, at times of systemic changes of undefined character, decommunization was the common mantra. The newly emerging system was neither capitalists, nor socialists, but a mixture of both and such ambiguity was also present in archaeological thought and practice. I refer to this phenomenon as the emergence of vernacular archaeologies, where due to certain constraints either in the understanding of the concept or lack of the necessary tools (such as computers for complex region-wide statistical elaborations), or the necessary techniques to collect ecological data, the processual approach was carved from its original Anglo-American form to fit the local conditions. For instance, the middle-range theory was not fully applied, but regional in focus studies were truly exceptional. I consider the study by Władysław Łosiński (1982) the best application of the processual approach to regional study in Central Europe, although I am not sure whether the author would agree with me that he indeed followed such an approach. The processual approach was championed in Central Europe by Evžen Neustupný, the author of the chapter on Czechoslovakia in this book, and also introduced to archaeologists in Poland by another contributor to this book, the American archaeologist Sarunas Milisauskas.

Thus, during this period evidence of liberalization in methodology and theory and especially experimentation with processual archaeology (new archaeology) either in its British (Clarke) or American (Binford) version is clearly visible. However, most colleagues remained within the materialist and non-evolutionary version of the quasi-culture-history "communist archaeology" approach and kept producing descriptive accounts of types of artifacts (tools, settlements, etc.), creating catalogs of finds rather than academically significant monographs. Strong nationalistic sentiments continued and were even amplified in some countries (Russia, Hungary, and to some extent Poland). Decentralization of archaeological activities after 1989 produced potent local centers focused on studying local past cultural sequences. At the same time, such regionalization limited the availability of funds. Despite significant increase in foreign contacts, crisis of archaeology was obvious and the discipline declined. The times of uncertain systemic transition did not bring much expected change as evidenced in the chapters presented by the contributors to my earlier book on the status of archaeologies worldwide (Lozny, 2011).

Discussion

My further discussion of the peculiarities of "communist archaeology" is organized in the following subsections:

1. Archaeology as history-with-spade.
2. Exploratory thoughts on archaeological theory under communism: historical and dialectical materialism.
3. State control and national archaeologies.
4. Marxist-inspired archaeology and postcolonial context.

Archaeology as History-with-Spade

In the Communist-ruled countries archaeology was closely linked to history, in fact it was recognized as a part of history, its auxiliary subfield. To study archaeology, whether in China or the Soviet Union, one had to enroll to a program in history departments. In order to better serve the politically motivated goals, archaeologists in some of the Soviet-controlled countries were trained to become historians with specialty in archaeology. History provided the necessary ideological background to interpret archaeological data. From the ideological point of view such bond seemed logical and inseparable.

What does archaeology gain from its marriage to history? In my view, it becomes a method, a part of history-with-spade methodology with built-in confirmation bias to research a priori historical judgments rather than to look for causes of cultural change, prone to manipulation of the data it produces. In case of Soviet-devised "communist archaeology," the historical aspect was limited to studying the past socioeconomic systems and their impact on other aspects of culture. Thus, I do not see archaeology in the Soviet-controlled countries as safe from political influence haven just because it dealt with artifacts and was theory-free, but a part of a far-reaching plan carefully executed by political planners. There is also understanding of the complimentary role of both disciplines and the relationship between history and archaeology should not be attributed exclusively to the Communist control, because it derives from a local European-wide tradition. Also, academic structuring of archaeology in history departments was not limited to Communist-ruled countries and is still perpetuated wherever archaeology is presented as a part of history. The key point is not to see just a relationship between history and archaeology, which is understandable, but how was this relationship used, to what purpose, etc.

In a larger European context of the twentieth century, the relationship between archaeology and history is usually revealed as the culture-history approach, which is generally considered strictly empirical, descriptive, somewhat evolutionary, and of none or limited explanatory value. In its radical form culture-history became a history of spectacular artifacts alienated from their social contexts and displayed in numerous museums as "treasures" of different folks. This image is still visible in

numerous European museums. Such archaeology does not answer any significant questions about people or social relations from which these artifacts derive. In Marxist terms, it becomes bourgeois archaeology, unrelated to people who were the makers and users of artifacts. Therefore, it might seem puzzling at first why was Marxist-based archaeology in the Soviet Bloc countries after 1945 limited to studying artefactual evidence of past cultures (history of material culture) if so-called artefactology was criticized and dismissed as the bourgeois approach. In order to understand this, we must return to the 1920s Moscow and the emergence of the so-called Moscow circle in 1924 (Artsikhovsky, Brusov, and Kiselev). From that time until the return to strictly empirical-based studies after 1934, Soviet archaeology was about investigating specific social problems and relied more on theoretical assumptions than factual evidence. It was, one could say, anti-empirical, non-evolutionary in its foundations and particularistic. We might criticize its intellectual foundations from the methodological point of view, but it was certainly an intellectual improvement over non-intellectual and materialistically oriented culture-history that dominated European archaeology of the time. Marxist-based (Soviet) archaeology, as any other archaeology, was the study of human social life revealed through material evidence, but focused on the nature of social relations between the makers and owners of things, seen as an antagonistic class struggle. As such, archaeology became a particularistic sociological discipline with diachronic approach to data and thus connected to anthropology and sociology via the concept of culture (understood as patterned social life) and its change over time. Such connection between artifacts and their makers and users/owners is inseparable and it has been realized by the founders of the Latin social archaeology (see Sanoja & Vargas, 2011), but not by other followers of Marxist thoughts, especially in Eastern Europe. The fundamental man-object-artifact connection and its dynamics (materiality) are not fully revealed through historical studies. The built-in confirmation bias of Soviet "communist archaeology" limited observations of the past social behavior to identifying the means of production in historical times and their influence on social relations, and to tracing those relations back in time through the application of the retrospective method that utilized the archaeological data combined with dubious quality historical written records. Archaeology became an extension of history, a method to investigate historically recognized and observable social relations. In such a case, the retrospective method used to demonstrate cultural continuity of certain social relations morphed to a historical method that relied on the ability to "read" (understand) the archaeological evidence; archaeology became *history-with-spade*. While history and observations of modern societies were used to reveal and identify evidence of the existing class struggle, archaeology provided data, even if questionable, for the existence of such antagonistic relations in the past. With this aim, falsification and fabrication of data was justified for strictly propaganda reasons. The North Korean Jucheism is an example of such extreme manipulation. Chris Borstel who studied Communist-controlled archaeology in China in the 1980s, quotes a provocative observation on the nature of such relationship between history and archaeology, which is not commonly realized. As one Chinese archaeologist concluded, archaeological finds can "reveal historical facts" but written his-

tory can "reverse the truth" (Borstel, 1993:84). Such realization puts serious doubts on the whole concept of archaeology as history-with-spade approach, for the value of archaeological records lies in the fact that they might correct history, or uncover events not discussed in written sources, and not just in their (possible) ability to corroborate what is known from historical sources.

Why then fairly intellectual and based on specific set of theoretical assumptions, government-controlled Soviet archaeology of the 1920s became atheoretical and anti-intellectual? Leo Klejn (Chap. 3) points out to a single political event that halted the enthusiasm for theory among Soviet archaeologists. The event was death of Kirov in 1934 and the beginning of the Great Purge. As Klejn puts it:

> In these conditions it was easier to hold a view that Marxist bases of [Soviet] archaeology are already established and do not require any innovations. Theoretical work ceased and researchers limited themselves with particular elaborations of materials in the direction outlined earlier. Yet some ideas of the preceding period (the criticism of typological artefactology, attention to functional connections of the artefacts in assemblages, etc.) received the belated realization in the functional-traceological method of S. A. Semenov. (Klejn, Chap. 3)

And he further writes that:

> Historians were recommended to proceed with particular research and to study facts. In 1934 historical faculties were restored at universities. Negative attitude toward theoretical work in historical disciplines found its expression in some aspects of the developing since 1934 criticism of Pokrovsky's views: in the condemnation of the "sociological schematism" and in the demand of particular historical views. This prompted archaeologists to turn to empirical works of descriptive character, produce propensity to details, to academic solidity. Monographic elaborations of specific themes appeared as well as publications of artefacts. (Klejn, Chap. 3)

Thus, the turn to quasi-culture-history approach (particularistic, empirical, and non-evolutionary) does not seem to have been firmly related to archaeologists' decision to reject the Marxist view. It was navigated by the governmental agencies to follow Stalin's directive to abandon theory in favor of purely descriptive, empirical, and particularistic studies directed toward researching selected social topic related to the daily life of past societies. I doubt whether such directive contributed to, as Klejn puts it, "academic solidity," but the policy certainly reversed archaeology's course back to it source—(selected) material evidence. The problem was in the built-in bias to select and understand data. Dialectically understood history of social relations became the guiding tool for archaeology. The discipline lost its sociological (anthropological) perspective and became a particularistic, empirical-based study to produce descriptive research reports, catalogs of artifacts used to reconstruct rather than understand the past. Such anti-intellectual approach, further disturbed by the Marr's idea of stadiality, fit the ideological concept of the Soviet-propagated communism of the 1930s, when the end of theory meant the agreement with the established dogma (which in the 1930s Soviet Union saved lives).

In case of archaeologies in the former Soviet Bloc, the culture-history paradigm is still commonly followed, despite shy attempts to introduce often vernacular versions of alternative theoretical reasoning. Only recently new theoretical currents are visible in the region primarily due to Anglo-American influence. The legacy of

culture-history and its particularistic Soviet "communist" version continues in various countries of the former Soviet Bloc and other regions influenced by Soviet politics. For instance, due to double inspiration from the US at the prerevolutionary period and also Soviet ideological influence after the Cuban Revolution of 1953–1959, archaeology of the Caribbean region, including Cuba, remains within the widely understood culture-history paradigm. In case of Cuba and other Caribbean nations, archaeology was used to search for identity of its mixed population (Curet, 2011). The methodology used was, however, typical for the traditional European approach, also accepted in Soviet archaeology, to see archaeology as auxiliary to history (history-with-spade methodology). Even if the origin of this approach may have been introduced through the culture-history approach it has certainly been reinforced and simplified by Soviet-inspired scholarship. Nevertheless, the history-with-spade approach in Cuba was not limited to searching the history of the means of production and their role in creating the condition for social organization. The goal was, as elsewhere in Latin America, to define cultures, establish basic chronologies, and identify waves of migrations. Thus, the Spanish chronicles were considered key source of information and the archaeological data were employed to confirm the chronicles instead of complementing them. In effect, for instance, the modern Dominican culture was seen as a blend of European, native, and African traditions.

Thus, it is not paradoxical that culture-history generally does not contradict the Soviet-style particularistic and empirical studies (communist archaeology) introduced in the Soviet Union after 1934 at least in one aspect, its focus on the material evidence and reliance on such data to produce relative chronologies or descriptive catalogs of artifacts. It does, however, oppose the general outlook of Marxist-inspired archaeology, which is primarily devoted to testing theoretical assumptions. Thus, historical materialism and the method of dialectical materialism fit the traditional culture-history, but do not replace it entirely. Without diffusionism and key arguments for cultural continuity and change embedded in ecological determinism, nonevolutionary and empirically oriented culture-history turns close to Soviet-designed historical materialism identified here as "communist archaeology."

Exploratory Thoughts on Archaeological Theory Under Communism: Historical and Dialectical Materialism[5]

Here, I briefly discuss the correlation between political history of archaeology and archaeological theory and practice under communism. Through the lens of political history, I examine events, ideas, movements, leaders, and their impact on

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[5] This section is based on my paper presented at the session entitled: Archaeology under communism and beyond: political dimensions of archaeology, organized by Ludomir Lozny at the 32nd Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference at Bristol University, Bristol, UK, December 2010.

archaeological theories and practices. I also analyze selected archaeological theories and the style of their presentation in academic teaching and archaeological literature.

Dialectical and Materialistic Approach to the Past

Dialectical approach is a discursive method of reasoning through the use of basic logic (dialectical reasoning). The approach had been known since Plato's dialogues and it is present in all major philosophical currents of Europe and Asia, but has been modified in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to focus on specific type of reasoning and specific data, offering a new way to understand the epistemology of social groups. In Marxist dialectics the material world became the Hegelian ideal. If the Marxist dialectics related to understanding nature (philosophy of nature), the Soviet version of dialectical materialism, introduced by Lenin and reinforced by Stalin, became firstly the philosophy of history and the social sciences and secondly, in its Stalinist variation, just history. Class struggle became the key social contradiction to be studied through Marxist-Engels' dialectics and eventually resolved through political actions. Dialectical materialism became a method to investigate such struggle, especially within the framings of its Leninist-Stalinist modifications.

Marxist dialectical materialism is somewhat evolutionary as it refers to the related stages that the natural world goes through, for instance progress in the development of social formations from "primitive" to complex based on Morgan's model of simple unilineal social evolution. Antievolutionary approach of Leninist-Stalinist dialectics is presented in the concept of development, which is not evolutionary but proceeds in "leaps, catastrophes, revolutions" (Lenin, 1980:7–9). Change happens through negation of adaptation. Conflict (symbolized and culturally codified) becomes the driving force of culture change.

Stalin (1938) declared dialectical materialism the method to study histories of societies, especially by focusing on historical materialism, the history of the means (modes) of production, i.e., the causal relation between the organization of technology and a form of social relations. Historical materialism was the methodology to study changes in levels of social organization determined by society's mode of production and ownership of the means of production. One of the key principles of dialectical historical materialism relevant to archaeology is that the type of mode of production defines the level of class distinction. Historically trained and ideologically indoctrinated archaeologists grasped the concept, whereas its material context, which still is the bread and butter of archaeology, was limited to specific data that should confirm antagonistic class relations. The problem was in applying this methodology to reveal variety and changes in social organization and social interactions (division of labor, social status, hierarchy, etc.) by focusing on just one type of data related to the mode of production underlined by forces and relations of production. This might have neither been easily comprehended by philosophically less inclined scholars, nor clearly visible in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, historical

materialism dwelled on particularistic, empirical data collected by archaeologists who imagined that they were pursuing a sort of culture-history. This kind of theory/methodology has presently many Marxist and non-Marxist variants.

The example I am going to use to illustrate several of my points is based on my observations made as a Fulbright fellow in Poland in the 1990s. I discussed the application of Marxist ideas in Polish archaeology in my earlier book (Lozny, 2011), and here I just outline some of the major points. Although I use Polish archaeology of the 1949–1980 as an example, I actually refer to a larger context of Eastern Europe. What needs to be emphasized first is the fact that Marxism used in Polish archaeology was in contrast to all the positivist currents so overwhelmingly present in European archaeological tradition to this day. The material culture approach (historical materialism) was a new trend in European historiography before WWII. In Poland it was introduced not by communists of the Stalinist era who took the country over after WWII, but its origin can be traced back to the *Annales School* of historiography pioneered in Poland by Jan Rutkowski and Franciszek Bujak before the Second World War. The approach articulated the conviction that the material conditions of life constitute the background of the historical process and was in agreement with the Marxist doctrine of historical materialism (but not with Marxist notion of the significance of social class struggle for historical processes).

Two preliminary assumptions direct my research:

1. Despite the fact that most archaeologists remained indifferent to Marxist theory, archaeology in the former East European Bloc should not be viewed as unrelated to the Soviet-designed paradigm (communist archaeology).
2. This part of Europe remains within the primarily positivistic paradigm of researching the past, which does not contradict the broadly understood Marxist orientation (historical materialism).

Following these assumptions, I hypothesize that although Marxist theories were known to social scholars of the twentieth century, their full (conscious) acceptance by Eastern European archaeologists happened rarely due to local tradition, lack of theoretical discussion, and the style of the Soviet-designed particularistic and empirical model to practice archaeology, introduced in the region after 1945. Unlike the positivist approach, so overwhelmingly present in European archaeological tradition until present, simplified Marxism was used as an analytical tool rather than theory. The follow-up hypothesis is that the methodology of historical materialism used to explain past social interactions was common to a broader European archaeological tradition and did not contradict the functional in essence, particularistic and positivistic (empirical) approach of Soviet archaeology after 1934. Marxist historical materialism dwells on the positivistic approach, but its relation to ideology in the Soviet version makes it anti-positivist, a social construct of a qualitative character.

Marxist-inspired ideas, especially historical materialism, have been introduced to the region from the West (Childe, the *Annales School*), and the political context established in Eastern Europe after 1945 reinforced those approaches and introduced the Soviet-style version of particularistic empirical studies developed in the 1930s. Interestingly, Marxist-based qualitative and essentially anti-positivist social

archaeology present in the USSR in the 1920s, and later in South America, was not common in Eastern Europe. For instance, the debate between Marxism, which examines history in terms of productive forces, and versions in which such determinism is variously transformed, is pivotal to the theoretical development already taking place in Europe. Similarly, debates involving an analysis of positivistic approaches show an array of different epistemological orientations.

To illustrate my points, I discuss the preliminary data from two contexts: university teaching and publications, both in reference to the development of Polish archaeology in the period from 1949 to 1980.

The university teaching is divided into four periods: 1945–1956, 1960s, 1970s–1980s and after.

University Teaching 1945–1956 (Stalinist Era)

Theoretical focus offered in university courses was oriented toward studying the material culture, but within the Soviet-modified quasi-culture-history context devoted to selected aspects of materiality. The emphasis on the study of material culture was not in violation of the traditional culture-history approach as both were broadly founded in the positivistic, empirical methodological approach, except that the new approach was not evolutionary, but particularistic in its general outlook and it better fit the Soviet style quasi-culture-history designed to examine the relationship between the modes of production and the type of social organization.

University Teaching in the 1960s (The Thaw)

University teaching changed somewhat after 1956. Academic curricula were adjusted after the political events of 1956, which may have been actually rooted in the political context created in 1953 after Stalin's death and the beginning of the Thaw in the USSR. The scheme of the history of material culture, which overwhelmed university training, lessened as other Marxist-inspired critical reflections began to appear in Polish universities. The University of Poznań and particularly the circle of scholars around Jerzy Kmita was the most influential Polish school of philosophy of science at that time. It inspired methodology of historical disciplines, but faintly reflected on archaeologists.

Further improvements in university teaching relate to the end of the 1960s and another tragic political event in Eastern Europe—the Prague Spring of 1968—and the introduction of a new style of sovietization dubbed by some political scientists and journalists as "socialism with a human face." This colloquial signifier is not very accurate because political infiltration among students and faculty and ideologization actually intensified, but it was sweetened by loosening the policy regarding foreign contacts and travel. In consequence, theoretical discussions have been ignited by the 1968 publication of David Clarke's Analytical Archaeology and it certainly inspired the English-language publication of a set of papers on theoretical

issues in Poland in 1980 titled *Unconventional Archaeology,* under the editorship of Romulad Schild (1980). Otherwise, Anglo-American theories were mute while limited theoretical discussions have been inspired through personal contacts of some scholars with the *Annales School*.

Socialism with the Human Face and Perestroika (the 1970s and 1980s)

During the 1970s and especially the 1980s, access to foreign literature as well as travel abroad intensified and university curricula included courses on world's archaeology with references to foreign publications, mostly German, French, and some English, available in local libraries (especially journals). Socialism with the human face got a lift as Communist leaders officially complied with the terms of the Helsinki Accords[6] while later, in the 1980s, Gorbachev's perestroika successfully breached the Wall that separated the East from the West since 1961. Since the mid-1980s more archaeologists then ever were allowed to visit the West, namely the neighboring Germany, but also France and Scandinavia became popular destinations, where they participated in exchange programs and joint scholarly projects. Polish archaeologists also participated in the first WAC meeting in Southampton, England in 1986. Some colleagues took this new opportunity to travel to educate themselves in topics never addressed in university classes behind the Iron Curtain. Others just enjoyed traveling and never learned much.

In consequence of the changes of the 1970s and 1980s, the gap between the practitioners and theoreticians broadened due to the fact that alternative theoretical/methodological approaches have been introduced such as strictly positivistic and evolutionary (processual) new archaeology with its key principles not available in the Polish language. Theoretical discussions have been monopolized by a very small group associated with the Institute of the History of Material Culture. Until 1980, only several significant methodological papers were published devoted to the discussion on the meaning of archaeological culture and the methodology of their archaeological determination.

In the beginning of the 1980s the seminar led by Stanislaw Tabaczyński became the main center of theoretical discussion in Poland. Most of the Polish archaeological community, however, remained indifferent to these intellectual efforts. Archaeologists continued the traditional atheoretical practice of archaeology and only minor influence of foreign ideas, mostly French and limited British and American can be noticed although not without a tint of Marxist flavor.

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[6] Eastern European Communist leaders were among the signatories of this Accords. In consequence small groups of political dissidents in Eastern European countries organized and openly presented their political views to reform the system and to respect the basic human rights. The best known to me opposition movements emerged in Poland in 1976 and 1977 and Czechoslovakia in 1977. Archaeologists were not among their signatories or members, but some became active sympathizers.
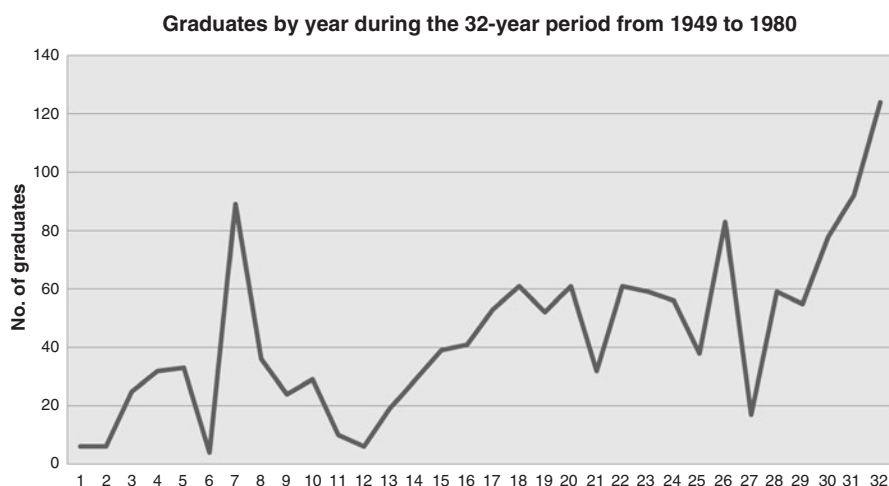
Graduates by year during the 32-year period from 1949 to 1980

Fig. 2.1 Number of graduates from Polish universities, 1949–1980 (after Lozny, 2011)

The key point presented in Fig. 2.1 that covers 32 years of Polish archaeology between 1949 and 1980 is to see two peaks regarding the number of archaeology graduates. The first one relates to the years 1955–1956 and the second to 1980. Most of the graduates of the 1955–1956 became teachers and researchers and they controlled and shaped Polish archaeology until 1980 when a larger, new crop of graduates entered the scene. Some became university professors and researchers, but many vanished in despair. The first group was educated on the principles of the Soviet-style particularistic empiricism mixed with the traditional European culture-history and they introduced this type of reasoning, with less emphasis on class struggle, to the class of 1980. Many followed such teaching and became producers of descriptive reports of limited scholarly value. They recycled old ideas furnished with new data of the same qualitative worth. But some rebelled and sought new ideas in the now available foreign publications or through personal contacts abroad. Nevertheless, those who were truly interested in advancing archaeological theory remained in crushing minority. Despite flaws in the academic training regarding theory,[7] such paucity of theoretical interests also relates to the lack of adequate literature.

The second set of data relates to archaeological publications. I assembled the data using two published reports: Abramowicz (1991) and Tabaczyński (1995).

There are four groups of archaeological publications in regard to presenting/not presenting theoretical issues, especially the application of the Marxist paradigm: the first group, which is also the largest one, does not show any explicit affinity to Marxism, while the other three present some traits of the Marxist approach either in

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[7] I represent to the class of 1980. My university transcript 1975–1980 does not include any classes on theory in archaeology, but one on Marxist philosophy.

their methodological or theoretical aspects, or discuss a wider approach to Marxism that deviates somehow from the Soviet-style dialectical materialism.

Publications with No Theoretical Content

Publications included into this category are free of Marxist influence and also do not offer any other, non-Marxist theoretical reflections. This category is dominated by purely descriptive works, concerning typological and chronological classifications of the material evidence and simple discussions of the results of field investigations. Any explanatory attempts rarely went beyond the use of models such as migration, diffusion, or simplistic Morgan-style unilineal evolution. In both cases a consideration of what was not tangible or directly observable (issues related to elements of social organization such as family, kinship, marriage, gender, but also religion) is lacking. It resembles the empirical studies propagated by the Soviet-style particularistic "communist" quasi-culture-history and thus remains within the Soviet, although not truly Marxist paradigm. This is the largest group of publications produced between 1945 and 1989. They are of dubious scholarly quality and do not contribute more than sheer catalogs of artifacts.

Publications with Historical Materialism as Methodology

The second group includes works in which authors suggest historical materialism as a factor influencing the direction and conceptualization of research. In such publications historical materialism was used as an analytical tool, but these works generally present positivistic (empiricist) outlook with limited or none theoretical propositions. This is visible in the choice of themes and the organization of facts, terminology, and overall conceptual apparatus. This category of publications is also sizable and represents scholarly qualitative improvement over the first group. They illustrate the point that:

> …historical and dialectical materialism, with a measure of common sense and in agreement with the evidence, may be a useful tool for archaeologist, when concerning the sphere of production and the manifestation of the day-to-day existence of past societies. Directives such as the necessity of investigation of the whole of the historical process, regardless of the type of sources, also demonstrated their usefulness. This aided bridging the gap between archaeology and history, as well as encouraging the principle of collective and planned investigations. In the longer term, it led to the studies of the origins of urban centers, the genesis and development of activities of artisans, and later to the consideration of rural topics. (Tabaczyński, 1995)

The quality of such works varied and depended on the ability and invention of the individual author. Too often, however, the choice of the theme and the use of certain concepts formed only a kind of challenge, which remained unmet by the practice of research still anchored in the positivist tradition. On the other hand, there was a variable degree of knowledge of the theory of historical materialism. What is

very important, this theory was often treated not only as a source of inspiration, helpful in the process of explanation, but as a collection of ready-made schemes and methodological directives, not sufficiently connected with the real needs of the investigated problems.

Publications with Historical Materialism as Theory

The third category contains works in which authors refer to historical materialism as a general theory of the historical process. There are two groups of such publications. First, in which historical materialism was offered with an inspiration and indications of how various problems in particular aspect of the past social life should be interpreted. Motives based on merit, and not just tactical use of Marxism (so-called "red tails") appear in those publications and they deserve detailed studies as scholarly advanced accounts.

The second group were those works in which historical materialism was approached as inspiration and indications of how various concrete problems in particular fields of interest should be solved. Conscious and not just tactical use of Marxist thought is evident and these publications deserve serious academic scrutiny. Here, Marxist archaeology draws its theoretical inspiration from historical materialism. The former group of publications is more sizable than the latter, however.

Publications with Marxist-Inspired Theoretical Trends

Finally, there are archaeological works that were influenced by theoretical trends not directly identifiable with Marxism, but remaining under its strong influence such as the *Annales School*. Since the 1960s, archaeology was one of the areas of systematic, long-term collaboration between the *Annales School* and Polish scholars in the form of research fellowships, meetings, conferences, and also long-term fieldworks in France. These are the most interesting publications, but the group is amazingly small.

Comparative Data on Publications

Here, I present a very fragmentary and preliminary analysis of publications that presented at least minor approach toward discussing methodology or theory in archaeology during the post-WWII communist era in Poland. I start with the presentation of a quantitative difference between the number of publications, including theoretical/methodological publications, produced by archaeologist in pre-WWII Poland as opposed to post-WWII communist Poland (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 shows that the number of publications in post-WWII Poland was seven times higher than before the war, but the increase in publications on methodology/theory was less than double. Thus, the increase in the number of publications in

Table 2.3 Number of publications in the pre-WWII and after WWII (communist period) (data after Abramowicz, 1991)

Period	Total number of publications	Number of publication per year	Number of publication on methodology/theory	Notes
1918–1939	1856	84	29 (1.5%)	WWI–WWII
1944–1977	13,085	ca. 384	362 (2.8%)	Post-WWII

Table 2.4 Number of publications in time-units (data after Abramowicz, 1991)

Period	Total number of publications	Number of publication per year	Number of publications on methodology/theory
1944–1954	1564	142	55 (3.5%)
1955–1958	1277	425	54 (4.2%)
1959–1961	1791	597	49 (2.7%)
1970–1974	5246	1049	115 (2.2%)
1975–1977	3207	1067	89 (2.8%)

general does not reflect a comparable increase in the issues related to methodology and theory. Such tendency to deviate from discussing methodology/theory is even better visible if we consider just the post-WWII period subdivided into smaller time-units, 3–4 years (Table 2.4, only the period from the end of the war until 1954 is longer).

This limited sample clearly demonstrates enormous increase in the number of archaeological publications in the post-WWII Poland, which also reflects the higher number of professional archaeologists in the country. However, it is very obvious that scholars overwhelmingly were not pursuing theoretical/methodological studies, but produced descriptive reports that hardly count as academic-level studies. Figure 2.1 better illustrates this declining tendency to discuss theoretical issues. Unfortunately, such tendency still continues.[8]

Figure 2.2 shows declining tendency to discuss theory and methodology in post-WWII Poland despite an increase in the number of practicing archaeologists. It suggests that the graduates of the 1955 class and earlier were mostly interested in such issues, whereas over time the interest diminished.

The Marxist paradigm in Polish archaeology seems to have been locally enthused before WWII. I want to point out to anti-positivist ideas of Florian Znaniecki and Marxist-oriented thinking of Ludwik Krzywicki as proponents of the Marxist-inspired ideas used in the social sciences long before the Yalta Agreement divided Europe (and the World) into two opposing political camps.

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[8] This statement relates to the data collected during my Fulbright-funded research in 1996–1997. As a Managing Editor of the journal *Human Ecology. An Interdisciplinary Journal* for over 20 years I also observed that submissions by colleagues from the former Soviet-dominated countries resemble journalistic, descriptive reports rather than scholarly accounts to test hypotheses or falsify theories.
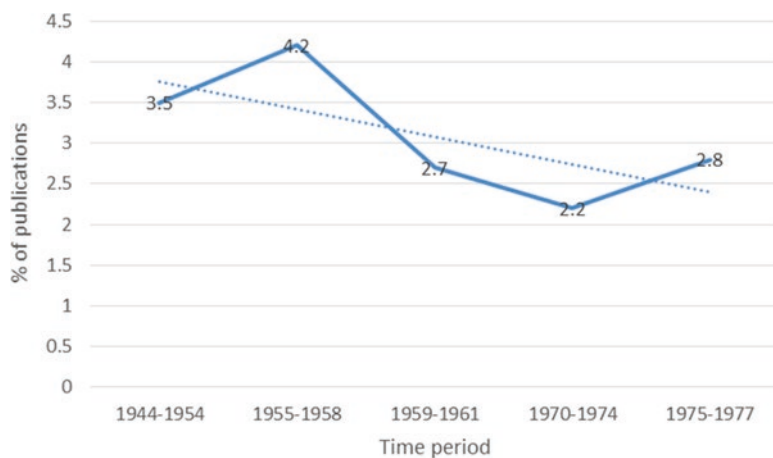
Fig. 2.2 Percentage of publications on methodology/theory by time-units (tendency *line dotted*)

Nevertheless, Polish archaeologists rarely applied the Marxist paradigm fully. The paradigm was not very popular after 1945 (in communist Poland) and its use has been limited to the simplistic application of the selected elements of historical materialism, indicative of the "communist archaeology" dogma. Tabaczyński (1995) points out that such simplistic, vulgarized, and schematic interpretation of Marxism had in fact a negative effect as the task of archaeologists was reduced to filling the proposed by historians schemes of social development with facts. The idea was to show that the archaeological evidence available in the early 1950s, arranged in the form of successive archaeological cultures, represented a form of empirical proof of the general periodization of social history to justify the concept of savagery, barbarism, and civilization derived from Morgan and Engels.

Relationship between dialectical Marxism and other theoretical approaches adopted from the post-WWII West contributed to the merging of East European particularistic Marxism with the Western form of positivism. Nevertheless, I suggest that to some Eastern European archaeologists Marxism remained in contrast to all the positivist currents so overwhelmingly present in European archaeological tradition to this day. Marxist-inspired ideas, especially historical materialism, have been introduced from the West (Childe, the *Annales School*) before WWII, and the political context established in Eastern Europe after 1945 reinforced those approaches. Presently, archaeology in the former Soviet Bloc countries presents a blend of the functional perspective mixed with elements of the positivistic culture-history and Marxist approaches. Marxist social and historical theories became popular in the social sciences and humanities of the twentieth century but the full (conscious) acceptance of Marxist theories by Eastern European archaeologists happened rarely. The post-WWII period was a clear example of the obvious difference between the declaration of intensions (for scientific and nonscientific motives) and research practice. If we judge by the number of citations and declarations, Polish archaeology of the post-WWII period abounded in purely Marxist scholars.

The practice shows, however, that research based on Marxist premises, especially concerning internal social relations, was infrequent.

Marxism was a formative theoretical approach in Polish post-WWII archaeology, but does it have a future in this part of Europe? As a historical and social theory, Marxism gained popularity within the social sciences and humanities during the twentieth century in European, South American, and North American archaeology. Tabaczyński (1995:78–79) suggested three possible scenarios regarding the future of Marxism in Polish archaeology:

- The first one is linked to the lack of political pressure and ideological indoctrination, which also means the disappearance of the psychological and behavioral syndrome of rejection of the previously dominant and enforced schemes.
- The second argument points out to the process of "domestication of Marxism"; archaeologists may not be willing to seek other analytical tools than the one already used.
- The third scenario for Marxism to be used by Polish archaeologists is that Marxism is recognized as an attractive intellectual tool to investigate social relations.

Developments of archaeological theory in Eastern Europe cannot be understood without reference to the practical (socioeconomic and political) conditions set by Soviet domination and the intellectual traditions set by Marxism. As elsewhere, theoretical perspectives of European archaeologies are related to different ideologies and socioeconomic conditions. Evaluating the history of Polish archaeology in a larger European context, one notes that there is not one trajectory, or a single model of field development, but many and, as emphasized by Hodder (1991), they are in general overwhelmingly historical in emphasis, strongly Marxist in orientation, and undeniably social in construction. This is why postprocessual trends, despite their European origin, may not be followed especially in countries in which culture-historical methodology has become indistinguishable from historical theory and in which the desire for positivist rigor derives from a traditional empiricism. In Poland, the debate between Marxism and other historical theories allows for a limited discussion of postprocessual archaeology alongside the introduction of analytical methods.

Marxist thoughts are present in current Eastern European archaeology, but they mainly derive from outside of Europe, where significant progress in applying the paradigm has been made (for instance Spriggs, 1984; McGuire, 1991, 2002; Patterson, 2003; Trigger, 1993; see also Matthews, Leone, and Jordan (2002), for discussion on Marxism in American historical archaeology). In Europe, some Marxist approaches remain relatively materialist and often linked to a positivist and natural science methodology. Marxist approaches influenced by Althusser can be found in Britain, France, Greece, Scandinavia, and Italy. In structural Marxist perspective, which uses the anthropological writings of Terray, Godelier and Friedman, the materialist emphasis is often replaced by the dominance of the social relations of production. Critical perspectives are found in Britain, France, Poland, and Spain. Recent political changes in Eastern Europe created favorable conditions

for reevaluation of the theoretical perspectives stimulated under the Soviet rule. Archaeologists in Eastern Europe follow their own traditions and are exploring new directions, which incorporate and often transform old dogmas and epistemological values. As pointed out by Hodder (1991), in comparison with the dogmatism of both North American processual archaeology and Soviet-style Marxism, European archaeology is increasingly characterized by a diversity and openness of theoretical and methodological debate. Most countries in Europe have followed quite different trajectories, which emphasize Marxism or history or both. Thus, East European archaeology accepts the centrality of historical inquiry and widespread of Marxist theory.

As the post-1945 systemic change has not impacted archaeological theories dramatically, also the new political and economic settings introduced in Eastern Europe after 1991 have not distorted local archaeologies, which largely remain within the essentially positivistic and functionalist culture-history paradigm mixed with the historical materialism approach common to the Marxist and the *Annales School* of thought. Strictly positivistic theories, based as they are on evolutionary and ecological concepts are rejected by Eastern European scholars, primarily because, as Hodder observed "…positivism of the New Archaeology was not remarkable in an intellectual community long accustomed to debates about the Vienna school" (Hodder, 1991:14).

Two larger points derive from my preliminary analysis: first, that the Communist ruling did not inflict strict rules on archaeological thinking and second, that archaeologists generally followed the positivistic culture-history mixed with elements of Marxist-inspired traditions some of which were introduced before WWII, and the Soviet version of strictly empirical and atheoretical approach present during the post-1945 systemic transition fits this approach.

Marxist Thoughts in Archaeologies Outside of the Warsaw Pact

Most of those who see the influence of Marxism in archaeological interpretations regarding European archaeologies failed to recognize the distinction between genuine Marxist concepts and conceptual tools used in "communist archaeology," and also Marxist ideology and phrases used in daily public practice. With the exception of some noteworthy attempts of introducing Marxist social theory in archaeological interpretation mostly in the Soviet Union (see Klejn, 1977), and in very few cases in former German Democratic Republic and, maybe, Poland, no operative Marxist paradigm existed in archaeologies practiced in other parts of Europe. In fact, truly Marxist concepts in archaeology were more frequently circulating and developing in the West (for instance V. Gordon Childe).

Two examples illustrate the use of Marxism (or its derivative—historical materialism) in regions not directly controlled by the Soviet dogma: former Yugoslavia and Latin America, including Cuba, where the Soviet-styled archaeology met the Marxist-based Latin American social archaeology. Marxist thoughts infiltrated a great deal of the Yugoslav society in the aftermath of WWII. Its influence was vis-

ible in economy and the organization of production, but also in the social doctrine of "brotherhood and unity," and especially in establishing the leading role of the Communist Party. But all that does not necessarily mean that public life and activities were Marxist-inspired or that Marxism and Marxist ideology has not been changed through time. Yugoslavia experimented with Marxism in many fields trying to escape the rigid Soviet-propagated Leninism by introducing self-management concept vs. centralized planning, liberalization of a great deal of public life, allowing privately run small businesses and private land ownership. In addition, it was simply not easy to introduce strict Marxism in a short period of time (or simply, with a decree) in a number of domains, which conceptually and structurally were not fitted for it or strongly differed from the Marxist doctrine. Scientific disciplines were among those domains, archaeology included. What could frequently have been seen was a Marxist facade but not epistemology.

South American social archaeology dates to the 1950s (Sanoja & Vargas, 2011). Its origins relate to the movement of political resistance against the positivist or neo-positivist, "scientific," and "objective" approach propagated by the American model, reinforced in the 1960s through the introduction of new archaeology. This approach dominated the archaeological interpretation of the past of Latin American cultures. As stipulated by the signatories of the Manifesto of Teotihuacán in 1976, the knowledge of the past built by Latin American social archaeology contributed to social theories that became guiding tools to create what the two eminent propagators of the movement Iraida Vargas-Arenas and Mario Sanoja call "socialist humanism of the twenty first century," as reflected by the historical and political processes currently taking place in the countries of South America and the Caribbean. As Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas indicate (2008:110) both, the formative processes and the development of each country in particular cannot be understood as part of the mechanical process of globalization, a euphemism indicating imperialism, governed by the hard core capitalist countries (Patterson, 2001:156–157), but as the product of solidarity and support of the people, as the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America [*Alternativa Bolivariana para América Latina*] (ALBA).

The methodology of social archaeology relates to historical materialism and dialectical materialism, which form the basis for substantive theories used to consider the scientific study of the past as the foundation for transforming the present. This is a common thread in all Marxist-inspired archaeologies in Communist-ruled countries, but acquires specific meaning in Latin American countries outside of the strictly political Marxist realm. As the Teotihuacan Manifesto indicates, the construction of Latin American socialism of the twenty-first century based on dialectical materialism refers to the need of knowing the specific details of the historical development of each society. In order to achieve this objective, it is essential to develop a theoretically well-informed understanding of social changes that underlie the formation of modern nation-states, and of the various processes contributing to the emergence of social complexities from the indigenous societies, that impacted, for example, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Cuba in one way and Mexico, Colombia, or Peru in another. Thus, in light of such statement the interpretation of archaeological and anthropological data must be directed toward the con-

struction of the social history of various peoples, a task that is the objective of the cross-disciplinary study of Latin American social archaeology. Such interpretations were already presented by scholars from Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, to support specific theories and praxis of twenty-first century socialist humanism in Latin America.

The theoretical and methodological foundations of Latin American social archaeology have been outlined in the decade of the 1930s, when the Marxist discourse began to redirect attention of archaeologists in Europe, as well as in Asia, Africa, South America, and Oceania, to reinterpretation of the origins of society, culture, and civilizations. It started to construct thereby a Marxist historiography that was founded for the purpose of analyzing the material causality of social and cultural development. As of that moment, the history of past societies ceased to be considered part of a process differentiated from the present. Marxist archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians paid more attention to the significance of economy and social, cultural, and political processes. In this way, during the final decades of the twentieth century Marxist social theory (social conflict) and social history became the substantive theory of social archaeology, from which a range of theories, specific analytical methods, and techniques derived, a movement that also found its academic expression in anthropology in the United States (for instance Patterson, 2001:137–146).

The political changes of the late 1950s also impacted Cuban archaeology. The impact the new government had on Cuban archaeology was the requirement that all scholarly work must be guided by the theoretical framework of historical materialism and the Marxist outlook in general. On the one hand, this policy forced all research in the social sciences including archaeology to follow a well-defined theoretical orientation and thus break away from simplistic positivist premises. On the other hand, however, such directive limited scientific discourse to a single, state-supported theoretical view. One of the most significant signs of the changes was the publication in 1966 of the seminal book *Prehistoria de Cuba* authored by the archaeologist Ernesto Tabío and historian Estrella Rey. The authors have applied Marxist view to discuss archaeological and ethnohistoric data to produce an explanation of the pre-Columbian history of the island. This publication was a landmark in Cuban and Caribbean archaeology and was also highly regarded by other Latin American archaeologists (Politis, 2003). It was one of the earliest and most complete works presenting a novel methodology to combine archaeological and ethnohistoric data to describe the indigenous culture and to better understand (explain) social behavior of local groups, which went beyond the mere reconstruction of culture history and cultural characteristics. It was the first work with a strong theoretical base since the work of Adolfo de Hostos, and since the wide acceptance of the positivist North American school of thought in the region. It is also one of the earliest works in Latin America that broke away from the North American tradition of archaeological research (more on the subject in Politis, 2003).

One problem developed from the policy that all work had to be done from the Marxist perspective is how it was applied to archaeological data. Most of the data was interpreted to support historical materialism instead of testing it. One example

of how this limited their interpretations is how all pre-Columbian cultures were lumped into the prestate Primitive Communism Mode of Production without social classes, and, therefore, lacking any form of institutionalized social and economic differentiation. Moreover, most Cuban archaeologists took a strong Marxist position, which was at the margin of a more recent development in theoretical position of historical materialism. Interestingly, despite the strong presence of Marxist theoretical perspective, the interest on classifying cultures in time and space characteristic of earlier work persisted, especially to explain the broad variability present in the archaeological record of Cuba. However, instead of using the concepts of mode or cultural norms, many were using economic factors and systems as criteria for their classifications. In many of these classificatory models of pre-Hispanic cultures, the normative and positivist perspective and paradigms of the early North American archaeologists persisted.

The "Red Tail" Tactic

Finally, I would like to briefly address a bit controversial issue of referencing the classics of Marxism in scholarly publication during the communist era, which is seen by some as a form of adherence to the communist ideology. Although such nonsensical assessment does not warrant further discussion, I briefly clarify this confusion. Eastern European archaeologists, who were active during the communist era, frequently emphasize the pretended use of Marxist ideas either in their own works or by others (see the "red tail" tactics explained by Bartosiewicz (Chap. 9); also Gąssowski (Chap. 4). Such claims are corroborated by outside observers. For instance, Anthony Harding, who conducted research in Eastern Europe, recognized the difference between "protocolar" Marxism and very rare genuine Marxist concepts put forward in archaeological studies (Harding, 1983:12). Novaković (2011) points out that most of scholars in southeastern Europe were very familiar with such attitudes. Similar phenomenon was observed in the former German Democratic Republic (see Coblenz, 2000:334–336). Such attitude to authority-enforced policies is close to what Eric Wolf described as the difference between systems Marxism and Promethean Marxism (Wolf, 1982, 1999).

   The tactic labeled as "red tails" was practiced to ensure publication of reports. It should certainly not be viewed as a form of servility toward Communist policies. After all, the "red tails" were references to Marxist-based theoretical statements not commonly sought in archaeological research of the time. The idea was to have such references in the bibliography and not really to show any adherence to the presented in the referenced book or article thought or concept (see Gąssowski, Chap. 4). Thus, we should look at them as a sort of "illustrations" rather than explanations of terms or ideas used in the text. The "red tail" requirement was to generalize on the socioeconomic context of studies by quoting the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It was commonly recognized as absurd. Scholars developed special writing skills to avoid censorship and designed a variety of ways to mislead censors. On the other hand, such newly acquired skills might, however, be seen as a form of self-censorship,

which may have contributed to problems with comprehension of ideas. For instance, the sort of Aesopian language obliterated clarity essential in academic writing, whereas accidental use of references to fulfil a senseless requirement points out to intellectual ignorance of a significant social theory, regardless whether one agrees with it or not.

State Control and National Archaeologies

Other principal factors of my analysis of "communist archaeology" relate to funding and the hierarchal administrative structure of archaeological practice (research). Among the key questions are: How is archaeology administered? Who sponsors projects? If research topics are designed outside of the professional circles, what are the consequences of such an approach for both scientific and social spheres? Klejn describes rigorous dealing by the Soviet authorities with scholars who did not subscribe to the official ideology. In most drastic cases such scholars were deprived of their ability to be employed and thus lost their chances to receive basic benefits such as food stamps, etc. State-controlled science and especially patterns of interpretations of the past caused, as Klejn points out, serious problems in the Soviet Union and did not contribute to intellectual exchange or progress:

> Scholars blamed each other with ardor and implacability, minor theoretical disagreements were raised to the range of principal political divergence, scientific views were pulled up under class positions, received scathing party labels and castigated fiercely. In any discussion inevitably the only point of view that conquered was declared Marxist, all the others anti-Marxist and bourgeois. They immediately were condemned and their adherents forced to public apology, with diligence and in detail that unequivocally "unmask" their recent views. Those who declined to repent and often those who conformed, lost their jobs and some were sentenced to prison. (Klejn, Chap. 3)

Below I discuss evidence of direct state control of archaeology mostly in countries not covered in this volume. Communist-governed states controlled archaeologists and others (citizens) indirectly through legal and constitutional rules, which obligated the people to promote cultural undertakings to establish and guard the values that lead to communism. In other words, the state through its ideologized concept of citizenship created the type of behavior identified by Zinoviev as *homo sovieticus*, a follower of state-defined, organized, and controlled principles of social life (culture), a person who does not question the state and its authority, but acts to legitimize its leading and dominating role. Such mentality charaterizes any dictatorial system even if disguised as democracy, for the fundamental democratic liberty is to criticise the state, its leaders and agencies. History mixed with archaeology becomes a medium to foster such attitudes and behaviors especially in the context of the existing nationalistic sentiments, which are certainly not limited to communist regimes.

State Sponsoring: Centralization of Funding

Centralized distribution of funds during the communist era promoted the pursuit of centrally designed topics and the idea was to accumulate data rather than to answer scientific questions. Such policy materialized in long-lasting projects to keep archaeologists busy (to justify the money spent on projects), which did not contribute to answering scientific questions. Here are some observations made while on a Fulbright fellowship in Poland in the late 1990s, after the systemic transition has been introduced. For instance, I was curious why some projects lasted a decade or two and wondered what sort of data might be obtained through longer lasting campaign to excavate, for instance, a Roman Period cemetery and what clues such data might contribute to the knowledge of peoples buried there that two–three seasons cannot, except to collect artifacts. The number of expeditions in the end of the 1990s was impressive and created an illusion of a "job well done." I participated in such long-lasting projects conducted without a clear aim, except to research the "entire" site. My gentle remarks that no archaeological site can be researched in its entirety unless it remains in a Pompeii-like condition were accepted, but to no avail. Colleagues pursuing academic careers worked on projects designed by their supervisors and funded because of the scholar's status. They often used the data collected by their supervisors to write scholarly works, including Ph.D. dissertations. Their work was in fact an extension of someone else's ideas and scholarly goals. In effect, such control and distribution of funds profoundly limited creativity and innovation, and the same phenomenon, although created through different reasoning, continues in the postcommunist era in Poland.

Presently, the level of state (public) sponsorship of archaeological projects in Poland remains very high, although securing funds is more competitive and scholars obtain funds through grant proposals. However, such proposals are scrutinized by a central committee (governmental agency) and, as explained to me by an executive at the Polish KBN (Committee for Scientific Research), the funds are distributed according to a certain algorithm and are not awarded strictly on the merit of proposals. In effect, competition is limited and scholars from different regions receive funds, because, as the person I interviewed put it, "it's their turn." When I said that such an approach diminishes chances of those who might have submitted interesting project, but are not affiliated with the institution selected to receive funds, the reply was "we try to distribute funds evenly." This means that distribution of funds still follows a political agenda rather than scientific goals. Alternative to state-controlled sources of funding are limited or require the submission of proposals in a foreign language.

Hierarchal Structure of Archaeological Institutions

Centralization of academic structure and hierarchal division into three branches: national Academy of Sciences, universities, and museums allowed the communist governments to control research agendas, distribute research funding, and design

teaching curricula. Each of the institution was responsible for different activities overseen and controlled by the Academy of Sciences. Predrag Novaković (2011) eloquently described such a structure for the former Yugoslavia, which was typical for the entire Soviet Bloc. The tripartite arrangements replicated the Soviet model, which is still in existence today. Its principle feature is a durable centralization with paramount national research institutes (Institutes of Archaeology of the Academies of Sciences) on top. These institutions (governmental agencies) were given power and responsibility to develop and maintain research interests and design long-term strategic research plans. Archaeologists from those institutions conducted the largest and the most expensive research projects of national or international importance. Highly regarded archaeological journals, monographs, and book series were published by publishing houses associated with those institutes. They had relatively well-stocked libraries with books acquired through book exchange programs and not direct purchasing. They also had specialized laboratories that offered analyses not available to archaeologists at other institutions. At times of limited travel due to political reasons and lack of funds, staff members of those institutions had priority in obtaining permits and funds for international cooperation.

Generally, the institutes were considered scientific elite centers. Staff members were hierarchically organized with the bottom level occupied by doctoral students and Ph.D. holders who were not allowed to pursue their own research but to work under strict supervisions of their mentors. The middle level consisted of habilitated Ph.D. holders (docent), while the top level was reserved for nominated professors. The habilitated Ph.Ds and nominated professors were allowed to pursue their own research interests, naturally within the limits defined by the Scientific Advisory Board, usually controlled by the Party members or sympathizers. Such rigid top-down structure seemed detrimental to the development of the field as the most creative and curious minds of young doctoral students or Ph.Ds were hampered from pursuing their scholarly interests. They were assigned to a scholar of higher academic status, who became their teacher and mentor. Thus, their job was to pursue and develop the thoughts of the master/teacher, even if sometimes seriously flawed. Progress happened slowly as the usual tactics were not to question but agree with the master/teacher to obtain a Ph.D. and to participate in long-term projects. Under such conditions scholarly activity was limited to accumulation of new data to corroborate old ideas. Decades were spent on discussing certain issues without advancing the epistemology of the problem. Scholarly life became easier after habilitation. To fully understand the scale of such problems, I have to mention that the number of staff members of the Academy institutes significantly outnumbered universities and museums. Stagnation in introducing new theories or methodologies was overwhelming. Some doctoral candidates were lucky, however, to have Ph.D. advisors who did not want to shape them in their own image, but required innovation and creativity and also own data.

The leading role of the national academies should not be ascribed exclusively to the Soviet model. One should also take into account the administrative or rather "bureaucratic" traditions, which are of much older dates, and which fitted well in the new conditions and circumstances that emerged with the introduction of the

communist ruling. Designed after the *École normale supérieure*, which emerged after the French Revolution, the French CNRS (*Centre Nationale de Recherches Scientifiques*), or Italian CNRS (*Centro nazionale di richerche scientifiche*) also play key role in the organization of science in both countries. Nevertheless, centralized Academies of Sciences emerged in all the former Soviet Bloc countries in about the same time, as presented in Table 2.2, and propagated similar research agendas throughout the Bloc (such as Slavic archaeology, ethnogenesis, the origin of state, etc.).

Second in the hierarchy were major universities and national museums and at the bottom of this pyramid were regional institutions (mostly museums), which could act autonomously on a regional level only. In cases of investigating important sites, regional and local institutions (and archaeologists) were usually considered assistants and service providers (e.g., logistics, middle and low level staff, etc.) to central institutions and their staff. Museums remained a part of the official propaganda offering exhibits that entrench certain views about the past in the public. Through powerful images presented as scientific evidence, the public was successfully manipulated to accept false histories related to nationalistic agendas such as ethnogenesis of the Slavs or imaginary origins of different nations and states. Such a method was also commonly used by the Communist-established governments outside Eastern Europe, for instance China, Korea, Cuba, etc.

Sweeping industrialization of Eastern European countries under the Communist rule allowed for significant increase of archaeological projects merrily dubbed "rescue excavations." They should probably be called "retrieval excavations," as the methods, analysis, and repository of artifacts were often questionable, to say the least, and they only contributed masses of data most of which is not available for further research. Heritage protection was in this hierarchal structure considered non-scholarly and strictly service-oriented activity assigned to institutions responsible for the administrative protection of heritage and rescue research during salvage projects. In many cases, the heritage sector was understaffed and poorly equipped for large-scale projects. Nevertheless, archaeologists associated with the Academy or major universities carried out most important rescue projects. In Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania projects related to heritage preservation at the regional level were for many years conducted by local museums and not by specialized heritage offices.

Novaković (2011) points out that the increase of the industrial production in the period 1952–1973 in the former Yugoslavia was impressive—10 % in average per year, with 9 % of annual increase in capital stock, and 5 % annual increase in employment and productivity. Such growth radically transformed the social landscape, particularly with the urbanization, which followed the industrialization, and was also accompanied by massive migration of the rural population to new urban centers on local, regional, and national levels. Such growth had also considerable impact on development of public services, health service, education, culture, and archaeology. A great number of archaeological institutions on regional and local levels were established accompanied by a substantial increase of the number of archaeologists in major national institutions, which confirm a significant developmental change of the discipline in all Eastern Europe after WWII.

Nevertheless, often dubious quality of such works with improper documentation and unacceptable repository conditions for artifacts rendered these projects useless for further scientific analysis. The published reports were in the style of journalistic descriptions rather than scholarly accounts. At the same time, however, employment for the increasing number of archaeologists was secured. Some governments allocated substantial amount of money for such projects. For instance, the Ukrainian government allocated one million rubles in 1970s to sponsor salvage archaeology (see Lyubychev, Chap. 7).

There are many accounts of state intervention to the theory and practice of archaeology presented in this book. I chose to use the example from China as it points out to certain characteristics common to all Communist-ruled states. The thesis of Chris Borstel's essay (1993) is: "The questions archaeologists in contemporary China ask and the methods they use in answering these questions are directly influenced by the social, political, and economic agendas of the state." Borstel organized his research to identify the level of governmental influence, to show how archaeology is used by the government to identify factors responsible for government protectionism of archaeology and to identify the distinctive characteristics of Chinese archaeology under communism. These topics are most interesting to me here and the key reason why I chose to use Borstel's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation over other accounts whose authors are not as explicit in their reasoning regarding the impact of governmental control over archaeology.

According to Chinese archaeologists, the discipline flourished under the Communist regime. The following quote illustrates the point:

> …In semi-colonial, semi-feudal Old China, archaeological work was unable to make good progress; at that time there were about a dozen specialists who had mastered the techniques of excavation, few large-scale excavations were undertaken, and mastery of scientific data was also quite limited. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, every facet of archaeological work underwent fundamental change. The ranks of archaeological workers gradually swelled and exploratory excavations took place throughout the country. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, while at the same time making careful use of all sorts of methods from the natural sciences, archaeological research work has developed without pause, and both specialized topics and synthetic studies developed unceasingly, thereby progressively building up systematic Chinese archaeology and achieving tremendous accomplishments that have attracted attention throughout the world. (Borstel, 1993:73–74).

Studying narratives of archaeological texts reveals the author's general intellectual outlook, while the use of dialectical method to describe/analyze phenomena might suggest sentiments toward the Marxist way of seeing things. In the Chinese archaeological narrative addressed for the public (Borstel, 1993) it is the opposition of the primitive vs modern. The method used by the Chinese officials in this quote to make it look appealing to the current population is, as Borstel points out, to "contrasts the bitter past with the sweet present." In this dialectical reasoning one can sense the presence of Leninist formula that quantity will turn into quality. This dialectical method of presenting the contrast between past and present in oppositions such as: old-new, tradition-progress, bad-good, little-much, etc. was also used in other Communist-ruled countries (see Gąssowski, Chap. 4) and elsewhere in the Marxist-inspired discourse. Presented in such a way imperative was a moral obliga-

tion to support not continuity, but change. Borstel sees in this narrative an attempt to establish archaeology as a framework for understanding the past from its glorious times of independent China, through forgettable colonial period, to Communist-led Liberation and the present. This is an attempt to root the Communist-controlled present into the past through cultural links and to make the practitioners (archaeologists) loyal servants of the Communist-created present. What spans these periods is the fact that the glorious past was uncovered and presented to the world by the communist era archaeologists. The keyword that separates the colonial era archaeology from modern times of post-Liberation archaeology is dialectically understood science, a common theme in Marxist-inspired reasoning. In the old, traditional times, science was fragmentary, incomplete, surrounded by superstition and intellectual inertia, whereas in modern times it is dynamic and progressive as it impacts all aspects of life and not just archaeology. This new, progressive and modern archaeology received its foundations in Marxist-Leninist ideology that profoundly limited research questions by imposing a rigorous schema for grand interpretations on what happened in the past.

In case of China, the state controls archaeological practice through funding and the rules of ownership. It also controls archaeological thinking by imposing the use of specific narratives discussed above. Thoughts are being controlled through interpersonal contacts and professional structuring. They propagate due to towering position of leading/powerful archaeologists with strong links to political authorities. Archaeologists practice certain ideology without personal attachment to it, or they follow an ideology without pressure from outside. This is the distinction described in this essay between the practice and thought in archaeology under Communist ruling or influence.

Borstel (1993:214) makes another significant point by implying that the collective nature of the past could have been the reason why the Communist Chinese political authorities supported the otherwise bourgeois science of archaeology, a luxury activity of the wealthy and curious.

Archaeology as State Propaganda: National Archaeologies

Willem Willems once said: "Archaeology is not about the past" (Willems, 2011). Indeed, it is about the present and the future. The way we study the past tells more about us than about the past. By studying the past we want to justify our present condition and somehow predict the future. Archaeologists also ask: Who controls the past? But the question that interests me here actually is: Who creates the past? The simple answer is: Those who control research agendas and distribution of funds. This simple answer needs further elaboration, however.

To say that tradition belongs to those who cultivate it is trivial. But it is certainly advisable to know who actually does it. I am interested to find out what political, economic, or another pressure is involved in managing and manipulating local, regional, or national archaeologies and how these manipulations were and currently are perceived by the public. In democratic societies, with decentralized sponsorship

and research advisement, approaches to researching the past and interpretations of past events or phenomena vary. But in top-down rigid political structures, centralized control over research agendas and funds allows for pursuing politically motivated research and thus the image of the past becomes more homogenous and probably easier perceived by the public due to its appealing image as oppose to a discursive one. The first, democratic, and more liberal approach allows for a discursive (even if controversial) view of the past, whereas the second, centrally controlled paradigmatic approach produces far less flexible interpretations (dogmas).

Here, I review several cases not discussed in the chapters of this book to illustrate my point.

Cuba and the Caribbean Region

To take a look outside Europe, Antonio Curet in his report on Cuban and Caribbean archaeology (Curet, 2011) briefly discusses Marxist influence on archaeology within the region. The Cuban Revolution and the establishment of a communist government greatly impacted Cuban archaeology of the past 50 years in at least two ways. The new Communist Cuban government saw the need to recreate or reinforce the national identity and the concept of *patria*. The revolutionary government saw archaeology as playing a critical role in the creation of such identity. Castro himself mentioned this in one of his early and now famous long speeches.

Until the 1950s, Cuba remained in a colonial-style relationship with the US. In 1902, the U.S. Congress awarded Cuba its independence, but with a constitution that gave the US the rights to intervene in any internal affair. Thus, until the 1950s, Cuba's political history was characterized by a succession of quasi-democratic governments and dictatorships, all of them highly influenced or controlled by the US policies. The last of these governments headed by Fulgencio Batista was deposed in 1959 by the Cuban Revolution. Since then Cuba has been under Soviet-sponsored communist government, which until recently was headed by Fidel Castro, replaced by Raul Castro. The Cold War era made a profound impact on Cuban archaeology, which was isolated from American influence and open to Soviet and the Soviet Bloc archaeologists. As Curet (2011) pointed out, this new political situation influenced Cuban archaeology in two ways: many Cubans had the opportunity to obtain advanced degrees in the Soviet Union, learning especially new methodology and approaches to classification (typology), and secondly, scholars from the Soviet Bloc countries visited Cuba and introduced their paradigmatic approach to the past. Thus, under the revolutionary government Cuban archaeology was not considered a purely academic discipline, but a branch of the social science that contributed to the construction of national identity and the concept of *patria*.

Except Cuba, also local archaeologies of the Caribbean were inspired by the Marxist tradition mostly through the use of ideals presented in the concept of Latin American social archaeology. Its theoretical perspective to see the mode of production correlated with the ecological conditions rather than social control contributed to explanations about the endurance of foraging and subsistence farming groups without clear social classes. This archaeological perspective has been used through-

out the region to build the historical context for cultural and national identity. In Cuba, the concept of transculturation instead of acculturation was used to explain local ethnohistory.

Although the Dominican Republic was never controlled by a Communist-led government, local archaeologists sympathized with the Marxist perspective, especially through the application of the Latin American social archaeology. From its inception, Dominican archaeology was influenced by the dominating North American school of culture-history with its overwhelming positivist outlook which gained prominence in the 1960s. Similarly, to events in Cuba and Puerto Rico also in Dominican Republic a need for a new postcolonial Dominican identity relied on the culture of pre-Hispanic indigenous groups. As it usually is the case in such attempts toward nation-building, archaeology was employed to provide evidence for the antiquity of the present population. In 1972, the *Museo del Hombre Dominicano* was formed, with the mission to: "…preserve, protect, exhibit, and divulge (popularize) aspects of Dominican culture, including the contributions of the diverse ethnic groups who are part of its composition (Natives, Europeans, Africans, and more recent migrants)" (see Curet, 2011 for details). Thus, national identity was the result of a complex process that involved a two-way interaction, where the Spanish acquired local knowledge and adopted many cultural traditions, including subsistence strategies, from the indigenous people. Such an approach to local ethnohistory and identity resulted in the emergence of strong ethnic movements such as the Taino survival or neo-Taino movement, supporting the idea of the ancient ancestry of the modern Caribbean cultures. For many in Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, these groups become part of the national pride and discourse. Similar in rhetoric movement also appeared in Eastern Europe where pan-Slavic pride and the emergence of the archaeology of the Slavs has been promoted and sponsored by the communist regimes.

Former Yugoslavia

The official doctrine of the Yugoslav Communist Party during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941) considered the country as a bourgeois construct due to oppression of southern Slavs. The doctrine further stipulated that future revolution would abolish Yugoslavia and allow for autonomous development of separate nation-states. In the late 1930s and during WWII this position was changed in favor of a federation of states. Along with federalization of the state also occurred "federalization" of the Communist Party as power gradually shifted from the center of the Yugoslav Communist Committee to the regional Communist parties.

Such federalized political structure reflected on the organization of archaeology in the former Yugoslavia. As Novaković (2011) eloquently argued, Yugoslav archaeology should not be considered as one united all-Yugoslav approach, but rather as closely organized network of national/regional archaeologies specific for each republic of the former federation. The only exception that might suggest the existence of the national school of archaeology 1945–1991 was the insistence to study the past Slavic societies. It serves as an example of politically motivated attempt to

unite a multiethnic society under the umbrella of a common past. Otherwise, the Yugoslav Communist regimes strongly supported the development of national pride of the Yugoslav nations.

With the exception of Croatia, Slavic archaeology was almost nonexistent in the pre-WWII period, but became one of the major priorities of archaeology in post-WWII Yugoslavia. Medieval (i.e., Byzantine and Slavic) archaeology was, without the doubt, one of the most important foci in the developing national archaeology and historiography. Boško Babić (1924–1998) is considered the leader of Yugoslav Slavic archaeology. A graduate of the University of Belgrade (art history) received his Ph.D. in archaeology from the University of Lublin, Poland. Slavic archaeology was motivated and accompanied also by the internal and external political factors. The communist ideology of "brotherhood and unity" among the Yugoslav nations required historical legitimization and thus archaeology of Slavic peoples was among the key topics on the archaeological agenda of the time.

The doctrine of "brotherhood and unity" was the principal ideological investment and the tool of the Communist regimes in Yugoslavia to establish and maintain balance among the major national groups in the country. This Yugoslav version of a melting-pot had dual nature. On one hand, it was based on the Marxist premise of the priority of class over nation, while on the other hand it strongly promoted further development of separate national identities. The Communist Party allowed these trends as long as its dominant position was not questioned. The glue that maintained such unity was the undisputed personal authority of Josip Broz-Tito.

Under the conditions and practice of the "brotherhood and unity" doctrine, national/regional archaeologies had a strong boost for their development. During the reconstruction of the Yugoslav state after WWII, archaeology was seen as an important tool in the emancipation of southern Slaves and a venue to present their past and culture in a wider, European context. It has also been used as a tool for developing separate national identities and therefore can hardly be seen as a contributing factor to "national" all-Yugoslav archaeology.

The above conditions boosted cooperation among national archaeologies in former Yugoslavia. While in the early years after WWII, the very centralized way of ruling the country created some potential for a common Yugoslav archaeology, other factors such as gradual federalization of the state, national/regional emancipation, etc. strongly supported tendencies in the opposite direction—toward establishing distinguished national/regional archaeologies in each of the republics. As Novaković (2011) points out, almost all archaeologists studied and continued their careers in their home republic. The mobility of faculty among universities in different republics was low.

One of the consequences of gradual federalization of the state could also be seen in large decrease of the federal funds and increase of funding on national (republic) levels, making the organization of joint all-Yugoslav projects in research or publication increasingly difficult and complicated due to administrative obstacles. Although the prospects for all-Yugoslav archaeology were diminishing through time in favor of separate national/regional archaeologies in each republic, such tendency did not stop the emergence of a number of all-Yugoslav initiatives, which added considerably to national archaeologies.

However, throughout the whole period of post-WWII Yugoslavia the only all-Yugoslav archaeological body was the Yugoslav Archaeological Society. Its transformation into the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies in the late 1960s and subsequent establishment of the national archaeological societies reflects the mentioned process of federalization. In practice the major role of the Archaeological Society (established in 1950) was the organization of regular scientific meetings (every 4 years) and publication of archaeological books and journals. In the early decades the society had also important coordinative powers in distributing funds, tasks and developing priorities, but this role gradually faded in the 1950s.

By the 1980s the role of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies was mostly limited to the forum of discussion, with no real executive power, which by that time had almost completely shifted to the separate archaeological societies in each republic. This was rather logical consequence of the increasing fragmentation of the federal affairs, but also accelerated by the general lack of funds due to major economic crisis in the1980s. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, all federal bodies and organizations on all-Yugoslav level ceased to exist.

However, not all the sciences escaped the interventions of the Communist Party. History, sociology, philosophy, and economy were much more under pressure of the Marxist-Leninist concepts in the first decades of the post-WWII era. No radical transformation of the discipline happened due to the ideological shift from the communist to the democratic regime after 1991.

Communist China

Borstel (1993:9) points out that China is a case example of state's interventions in archaeological research. This point applies to many other governments as it is clearly visible in the chapters of this book, but also presented in other publications (for instance, Lozny, 2011). The Chinese approach to the past is based on the identity consciousness of archaeologists as a group of people who research (create?) the past for the present, but who are also servants of the state.

The meaning of archaeology in China is coded in the term *kaoguxue* (Borstel, 1993). The etymology of the term is composed of three meanings and came to being in the 1920s–1930s when Chinese archaeology was influenced by European scholarship. It clearly points out to archaeology as a field to study ancient societies through material evidence. However, as Borstel (1993:48) points out, the type of archaeology is characterized by certain questions, data, and methods typical for the region. Its ultimate goal is threefold: to establish the antiquity of Chinese civilization, to establish that it is based on indigenous traits, and to demonstrate the superiority of China proper over provincial regions. Thus, archaeology encompasses a variety of meanings analyzed by Borstel in five groups: class of phenomena, field of study to produce knowledge, disciplinary peculiarities, characteristics of the group of specialists, and specific period of time. Put in such a way, the Chinese approach to understand archaeology does not seem to differ much from its tangled meanings elsewhere.

Borstel (1993) quotes several examples of how Chinese scholars approached the presentation of the past and its links to the (communist) present. All emphasize the

glorious "national" past and reveal the mechanism of manipulation. Interestingly, archaeological evidence seems to be more trustworthy than written records. Regarding field reports, Borstel noticed that complex sites are described in a simplistic and flattened fashion. It suggests that certain information (data?) may have been intentionally, or not intentionally, omitted from the final report, creating incomplete or false image of the site and possibly its context.

The approach of Chinese authorities toward the past is explicit in the quote from Zhuang Min (Borstel, 1993:169). It says: "China…has a continuous history as a nation that stretches back to Peking Man." North Korean Jucheism makes similar claims, whereas other national narratives whether European or American did not declare such antiquity. While European Neanderthals do not have ethnic backgrounds, their Asian cousins were used by the local propaganda the same way Eastern European archaeological propaganda approached the societies of later times, especially from the Roman Period and the Middle Ages. It seems that studies on the Paleolithic and European Neanderthals and Cro-Magnons were ideology-free as it is difficult to link them with specific ethnos or nation, whereas the phrasing used by some North Korean and Chinese archaeologists suggests a direct cultural link between the Asian adaptation of *homo erectus* and the present population. In Poland, research did not focus on "Paleolithic Poland" but Central European prehistory, as indicated by Romanowska (Chap. 13), and was not as popular (see Lozny, 2011) as the periods related closer to the mythical appearance of the Slavs (i.e., the declining Roman Period and the Early Middle Ages).

Archaeology and the Public

Archaeology and its perception by the public should certainly be one of our major concerns. We have created enormous public interest about the past and until very recently all archaeological activities in Communist-run countries were government-funded. The public became the key consumer of our product and archaeologists fulfilled public expectations.

Chris Borstel (1993) used linguistic, historical, and ethnographic methods to study the relationship between archaeology and society in China. His ethnography of archaeology and its social context reveals how archaeologists manipulate the public, but also how the public (including politicians) demands from archaeologists to produce certain types of knowledge about the past. Thus, the public generates the interest in the past and constitutes a group of consumers of the product offered by local scholars. Borstel's approach that includes research on feelings, emotions, and intuitions to establish the foundations for inductive reasoning related to on-ground observations presents, in my view, a better methodology than strict historical studies of texts produced by archaeologists. Its significance remains in the fact that by analyzing narratives and the social context within such narratives are produced, we can actually reveal the process of mythologizing of archaeological finds (and the field itself), a phenomenon usually not realized by those who claim to be objective and neutral in their pursuits of the past.

To what extent was Chinese archaeology inspired by foreign ideas and how much of it was driven by local, ethnic, or national interests? Answering this question is essential to understanding the role of archaeology anywhere: it simply serves social expectations. The problem is that those expectations change and are frequently manipulated by those whose interest about the past is to fulfill certain political agendas.

In Communist-ruled countries indoctrination of the public about the past started early, in grammar school. In history classes children learned stories about the past, based on the official interpretation related to the Marxist view. Thus, class struggle and control of economic resources and the organization of labor (modes of production) were emphasized over other forces that contributed to culture change such as the environment conditions or political conflict, etc. Such indoctrination was so strong that even experienced scholars considered any issue discussed in relation to the economic conditions as rooted in the Marxist approach.

In this context, books to popularize archaeology and the knowledge of the past were of different quality. As non-academic and not considered as textbook, these publications were not as strictly censored and thus offered a more "objective" view of the past. Such was the case in Eastern Germany described in this book (see Gringmuth-Dallmer, Chap. 10). The situation in Poland has to be mentioned here as Prof. Jerzy Gąssowski, who also contributed to this book, must be considered the most influential Polish writer on the past for the public. His books written in clear, colorful, and excellent quality language were, within the available limits, free of ideological constraints and presented the state of archaeological knowledge of the time. Regrettably, his passion for quality education of the masses about the past was not shared by others.

From this brief review, the most interesting to me here is the distinction between archaeology as the body of knowledge and the way it is practiced to produce such knowledge within certain social context. In this sense, archaeology becomes a part of social practice that serves to fulfil certain social expectations, for instance to symbolically mythologize the past. Archaeologists do it in the interest of themselves as a group and in the interests of the people they serve (politicians or the public). It seems that in case of China, North Korea, but also the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Germany, archaeological knowledge was, and to a certain extent still is, presented within the framework of a general discourse carried on in the society.

Marxist-Inspired Archaeology and Postcolonial Context

Without a doubt, the idea to study the powerless was a novel concept inspired by the Marxist thought and propagated through the communist ideology. Archaeologists who specialized in the archaeology of the Middle Ages focused not just on castles and fortresses, but also rural settlements and villages. This new research objective contributed to the dialectical examination of power struggle over time and also to

the structural examination of social complexity including the origin of states. It actually enriched our knowledge of the past societies by refocusing our attention from the glamorous to evidence of everyday life.

A new political context for archaeology to study the powerless emerged in the 1950s with the end of colonialism and as a response to neo-colonialism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. I am going to use Latin American social archaeology as an example, which was discussed in detail by its founders, Iraida Vargas-Arenas and Mario Sanoja (2011). For many progressive archaeologists in Latin America history and particularly archaeology and anthropology became a part of the strategic thinking toward decolonization and national liberation in the pursuit to establish a socialist democracy. Thus, the indigenous people, not the elites or single individuals, comprised the subject of study for those disciplines and the results served as the foundation for an ideology of their liberation, to legitimize their rights over the natural resources and means of production on which their integrity as nations depends.

Revolutionary archaeologists (term used by Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 2011) in Latin America of the 1970s held critical discussions regarding the paradigm of pre-capitalist modes of production, the genesis of modern societies of the region, and the relevance of socialism as a solution to the problem of poverty and underdevelopment of the Latin American peoples subjected to exploitation and domination by the colonial metropolises of the United States and Europe. In result, a research approach called Latin American Social Archaeology structured itself within such outlined ideological context.

Its key objective was to record and explain how the native peoples and racially mixed societies turned into the historical subject of national processes and class warfare, in order to take power and overcome the bourgeois social order. The necessity of knowing and understanding the cultural diversity that characterizes this historical subject, transformed Social Archaeology into a cross-disciplinary field, where not only archaeologists, but also social anthropologists, linguists, physical anthropologists, social historians, economists, literary authors, biologists, philosophers, and sociologists, etc., converge, united not just by an academic interest in constructing another epistemology of the social sciences, but also to develop a common strategy allowing for the social revolution.

To achieve that objective, a fusion of historical materialism, dialectic materialism, and the Marxist outlook on history was critical in forming the substantive theory of Latin American Social Archaeology, thus creating the epistemological base for Latin American social archaeology, which might recover the processes of the socio-historical formation of native populations, and not only their technology, to explain later historical processes such as the formation of nation-states, social classes and the generation of anti-imperialist working-class struggles.

Undisputed in the contribution by Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraida Vargas-Arenas is the realization of the significant role of archaeology based on the Marxist paradigm in order to investigate and explain the link between the past and present in the colonial context of indigenous people, which is the situation of all South American countries. Worth mentioning is the authors' conclusion regarding the

global context of their analysis. The Social Archaeology of Latin America becomes a tool to explain the current social reality of the entire region. In all South American countries, but especially in the Amazon region, groups of indigenous people still exist whose lifestyle has not changed for millennia. There are countries where locally emerged states and elites were replaced during colonization by other elites and countries, a policy that destroyed local traditions and cultures. Such colonial context is replicated to some extend in the current practice of globalization (sometimes labeled as neo-colonialism) where the interests of economic powers and corporations are especially visible in the Amazon region and the neighboring countries. The conflict between rich and poor, powerless and powerful fits the mission of Marist-based social archaeology to explain the position of indigenous peoples in their struggle to survive and contributes to local political decision-making.

Conclusions

Indeed, a certain general pattern emerges regarding interactions between communist ideology and archaeology in which critical is the role of governments and their controlling function. The governmental insistence on the use of Marxist-inspired methodology and theory (historical materialism and dialectical materialism) as the only approach to explain the past is rightly seen as detrimental (some would say oppressive) to the imagined freedom of scientific pursuit, whereas elsewhere the application of such methodology and thoughts in the context unrelated to governmental intervention is viewed as a strategy to liberate the oppressed and empower the powerless. The revival of the latter is seen in some of the postmodern approaches.

Was than archaeology under communism ideologically indifferent, a refuge for those who preferred pure scholarly interests over political engagements? The common claim that the culture-history approach was less ideologized and thus a matter of choice for those who wanted to disconnect themselves from the overwhelming ideological context by seeking refuge in the presumably "ideology-free" studies has to be taken carefully.

Soviet-designed pan-Slavism is another example of ideological influence on archaeology through the creation of the sense of brotherly link that can be established archaeology to have lasted for millennia (some of the Bronze Age cultures were considered as pre-Slavic). Slavic archaeology was an ideologically-driven phenomenon in Eastern European countries and became the underlying feature of communist archaeology. Further ideological influence on local archaeologists can be seen in the use of Marrism in Hungary to explain the origins of Hungarians. Klejn (Chap. 3) points out the following regarding Marr's theory:

> In the years when it was necessary to cement the multinational state and at the same time to accept the right of nations and national cultures to exist, the theory of stadiality better than any corresponded with the Bolshevik state policies: it equalized peculiarities of peoples and explained local differences using levels of local development as an argument rather than ethnic distinctions. (Klejn, Chap. 3)

The use of dubious retrospective method was justified in politically inspired studies on ethnogenesis of different ethnicities. Insistence regarding the use of the "retrospective method" to reveal cultural continuity for political reasons such as territorial claims was common on Poland, Ukraine, but also China. An extreme evidence of politically motivated insistence on cultural continuity, which is another element of Leninist-Stalinist approach to the past, is in the so-called Daedong Civilization of North Korea (see Yoo, Chap. 11). Paradoxically, as Bartosiewicz (Chap. 9) reports in this volume, the strongest misuse of archaeological data related to ethnic issues happened in Hungary after 1990, during postcommunist times, and was related to nationalistically invoked conclusions on ethnogenetic studies.

In 1960s, the emphasis was on the origins of states or more complex political structures that would be used as seeds of modern nation-states. The nationalistic flavor of such research is obvious. It happened in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia, but also North Korea. Despite certain common patterns in the applied theory, methodology, and the organization of archaeology, there are also certain regional peculiarities, hence the term "Marxist-inspired ideologies."

Whereas in non-Communist-ruled countries, where Marxist-inspired thoughts to explain phenomena from the past were applied by local archaeologists without political or administrative pressure, the rulers have limited control over the structure and practice of archaeology and thus the goals of archaeology were somewhat different.

A satisfactory analysis of the various political pressures related to archaeology must incorporate a sociological examination of the way the discipline is structured, the knowledge it produces, and the purpose to which it is put. Political ecology of archaeology concerns archaeological thought and practices beyond the material interest of its subjects. It is a history of political events, ideas, movements, leaders, etc. and their impact on archaeology overall. I am suggesting here that, in additions to being interested in understanding the past, archaeologists should also understand the context in which they produce the knowledge of the past.

Thus, any adequate conceptual and theoretical framework developed to study the past must reflect upon archaeology as a professional discipline existing under specific socioeconomic conditions, for the past is viewed, researched, and interpreted according to the political perspective scholars follow. Because archaeological knowledge is contextualized by the understanding and acceptance of the political present, I propose in this chapter to identify and discuss idiosyncratic political conditions that influenced archaeological theory and practice during the communist era.

In the attempt to evaluate the quality of archaeological thought let us keep in mind that we should not reduce archaeological reasoning about the past to a mechanical application of naive positivism dressed up as scientific procedure in which methodology is confused with theory; equally, we must not believe that criteria of testability and falsification can be abandoned in favor of speculations about unrecorded intentions in which anyone's opinion is as good as anyone else's.

In sum, I conclude that nobody owns the past. People claim the right to own certain relics of the past for the simple reason to interpret the past. Thus, the past exists only as a metaphor of the present. It becomes a subject of manipulation in

order to fulfil the current political goals, either to link the present with the glorious past or to separate it from the past. Especially cruel type of manipulation relates to selective approach to the past, when only certain elements of the past are being utilized to either justify or negate the present. This leads to falsification of the past. It makes the manipulators proud of the past and such feelings are indoctrinated through media onto the public. Both, politicians and archaeologists who subscribe to such an approach, become propagators of an ideology, managers of the relics through which they control (and create) the past. Such an approach is frequently politicized through the concept of cultural heritage.

On the other hand, I doubt archaeology anywhere is based on strictly objective, alienated from local politics discussions and interests. This point is corroborated by the works cited above as well as the studies presented in this book, which are predominantly qualitative and only some used mixed methods. The proportion of social researchers who use qualitative method has increased considerably over the last decade. Criticism that it is unscientific or at best can only serve as a preliminary to the real, that is quantitative work of social sciences, have declined. Even many quantitative researchers now accept that qualitative research has its own logic and criteria of validity (Hammersley, 1992:1).

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Chapter 3
Archaeology in Soviet Russia

Leo Klejn

Preamble

When I set to write this article I experienced difficulties not because I had concerns with this subject, but because I have written a number of articles and books on this theme and my views have not changed since. To repeat what I already said would be senseless, and I shall only recap in brief the said and direct the interested reader to my other publications (Klejn, 1982, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2012). Here, I address some questions important for the area formerly embraced by the Soviet influence and invite the reader to imagine what such domination meant for an archaeologist in this very heart of Marxism—in the kingdom of "real socialism." However, I have also written on that subject too (Klejn, 1993a, 2010) and I thank Oxford University Press for permitting me to use here fragments of my recently published in English book "Soviet archaeology" (Klejn, 2012) devoted to a similar subject in some detail.

Marxism in My Biography

I must first explain my relation to Marxism. In the West I was for a long time seen as an avid advocate of Soviet Marxism, and my western colleagues only wondered why I am not a member of the Party. Later they recognised that my Marxism was not completely in accord with Soviet ideology, and after the KGB's repressions against me became known, colleagues started to realize that my views could hardly be labelled as Marxist. In Soviet Russia I was never identified as a good Marxist and

L. Klejn (retired) (✉)
St. Petersburg University, Russia
e-mail: lsklejn@gmail.com

ideologues saw me as a different and even not reliable follower of the Marxist faith at all.

By my family background I could hardly fit the image of a proletarian: both my grandfathers were capitalists, and father was in his youth a Denikin's (White Russian Army) officer. However, majority of the most known leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution and devoted Marxists came from nobility.

I grew up in the environment of intelligentsia fuelled by idealism, so the hypocrisy and doublethink of Stalin's propaganda hurt me painfully. We were brought up on freedom-loving Pushkin's and Lermontov's poems, but around us dominated servility and adoration of power. While in high school, I headed the youth underground organisation "Prometheus" of a liberal-democratic persuasion. When we were exposed (because we were minors and have not used force, we were put under the KGB's overseeing), the Party organs had realised that we were completely ignorant in Marxism, so they started educating us. Their recommendation was not to read Marx and Lenin, but Engels and Stalin because their writings were simpler and easier to comprehend.

As an adolescent, I was impressed by the logic and clarity of Stalin's chased theses. At that time, I was a convinced Marxist, became a member of the Komsomol, and subsequently the Secretary of the Komsomol organisation of the Pedagogical Institute in Grodno.

Soon I had a clash with the Party boss in the city, who demanded my expulsion from the Komsomol (this episode is described in my memoirs, Klejn, 2010:38–39). Subsequently I began mastering Marxism as a system, entered the logic of its argumentation, and very soon realised its inner contradictions, which I first noticed in particular reasoning. Stalin declared that intelligentsia is a streak, interlayer, not a social stratum with independent class essence, but is destined to serve other classes. It has no means of production on its own and its representatives are selected from other classes. It seemed to me that Stalin confused estate (as social category) with social class. And the means of production of intelligentsia is its knowledge! Its thoughts! And it is hard to alienate them. This is why Stalin pounced upon it with such a frenzy.

Then I began to think about our socioeconomic system. What kind of socialism it is? Let us see: the peasants in kolkhoz appear really serf-like (they received no passports and could not leave their villages)—this was in fact a restoration of serfdom! "Workday-units" were the restored corvée (gavel-work), whereas "tax in kind" was the restored *métayage*. Kolkhoz chairmen were no chairmen; they were not elected! In fact, they were village elders appointed by a higher authority. The only difference was that instead of many landlords, a single feudal lord now existed and was sitting in the Kremlin, while the allotment of a peasant had become much less than the "beggar's allotment" (Lenin's expression) under Czar.

Then the time has come for me to cast doubt on the very basis of Marxism—when it became clear that all attempts to build socialism inevitably end with work under the lash, indignation of the much favoured masses, rebellion and bloodshed. It begins with utopian phalanstère and ends with Kampuchea. I thus realised that Marxism is based on cardinal logical errors: man is reduced in it to a knot of

economic relations, and its inseparable biological features are ignored—territoriality, devotion to kin (to own children and parents), innate abilities and skills, etc. Indeed, to near social equality one must abolish the principle of inheritance, and this means to smash the most important stimulus that ignites effort. Thus, Marxism pretending to be scientific socialism is in fact no less utopian than all the rest of socialist teachings.

My father having read my remarks on the margins of Lenin's works appeared horrified and immediately forwarded all the 30 or more volumes of the complete Lenin's works in calico covers to the oven.

Yet nothing of this got out to the outside world before 1991. Like many scholars in the USSR, I continued to furnish my printed works with quotations from the Classics of Marxism, declaratively advanced with criticism of Western theories as if from the positions of Marxism. Yet the Classics have written so much that you could find in their writings quotations to support whatever you wanted. Sometimes, however, a sheer truth got out from under their pens. For instance, with the help of these quotations I substantiated that Marx and Engels considered archaeology as non-political discipline (Klejn, 1968). On the other hand, there was in Western theories enough what they should be criticised for. In addition, to criticize one needs to expose theories, what promoted their distribution. While exposing Marxist dogmas I wrote "Marxism issues from…," but I never applied in these cases the phrase "I suppose…"

I described such cunning tips in the chapter on the Aesop's language in my book "The Phenomenon of Soviet Archaeology" translated into German and English (Klejn, 1993b:81–89, 1997a:184–197, 2012, cf. also 2010:300–310).

After the fall of the Soviet Union I have not renounced all the principles and methods of research applied in Marxism. Marxism has absorbed many components of other teachings, elaborated during the time of its domination various sections of knowledge, sometimes quite nicely—and the farther from political dogmas, the more freely. Why renounce everything? This would be infantile.

I was an atheist under Marxism of Soviet Russia not because Marxism demanded it (my grandfather was an atheist before the Revolution), and presently when communists in bulk darted into the church, I remain atheist. I was internationalist not because the officials demanded to sing the "International" in chorus, but because I was so bred in the family, and when the power plunged into nationalism and the "International" was replaced by the Mikhalkov's anthem, I remained beyond this loyal enthusiasm.

Archaeology in the Revolution and Revolution in Archaeology

Catastrophe and Innovations

In Russia, one usually begins the history of Marxist archaeology from the revolution of 1917. This is wrong as certain penetration of Marxist ideas into prehistory, if not archaeology, dates to the last decades of the nineteenth century (N. I. Sieber, 1983—"Outlines of the primordial economic culture"), whereas the true penetration of Marxism into Soviet archaeology began from the middle of the 1920s.

The 1917 Revolution embraces the February revolution and the October coup. The latter, to be exact, was not a new revolution but only a step within the general revolution of 1917. In this coup, a radical group of Bolsheviks relying on workers, farm-hands, lumpen-proletariat and national minorities seized the power and destroyed democratic freedoms. This new political context created the preliminary conditions for the introduction of Marxism into archaeology.

It is very remarkable that Marxism was not introduced into archaeological teaching the same way as evolutionism, diffusionism, processualism, etc. Nowhere and never Marxism embraced archaeological thinking independently and spontaneously. Always and everywhere it needed an initiative and support of a dictatorial Marxist-based power.[1]

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century archaeology of the Czarist Russia was compatible with the level it represented in other European countries. An organised system of archaeological activity existed. The Imperial Archaeological Commission controlled the academic standards of excavations and the publication of data, but had no jurisdiction over private lands. The most influential in persuading landowners to permit archaeological digs was the Moscow Archaeological Society headed by Count and Countess Uvarov, as well as other similar societies and provincial commissions. The Moscow Archaeological Society organised once in 3 years All-Russian Archaeological Congresses, every time in different city. Such meetings stimulated the development of local archaeological centres. As soon as all these organisations started publishing professional journals regularly, under such titles as "Transactions," "Proceedings," and "Heralds," a manifold system of archaeological publications has been formed in the country.

Yet certain backwardness as compared to the West was felt. Archaeology was not present in the Academy of Sciences and almost not taught at the universities. European methodological trends were faintly adopted in Russian archaeology. "We have no Monteliuses"—Ravdonikas once said. Nevertheless, some archaeologists conducted their research at comparable to the European academic level—for instance, Spitsyn focused on ethnic identification before Kossinna, Gorodtsov

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[1] *Editor's note*: Chapter by Danckers (Chap. 12) in this volume contradicts this statement. See also the history of social archaeology in Latin America (cf. works by Vargas & Sanoja).

studied diffusion and taxonomies, Kondakov and Rostovtsev initiated an original trend of combinationism.

At first, the Revolution brought nothing new into the content of archaeological studies, but crashed the old structures of archaeology (Formozov, 1995). In fact, after WWI archaeology was in ruin and revolutionary discord further destructed it. Funds for excavations and museums disappeared, and there were no foundations from where they could come. Foreign literature stopped arriving, and domestic had not been printed. Elementary survival was problematic. The Imperial Archaeological Commission and the Hermitage Museum were subordinate to the Ministry of the Court—but both the Ministry and the Court disappeared. The Moscow Archaeological Society consisted in a considerable part of nobility and clergy—the nobility lost its status and the clergy was suppressed, thinned out and in a large part repressed. Archaeology developed in Russia as a "science of rich persons" (expression by Countess Uvarova)—rich persons disappeared in the country too. Private collections were partly robbed and destroyed, partly nationalised and requisitioned by large state-controlled museums.

A great loss to the development of archaeology in the country were deaths of some renowned archaeologists mostly from stresses and exhaustion, suicide, and execution and also emigration of others. But many remained and survived.

At the same time the revolutionary authorities tried to act in a civilised manner. In November of 1917, the newly created People's Commissariat of Enlightenment addressed the population with an appeal to save the monuments of culture. On the 19th of September 1918, the government enacted the state law to register and evaluate cultural monuments. On the 1st of December the same year exporting of the monuments of art and antiquities was banned, although at the same time Trotsky initiated shipping out the treasures of the Hermitage Museum abroad (and Stalin continued this practice).

In the spring of 1918, members of the R. A. S. (Russian Academy of Sciences) discussed a plan to create an Academy of Archaeology or Academy of Archaeological Knowledge, but later, following the advice of the Bolshevik historian M. N. Pokrovsky, who was responsible for science in Narkompros, i.e. in the People's Commissariat (ministry) of Enlightenment, called it the Academy of Material Culture in order to please the new authorities. The new name (with focus on material culture in general) suggested a shift from the traditional outlook on the subject matter of archaeological studies. Advancing this plan, archaeologists set hopes upon kin and friendly ties of members of the Organising Committee: Farmakovsky was a friend of Lenin in his childhood and Rostovtsev a cousin of Lunacharsky. Lenin adopted the plan but noticed its inconsistency and wrote with his own hand the word "history." This addition has not saved the plan from inconsistency but at least oriented the Academy to the diachronic research over time. Thus, the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture (RAHMK, in Russian RAIMK) emerged.

From the very beginning the head of the Academy was N. Ya. Marr, half-Georgian half-Scott, a philologist by education who organised excavations of the ancient Armenian capital Ani. He was a talented man, but mentally unbalanced and

not self-critical. His education was highly professional although very narrow and non-archaeological (he was a specialist in the history of ancient Armenian literature), but his pretensions were enormous. He advanced revolutionary ideas in linguistics in general and is best known for declaring Caucasian languages (Japhetic in his terminology) as representing the preceding stage of Indo-European not only in structure but also in the matter (lexemes and morphemes), while the leading lingual process was to him not the filiation (splitting), but mixing of languages (crossing). Marr's ideas were corroborated by the invented by him methods of connecting words—these peculiar methods allowed connections of everything with everything.

Long-time linguists closed their eyes on Marr's crazy ideas because they recognised him a great specialist in the study of culture, including archaeology, while archaeologists tolerated his evident ignorance in archaeology because they knew about his excavations of the Armenian city and considered him a great linguist.

Another important novelty was the organisation of specialisation in archaeology at the universities, where from 1919 FON (faculties of the social sciences) were organised. In 1922, archaeological departments were opened within these faculties. Simultaneously, both the pre-Revolutionary archaeological institutes—in Petersburg (Petrograd) and in Moscow—were closed as they were incorporated into the respective university structures.

Before the Revolution there were more than 150 museums in the country. Some of them perished due to the revolutionary disturbances, but during the post-Revolution decades their number has grown six times (from 94 to 576) at the expense of small local museums. Many of them were devoted to local ethnographic studies and did not keep archaeological specimens. Also, societies for local studies developed. According to the data from 1927, during the 10-year period after the Revolution the number of such societies raised 18 times—from 61 to 1112 (Formozov, 1995:31).

Excavation activities, which almost stopped during the years of the Revolution, gradually increased from two dozen in 1920 to 200 in 1925. However, these expeditions were stunted and scarcely equipped.

Despite the new structures, mainly old pre-Revolutionary cadres, though depleted, were employed and they worked following the old schema, including the previous direction of research and the content of studies. However, since life changed sharply, also the situation with archaeology was not stable. Thus, the newly created organisational structures also were unstable as the revolutionary itch was not exhausted, and they were constantly restructured. Such conditions did not favour serious research.

Moscow Dash

Before Lenin's death, when he was heavily ill, more precisely—from 1922 (the end of the Russian Civil War), Stalin managed to accumulate enough power to control the country. Nevertheless, he acted with restrain because his position was not settled yet. After Lenin's death (January 1924) Stalin began removing or limiting the influence of the "Lenin's guard" and thus became the only (dictatorial) ruler of the country. This meant tougher style of governance, end of private sector, and the course towards extreme ideological monopoly.

In the years 1926–1927, the period of strong political centralisation also reflected on the organisation of archaeology: RAIMK was transformed from Russian into the All-Union State (*Gosudarstvennaya*) Academy—GAIMK, i.e. its functions spread onto the whole Union of the SSR. In consequence, all the social sciences research institutes of the Moscow University were joined together and separated from the University into a new institution—RANION (Russian Association of Research Institutes of the Social Sciences).

Within the framework of the RANION reeducation of cadres in the communist spirit was organised with special attention paid to younger scholars. The known Bolshevik sociologist and literary critic V. M. Fritche (future communist member of the Academy of Sciences) gathered around himself a group of Gorodtsov's pupils. These were A. V. Artsikhovsky, A. Ya. Bryusov (brother of the glorious poet), S. V. Kiselev, and A. P. Smirnov—all future prominent Soviet archaeologists, two of them (Artsikhovsky and Smirnov) were the White Army soldiers in the past, wounded they survived. Under the influence of Fritche's seminar, these young archaeologists devoted themselves to Marxist ideas and decided to "build the Marxist archaeology."

Marxism is based on exceeding simplifications and in addition the neophytes learned it in a vulgar version. They perceived the Marxist idea of the primacy of the modes of production directly in the spirit of sheer correspondences between the spheres of culture. That meant that certain tools must correspond with certain modes of production and types of mental superstructures. Springing from that not well-thought-out understanding of Marxism, the young Muscovites suggested a simplified archaeological reconstruction of the "superstructure"—by the use of the "method of ascent": the remains of tools testify of the rise of social structures and ideas without referring to ethnography and direct imprints in the archaeological material (Artsikhovsky, 1926, 1929). Some Muscovites, however, looked for the reflection of past social relations in special categories of sites—dwellings and settlements (Bryusov, 1926; Kiselev, 1928).

Adherents of "new methods" and the use of sociological ideas in archaeological reasoning inveterately attacked another Moscow phenomenon—B. S. Zhukov's "palaeoethnological school." This school considered man in the unity of biological and cultural attributes and saw archaeology as a continuation of ethnology into the past. Beginning with the years 1924–1925, papers of Gorodtsov's pupils were heard on sessions organised by various sections of the RANION. Their subjects related to

the sociological meaning of evolution of agricultural tools (Artsikhovsky), socio-logical history of dwellings (Bryusov), and settlements (Kiselev), etc. By 1929, the three prepared a collective paper *New methods in archaeology* for a discussion with palaeoethnological school. In the name of all three coauthors Artsikhovsky presented the paper (1929).

He applied Marx's teaching that the system of economic, political and ideological relations was determined by the level of the means of production, identifiable, first of all, through the development of tool types. Take the type of a mill, Marx said, hand mill, windmill or mechanical mill, and one can determine the corresponding type of the society—primordial, feudal or capitalist. On this basis Artsikhovsky built his "method of ascent"—from the base (tools discovered by archaeology) to superstructures (social order and so on). Archaeology appeared a mighty science to him, one has only to reveal the correspondence suggested by Marxism, and one can easily restore any social and mental structures of the past: by means of preserved tools without written sources, without ethnography. Archaeology emerged as a discipline tantamount to history.

However, "Marxist archaeology" designed by Artsikhovsky and his team has not climbed the throne and it was not the Moscow "palaeoethnologists" who hindered it. The stroke came from Leningrad.

Leningrad Breakthrough

Stalin called the year 1929 "the year of the great turnaround." By 1930 he finally established himself as a dictator, the collectivisation was terminated and the "NEP" (New Economic Policy) abolished. Ideas of freedom, of world revolution and annihilation of the state apparatus began to encumber the dictator. His ambition was to build socialism in a single country (and rapidly!) by intensifying state power, establishing dictatorship of the "proletariat" and sharpening the class struggle. Any resistance was ruthlessly suppressed. The remaining "Lenin guards" such as G. E. Zinoviev, N. I Bukharin and others were deprived of power.

In the scholarly world one had to first and foremost "sovietise" the Academy of Sciences. In order to take control of its organs the new gendarmerie (CheKa—GPU)[2] fabricated absurd accusations—the Academy's case (or the case of S. F. Platonov and E. Yu. Tarle) 1929–1931 (Academicheskoe 1993–1998), according to which dozens of members of the Academy and research workers (among them archaeologist S. I. Rudenko) were arrested; then there was the "case of Slavists" in 1933–1934 (Ashnin & Alpatov, 1994) according to which mainly employees of the Russian Museum and Hermitage Museum were arrested (among them archaeologists N. P. Sychev, A. A. Miller, G. A. Bonch-Osmolovsky, S. A. Teploukhov, M. P. Gryaznov and others).

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[2] CheKa—Chrezvychainaya Komissiya, Extraordinary Comission; GPU—Glavoye Politicheskoe Upravlenie, Main Political Governance.

The situation in the country was tense. The fast and complete collectivisation (peasant were forced to kolkhozes) was accompanied by mass dispossession of "kulaks," deportations of hundreds of thousands of well-to-do peasants deprived of their belongings to Siberia, followed by bloody repressions. Brutal persecutions suppressed the traditional mental support of the peasant resistance—religion and the church.

The enthusiasts of regional studies who had then many organisations over the entire country were accused of supporting nationalism and local patriotism and of prejudicial attitudes towards integral national interests. Repressions also fell upon the regional studies enthusiasts for their love of antiquities and their care of ancient temples as national cultural heritage. The head of regional studies, the Leningrad professor I. M. Grevs, was expelled from the discipline, the journal *Sovetskoe Kraevedenie* (*Soviet Regional Studies*) was closed, and the many organisations devoted to regional studies all over the country dissolved. The number of provincial museums was reduced from 342 to 155 (Formozov, 1995:35).

Unprecedented harassment of the old cadres of archaeologists leads to almost full replacement of personnel of archaeology and also the content of archaeological studies. Younger scholars came to the discipline, mostly unskilled, often not courteous, but ambitious.

Young enthusiasts declaratively pursued the aim to grant the Marxist view on history the possibility to be used in reference to archaeological materials and thus to put them at the service to society. With such ardour the latter-day adepts of Marxism challenged their pre-Revolutionary predecessors and their pupils with sharp and coarse criticism. It was partly fair but contained evident extreme views and was in general nihilistic (see, for instance, Ravdonikas, 1930; Khudyakov, 1933). They condemned the "creeping empiricism" of the overwhelming majority of pre-Revolutionary archaeological works and their reticence within the frames of formal artefactological studies (labelled "naked artefactology"). The typological method was rejected as born in the context of bourgeois evolutionism and as idolising things and biologising history. Usual narrow-mindedness was treated as malice or as insuperable class vice. Still worse was if the old school archaeologists were accused of presenting idealism, nationalism, or other isms in their works. Then experienced archaeologists were forced to publicly retract their views, to confess and repent.

In archaeological institutions, as everywhere, the new authorities proceeded with "purges"—public deliverance from the so-called "alien elements." According to B. B. Piotrovsky (2009:102): "especially unpleasant impression was made to all by the 'purge' of Il'in. The old and very venerable scholar stood before all, underpinning his head (he was partly paralysed), and the peppy boys A. N. Bernshtam and E. Yu. Krichevsky attacked him…." Il'in was "purged by first category," i.e. without the right to find another job. The sentence also meant the loss of civil rights and food cards (stamps). Another example concerned the Hermitage archaeologist (specialist in Byzantine studies) L. A. Matsulevich, who was found guilty because he was the son of a colonel of the Gendarmerie. His case was examined by female workers of a tobacco factory bearing the name of the chekist Uritsky. Later the most absurd

convictions were reversed and those "purged out" were restored (this was an exception rather than the rule).

Connections with the foreign scholarly world were broken and the option to publish abroad practically banned.

In order to help Marr in GAIMK, two fellows of the Communist Academy (not to be confused with the Academy of Sciences!), F. V. Kiparisov and S. N. Bykovsky, were directed as managers. Kiparisov, who received philological education and even attended Zhebelev's lectures in the past, worked as a trade union functionary before joining the Communist Academy. Bykovsky joined the Revolution as a student of mathematics who failed to complete full training. During the Civil War he was a Commissar and subsequently an executive of Cheka (predecessor of the KGB), and served in the Comacademy as a historian. Another distinguished researcher from Cheka was admitted to the post-graduate studies in the GAIMK. He introduced criminological methods to research the functions of flint tools—as contrasted with artefactological studies favoured by typologists. This was Sergey Aristarkhovich Semenov, presently known to the whole archaeological world as the creator of the functional-traceological method to study the use of lithic tools.

Also in Leningrad, Vladislav Iosifovich Ravdonikas advanced with a programmatic work. His paper entitled *Archaeological heritage* (1929) was printed as a book *For a Marxist history of material culture* (1930). It contained a negative evaluation of pre-Revolutionary Russian archaeology as empiricist and narrowly artefactological, and treated its directions as conditioned by class interests. The whole book was filled with sharp critical attacks on many modern archaeologists for their inability or reluctance to work within the new Marxist-based framework. In accordance with Lenin's name of the Academy there was a suggestion in the book to build the knowledge of antiquities as a strictly history of material culture.

This suggestion, however, induced doubts. Ivan Ivanovich Smirnov (later famous historian) wrote an article: *Is the Marxist history of material culture possible*? Indeed, Marx and Engels in general have not used the term "culture," and Marxists discussed history by applying the concept of socioeconomic formations such as primordial, slave-owning, feudal, etc. societies, and tools appear in this context not just as elements of material culture, but as evidence of technological progress.

Carried away by the reconstruction and "sociologisation," the RANION has not caught all these trends and was abolished. Moscow archaeologists were included into the GAIMK, which became its Moscow branch. The key reasons behind this decision were the "new methods" by Artsikhovsky, which revealed some Bukharin's ideas considered at times of the Great Purge as heresy. In addition, it was not advisable to reject ethnography—after the Morgan's schema of social development was adopted by Engels. And finally, would it be prudent of Marxist archaeologists to admit such artefactological discipline as archaeology? In principle: Can one make such archaeology Marxist?

The criticism from the side of Leningrad fellows was generalised by Bykovsky in his paper presented during the All-Russian archaeological-ethnographic conference entitled: *Is Marxist archaeology possible*? (1932). Bykovsky, in general, suggested eradicating the division of the discipline by source materials (Three Age

system)—indeed, he argued, the system is only a mirror in which specific source material is reflected but it does not impact the character of reflection regarding social relations of the time. On the other hand, he argued, class-related use of source materials does influence the general reflection of the times thus the disciplines should be divided according to epochs identified by the type of socioeconomic formations and not the type of a source material used to make tools. Yet, while eradicating archaeology he reckoned the necessity to retain archaeologists as possessing the methods of procuring and processing the material data of the past.

In light of such criticism, the Moscow innovators were forced to repent. In response to the criticism from Leningrad they (Artsikhovsky, Kiselev, and Smirnov) urgently published the article: *The emergence, development and disappearing of Marxist archaeology* (1932) and the late-comer Bryusov added: *The letter to the Editors*. They declared that "archaeology lost the right to exist as an independent and even as auxiliary discipline." After one of slating session emotional creators of "Marxist archaeology" tore away from the wall a portrait of their teacher Gorodtsov and stamped it out. During the All-Union (pan-Soviet) archaeological-ethnographic conference in May 1932, Professor V. K. Nikolsky advanced with the appeal "to ruin the old archaeology, lowering it to the ground—and leaving not a single stone from it." However, the conference had not followed these slogans and accepted archaeology's right to function as an auxiliary historical discipline.

Thus, the very subject of archaeology along with its name became the target under fire: Marxists suspected that in the traditional frames of the discipline the possibilities of using monuments are narrowed, the antiquities are not attached to the present, and the information on their production is dubious (the means of production were the determining factor of historical development). It has been suggested to rebuild archaeology and to rename it as the history of material culture. Yet, even such phrasing caused dissatisfaction as things in it were isolated from ideas. Thus, archaeology lost its traditional subject matter—artefacts.

This ending of traditional archaeology had a noteworthy consequence. Many historians and others became engaged with archaeological studies (for instance, members of the Academy, S. A. Zhebelev and Yu. V. Gotie and the newly made historian S. N. Bykovsky), ethnologists-ethnographers (S. I. Rudenko, S. P. Tolstov), philologists (Akad. N. Ya. Marr, A. Ya. Bryusov). On the one hand such variety of scholars enriched archaeology with new ideas, but on the other hand, a stream of enlightened dilettantism was flowing through the pierced breach into archaeological studies.

Inspired by Marr, the faculty of GAIMK in Leningrad, S. N. Bykovsky, V. I. Ravdonikas, E. Yu. Krichevsky, and others introduced the idea of "new teaching of language" to archaeology and had built on it the "theory of stadiality" ("theory of stages"). According to this theory, societies everywhere developed through revolutionary leaps from stage to stage and restructured their social organisation under the impact of economy. Such restructuring further led to ethnic transformations, thus, for instance, Cymmerians being japhetids (i.e., Caucasian-speaking population) turned into Scythians (who, as it is now clear, were Iranian-speaking folks) without

any influence from outside, the Scythians into Germanic-speaking Goths, and those directly into Slavs.

Ravdonikas presented such development in his article *Cave towns of Crimea and the Gothic problem in connection with the stage development of the North Black Sea area* (1932). The two young archaeologists, A. P. Kruglov and G. V. Poddgaetsky, analysed the Bronze Age through stages, filled the stages with a social content and presented in their book *Tribal society of the steppes of Eastern Europe* (1935). Possible crossings between stages were not entirely rejected, but their theoretical value vanished into thin air.

According to Gening (1982:180–190), the theory of stadiality is absolutely different from Marr's idea and should be identified with the long-standing use of the term "stage" by evolutionists and with Marxist scheme of development of social formations. What both have in common, however, is the notion of progress, of the stick–slip (revolutionary?) nature of development by stages. Yet, the specificity of the theory of stadiality was just in the hyperbolised, simplified, and schematised understanding of the stick–slip development, in the filling of this scheme with ethnic content and complete negation of migrations, and in all-round autochthonism. This was the novelty that the young Marr-inspired archaeologists supplemented with the idea of changes of socioeconomic formations imposed onto the old notion of development by stages. This was the sense of the theory of stages. Theory of stadiality was not just a simple terminological change of clothes.

In the years when it was necessary to cement the multinational state and at the same time to accept the right of nations and national cultures to exist, the theory of stadiality better than any other corresponded with the Bolshevik state policies: it equalised peculiarities of peoples and explained local differences using levels of local development rather than ethnic distinctions as the key argument.

In sum, the Leningrad activists tried to apply Marxist ideas to their archaeological works, not too much lagging behind the Muscovites. The difference was that if the Muscovites stressed the economic context of various archaeological categories such as tools, dwellings, and settlements, the Leningrad fellows searched the path to Marxism through the use of symbols, attempting to "ideologise" antiquities such as figurines (Efimenko), or burials (Ravdonikas, Artamonov, Kruglov and Podgaetsky).

Overall, the restructuring of the field initiated by the Leningrad fellows took approximately five years 1929/1930–1934.

Summing up the Revolutionary Period

The first historiographer of the Soviet archaeology, M. A. Miller, who escaped the USSR, calls these Leningrad events in his book published in 1954 "revolution in archaeology." He sees in them belated distribution of the October Revolution ideals in archaeology and describes such revolution as only having distorting functions (Miller, 1954, 1956). True, there was enough distortion in the 1920s, but he was right that revolution in archaeology occurred later than the political one. If we

understand scientific revolution as a fundamental change of ideas, such as creation of a new paradigm, then one has to admit that this revolution in Soviet archaeology began in the second half of the 1920s and continued (under sharply changed circumstances) until the first half of the 1930s.

At first, young Marxist scholars simply applied the general principles of Marxism such as primacy of the modes of production and generally paid attention to social questions, etc. in attempts to interpret the archaeological records, and after the turnaround on the eve of the 1930s, which brought about the reorganisation of archaeological institutions, a deeper conversion of archaeology into the essence of Marxist dogmas began.

The practical use of Marxist thoughts in archaeology is visible in the search for production workshops and researching the settlements of common folks by wide plane, as for instance the discovery of Palaeolithic dwellings not in caves or rock shelters, but under the open sky (the first discoveries in 1928, the deciding results in 1931).

The main task was to validate and illustrate with archaeological facts the Marxist-Leninist construction of pre-class society. The task also was to defend this construct (using the Morgan's scheme) against the sceptics and to focus on criticising the pre-revolutionary and foreign notions of primordial ("primitive") and ancient society. In this period, the primordial society and the next historical stages of social development were considered exclusively as socioeconomic formations, it is well visible in the articles by Moscow and Leningrad archaeologists who flickered such key words as "pre-class society," "primordial communism," "slave-ownership," "feudalism," as well as many terms and formulations by Morgan and Engels— "clan," "tribe," "pre-clan," "matriarchy," "patriarchy," "savagery," "barbarism," "military democracy," "commune," "pair family" and "origins of state."

Perhaps due to piety to Morgan in this approach some of the views of classical evolutionism were uncritically adopted such as selection of survivals, as well as methodology, which included ethnographic and archaeological-ethnographic analogies. The early mankind was perceived as society of equals going through the same stages of socioeconomic development. Ethnic and local cultural differences were ignored and attempts to study them were condemned as the "bourgeois" approach. Ancient societies were presented as being completely preoccupied with labour, adjusting the structure of their collectives (family, clan-tribe commune, identity) and the methods of distributing the goods added to the tasks of the organisation of production.

Despite simplification, such construction opened up to researching aspects of distant past not formerly observed—i.e. rapid qualitative alterations within a culture, inner sources of development, the importance of technology for the whole socio-cultural development, reflection of social relations in the material culture, etc. The attention paid to socioeconomic problems raised. Correspondingly, from the late 1920s to early 1930s objects of the studies have changed: classical archaeologists excavated settlements and cities (capital Panticapaeum, Phanagoria) and small towns of Bosphorus (Olbia, Chersonessus and others), specialists of the Palaeolithic Period began excavating using a new technique of wide planes and discovered

dwellings. The focus of Marxist-oriented researchers to study the history of "productive forces" turned archaeologists to excavate sites formerly beyond the sphere of their attention such as fish-salting pits, pottery workshops, land allotments, and traces of tillage.

Theoretical workings related to this original construction have not continued for long—approximately until the mid-1930s. At the same time, adepts of this theory attested it as exclusive Marxist theory in archaeology and the only possible, the only true theory. The young enthusiasts of the new approach looked down at the Western scholarship arrogantly and scorning, certain of their own superiority. Relations to Western scholarship were definitely alienated and Western scholars were labelled as reactionary. Any agreement with Western ideas was treated as political short-sightedness or as manifestation of secret sympathies for capitalism.

In accordance with the general revolutionary style of the epoch, scholarly discussions were conducted in the manner of sharp political clashes, and received the status of class struggle. Sharpness entered into the scholarly debates, it reached the level of roughness and personal attacks. Scholars blamed each other with ardour and implacability, minor theoretical disagreements were raised to the rank of principal political divergence, scientific views were pulled up under class positions, received scathing Party labels and castigated fiercely. Inevitably, in any discussion the only point of view that prevailed was declared Marxist, all others anti-Marxist and bourgeois. They immediately were condemned and their adherents forced to public apologies, with diligence and in detail that unequivocally "unmask" their recent views. Those who declined to repent, and often also those who conformed, lost their jobs and some were sentenced to prison.

The enthusiasm for theory in Soviet archaeology ended rapidly in a single day— on the 1st of December 1934.

Archaeology and the Process of Stalinization

This was the day when Kirov was killed. Kirov was a Party leader in Leningrad and the second after Stalin person in the Party hierarchy in the country, his close friend and possible challenger. The murder, if not organised by Stalin, was used by him to complete physical annihilation of the opposition in the Party by means of escalating country-wide massive "response" terror. Stalin introduced draconian laws and abolished legal guarantees for personal security. All of the "Lenin's guard" were exterminated as well as almost all the delegates to the 16th Congress of the Party (in 1930), the entire corpus of the Army generals, and a part of top scientists.

The repressions escalated in 1937 and terror was used first and foremost against the Party cadres, those who possessed the skill of self-dependence and some pretensions, but also embraced the masses. It seemed like religious fear of God in order to achieve obedience and servility.

Periodically the chastisers themselves were shot too in order to prevent them from accumulating too much power. An incredible cult of Stalin was established in

the country. The tyrant was, as usual, capricious, perfidious and horribly suspicious.

Repressions touched many archaeologists (some even earlier, for instance B. S. Zhukov was arrested in 1930). They perished in prisons and hard labour camps (A. A. Miller, G. I. Boroffka, A. A. Zakharov, F. I. Schmidt), or were shot (B. E. Petrie, N. E. Makarenko as well as Marr's deputies S. N. Bykovsky and F. V. Kiparisov), others committed suicide before (awaiting) or after arrest (P. S. Rykov, S. A. Teploukhov). Many pined in camps and exile (N. P. Sychev, S. I. Rudenko, B. A. Latynin, M. P. Gryaznov, G. A. Bonch-Osmolovsky, Yu, V, Gotie and others). It was dangerous to occupy scholarly positions, and theoretical studies seized instantly.

From the agrarian practice the sinister word "wrecker" (saboteur) was transferred onto people, and from the context of the French revolution the phrase "enemy of the people" was borrowed. Denouncing rage was regenerated into covert and overt snitching. Even quite eminent scholars resorted to the secret delation upon scholarly opponents and adversaries (the names of the denunciators are kept in the oral tradition, which is not always reliable; the corresponding archives of the KGB are still closed and verification is not possible yet).

The last years of his life Marr spent in fright and depression. When one morning a colleague knocked at his door, he saw the Academy member hidden under his bed—as he feared arrest. Marr died in 1934 and was buried pompously as a significant state person: along the procession lined up the troops.

The competition with the West (in an attempt "to overtake and surpass") turned ugly—for the most part the adversary was overtaken and surpassed only verbally, in loud propaganda. Under such circumstances the laudation of the successes of socialism and attainments of Soviet science was encouraged. Articles and pamphlets on the successes of Soviet archaeology became a kind of apologetic genre established in our archaeological literature, with no parallels in the world.

Under such conditions it was easier to hold a view that the Marxist base of archaeology has already been established and does not require any innovations. Theoretical work ceased and researchers limited themselves with particular elaborations of materials in the direction outlined earlier. Yet, some ideas of the preceding period (criticism of typological artefactology, attention to functional connections of artefacts within assemblages, etc.) received belated realisation in the functional-traceological method of S. A. Semenov (dissertation in the second half of the 1930s; the book published in 1957).

Not long before his killing, Kirov, who was the secretary of the Central Committee and ruler of Leningrad, published together with Stalin remarks on the manuals of history, and the authorities signed a special resolution on the teaching of history. The Pokrovsky's school was stigmatised as "sociologising" and sociology as a discipline was dismissed. The authorities had no need for objective analysis of social relations in the society as the directives on how they should be seen were given from above by the Party ideologues. Any theorising in social sciences was dangerous and could lead to troubles. Now in the country there was only one theorist for all the

social sciences. He puffed his pipe in his Kremlin study and had a status of infallible.

Historians were recommended to proceed with particular research and to study facts. In 1934, historical faculties were restored at universities. Negative attitude towards theoretical work in historical disciplines found its expression in some aspects of developing since 1934 criticism of Pokrovsky's views: in the condemnation of the "sociological schematism," in the demand of particular historical views. Such criticism prompted archaeologists to turn to empirical works of descriptive character, produce propensity to details, to academic solidity. Monographic elaborations of specific themes appeared as well as publications of artefacts.

The GAIMK declined due to repressions during the years of the Big Terror as several members of its governing body were arrested. When in 1936 a new archaeological almanac was allowed, this permission was given not to the discredited GAIMK, but to the archaeological section of the Institute of Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences. The almanac (later transformed into a journal) was entitled *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* (*Soviet Archaeology*). It represented a new formula in understanding the goal of archaeology—neither "Marxist archaeology," nor "History of Material Culture," but "Soviet Archaeology," i.e. the archaeology of the Soviet power. Although this archaeology distinguished itself from its pre-Revolutionary and Western forms, it was not keen on theoretical issues.

In 1937, the GAIMK was transformed into a new institution—the Institute of the History of Material Culture (IIMK) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. With its emergence the status of archaeology as a scientific filed declined as it was an ordinary, even insignificant institute within the Academy of Sciences. It advanced fewer theoretical claims and had considerably minor influence, but on the other hand the researchers dealt with purely archaeological data. Archaeologists returned to empirical works of descriptive character that produced a variety of monographs.

Thus, source-studying tasks and the very term "archaeology" were restored in their own rights.

Due to all these changes, the Muscovites and former creators of "Marxist archaeology" cheered up. They changed their policy and shifted their guidelines for archaeology from sociology to history because with the empiricist approach it became very easy to build historical reconstructions based on the archaeological data, without the support of ethnographic studies. The new approach was based on common sense (i.e., modern experience), written sources, and of course the key "Marxist clue." "Archaeology is history armed with spade," declared Artsikhovsky, who by this time became head of the Department of Archaeology of the Moscow University. Connections with foreign archaeologists were extremely difficult and became dangerous—our discipline was cut off from the world archaeology.

Nevertheless, excavations by Soviet archaeologists offered positive innovations stimulated by Marxist settings. Archaeologists *en masse* changed their interests from excavating spectacular sites such as ancient barrows to large-scale research of ancient cities and settlements as well as cemeteries. In contrast to the former hunt for treasures, elaborations of average materials were favoured. A number of new

archaeological cultures were identified. Detailed archaeological maps of sites were made on the basis of surveys of large territories.

Especially interesting were new data on the ancient past of the former outskirts of the Russian Empire (Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia). Special attention was paid to recovery of data regarding peoples of the margins in order to show the prosperity of non-Russians under the Soviet rule. The monuments of Urartu were discovered, barrows of Trialeti and Pazyryk, the ancient centre of Parthians Old Nisa, and others.

It became more and more difficult to ignore such cultural diversity, to squeeze all of this into frames of a universal scheme.

The Second World War left another significant imprint on Russian/Soviet archaeology. Naturally, expeditions were cut and many archaeologists went to the front where a considerable number of them perished. Enormous quantity of museum collections were obliterated by the Nazi invasion, many were taken to Germany and some of them were lost irrevocably. A number of the fellows of IIMK died from hunger during the siege of Leningrad (among them academician S. A. Zhebelev, B. L. Bogaevsky, G. V. Podgaetsky, A, N, Zograf, E. A. Rydzevskaya, B. E. Degen-Kovalevsky, V. A. Golmsten and others), whereas others were evacuated in a cachectic state.

During WWII the Institute was transferred to Moscow, and after the war it did not return to Leningrad where only a department of the Institute existed. The reason was that Stalin was obsessed with the suspicion that in Leningrad the longing for the status of state capital was kept alive along with the tendency for independence. In relation to this, soon after the war the entire Leningrad Party elite was disbanded and several were shot together with some of the government ministers in Moscow.

In the pre-WWII years, but especially during the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945), the survival of the peoples of the USSR was endangered. In connection with this, the attention of the Party ideologues to the problems of national self-conscience sharply escalated and patriotic pride along with the support of domestic traditions was strongly promoted. The inglorious Soviet-Finnish war and defeats during the first year of the Great Patriotic War showed the weakness of the Stalin's "barrack socialism"[3] (in fact it was a military-feudal system with the elements of slave-ownership).

Stalin was forced to mobilize patriotic feelings of the peoples of the USSR, foremost of the Russian people (as the Russian soldier was the pivot of the Red Army). The victory over the Nazi Germany has strengthened such moods and the "Cold War" prolonged the militarist settings. From the declarative internationalism a real nationalism emerged, first Russian, but in a ripple effect also various other (Shnirelman, 1995).

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[3] *Editor's note*: Marx used the term *Kasernenkommunismus* translated by Marx's interpreters as "barrack communism" in relation to crude and authoritarian collectivisation. Later the term referred to dormitories for workers common in the Soviet Union undergoing rapid industrialisation.

Soviet archaeologists turned to the glorification of the national character of Russian and other "brotherly peoples" of the USSR. S. P. Tolstov, P. N. Tretyakov, M. I. Artamonov and others tried to reveal the ethnic features and their differences in the past, in order to trace ethnic territories in the distant past. And if (and where) it was possible—B. A. Rybakov together with P. N. Tretyakov tried to widen these territories to justify the application of "historical rights" to the modern ruling over these territories. Ethnicity, migrations, influences, continuity, assimilation, etc. received the right to exist again. All this happened during the time when in the West, under the influence of fashionable scepticism, migrations lost their explanatory credibility and diminished in archaeological studies (the last bump of popularity of migrations after the discrediting of Kossinna was the book of V. Gordon Childe *Prehistoric Migrations in Europe* published in 1953, a set of lectures from 1946. Until the 1980s Maria Gimbutas remained almost the only well-known Western migrationist.

Soviet theoretical literature on historic ethnicities became one of the most if not the most elaborated in the world.

Marr's teaching did not correspond well with archaeology and linguistics and actually hindered both disciplines profoundly. In 1950, the central Party newspaper "Pravda" published a discussion on linguistics in which "the great leader and genial scholar" unexpectedly personally participated. Stalin declared that Marr was not a Marxist and his teaching was wrong. Indo-European research in linguistics was restored and the "theory of stadiality" rejected. The next set of scholars was forced to repent their views, but this time it was managed without great repressions.

Instead of marching under the redflag, Soviet archaeology had organised around a coloured banner. New research provided a wealth of data that made studies of the ancient world multivariate, colourful—multiethnic. Researchers focused on studying the "ancestors"—ancestors of the Slavs, Balts, Finno-Ugrians, Iranians, Armenians, Turks, etc. The most ancient history was filled with events, acting individuals and collectives—peoples, nationalities, etc.

Nevertheless, tongue-lashing and repressions continued. Studies of antiquities and any other studies were now and then interrupted with ideological campaigns against certain intellectuals—formalists, nationalists, cosmopolites (preferentially Jews), blackeners, grovellers (before the West), anti-patriotic critics, etc. Frequently dismissal from job and ban from the profession, and sometime even arrest, followed such campaigns. The "Cold War" produced serious hindrances to the normal communication of scholars with foreign colleagues. Attitude towards Western archaeology remained outright critical, and towards Western archaeologists *in corpore* hostile. Yet, bearing in mind the emergence of socialist states and influence of different communist parties, Soviet ideologues started to distinguish among Western archaeologists those who were reactionary and those who were labelled as progressive.

Archaeology During the Thaw and Stagnation

With the death of Stalin (1953) the tyranny of dictatorship has not ended, only the single dictator was replaced by the Party's oligarchs. But the Khrushchev's report on the 20th Party Congress (1956), which denounced Stalin as a despot and bereaved his nearest associates of power, meant some liberalisation of the regime—the writer Ilya (Elias) Ehrenburg neatly christened this development as the "Thaw." In some measure this was a departure from dogmatism and doctrinarism; excesses were weakened which were fraught with relapses of chauvinist passions and national jealousy. Hundreds of thousand innocent convicts were discharged from labour camps. In some contradictory way with the tradition of Marxism-Leninism it was declared that dictatorship of the proletariat was rejected (which in fact did not exist at all, it was dictatorship over the working class and the whole society). We lived from now on in the all-people state, it was declared. Normalisation of relations with the countries of the West began. Foreigners became frequent visitors to the country.

All of this led to shifts in archaeological research. Gradually the sharpness of clashes regarding "ancestors" of various ethnicities weakened and the struggle for the "historical rights" over territories faded (in fact the very principle of "historical right" was ridiculed by K. Marx [1960:276]). Autochthonism gradually lost its immutability, migrations their centrifugal structure from Russia to all directions. At first an assortment of the allowed hypotheses proposed migrations from outskirts to the centre, but inside the modern borders of the country, then from outside but within the territories of friendly countries and then from wherever one wanted.

The new leader was convinced about the superiority of real socialism over capitalism. On the one hand, his ideological enthusiasm demanded that the supposed advantages, for instance planned economy or centralised ruling, were strictly followed in all aspects of social life including scholarly activities. Correspondingly, centralised planning was introduced to archaeology and one of its outcomes was a plan to prepare multivolume corpus of archaeological sources from around the country (hundreds of volumes!). But as with all communist initiatives also this enterprise stalled halfway.

On the other hand, the same enthusiasm carried on intolerance towards dissent and "survivals of grovelling before the West." The new flashes of the communist struggle against religion badly reflected on the status of antiquities related to the church.

In 1956, Khrushchev repressed the Hungarian revolt, in 1962 the Novocherkassk rebellion and within the following years he routed intellectuals in his long speeches. He did not understand intelligentsia and often engaged in conflicts with it from the position of absolute power (he yelled, erupted with anger, and took administrative measures). In his anti-intelligentsia sentiment, he supported the presently discredited Stalin's favourite "peoples' academician" Lysenko. Naturally, such an attitude fettered research in general. It seems archaeology was one of those scholarly disciplines he secretly doubted.

From 1956, the academician Boris Alexandrovich Rybakov headed the Institute of the History of Material Culture. He represented a subfield of archaeology devoted to studying Slavic-Russian ethnicity through archaeological data and made his name in the preceding Stalinist period by pursuing patriotic topics in archaeology, for instance focusing on elaborations and glorifications of ancient Russian crafts, etc.

In the middle of the 1960s, Khrushchev was removed from power by a palace coup because the Party top considered his social experiments dangerous for the regime. In order to justify the coup, it was declared that it was necessary to get rid of voluntarism and to introduce a more scientific approach. In effect, this new approach somewhat raised the scientific standards, especially methodology, by granting more objectivity to research. A possibility emerged to develop (with corresponding curtseys towards the classics of Marxism) theoretical studies in archaeology. The new leader Brezhnev continued Khrushchev's policy of *détente* to ease international tension. Thus, theories of Western non-Marxist scholars became more respected. It was still mandatory to oppose them, but not to reject right away—some ideas could have even been accepted. Methods of the natural sciences and mathematics were borrowed *en masse*, matriarchy was gradually given up, many theories of Breuil, Bordes, Adams, etc., were cited with reverence.

The Soviet state appeared as a pioneer in introducing legislation that obligated construction companies to grant access to the area under development to archaeologists and to allocate funds to finance archaeological research. On this basis the reamed in the 1950s and during next decades large new constructional works such as channels, reservoirs, irrigation, etc. were preceded by colossal intensification of excavation works and intensive growth of the accumulated archaeological materials. By the mid-1950s the number of expeditions grew to 500 a year and by 1985 nearly 700 expeditions were organised annually. The quantity of publications grew during the decade of 1950s 1.5 times, and doubled during the next decade. By the middle of the 1970s the annual number of publications reached 3000 works and the total accumulated Soviet archaeological literature consisted of 50,000 publications. If during the whole time since 1918 to 1940 8000 books and articles in archaeology were published, in the 1980s about 4000 works appeared yearly. Theoretical and methodological works were of course in minority, but some of the Russian works were compatible with European studies and were translated into European languages.

The absolute domination of two to three leading centres of archaeological research (Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev) accompanied by some autonomous smaller centres in different republics (Tbilisi, Erevan, Tashkent, etc.), began to be undermined by the growth of powerful regional centres. The first was Novosibirsk where a separate centre of the Academy of Sciences has been created with the Academ-campus. The decision on the creation of the Academ-campus was made in 1957, and in 1959 the first institute was built. In 1966, the Institute of History, Philosophy and Law with a sector devoted to archaeology was established. The University of Novosibirsk was organised and a number of academicians were settled there. Eventually archaeological publications appeared. Then other centres started to crop

up—Chelyabinsk, Rostov-on-the-Don, Kazan, and others. However, the Prague Spring of 1968 frightened the Brezhnev's team and the intellectual climate in the country became more severe. Criticism of Stalinism was curtailed, it became difficult to present liberal ideas in press, and discussions on such subjects were not favoured.

With time, Brezhnev's rules turned damp, languor, standstill, stagnation, and finally of senile marasmus. Dissident activity born during the Thaw of the 1960s was now suppressed with extreme fervour, while favoured were conservative and defensive trends. Seeking the minimal cases for self-laudation and self-awarding Brezhnev's establishment adored anniversary celebrations of any kind. To the regular jubilees celebrated in the country, certain new events, organisations, and persons were added, new decrees were offered along with the lists of slogans, awards, prises, obligations, etc. The social life sluggishly flew from one anniversary to the other. In view of the crisis of socialist values, patriotic feelings were stressed again and nationalism emerged strong in Russia and in other republics. All of this was manifested in archaeology too.

Everywhere the tyrannic power led to gerontocracy. Academician Rybakov was the director of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (later renamed to Institute of Archaeology) for 40 years, until 80 years old. The director of the Institute of Russia's History, A. N. Sakharov, served until he was 81. Academician B. B. Piotrovsky died on the post as director of the Hermitage Museum at 82. Museums and academic institutes were headed by very tenacious elders. They appreciated most of all modesty and complaisance rather than talent and activity from their staff. This is why not daring thinkers but mediocrities and drab dealers climbed to the top and replaced the dead rulers (rarely as Party functionaries in scholar collectives).

As distinct from the preceding periods, in the Brezhnev's time persecutions upon the dissidents could not repress the attempts of researchers (including archaeologists) to break through the limits allotted to them by ideology. In each scholarly discussion sounded voices of adversaries of the point of view adopted by the official guidance, although it was very difficult for them to burst into press. Sometimes two or three prominent figures voiced their opposition to the accepted guidance and then, reluctantly, it appeared necessary to accept such two or three opinions as equally permissible. In Moscow, V. V. Sedov developed a new interpretation for the origins of Slavs which did not correspond with the one earlier proposed by Rybakov. In Leningrad, M. I. Artamonov offered his own idea on the subject. The Hermitage Museum became a centre for recognition of the true role of the Goths in the history of our country (M. B. Shchukin). In the 1960s, a group from Leningrad University (the author of these words and his students) defended the important role of theVikings (Normans) in the formation of the Russian state. Somewhere theoretical and historiographic surveys grew into rethinking and critical re-evaluation of the past, of our discipline, and its present condition (see, for instance, my "Panorama" and Formozov's books). In general, such disciplines as archaeology, culturology, sociology, linguistics, folkloric studies were during those otherwise stagnant times spheres of intellectual fermentation.

Opinions regarding this period polarised after perestroika. For the Soviet archaeologists who were close to political power the Soviet times were blessed times. It is worth mentioning the article by V. I. Gulyaev and D. A. Belyaev (1995) who both headed then the main archaeological journal "Sovetskaya Arkheologiya," which after perestroika became "Rossiyskaya Arkheologiya" (Gulyaev also headed the section on theory at the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow).

> "Just turning back you feel a danger to fall into nostalgic admiring by the "belle époque." Indeed, one is forced to admit that in these years the position of archaeology, in any case its social position, was rather happy. … Firstly, archaeology officially belonged to the system of social, historical sciences summoned to serve a basis for Soviet ("Marxist") ideology. This granted to our discipline a support of the state, although imposed on it certain obligations. However, these obligations were not especially burdensome… Speaking in the most general form, archaeology helped to substantiate and propagandise materialist understanding of history. It is very important at that to remark that as distinct from many other historical disciplines archaeology could succeed this rather naturally and trust-worthy…" (Gulyaev & Belyaev, 1995:97–98).

The Soviet Empire, they note, allocated considerable means to archaeology and created a harmonious and branched system of archaeological institutions.

Formozov in his books published between 1995 and 2005 presented a different evaluation of the bygone period. He aimed at evaluating the pursuit of truth and not fulfilling the ideological order of the Party and the government. True, the ideological yoke and mass repressions of Stalin's time were gone by then, but archaeology as everything else in the country was formed by the principle of administrative-bureaucratic arbitrariness, ideology continued to be instilled, though with methods less brutal, windows dressing and string-pulling dominated, flourished subservience and indifference to the heritage of ages. Also provisioning with either cadres or means was not as generous as in other states.

In my book of 1993, I noted some attainments of Soviet archaeology, but in total admitted its backwardness and rottenness.

The *détente* of international tense was finished in the eve of the 1980 New Year, when Soviet troops entered Afghanistan and the academician A. D. Sakharov was dismissed and sent to exile to the closed to foreigners city of Gorky. In Leningrad arrests of liberal university professors began. However, the new clampdown of freedoms already was not successful: the entire top of the Party's hierarchy was in the senile marasmus, the whole regime in stagnation. The Party leaders came to power already as decrepit elders and died with no deeds.

Perestroika and the End

The advent of a new leader in 1985, comparably young Mikhail Gorbachev, meant at first liberalisation, an introduction of moderate freedom. The new inner policy received the label "perestroika" ("reconstruction"), but in fact besides introduction of "glasnost" ("making public," i.e., limited freedom of speech) and some

democratisation of the election system, nothing else in the country has changed. The social system did not reconstruct. Control over the means of mass information, over press, finances, army and punitive apparatus, over cadres and teaching remained in the hands of the same sole Party, and its proclaimed aim as well as the aim of the new leader was the same—the building of socialism. The only distinction was that the new leader tried to shape it in a more civilised form. It is curious that in archaeology during the 5 years of the "perestroika" nothing essential has been discovered while archaeology, as it could be seen here, is rather a sensible barometer of socio-political changes.

Yet, democratic changes began, more and more deep: re-evaluation of traditional values of socialism in mentality, frank illumination of "white" (in fact dark) spots of the domestic history, abolition of censorship, pluralism and discrediting of many dogmas—the freedom to various political views formerly unthinkable.

By his nature, Gorbachev was not a fighter and the changes were forced—the socialist system could not sustain the competition with the market economy and democratic system of the West. The state treasury was short of money: all was spent on communist adventures and arming. Citizens had savings in the only bank in the country—state bank, but it was sheer paper secured by nothing. In the stores there was no food to feed the people. Gorbachev was simply younger than the "Kremlin marasmic elders" and he thought naïvely that it was possible to preserve socialism with just small adjustments. He did not comprehend that the system was based on the bayonets and bans as an integral whole: hardly a single brick has been removed so the whole system would crumble as it did a little later.

During the late 1980s the "socialist camp" fell into pieces. Due to economic ineffectiveness the Soviet Union was unable to sustain the armament competition with the USA and had to compromise the struggle for the spheres of influence. The countries of the Third World changed their political orientation, all Eastern European Soviet satellite regimes fell, while glasnost and the influx of foreigners changed the awareness of Russians, for the economic advantages of capitalism appeared clear. Russians who visited the West were overwhelmed by the abundance of wares on the shelves of Western supermarkets and the quality of Western wares as compared with squalor and scarcity of Soviet shops.

The true systemic conversion began in the country in the turbulent year 1991 when Yeltsyn was elected the president of Russia, when, following the example of the former socialist countries, the united republics burst and the USSR collapsed, when due to August putsch the power of the Communist Party fell to the ground. The new government started to conduct radical economic reforms—decollectivisation, privatisation, liberalisation of prices, creating free market and conditions for private entrepreneurship. The mistakes of the unexperienced reformers under the conditions of abrupt falling of oil prices (the basic export item of the country) were accompanied by disorder of the old economic system in the absence of a new system. The brake of traditional economic ties among the republics resulted in domestic wars. All of this appeared unexpected concomitants of democratisation, very painful for the population and disastrous for archaeology.

The first consequence of these events for the study of antiquities was the formation of independent national archaeologies. Several of the former Union republics have separated—Ukrainian and Belorussian, Moldavian, the Baltic ones, Caucasian and Central-Asian. This breakup contributed to the growth of local nationalisms. The labelling of ethnic Russians, who remained in these former republics as national minorities now residing in independent states with their own local nationalism, bore the feelings of national denigration among the Russians. That feeling stirred up by a series of calamities produced the growth of Russian chauvinism and antisemitism (Chernych, 1995). Museums with collections as well as sites that served for many years as main sources of materials for many Russian researchers were now abroad, while trips there became difficult and expensive.

The second consequence was decentralisation in archaeology. Earlier on the basis of newly organised expeditions, local centres of archaeology started to grow especially in the Urals, Siberia, on the Don, etc. Now in connection with the general decentralisation and the falling of the authority of the main centre their role in the study of local antiquities has strengthened. More than that, the Institut of Archaeology has been divided in two independent institutes, one in Moscow and the second Leningrad, which has been renamed Saint Petersburg. The Saint Petersburg Institute demonstratively returned to the name of the Institute of the History of Material Culture. This time professional archaeologists and not Party apparatchiks headed the main archaeological institutes. In Petersburg it was the discoverer of the Central Asian Eneolithic civilisation V. M. Masson and then the known slavist E. M. Nosov, while in Moscow Rybakov was replaced by his deputy an old archaeologist R. M. Munchaev. But now, when the Moscow Institute lost its former scholarly leadership, the role of the head was reduced to administrative and economic responsibilities.

The third consequence was the considerably shortening of allotments for science, in particular for archaeology. In Soviet Russia everything was governed from the top-down and state ownership was common. The new system of decision-making stripped archaeologists from material support they had accustomed to under the communist regime. They were forced to search for new sources of funding—western foundations, local sponsors, the newly formed state foundations. Under the circumstances of serious economic needs during the transition period this was very embarrassing. The number of expeditions exceedingly dropped, so did the number of publications. Availability of foreign publications diminished due to shortening of the funds for literature.

On the other hand, communication with foreign archaeologists became very intensive, and the choice of methodology and direction of research—fully free. The main journal was renamed and it was now called *Rossiyskaya Arkheologiya* (*Russian Archaeology* or to be correct *Russia's Archaeology*) and became much thinner, one can say, drooped. New almanacs emerged in St. Petersburg and other cities. The largest and most interesting was the thick archaeological journal *Stratum-plus* issued in Russian six times a year in Chişineu (Moldova). A thinner journal is published in Novosibirsk in Russian and English. Archaeological societies were restored in vain as the scholarly milieu that delivered members for these societies and made these societies strong and influential disappeared. New entrepreneurs

expressed neither willingness nor responsibility to support archaeology, though there are some cases of such sponsorship.

The remnants of the former leaders of archaeology were sad in embarrassment. A desire to change ideological benchmarks (faith instead of atheism, chauvinism instead of internationalism, conservative views instead of veneration to revolution) was strongly felt, but this was still not as frightening—although there was a suspicion that the new power in general had no need for ideological service! Laws regarding land property and antiquities changed. Gulyaev and Belyaev (1995:104) announced "the crisis of archaeology."

On the other hand, democratisation certainly did not bring the expected perfection at once.

Of course, connections with abroad increased, the hindrances of travelling abroad disappeared, but economic opportunities for such trips for our archaeologists were very scarce and often people felt humiliating dependence on foreign allotments. In addition, hindrances appeared from the other side—bans for immigration and a suspicion that all visitors are potential immigrants who craved to escape from Russian shocks and hard life into the Western kingdom of worry-free life and profusion. Indeed, many scholars burst to the West, but the share of archaeologists among them was small (Leskov, Dolukhanov, Shilik, Nagler and a few more). Others left archaeology and changed their profession—went into business. The rest joined the mass of destitute and discontented.

In the early 1990s, the flop of the putsch of partisans of the old regime has led to the breakup of the Soviet Union, to the separation of the Union's republics—Baltic, Central Asiatic, Slavic, Kazakhstan, and Moldavia. New Russia appeared reduced to the borders of pre-Peter the Great Russia. Soviet power fell, shops with abundance of provisions emerged but the masses could not afford them as economic improvement did not follow at once. The disturbance of planed economy led to stopping of the production and agriculture. Introduction of free market implied the leap of prices and reduction of savings (though not secured by any real value).

Even more important was the moral inexperience of the population. Soviet governments assured a minimum of existence to everyone without much efforts on the people's side, while under the condition of economic freedom one should display initiative and energy in order to make earnings. During the 70 years of Soviet ruling people got out of such habit. Many have lost their heads. In addition, not only political convicts were released from the camps, but also many criminals. Instead of Soviet order, let it be deadly, the population stumbled with the raging criminals. There appeared a mass of dissatisfied with "liberasts" and "dermocracy" (from "dermo"—shit). This has built a base for nostalgia for the socialist old times. Many drivers hanged Stalin's portraits in their cars.

The crash of the Empire meant the sharpening of various nationalist moods (separatist and great-power dreamers), clashes of regional interests, and crisis of the internationalism (Chernych, 1995; Shnirelman, 2001a, 2001b). Such was the end of the Soviet power, and at the same time the withering of Soviet archaeology.

Let us consider some distinctive features of the dead.

Some Peculiarities of the Soviet Archaeology

Historicism

In Marxist ideology history ascended over all other scholarly disciplines. As Engels said: "History is our one and all and we value it higher than any other, earlier, philosophical line of thought" (Engels, 1843/1954:592). The Marxist philosophy of the social sciences is called "historical materialism." At its foundation is the "principle of historicism," understood in the spirit of the materialist dialectics: as the principle of the study of phenomena in their development, specific determination and cause-and-effect connection.

In the Russian tradition of learning, there is no such distinction between the humanities and the exact sciences as in the Anglo-Saxon countries where it is sharp and reinforced through language. In Russia history is not confined within the framework of the humanities, so its influence spreads to the entire block of the social sciences. Moreover, for almost half a century in the USSR there was no separately constituted sociology that could claim such a leading role (sociology was considered unnecessary and even harmful since social phenomena often contradicted Marxist dogmas). Nor is there a tradition of hiving off the anthropological sciences in a special complex. Prehistory was regarded not as a separate discipline between natural and social history, but as the history of primeval society—an integral part of general history, of the same kind as ancient (classical) and other branches of history.

Hence, archaeology here does not split into separate branches—primeval or primordial ("primitive" in the West) and historical, represented above all by classical archaeology, as it is in Germany. Unlike also the position of archaeology in the Anglo-Saxon countries, it is firmly connected to history, oriented towards it and only towards it. Departments of archaeology, combining prehistoric archaeology with classical, oriental, and medieval, are located in the faculty of history and not, let us say, philosophy, as they are in Scandinavia. In those academies of science there were no separate institutes of archaeology; archaeology remained a part of institutes of history. Thus, when archaeologists defend their theses, they obtained the degree of Candidate and/or Doctor of historical sciences.

Eminent scholars very frequently quote the sentence of Marx and Engels that "We know only one science, the science of history," without detecting that, according to the editors' note (Marx & Engels, 1955:16), this phrase is printed from a text which was crossed out by the authors!

Many scholars misinterpreted the principle of historicism in the sense that it requires the closest linkage of as many disciplines as possible with history (taken as a separate discipline), right up to the point of being included in it, absorbed by it, and partially dissolved within it. Such relationship was proposed also for archaeology (*Istorizm*, 1976; Rybakov, 1978; Zakharuk, 1978).

In my book *The phenomenon of Soviet archaeology* (1993b) translated recently in English as *Soviet archaeology: schools, trends, history* (2012) I considered some

peculiarities of Soviet archaeology: (1) instead of data and facts readymade infer-ences on the "history of tribes" were published; (2) disregarding relative chronol-ogy, which is the staple of European archaeologists to see large-scale cultural changes, Soviet archaeologists preferred absolute chronology that did not contrib-ute to forming systems of cultural relations; (3) in connection with this, Soviet archaeologists had no interest to reveal chronological horizons, build systems of relative chronology—everything was put on vertical chronological sequences; (4) Soviet archaeologists were interested in large archaeological formations (big cul-tures) and did not research small and compact groups.

In the next sections, I briefly consider some of the problems discussed in detail in the book translated by Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland and whose improved text I use here with gratitude.

Imperial Internationalism

Looking in the mirror of Soviet ideology, the Soviet Empire saw itself not as an empire, but as a free federation, a union of states with equal rights. And it took a number of steps to appear to all as such. Nevertheless, it remained a unitary multi-national state with a de facto inequality of nations, i.e. an empire.

Yet since the USSR was an ideological, almost a theocratic state, much was done to distinguish the ethnic provinces (the union and autonomous republics) from colo-nies. Imperial ambitions, however, could not be totally rejected. On the one hand, the old heritage was a constraint; on the other hand, new messianic objectives required the might of a sovereign power—other than by centralisation, other than by the command administrative system, this sovereign power could not be maintained.

So the empire lived, shameful of being an empire, decking itself in federal cloth-ing. The ethnic republics saw themselves by turn in the role of sovereign states and of colonies. The ethnic periphery was and lived in this contradiction.

On the one hand, the centre facilitated the development of national cultures: it set up national academies, theatres, press, literature, and science; it encouraged the growth of national cadres; it established protectionist, often hot-house, conditions (privileges for tertiary entrance, mild reviewing, and allowances for unpreparedness).

On the other hand, it banned independence, undermining the national economy, destroying the environment, and imposing Russian administration or Russian over-sight (with an ethnic *nomenclatura*), and stimulated migration from the centre. Moreover, it expected and demanded endless praise for its good deeds, and endless expressions of gratitude to the "elder brother," humiliating the local inhabitants. Russification proceeded apace in a number of republics, through massive mixing of the population, centralised distribution of all and everything, etc. The Russian lan-guage rapidly edged out the local languages in Belorussia, the Eastern Ukraine, Estonia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, and Tataria. The republics of the Union, very

different in their customs and level of development, in religion and in area, were coerced into a single form of administration and education and brought to one uniform level.

This evoked the natural discontent of the local population. Discontent was suppressed sternly and vigorously, and preventive measures were taken: the local authorities would be replaced, the intelligentsia exiled, and indoctrination undertaken, to say nothing of the destruction and liquidation of entire republics and the exile of whole peoples during and after the Patriotic war.

Archaeology in these states with puppet governments was highly varied. In some (e.g., in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia) it was entirely created and developed by Russian colleagues (the ethnic cadres were trained in Russian universities or sometimes in situ under Russian professors. In others (e.g., in Ukraine and Transcaucasia) there were strong local traditions. In others still (particularly in the Baltic States and western Ukraine), national schools had formed during periods of independence or separate existence and were subsequently subsumed ready-made into all-union scholarship.

They all, however, faced the same problem: they all had to progress, steering clear of accusations of nationalism and of bowing to russification.

The Syndrome of National Sensitivity

The direct russification was not favoured by the centre: it could bear open dissatisfaction and was not connected with declared ideological principles. Therefore, local governments were allowed to provide some actions to please national pride: to magnify ancient national heroes, restore national antiquities, issue archaeological literature in national languages, etc. Yet the inclination to nationalism was considered as even more dangerous, than to russification: it threatened to grow into craving to separation. Hence, any attempts to manifest true independence there were most strongly punished, and the sympathy to national heroes involved into liberation war against Russia (like Shamil or Manas) was condemned; traditional scripts (Arab in Central Asia and Volga basin, Latin in Moldavia) were replaced with Cyrillic.

National cadres carefully nursed, now (when they raised their head) were fiercely smashed. A horrible stroke to national archaeological school was the crush of local studies in 1929–1934: both local studies and with it national archaeological schools were cleaned then without remainder. In Ukraine new data were collected then in a considerable part from Russian newcomers.

Yet Russian archaeologists have also little reasons to joy. With the growth of national cadres somewhere archaeologists from the centre suddenly began to feel themselves unwanted competitors. They were on the sly ousted from national regions, their expeditions not given permission to excavate in the republic, they had not received materials from museums (though in the centre the access to museum depositories was also not very easy). At the same time, on the national fringe archaeologists from the centre were exposed to the risk to be accused either in russification

and contempt to local population, or in local nationalism. Even the Leningrad archaeologist A. N. Bernshtam, a russified Jew, busy with the archaeology of Central Asia, was considered in such way: in the 1950s when he supposed Hunnu invasion was not destructive, the press labelled him Turk bourgeois nationalist!

This general situation had a particularly corrupting and deleterious effect on ethnic archaeology cadres. Amid constant condemnation of nationalism, a section of them, despairing of the ability of local contingents to compete with the archaeologists of the centre in the standard of their scholarship, and imbued with sincere respect for the latter, readily accepted assimilation, went over totally to the Russian language, and became Russian archaeologists. Another section, on the contrary, gave way to national ambitions. Their simplest manifestation was normally ***linguistic separatism***. Moved by national pride, the republics (especially the Transcaucasia, the Baltic States, and also Ukraine) would each publish much of their learned writing in their own national language. Ukrainian colleagues even published a learned archaeological journal in Ukrainian (*Arkheologia*, with a print run of 2500).

At first glance all would seem to be well, to be as it should be: a national language of scholarship and culture was being formed in the republic, and the growth of national cadres was being fostered.

Yet let us think over. What was the purpose of these publications? At whom were they aimed? When popular writing on archaeology or textbooks on familiar disciplines (mathematics, medicine, and literary studies) are published in a national language that is understandable: large numbers of the local population will read them. Yet how many archaeologists, though, are there in a republic? A few score; usually not more than a hundred. Even if a book is published in a very small edition, a few hundred copies (which is costly), the stocks will lie on the shelves or be pulped. Meanwhile thousands of readers in the centre and in other republics wait in vain for information about the finds, the materials, and the investigations of the archaeologists of that region. That is a potential mass readership, something worth aiming at! Yet for it the local language is an obstacle.

This problem would not exist, but it hurt national pride. Norwegians and the Finns publish excellent archaeological journals in English.

Hurt pride forced our colleagues in the republics into more radical opposition. In thrall to national pride, they were prepared to tolerate falling behind professionally and dipping into dilettantism in order to avoid kow-towing to the centre. In this environment there arose three more of the most characteristic manifestations of national sensitivity in the content of archaeological investigations.

The first manifestation was the use of all means to defend the antiquity, the deep ancientness of their people, and its **habitation since time immemorial** of its present territory. For the sake of the deep ancientness of the people and its local roots, all remains in that territory were attributed to it and all cultures declared stages in its cultural development. The sense underlying this idea was the same notorious "historical right."

The second manifestation of the syndrome of national sensitiveness was the search for "***eminent ancestors***," descent from whom might elevate a demeaned people in its own eyes and its neighbours' eyes. The Ossetians, through their

archaeologists, did everything to support their descent from the Scythians, while in reality they are connected with the Sarmatians, who are related to the Scythians. The Moldavians also had desired ancestors—the Dacians, the Azerbaijanis—the Caucasian Albanians (although the Albanians were not a Turkic people, like the Azerbaijanis), and the Armenians—the Urartians (although they were not Indo-European, like the Armenians).

The third manifestation was a **warfare on archaeological maps**, archaeological expansionism. The representatives of each demeaned people strove to present their people's territory in ancient times, or the land of their "eminent ancestors," as being as large as possible, taking in the lands of their present neighbours (particularly if the rulers of that people had made claims of any kind to those lands). The same putative expansionism was not infrequently engaged in by the neighbours. There was a quarrel over territory on the map, but it threatened to develop (and would develop) into very real clashes on the spot. Each of the quarrelling parties would deny the presence on the territory of its people of remains belonging to the people of the other. Thus, some decades ago, Armenian and Georgian archaeologists fought over the heritage of the state of Urartia, and now Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the cultural heritage of Artsakh-Karabakh.

The centre's reaction to these mirror-image reflections of its own sins varied. They clearly disturbed the happy picture of the slogan "Friendship of Peoples."

The centre's first gestures were radical from the outset: stadiality theory recognised autochthonousness, but not the existence of particular ethnic roots—and that was that. When, however, the recognition of separate ethnic groups and their specific destinies came, some decisions had to be made to suppress the dissensions. Thus, in the generalising Union publications of the 1950s and 1960s, B. B. Piotrovsky having ingeniously provided the clue, the quarrel between the Georgians and Armenians over Urartia was resolved simply: both had their origin in Urartia—their common ancestors (although those peoples belong to different language families). Subsequently, this means of reconciliation proved to be inadequate.

Meanwhile the principle of "historical right" itself should be quite categorically disavowed. Then, however, the "historical right" of the Slavs to the territories they occupy (and the advantages of the Slavs resident in them over national minorities) would have to be given up, which did not please everyone. As if modern nations occupy these or other lands by "historical right"! As if a revision of "historical right" leads inevitably to a redistribution of lands (and not vice versa: redistribution to revision)! As if the boundaries of this country and its population are determined by the length of occupation in the past, by "historical right"! What then is to be done with Siberia, Saint Petersburg, and Vladivostok? How are the Hungarians to feel, when their history textbooks include a chapter on "The period of the conquest of our country"?

Archaeology Under the Red Flag

Marxist Archaeology: Is It Possible?

At the end of the 1920s, when the task of transforming the young Soviet archaeology into Marxist archaeology came on the agenda, A. Ya. Bryusov initially considered the task to not be very difficult, practically superfluous:

> Archaeology has been and is in its essence and methods a Marxist discipline. Almost all archaeologists have been compelled willy-nilly to proceed in the end from the forces of production, from working tools… From the base to the superstructure – this has always been the unconscious slogan of archaeologists' (1928:10–12).

The intensive campaign of the 1920s and 1930s, however, shows that the task was by no means as easy as it might have seemed to the early Soviet archaeologists.

When, however, Soviet archaeologists took up the deobjectification of archaeology, one of them, Professor S. K. Bykovsky, Marr's deputy and head of GAIMK in Leningrad, read at the All-Union Conference a paper "Is Marxist archaeology possible?" (1932). The young Muscovites criticised by him replied with a repentant article with the bold and ambiguous title "The origin, rise, and disappearance of Marxist archaeology" (Artsikhovsky, Kiselev, & Smirnov, 1932). The ambiguity and boldness lay in the authors' implication that it was unreasonable to single out archaeology in the new, Marxist system of learning, while the reader was free to form his own interpretation—the liberation of Soviet archaeology from Marxism. The authors paraded their daring (quite unthinkable a few years later) and the paradox of the formula: it was implied that Soviet archaeology, if indeed it did exist, was inextricably linked to Marxism, and it was ludicrous to ask that question. The inextricability of the link was doubted neither in Soviet scholarship nor beyond the Soviet milieu.

Nevertheless, as paradoxical as it may sound, Soviet archaeology in essence was not exclusively Marxist. It was not uniquely Marxist, neither only Marxist, nor strictly Marxist. Frequently it was a very long way from Marxism; in many of its sectors it had no need of it; in some assertions it contradicted Marxism, or, at least, did not derive from Marxism.

The German archaeologist G. Behrens, the director of a large museum in the former GDR, who, after retirement moved to the FRG, had come to a similar conclusion some years earlier (Behrens, 1984:57–58.—I came across his book only after I had sent my book of 1993 to the publisher). Later a similar observation was made by the Polish archaeologist St. Tabaczyński (1995:78).

Utopia and Its Argumentation

Marxism claims that the distinction between itself and other socialist doctrines is that those other are Utopian, whereas Marxism is not: it is a scientific conception of the future egalitarian organisation of a state of universal prosperity and the means to bring it about. Marxism perceives its scientific nature and, consequently, its practicability as resting on two foundations. The first is that political economy postulates the transient nature of property and in consequence deduces that capitalism will inevitably be replaced by communism. The second is the doctrine of the class struggle and of the historical mission of the working class as naturally and exclusively (like no other) equipped to fight for power and the revolutionary transformation of society. Since any extraneous factors (biological, geographical, etc.) can detract from the significance of the argument deriving from political economy, Marxism prefers to perceive society solely as a network of economic links and contradictions, and man as their convergence, their conjunction.

Since, for this argument to be convincing, the importance in general of economics has to be buttressed as much as is possible, materialist philosophy is injected into Marxism, while another philosophical doctrine, the dialectic, is used to provide the rationale for the inevitability specifically of an abrupt, revolutionary transition to the new structure. The task of preparing working people for an uncompromising class and party conflict requires rejection of the Christian religion. Together with materialism, this leads to the necessity of atheism for the Communist Party.

Finally, to support the division of society into antagonistic social classes and class solidarity on a world scale, Marxists naturally scorned national distinctions, preaching the principle of internationalism and seeing their objective as world revolution. They perceived potential allies of the communist revolution in national liberation movements and also in democratic movements. Taking into account the achievements of democratic movements, the increasing influence of parliaments, and the extension of suffrage, Marxism did not exclude a peaceful transition of power to workers' parties: notionally of course the proletariat forms the overwhelming majority of the population in a developed capitalist society. In view of this prospect, workers' parties, guided by Marxism, began to call themselves social-democratic.

Thus, was Marxism formed in the nineteenth century?

Lenin took the appearance of capitalist monopolies as a sign that capitalism was ripe for an immediate socialisation of the means of production. In wars to partition the world he saw a convenient moment to turn weapons for use inside society. Operating, however, in a backward, peasant country, where the working class did not constitute the majority of the population, Lenin introduced some novel features into Marxism: the idea of a union with the peasantry, in the beginning, and, subsequently, with the poor peasantry (in addition to a union with national movements), and also the demand to establish for some period of transition a dictatorship of the proletariat: a dictatorship of the minority over the majority of the people. For such revolutionary activity a party of a new type was required: disciplined, professionally

trained, prepared for an underground tussle and for a seizure of power by force of arms and its retention also. To distinguish themselves from those Marxists who did not recognize these new principles, Lenin's supporters began to call themselves communists, re-establishing the Party name the Marxists had given themselves at the outset. Later they began to distinguish two stages in the society of the future: the real prospect of socialism and a hazy, distant ideal—communism.

Marxism turned out to be utopian, just like other socialist doctrines. Here is not the place to determine whether Leninism inevitably flows from Marxism, and Stalinism from Leninism. Our topic looks to something else: to determine how the principles set out above could have been put into practice in archaeology as they should have been.

Marxist Dogma and Soviet Archaeology

If Leninism is taken to be the development and supplementation of Marxism, then we shall immediately see that it is quite inapplicable to archaeology, to the study of primordial man and antiquity, or to the analysis of material remains. Its principles have no relevance, do not touch on archaeology at any point (by the way, Leninism was not spoken of when Soviet archaeology was taking shape). The Institute of Archaeology of the AN SSSR nevertheless in 1970 published a collection *Leninist Ideas in the Study of the History of Primitive Society, Slave-Owning, and Feudalism* (see also Zakharuk, 1970). There is no footing in archaeology for Leninist ideas as directives defining the profile of the whole discipline or the understanding of primitive society (although some of Lenin's remarks on the general methodology of investigations could certainly be useful: see, e.g., Klejn, 1970).

Marxism is a different case. Its commitment to opposing pre-class society to class society, to materialist methodology and atheist ideas, and to dialectical leaps and social revolutions, of course, could not fail to affect the profile of Soviet archaeology. Marxism not only defined the sphere of interests of Marxist archaeologists, their conceptual apparatus, and the general nature of their ideas, it demanded the specific development of certain concepts. The founders of Marxism themselves made use of scientific information about primordial communities and archaeological data (Klejn, 1968). In a nutshell, it was quite correct that archaeologists should attempt to detect in their material traces of those phenomena which were postulated by Marxist doctrine, verify their existence, and reconstruct those phenomena on the basis of dialectical-materialist methodology: classless (pre-class) society, the inception of classes, the spasmodic nature of cultural advance, etc. An attempt of this kind could in a sense be considered Marxist archaeology, forming a necessary part of the Marxist system of knowledge.

In the course of the specific development of Soviet archaeology, however, scientists who considered themselves Marxists made greater claims: to a concept developed more exactly and in greater detail, to a set of dogma narrowly defined, and to firm distinctions between Marxist and non-Marxist concepts.

It is abundantly clear that, the more narrowly a doctrine is defined, the easier it is to descend into sectarianism. In his last years, Marx complained that even his own sons-in-law were misinterpreting him. "If this is Marxism, then all I know is that I am not a Marxist," he exclaimed (Marx, 1883/1956:588). How would he have regarded Stalin's implementation of Marxist ideals!

Excessive specificity affected not only ideas. Tenets somehow tied up with Marxism in the course of the history of development of knowledge, but formed before or outside Marxism, were turned into dogma, e.g. Morgan's classification. Moreover, facts with which someone at some time had confirmed some Marxist idea, or even hypotheses regarding facts, also were turned into dogma, e.g. the postulation of the matriarchy as a universal stage of development. And woe to those who might attempt to cast doubt on such a dogma! All these tenets, facts, and hypotheses became Marxist dogma. Any deviation from such a narrow Marxist norm was treated here as heresy, as apostasy.

There were and are in Marxism several major currents (social-democratic or Menshevist, Trotskyism, neo-Marxism of the Frankfurt, and other schools), but only one was recognised as genuine in Soviet science: Leninism. All others were regarded as spurious and pernicious and were not to be relied on. The scientific views of those who were counted among fractionalists and deviationists were also included in these heretical methodologies. What was essentially a handful of dogmas was thus canonised, and researchers were instructed to dissociate themselves from views which might not contradict Marxism, or might indeed have been clearly associated with it, if these views did not coincide with the selected batch of dogmas.

Still more striking was the effect, one might say, of dogma drift. The limits of the canon were not immutable: indeed, Marxism did not in principle reject development (dictated by changing circumstances), and, as leaders succeeded one another, the border between the prevailing concept and heresy had naturally to be shifted. Whatever had previously been included in the canonical text, once it was found to be outside the canon, was immediately declared to be heresy. Thus, in the early 1930s, *ethne* were not to be acknowledged, and to do so was condemned, but, by the 1940s, research into ethnogenesis was demanded. An attachment to sociology, the prerequisite of Marxist archaeology in the late 1920s and early 1930s, one might say the entrance ticket into Marxism, was rejected and condemned in the mid-1930s; only in the 1960s and 1970s was sociology once again permitted. What were yesterday considered to be profound ideas today would be branded as oversimplification, vulgarisation of Marxism, and primitive slogans. Tomorrow would bring new *ts. u.* (*tsennye ukazaniya*—"valuable indications," "important instructions").

Since the classics of Marxism were sanctified and their works became something akin to the Bible, the administration of science was more comfortable adhering, not to the spirit, but to the letter of the sacred texts: then loyalty was easily and simply demonstrated. Hence, examination in depth of the fundamental principles of Marxism inexorably turned into manipulation of "relevant" quotations, textualism, and Talmudism. Collections of quotations were made (*Marx and Engels on Antiquity*, 1932; *Marx. Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on Primordial Society*, 1935, and

many admired E. Yu. Krichevsky: he could recite by heart, not only the quotations, but the reference information (volume and page).

Is Everything in Marxism Marxist?

Why then did Soviet archaeology constantly strive, not only to concretize in detail the Marxist concept in archaeology, but to narrow its boundaries as much as possible and define them sharply, while in so doing clearly increasing the fragility of the Marxist description of the concept? Was it because they began from a class approach, from keenly opposing two worlds, two sciences? For that reason, also. The main point, however, was that they sensed some inadequacy in a broad definition of the Marxist complex of ideas in archaeology: if the complex is a broad one, is it Marxist? There was a reason for the doubt.

Such a broad understanding of Marxism in archaeology is healthy and sensible, but it would be more correct to recognize its essence as Marxist only conventionally.

Behrens writes in his book:

> When 'dialectical and historical materialism' is presented as the thought system of Marxists, those who are deterred by it on political grounds overlook the fact that this thought system contains many thoughts which are by no means specifically Marxist, but derive from common human experience. That applies, for instance, to the Marxist dialectic. In addition, Marxist philosophical materialism contains much that can be accepted by someone who is not bound by religion. Further, the core idea of Marxist historical materialism may appear quite plausible: that a person's way of life is determined by their way of thinking, and that human history is in peculiarly the history of the working man i.e. someone whose thoughts are bent on maintaining their existence.

This notion Behrens also regards as acceptable. Further on he specifies what he sees as narrow, sectarian Marxism:

> 'Dialectical and historical materialism' becomes false and untrue with its historical teleology that human history leads from primitive (clan) society, through slave-owning society, feudal society, and capitalist society directly to socialist-communist society (Behrens, 1984:56).

Let us suggest that, for many adherents of progress in history, this entire series of stages is acceptable, though not always in exactly these forms. The culmination of the series is the subject of dispute, yet it does not separate Marxists, particularly communists, from other socialists. Only the methods of achieving this highest stage of development, and the arguments supporting them, are where the demarcation line passes.

How Marxist Was Soviet Archaeology?

The point, however, is not only that a broad understanding of Marxism erodes its specific nature. It is also that an intensive reflection of Marxism, broad or narrow, in investigations into primitive man, in the formation of a certain concept of primitive society (with the breakdown of kinship, the birth of social classes, etc.), can likewise hardly justify the claims of Soviet archaeology to the name of Marxist.

First, because acceptance of this pre-historical concept does not inevitably lead to confirmation of Marxist ideals. It can be recognised (and actually is) by non-Marxist schools also. In the end it is a dispute over facts, their presence or absence, and what is really important for Marxism is their interpretation.

Second, this is all not so much archaeology as prehistory and protohistory. If archaeology is a source-study discipline, and there are grounds for thinking that this is so (Klejn, 1978; 1986), then it is hardly possible without reservations to divide its schools into ideological and political camps, certainly with such a strict dichotomy: Marxist or non-Marxist. We do not divide numismatics or, for example, physics or biology (though attempts were made not long ago) in such a way.

It would be more accurate to speak of an archaeology close to Marxism and of interest to it, and of an archaeology under the influence of Marxism. How far such influence could go without destroying the science is another question. That is why, when we attempted to create specifically a Marxist archaeology, entirely Marxist, viewing it as an integral part of Marxist ideology, we were taken for a long ride.

And in the Future?

Only now, when archaeology here has the opportunity of free theoretical development, now the task of building a Marxist archaeology has become a real one: not sectarian, not dogmatic, not trimming to the wind, not capriciously despotic. It is now, however, when this has become actually achievable, when it has become possible to orientate archaeology to a broad understanding of Marxism and to a wider complex of Marxist ideas, doubts have resurfaced about *whether a Marxist archaeology is in principle possible*, and, if it is possible, whether a specifically Marxist archaeology is needed, albeit only Marxist-influenced. In this last formulation the question is at any rate correct.

Only one answer can be given:

Marxist archaeology as previously understood, as non-contradictory and integral system of tenets, totally subordinate to an equally non-contradictory and integral "uniquely correct" system of Marxism, *was merely an unattainable ideal, a myth. It never existed and could not have existed*. Archaeology under the influence of Marxism existed, an archaeology subordinate to Utopian dogma and political convenience. Sometimes this relationship benefited it, but more often it did harm and destroyed its science. A Marxist archaeology of this kind is not needed either.

Needed or not, however, Soviet archaeology was actually like that. It will be a long time before we can move away from our history and the state of our society.

The sphere of public interests will for a long time dictate questions connected with a Marxist understanding of the past. We shall inevitably make use of the conceptual apparatus governed by our Marxist training; it is imbedded in our language. Moreover, this conceptual apparatus is much in use in the West too; the language is widespread there as well. Without realising it, we will generate ideas in some ways akin to dialectical or historical materialism. While criticising Marxism, we do so normally within the intellectual parameters set by Marxism.

Is that good or bad? Probably bad. It is time to remove the blinkers, to rid ourselves of Marxist clichés, of ideological tunnel vision and of a poverty of conceptual vocabulary, time to develop boldness of thought and breadth of vision. It is time to take a sober look at the world, ourselves, and our past.

Many outstanding minds of the twentieth century experienced disenchantment with Soviet Marxism—V. Gordon Childe among archaeologists. Other thinkers perceived from the outset the faults of the doctrine. It is no disgrace to join their ranks.

Nevertheless…

Marxism-Leninism, frankly, suffered defeats as a specific political and economic programme. However, archaeologists never worked with Marxism of that kind. Marxism as a state, monopolistic ideology brought on itself popular hatred. Yet that is not a reason to reject the applicability of Marxism seen as a research method (or methodology); after all other factors came into play in its progress from research method to politics and ideology. As a method of investigation, Marxism, used with caution, within proper limits, and in conjunction with other methods, is not incompatible with the social sciences. Archaeologists must take that into account.

Marxism, then, reduced man to an aggregate of social relations. This is indubitably a simplification, and in this lies the deficiency of Marxism. Man is also a biological being, and many of his peculiarities, including social peculiarities, are inexplicable if this fact is not understood (the psychological aspects of aggression, territorial behaviour, nature of collectivism, etc.). Marxist politicians fell into a fatal error by disregarding such aspects of man. Then social relations affect man, and economic interests, and class orientation. The experience of Marxism in analysing these things should not be disregarded. It is just that they should be allotted their proper place, placed within proper boundaries, and combined with other forms of analysis.

At the end of his rejoinder to my article forty years ago in *Antiquity* (the editors called the article 'Archaeology in Britain: A Marxist view'), Michael Thompson exclaimed:

> I do indeed deny that Marxism is a method that can be applied in archaeology; it is simply a set of 19th century dogmas which you can ignore or accept as you please. A good archaeologist may have Marxist leanings like the late Professor Childe or be a Roman Catholic priest like the late Abbé Breuil; there is no connection between the personal beliefs of an archaeologist and the quality of his work (Thompson, 1970:302).

   If there is no connection with quality, there is with content. Catholic beliefs influenced (implicitly) the investigations of Abbé Breuil just as Marxist beliefs (consciously) the work of Childe. Moreover, that influence was felt, not only in misapprehensions and a certain impediment in both of them, but also in their brilliant discoveries. Breuil discovered Palaeolithic art because he, a convinced Catholic, did not believe unreservedly in the laws of gradual evolution, belief in which prevented the evolutionists from recognising early manifestations of the human spirit. Childe devised the concept of two revolutions—Neolithic, and Urban—since he tried, as he saw it, to apply to archaeology the doctrine of the primacy of production and social revolutions. To apply it freely, not as a dogma.

   We know that, at the turn of the twenty-first century, very thoughtful and serious archaeologists in the West—Bruce Trigger, Kristian Kristiansen, and Philip Kohl—used Marxist analysis in their archaeological interpretations. There are very sound books in which Marxist methodology is defended seriously, with gravity, and interestingly (Iribadzhakov, 1972; Semenov, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1999; objections see Vishnyatsky, 1996).

   Finally, I will express a thought which is terrible and unnatural for a Marxist, as indeed it would be for a philosopher. Any philosophic teaching can be applied usefully in archaeology, even one which is in some part erroneous! Fortunately, there are many teachings, which help us to grasp the diversity of the world and its past. Since Marxism exists, and we possess it, let us think how its ideas benefit archaeology. As Behrens observed, 'The value of Marxism for pre- and early history research lies in the stimuli it produces. No less and no more' (Behrens, 1984:61). Yes: no more, but yet no less. Let us consider what can be gained, if Marxism is used freely, rationally, and cautiously, being aware of the errors of the Marxist concept, bringing these errors to light and recalling the limited epistemology of Marxism. Let's be tolerant of others and prepared to accept their contributions.

   Fortunately, there is now no reason for us to oppose Marxism an favour other methodologies; they all can complement each other. Nor is there any reason to expunge Marxism. We simply need to absorb other methodologies, while curbing Marxist views. The world has riches for those whose eyes are open.

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Chapter 4
Archaeology and Marxism in Poland: A Personal Account

Jerzy Gąssowski

I was a teenager during the Second World War. In order to evade deportation to Germany I worked as railroad laborer, lumber jack, peat digger, and salesman in a paint shop. For a while, I also joined the resistance movement, an organization oriented to fight the Soviets rather than the Nazi, a decision that got me in trouble after the war. At the same time, I was attending underground schooling and finished the High School program. When the war ended, I passed the final exam (*matura*) and enrolled to Toruń University.

I was the only student of archaeology at the university. Professor Bulas, an expert on the Aegean culture and Ancient Greece, who was my advisor, asked me at the onset of my studies: "Do you have rich parents?" "They are very poor after the war" I answered. "So, what are you doing here? You will starve to death after you graduate," concluded the scholar who soon defected Poland. Under such circumstances I was forced to move to Warsaw because I was not just the only archaeology student, but also without advisor.

I started my studies in 1945 and finished in 1950. All class curricula and textbooks were based on the pre-war program. The only difference in the university-level schooling system was that in pre-war Poland students paid tuition, including exams. After the war the only fee was for exams. University, it seemed to me, was an oasis of the good old times long forgotten. The student had a choice to select classes according to his interests, although within certain limits. I must mention here that initially I studied classic archaeology and Egyptology and also worked at the National Museum in Warsaw, in the department of ancient art. I quickly realized that due to political constraints I could only do fieldwork in Poland as foreign expeditions were not allowed by the new regime and thus turned to prehistory. There were four students in the 5-year program and I graduated from Warsaw University as prehistorian. During my studies I did not only change my interests, but also jobs

J. Gąssowski (✉)
Pułtusk Academy of Humanities, Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: jerzy.gassowski@gmail.com

and started working at the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Piotrowska, 2007). Because there was no financial aid available, I had to work and study. And there was a lot of work, even before graduation I conducted fieldwork, for instance at the Inowłódź castle on the Pilica River.

Unfortunately, in 1950 the political situation has changed and archaeology, as well as the other social sciences and humanities were turned into the Soviet-style sciences. The new archaeology program was called the History of Material Culture and involved students of archaeology, classical archaeology, and ethnography (Gąssowski, 1970). Enrollment increased substantially and 49 students were admitted into the program at Warsaw University. The same program was also offered at universities in Kraków, Poznań, and Łódź (Abramowicz, 1991) and in all enrollment was high. The program was structured to include classes related to the three disciplines spaced out over 3 years, after which the student supposed to declare specialization in one of the disciplines. Only the best students were allowed to specialize, and those who chose prehistory continued their studies at Poznań University only (Gąssowski, 1970:260–263; Abramowicz, 1991:151).

The reforms of higher education were forced administratively without consulting the academic circles, including a small group of archaeologists of Marxist persuasion. Among those who tried to introduce the Marxist thought to Polish archaeology were three researchers: Professor Hołubowicz and Professor Majewski, both from Wrocław, and Professor Jerzy Kulczycki, a classical archaeologist. Since its inception, the reform was criticized by nearly all influential archaeologists, despite their political views, and after 3 years in effect it was eventually suspended. The critics emphasized the fact that each of the three disciplines is concerned with similar issues: data recovery and cataloging and describing the artifacts, and also attempts to reconstruct the life of people from the past. In order to understand this criticism, we need to turn back to the times before 1948.

In 1946, Witold Hensel, an archaeologist from Poznań University, published a paper titled "O potrzebie uczczenia wielkiej rocznicy" [On the need to commemorate a great anniversary] (Hensel, 1946). The great anniversary was the millennial anniversary of two events: the first written mention of the Polish duke Mieszko I in 963, and also the baptism of Mieszko I in 966, commonly accepted as the Christianization of the entire country. The Hensel's appeal was welcomed by archaeologists and historians of medieval times (Kobusiewicz & Kurnatowski,2000; Kobyliński, 2007). Archaeology of the Early Middle Ages (early historic times as it was called then) was the most neglected period of our ancient times. Historians thought that because of the scarcity of written sources this period falls within domain of archaeologists, while archaeologists assumed that because some written sources are available, it should be studied by historians (Gąssowski, 1998). Despite this controversy, several archaeological projects started at such medieval sites as Gniezno, Sandomierz, Końskie, and the Krakus Mound in Kraków before WWII. Thus, the plan to initiate the millennial large-scale archaeological investigations of the early medieval monuments required an institution that would oversee the organization and funding of the works.

Since 1948, the Main Commission of Museums and Monuments Preservation, which informally administrated archaeological research, initiated works at 11 key early medieval sites in Gniezno, Kruszwica, Wawel Hill in Kraków, Opole, Łęczyca, Ostrów Lednicki, Biskupin, and Sobótka (Ślęża Mountain). Because of these large-scale projects, representatives of different disciplines, who previously did not have much chance to exchange ideas, sat at the common discussion table (Abramowicz,1991; Lech, 1996).

I remember one of the first discussions during the conference organized by the Commission. In attendance were archaeologists, historians, art historians, and historians of architecture. The historian discussed Mieszko's second name Dagome, archaeologist reported on the finds of a well, art historian analyzed the peculiar form of the capital of a column found in a Romanesque temple, while the ethnographer offered a thesis that the Asian nomads invaded Europe every 600 years. The Babel Tower is not quite adequate analogy here as everyone tried to communicate using various [scholarly] lingoes to discuss events or phenomena. Without a doubt there was a will to communicate cross-disciplinary and the only way to create such communication seemed to rest in the invention of a common approach shared by all these scientific disciplines (Gąssowski, 1998).

I have to admit that certain elements of Marxism, especially known from the works by Polish socialists such as Krzywicki or Kelles Kraus (Krzywicki, 1887), played a positive role in the general opposition of the majority of Polish archaeologists against sovietization—i.e., the acceptance of Stalin's version of Marxism. On this occasion, archaeologists returned to the old questions that interested scholars of the Enlightenment, such as the "state of crafts," "state of technology," and "state of economy" (Gąssowski, 1970). The return to these questions along with the revival of the general way of thought happened at times when research methods and methodology enabled better answers ((Tabaczyński, 1995).

Discussions also revealed that materialistically oriented prehistory and art history, while improving methods and methodology, diminished the general outlook on the human condition that could be revealed by either of the field. Especially prehistory lost its outlook on the human condition and at best it only offered its voice on the ethnicity issue revealed through material evidence. Today, we can only conclude that it was silly and laughable as modern research based on the DNA and blood group studies exposes awkwardness and vulnerability of earlier conclusions (Schild, 1993).

The change did not happen by itself, however, but was an outcome of intensified research process, interdisciplinary cooperation, and heated political and scientific debates. Paradoxically, the more archaeology cooperated with the natural and hard sciences, the more humanistic it was becoming while its sources were treated as historic sources (Abramowicz, 2007).

All these discussions and fruitful scientific cooperation were possible due to organizational changes, which were announced in 1948 and materialized in the following year. On the 3rd of April 1948 the Ministry of Art and Culture announced the establishment of the Commission for the Research of the Origins of the Polish State. It was headed by then young but well-known historian Prof. Dr. Aleksander

Gieysztor. Among the members of the Board of Directors of this institution were the archaeologists Prof. Dr. Jerzy Majewski and Dr. Zdzisław Rajewski, and the art historian Prof. Dr. Zdzisław Kępiński (Gieysztor, 1953; Piotrowska, 2007).

As the paragraph 2 of the Ministry Executive Order stipulated, the Commission was responsible for:

– "planning and organization of works to collect and publish data and establishing relevant bibliography";
  – "planning, organization, and overseeing of fieldworks and securing proper depository of their results";
  – "maintaining contacts with scholars from other Slavic-nations, especially Soviet scholars";
  – "publishing the research results annually, especially with reference to their significance to the knowledge on the material culture and social organization related to the origins of the Polish state";
  – "in cooperation with the specialists of the discipline, establishment and eventual revision of the methodology of research based on our own as well as the scientific achievements of the brotherly-nations" (Gąssowski, 1970).

Archaeological projects were launched immediately and their scale was unprecedented in the history of Polish archaeology. In addition to the 11 sites excavated in the previous year, 14 new projects were initiated. These were: Giecz, Poznań—the Przemysław Hill, Trzemeszno, Lutomiersk, Wrocław, Ślęża (the cult center), Inowłódź, Wały Śląskie (Silesian Walls),[1] Cieszyn, Tyniec near Kraków, Wiślica, Warszawa—King's Castle, Warszawa—Bródno Stare, and Błonie—Rokitno. In sum, in 1949 alone 25 sites considered significant to the origins of the Polish state were excavated, all financed from the budget of the Commission.

In accordance with the new directives, archaeologists attempted to publish the results of their works faster. Polish archaeology had a bad reputation of being slow to publish full results of archaeological excavations. For instance, 25 years have passed in 1950 since the excavations of the significant Early Middle Ages cemetery at Końskie, and I had used the never published materials in my MA thesis defended in 1951. My attempt to publish the thesis caused a clash with communist censorship. The censor declined me the right to publish my dissertation because it did not include any references to the Marxist and Stalinist classics. Because I considered such references foolish, I resolved the conflict by quoting a passage from the Manifesto of the Communist Party of India, which included data on the death rate of the Indian population close to the rate I observed at Końskie. The censor was satisfied and I could publish my work (Barford, 1995).

Many large archaeological sites excavated in the pre-war era were not analyzed and published for decades. Nevertheless, despite possible objective reasons for such predicament, it was imperative not to contribute new data that would amount to the massive delays in publication. Thus, a directive was introduced to publish annual reports of the conducted research in preliminary preparation for monographic studies of the sites under research. Also, annual conferences were introduced during which researchers reported on the ongoing research and plans for future studies, and

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[1] A system fortifications tens of kilometers long, located in Lower Silesia, southwestern Poland.

which became a significant forum for methodological discussions, often with a strong ideological context. In fact, up to 80 % of the sizable budget of the Commission was spent on archaeological research (Kobyliński, 2007).

Professor Gieysztor wrote the following about the archaeological research sponsored by the institution he headed:

"Proposed spontaneously and during discussions on research planning, they [research project] developed in unprecedented scale focusing on the research of the Early Middle Ages. Archaeologists found here technical and financial support as well as research directions. Moreover, these problems initiated works on the periodization of prehistoric and ancient societies on our lands, and on the new view on the epoch of primeval cooperative. The gained benefits also relate to the education of a sizable cadre of young scholars and auxiliary workers. Thanks to a steady financial support for the last four-five years, Polish archaeology gained technical equipment, precision instruments, permanent and portable accommodation facilities for 25 centers, which probably exceeds the pre-war status quantitatively five times, and qualitatively much more".

And further:

"Emerging independently from the Commission, discussion on the methods of archaeological research (Wł. Hołubowicz, W. Hensel, T. Żurowski, K. Jażdżewski, and others) conducted within the Commission's authority at a range of multilevel sites found thus far unavailable, or known from publications, produced overwhelming data for experience and comparison" (Gieysztor, 1953).

Numerous scholarly conferences became a significant forum to exchange ideas and a new form of cooperation among archaeologists. They were of dual character: on one hand, the conferences were to present work-in-progress and plans for future research, on the other, research methods and interpretations of finds were discussed. In nearly 5 years 70 conferences were organized of both kinds. In order to familiarize local scholars and authorities of the ongoing research, many meetings were organized at key archaeological sites and also in academic centers and museums. Students of archaeology and history attended these conferences, which offered additional information outside of the classroom (Gieysztor, 1953).

Scholars from the "brotherly countries" were invited to some of the major conferences, particularly from the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Some of the Czechs presented papers in which they tried to convince Polish colleagues of the superiority of Marxism-Leninism often foregoing any archaeological content of their presentations (Gąssowski. 1998). Guests from Soviet Russia were more ad meritum, but nothing suggested that they were eager toward collaborative research with the Poles. In fact, it was because of the Polish initiative that a collaborative Polish-Soviet research program to investigate the so-called "Grody Czerwieńskie" (the Czerwień forts) from the medieval Polish-Ruthenian border was initiated. Excavations were planned to be conducted simultaneously on both sides of the Bug River.[2] The Polish research begun in 1952 and concerned the Early Medieval settlements in Gródek Nadbużny and Czermno in the Hrubieszów County. The works were coordinated by

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[2] *Editor's note*: The river was the administrative boundary between Poland and Soviet Russia after 1945.

the Commission for the Research on the Origins of the Polish State, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, and Archaeological Museum in Lodz. The codirectors of the works were Prof. Konrad Jażdżewski and Prof. Zdzisław Rajewski (Piotrowska, 2007).

The Czerwień Forts research was the largest Polish collaborative project of the time. It revealed a little known culture of the Early Middle Ages communities of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland along with the very interesting sites of the Neolithic Period. And what did the Russians do? Absolutely nothing! Neither as archaeology is concerned, nor history. A year before launching this collaborative research the largest correction of national borders in post-war Europe took place in the vicinity of the planned project. Based on the agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union of the 15th of February 1951, 480 km^2 of land had been exchanged.[3] In exchange Poland gave up seven counties of the Lublin voivode-ship including towns of Bełż, Uhnów, and Krystynopol, and the railroad line Rawa Ruska—Krystynopol. The people of the soil-rich Sokol region were displaced into the Bieszczady region according to the Action H-T. They could only take personal possessions.

In return, the USSR gave Poland a part of the Drohobycz district with the town of Ustrzyki Dolne and villages Czarna, Lutowisko, Krościenko, Bandrów Narodowy, Bystre, and Liskowate. By the time we launched our excavations the USSR pre-pared for further corrections of borders. This time Poland would lose 1200 km^2 from the Hrubieszów and Tomaszow Counties, including the town Hrubieszów. In return, Poland could have gained Niżankowice and the railroad line Przemyśl-Zagórz. This correction was to happen in November 1952. Such was the will of Uncle Joe and surely the Soviet scholars did not have permission for a broader cooperation with us, for the "Soviet bosses" were certain Polish archaeologists will not excavate in those areas for long. Perhaps the Soviet scholars did not even know about the planned change. The sickness and subsequent death of Stalin, however, stopped these displacement plans—as it turned out—decisively and indefinitely (the USSR does not exist today).

As it is known for some time now, our archaeological excavations on the Czerwień Forts neither caused the border corrections and displacement of people the year earlier, nor the larger translocation planned for 1952, which could have incorporated the areas where we have started our research. Should the USSR gov-ernment did not change its decision and Stalin had not die, our just started works would have been brutally interrupted.

Knowledge of the stormy events of those times allows for conclusion that our archaeological works, despite results, had not contributed to the large-scale national border corrections. They occurred because of other reasons and criteria. Accusations that archaeologists had caused administrative decisions testify of ignorance of those who make them. Indeed, these projects made profound impact but on research pro-cedures applied later in various excavations (Abramowicz, 1991).

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[3] Dziennik Ustaw z 1952, nr. 11, poz. 63.

Excavations at the Gródek-on-the-Bug ended in 1955 and elaborations of the data began. I contributed to the publication of the results by preparing a report on the Early Middle Ages village, site 3, located opposite to the fort, on the bank of the Huczwa River. The results of the Czermno fort investigations have been published long ago (Jażdżewski, 1959), while the results of research at the Gródek-on-the-Bug still await full publication (Piotrowska, 2007). It is almost half a century since Prof. Rajewski stopped all efforts toward this end. Nobody continued the works after Prof. Rajewski's death. Thus, our collaboration with the Russians did not move beyond its declarative stage and never turned into real collaboration in the field.

Let us turn back for a moment to archaeological education. In 1951, summer archaeological camps for students who finished their first year of studies were initiated. The camps were organized at Biskupin and attended by the students from all universities. The first camp attracted 110 students in two sets. Prof. Rajewski, a long-term researcher of Biskupin, was the camp director. Classes were offered by lecturers from different universities and specialists on certain subjects from other archaeological institutions. The students were divided into small study groups headed by assistants from the universities represented at the camp. Each student learned archaeological digging techniques using spade and trowel, and was also taught journal entries and methods of field documentations such as drawings and taking photographs of the recovered cultural layers. Additionally, the students segregated and inventoried the found artifacts (Gąssowski, 1970).

It was significant that during the Biskupin camps the students gained experience in the methods to excavate sites from different time periods and also participated in experimental reconstructions of ancient techniques, such as bronze smithery, pottery-making, tar-making, and smoking fish.[4] They also participated in lectures delivered by specialists cooperating with archaeologists. The daily schedule included morning excavations, 2 h lunch break, and then lectures and laboratory works until supper (and swimming in the lake, weather permitting). In case of rainy days, only lectures and labs were scheduled. At times of food shortages, when food was rationed and available on coupons, Prof. Rajewski was able to organize properly nutritious foods as required for physically working young people. Additionally, our chef was very talented (Gąssowski, 1954).

Only four such camps took place. Apparently influential individuals were critical of them: Why Biskupin? Why directed by Rajewski (he was not awarded his professorship[5] yet)? Why the students are taught only one excavation method if in our university we have a better one? and so on. A good tradition, which could have been improved over time, had been discontinued. Friendships that date to those times survived even when the former students became professors of archaeology.

In the meantime, in order to facilitate the increasing workload new agencies were formed within the Commission: Commission for Research and Excavations,

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[4] *Editor's note*: Probably the first attempts at experimental archaeology in Europe.

[5] *Editor's note*: In Poland, as in some other Central and Eastern European countries, such as Germany or Russia, etc. professorship is not just a university position, but a title bestowed for life by governing bodies.

Department of the Origins of the Polish State, Paleobotany Laboratory in Poznań, Bureau for the Inventory of Forts, Anthropological Laboratory and Editorial Office. The Commission employed 231 individuals, including 50 professors and associate professors, 70 adjuncts and assistants, 90 auxiliary workers, and 11 administration staff.

An interesting phenomenon considering the times was the overwhelming interest in the idea of preparing the millennial anniversary of the Polish State from all social circles, including those who perhaps never heard of archaeology. It touched on the genuine patriotic vein independently of the will of the organizers. Representatives of regional authorities frequently contacted the Commission to request archaeological investigations because they were certain of the existence of still uncovered and significant relics of the early state. In fact, there were not enough archaeologists in Poland to fulfill such demands. For instance, the representatives of the Plock Society of Arts and Sciences along with the city authorities managed to convince the Commission to prioritize the research on the Tum Hill because Plock was in the eleventh century, during the reign of Władysław Herman, the capital of Poland. The Commission accepted their request and I was appointed research director, but after 2 years I had to leave Plock because of a new project in Sandomierz, where I spent another 10 years supervising the works under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and also managing the Sandomierz Research Center.

Ryszard Kiersnowski, who was the deputy of Aleksander Gieysztor in the Commission, remembers those times, as reported by B. Noszczak:

> "During my time [at the Commission] I did not know of any organizational or programmatic pressure from the Party. (…) Those were the worst Stalinist times and we were an oasis. We did not feel, at least at the executive level, any pressure or formal demands. (…) Now, from a long perspective, I observe a new myth, the myth of enslavement of sort that if the [Communist] government permitted something or gave money, it meant it "enslaved" certain researchers and that such people worked under dictates. Not true" (Noszczak, 2002).

I fully confirm these words as true because I witnessed the times and participated in those activities.

This is why I am puzzled by Andrzej Abramowicz attempt to present a distorted picture of the epoch he also witnessed and in which he actively participated. Then, he did not think that "the Commission made a big disservice to archaeology" and "that there was a huge pressure from the Party on archaeology during the Stalinist times." His attempt was successful enough that it seriously influenced opinions of those scholars who, due to their age, know those times from relations by others. Opinions that the Commission damaged archaeology were common especially among those researchers who were interested in the oldest epochs of human prehistory (Abramowicz, 1991:157). They argued that it attracted too many archaeologists toward an overblown research on the Early Middle Ages and thus their research was underfunded. When the Institute of the History of Material Culture was formed, the situation regarding the funding of research returned to proper proportions. However, the large cadre of young scholars who participated in the research on the Early Middle Ages sites remained loyal to this specialty (Abramowicz, 2005; Tabaczyńscy, 2005).

Our research was not only observed in the East, but also in the West. At that time in Great Britain and France research on deserted villages began. This was a serious research problem that included the economic and political perspectives. If in England people gave up farming for sheep husbandry and turned fields into meadows for economic reasons, in France wars against Albigens and Waldensians were the key reasons for the economic decline of the flourishing southern France. In both countries the only remains of once existing villages were ruins of medieval churches standing in the middle of nowhere. In France, archaeologists specialized mostly in the Paleolithic archaeology or the Gallo-Roman archaeology and there were practically no specialists on the archaeology of the Middle Ages. Because of other than scientific reasons, the French did not want to ask neither the German nor British colleagues for help. So, they turned to the archaeologists from the Polish Academy of Sciences, with great success. For several years Polish researchers conducted research on archaeological sites in Provence: Montaigût, Saint Jean-le-Froid, Condorcet and Dracy, and also in Italy, in Venice-Torcello, Venice-Murano, Castelseprio, Capaccio, Civita di Ogliara (Abramowicz, 1991:176, more references on the subject).

I had the pleasure to supervise the excavations at the leveled to the ground castle Montaigût accompanied by archaeologists from Warsaw and Łódź. Among the latter was the later professor Andrzej Abramowicz whom I mentioned due to his opinions. French historians and archaeologists also worked at the site and gained the necessary experience to conduct their own projects later (Hensel et al., 1965).

Soon after the French project ended, I received an offer to participate in large excavations in East Anglia, at North Elmham, Norfolkshire on a village from the Middle Sas Period. In the following year I was offered codirectorship of one of the largest English excavations in the vicinity of North Elmham, at the Spong Hill, where the largest known Anglo Period cemetery with cremated burials from the early settlment phase (fifth to half of the sixth century CE) was located (Gąssowski, 1973). Codirectorship meant that one year Dr. Peter Wade-Martins supervised the works and I was his deputy and the next year I became the supervisor to oversee the whole project and he was my deputy. This pleasurable experience lasted for 5 years. Every year five of the best archaeology students from Warsaw University, who knew English, participated in the project. Other participants were mostly American students, while the British contingent slightly outnumbered the Poles. An évènement of the research beneficial to the English, which made us valuable partners, was that the most priceless finds such as bronze and other metal objects, and also glass and some ceramics were taken by us to Poland to the Laboratory of the IHKM PAN,[6] for specialized conservation and treatment, all free of charge (!). Subsequently they were returned to England. The same treatment performed in Great Britain would have absorbed most of our budget. British and Polish flags had proudly flown on tall masts during the excavations at the Spong Hill.

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[6]*Editor's note*: This acronym stands for Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences). Throughout the text the Polish acronym is used.

For some reasons, however, none of the scholars who wrote on the history of Polish archaeology did not mention those really significant Polish excavation abroad, including the presently very active in this subject Prof. Przemysław Urbańczyk, who participated in this project as a student (Urbańczyk, 1995).

Let us return, however, to the domestic context. The state-wide attempt to organize archaeology faced two difficult to solve contradictions: on the one hand, it was the understanding of the need to have a centralized, superior institution that would unify and represent the interests of archaeology, and on the other, overwhelming individuality of scholars who, nevertheless, disliked each other. This was the heritage of the 20-year period between the wars, which reflected poorly on the times of rebuilding archaeology after the WWII loses. Thanks to the diplomatic genius of Aleksander Gieysztor, the Commission on the Research of the Origins of Polish State managed to turn personal quarrels into scholarly debates. And this had significant consequences. A realization was growing among archaeologists to establish a permanent institution to direct Polish archaeology as the Commission existed only to organize the millennial commemoration, the Great Anniversary (Noszczak, 2002:159–160).

Thus, since 1950, the Commission members realized that its achievements will continue only if a centralized archaeological institution will be established. Moreover, such institution should not only continue research on the Early Middle Ages, but should also incorporate specialists in other epochs. As a matter of fact, the Commission already funded some significant excavations from the earlier and later than the Middle Ages times, such as at Igołomia near Krakow, Kalisz, the Ślęża Mountain, and the Royal Castle in Warsaw (Gąssowski, 1970). Unlike in the pre-war period, in 1950 there was a new and larger cadre of scholars, significant scholarly achievements, experience in teamwork, and new methodological assumptions.

Initially, the new Institute supposed to be organized by the Ministry of Art and Culture, but since the emergence of the Polish Academy of Sciences this prestigious institution seemed more appropriate to house the key archaeological center. There was an older, pre-WWII Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków (also known as the Academy of Learning), but it was not favored by the communist authorities. The Polish Academy of Sciences was a copy of the Soviet institution and its long-term goal was the sovietization of Polish science, which included centralization of decision-making and financing of selected, preferred disciplines. I am using here the term "sovietization" instead of "Marxism" for several reasons. The variation of pseudo-Marxism that was moving from the East should be called "Leninism-Stalinism" as it selectively used the classics of Marxist philosophy to justify one of the most brutal dictatorships of modern times.

Under such circumstances, the planned Institute of Archaeology was to be a structural copy of the "brotherly" Institute of the History of Material Culture in Moscow and under the same name. It was established on the 15th of November 1953, but its activity started in the beginning of the following year. Its director, Prof. Dr. Kazimierz Majewski, was one of the true communists among Polish archaeologists. The Board of Directors included Prof. Dr. Zdzisław Rajewski (Head of Division I—Archaeology of Poland), Prof. Dr. Kazimierz Michalowski (Head of

Division II—World Archaeology and Archaeology of the Mediterranean Region), Prof. Dr. Aleksander Gieysztor (Head of Division III—History of Material Culture of the Middle Ages and Modern Times), and Prof. Dr. Witold Dynowski (Head of IV Division—Ethnography). The new Institute incorporated the Commission, its budget, people, and the organizational structure that contributed to the Division I and III of the new institution (Piotrowska, 2007).

In a year Prof. Majewski stepped down due to illness and was replaced by Prof. Dr. Witold Hensel, an archaeologist from Poznań. His organizational talents as well as scholarly excellence turned the Institute to the key archaeological institution in Poland, a kind of the "Ministry of Polish Archaeology" because of its role in decision-making that reflected on archaeology practiced at universities and museums. Prof. Hensel remained the head of the Institute until his retirement at 70.

What were the positive and negative aspects of the changes? Undoubtedly, one of the benefits was the organization of several disciplines thematically close to each other due to research focus and methodology, but dominated by archaeology of Poland, in one administrative unit. The research "monopoly" of the archaeology of the Middle Ages ended and other previously neglected archaeological epochs returned to favor, although archaeology of the Early Middle Ages dominated for a while. Contradictory to the name copied after the Soviet institution, only the III Division was devoted to the history of material culture and published the journal "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" (Quarterly of the History of Material Culture). In other Divisions archaeologists and ethnographers studied all aspects of human culture. Studying religion was also a part of their scholarly curricula.

Joseph Stalin was apparently the author of an anecdote regarding Poland and communism, which indicated that any attempt to introduce communism in Poland reminds him of an attempt to saddle a cow. I order to succeed it is necessary "to either carve the saddle, or the cow." This saying particularly well fits the Polish Academy of Sciences, and especially the IHKM. Here, the imposed by the government Soviet model was a cover, skillfully maintained illusion of loyalty to the Soviet patterns. Under this cover was a nearly normal scholarly life, although initially with limited contacts with the West. Up to a certain time, however, scholars learnt how to dupe censors by inserting citations from the classics of Marxism, or Uncle Joe's works, to their texts that usually had no relevance to the discussed topic (Spriggs, 1984).

After 1990, which marked the end of communist ruling in Poland, scholars who used such tricks were labeled as communist sympathizers becasue the number of citations in a paper or book has been mindlessly correlated with the level of loyalty to communism. Dubious method at best. Nevertheless, even if using such citations looked like sympathizing, it was in fact a clever tactic to get published without compromising the content of the publication. Paul Barford, a Brit in the service of Polish archaeology, who was my graduate student and assistant at Warsaw University, was among the most zealous critics of those who cited the classics, eagerly labeling them as Marxist sympathizers (Barford, 1995). He simply could not comprehend all the nuances of Polish mentality and also realities of life during the Stalinist times (Barford, 1997; Lech, 1997). He came to Poland long after Khrushchev's revelations

and at times when "glasnost" was the ideology of the USSR (McGuire, 1992). At that time Poland was considered "the most joyous barrack" of the Warsaw Pact, but inhabited by people with radical ideas (Tabaczyński, 1995).

What were the setbacks of IHKM? Undoubtedly, in comparisons with the records set by the Commission, the number of conferences declined considerably, including meetings devoted to methodological issues. However, the number of participants increased, first from the "brotherly-countries" and later from Western Europe and the US. Also, such eagerly awaited centralization of decision-making in archaeology started revealing its weak sides. It would be difficult to accuse the great director Witold Hensel of dictatorial inclinations, but centralization of power creates the condition for dictatorial behavior. In Hensel's case it was his hiring policies, for he favored his students and people form Greater Poland (the region he was from). Paradoxically, I was almost in this category as Hensel thought that I was born in Bydgoszcz, which would have made me close enough to be from Greater Poland. But in fact I am from Mazovia. Hensel did not like people from Warsaw and as a typical person from Poznań, he did not trust those who descended from the former Russian domain.[7] It is possible, however, to accept Hensel as non-Party man despite his formal membership in Stronnictwo Demokratyczne (Democratic Union), which structurally remained in political coalition with the communist PZPR.[8] There were no traces of political sympathies, however, in his hiring policies.

The political context did not affect the workers of the Institute severely. The case of Stanisław Tabaczyński, presently eminent Polish archaeologists and professor at the Academy of Sciences and then young Ph.D., illustrates my point. His interests were in the methodological issues of archaeology for which he was well known and highly regarded. He was also a member of the Party. After the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, aimed to liquidate the "rightist" tendencies in the Party, Tabaczyński revoked his Party membership in protest against the invasion. It would seem that such an act of valor and rebellion will be punished by, for instance, firing from work, or even more serious prosecutions. Nothing of that kind happened. On the contrary, Tabaczyński soon became a corresponding member of the Academy. This case suggests what sort of ethical and political preferences dominated among the members of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

A significant part of Polish archaeology was the conservation and preservation service. One of the first legislative acts of reborn after 1918 Polish government was the Monument Preservation Act, most advanced at the time. It applied to various archaeological evidence not limited to visible or standing remains. Its timeless significance is in the fact that it was a base for all later legislative acts and corrections made over a century and under ever-changing historical and political conditions (Gąssowski, 2005).

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[7] *Editor's note*: From 1795 until 1918 Polish territories were administered by three Central and Eastern European powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria (later Austro-Hungary). Warsaw was a part of the Russian political domain.

[8] It stands for Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (United Party of Polish Workers).

One of the first Polish archaeological institutions organized to fulfill the Act was the Grono Konsewatorów Zabytków Przedhistorycznych P.G.K.Z.P. (the Assembly of Conservators of Prehistoric Monuments). This was a central institution and included such researchers as Stefan Krukowski, Ludwik Sawicki, Roman Jakimowicz, and Józef Żurowski. The P.G.K.Z.P. was active in conducting excavations and preserving the archaeological monuments. In 1928, agencies of this institution were incorporated into the newly emerged Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne (PMA) (State Archaeological Museum) in Warsaw. The Museum was intended to be a repository of archaeological artifacts and also a scientific research institution. The key obstacle in its functioning was insufficient budget and foremost lack of its own house. The latter problem was solved when Zdzisław Rajewski became the Museum's director in the 1950s. Because the IHKM PAN already existed at that time, the key function of the Museum was redirected to excavations and storage of artifacts. During the communist era PMA conducted its own archaeological projects and published significant archaeological periodicals such as "Wiadomości Archeologiczne" (Archaeological News) and "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" (Archaeological Reports). But it could not fulfill its key function of organizing archaeological exhibits. This became possible when the Museum was relocated to large and prestigious building of the old arsenal, a significant historical monument in Warsaw.

Let us return, however, to the issue of preservation and conservation of archaeological remains. In 1951, the Department of the State Archaeological Conservator has been called to existence at the Chief Commission for Museums and Monument Preservation of the Ministry of Culture and Arts. Its goal was to supervise conservators in each voivodeship and larger cities. They were acting according to the Preservation of Archaeological Monuments Act of 1928, which was a newer version of the mentioned already 1918 Act, which included the institution of archaeological conservancy. Again, as its predecessor, also the 1928 Act was the most advanced in the world of the time. The voivodeship conservators financed rescue excavations, but a very valuable was the new rule that if the new construction (roads, canals, or factory) collided with the archaeological records, the investor was obligated to finance archaeological works prior to construction. This new rule was critical in case of large investments, as it allowed for financing large-scale excavations. Because of rapid industrialization of the country, archaeologists were busy rescuing archaeological remains from destruction (Gąssowski, 2008).

A particular achievement of post-war Polish archaeology was the so-called Archeologiczne Zdjęcie Polski (Archaeological Survey of Poland). It was a systematic, long-term and nation-wide archaeological survey. Students from all universities, employees of archaeological museums, local conservators, and volunteers took place in this enormous project. Twice a year, right after the spring and autumn ploughing and before sowing, organized groups of archaeologists surveyed the fields collecting clay sherds, stone and flint tools, and all other artifacts that mark places of past human activities. The entire country was divided into quadrants of one fourth of the 1:25,000 scale map. All found artifacts were recorded on specially prepared forms that included a sketch of the hypothetical extent of the newly

recorded site. Presently, the survey lost its dynamics due to decline in enrollment into archaeology, and at the time I write these words about 83 % of Poland, excluding standing bodies of water, rock formations, and forests, has been surveyed and in some locations the survey has been repeated.

As a representative of Poland I had the opportunity to present the results of this long-term survey during a meeting of the European Union affiliated organization *Europae Archaeologiae Consilium*. The presented achievements were seen as amazing but also evoked some disbelief. One of the German colleagues pointed out that introduction of such an archaeological surveying system would have been impossible in his country.

The results of the decades-long survey became invaluable when, due to systemic political transformation, many large-scale investments that would destroy subsurface content were introduced in Poland. The results were especially useful in planning of archaeological investigations in relation to the construction of motorways. Often it was possible to identify spots where planned constructions and archaeology would collide and thus mitigate the adverse effects before bulldozers of the construction companies were called in. Thus, we frequently avoided a situation known from other countries when construction companies deliberately destroyed the archaeological evidence in order not to slow the project dawn.

Returning to conservation services, a state-run company "Pracownie Konserwacji Zabytków" (Workshops for Conservation of Monuments) was established 25 August 1950. In 1966, a subagency "Pracownie Archeologiczne Zabytków" (Workshops for Archaeological Monuments) was established in order to fulfil the growing demands for archaeological research concerning large ground works. Besides the headquarters in Warsaw, the Workshops existed in 20 cities. Interestingly, this institution functioned according to the capitalist principle, that is, it has not received any state subsidies and had to use the profit made through selling its services to investors who wanted to proceed with constructions in order to sustain itself, including payroll, while the surplus was paid to the state as tax. This structure survived the systemic transformations of the 1990s and in 2002 the Workshops changed to Polskie Przedsiębiorstwo Konserwacji Zabytków, Spółka Akcyjna (Polish Company for Conservation of Monuments, Ltd.). This time archaeology was not included (Gąssowski, 2008).

A significant role in the development of archaeology and in spreading information about this scientific discipline played the Polish Archaeological Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne), which was established at the unifying meeting in Nowa Huta in 14–15 March 1953. It was formed by uniting four separately existing societies: the Polish Prehistoric Society from Poznań (Polskie Towarzystwo Prehistoryczne), Polish Archaeological Society from Wrocław (Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne), Polish Numismatic Society from Kraków (Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne), and Warsaw Numismatic Society (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne). Ironically, acting in good will, the unification considered two contradicting ideas and practices: archaeology, where collecting of artifacts by private individuals was illegal, and numismatics, where private collection is the goal and source of income. Over time the name of this

society changed to the Polish Numismatic and Archaeological Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Numizamtyczno-Archaeologiczne) in which the collectors of numismatics practically gained all the power. My initiatives to free archaeology from this unfavorable situation were fruitless due to reasons that would require additional elaboration. Nevertheless, the role of archaeology in this marriage was reduced to nil.

Two topics dominated the Polish archaeology of medieval times in those days: the archaeology of Slavs and ethnogenesis of Slavs. Both separated Polish archaeology from the theoretical and methodological aspects discussed by colleagues in the West. Prof. Witold Hensel was a keen supporter of the archaeology of Slavs (Hensel, 1952). When he moved from Poznań to Warsaw to head the IHKM he did not want to give up his university teaching position and arranged for the organization of the Chair of Slavic Archaeology at Warsaw University for him. At that time the Department of Philosophy and History of the University included two chairs of archaeology: the Chair of Prehistoric Archaeology and Antiquity headed by Prof. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, and the Chair of Classic Archaeology headed by Prof. Kazimierz Michalowski. Both directors disliked the new Chair of Slavic Archaeology and they did not want to have Prof. W. Hensel as faculty member of the University. The fight was hurtful but unsuccessful. Paradoxically, I was the key victim of this fight.

Here is what happened: at that time, I just started my employment at the Institute of the History of Material Culture where I was secretary of Division I—Polish Archaeology. Witold Hensel called me to his office and announced that he is having troubles assembling faculty of the Chair of Slavic Archaeology at Warsaw University and he wishes that I transfer there as a lecturer. I have to admit that although all my academic life was spent on teaching and research, my dream was to devote myself to research only. Employment at the IHKM was to fulfill this dream; and now I supposed to go back to teaching. Thus, I asked for time to think about the offer and Hensel did not like my reaction at all because of the pressure of time. Before I made my decision Professor Aleksander Gieysztor, who was my Ph.D. supervisor at the University, called me to his office and informed that if I accept the offer to work at the Chair of Slavic Archaeology, I may have problems with my future academic career.

I was like a doomed hero of the Greek tragedy: should I have rejected Hensel's offer, my career at the IHKM was in doubt; should I have accepted the offer, a powerful lobby of the Warsaw University professors—some thought of them as masons—would have made my academic life difficult. And so it happened as I eventually chose to join the Chair of Slavic Archaeology. To make things worse, I thought of Slavic archaeology as artificial entity, which existed due to political context rather than archaeological reality. Thus, I began my service in the matter I doubted from the very beginning.

Another significant and very much confused matter was the priority given to the research on the ethnogenesis of Slavs. As it is known, the research on the ethnogenesis of historically significant folks includes three phases: (1) proper genesis, the emergence, and the core, (2) development and expansion, and (3) decline and, often,

vanishing. It happens that each of the large folk of European antiquity is known from its second and third stage. The first stage is difficult to document archaeologically and thus becomes a matter of guessing and manipulation. Such ambiguity feeds those who think that archaeology might offer an answer to the matter of ethnic identity and also those who believe that archaeological culture is equalized with ethnos (Gąssowski, 2003).

The great impasse characterizes the research on ethnogenesis due to chaos in defining the term "nation" and its nuances in many languages. It is a great mistake to think that ethnos is a timeless phenomenon. In Polish case, it was visible in the attempt to seek the origins of Slavs in the Bronze Age and in the territory of present-day Poland. Such a view presented mostly by the Nestor of Polish archaeology Józef Kostrzewski in the pre-war period was based on the assumption that archaeological data might contribute the factual evidence to such investigation. There were also other, nonscientific reasons behind such thinking. If the Germans accept that the evidence of the presence of the Goths found in Polish lands allows for territorial claims and justifies the annexation of Poland as the homeland of Germanic societies, then Polish archaeology shows evidence that the same territory was in fact a home to Slavs for millennia.

In the post-war communist Poland anti-German sentiments were considered a patriotic duty and, at the same time, constituted one of a few platforms for communication between the authorities and the society. Thus, when Kazimierz Godłowski from Kraków introduced a thesis that Slavs arrived from the east at the dawn of the Middle Ages it invoked a fury of protests from the overwhelming number of supporters of the autochthonic concept of the origins of Slavs (Godłowski, 1989).

In effect, two opposing camps developed: traditionalists (to whom I belonged for some time), who favored autochthonism of Slavs, and allochtonists, who view Slavs as newcomers to the lands that surrounded the Vistula River. The supporters of the first thesis were almost all archaeologists and members of the older generation, especially from the Poznań school of thought, whereas the allochtonists were mostly young and rebellious archaeologists. Both groups used the same archaeological data and came to drastically contradictory conclusions (Gąssowski, 2003).

In my view, from time perspective, the essence of the debate was in mistaken reasoning. Let us begin with the German case. None, especially the imaginary German demands for territorial gains in Polish lands, were never backed up by any evidence, for the Scandinavian Germanic groups to which Goths belonged never had any connection with the ethnogenesis of the German nation. Moreover, arguments by autochtonists and allochtonists are pointless because they omit key to understanding historical mechanisms elements that condition the emergence of an ethnos such as linguistic data, territorial extension, and social structure. In fact, such comprehensive research has never been attempted in Poland. At the time when allochtonist theories seeing the Slavs as newcomers became popular, linguists saw the core area of the early Slavic languages within the Vistula drainage system and historians leaned toward the idea that the mentioned by Tacitus (first century CE) Venedi who lived in the region were indigenous early Slavic folks Godłowski, 1989).

Thus, it has to be mentioned that Polish archaeology of the communist era was concerned with the issues leading to nowhere due to lack of methodological background and also disconnection with the theoretical and methodological principles that motivate archaeology and cultural anthropology especially in the English-speaking countries. It is sad that some of these confusing and scientifically fruitless themes are still present in Polish archaeology (Kobyliński, 2007:288–289).

There was another noteworthy thread in Polish archaeology under communism. The political milieu caused a phenomenon popular among some scholars to become politically indifferent and escape into archaeology, away from methodology, ideology, historical interpretation, and all sorts of anthropological reasoning. Such an asylum impregnated from all sorts of ideology, but nevertheless academically significant, was an ideal environment to improve methods and techniques of dating, digging, documenting of plan views and profiles, photogrammetry, etc. One innovation was difficult to accept, however. There was a requirement to draw field documentation in scale of 1:10 and 1:20 using color pencils and draft paper. This time-consuming procedure slowed dawn works on large-scale projects. We in Poland were probably the only archaeologists in the world using such a documentation technique. I was one of those who opposed such officially requested procedure. After my experience in Britain, where the Munsell color charts have been used to identify the soil color and hue, I used it in all my projects in Poland. There were no followers, however.

Polish archaeology of that time, but also later, had many followers of the idea that a good archaeologist is well versed in all technical aspects of the craft and thus publications supposed to be detailed descriptions of artifacts and cultural layers. Chronological problems made many archaeologists sleepless. Typology, identification of types and subtypes became a goal by itself. Such emphasis on technical issues combined with the lack of interests in methodology and theory produced archaeological data reports of limited scientific value, where explanations of the past social behavior remined secondary to descriptions of its material evidence. Such archaeology resembled a natural science dominated by taxonomies (typologies) and their quantitative descriptions where ancient man was not the key objective of research. A positive side effect was the ease of using the methods of the natural sciences; there were no objections toward such methods.

Specific lingos developed within specialized subfields of archaeology identified according to the most common systematization of archaeological epochs. In effect, archaeological publication became difficult to follow by the representatives of other disciplines, especially within the humanities and history. Even worse, archaeologists who specialized in different epochs found such hermetic lingos of their colleagues difficult to understand. Unfortunately, difficulties with clear writing turned out to be a chronic illness of Polish archaeology also in later times.

Sometime ago one of the leading Polish archaeologists explained to me that "a scholar cannot write clearly and in easy to follow style, because if a simpleton reading such a text will comprehend what he reads, he might think the scholar is a simpleton too." Dominated by such a way of thinking and practice, Polish archaeology became an "ivory tower" of the humanities. Archaeologists complained that

historians, historians of religion, and representatives of other of the humanities do not use the rich archaeological accomplishments, but themselves did nothing to make their publications more accessible to others.

Moreover, tendencies to diminish the role of popularization of archaeology intensified, especially at the dawn of the communist system. Once an archaeologist from the IHKM PAN demanded in my presence that all popular books on archaeology be removed from the Institute's libraries because they diminish its academic prestige. If I wanted to be nitpicking I would have said that should those who fight the attempts to popularize archaeology read scientific books by the British, French, or American scholars, they would have known that their books can be read not only by other scholars, but also high school graduates. They thus play the role in popularization of the discipline (Lozny, 2011).

In contrast to the "ivory tower" where many archaeology professors barricaded themselves, a significant role in popularizing archaeology was played by museum exhibits. This activity deserves a detailed discussion due to a large number of positive examples, but it would have exceeded the limits of this chapter. First, the variety of forms of popularization deserves a brief mention. Although traditional presentations of archaeological artifacts dominated the exhibits, many museums broke the tradition and presented the artifacts in chronological and cultural contexts. The attempt to present cultural processes and cultural contexts rather than sheer collection of artifacts allowed Polish museums of the 1950–1970s to be among the most advanced in the world. Also, monothematic archaeological museum appeared at sites of significant archaeological discoveries. Among them one of the most significant is the Museum of Ancient Metallurgy in Pruszków near Warsaw, where in a very thoughtful and suggestive manner the organizers present the method and scale of smelting iron in a large metallurgical center from the Roman Period (Woyda, 2002).

A significant role in popularization of archaeology play archaeological open-air museums. The best known is the partially reconstructed in situ Iron Age fortified settlement at Biskupin. A number of visitors at Biskupin totals in the hundreds of thousands annually. The idea of a "skansen" is present at many other sites, for instance the Early Middle Ages fort in Sopot. Preservation and presentation of original ancient monuments to the public is not common, but such exhibits also exist, for instance the mysterious stone circles from the Late La Tène Period at Węsiory in eastern Pomerania. Another good example of a preserved in situ original ancient monument, which serves as a museum in its natural context, is the two km long monumental stone wall surrounding the top of the Łysa Góra (Bald Mountain) in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains in central Poland. Without false modesty, I must point out that I discovered this monument, which is dated to the late Pagan period shortly before Christianization of Poland (symbolically assumed to happened in 966 CE).

Particularly significant in popularization of archaeology are the presentations of forgotten techniques and crafts. One of the most famous and spectacular is the show that lasts for several days and presents ancient techniques to produce iron. It is organized at the foot of the already mentioned Łysa Góra where the archaeological

reservation that protects the remains of one of the largest metallurgical centers from the beginnings of the Common Era in Europe is located. Around 100,000 small iron smelting constructions (*dymarki*) were recorded at this site (Bielenin, 2006). Its role in the economy of Central Europe of the Roman Period and especially during the so-called Marcomanni Wars against the Roman legions awaits its full analysis.

All sorts of reenactment groups aiming at reconstruction of historic events such as battles or elements of daily life, including dress styles and foods, also became popular. Some of such groups specialize in the reconstruction of military events of just one specific epoch. Certain museums, such as the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, organize workshops for children where they learn how to make a pot or work on antler or bone. Some of those children became archaeologists.

One of the most serious omissions that continues from the time of the communist ruling is the lack of a book synthesizing the great discoveries from the Roman times (1–450 CE) in Central Europe, including the territory of present-day Poland. This region is especially interesting if one takes into account its highest concentration of metallurgical centers in Europe of the time. It includes the already mentioned center in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains and the center located west of Warsaw, but also one in central Silesia with large smelting constructions. Another large center was discovered east of Kraków during the construction of the Nowa Huta plant, where, in addition to iron smelting, pottery workshops that specialized in the production of high-quality wheel-made ceramics existed. Archaeologists discovered a kiln with fired pots still inside (Tabaczyński, 1998).

Following the European tradition, Polish archaeologists were interested mostly in Roman imports, especially typologies of the fibulae and Roman coins, and not in the daily life of societies from that time, which supposed to be a legacy of Marxist-inspired archaeological interests. Such fear toward writing syntheses continues until present despite the discovery of many new settlements within the past decades. A synthesis of great archaeological discoveries from the Roman Period in Polish territories from the first to fifth century CE would certainly change the history of Central European *Barbaricum*. I hope the future generation of archaeologists will excavate less in favor of elaborating and writing scientific accounts of what has already been dug up.

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Chapter 5
Historical Observations on Archaeology in the Polish People's Republic, 1945–1989

Sarunas Milisauskas

Introduction

Since 1965, when I received a Fulbright Fellowship for archaeological studies as a doctoral student at the University of Michigan, I have been engaged in archaeological investigations and research in Poland. Though I may not have fully realized it at the time, I was an eyewitness to history and it is necessary that those who saw this history get it down while they can. This article represents a personal perspective and the culmination of my experiences in doing fieldwork there. Some archaeologists may disagree with these observations and personal interpretations; I emphasize that these views are my own. On the whole, I have had a very satisfying and enjoyable experience doing archaeology in Poland. Those experiences that were less than satisfying involved only a few select scholars. Archaeologists in any political system are not saints; they compete for power, research money, sites, and publications (Milisauskas & Kruk, 2008). A few archaeologists will be unfair, jealous, and ready to use unethical tactics to achieve their goals.

Numerous changes occurred over the four decades of my archaeological work in Poland. When I started my field research, Poland had borders with three countries; today there are seven. In 1968, I watched Soviet transport planes land at Kraków airport near our excavations at Olszanica, purportedly to extend fraternal military help for "progressive" forces in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union's empire appeared vigorous and few would have predicted its collapse in some twenty years, a fall that included the Polish People's Republic, often abbreviated in Polish as PRL (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa).

Stanisław Tabaczyński (1995:69) has observed: "The political and social context of Polish archaeology after the Second World War will be an object of highly

S. Milisauskas (✉)
Department of Anthropology, Buffalo University, SUNY, Buffalo, NY, USA
e-mail: smilis@buffalo.edu

conflicting evaluations for some time to come." The history of Polish archaeology cannot be separated from the political, social, and religious contexts that have played such an important role since 1945. For example, during the Polish People's Republic, Poland underwent a number of political upheavals, particularly in 1956, 1968, 1980–1981, and 1989 that affected all aspects of life, including archaeology.

The passage of time has affected interpretations of various developments in archaeology during the PRL and the role that archaeologists played. After 1989, some archaeologists who were Communist Party members have criticized the Marxist period as if they never belonged to the Party; now they are democrats and admirers of political diversity. Many archaeologists have written about events, research, and personalities of that period (Kmieciński, 1987; Bursche & Taylor, 1991; Kobyliński, 1991, 1998; Marciniak, 2001a; Marciniak & Rączkowski, 1991; Schild, 1993; Barford, 1995, 1997; Rączkowski, 1996; Tunia, 1997; Milisauskas 1997–1998, Kobusiewicz & Kurnatowski, 2000; Bogucki, 2002; Lozny, 2011). Especially noteworthy are Andrzej Abramowicz (1991, 2005, 2007, 2010) and Jacek Lech (1996, 1997, 1997–1998, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2009). Konrad Jażdżewski's (1995) memoirs are also very informative about the post-World War II events and personalities of Polish archaeology. Stefan Karol Kozłowski (2009a, 2009b, 2012) wrote extensively about Polish and German archaeologists during the occupation of Poland by Nazi Germany 1939–1945. It would be a mistake to present archaeology in the PRL in negative terms. Difficult economic and political conditions did not prevent Polish archaeologists from achieving great things.

I divide the history of archaeology in the Polish People's Republic into three periods: the immediate post-World War II period (1945–1948), the Stalinist period (1949–1955), and the post-1956 Marxist period. This last period can be further subdivided into the Post-1956 Era, 1968 Events and Poland under Gierek and the Post-1981 period.

Historical Background

Prior to World War II, Poland had only 30 or 40 archaeologists, but these few gave their discipline a high standing in the eyes of German prehistorians (Abramowicz, 1991:138; Gurba, 2005:258), who ranked Polish archaeology in the third place after that of Germany and Scandinavia. The onset of WWII in 1939 brought devastating effects on Poland, including archaeology. We should not forget that Poland was attacked not only by Germany, but also invaded from the east by the Soviet Union 17 days after the Nazi forces launched their invasion. The plundering of the museums, collections, and libraries and the killing of archaeologists, such as Zdzisław Durczewski and Stefan Przeworski, occurred during the German occupation of Poland from 1939 to 1944. While the Soviet Union was Hitler's ally in 1940, the Stalinist NKVD secret police executed over 20,000 Polish officers in Katyn, among

them archaeologists Jan Bartys and Jan Fitzke. Leon Kozłowski, a professor of archaeology at Lwów University, was arrested and tortured by the Soviets. Tadeusz Sulimirski, a professor at Lviv University and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, ended up with the Polish army units in France and later in England, and did not return to Poland at the end of the war. Józef Kostrzewski of Poznań University went into hiding during the German occupation to avoid the arrest by the Gestapo. Approximately 25 % of the Polish archaeologists did not survive the World War II.

The Post-World War II Period (1945–1948)

At the end of World War II the victorious Soviet Union imposed a communist regime, and Poland became one of the Soviet Bloc countries. Much of the country was in ruins, but this did not prevent the surviving Polish archaeologists from resuming their work. The Communist Party tried to attract the Polish intelligentsia to its ranks. Marxism was encouraged but not enforced. Already on August 26, 1945 a meeting of Polish archaeologists took place in Poznań to plan the reconstruction of Polish archaeological institutions. New universities that were established in Łódź, Lublin and Toruń had archaeology departments. In the years that followed departments of archaeology in the new as well as the older universities (Kraków, Poznań, Warsaw, and Wrocław, the last one was pre-war German (Breslau) produced many archaeologists. The post-World War II archaeology students had been teenagers or young adults during the German occupation. Some of these students had experienced brutalities, for example, Jadwiga Kamieńska, who as a young high school graduate in 1942 was caught in Warsaw by the Gestapo delivering messages 1942 for the Polish underground and was sent to a concentration camp (Kulczycka-Leciejewiczowa, 2001). She survived three concentration camps—Majdanek, Ravensbrück, and Buchenwald—during her captivity. Brutalities continued after the end of the war as the Communist regime attempted to eliminate real or imagined opposition. The parents of some young budding archaeologists suffered as well; for example, the father of Lidia Gabałówma's had been an officer in the underground noncommunist army (Armia Krajowa) during the German occupation. Communists treated them as enemies of the people. Gabałówna's father met his death in jail after his arrest. These young people came from a variety of social and economic backgrounds, nobility, middle class, and farming families and they were patriotic Poles. As we read now the obituaries of some of these archaeologists, such as that of Kazimierz Godłowski, their patriotism is emphasized. Zenon Woźniak (1995:321) states that Godłowski was a "noble person and fervent patriot."

Only a few archaeologists could have been characterized as Marxists; most continued to do traditional archaeology or, as it is called in the United States, culture history. The small number of archaeologists in the Polish Communist Party explains the discipline's weak Marxism during the 1945–1989 period. Perhaps twenty archaeologists, W. Antoniewicz, W. Holubowicz, W. Hensel, J. Kramarek,

L. Rauhut, L. Sawicki, Z. Trudzik, and W. Wartołowska among others took the paradigm seriously in the early 1950s (Lech, 1996:190). Barford (1995) observes that many archaeologists in the 1950s referred to Engels, Marx, Stalin, and Lenin in their works. However, in order to publish their research during the Stalinist period, they had to include these Marxist saints in their references. Kobyliński (1998) points out how, especially in the 1950s, Marxist references were scattered randomly throughout the texts. "This was an entirely superficial pseudomarxism, without—it seems—much influence on archaeological theory" (Kobyliński, 1998:233). No more in Poland than in the US does the citation of *Das Kapital* in a bibliography mean that the author was a Marxist.

The 1945 map of Poland was noticeably different from that of 1939. At the end of the World War II, parts of eastern Poland had been incorporated into the Soviet Union. Poland was compensated for this loss of territory with the annexation of German lands. Nevertheless, Poland was roughly 20 % smaller in its territory as compared to 1939 (Davies, 2005). The new boundaries of Poland had an effect on archaeology, as the country needed justification that the newly acquired German territories were Slavic in the past. Archaeology played a significant role in demonstrating the Polish connection in the past to the so-called Recovered Territories or Lands, which were part of the Polish state around 1000 AD. The archaeological research concentrated primarily on the early medieval and Slavic periods, although some investigations were conducted on the Balts, ancient Prussians, and Jatwingians in northeastern Poland (Antoniewicz, 1962; Jaskanis, 1974; Okulicz, 1973), and archaeologists of various political orientations supported this work in the Recovered Territories in order to demonstrate the Slavic/Polish presence in the past. Jacek Lech (1997–1998:73) cites Rudolf Jamka, the Head of Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, about excavations planned at Opole (German *Oppeln*) in the Recovered Territories in 1947: "The political significance of these excavations lies in irrefutably proving the uniquely old Polish settlement of the reclaimed Silesian territories and, therefore, stressing even more strongly our rights to these lands (Kramarek, 1974:281–282)." Similar statements were made by Antoniewicz and Wartołowska (1948:366): "The force of facts obtained by searching and excavating is the best propaganda for the historical truth about the Polish character of our western lands" (quoted in Lech, 1999:70).

It is interesting to see how some leading archaeologists dealt with the new cultural and political milieu. Before 1939, there were only a few Marxist or strongly left leaning archaeologists such as Włodzimierz Hołubowicz, Ludwik Sawicki, Zofia Podkowińska, and Kazimierz Majewski, a classical archeologist.

Włodzimierz Hołubowicz (1908–1962), a Marxist, was probably intellectually the strongest exponent of Marxist archaeology. He made contributions in stratigraphic analyses, ceramic studies, and ethnoarchaeology. His 1950 ethnoarchaeological work *Garncarstwo wiejskie zachodnich terenów Białorusi (Village pottery production in western Belarus)* is an excellent study, and Engels, Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were included in the references. In 1951, he proposed that the periodization of Polish prehistory should be based on Engels' scheme. Konrad Jażdżewski (1995) in his memoirs portrays Hołubowicz as an unethical person working for the UB

(Urząd Bezpieczeństwa—state security office). Hołubowicz's alleged unethical relationship with the UB prevented him from achieving a leading role within the Polish archaeological community.

An unlikely candidate, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz (1893–1973), became a major proponent of Marxism in archaeology. Stefan K. Kozłowski (2008) considers him as one of the founders of modern Polish archaeology. Before 1939, he was a professor of archaeology and Rector of the University of Warsaw (1936–1939), and did very well under the right wing political system. He supported the Sanacja regime that governed Poland between 1926 and 1939. After 1945 he not only expounded Marxism, but also criticized other archaeologists whose publications lacked a Marxist orientation. He wrote of the emotional satisfaction he had felt upon meeting Joseph Stalin at a Moscow conference in 1933 (Jażdżewski, 1995:217–218). Jażdżewski (1995:218) has a long excerpt in his memoirs from the Antoniewicz article, *Było to w Moskwie* w 1933 r. (This was in Moscow in 1933) in *Nowa Kultura* (IV, no. 14/158, 1953). Antoniewicz refers to Stalin as the "Great Builder of the Giant Socialist State" and states that he will always remember "the bright eyes and the gentle smile of Joseph Stalin." Antoniewicz and Hołubowicz were the greatest proponents of Marxism during the Stalinist period (Lech, 2009). The praising of Stalin would had been natural for Hołubowicz, but not for the former Rector of the University of Warsaw. Stalin, of all the twentieth century dictators, probably killed the greatest number of Marxists. I myself met Antoniewicz in the fall of 1965. He was a very pleasant person with excellent manners, a gentleman of the Old Poland. Later I was surprised, when I found out that he was campaigning for Marxism in Polish archaeology in the 1950s. Antoniewicz, while contributing much to Polish archaeology, managed to coordinate his politics with whoever was in power and at the same time preserved an important position in the archaeological profession. Clearly he had great political dexterity. To be fair, Antoniewicz had difficult times for couple years at the end of WWII, he was accused of collaboration with the Germans by Konrad Jażdżewski (Kozłowski, 2009a:73; Lech, 2009:197–198; Lech & Piotrowska, 2007). During German occupation, Antoniewicz wrote to Hans Reinerth, a leading Nazi archaeologist in Berlin, for help in finding a job in archaeology. Reinerth wrote to Werner Radig who was in charge of the Institut für Ostarbeit, established by the Germans in occupied Kraków, asking him to find a job for Antoniewicz. He worked for a short period of time for Radig and then resigned claiming he had health problems (S. K. Kozłowski, 2009a, 2009b, 2012; Lech, 2009:197–198; Lech & Piotrowska, 2007). Before the war, Antoniewicz had very good relationships with German archaeologists. He wrote about the presence of Vandals, Burgundians, and Goths in the Vistula and Oder basins (Kozłowski, 2012), which was appreciated by German archaeologists. The Polish archaeologists such as J. Kostrzewski saw only Slav presence and no Germanic groups. Approximately eleven Polish archaeologists had positions in archaeological institutions during German occupation (Kozłowski, 2012:32). For example, Holubowicz worked as a laborer in 1943–1945 in the *Naturhistorisches Museum* in Vienna Austria, a country that was annexed by Nazi Germany in 1938

(Abramowicz, 1991; Kozłowski, 2012). He still managed to study Neolithic ceramics from Schipenitz (Shypyntsi, Sipeniti) in Bukowina, a territory that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire before WWI (Abramowicz, 1991:142). With this kind of evidence, we can accuse as a collaborator every archaeologist who did any work with the Germans. This would be absurd. Antoniewicz was cleared of these accusations by a special committee. Perhaps this unfortunate experience pushed Antoniewicz to Marxism in order that he could again obtain high positions in the People's Poland.

Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969) was a devout Roman Catholic, a nationalist and conservative in his political beliefs. He remained the same person in People's Poland. Kostrzewski received his PhD in Berlin under Gustaf Kossinna in 1914 and he used his mentor's methods to defend Polish interests in prehistory, and campaigned for the early presence of Slavs in central Europe. Kostrzewski was one of the leading Polish archaeologists, but during the Stalinist period in 1950 he was removed from his position as a professor at Poznań University, although he was restored in 1956 in the post-Stalinist period.

Konrad Jażdżewski (1908–1985) was the leading Polish specialist on the Neolithic (Blombergowa & Andrzejewski, 2007; Lech, 1999) and recognized as such throughout Europe. The famous archaeologist V. Gordon Childe from London wanted to establish scholar exchanges with Konrad Jażdżewski, but the PRL government would not permit it. Jażdżewski was a devout Roman Catholic, a conservative and non-Marxist, and did not compromise his beliefs in the PRL. Before the war he had worked in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Państwowe Muzeum Archaeologiczne or PMA), and during the German occupation was appointed to the difficult job of being the Director of the Museum. At the end of WWII, S. Lorentz, L. Sawicki, and W. Sierpiński tried to terminate Jażdżewski's career with unfounded accusations of his presumed collaboration with the German occupiers (Jażdżewski, 1995; Kozłowski, 2012). Probably they just wanted to remove Jażdżewski from the Museum directorship, and used the so-called collaboration as an excuse. In this they succeeded, and Jażdżewski was moved to become the Director of the Museum and professor of archaeology in Łódź. Although a special committee of scholars cleared Jażdżewski of these false accusations, the experience was nevertheless very traumatic for him (Jażdżewski, 1995; Nadolski, 1985). Makiewicz (2007) has studied archival documents and letters in Berlin of Achim Leube which exonerate Jażdżewski. Ernst Petersen, an archaeologist, SS officer, and member of the Ahnenerbe, wrote a long letter to W. Sievers (the General Secretary of the Ahnenerbe), concerning his visit to the Museum in Warsaw and Jażdżewski's lack of cooperation and hiding of some artifacts from the German visitors. These do not appear the actions of a collaborator.

Witold Hensel (1917–2008) was a towering figure in Polish archaeology, and without doubt he was the most important archaeologist in the PRL. From the beginning of the PRL, he worked well within the system. Marciniak (2001b:616) notes that "After World War II, Hensel advocated the introduction of Marxist

methodology into Polish archaeology." He was not a member of the Communist Party but belonged to the Alliance of Democrats (Stronnictwo Demokratyczne) party that was aligned with the communists. Hensel received his doctorate in 1945 from the Catholic University in Lublin. For many years (1954–1990) he was the Director of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IHKM), Polish Academy of Sciences.

Under Hensel, the Institute became the cornerstone of Polish archaeology. Established in 1953, it was based on a Soviet model, the State Academy for the History of Material Culture (GAIMK). The Institute has branches in Kraków, Łódz, Poznań, and Wrocław and a staff of over 300 workers, which included about 150 archaeologists in the pre-1989 period. During its 50-year existence it has produced 280 Ph.D.'s including habilitations (Lech, 2009; Schild, 2002). After 1989 the name of IHKM was changed to the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences. The Institute publishes several major archaeological and ethnological journals, including *Achaeologia Polona, Archeologia, Archeologia Polski, Etnologia Polona, Etnografia Polska, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej, Przegląd Archeologiczny,* and *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*. It has also published numerous monographs and produced major surveys of different archaeological periods and cultures, most notably a five volume prehistory of Poland (1975–1981). Hensel conducted many excavations and his 960 publications would be a remarkable number in any country (Dekówna, 2009). He was a great authority on medieval and Slavic archaeology. His classic publication on the Early Medieval Slavs, *Słowiańszczysna wczesnośredniowieczna, Zarys kultury materialnej* (The Slavonic Culture of the Early Middle Ages: An Outline of Material Culture) (1952), has been reprinted four times. Barford and Tabaczyński (1996:157) noted that "Hensel is thus one of the most important figures in the recent history of central European archaeology."

The holder of a powerful position for 36 years, Hensel had to make numerous decisions that were not always appreciated by other archaeologists. He dismissed several people and did not always give his subordinates what they wanted, but in general he treated some people better than, perhaps, what they deserved. It was important that a person understood how to maneuver in the system and at the same time not lose human decency. A few "putsches" were attempted by younger subordinates to replace him, but none succeeded. In the summer of 1976, I was informed by one archaeologist that Hensel was "finished." He remained in charge for 14 more years. But the "Old Fox" knew how to deal with various pretenders. None of them were sent to do archaeology in some godforsaken village. Not many archaeologists had Hensel's administrative and scholarly abilities to direct the IHKM, especially considering the political environment. He made it possible for non-Polish institutions, including American ones, to conduct archaeological research in Poland. In the post-PRL Poland, some archaeologists are critical of the IHKM and Hensel, irrespective of their achievements (see Jacek Lech's, 2009 article in which he defends the IHKM in response to Stefan K. Kozłowski's criticism (1973) (Fig. 5.1).

Fig. 5.1 Witold Hensel
(Courtesy of J. Kruk)

The Stalinist Period (1949–1955)

There was a strong drive by the Party to impose Marxism in all fields, including archaeology. The Stalinist period (1949–1955) offered little leeway in archaeological interpretation. This is well illustrated by Jacek Lech's (1999:89) translated passage from W. Antoniewicz and Z. Wartołowka's (1955:184) article in Polish about the aims of archaeology during the Stalinist period: "Archaeology, therefore, in accordance with J. Stalin's guiding principles for historical sciences, is concerned with the essential problem of the development of primitive, ancient and early class societies, learning about the history of the producers of material goods, the history of the working masses, the history of peoples" (Antoniewicz & Wartołowska, 1955:184). Historians, including archaeologists, were expected to contribute positively to the building of socialism in the PRL during this period. Vulgar Marxism was expounded and Morgan's and Engels' cultural evolutionary sequences, with their matriarchal and patriarchal stages, were required orthodoxy. Archaeologists were expected to cite so-called "classic" publications of Marxism-Leninism. It was at this time that the works of Soviet archaeologists had some influence on Polish archaeology, but only a few Russian books were translated into Polish.

Most archaeologists were aware that Stalinist interpretations of theories were not to be challenged. An incident that occurred in late 1949 and 1950 illustrates how quickly Witold Hensel reacted during the Stalinist period to criticism of the linguist Nicholas Marr (1864–1934) by Stalin (Abramowicz, 2010; Jażdżewski, 1995). Marr's so-called Japhetic theory of linguistics became dogma in the Soviet Union during the 1930s and 1940s. Marr incorporated Marxism into linguistics, claiming that a difference in language is reflected by social classes. Eugeniusz Frankowski (1884–1962), a Polish ethnographer, submitted an article entitled "Mikołaj Marr i

jego teorie naukowe," (Nicholas Marr and his scientific theories) to the journal *Slavia Antiqua*, vol. 2, which was edited by Hensel. The article was accepted for publication, and Frankowski received reprints of the article before the final publication of the issue. But in 1950 Stalin strongly criticized Marr's linguistic theory as anti-Marxist, and to avoid repercussions against the journal, Frankowski himself and Hensel managed to remove Frankowski's article from *Slavia Antiqua* before it was published. However, some archaeologists, e.g., Roman Jakimowicz, received reprints of the article from the author (Abramowicz, 1991). Today, one can cite the reprint of this article, but it is not found in *Slavia Antiqua*.

In 1946, Witold Hensel published an article entitled *Potrzeba przygotowania wielkiej rocznicy* (The need for preparation of a Great Anniversary). This referred to the establishment of the Polish State and the Christianization of Poland in 966 AD. The so-called "Millennium Idea" was enthusiastically received by archaeologists, historians, the Communist Party, and the general public. In 1949, the ruling authorities approved the proposed celebration, and the Minister of Culture and Art established a committee for research on the origins of the Polish State. Due to the Millennium celebration, until the 1970s most archaeological excavations were devoted to medieval period sites. However, some excellent research, such as Waldemar Chmielewski's work on the Funnel Beaker burial mounds, was published in 1952. Numerous sites in various regions of Poland including the Recovered Territories were excavated, such as Gniezno, Kalicz, Kruszwica, Wiślica, Sandomierz, Płock, Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, Opole (German *Oppeln*), Wrocław (*Breslau*), Szczecin (*Stettin*), Wolin (*Wollin*), Kołobrzeg (*Kolberg*), and Gdańsk (*Danzig*) (Lech, 1999). The State provided funding for these archaeological projects. One of the reasons probably for this generosity was that archaeology might detract from the emphasis on the conversion of Poland to Christianity. The Catholic Church conducted large celebrations of 1000 years of Christianity. Generally, archaeologists had good relations with the Catholic Church authorities and were able to excavate some old religious structures (Abramowicz, 2005; Tabaczyńszy, 2005). Excavations of archaeological sites in the Recovered Territories were also important for the State authorities and involved archaeologists, historians, art historians, zoologists, geographers, ethnographers, anthropologists, botanists, and various other specialists; on the whole, it was a major interdisciplinary enterprise. Abramowicz (2005) has observed that, even before WWII, Kostrzewski had excavated some sites connected with the origin of the Polish state, in which Hensel, as Kostrzewski's student, had participated, acquiring an excellent understanding of this type of archaeological research. Abramowicz (2005) mentions that some younger archaeologists have been critical of the Millennium project, but he points out that the political environment at that time was repressive and the origin studies of the Polish state represented a patriotic enterprise. He approved very much of this research and, as a patriotic Polish archaeologist, participated with enthusiasm.

One of the major tasks of the IHKM was to conduct these excavations, although these projects included archaeologists from a variety of institutions, museums, universities, and institutes. To some archaeologists, this research symbolized Polish archaeology until 1989. Writing about Polish archaeology post-WWII, Bursche and

Taylor (1991:558) observe that "Generally speaking post-war archaeology in Poland concentrated on two main, overlapping issues: Slavic ethnogenesis and the origins of the Polish state." This is true, in part, for work done before 1970. Finally, the construction of new factories, such as the steel mill at Nowa Huta, outside Kraków, required extensive rescue excavations for many years. Numerous sites were excavated under the leadership of Stanisław Buratynski. The medieval excavations produced some outstanding Polish specialists on that period, as was noted elsewhere in Europe. In 1961, IHKM archaeologists were invited by Italian historians to cooperate in research into the origins of Venice by excavating on Torcello Island (Leciejewicz, 2002). In 1964, a French–Polish cooperative project was initiated to investigate deserted medieval villages in France (Poklewski-Koziełł, 2002).

The Post-1956 Era

By 1955, a "thaw" had begun that culminated in Poland's confrontation with the Soviet Union in 1956. A milder regime of national communists under Władysław Gomułka came to power. The Communist Party still had monopoly of power, but the country was not governed by Stalinists (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001; Davies, 2005). The replacement of Stalinists by national communists was a very important development. Some Stalinists had wanted to make Poland a "Soviet Socialist Republic" like Ukrainian SSR or Armenian SSR. Abramowicz (2005) noted that during an excavation in the early 1950s, the archaeologists were worried about a possible announcement that Poland had joined the Soviet Union. After 1956, ideological pressure for archaeologists to conform to Marxist interpretations was not great. As Schild (1993:146) notes, "A party card was helpful, but never essential in the career, at least to the level of professorship." In contrast to the situation in East Germany, the top jobs in Poland were held not only by Party members but also by established archaeologists (Gringmuth-Dalmer, 1993).

However, every university, institute, and museum had its own communist party cell exercising significant influence over professional careers (Abramowicz, 2007:453). Their approval of all facets of conduct, behavior, and performance was important to all members of such organizations.

It should be noted that most Polish archaeologists belonging to the Party were not fervent ideologues. For example, there was one Party member, Józef Marciniak, in the Kraków Branch of the Institute. He was a decent fellow and I never heard him discuss the importance of Marxism in archaeology or any other aspect of society. On the occasions he came to the Institute, he would tell me the latest joke about Khrushchev, Brezhnev or some development in the Soviet Union, e.g., that Lenin had risen from the dead or something equally absurd. In general, the Polish people were not afraid to criticize the Communist system. Tadeusz Wiślański joked with me in 1966 that, officially, all Polish archaeologists should be Marxists. He gave me his book on the Globular Amphora culture (1966) with a nice note, but jokingly wrote to "imperialista" (imperialist) in pencil in the corner of one page: the Party's

propaganda classified USA, England, and other western countries as imperialistic powers.

Beginning with the 1960s, Polish archaeologists had a greater interest in settlement patterns, prehistoric economy and environment, and in the use of raw materials (Lech 1997–1998), of which Tadeusz Wiślański (1931–1989) was a pioneer in these settlement and natural environment studies. It should be noted that Grahame Clark's book, *Prehistoric Europe: The economic basis*, was translated into Polish by J. Kostrzewski and published in 1957.

This milder Polish communism gave archaeologists greater opportunities to travel to Western countries and meet their Western colleagues. However, this relative freedom to travel did not solve the currency problems. The Polish złoty was nonconvertible, or "soft," currency, and thus obtaining marks, francs, pounds, or other Western currency was difficult. Host countries did not always cover visitors' expenses, especially at international meetings. To cover such costs, some Polish archaeologists took their books to archaeological meetings to sell them to their Western colleagues. Polish archaeologists were hospitable to their Western visitors, who at times were insensitive to their hosts' small salaries and expected them to pay for everything.

After 1956, Polish archaeologists conducted or participated in archaeological projects in Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Norway, Sudan, and Tunisia. Starting in 1962, a major American and Polish archaeological project headed by Fred Wendorf of Southern Methodist University excavated numerous sites in Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia (Wendorf, 1968, 2008; Wendorf & Schild, 1976, 1981). The Principal Polish investigator of this project was Romuald Schild. Thus, we should not overemphasize the isolation of Polish archaeology from Western Europe or other regions (Kobyliński, 1991; Marciniak & Rączkowski, 1991). In addition to going abroad Poles organized scholarly conferences, inviting participants from communist countries and Western democracies alike. In 1973, for example, an international conference, "The Mesolithic in Europe," was held in Warsaw. Lech (1996:194–195) points out that, "For the first time in this part of Europe, a confrontation took place between traditional continental archaeology and the New Archaeology" (Kozłowski, (1973). Amazingly, the scholarly visits by Polish archaeologists to the Soviet Union were not easily arranged. The same problem existed for Soviet archaeologists, as not all Russian archaeologists invited by Polish colleagues to conferences in Poland received permission from Soviet authorities to attend these meetings.

In general, so-called "socialist" economies were inefficient. People had needed to devote a lot of time to obtain basic necessities such as food, clothing, and various supplies and services. The service in the retail outlets and government institutions could be very poor, and the customer was not appreciated by the salespeople working in stores. I had a typical experience during a visit by Professor Homer Thomas from the University of Missouri to my excavations at Olszanica. He wanted to buy a leather briefcase in Kraków, so I took him to a store. The saleswoman was reading a book and paid no attention to us for some time, so Thomas suggested we try some place with better service. I dismissed this suggestion as pointless. Eventually, the

saleswoman was distracted from her reading and Thomas got his briefcase. Again, a Polish colleague complained about the poor service at the State Bank. The bank manager's answer was that, like it or not, the archaeologist had no choice but to deal with this bank. The state had a monopoly on all economic institutions and there was no alternative bank. Store clerks and government staff were helpful to their friends, and a bribe could work wonders. The black market flourished.

The poor economy especially hurt women archaeologists, who were expected to do research and at the same time to manage their homes. Few men stood long hours in lines for meat and other products. Nonetheless, numerous women became archaeologists in the PRL, and roughly half of the degrees in archaeology were obtained by them (Lozny, 2011). However, key positions such as directorships of institutes or professorships were predominantly held by men.

American Archaeological Project in the Polish People's Republic

In the post-1956 PRL Western institutions, including American ones, could conduct archaeological research, and most Polish archaeologists were willing to establish cooperative projects. Stephanie Malone (1982), University of Louisville, Peter Bogucki, Princeton University, John Bower (Bower & Kobusiewicz, 2002), Iowa State University and myself, University of Michigan and State University of New York at Buffalo, conducted excavations in the PRL. I have been associated with Polish archaeology since the mid-1960s and Bogucki since the 1970s. We continue our involvement in Polish archaeology to this day (Kruk & Milisauskas, 1981,1985, 1999; Kruk, Alexandrowicz, Milisauskas, & Śnieszko, 1996; Milisauskas, 1986; Milisauskas & Kruk, 1984, 1989; Milisauskas, Kruk, Ford, Lityńska-Zając, & Tomczyńska, 2004, 2012; Milisauskas, Kruk, Pipes, & Makowicz-Poliszot, 2012; Bogucki, 1982, 1988, 2003; Bogucki & Grygiel, 1993a, 1993b; Grygiel & Bogucki, 1997; Grygiel, 2004; Pipes et al, 2009, 2014).

I will briefly describe my own experiences of doing archaeological field work in the PRL. Hensel was the critical person for getting permission for an American university seeking to conduct archaeological research in Poland (Milisauskas & Kruk, 2008). Originally, Professor James B. Griffin, of the University of Michigan, had arranged for me to conduct research with Professor Konrad Jażdżewski of Łódź, but this did not work out as Jażdżewski was a vocal opponent of the ruling establishment, and consequently could not get a permit to work together with a Western institution. Waldemar Chmielewski, a Palaeolithic specialist, suggested that I contact Witold Hensel about this project, which I did. Fortunately for me, Hensel was willing to arrange a permit for cooperative archaeological project between the IHKM and the University of Michigan, and later the State University of New York at Buffalo. It took him 15 months, but he succeeded. Hensel gave us total freedom to do our research as we wished and never interfered with our fieldwork. He was also instrumental in protecting the project from a few archaeologists who were

either critical of the project, or who wanted to stake their own claim to it. Although some Polish archaeologists remain negative of Hensel, and complain that he had too much power and made some decisions without consulting other archaeologists, I found him to be fair and able to deal realistically with various issues. Truly, without him, the University of Michigan or the State University of New York at Buffalo would not have been able to conduct any archaeological projects in Poland. Thus, I view Hensel as a positive force in Polish archaeology that enriched archaeology in Poland and other countries in Europe.

I learned very quickly that archaeology is not always a field of ladies and gentlemen. I was embarrassed that unethical maneuvers were conducted on this archaeological project by a leading American specialist in European archaeology. Robert Ehrich of Brooklyn College, City University of New York, arrived in Poland in the fall of 1965 as a representative of the Smithsonian Institution. Before WWII, he had excavated in Czechoslovakia. Ehrich arranged to meet me in Warsaw, where he discussed the possibility of initiating with several Polish archaeologists a cooperative archaeological project between American and Polish institutions. Furthermore, he informed me that Griffin knew nothing about European archaeology and, consequently, he (Ehrich) should be the Principal Investigator of this archaeological project. He also suggested that I transfer to a university in New York City for my doctoral work, which would enable me to be close to him. I told him that I was loyal to Griffin and planned to obtain my doctorate from the University of Michigan. In response, Ehrich hinted that he would block any future grant requests of mine if I decided to remain with Griffin, and even went so far as to tell some Polish archaeologists that Griffin and I would not receive any grant money. I rejected what I can only call Byzantine maneuvers and, true to his word, he would never support my later archaeological work. Ehrich's actions had some impact on Polish archaeologists, since W. Chmielewski suggested that I should seriously consider Ehrich's proposals.

An initial grant to James B. Griffin and several subsequent grants to me funded most of the field research and data analyses of this project. Much of the research was funded by the Smithsonian Institution's Foreign Currency Program Grants from 1967 through 1980. Two grants from the National Science Foundation in 1972 to 1973 and 1980 to 1984 helped with data analyses and especially with the publication of the Olszanica monograph in 1986. American Council of Learned Societies Fellowships in 1976 and 1983 made it possible for me to analyze the material excavated from Olszanica. The Polish Academy of Sciences supported Janusz Kruk's survey of the region.

The cooperative agreement stipulated that the American funds for the fieldwork would be evenly divided between American and Polish archaeologists. The project's objectives were to study the chronology and the economic and social organization of the Neolithic and Bronze Age communities in southeastern Poland (Hensel & Milisauskas, 1985). The objectives were very broad by design because of the varied research concentrations of the participating archaeologists. For the American excavations, I selected the Linear Pottery culture site of Olszanica and the multicultural Neolithic site of Michałowice (Fig. 5.2) Later, Janusz Kruk and I pooled our

Fig. 5.2 Excavations at Olszanica

resources to conduct surveys and excavations in the Bronocice region. The Polish archaeologists used their funding for the excavation of two sites; Jan Machnik of IHKM directed excavations at Iwanowice (Machnikowie & Kaczanowski, 1987; Kadrow, 1991; Kadrow & Machnikowie, 1992), and Barbara Burchard (1977), also of the IHKM, conducted fieldwork at Niedźwiedź.

Janusz Kruk was the key person for the success of the cooperative archaeological project. Without his and Hensel's participation in this project, my archaeological fieldwork would have been very difficult. The objectives of the Bronocice project were to investigate prehistoric environments, chronologies, economies, settlement systems, and social organizations. Furthermore, we wanted to contribute to the understanding of the social evolution of low-level hierarchical societies. The American and Polish cooperative project provided a great impetus for research into the Neolithic period in Poland. Large sums of money were spent on nonmedieval excavations.

No restrictions were put on field surveys or the choice of sites for research. I was informed by one archaeologist that the Polish authorities had supposedly suggested that the Americans avoid areas around the steel mills of Nowa Huta, a suburb of Kraków. One never knows the whole truth behind such rumors: it is possible that this archaeologist in question used the Party as excuse in order to protect sites along the Vistula River which he or someone else was interested in for the future. Nevertheless, I had to be sensitive to the local political environment. For example, the site of Olszanica is located a few kilometers from Kraków airport, a military as well as civil facility. As a result, we never took photographs of the area around the airport. The authorities never told us not to do so, but Linear Pottery sites west of Olszanica—that is, around the airport—were not surveyed until the mid-1980s.

By living at Stefania Dąbrowska's house about 2 km from Olszanica during the excavations, I had the opportunity to observe the different social classes in Polish society. Dąbrowska was born in 1894 in northeastern Lithuania into a family of Polonized Lithuanian gentry (Dąbrowski, 1977). Some of her guests bore witness to the political and economic changes of 70 years. Before the Communist regimes appeared in this part of Europe, her guests had owned properties in Poland. They lost everything when their properties were nationalized after the war, and some even had to abandon their ancestral homes as the boundaries of Poland changed. Some had adjusted reasonably well to the new political conditions, while others could not.

In 1974, the cooperative project began excavations at Bronocice, a site located approximately 2 km from the small town of Działoszyce. Before World War II, about two thirds of the town's population of 7000 was Jewish. They were exterminated by Nazi Germany in the early 1940s. At the edge of the town, an abandoned synagogue stands as a reminder of the past population that perished during World War II.

The Bronocice area was very rural. Even supplying the field crew with food was a problem; the local supplies were limited, and some groceries had to be obtained in Kraków.

Maps needed for surveys were classified as state secrets and they were locked up in a safe. My Polish colleagues would take these maps out when they were needed. It is interesting that the maps were German originals used during WWII in occupied Poland. Aerial photography was strictly controlled, and I never asked permission for this type of photography. However, my Polish colleagues hired a small plane to take pictures of the Bronocice site at the end of the field season when I was already in the USA. How some American archaeologists did not understand the political conditions in the so-called "socialist" countries in Europe is illustrated by one American archaeologist. He suggested that I ask the Warsaw Pact air force to take photos for me. Such a request would have swiftly terminated my archaeological work in the PRL.

The field crews consisted mainly of archaeology students from the University of Warsaw, the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, plus a small number of non-Polish students. Some went to obtain doctorates and became professional archaeologists: Jacek Rydzewski (Director of the Kraków Archaeological Museum), Jacek Lech (Professor at the Cardinal Wyszyński University in Warsaw), Jerzy Kopacz (Dr hab. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Kraków Branch, Polish Academy of Sciences), Gregory Johnson (Professor at Hunter College, CUNY), Robert Hasenstab (Director of GIS Laboratory, University of Illinois at Chicago), Peter Reid (Professor at the University of Windsor, Canada), and Bozena Werbart (Professor at the Institute for Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Lund, Sweden), who emigrated from Poland to Sweden after the 1968 events (see below).

Laborers, mostly young people, needed by the cooperative project were hired from the surrounding villages, and were paid the equivalent of 50–75 cents per hour; these were standard local wages. Traditional beliefs still persisted among some local farmers. At Michałowice, after a Neolithic burial was found, a horse belonging to the landowner got sick. His wife blamed us for disturbing the dead and

causing the misfortune, adding that our presence would ruin them. The local village people conjured various theories about the goals of our project. For example, some Olszanica villagers believed that we are searching for gold (the typical goal of all archaeological research), while others thought that we planned to build a road or a major building. The elderly of the village, who were exposed to Stalinist repression, knew that this was not a typical archaeological project because of the participation of Americans. Some people predicted that the Polish archaeologists would eventually end up in Siberia.

The introduction of a new archaeological project anywhere in the world can have a ripple effect on local archaeologists; they may feel threatened with regard to the "ownership" of sites and territories, as well as in their claim to a primacy of knowledge in a particular topic or culture. In the late summer of 1976, I attended a Congress of archaeologists in Nice, France. Several Polish archaeologists were also there, and one of them (who was, and still is, a distinguished Polish archaeologist but who did not work at the IHKM) told lies about me to our Polish colleagues in an attempt to undermine my work. I was supposed to have criticized Polish archaeology to some prehistorians in Nice. This slander surprised me since this scholar had always been very kind and professional toward me. A few other Polish archaeologists believed that these falsehoods would compromise the cooperative project we had worked so hard for, and spread these fabrications and hearsay to other colleagues. Fortunately, however, most Polish archaeologists did not object to the fact that I was conducting field research in their "archaeological territories." When I arrived in Poland for the 1977 field season, Hensel gave the 1976 intrigues and their propagators the attention they deserved; that is to say, none. If nothing else, this ridiculous affair revealed to me who my real friends were.

Ironically, there was no interference with the excavations by various political authorities, and 1977 was the only time the excavations at Bronocice would attract any sustained interest from the Polish security services and the police. Upon arriving in Warsaw from Buffalo, I was contacted at the airport by officials from the US Embassy, informing me that the US Ambassador Richard Davies wished to arrange a meeting. On discovering that he had a strong interest in archaeology, particularly with Celtic studies, I invited him to visit Bronocice. When Polish security officials learned that the American Ambassador was to visit the site, they immediately mounted a search for it. For the first several days they focused on the wrong place, as they believed that the Ambassador would visit Bronowice near Kraków which, even to Polish ears the place name sounds very similar. That summer, there were frequent "tourists" at Bronocice: Polish security officials in disguise. During the 2 weeks before the Ambassador's visit, the police trailed and openly followed me. The Ambassador, his wife, and son escorted by Tadeusz Rosłanowski, an archaeologist from Warsaw, arrived and spent the entire day touring the site. Rosłanowski was surprised at how traditional Bronocice appeared. "*Is this Poland?*" he wondered aloud. After the Ambassador's visit, the "tourists" disappeared.

We published articles in Western and Polish archaeological journals. The archaeology books were cheaply produced and they were sold out very quickly. However, the quality of paper and photographic reproduction was poor. There was censorship

in the PRL, but it never affected us. No one ever suggested that we make changes in our publications for political reasons. Other archaeologists were not as fortunate. A. Abramowicz (2007:459) mentions that a map was removed from one of his publications by censors because there were errors in the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

Bronocice yielded an exceptional find, a Funnel Beaker vessel depicting a wagon (Bakker et al., 1999; Milisauskas & Kruk, 1982). This represents the earliest evidence for wheeled vehicles in Europe, and its discovery had a profound effect on the local community. The local people were quite proud of the find, believing that their part of the country, after all, had been a leader in innovation. To memorialize this, a stone monument (megalith), 1.8 m high and made of dolomite, was erected in area B of the site in 2003 (Fig. 5.3). On the plaque is a drawing of the wagon motifs and an inscription that translates:

> To our ancestors and archaeologists to commemorate the discovery of the large Neolithic settlement and the oldest wheeled vehicles on the vessel in the world at Bronocice, 3500 BC in 1975 by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography in Kraków, Polish Academy of Sciences and the State University of New York.

The site was discovered in 1967 and the vessel with a wagon motif in 1974. The inscription thus implies a continuity of occupation amounting to 5500 years. The monument is dedicated to our ancestors, yet we do not know anything about the ethnicity of the people in this region around 3400 BC, as the Slavs did not appear in Poland until much later, after the post-Roman period. Unlike Olszanica, Bronocice became a heritage resource.

The dedication ceremony for the monument was held on May 25, 2003, and was a major event, in which people of all ages, dignitaries, archaeologists, and local officials participated. A Roman Catholic priest blessed the monument (Fig. 5.4) and

Fig. 5.3 J. Kruk (left) and S. Milisauskas (right) at the Bronocice monument, 2006. As seen in the foreground, some visitors left flowers to commemorate the site

Fig. 5.4 The local Roman Catholic priest blesses the Bronocice monument

the site, and some young people constructed several huts near the stone monument in order to recreate the living conditions of a Neolithic settlement, and reenacted various Neolithic activities. After the ceremony, a festival was held in the town.

The City of Kraków is proud of the vessel with the wagon motif, and had displayed it on the city's bus and trams tickets, proudly affirming that the motif represents the oldest evidence for wheeled transportation in the world (Fig 5.5).

1968 Events and Poland under Gierek

When I arrived in Poland in June 1968, there was political tension in the air. A mini-cultural revolution and a political struggle were taking place. Both print and radio media emphasized the importance of adhering to Marxist ideology; for example, a person could not be only an excellent athlete, he or she also needed to exhibit a strong familiarity with Marxist principles. All of this was the result of a struggle between different factions of the Communist Party (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001; Davies, 2005). On one side were the more liberal and reformist communists, while on the other side were the so-called Partisans led by Mieczysław Moczar, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, who controlled the press, and whose supporters campaigned on a platform of crude nationalism and anti-Semitism. In January of that year, students had cheered the anti-Russian sentiments in Adam Mickiewicz's play *Forefathers' Eve* (*Dziady*) as it was presented in Warsaw National Theatre. This

Fig. 5.5 City of Kraków public transport ticket, front and back
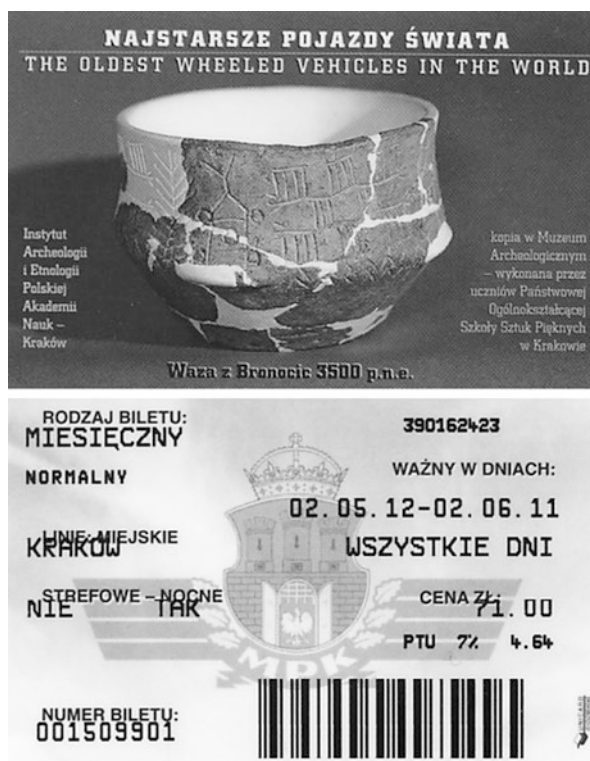
play is very patriotic, and portrays the Polish struggle under the Tsarist yoke during the nineteenth century. Gomułka, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, ordered the play to be closed, resulting in student protests across the country. The police reacted brutally, beating up and arresting many students in Warsaw, Kraków, and other cities. Many of these students were sons and daughters of the Polish elite. Although Gomułka survived Moczar's attack with Brezhnev's help, some students were alienated by the actions of the state authorities and opposition to government increased. Many Poles of Jewish descent left Poland, including a few archaeology students.

This political struggle in 1968 did not affect the excavations at Olszanica, where students from the Kraków and Warsaw universities participated in the cooperative archaeological project. There were cynical comments by some students about the Party and ongoing Marxist propaganda. At Olszanica, one of our young workers was an excellent wrestler; his friends kidded him about his ideological preparation for wrestling matches.

The disastrous economic conditions in 1970–1971 led to Gomułka's downfall and his replacement by Edward Gierek. The early part of Gierek's rule from 1971 to 1975 has been considered the Golden Age of the PRL. Gierek obtained large sums of credit from Western nations. The economy improved for few years, but it went

downhill in the late 1970s. Archaeology, too, prospered in the early years of Gierek's rule. During the 1970s, references to Marx disappeared from scholarly publications. Since the Polish people considered Marxism as an imposed foreign dogma by the ruling authorities, it was treated with contempt by many people.

A small number of Polish archaeologists, mainly from Warsaw and Poznań, were interested in theoretical issues in archaeology (Kobyliński, 1991, 1998; Minta-Tworzowska & Rączkowski, 1996; Lech, 1999). A methodology section was established at the IHKM in Warsaw in 1980, headed by Stanisław Tabaczyński, who was, and is, the leading archaeological theoretician in Poland. J. Żak attempted to apply Marxism to archaeology in Poznań, and produced a Marxist prehistory and the Early Middle Ages of Poland. As Lech (1999:94) noted, "It was published as part of a one-volume history of Poland edited by Topolski (1975) and was an attempt to combine a Marxist approach with traditional culture-historical archaeology." A number of interesting conferences were organized by the IHKM, which included scholars from various countries. Three impressive volumes containing papers from these conferences were published in Polish and English, two of them, admittedly, after 1989 (Hensel et al., 1986; Urbańczyk, 1995; Tabaczyński, 1998). Probably, Poland has too few theoreticians, while the Anglo-American archaeology has too many.

As previously noted, most archaeologists in Poland subscribed to the culture history paradigm. Theoretical debates were largely ignored and archaeologists did not lose much sleep over whether, for example, they were processual or postprocessual. A few publications discussed trends in Western archaeology, for example, Tabaczyński's (1985) observations on processual archaeology. "In the late 1970s a few Polish archaeologists became to some limited extent acquainted with the American 'New Archaeology' (Lech, 2002:219). Lech (2002:218) notes that he was "one of those on whom both the New American Archaeology and the later Anglo-American processual archaeology exerted a considerable influence…." Lewis Binford's work became familiar to some Polish archaeologists, especially the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic specialists. Schild (1980:9) noted that the New Archaeology was producing many positive results. "There is little doubt, however, that the great impact of, in fact many-faceted 'new archaeology' was in enforcing many rigorous procedures of thinking in archaeological explanation, in bringing in new questions to be answered by archaeological researches, as well as in arousing self-consciousness of the discipline." At the same time, he pointed out the weaknesses of the processual archaeology. Some archaeologists (Hensel, 1958; Trudzik, 1971) spent a good deal of energy in discussing the definitions and meaning of the terms archaeology and prehistory (Kobyliński, 1998:229).

In 1978, Polish archaeologists began an ambitious national survey, the Archaeological Map of Poland—*Archaeologiczne Zdjęcie Polski*, in an attempt to record all archaeological sites in the country (Barford et al., 2000). One of the earliest systematic regional settlement studies in Europe was carried out in the late 1960s by Janusz Kruk (1973, 1980) in the loess uplands of the Kraków region in Poland.

Bogucki (2002:132) noted that "Kruk's study of long-term changes in Neolithic settlement and land-use was very much in the tradition of economic prehistory established in Polish archaeology by the work of Tadeusz Wiślański (1969), which in turn was inspired by Grahame Clark's *Prehistoric Europe: the economic basis*. By carrying out a well-defined regional study that provided a model for studying similar phenomena elsewhere in Europe, Kruk made a major contribution to European prehistory and to world archaeology." Ryszard Grygiel (1986) carried out an impressive analysis of a single Neolithic household at Brześć Kujawski, inspired by Kent Flannery's (1976) publication of the *The Early Mesoamerican Village*. Numerous excellent classifications and typologies of various artifacts such as Balcer's (1975) study of flint artifacts were produced by Polish archaeologists. Such tedious work will only interest archaeologists who work with such data, and thus can appreciate the effort such enterprises require. Most Polish archaeologists were involved in fieldwork almost every year, with approximately 300 sites excavated annually (Lech, 1996:193). The number of excavations is very impressive (Table 5.1), although some of this work remains unpublished. These are not arm-chair archaeologists. It should be noted that during the last days of the PRL in 1988, excavations were conducted at 273 sites.

Polish archaeologists, such as A. Gardawski, K. Godłowski, W. Hensel, J. Jażdżewski, and J. Kostrzewski, have made major contributions to the study of the ethnogenesis of the Slavs. Until the 1970s, there was little dissent from Kostrzewski's and Jażdżewski's hypothesis that the Slavs originated in central Europe. In 1979, Kazimierz Godłowski challenged these views in a major publication and argued that the Slavs originated to the east of Poland. This challenge was likely made possible by the signing of the peace treaty with West Germany in the early 1970s, which recognized Poland's western boundaries and established normal relations between the two countries. Consequently, archaeology was less important for the defense of Poland's western boundaries (Rączkowski, 1996). I doubt that before this development, e.g., in the 1950s, the censors would have permitted a challenge to the central European Slav origin.

Table 5.1 Number of Excavations

Time period	Number of excavations, 1944–1964	Number of excavations, 1988
Paleolithic and Mesolithic	30	10
Neolithic	93	44
Bronze Age	67	33
Early Iron Age	96	21
Late Iron Age	33	16
Roman Period	97	44
Early Medieval	234	49
Late Medieval and Post Medieval	34	59

After Barford & Tabaczyński, 1996:156

The Post-1981 Period

The end of the 1970s brought the formation of the Solidarity movement by workers and intellectuals, headed by Lech Wałęsa. Some archaeologists were very much involved in this attempt to change the totalitarian system. For example, Janusz Kruk was part of the movement's leadership in Kraków. In December 1981, W. Jaruzelski's government declared martial law and arrested numerous Solidarity activists, but none of the regime's maneuvers over the next 8 years could prevent its collapse. The great majority of the Polish people, including archaeologists, were on the Solidarity side. Most Party members had long since lost their faith in Marxism. By 1989, the government was talking and negotiating with Solidarity, and free elections in 1990 brought the end of the communist regime. By then, most pre-WWII archaeologists were dead, though I am sure that J. Kostrzewski and K. Jażdżewski would have rejoiced to see the death of the PRL.

An unexpected development for some Polish archaeologists was initiated by the British prehistorian, Peter Ucko. It seems that Ucko wanted Polish archaeologists to attend the Southampton Congress in 1986, either by voluntary choice or, if necessary, by "conscription." As Schild (1993:146) recalled, a direct intervention by Polish political authorities "was triggered by Peter Ucko, who persuaded the Polish Embassy in London to seek help in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to force the then-IHKM director to send representatives to the 1986 World Archaeological Congress in Southampton." The British organizers of the Congress decided to exclude the South African archaeologists. Since most South African archaeologists were not racists or apartheid supporters, many archaeologists decided not to attend this Congress. Ucko's behavior was completely unacceptable, and this affair lowered his standing in the eyes of the archaeological community.

Economic conditions were terrible during the last 10 years of the Communist rule. However, archaeologists continued to excavate and produce many publications, including theoretical works generated by the IHKM conferences. During the period of martial law, travel to Western countries by archeologists was severely restricted (Schild, 1993). Considering conditions overall during the PRL's 45 years, archaeologists cannot perhaps complain too much. As previously mentioned, the economy was generally in poor shape and politics was dictated by one party, but archaeology nonetheless developed into an important and prominent enterprise. By the early 1980s, there were 739 working archaeologists, 154 of them in the IHKM. I do not know of a single country in the West that had such a huge archaeological research institution as the IHKM. Archaeologists at the IHKM did not have to teach, only do research. This is scholarly luxury. The IHKM did not offer an undergraduate degree in archaeology, but it had a doctoral program from which many archaeologists received their degrees. The number of museums and archaeology departments at universities also increased. Some university departments, for example, the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw with about 70 employees, became very big. There were numerous journals in which archaeologists could publish the results of their research. Archaeological institutions had

zooarchaeologists, paleobotanists, and metallurgy specialists on staff, and facilities for drafting and photography. Some modern technical equipment was later in coming; for example, radiocarbon dating opportunities only came when a laboratory was established in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź in 1966, and aerial photography hardly existed. Unfortunately, there was little money for travel and not all Western archaeological publications were available. But research got done and generally to a high standard. Some younger archaeologists at universities and the IHKM may have felt that was too much emphasis on traditional approaches, and not enough on those fashionable in the West. But this is to some extent a generational problem; for example, J. Kostrzewski fought Kossinna, but he used his methods throughout his life. However, this approach is not confined to the older generation, as "We see a specifically uncritical renaissance of Kossinnism in its purest form, unknown probably in such form anywhere else in Europe. Representatives of the youngest generation of Polish archaeologists studying the period of Roman influences in Poland unequivocally identify archaeological cultures with named tribes mentioned in the works of ancient writers such as the *Germania* of Tacitus" (Kobyliński, 1998:231). Thus, young culture historians continue to emphasize archaeological cultures, their migrations, ethnicity, and origins, as have their Central European predecessors going back to the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, right up to the present, most continental European archaeologists can be characterized as culture historians. Polish scholars, young or old, cannot be criticized for being unique in this respect. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the Polish archaeological community is, and will continue to be, diverse in its theoretical approaches.

The end of the People's Poland coincided with some changes in archaeology. After many years of leadership, Hensel retired at age 73 from the directorship of the IHKM, and Romuald Schild was elected by all archaeologists to replace him. The name of the Institute was changed to the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences. Poland was not like East Germany where many communist archaeologists were removed from leadership positions after the collapse of communist system. The small number of Polish communist archaeologists continued their work and kept their positions in the democratic Poland, although some quickly dropped their allegiance to the Marxist paradigm.

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Chapter 6
Czech Archaeology Under Communism

Evžen Neustupný

Historical Background

I would like to briefly outline certain historical events before I present to the core of my discussion. These events are mentioned here because they were later exploited by the communist propaganda.

Divided into several tribal units, the ancestors of the Czech nation inhabited the regions of Bohemia, Moravia and parts of the neighbouring present-day southern Germany and Austria from the second half of the first millennium AD. Bohemia and Moravia, the western and the eastern parts of the present Czech Republic respectively, remained within its administrative frontiers for more or less the last millennium.

Christianity arrived in those lands during the ninth century A.D. from the Byzantine Empire along with partial literacy (two special alphabets that derived from the Greek alphabet to serve the needs of the Church in Moravia), but further developments of the tenth century A.D. caused reorientation towards the western Latin Church, which did not change afterwards until present. The Kingdom of Bohemia, which in addition to Bohemia and Moravia also included Lusatia and Silesia during the Middle Ages, formed an important part of the medieval Holy Roman Empire and thus some of the Bohemian kings became Roman Emperors.

The political situation changed in the nineteenth century as the new conditions did not satisfy the aspirations of the Czechs. After several decades, the Czech people gained independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 and formed a common state with the Slovaks (to the east of the former kingdom) in the aftermath of WWI. The Czechoslovak Republic was a Western type democracy, a unique phenomenon in Central Europe at the time. A minority in the new state spoke German, and these citizens enjoyed all the possible minority rights, including a university

E. Neustupný (retired) (✉)
Institute of Archaeology, The Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, The Czech Republic
e-mail: neustup@iol.cz

and political parties. Hitler demanded that the territory inhabited by this German minority be ceded to his Reich, and the Western European countries agreed to his claim in the Munich Agreement of 1938. Although Czechoslovakia had a defense treaty with France and Britain at the time, the leaders of these states declared that they would not go to war over such a small country. And a war followed shortly afterwards anyway. The Munich Agreement completely destroyed the defense structure of Czechoslovakia, so that the German army could march in one year later without any chance of resistance. The German occupation was accompanied by concentration camps, forced labour in Germany, executions and terror in general. The measure of terror can be exemplified by the fact that merely listening to broadcasts from London or Moscow was punishable by death.

At the Yalta Conference held at the end of the war, the USA and Great Britain decided that Czechoslovakia should belong to the Soviet sphere of interest in the post-war reorganization of Europe. This decision determined the fate of the Czechs for the next 45 years as the Western powers honoured the Yalta agreement.

The pro-Russian communist propaganda launched immediately after the war was based on the premise that Russians were our Slavic brothers who knew how to overcome poverty (a real problem in a country with economy decimated by war), and that our former Western allies had betrayed us in Munich. Communists pretended to be the best sort of democrats, to be the most reliable supporters of the working people and even farmers, whom they gave land (only to take it back several years later). Their propaganda was in many respects nationalistic to please the population recalling the German terror of the preceding decade.

The two post-WWII years somewhat resembled democracy, but the influence of the communists (mainly in the police and army) was increasing. Only one third of the population, those who were heavily indoctrinated, voted for them in the general elections of 1946, but this was sufficient to take the country over openly in 1948. Another wave of terror followed in the 1950s (led by Soviet "advisors"), with new political trials resulting in imprisonment and executions.

The seizure of the country by the communists a mere two and a half years after the end of the Nazi hostilities in Europe was a direct consequence of the war. Without it the Russians, who strongly supported local communists, would have never arrived in Central Europe. Once the communists seized power, they reneged on their promises and liquidated their opponents.

Pre-war Archaeology

Archaeology as a scientific discipline has been well developed in Bohemia and Moravia since the middle of the nineteenth century; it created its own classification schemes, substantially surpassing the three-age system by the end of the century. Much of what had been accomplished before World War I in the field of classification remains valid. In spite of the fact that evolutionism persisted until the beginning of the twentieth century (e.g., Jaroslav Palliardi, who created an amazingly

exact and detailed chronology of the Neolithic and the Eneolithic periods), culture history spread in the field of theory, mainly among the professors at Charles University in Prague and their students. Czech archaeologists supported many historical migrations and cultural influences on the basis of their record, but were not nationalists like their German colleagues of the time: they did not seek to demonstrate the superiority of the Czech nation (or the Slavs) in any respect.

The number of professional archaeologists was low, less than 20 persons assigned almost equally to the archaeology departments at universities (Prague since 1850 and Brno since 1933), central museums (the National Museum in Prague since 1818 and the Moravian Museum in Brno since 1818), and the State Archaeological Institute (since 1918). There were, however, numerous amateur archaeologists (teachers, etc.).

Prague University (professors Niederle, Stocký and Schránil) trained a number of excellent professional archaeologists in the 1920s and 1930s (Jaroslav Böhm, Jan Filip, Jiří Neustupný, Ivan Borkovský, Bedřich Svoboda, Rudolf Turek and others). The system of Czech prehistory (the list of archaeological cultures) was completed during this period, with the exception of the Eneolithic period, which had to wait until the 1950s.

Archaeology During the Second World War

Although Czech archaeology was expanding in the 1930s, the promising development came to an end with the German occupation in 1939. Czech universities were closed, and a number of students were executed (none of which were archaeologists). The institutions that remained open were headed by German archaeologists, and many Czech professionals were forced to work in munitions plants in Germany.

Those who remained had to work using the German language (even museum book inventories were in German), which was the first step in the plan to Germanise the Czech population, when racially appropriate.

The Czech archaeological community survived the war well; only one amateur archaeologist was executed by the Germans. The losses were much higher in other spheres of culture.

The State of Czech Archaeology in the Middle of the Twentieth Century

Despite the post-war economic difficulties, Czech archaeology started to grow in 1946 and 1947 and the development continued in the following years.

As far as theory, Czech archaeologists were still strictly culture historians. These views are reflected in Filip's *Prehistoric Czechoslovakia* (1946), which drew heavily on *Schránil 1928*; it is full of references to historic migrations and cultural

influences presented in the pre-war Czech scholarly style (not nationalistic). The empirical knowledge was based on pre-war finds deposited in museums, mainly the National Museum in Prague and the Moravian Museum in Brno. This situation continued into the 1950s and 1960s, as very few new excavations were published.

The boom in Slavic archaeology had already begun at this time, mainly in the form of excavations.

The Beginning of Communist Archaeology

Soon after the war the government began to fund archaeology, mainly to excavate early medieval "Slavic" sites. This was in line with the ideological thesis that the Czechs were Slavs, with their nearest "great" ethnic relatives being the Russians. Most archaeologists did not realize that by accepting this thesis they fell into an ideological trap helping the communists and their propaganda.

The first phase of Czech archaeology under communist rule lasted until 1968. The first half of this phase (1950s) was marked by the strict dictatorship of the Communist Party (called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by communist theoreticians) accompanied by political trials ending in executions.

Changes in archaeology appeared gradually. A turning-point came in 1953 with the founding of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which was an exact copy of the Soviet institution. The law on which this institution was based declared the leading role of the Academy in the field of scientific research; the task of the Academy of Sciences was "basic" theoretical research. The chief aim of these changes was to centralize the discipline in order to bring it under strict communist control.

The Academy consisted of large institutes, one of which was the Archaeological Institute. Jaroslav Böhm, a Communist Party member, was appointed director of the Institute and vice-president of the Academy. His decisions regarding all matters concerning archaeology were based on the Academy's legally mandated leading role.

This period was marked by the "cult of personalities" individuals who gained absolute power in their political domains. It was modelled on Stalin's personal dictatorship and formed a feudal network of interdependencies. The chief individual in Czech archaeology was, of course, the aforementioned Jaroslav Böhm. He ceded some of his power (though not too much) to his associates, mainly Josef Poulík, the deputy director of the Brno branch of the Institute, and to Jan Filip, professor of archaeology at the Charles University in Prague.

In this first period it was not yet obligatory to be a Party member to hold a position of influence. Filip, for example, was not a member of the Communist Party, but was still a professor (and thus able to influence students) and a high-ranking member of the Academy (with untaxed income and the authority to make minor decisions). The Party bureaucrats decided whether they considered someone to be reliable from the point of view of the "working class, the socialist camp and the Communist Party."

Class origin was equally important as membership of the Party, but these two criteria coincided in some cases. Workers were declared to be at the forefront of humanity, but the leading communists, both Party leaders and archaeologists, were not true workers (not even by class origin).

The Communist Party's control over the Czech society was not yet complete. For example, some students who were allowed to study archaeology were in fact of "bourgeois" origin. However, others arrived at university already as Party members, and a few students of archaeology had the status of "worker students," i.e., they did not graduate from a standard secondary school before entering university, but worked as manual labourers. But they were members of the Communist Party pre-destined to hold the highest positions in Czech archaeology. Both of the "worker students" who studied archaeology in Prague were "tamed" communists; they were not sufficiently eager to approve the Russian invasion in 1968 and were therefore expelled from the Party. One of them was forced out of the discipline and remained manual worker for the rest of his life.

Theoretical foundations of research were based on Marxism-Leninism, but this was only declarative. Böhm did not understand Marxism, and to prevent his replacement by someone who did, he orientated the programme of the Institute towards empirical research, mainly excavations of early medieval "Slavic" sites and Palaeolithic remains. The latter were considered to have ideological importance in the fight against religion, but it did not prove to be very productive in this respect.

Some archaeologists (in fact very few) still believed in Marxism in those years. Others did not oppose it, as they knew nothing else than Marxist philosophy and this seemed to them to be a matter of fact. But most archaeologists did not use Marxist theory because their paradigm was culture history. If this paradigm was applied without nationalist and racist excesses, it was acceptable to communist ideologues.

It was understood that more finds create better knowledge, and this premise led to large-scale and lengthy excavations of some sites. One example is Mikulčice, a ninth century AD "Slavic" fort with thousands of graves containing great amounts of gold and silver, as well as the foundations of several churches. Another long-term excavation was conducted at Bylany, a Neolithic site with many long houses and numerous potsherds.

Liberalization in the 1960s

The second half of the first period (late 1950s and 1960s) was more liberal, as after Stalin's death in 1953 the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev realized that Stalin's "dictatorship of the proletariat" would lead nowhere. However, the hardliners in Prague changed their policy very slowly. Yet, it was now possible to get outside the "socialist camp" from time to time, especially after the mid-1960s.

The socialist system was eroding at that time and some political leaders from the Communist Party became quite liberal. For example, they accepted the view that criticism of some social phenomena may not be all inspired by the American impe-

rialists and perpetrated by their agents, but aimed at the improvement of minor aspects of everyday life of ordinary people. The new policy was called "socialism with a human face," but the events of 1968 revealed that this was an illusion. The social drive of that year (the so-called Prague Spring) demonstrated that the majority of the Czech population did not want to improve socialism but to remove it. The events did not get that far, however, as the Russians intervened militarily, covering Czechoslovakia with their tanks on the 21st of August 1968, assisted by small contingents from East Germany, Poland, and Hungary. I am not aware of any large-scale military actions by those troops against the local population.

The reaction of the Czechs was peaceful, as nothing else was feasible. Some resolutions against the Soviet occupation were passed in the Prague Archaeological Institute and elsewhere; nobody agreed with the official reasons given for the invasion (not even the Communist Party members), but there was no armed opposition. It was clear to all that any such opposition would end in bloodshed and that foreign assistance would amount to no more than offering medical supplies. Despair was the general atmosphere, and it seemed to everybody that the Russian occupation (and the local communist regime installed by the Russians) would continue forever. Even so, it took communists year and a half to regain power, as people did not actively help to restore the pro-Soviet regime.

No executions and building of concentration camps followed the Soviet invasion, and the occupying army was nearly invisible (with the exception of their garrisons), but the effect upon the life of people was heavy: it impacted a large share of families and almost everybody's aspirations to live one's own life. Oppressions lasted for decades and there were no signs that it would end. Although the population did not suffer from hunger, this situation combined with the meagre socialist economy resulted in shortages of almost everything, making everyday life difficult.

The Second Half of the Communist Rule

This period lasted from 1969 to 1989 and differed substantially from the first two decades. While after the war some people believed that socialism could produce a better social order with social justice and some trusted Marxism as a way to achieve social equality, all such expectations disappeared after 1968. This author is not aware of a single archaeologist who would join the Communist Party at that time for ideological reasons. It became obvious that what was occurring was the strengthening of the political, economic and military interests of the Soviet Union. While Marxism was still mentioned in the Party's documents, nobody actually believed in it any longer.

Because after 1968 the Communist Party lost many members, it needed fresh blood. It was easy to recruit new members, mainly young, as the membership requirements changed. It was no longer expected that the Party members would be "believing" Marxists (although utterances openly aimed against Marxism would have been punished). On the other hand, it became impossible to obtain a better paid

position without being a Party member. Achieving anything was reserved for those who were Party members: for example, to work as a university teacher of archaeology, to travel abroad, to obtain a doctor of science degree, to be in charge of a department at the Institute, to publish a book, etc. Later it appeared that most exceptions to these rules regarding individuals who were not members of the Party actually applied to secret police agents, or possibly KGB agents.

The newly recruited communists did not believe in any ideology, but were well aware of the advantages that membership in the Party provided. Although it is easy to denounce their behaviour on moral grounds today, it is necessary to take into account the fact that they acted under extreme pressure, as there was no other choice for people who wanted to live actively. To refuse membership would mean not to work in archaeology at any acceptable level. People mostly believed that the Soviet Union with its nuclear weapons would not collapse during their lifetime and that the Yalta Agreement would remain in force, meaning that Czechoslovakia would remain under the Soviet control.

The group of non-Party members included archaeologists who were not asked to join the Party, although some would have accepted if asked. Typically, these were religious people, or those descending from formerly wealthy families, etc. They were deprived of many human rights and were denied the advantages reserved for communists. Some non-Party members lived on good terms with the communists, and others were favoured by them because of their class origin (if they were children of workers, for example). Surprisingly, this social interactions scheme still applied in the 1970s. I remember a colleague of mine, son of a worker, who was proud that he never joined the Party. At the same time, he easily became an editor of an archaeological journal in the 1970s when the former editor was dismissed for political reasons; he was acceptable to the communists because of his social class background. There were some archaeologists who openly declared (or did not hide) that they were practicing Catholics. They were tolerated by the communists, but they could not progress any further in their professional careers.

Then there were secret police agents and KGB agents who need not have been in the Party (partly to deceive their victims). Several were active in archaeology, their names being known in the case of the Czech service, while the names of KGB agents remain secret. Today, all of them claim that they never reported on any archaeologist. They were paid for the services rendered and as trusted individuals also allowed to travel frequently to the West. This was a source of substantial additional income as they received some money from Western European or American archaeologists and subsequently exchanged the funds for the Czech crowns. The agents were mostly clever persons who had some blot on their behaviour such as being homosexual or committing some sort of petty theft. One of them is known to have had a strong religious background combined with extreme shyness.

The last group of citizens, without any rights after the purges of 1969 and 1970, was made up of the former Party members. If they had committed less severe crimes against socialism during the "Prague Spring" (such as signing a resolution in favour of a liberal communist), they were expelled from the Party but allowed to remain in their professional positions. Their contract was renewed every 6 or 12 months; if

they did not fulfil the expectations of the Party, their contract would not have been renewed. I do not know of any archaeologist in this position who would risk being disposed in such a way. Aside from work and publishing articles in journals, they had no rights in the archaeological community.

If the "guilt" of a former Party member was more severe, for instance considered counterrevolutionary, the person would have been removed from job and could not escape into the private sector, as there was none. Everything belonged to the socialist state and was under control of the Communist Party. Thus, the Party decided where and what the individual could do (usually simple manual work). Only rarely was it hard labour. Archaeologists did not serve harsh sentences; there was only one such person. In other academic fields such as history, many people were affected. I remember a former historian, husband to an archaeologist, who was a slender and weak person. He was assigned to a group of masons to carry bricks and mortar for them when they worked in old buildings with no elevators.

A similar regime applied to children of former Party members. If their parents (or one of them) were expelled from the Party, the children were not allowed to study at the university level, sometimes not even at the secondary school level. A daughter of my friend, an archaeologist, was not allowed to study languages because her father had been expelled from the Party. Some situations were humorous, however. For instance, the head of the communist organization in the Archaeological Institute (in the 1970s) had a daughter who was not accepted to the faculty of law, despite her intelligence. It turned out that her father was expelled from the Party, and this was the decisive factor. However, she eventually was accepted because of her mother's status as a member of the Party outweighed her expelled father's. A special case involved the children of two Prague archaeologists: the mother was expelled from the Party and the father immigrated to Paris. One could hardly find a more unfortunate combination for the fate of their children who, nevertheless, enrolled at a university without difficulties. The reason for this unusual outcome was revealed in the 1990s—the father was registered as a secret police agent.

The End of Communism

When Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union (1985) things began to change throughout the entire Soviet empire. The main reason for changes was economic: the Soviets were no longer able to compete economically in developing military systems to keep up with the Americans. Gorbachev tried to boost the initiative of the population by giving people more freedom. The Czechoslovak communist leaders, however, were unwilling to liberalize dramatically, but the strict regime began to loosen in many respects anyway.

Archaeologists could now travel abroad, even the former Party members, and contacts with foreign archaeologists became easier in every respect. Similar conditions appeared everywhere in the society, undermining the communist regime ideologically. People (among them archaeologists) who visited Western Europe

could no longer believe the official propaganda that the "working class" and ordinary people in general live there in poverty. To the contrary, they observed that an average worker lived much better in the West than a high ranking academician in Czechoslovakia. Apparently, socialism was much inferior to capitalism in securing everyday needs of the population. At the same time, the degree of freedom was obviously much higher in the West. While all this had been known previously to individuals only, it now becomes common awareness. It was clear that communism was the source of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Czechoslovakia.

At the same time, the communist rulers who came to power after 1968 did not show many signs of political liberalization, and people were aware of the presence of the Soviet occupation troops in the territory of Czechoslovakia. This made us pessimistic and few Czechs and Slovaks believed that a radical change was possible. Yet, the change came in 1989 after mass demonstrations against the communist regime. Gorbachev refused to intervene militarily, and the demonstrations developed into a revolution to restore democracy. There was no bloodshed and no communists were jailed, hence the name "velvet" revolution. The Soviet army left and Czechoslovakia split peacefully into two countries: the Czech Republic in the west and Slovakia in the east.

The Communist Party remained and still draws about 10% of the votes in general elections. It is assumed that their electorate consists of those who profited most during the communist regime: former army and police officers, party bureaucrats, former directors, etc., and their families. Most members left the Party during the revolution of 1989, and some are ashamed nowadays of ever being members. A few archaeologists are known to have remained in the Communist Party, but their number is negligible.

Czech Theoretical Archaeology from 1968 to 1989

In the 1960s, most excavations were still of the research type and rescue works were considered to be of no importance and conducted with reluctance. Czech archaeology concentrated on large-scale excavations of undamaged sites. This changed after the Russian invasion at the end of the decade and their continued presence later in the 1970s. The communist government ceased to be interested in the Slavic myth, as it did not work anymore because of the widespread anti-Russian feelings among the general public resulting from the occupation. Archaeology itself was regarded as ideologically unproductive (for the communists) and, as a result, the funding for archaeology diminished.

Böhm died in 1966, and his heirs at the Archaeological Institute were unable to change the orientation based predominantly on empirical research (excavations). They looked for ways to replace the lost government funding and found it in rescue works, mainly during the building of large-scale industrial works, highways, etc., for which developers were obliged by law to provide funds. Only a few research (non-rescue) projects went on, and their number diminished over time.

Some results of excavations from the first three decades of communism were published in this period.

Most archaeologists were concentrated in the two Institutes of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences (Prague and Brno). They were mainly young people who studied at the university after the war. This generation was extremely successful in their efforts, however theoretically limited by the culture history paradigm. The main achievements of the post-WWII generation were the exact chronology and related periodization of a number of cultures. Both relative chronology and absolute dating based on calibrated radiocarbon dates (since 1968) were applied.

Palaeolithic research did not advance significantly during these decades, but much development took place in the realm of medieval archaeology. Its theory still relied on comparisons with written records, but many new finds were made and partly published. In some instances such as the ninth century AD in Moravia (the time of the so-called Great Moravian Empire) a new world of archaeological remains was discovered, completely unknown in the first half of the twentieth century. In the realm of prehistory much progress was made for the Neolithic Period (records pertaining to the system of the Neolithic settlement were obtained) and the system of Czech archaeology was completed for the Eneolithic Period, which was shown to represent a long segment of time full of well-defined cultures and their phases (over two millennia). The scheme of archaeological subdivisions became very detailed on the time scale everywhere and chronological differences of less than one century were defined in most periods on typological grounds. Also, the spatial distribution of sites presented quite dense pattern with distances between two neighbouring sites amounting from 1 to 3 km in the case of well-documented cultures.

In the early 1960s, only two or three Czech archaeologists surpassed, in almost full isolation, the limits of culture historical archaeology developing in the direction of something very similar to processualism. Later on a number of specialists became interested in the conditioning of prehistoric settlement by nature. The interest in ecofacts was widespread, and geophysical and geochemical prospecting were used. The description of artefacts was sometimes done in tables, and large-scale databases were planned. Experimentation with mathematics began and the first computer programmes were debugged (there was no commercial software at that time). Articles discussing archaeological method appeared in some quantity.

Apparently, Czech archaeology was moving towards a processual way of thinking, but there was no paradigmatic "revolution" and many actors of this process would have denied any such change. In their view, they simply tried to improve the existing state of archaeology.

All this has created archaeology of an unusual quality that was surpassed in few regions of the world. Most archaeologists, however, remained at the level of classification of the archaeological record, as experimenting with theory was still ideologically dangerous.

Selected Problems

It is often supposed that the Soviet type of communism was produced and maintained by Marxist philosophy. This is not true; Lenin and his associates simply crafted an ideology that was in harmony with their desire to seize, and later to change, Russian society. The Nazi ideology served the same purpose in Germany some time later.

The central point of the communist political theory was class struggle, which supplied ideas for Lenin and his followers to fight for power. The communists were successful because they took up the issue of social injustice and awakened feelings of class envy in the masses.

It is often thought that archaeologists in the communist countries had to follow Marxism, but this was not the case. According to Marx, the history of mankind was one of class struggle, hence, conflict was the driving force of history. At the same time, however, Engels supposed a long period at the beginning of history (what we call prehistory) when there were no classes and consequently no class struggle. This period also became indispensable for the communist ideology because it "proved" that human society can do without state and private property; it was used to demonstrate that socialist society is not an utopian concept. Moreover, class struggle is difficult (if at all possible) to prove on the basis of archaeological finds.

Thus, the kernel of Marxist theory was controversial in itself and difficult to apply, especially to prehistoric times. It was expected that any large-scale archaeological publication would contain some references to the "social and economic" relevance of the finds; social stratification was sought. This was quite formal in most cases, however. Any extensive "theoretical" text on archaeology was based on ethnographic data, mostly contained in Engels' *The Origin of Family, the Private Property and State* from 1884, but this was not typically so in Czechoslovakia.

I have already mentioned the fact that the Czech archaeological community was systematically isolated by the communists along two major lines. The significant one was the limitation of personal contacts. Most Czech archaeologists could only meet a "Western" archaeologist at conferences held either in Czechoslovakia or in another socialist country. Conferences were watched by secret police agents who noted all contacts beyond the customary. I remember being warned by a competent woman (whom I later suspected to be a police agent herself) not to speak too much to a British archaeologist at a conference in Bohemia, because he was suspected of being a British "spy." I have no idea who the person that followed him was; it must have been another archaeologist. However, people did not usually care, as most did not believe that society could be so thoroughly penetrated by communist secret police agents.

There was little danger that Czech archaeologists would be deeply influenced by their Western colleagues at conferences, as the degree of understanding based on the familiarity of a foreign spoken language was low. Czechs (as well as other "socialist" archaeologists) were not fluent in speaking and understanding foreign languages, as they had no possibility of spending longer time in a foreign country. This only became possible in the 1970s and the 1980s, and was usually limited to

Germany. Being influenced by reading foreign literature was also unlikely, as it was impossible to buy books from abroad and there were few archaeological journals in public libraries (often incomplete with large gaps of missing issues). A Xerox copy of any book was difficult to obtain, as copiers were under strict police/Party control to prevent the production of "illegal antisocialist" texts. Some colleagues managed to obtain clandestine Xerox copies of several books in foreign languages, but it was not a general solution for everybody.

Ability to travel abroad requires special attention. The frequency of travels to the West indicated how much the regime trusted individual archaeologists. Secret police agents were the typical travelers so they often can be identified simply on the basis of their frequent travels. It is not known what they did in Western Europe and elsewhere: all of them could not have been spies. They hardly reported on Czech citizens. Another theory assumes that they were remunerated in this way for their domestic activities. In the case of weak inconvertible currency, as was the case with the Czechoslovak crown in socialist days, any sum of hard currency represented wealth. I remember that a colleague of mine went to Japan for a few weeks and returned with earned money comparable to his annual income.

All this is not to say that any archaeologist who travelled to the West was a police agent. A non-Party member could leave Czechoslovakia once or twice in his/her lifetime, an active member of the Party several times, but the reality was somewhat different; many of them did not want to travel because they did not speak any foreign language. The following example illustrates my point. A delegation of the most prominent communist historians led by a Slovak archaeologist went to a congress in Paris. Once there, they voted for a resolution denouncing the persecution of Soviet dissident historians as none of them understood what they were actually voting on.

The Mechanism of Oppression

The principal body of oppression was the Communist Party. Nobody could apply for a membership. The only way to get in was by invitation to join. Leaving the Party was only possible by death or expulsion, nothing in between. Once you became a member, you had an open road to better jobs. However, your activities were carefully judged, and if you attempted an ideological "deviation" or did something against socialism or the Soviet Union (like saying something bad about somebody from the communist leadership), you were expelled from the Party and removed from your job. In the 1950s, you could end up in jail. This created a strictly observed discipline among Party members.

Yet, there were periods when members left the Party in large number. One minor episode was in 1956 during the Hungarian uprising. At least one archaeologist left the Party at that time. He later succeeded in explaining somehow his behaviour to his former comrades, so he was not dismissed, but remained a second class archaeologist until 1989.

The second mass exodus from the Party followed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. When it became clear that the Czechoslovak Communist Party approved of the invasion, most archaeologists who were members left the Party. As I explained, leaving the Party on one's own accord was formally impossible, thus their status was later considered to be a form of expulsion. Those who failed to leave the Party in 1969 and committed a "crime against socialism" in the revolutionary years, or did not support the invasion at the time, were expelled in 1970. Only a fraction of archaeologists remained in the Party after these purges (three archaeologists at the Institute in Prague out of some 30 before the invasion). These people were not fired from their jobs as the special commission set up for this purpose did not find any serious fault in their actions, but they still became second class archaeologists. They were not allowed to travel abroad, could not publish monographs, were not promoted, received only short-term contracts, their children were not allowed to study at universities, etc. Some of these measures were weakened over time and disappeared at the end of the 1980s, but their status of the former Party members remained.

The last exodus happened during the capitalist revolution of 1989. A few archaeologists remained in the Party, but the exact number is not known as any party membership is now considered to be a private concern.

Surprisingly, in the first 20 years of communism, common Party members did not have wages much higher than the rest of the population, as the levelling of income acted even in this field. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, however, the wages of Party members became significantly higher than the average, as they all held better jobs. It was unthinkable that any position of importance would be held by somebody who was not a Party member.

Ideally, the majority of Party members were workers, but this was difficult to achieve, as true workers were not much interested in politics. Therefore, class origin became hereditary: not only true workers were considered to be "working class," but even those who never worked manually (because they became Party bureaucrats before they started to work), and even their children. There were several such archaeologists who were always favoured by the communists. The "worker students" mentioned above represented the top of this class ladder.

The inclination of the Communist Party towards traditional workers was not based on purely theoretical considerations. Workers did not have many opportunities for upward mobility in pre-war society; those who were prestigious suddenly had a unique chance. Whether clever or not (especially the latter) they were much more dependent on the Party than other people.

Unlike in the Soviet Union, the number of Party members was high in Czechoslovakia, more than 1 million out of some 15 million population. This means that the communists, together with their families, formed a large group of the population. As I have already observed, their discipline as Party members was of a high standard. However, it did not correspond with their real views sometimes expressed inside families or groups of close friends (but frequently never voiced for the sake of safety). Such double standard became obvious at times of historical crises such as the "Prague Spring" of 1968 or the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989,

when most members openly criticized the Communist Party and terminated their membership. This situation did not change the fact that the Communist Party members offered the most important support of the regime.

Party members made decisions in accordance with the positions they held. As in the last two decades of communism, all decisions were made by members of the Party its monopoly of power was nearly absolute. There were clear-cut rules on how to make decisions (mostly written down in the conclusions of the last Party congress or in other Party documents), and if there were any doubts, the deciding member asked some higher ranking person or a committee. Everybody was keen to decide "correctly," as any deviation from the intentions of the Party would have been punished. In some cases the decision was taken by a collective body (e.g., a local committee). The identity of the decision-maker and the true reason of decisions were mostly kept secret. At the end of the 1950s, I asked the Ministry of Education for a stipend from the Egyptian government (a naïve action, of course) and got no answer. I then went to the Ministry and after much wandering through the building found a woman who knew something about my application. "Sorry comrade, we could not give it to you, as you are too young." But I knew that I was the oldest of all the applicants, and after innocently pointing this out, she looked into her papers and said: "You are right, comrade, we could not give it to you because you are too old." This could have happen anywhere as lying was the usual method of solving problems.

The second significant source of support of the communist regime was the "cadre department," personnel department (human resources), existing in every institution as a parallel body at the political level. Its role was to enforce the Party's class politics regarding employment: it kept files on everybody in the active age, with the exception of workers doing simple manual work. If somebody was placed in the position of manual worker as a class enemy, he still remained in the files. When people wanted something, or when the Party was interested in something concerning an individual, the cadre department prepared a report. Reports often contained lies influenced by incompetent low-ranking Party bureaucrats who may have had a bad personal relationship with the reported person. However, there was no way to defend oneself, because reports were secret and individuals concerned did not have the right to read them. Such oppresive apparatus allowed Party members to harm their personal enemies while remaining anonymous. This system worked especially well in the 1950s, but survived locally into the 1960s.

The files of the cadre department were kept independent from the files kept by the secret police. In the last two decades of communist ruling there was an information flow from the cadre department to the police, but not in the opposite direction. The cadre department was led by a reliable communist and over time it gained importance at the expense of the Party itself; it seemed to have existed to control the Party, which had proved to be unreliable especially during previous political crises.

The cadre department decided regarding questions on employment (who, for how long, whether at all) that were formally in the jurisdiction of directors of different institutions. The department heavily influenced the fate of individuals by writing secret reports on them. In this sense it was an organ of class punishment.

Many people would had not been afraid of communist punishment if only they would have been affected. But punishment was transitive, which meant that not only the "culprit" but also his relatives were punished. The relatives were not allowed to study and/or to hold any better job. It was easy to arrange for this by means of the secret reports compiled by the cadre department.

I have already touched on the question of how children were punished for their parents who were expelled from the Communist Party. Another reason for punishment was to have a relative (especially a close relative) living abroad. Emigration was a criminal act and people were sentenced to prison on these grounds while relatives of defectors were persecuted. A friend of mine was in charge of an excavation team when it was revealed that his brother emigrated to the West. He was removed from his position.

Acceptance and Opposition

It is often believed that the reason why people supported the communist regime was fanaticism, but such motive referred to a rather small percentage of cases. I do not remember any true fanatics among archaeologists (with one possible exception). In any case, such people (fanatics) were not welcomed by the Party bureaucrats themselves because they were difficult to manipulate.

However, some people were peaceful "believers," usually persons with an elevated degree of social sensitivity. They accepted that social differences are unjust and that people should be treated equally. Thus, everybody should be given a job, housing, medical care, etc. by the state; society should take care of all people. Such idealist position was quite close to the communist propaganda (but not to the reality). Notwithstanding political trials and executions and the suppression of non-working classes due to the dictatorship of the proletariat, this ideal seemed to be nearly achieved during the first years of communism. It happened, however, at the cost of making everybody extremely poor and subjugated to the Communist Party. Economics disappeared from intellectual considerations and social life was only possible in the atmosphere of extreme fear. Only few archaeologists were this kind idealist believers. Later, it became obvious that communism was far from the ideal of taking care of the poor (and unsuccessful) people, but then it was too late to reconsider one's relationship to the communist-controlled political system.

This was an optimistic view of communism; the opposite position, however, led to similar results. There was a feeling of despair, of being totally dominated by the communists in accordance with the will propagated from abroad. Nothing could be done against it; the best way to deal with it was to accept the communist rule as a matter of fact.

Some people became Party members to follow a personal career or to help their children to be better equipped for life. This strategy would be justly denounced if there were any alternatives to attain the same goal, for example by working hard. But this was not possible in a socialist country; being a Party member was the only reliable strategy. So people succumbed and modified their behaviour accordingly.

Some foreigners point to the example of political dissidents to show that something could in fact have been done. The dissidents were mostly recruited from the people pushed by communists to the peripheries of socialist society. They frequently had nothing to lose. Quite often they were former Communist Party members, sometimes of a high rank. Ordinary people did not accept that their proper place was in prison, so they kept somewhat away from active political opposition. However, they sympathized with dissidents, especially when the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe publicized their activities. Some of the dissidents became very popular on this basis at the end of communism. As far as I know, there were no archaeologists among the dissidents, but some later claimed that they were in touch with them.

To prevent despair, some archaeologists assumed that they were responsible for the further development of the national culture. It was felt that Czech archaeologists could contribute much more in the realm of theory and methodology. A prison cell was clearly not the right place to achieve such a goal. However, this was the minority approach towards survival.

Note: As far as I know, there is no literature directly related to this subject. I have written this text on the basis of my personal experience and what I knew from my father, who was also an archaeologist.

Chapter 7
"A Number of Valuable Guidance Received by Researchers who Studied Long Periods of History of Our Country ...": On the Ideological Conditions of Archaeology in Ukraine 1945–1991

Michael Lyubychev

During the period bounded by the end of World War II and the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.[1] Thus, this essay refers to the period when the country was ruled by Communist governments and remained under total domination of the Soviet Union. Understandably, it is difficult to provide a comprehensive assessment of the impact of communist ideology, represented by a number of institutions and functionaries of the communist regime, on the development of archaeology in Ukraine 1945–1991 in a short article. I therefore briefly sketch the relationship between archaeology and communist ideology by focusing on four specific themes: (1) Place of archaeology within the historical sciences, (2) Peculiarities of archaeological training, (3) Activities of archaeological research institutions, and (4) Contribution of archaeologists to the creation of the "correct" history. Strenuous ideological control administered by the Communist regime in the form of specific "guidelines" for individuals and institutions connects all these four areas of my analysis. Thus, to emphasize this sturdy relationship between science and ideology that accentuates the spirit of the times, I chose a quote from the editorial "A great contribution to the treasury of science," which appeared in the magazine "Archaeology" in 1951 (Velykiy vklad, 1951, p.31), as the title of my essay.

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[1] *Editor's note*: Also known as the Soviet Ukraine; both terms are used interchangeably.

M. Lyubychev (✉)
National V. Karazin University, Kharkiv, Ukraine
e-mail: gsae@mail.ru

Place of Archaeology Within the Historical Sciences

Archaeology in the Soviet Ukraine developed as a part of Soviet archaeological science propagated in the Soviet Union since the October Revolution. After 1945, Ukrainian archaeology was not a separately structured science such as prehistory, or classical archaeology, etc., as it is common in the European model, which dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century. It was a part of historical sciences. The origins of such status, which differentiates Soviet archaeology from archaeology practiced in the rest of Europe, should not be attributed to the influence of communist ideology. Such distinction derives from a longer local tradition of understanding and practicing archaeology in the Russian Empire, where it was not structured as a separate scientific field, but was closely associated with history, philology, and ethnography. This relationship is clearly shown, for instance, in the papers presented in Imperial Russia during archaeological congresses held between 1869 and 1911 (cf. Seryh, 2006).

Such an approach also separates Ukrainian archaeology of the communist era from its handling in another totalitarian regime—Nazi Germany 1933–1945, where the use of archaeology, especially prehistory and early history, in the doctrine of national socialist ideology and manipulation of archaeological data was also considerable (see Gräben für Germanen, 2013). In the Nazi-ruled Germany archaeology was clearly separated from the discipline that accumulated the experience of European archaeology of the nineteenth–twentieth centuries. Within the Nazi concept the exclusive role was given to the "Nordic" or "Aryan" race, and prehistory and archaeology of the Early Middle Ages provided the data for defining the role of Germanic peoples, identified to have existed in the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age, as carriers of advanced culture up to medieval and modern times. Evidence of such misguided role of archaeology and manipulation of the archaeological record in the Third Reich are abundant. They are visible in the form of archaeological activities of the pseudo-scientific and Nazi-run organization called *Ahnenerbe*, publications in the popular magazine *Germanen-Erbe*, and in extraordinary intensification of archaeological research in Germany and in the annexed and occupied during WWII territories, and of course in great support of archaeology by the prominent politicians of the Third Reich (Gräben für Germanen, 2013).

Thus, the development of archaeology in the Ukrainian SSR, as well as in the Soviet Union, especially its relation with the ideological systems of communism, significantly differed from the use of archaeology in the Third Reich as the communist ideology required from archaeology not evidence of racial distinctions, but the data on the lingering class struggle. Marxists-Leninists considered class struggle as the prime-mover of history. Because the archaeological record did not offer a clear evidence of class conflict in ancient times, the task to reveal such evidence was assigned to historians who have the methods to study and interpret written sources. Thus, Ukrainian archaeology of the communist era was relegated to the position of a "supporting" discipline in the pursuit of evidence to corroborate the concept of a long-lasting revolutionary class struggle that persisted from antiquity to the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of communism in the Ukrainian SSR. In this regard, archaeology was seen as part of history or even as an auxiliary historical discipline. Archaeologists

had to provide "illustrations" to justify the existence of such social conflicts, but the decisive role in the interpretation of the facts was exclusively assigned to the "conscious" Communist historians. Understandably, as the role of archaeology diminished under the communist rule there had been no archaeological congresses, no popular archaeological journals, and archaeology was not popular at universities and schools. Practicing archaeologists have been integrated into faculties of historical sciences that prepared historians, eager advocates of the "Marxist-Leninist doctrine," employees of state security agencies, members of the Komsomol, and Party functionaries. Such a role of archaeology in the ideological system of the communist regime directly affected the conditions for archaeological training, organization and operation of research institutions, and the quality and methods of archaeological research.

Peculiarities of Archaeological Training

During the years 1945–1991, there were only two chairs of archaeology in the Soviet Union devoted to training specialists in archaeology—one in Leningrad and the other in Moscow. None existed at Ukrainian universities, where archaeology was taught in history departments. However, the presence of the word "archaeology" in the name of a chair or department indicated the possibility of specialization in archaeology. All history programs in Ukrainian universities of the time included the course "The Basics of Archaeology," accompanied by several more specialized archaeological courses. They were offered to students in their third year of studies (seniors), who declared specialization in archaeology. These classes were taught by archaeologists. The specific subject and coverage of archaeology-related courses depended on scientific interests of the archaeologist who taught them. The course "The Basics of Archaeology" was an introductory-level class and provided a brief description of societies ranging from the Upper Paleolithic to the Middle Ages that were archaeologically recorded in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as in other parts of the Soviet Union. Regardless the archaeological specialization, however, the graduates received titles such as "historian, or lecturer of history and the social sciences."

This difficult situation regarding the training of archaeologists was described by L. M. Slavin in reference to the University of Kiev. He noted, for instance, that students who wanted to specialize in archaeology were not exempt from taking history classes, because the curriculum with specialization in archaeology and museology was only an addition to the grand plan of the faculty with its main task to produce Marxist historians (Slavin, 1952, p. 95).

In October 1, 1944, the Chair of Archaeology was established in the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University. Its founder and the first head was L. M. Slavin (1906–1971), member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. During the discussed period the Chair changed its name twice: in the years 1953–1987 it was called the Chair of Archaeology and Museology and from 1987 until now it is known as the Chair of Archaeology, Ethnography, and Museology. The Chair was headed by L. M. Slavin (1944–1970), N. N. Bondar (1970–1987), and M. I. Gladkih (1987–2002) (Samoilenko & Gladkih, 2004; Samoilenko, 2007–2012).

But the term "Chair" indicated not a group of faculty members such as experts of different archaeological periods. In 1949, there was only one (!) full-time lecturer—head of the department L. M. Slavin. By 1970, the department had allocated two (!) additional assistantship positions (Samoilenko & Gladkih, 2004), and by 1975, the department staff included: the department's head, two lecturers, and a laboratory technician. For comparison, in the beginning of 1959 the Chair of History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the same university employed 27 lecturers (including 24 Ph.Ds). In the graduate school of the History Department studied 78 (!) postgraduates (University, 1959, s.542). In 1990, the Chair of Archaeology, Ethnography and Museology employed five lecturers, whereas the History Department consisted of three separate Chairs of History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (!) (Samoilenko, 2012).

Due to constant political campaigns, competition, and decisions of the Party members at the University, the leadership of the Department of History, wanting to emphasize their role in the fight against cosmopolitanism, occasionally attempted to turn the Chair of Archaeology into an auxiliary subunit of the Department. Among the methods to achieve that goal were accusations of political indifference and scholasticism[2] regarding the official point of view on the issues in which the Department was engaged, in this case understanding and presenting the past. The staff of the Chair of Archaeology have repeatedly defended the Chair from such attempts to eliminate it or to merge with another department (Pioro, 1996).

In order to save the department, L. M. Slavin, who was clearly forced by outside pressure, wrote (or perhaps copied from the minutes of the Party meetings?) the following self-criticism: "There are certain shortcomings in the work of the Chair. … In lectures offered in our Department sometimes occur overreliance on artefactological and factual side of the course due to insufficient broad historical coverage of a topic, or a given period. Sometimes courses are not enough directed against nationalist and cosmopolitan distortions in the field of archaeology and ancient history. University administration, the Dean's office, and the Party organization provide all possible assistance to the Department, by watching our work daily. Observations of classes by lecturers from other departments, reviews of lecture transcripts, discussion at plenary meetings of the Department's faculty—all these contribute to the ideological and theoretical improvements of lectures." (Slavin, 1952, p. 97).

In the M. Gorki State University of Kharkiv, the Chair of the History of the Ancient World and Archaeology existed since 1937 (heads of the Chair were: S. A. Semenov-Zuser (1937–1951), K. E. Grinevich (1954–1966), B. A. Shramko (1966–1977)). In 1977, the Chair was eventually dissolved and the three archaeology lecturers were transferred to the Chair of the Auxiliary Historical Sciences (Mikheev & Shramko, 1991). In effect a true structural "masterpiece" combining a range of historical sciences was formed and it exists until present—it is called "The Department of Historiography, Historical Source Studies, and Archaeology."

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[2] *Editor's note*: Understood as a narrow-minded insistence on the traditional doctrine; in this case alleged persistence to follow the bourgeois and not revolutionary view on history and the past in general.

In the Ivan Franko Lviv State University the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology existed since 1944. Despite all political interference in the first years of the Soviet period, archaeology at the university has developed quite strongly perhaps due to the inertia of the communist movement in the interwar period when the university was under Polish administration. At that time several prominent archaeologists worked in the Department, notably J. Pasternak, M. Smishko, J. Pelensky, K. Majewski,[3] I. Starchuk, and others (Sitnik, 2005). After structural reorganization in 1949, the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology Department merged with the Department of History of the Middle Ages and formed the Department of Ancient History and the Middle Ages, which also provided classes in archaeology. The word "archaeology" disappeared from names of all departments of the historical faculty.

Unlike in Kyiv and Kharkiv, in Lviv archaeologists who were educated in precommunist Poland[4] have continued practicing archaeology within the European paradigm of archaeology, which included prehistory and early history. One of them was Markiyan Smishko (1900–1981), who received his doctoral degree in 1932, and worked in the Chair of Prehistory in 1932–1939 as an adjunct lecturer (Sitnik, 2005).

In 1963, despite the vehement opposition of the scientists and management of the Institute of the Social Sciences of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Presidium of the Academy endorsed a merge of this institution, which also employed archaeologists, with the State University of Lviv. This fusion had a negative impact on scientific activities of the Institute, however. Many well-trained specialists, mostly doctors and candidates of sciences,[5] have departed the Institute and have not been replaced. The quality of scientific work and organizational level of the Institute fell far behind the quality of other academic institutions in the University. In addition to expected research the scientists were given the responsibility of educational and pedagogical work (Sitnik, 2005). Moreover, for the University the Institute was a burden. Nevertheless, this restructuration enabled the foundation of Archaeological Museum in 1967 (Pohoralskyy, 2007).

It should be noted, however, that in the Soviet times some experts have the courage to propose radical reforms aimed at the creation of a genuine specialization in archaeology and preparation of qualified professionals for archaeological research and museum work. For instance, in early 1952 in Kiev L. M. Slavin initiated changes in the Chair's curriculum, and since 1953 the Chair of Archaeology was renamed the Department of Archaeology and Museology. From that time, the diplomas indicated that the graduates were "historian-archaeologist, museologist, lecturer of history and social science" (Samoilenko, 2012). In 1958, L. M. Slavin proposed to further develop the training program for archaeologists aimed at improving archaeological practice and integrating the students of archaeology and museology (Naukoviy archiv, number 9, l. 133–137). Unfortunately, these plans were not implemented in practice. At the

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[3] *Editor's note*: Moved to the People's Republic of Poland; see Chap. 4 by Jerzy Gąssowski in this volume.

[4] *Editor's note*: Before WWII Lviv administratively belonged to the Second Polish Republic (1918–1945).

[5] *Editor's note*: Habilitated Ph.Ds.

end of his life L. M. Slavin remained the principal supporter of reforms of university programs to train archaeologists. In his opinion, the reforms should have been initiated not by making some small decisions, but should have been presented as a systemic change, which supposed to be introduced in a meeting of all the heads of historical faculties from all Ukrainian universities (Slavin, 1971, s.116).

Similar attempts to reform archaeological education also took place at the University of Lviv, as evidenced in the letter by the Scientific Council of the Faculty of History from May 28, 1975 addressed to the Rector, in which the Council requested the founding of a specialization in archaeology at the university (Sitnik, 2005).

Activities of Archaeological Research Institutions

Since 1945, central archaeological research institution—the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences—controlled all scientific fieldwork and archaeological research on the territory of the new Soviet Republic, issued permits for archaeological fieldwork, and collected scientific reports. The Institute was initially headed by L. M. Slavin (1939–1941, 1944–1945),and followed by P. P. Yefimenko (1945–1954), S. M. Bibikov (1955–1968), O. I. Terenozhkin (acting in 1968–1969), F. P. Shevchenko (1969–1973), V. D. Baran (acting in 1973–1974) I. I. Artemenko (1974–1987), P. P. Tolochko (1987–present).

It is clear that the Institute was controlled by the Party leadership in many ways. Party members and organizers were employed there and during fieldwork season expeditions held frequent Party-organized meetings to keep up with the ideological line. F. P. Shevchenko, who led the Institute in the late 1960s, was not an archaeologist by profession but a historian and a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. He was sent to the Institute to strengthen its "ideological component" and political activities. I. I. Artemenko was appointed the director of the Institute in 1974. He was delegated to this post from the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR in Moscow. In 1977, already as the Institute's a director, he defended his doctoral dissertation and in 1982 was elected a corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

The communist government not only significantly influenced the Institute but also activities of other Ukrainian archaeologists. One example is the participation in rescue (salvage) excavations in the area of major construction works such as Kakhovka hydroelectric power plants, Ukrainian and South-North Crimean channel, etc. The archaeologists' responsibility was to record the archaeological remains before the construction commenced. The problem with such works was that a very short time was allocated to a great deal of work that included archaeological survey and data recovery. Nevertheless, archaeologists created a map of all archaeological sites located within Ukraine large construction projects such as railroad tracks, channels, streets and other major constructions, and archaeological rescue excavations were organized prior to the most important constructions (Velyki budovy, 1952,

p. 4). In the 1950s, the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences controlled all archaeological expeditions working on such projects and the Institute itself also organized several archaeological expeditions. They worked closely with local historians and regional museums (Velyki budovy, 1952, p.5).

One of the most prominent figures of this "salvage archaeology" was [then] young archaeologist A. M. Lyeskov (born in 1933). He led the South-Ukrainian (1961–1963) and Kerch (1964–1967) expeditions. The government spent a lot of money financing such expeditions and in 1967, the Ministry of Land Reclamation allocated about one million rubles (!) to organize and conduct salvage (rescue) expeditions. The funds helped to create the Institute for Salvage Archaeology, which specialized in archaeological works on planned new constructions. The Institute was headed by Yu. M. Zaharuk because A. M. Lyeskov was not a member of the Communist Party. In 1968, A. M. Lyeskov led the Kakhovka power plant expedition. With his organizational and scientific skills, he became a potential candidate for the position of the head of the Ukrainian Institute of Archaeology. Should that had happened, Ukrainian archaeology would have entered a progressive path of development, rather than the passive one led by functionaries of science and the Party apparatchiks. In 1973, in result of intrigues Lyeskov's career in Ukraine ended. Using his performance of the song "Дойдемо до Червоного моря…" (We shall reach the Red Sea) during New Year's party in the Department, as a pretext A. M. Lyeskov was accused of "Zionism" and dismissed from the Institute. He continued his scientific career in Leningrad and Moscow, but was thrown out of Ukrainian science.

In the period 1940–1951, 22 scientists worked in the L'viv branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR (director M. Yu. Smishko). In 1951, the Institute of the Social Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences was established. The new unit incorporated the former Institute of Archaeology under the name of the Department of Archaeology. In 1963–1969, the Institute merged with the Ivan Franko L'viv State University. In effect the Institute declined and by 1970 only seven scientific research and four support staff remained (Sitnik, 2005).

In 1954, the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was annexed to Soviet Ukraine. Since 1956, the Department of History and Archaeology at the Crimean research base of the Soviet Union has been included into the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR as the "Department of Ancient and Medieval Archaeology of Crimea" (headed by: P. M. Shults (up to 1969), C. M. Bibikov (1969–1985), V. M. Danylenko (1985–1988), and V. L. Myts (1988–2010).

Participation of Archaeologists in the Creation of the "Correct" History

In the early postwar decades, the main task of Soviet Ukrainian archaeologists was to prove the Slavic origin of cultures related to "burial fields" such as the La Tène Zarubintsy culture and the Late Roman Cherniakhivska culture. In effect the dating

of the Cherniakhivska culture was extended to the seventh–eighth centuries CE (Shchukin, 1999, p. 89). In such a design the Slavic culture was strongly present at the time of the emergence of Kievan Rus and the Germanic tribes were not found in cultural processes of medieval Eastern Europe.

Such findings were made not only under the pressure of nationalistically oriented communist ideology, but also due to specific methodical bases of Soviet archaeology. Characteristically, all Soviet archaeology, Ukrainian included, followed to certain extent the approach of the German archaeologist Gustav Kossinna (1858–1931) in the pursuit of ancient cultural identities and ethnic groups. The approach is based on the method championed by Kossinna, who related the Germanic groups of Tacitus' day to the ancient monuments of southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. Similarly, Soviet Ukrainian archaeologists pushed back the emergence of Slavs from the sixth century CE, when "Sclaveni" are mentioned by Prokopius and Jordan, to the Bronze Age, i.e., for about 1500 years. A typical "kossinizm" of Soviet archaeology was masked as the so-called "retrospective method." As explained by Terenozkin in the 1950s:

> The retrospective method in archaeology allows for genetic continuity of material culture and can thus enable an assumption of continuity of this nation… The culture of the field graves of the Cherniakhivska type through the Korchovatskij type genetically dates the beginning of the local Scythian culture, which in turn allows to assume that the ancient Slavs existed during the Scythian epoch (Terenozhkin, 1952:15).

Later, in the 1950s and through the 1970s new cultural groups of the early Middle Ages and the Roman Period were connected with the Slavs. Following the nineteenth century concept of "ethnos," the users of the "retrospective method" contributed to the building a "chain" of local Slavic cultures of the ninth–tenth centuries CE that dated back to the first millennium BCE: Volyntsevsko-Roman and Luka-Raykovetskoyi—Prague and Penkivska horizons—Kiev and Slavic elements in Chernyakhovskij—and late Zarubynetskyy type—steppe Scythian culture (Baran et al. 1991:136).

A certain ideological limit for Ukrainian archaeologists was the appearance of works by Stalin on linguistics, printed on the front pages of the magazine "Archaeology" in 1951 (Stalin, 1951). Archaeologists attempted to reevaluate their data in the light of Stalin's criticism of the M. Ya. Marr's Japhetic theory and the laws of the origins of languages. A striking example of this sort of reasoning is the study by O. I. Terenozhkin (1952) on Scythia. It should be noted that the collapse of concepts such as "autochthonic" and "successive stages" after the publication of Stalin's works influenced the revival of "migrations" of ancient peoples and "transcultural diffusion" in recognition of cultural phenomena. Now the archaeologist's task was not an abstract study of the history of material culture and social relations but the reconstruction of the historical process, including its ethnic components, identification of culture, and ethnicity.

Stalin's death and decisions of the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, which produced Khrushchev's "thaw" allowed for return to discussions on previously tabooed topics such as the presence of Germanic tribes on the territory of modern

Ukraine. One of the pressing tasks was to match the "Goths" with a certain archaeological group. As a kind of compromise emerged the theory of "multiculturalism" of the Cherniakhivska culture with a Slavic component as its compulsory element (Baran, 1981).

The "Gothic questions" in relation to Crimea became less controversial than in the 1940s and 1950s, but even in the 1970s works on the origin of a number of Crimean Gothic monuments was unwelcomed. A new impetus to this discussion was introduced in a paper by a young scientist from Kyiv, I. S. Pioro (1948–2005) (Pioro, 1973), who as a student was acquainted with the Goths-Gepids sites in Poland as a member of international expedition. Pioro published his work a year before the expiration of his graduate studies, and in 1974 he failed to defend his thesis on the history of ethnic populations during the Late Roman and Early Medieval periods. Due to pressure "from above" his study was not taken into consideration and the defense of his thesis declined. In effect, Pioro was denied admission to the teaching staff of the University of Kiev (Yurochkyn, 2011, s.173–174).

An important area of archaeological work was to prove the exclusively Slavic foundations of Kievan Rus and the hypothesis that the city of Kyiv was established before the Scandinavians—"Normans"—appearance on the Middle Dnieper (Tolochko, 1986). In order to confirm the "required" theory some results of excavations in Kyiv were falsified (Klymovskyy, 2012). The real apotheosis of such trend to falsify history was the festivity organized by the Communist government and "ideologically staunch" specialists such as B. O. Rybakov and P. P. Tolochko, to celebrate the 1500 anniversary of the founding of Kyiv in 1982![6]

Unfortunately, the "vestiges" of archaeology of the communist era are still entrenched in modern Ukraine. Contemporary Ukrainian archaeology of the "post-communist" era is still managed by the functionaries of science and former active Party members. Archaeology in Ukraine did not become an independent from political influence science by the world's standards. As before, none of the Ukrainian universities offer a real specialization in archaeology, as it is common in many European universities. The state spends almost nothing on fieldwork, "salvage" archaeology declined, archaeological expertise also encounter resistance from many officials. We hope to change the situation in a positive way. The key to this is, in my view, expected increase in professional contacts between Ukrainian and European archaeologists, implementation of joint projects, internships for Ukrainian archaeologists in archaeological institutions in Europe, and the recognition of the European archaeological paradigm based on the Thomsen-Montelius-Eggers schema.

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[6] *Editor's note*: As the archaeological data confirm, Kyiv emerged as a fortified place during the eighth–ninth century CE and became part of a long-distance trade system along the Dnieper. During the ninth–tenth centuries CE the town was the nucleus of a political structure called "Kievan Rus." Thus, in 1982 Kyiv's history as a significant local political and economic place was approximately one thousand, or less, years old.

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Chapter 8
Contemporary Bulgarian Archaeology as a Social Practice in the Later Twentieth to Early Twenty-first Century

Lolita Nikolova and Diana Gergova

Introduction

Two aspects of archaeology have been rapidly changing since the beginning of the twenty-first century, its conceptual framework and its role in contemporary society. While fieldwork remains the hallmark of archaeology, the development of progressive humanistic understanding of the world deeply reshaped archaeology as a discipline of preservation of cultural remains from all periods of human development. From this perspective, one of the leading tendencies has become the critical analysis of the past archaeological traditions, its theory and social practice, which is vital for better understanding of the present condition and to foresee future directions of the discipline.

This article discusses the impact of the communist political regime on archaeology in Bulgaria after WWII within three distinguished periods: late 1940s to late 1960s; 1970s to 1989; 1990 to present. It is a difficult and provocative topic. The absence of similar works limits the authors' ambitions to create a framework in which Bulgarian archaeology would be revealed as a continuity of social practices strongly related to the political context of the times.

No such historical elaboration was written in Bulgaria and it is difficult to explain why a history of Bulgarian archaeology is missing until now. The possible reason is that although every new generation had been disappointed with the achievements of the previous one, no will or opportunity for a detailed critical analysis has existed yet.

L. Nikolova (✉)
International Institute of Anthropology, Salt Lake City, UT, USA
e-mail: lnikol@iianthropology.org

D. Gergova
National Archaeological Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Science,
Sofia, Bulgaria

Institute of Archaeology, The State University of Rzeszow, Rzeszow, Poland
e-mail: dianagergova@abv.bg

The absence of a critical analysis of archaeology from the period controlled by the communist regime and after 1989 is also understandable if we consider that there were no substantial changes in intellectual contributions after 1989 and the same people still influence the social practice of archaeology preventing critical reconsiderations of the past traditions (see, e.g., Baeva & Mitev, 2006). In some cases the absence of the former communist leadership in different institutions was a sign of anarchy, sort of "Gold Rush period" when everything was allowed if one had power. Nevertheless, some colleagues researched certain social problems in Bulgarian archaeology and its positive and negative aspects were pointed out in rare articles written from a noncritical point of view, with only selective facts used. Bulgarian archaeology has also been rarely mentioned in the recently published volumes discussing European archaeologies (e.g., Milisauskas, 2011), despite the continuous scholarly interest in the archaeology of Bulgarian lands.

The goal of presented research is difficult since the social reality it discusses is masked and covered in numerous publications and hidden practices that in turn easily create the opportunity for the researcher to either give up or to risk failure because of the conflict between visibility and invisibility, documents and narratives, truth and false, the officially noted crime and the inability to reveal crime that disguises perpetrators as respectful and innocent researchers. Archaeology has been developing as a cultural construct and at the same time was used for political and ideological purposes.

To deconstruct archaeology as a cultural, social, and political routine means revealing diagnostic elements situated in time, space, and specific social context, followed by constructive models of interpretations in specific context.

Any historiography is a deconstruction of knowledge and evaluates this knowledge from the perspectives of specific criteria. The critical deconstruction is not about the facts but searching for these invisible cells that build and connect the facts. Thus, selection of specific criteria is crucial for the success of a critical analysis.

In this study, Bulgarian archaeology will be analyzed as cultural, social, and political routine of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. The political history of Bulgarian archaeology, however, would be without actual effect if we just correlate the political picture with archaeological events and the structure of the discipline. The effect of criticism increases when it concerns a methodology that identifies a problem for future research and positive development of a specific discipline. Otherwise, we could just cross out the existing bibliography, reject everything that has been achieved, and start from the beginning. In addition, revealing critical problems and offering analyses from the perspective of critical deconstruction would also help to avoid repeating mistakes from the past.

Thus, the ambition of research is to trace such outline that would prevent the researcher from making mistakes in the future and also would help to find such mechanism of replication that will increase the value of Bulgarian archaeology and will steer it away from the deep current crisis.

The methodology used in this study validates the attempt to place Bulgarian archaeology in a broader cultural context in order to present the discipline as an important category of cultural and social practices, not just a profession with specific ego-centered demands and problems.

General Framework

The concern to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the nation in Bulgaria dates back to 1878 when the Antiquity Department of the Sofia's Public Library was established among the first institutions of the newly liberated Bulgaria.[1] Bulgarian archaeology developed since the end of the nineteenth century as a social/historical discipline, supported by the state. The National Archaeological Museum and the Bulgarian Archaeological Society that later developed into the Institute of Archaeology, were the main institutions before WWII that operated in the country together with several museums founded in larger cities (e.g., Varna, Plovdiv, etc.).

As D. W. Bailey (1998) has noted: "the need for a centralized custodian of the past and its investigation is rooted, I suggest, in the power inherent in archaeological data and its interpretation." This view strongly reflects the Cold War vision of archaeology from the perspectives of a totalitarian thinking that characterized the worldview during the second half of the twentieth century. The mentioned *power* is the ideological function of the materialized past used by politicians to create a very fragile from democratic and humanistic points of view system of organization, interaction, and communication related to the archaeological past. Most of the reasons to study and preserve the past have been selected not to study it as a cultural entity, but to use the past to serve political needs of the state. The first generation of post-WWII Bulgarian archaeologists have been reported as spies during WWII, while the archaeologist Bogdan Filov, who was educated in Germany, became prime minister and a regent when Bulgaria joined the Nazi side in the biggest challenge for humanity in history.

The centralized system of creating and controlling culture that continues until present in Bulgaria generates a corrupted mechanism of relation to the past and reproduction of the approach engaged with the study of the past for political gains. In this context, instead of a dynamic, progressive, and humanistic discipline, archaeology has been developing as a routine to reproduce a system that culminates in shattering of the past (see, e.g., Tsonev & Kolev, 2011).

The central institution in Bulgarian archaeology during the communist regime was the National Archaeological Institute and Museum and it continues its leading role after 1989 (NAIM-BAS, 2015). The key function of this central institution is to act as the national center and coordinator of all archaeological investigations in the country. Its power is due to the fact that it is believed the Institute has qualified staff, presents annual reports of archaeological excavations in the country carried out by its staff, as well as by archaeologists from other Bulgarian universities and museums; evaluates the results of excavations; organizes the annual national archaeological conferences, and publishes summaries of the excavations in the country as preliminary publications under the title "Archaeological Discoveries and Excavations." A copy of all documentation of archaeological excavations is kept in

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[1] *Editor's note*: According to the Treaty of San Stefano between Russia and the Ottoman Empire signed in 1878, a principality of Bulgaria was established within the historical territory of the so-called Second Bulgarian Empire from the twelfth century CE.

the National Archaeological Archive. It can be used either after an agreement with the investigator or after the term of their authors' rights had expired.

The National Council for Field Archaeological Research is chaired by the Director of the Institute and its members are the heads of the departments, as well as the representatives of the National Institute for Preservation of Cultural Heritage, universities, museums, and the Ministry of Culture. Permissions to continue excavations are given after the respective department offers its opinions and also after public discussions.

After 1989, new demands regarding archaeology and archaeologists in Bulgaria have resulted in their preoccupation with infrastructural projects and empirical investigations. At the same time, the unsolved problems of preservation of the heritage, and elimination of professional archaeologists from decision-making concerning the archaeological heritage created the atmosphere of stagnation. Brief overviews of this problem have been offered already (e.g., Velkov, 1993; Nikolova, 1999, paper by D. Gergova at the TAG conference in Bailey, 1998; Demoule, 2011, etc.). There are also attempts to mask past tendencies rather than to critically evaluate them (e.g., Stoyanov & Lozanov, 2006). Publications by Bulgarian archaeologists living abroad had increased the contrast of the general picture by adding a challenging depth to a new scientific approach (Gaydarska, 2007; Ivanova, 2013; Krauss, 2008).

The consideration of the political history of Bulgarian archaeology is also part of a general problem regarding the nature and character of the communist regime. The literature on communism in Eastern Europe has been increasing (Arishvili-Hanturia, 2004; Atanasova, 2004) and research such as this helps to understand the nuances of different social practices under communism.

Very important in this context is also a realization how the postcommunist East understands Western ideologies and patterns of life (Avtonomova, 2008) since such understanding reflects on the changes and response to the attempted "Westernization" of the entire former Eastern Bloc.

1944–1969

The imposition of the communist regime in Bulgaria after 1944 led to reorganization of scientific research in general. In order to keep their jobs, some of the well-known archaeologists had to accept the new repressive ideology that had victimized the nation. At the same time the works and contributions of eminent, but actively engaged with WWII politics scholars, such as the former director of the Institute Bogdan Filov, were banned and not cited. In the face of emerging communist dictatorship the new culture submerged completely in ideology. Scholars were obliged to share Marxist ideology of class struggle with society and to popularize dialectical and historical materialism as an approach to study prehistory. In its essence, however, archaeological research continued to be embedded in the culture history paradigm and followed the empiricist traditions of European archaeology, as was the case in other Eastern and Central European countries (Milisauskas, 2011:12).

This was the period when main directions of the contemporary Bulgarian archaeology have been designed. Archaeologists focused on large-scale excavations, topical specialization that included prehistory, classical Antiquity, and the Middle Ages. The state sponsored publications of periodicals, monographs, and collections of papers, regularly organized conferences and travels of some Bulgarian archaeologists to participate in international conferences abroad. Archaeology was a part of the cultural elite image of the communist regime and travel abroad was used by the government to mask the absence of democratic conditions in the country exposed to illusory freedom offered by the Communist government. Western countries reacted in a way that had to balance the political world systems—creating a status of political immigrants from communist regimes, but officially remaining in contact with the governmental employees who occupied positions related to culture. There was special interest in Bulgarian folk music, which nowadays can be viewed as a symbolic attachment to the national core values that were in opposition to seeing culture as ideology.

The new political situation led to the shift in archaeological investigations to problems that had not been studied before. Similar to the other Eastern and Central European countries, investigations of the culture of Slavs—one of the main components of the ethnogenesis of the Bulgarian people and their culture became an important field of research. Attention was paid to the settlement system and burial rites in connection with the Marxist ideology to study the culture of common people. The investigations of the former Bulgarian capitals became more intensive and conducted in larger scale, aiming at studying different components of the capitals and not only their palaces. The research related to the origins of Bulgarians—the other component of the Bulgarian ethnogenesis, widely popular before WWII in connection of the search for the common roots of Hungarians and Bulgarians, were not encouraged any more. The culture of Thracian was also still not well known.

Excavations of the Roman towns, such as Oescus and Greek colonies Apolonia Pontica and Messambris, were initiated.

The wages and funds for fieldworks were provided by the state. Later, the Ministry of Culture began to allocate money for field projects to the local authorities and museums. This policy positively supported the creation and development of local museums and limited the possibility for the National Institute of Archaeology and Museum (NIAM) and the National Historical Museum to acquire finds from different parts of the country for their collections and thus to separate the finds from their cultural context. Nevertheless, excavations of the most important archaeological sites were headed by archaeologists from the NIAM who received money for their projects from local museum. In another structural context the funds might have been used for programs to preserve the evidence of the local past and protection of sites from treasure-hunters. Instead, with the increase of professional archaeological excavations in Bulgaria, treasure-hunting also amplified. This situation might suggest an impression that professional archaeologists (many of them were members of the Communist Party and integrated with the communist political system) created in fact a background for expansion of treasure-hunting who acted due to overwhelming demand for antiquities. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of active policy of the NIAM against treasure-hunters.

The development of the industry and agriculture, as well as the construction of reservoirs, required intensive rescue excavations funded by the state. Controversies between the builders and archaeologists existed even during the period of planned socialist economy and the fate of discovered sites was decided by specially appointed commissions.

Seuthopolis, discovered during the construction of the Koprinka water dam near Kazanlak the capital of the Thracian kingdom Odrysae from fourth to third century BC, was excavated in 1948–1956 (Dimitrov, Chichikova, Balkanska, & Ognenova-Marinova, 1984; Dimitrov & Penchev, 1984), presently remains at the bottom of artificial lake. Later decisions were made to preserve some of the newly discovered monuments. For instance, parts of the discovered and excavated by T. Ivanov prior to construction works of a penicillin factory Roman town of Abritus remains under the newly constructed industrial buildings. A small museum was built in situ and a part of the town's remains was preserved and is available to the public.

Excavations in Sofia lead to the discovery and partial preservation of the remains of the Thracian and Roman towns of Serdica that preceded Sofia. Its remains were preserved and incorporated into the Eastern Gate of the structure of the modern town.

The international collaboration of that period was mainly limited to the Eastern Bloc countries. The first collaboration and international expeditions were organized under the agreements with Poland, East Germany, Rumania, and the USSR and included sites such as Styrmen, Novae, etc.

The publication of several archaeological periodicals from earlier period continued, but new scholarly journals were also founded, for instance, *Arheologiya* (1959).

1970–1989

Under the 1969 law on museums and cultural heritage the NAIM was responsible for organizing excavations throughout the country, as well as for issuing permits for projects that met academic standards. This approach guaranteed high academic level of excavations and their results were reported annually and discussed during annual conferences at the Institute.

The National Archive of the archaeological documentation was founded at the Institute and the annual national archaeological conferences were held there.

The central role of the Institute was somewhat obstructed by the regional bureaucracy that controlled the funds for excavations allocated by the Ministry of Culture. Nevertheless, local patriotism stimulated and supported archaeological excavations to reveal local histories.

Both political motives and discussions on how to celebrate the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state in 1981 were stimulated by the idea to show the place and role of Bulgarian lands in the formation of European civilization (Fol, 2006). A sizable budget was available 10 years earlier and large-scale excavations were conducted at the site of medieval capitals of Pliska, Preslav, and Turnograd and also in Cherven, Melnik, Pernik, etc. Similar to situations from other Eastern European countries such

as Poland where historical events have been used for political gains, the Jubilee created favorable conditions and generated common interest from politicians and scientists for finding scientific evidence of the glorious past (Kobyliński & Rutkowska, 2005).

The context of this event stimulated discussions regarding the ethics and principles of conservations and restoration of the Bulgarian mediaeval capital of Veliko Turnovo as controversies regarding political ambitions and professional ethics emerged.

A new scientific field originated in the beginning of the 1970s to investigate the Thracian culture as the third ethnogenetic element of the modern Bulgarian nation. International scientific interests in the Thracians led to the creation of the Institute of Thracology by Professor Alexander Fol and the organization of the First International Congress of Thracology in 1972 in Sofia (Fol, 2006). The importance of the archaeological sources, so numerous in Bulgaria, for the development of the interdisciplinary approaches in the Thracian studies led to the organization of a large-scale field research to document the Thracian archaeological heritage at Strandja-Sakar, the Rhodope Mountains, northeast Bulgaria, etc. For the first time unknown categories of Thracian sites such as pre-Roman, Late Bronze–Iron Age sanctuaries, rock tombs and niches, as well as dolmens and different settlement types were registered and studied (Velkov, 1993:125-129; Fol & Venedikov, 1976; Fol, 1982). Long-term excavations of some of the key Thracian sites were also characteristic of this research period (the Thracian town of Kabile, the Getic religious and political center "Dausdava-Hedlis " in the Sboryanovo National Reserve, Emporion Pistiros, dolmens and fortresses in Strandja, the tumulus cemetery of the Odrysae in the Kazanlak area, etc.)

Also, rescue excavations resulted in the discovery of unique sites. Expressive examples are the Roman villa near Chatalka water dam and Villa Armira, discovered during the construction of the Ivaylovgrad Reservoir in the Rhodope Mountains. In both cases the struggle initiated by archaeologists was decisive and the location of the water dam had to be changed to preserve in situ the remarkable monuments (Kabakchieva, 2009). A similar situation emerged at the site of Serdica, which was preserved and exhibited in situ; the Forum of Avgusta Traiana in Stara Zagora; the museum over the unique Neolithic dwellings in Stara Zagora, etc. Another example is the preservation *in situ* of the Sanctuary of the Thracian Horseman, in Daskalovo quarter of the town of Pernik, along the highway Pernik—Kulata.

Excavations over large areas such as the prehistoric settlements near Vinica (excavations by A. Raduncheva), Ovcharovo (excavations by H. Todorova), etc., became possible because of their rescue character. Unfortunately, publications of the results did not include significant stratigraphic data despite the sufficient money used for the entire project and the opportunity for publications offered by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. This fact clearly shows that the affiliation with the Communist Party, which was most significant for employment at the Archaeological Institute, was not a guarantee of the scientific-level work, but archaeologists with the Party's endorsement occupied positions that otherwise should have been offered to specialists who would communicate the archaeological material in a much more professional manner. Instead, descriptive reports characterized by low quality of data presentation had become typical of the Bulgarian archaeological publications.

The key subject of the international policy to present archaeological discoveries in Bulgaria included Thracian glamorous artifacts (gold items). The Thracian exhibitions (Paris, London, Moscow, and Warsaw) were accompanied by international scientific symposia, providing selected Bulgarian specialists with a chance to be the face of the communist regime. Other exhibitions were also shown abroad. However, increased values of the Bulgarian archaeological finds continued to stimulate treasure-hunters and enrich private collections that were prohibited by the law.

A new phase in the international networking began after 1976 because of the intensification of the international contacts with many Western European countries, especially Italy, The Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and also Japan. International expeditions were organized in collaboration with the Bulgarian colleagues to research prehistoric sites, Thracian, Roman, and medieval monuments. Such collaboration also extended to fruitful archaeological surveys. Among the key archaeological projects were excavations at Ratiaria, Nicolopois ad Istrum; tells at Dyadovo, Karanovo, Drama, and Junacite; Kovachevo, Emporion Pistiros, etc.

Regular international conferences in Plovdiv (so-called Philipopolitan weeks) gathered researchers of different ages to discuss new problems of the Thracian studies and the reports were regularly published (Pulpudeva, vol. 1–8 since 1976, with supplements). In the center of this scientific activity during the pick of the communist regime was Alexander Fol, an intellectual whose father, Nikolaj Fol (1898–1969), directed a Sofia theater and was a much respected figure in Bulgarian theater before the establishment of the communist regime. His grandfather, Todor Georgiev, was a teacher and the founder of the first church choir in Bulgaria. As this case demonstrates, intellectuals of the communist era such as Alexander Fol transmitted their intellectual capital of the precommunist Bulgaria into the general context of culture as ideology after 1944. Although under pressure from the communist dictatorship, this type of intellectuals had worked wisely on building a bridge between East–West and increasing the value of Bulgarian cultural heritage despite the communist political reality.

The development of archaeology during the second period was marked by the interest in interdisciplinary studies manifested in the creation of the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies at the Institute of Archaeology and Museum. Palaeobotanical, paleozoological and anthropological, archaeomagnetic, geophysical and geoarchaeological studies expanded the Bulgarian methodological approaches, whereas techniques such as bone chemistry, aerial photo- and photogrammetry, and other archaeometric methods offered new data to analyze the Bulgarian past. Especially productive were the projects in the field of the geophysical prospecting of tumuli, archaeomagnetism, photogrammetry, and geoarchaeolgy. A new magazine dedicated to these problems was founded (*Interdistsiplinarni prouchvaniya*).

However, there was a difference between the world of science and the local implication of the interdisciplinary archaeological research in Bulgaria. Most expressive is the missing of physical paleoanthropologists at the Archaeological Institute and in the field despite the opportunity in the later twentieth century to educate archaeologists as paleoanthropologists who would participate actively as members of the ongoing excavations. Such specialists would have been critical in

Bulgaria to create self-awareness and relation to human remains similar to the countries with most developed archaeological science. Instead, Bulgaria of the later twentieth century became one of the countries with most excavated prehistoric skeletons but without specialists to analyze them—physical anthropologists in the field. In effect, following the procedure typical of the earlier stages of archaeology, bones were placed in boxes without proper care. Entire collections of skeletons from cemeteries, for instance the Early Bronze Age site at Goran-Slatina, were lost by the out-of-Institute specialists, while almost the only competent authority, Yo. Yordanov, gathered skeletons in his laboratory and reported briefly on them in publications.

In addition to the lost skeletons, the later twentieth century is remarkable for the fact that not even one dissertation related to the studies of human bones was defended in the Interdisciplinary Department at the Archaeological Institute headed at the time by H. Todorova. In default of clear goals that resulted in the absence of considerable scientific results, more than 1000 skeletons were excavated at Durankulak without assistance from a specialist in the field, and published in the form of a preliminary report.

In addition, the interdisciplinary approach to archaeological research had not improved archaeological methods and reasoning, which is visible in publications. The participated nonarchaeologists presented their technical analyses in an archaeological volume following the scientific standards, while the archaeological texts and illustrations remained of low academic quality—for instance, lacking detailed stratigraphic analysis, presenting statements on cultural horizons without any arguments, missing stratigraphic information for the published data (pottery), etc. (e.g., Golyamo Delchevo). Thus, the interdisciplinary approach remained underappreciated as it did not advance archaeological methods and knowledge.

While generally the regime prevented discussion on the methods of excavations of sites such as Durankulak and Dolnoslav, the use of earth moving machinery to excavate tumuli introduced in Bulgaria through the Soviet experience, was openly criticized. The critics presented their views at one of the earlier meetings of the European Association of Archaeology. However, the criticism was not focused on the method, but mostly on the person who used it.

Bulgaria was the third country in the Eastern Bloc, after Hungary and Poland, to change the methods applied for the identification and registration of its archaeological heritage. The creation of the national information system called the "Archaeological Map of Bulgaria" was an initiative of the Institute of Archaeology and the new methods of field survey were based on the Polish experience and developed within the frame of Bulgarian-Polish scholarly collaboration. In one year, with the financial support of the state, archaeologists have registered more than 13,000 sites through pedestrian survey of arable lands. The most important archaeological sites have been considered public property.

The policy of the Bulgarian government to consolidate the Bulgarian nation by changing last names of the Bulgarian Muslims to Bulgarian-sounding was indicative of a heavy social, political, and economic crisis in the end of the 1980s.

One of the political demands from the government was to find archaeological support for the origins of Bulgarians and Christianization of the earlier population in the regions of Bulgaria presently populated by Muslims. Such data supposed to

support a territorial claim that these lands were inhabited by the Bulgarians before their inclusion into the Ottoman Empire. The excavations of necropolises in the Rhodope Mountains and Eastern Bulgaria were conducted by professional archaeologists and it is difficult to assume that they may have manipulated the results of their investigations in favor of the political demand. However, these excavations enriched and confirmed with new objective data the Christian character of the burials and thus testified negatively about Isliamization of the Bulgarian population during the Ottoman Period. In general, these investigations did not have any political effect, positive or negative, on the tragedy of thousands of the Bulgarian Muslims who left the country and settled abroad.

The above-mentioned processes were related to another case that became a public debate in the same period. This was the question about identification of the grave of the leader and ideologue of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement—Vasil Levski, who after his trial in 1873 was hung in Sofia. Vasil Levski (1837–1873) is the greatest Bulgarian hero whose contribution to the struggle for independent Bulgaria and against slavery has been memorized in all possible ways including an analogy with Abraham Lincoln. The controversial data and questionable memories about the location of his grave combined with the results of rescue archaeological excavations in the 1950s in the center of Sofia did not confirm one of the hypotheses and the question about Levski's grave remains without answer.

The evidently political demand was to locate the grave of Vasil Levski. It was for the first time that the discussion was between professionals and popular public figures, and was carried out in both the academic circles and the media and at many specially organized meetings.

In effect, Bulgarian archaeologists were accused of lack of patriotic feelings because they were not ready to accept a hypothesis based on inconsistent analysis of the data acquired during archaeological excavations. Thus, they were condemned as noncollaborative, while their opponents were using the erroneous data obtained during the excavations in the 1950s, and repeated the same mistakes that were considered as not essential arguments in the dispute. The greater part of the materials prepared for the media by archaeologists was not publicized, while the main opponent—a famous writer[2] could publish his book in hundreds of thousand copies—a rare case for a small country such as Bulgaria. Although the opinions of the communist top leaders were also controversial, it was more than evident that science was becoming inconvenient for the politicians and media-generated manipulation of the public.

The Nobel laureate and founder of the behavioral school of economics said that: "Experiments show that people react favorably to words that are repeated to them. A reliable way to make people believe in falsehoods is frequent repetition, because familiarity is not easily distinguished from truth…. Authoritarian institutions and marketers have always known this fact."

Such tactics continued to be one of the key means in the political use of archaeological research even after the systemic changes in 1989.

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[2] *Editor's note*: Nikolay Haytov, known for his writings on Levski.

In the eve of the democratic reforms the political intentions were that culture and education should receive more freedom and possibilities for self-regulation. It seems that the foundations of the future development of archaeological research and preservation of the archaeological heritage within the next 25 years had certainly been established at that time.

1989 to Present: Continuity

After the systemic changes in 1989 the main government-run institutions continued to play their leading role in the national system of preservation, investigation, and conservation of the archaeological heritage, but under different legislative and much more difficult financial constraints. The political changes introduced after 1989 lead to the weakening of the role of the state in all spheres and also the generous state funding for archaeological research disappeared. With the disappearance of centrally controlled national funds, funding of excavations with the exception of limited conservation works was left to local authorities. No doubt they were not and could not be competent in solving problems of highly professional character.

Private sponsorship of research was allowed, but weak economy, lack of tax breaks for sponsors of scientific and cultural activities in contrast to subsidizing sport events left the archaeological heritage and archaeologists once again in a difficult position. Sporadic private funds could not replace the paralyzed national system of institutions for protection of the archaeological heritage—the most numerous in the country.

The great concentration of archaeological heritage on the territory of modern Bulgaria predetermines the country as one of the richest in archaeological monuments in Europe along with Greece and Italy. After 1989 it became the new Klondike, a source for trafficking of archaeological items. It was estimated that incomes from trafficking of archaeological artifacts from Bulgaria are higher than from selling illegal drugs. Unfortunately, the archaeological leadership could not develop a strategic plan to save the Bulgarian archaeological heritage.

Archaeological heritage became a field of secret privatization, a source for increasing the private capital and polishing the image of the new riches. The legalized private archaeological collections created after 1989 are the best illustration of the enormous scale of devastation of archaeological sites to provide illegally so many unique pieces of mainly Thracian and Roman art to private collectors. Archaeologists became active in the attempts to legalize private collections.

The absence of successful strategy for preservation of the archaeological heritage is clearly visible in the case of the Roman town of Ratiaria, which has been devastated for already more than 25 years and the looting of the town could not be stopped.

According to the new Bulgarian constitution, archaeological heritage remains public property. The process of returning land containing archaeological remains to the owners did not endanger the remains because of the methods of registration the data in the "Archaeological Map of Bulgaria" database. It continues to function because of the internal rules of the National Institute of Archaeology that obligate the

authors of annual reports to constantly update this database. Limited funds to support the program come from local museums and sporadically due to large-scale projects that include archaeological survey of designated areas. The database is shared with the Ministry of Culture, the National Institute for Preservation of Cultural Heritage, as well as other state agencies and serves the planners to design infrastructural projects, helps in juridical cases, and also in monitoring destruction and illegal trafficking of antiquities, etc. No state funds are available for these activities.

Paradoxically, despite the financial problems after 1989 the number of excavated sites in Bulgaria increased. This has been caused by the great number of rescue excavations of endangered archaeological sites that had to be at least partially studied and information about them gathered. The nonregulated system of decision-making by local authorities allows sometimes for funding of excavations on the territories administered by them. Many of local administrators, however, often only collect the revenue from tourist tickets and are not obliged, or do not consider reinvesting the money in research or at least in preservation activities. Thus, excavation projects with scientific goals very rarely can fulfill their expectations because of the impossibility to prepare projects with reasonable deadlines and tasks.

One of the more drastic attempts to use the cultural and archaeological heritage for political purposes was related to the restoration of the Demir Baba Teke mausoleum funded by the Turkish minority party Movement for Rights and Liberties to. The discovery of a new Thracian cult structures at the site where the mausoleum presently exists[3] threatened the fulfillment of the political preelection program of the party and the politicians pressured decisions that violated the existing cultural heritage preservation law. This controversy led to discussions in the Parliament, but proper measures for solving the heritage controversy in the area of Demir Baba Teke have not been introduced yet.

Presently, the most important problem related to archaeological remains, similar to other Eastern European countries, is caused by large-scale infrastructural projects. Preventive archaeology is for the moment an important aspect of the Bulgarian field archaeology (Gergova, 2010). According to the existing law, the funds for rescue archaeological excavations of a site must be furnished by the investors. The partnership between archaeologists and state agencies such as the National Road Agency, the Bulgarian Railways, etc. involves 100 % of the staff of the Institute and almost all archaeologists in the country from universities and museums. The steps and methods of preventive archaeology have been further improved. Commissions of specialists in archaeology and conservation, as well as representatives of investors, discuss the results of rescue excavations and the need for urgent additional assistance that might be needed to finalize excavations. The scientific aspects of archaeological reports are presented at the annual national meetings, while the archaeological materials remain in local museums, and only artifacts of high value enter the collections of the National Archaeological Institute and Museum.

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[3] *Editor's note*: The mausoleum is situated on the former Thracian site from the fourth century BCE and is a part of the historical and archaeological preserve Sboryanovo.

Rescue excavations allow studying series of sites for which rising funds for their investigations would be impossible due to economic constraints. In effect, new aspects of cultural developments of the Bulgarian lands and previously unknown types of sites were discovered, as well as new research problems were outlined. Examples include the Early Chalcolithic settlement Varhari near Kardzali, dated from 4600 [cal] BC, the ritual pits and pit sanctuaries from the Neolithic Period, but mainly from the Iron Age, that have already become a topic discussed at scientific conferences.

Nevertheless, problems exist with professional approaches to preservation of the archaeological heritage in connection with strategic projects such as the construction of metro stations in the center of Sofia. Public discussions lead to some positive changes, but not to the imposition of more efficient policies. The discovery of the ancient amphitheater of Serdica during the construction of the "Arena di Serdica" hotel in the center of the town serves as an example. The recovered remains of the Roman structure were incorporated into the newly constructed building and are presently on display in the basement of the hotel. The preliminary data about the location of this monument gathered in the beginning of the twentieth century show that proper decisions were taken due to financial possibilities of the private sector to serve public interests in the preservation of archaeological heritage in the country.

Presently, the main archaeological institution in the country remains the National Archaeological Institute with Museum (Sofia) at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, with regional departments in Veliko Turnovo and Shumen.

The Institute has retained its main functions to organize annual conferences and support publication of annual reports. Its Research Archives contain about 900 collections that cover the investigated archaeological sites of the last 50 years. Every year the National Archaeological Museum hosts the annual archaeological exhibition "Bulgarian Archaeology" to present the most important achievements in the field of archaeology to the public.

This system of organization of archaeological research allows teams of researchers and specialists from different scientific and cultural institutions, representing all levels of professional competence and focused on problems of investigations, preservation, and management of the archaeological heritage to better handle the arising problems.

The Council for Field Investigations continues to be chaired by the director of the Institute, enlarging the number of its members with more bureaucrats from the Ministry of Culture.

Presently, the NIAM publishes 12 periodicals in Bulgarian and foreign languages.

Other main institutions responsible for archaeological research in Bulgaria are:

1. Universities: (Sofia University, Veliko Turnovo University, New Bulgarian University, Blagoevgrad University, American University in Blagoevgrad, Bourgas University, Varna University, Plovdiv University, Shumen University, etc.);
2. The National Historical Museum, regional and municipal museums, archaeological museums (Plovdiv, Varna, Sozopol, etc.). All regional museums employ archaeologists and they are managed by local authorities as well as by the Ministry of Culture.

Role, Value, and Quality of Excavations

According to the new legislation regarding the cultural heritage, the funds for scientific excavations of important sites are allocated by the government.

The facts show, however, that economic and political conditions still influence the practice of Bulgarian archaeological research and replace the scientific-oriented activities or academic studies with media-driven sensation projects. Directed funding is only available for several sites.

Sensational excavations of several sites (for instance, Perperek, Kazanlak, Sozopol) conducted by few archaeologists are well financed and this enormous amount of money could suffice for adequate archaeological investigations of at least three times more sites of no less importance.

However, such disproportionate allocation of funds might be explained by the fact that Bulgarian contemporary archaeology is still controlled by individuals of strong personal preferences and organized according to a hidden hierarchical structure that influences and interferes with the practice of archaeology.

Some methods of excavation, although criticized by the researchers, are encouraged by state authorities because they contribute to speedy excavations, mainly of Thracian tumuli, save money, while directing the efforts toward discovering precious objects, makes them attractive for the media and also for the public and justifies even limited spending. International discussion of these methods at the annual conferences of the EAA in Kraków and Malta has not produced any effects, however.

The development of the "media archaeology" leads to unacceptable interpretations of these discoveries, strongly opposed by professionals, but popularized by the media. Domination of such archaeology focused on the sensational aspect of finds successfully diminished the public attitude toward the problems of monument preservation. Such sensational interpretation of sites also overwhelmed the scientific principles. For instance, the identification of Perperek with the Dyonisos sanctuary of the Bessi, a tribe from the western and not from the eastern Rhodopi, does not have any historical basis, neither does the identification of the Thracian sanctuary at Tatul with the grave of the mythical Orpheus. Criticism of such practices in the media was disallowed. The funding of such excavations follows the pattern of media-derived sensational archaeology. Thus, the quoted above rule by Daniel Kahneman is confirmed. The frequent repetition of wrong interpretation is what totalitarian politicians and marketers do. In effect categorical facts to support a false thesis or suggestion were fabricated through funding of certain type of archaeological research.

The activities related to conservation and restoration of these sites and of the archaeological heritage are not in agreement with the principles of the Venice or Malta Conventions. Protest against the reconstruction of the fortress walls in Sozopol triggered by the development of the so-called cultural tourism is openly criticized in the professional circles.

The prices of archaeological artifacts confiscated by the police are directly encouraging illegal excavations.

Bulgaria has received back enormous amount of archaeological finds from Canada, Italy, and other countries, but it still does not have an efficient policy to prevent looting and devastation of archaeological sites.

Presently, archaeology as a scholarly activity is in a critical junction. The overwhelming burden of the communist regime continues to prevent development of Bulgarian archaeology as a highly professional field of social research.

The new legislation solves a small part of problems related to preservation of the archaeological heritage and creates more difficulties for the efficient fulfillment of stipulated obligations. There is still no balance between public interests in preservation of the heritage and scholarly interests. Pretending that this is one of the measures to protect the heritage, the legislature in fact increases the political and financial dependence of archaeologists and diminishes the efficiency of their fieldwork by creating favorable conditions for corruption activities.

Cultural tourism in Bulgaria is driven first of all by the interest in archaeological heritage. The EU funds are not available directly to archaeologists because of the rule that gives the right to apply for the funds to the local councils, and not professional cultural institutions. Thus, the funds are controlled by local politicians and such situation diminishes drastically a chance to use the EU funds to improve the overwhelmingly critical state of the archaeological heritage in the country.

The use of archaeological discoveries for nonprofessional gains such as in the nationalistic propaganda is a continuation of an earlier practice from the communist era. The discovery of the relics of St. John the Baptist on St. John's island near Sozopol was used for the reconstruction of churches in Sozopol that had nothing in common with the discovery. The philosophy of reconstructing fortresses walls to fulfil patriotic needs in fact meant replacements of the delicate and professional restoration with the construction of towers nonexisting in the past. There are no management plans for any of the archaeological reserves including the UNESCO-registered monuments such as Nessebar, Sboryanovo, Ivanovo, Madara, etc.

The achievements and collaboration of the NIAM with the national and international institutions and its role in the preservation of the archaeological heritage in the last 20 years were estimated as the best among the institutes of the humanities by the International European audit of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, underlining the extremely difficult conditions of survival to which archaeology in Bulgaria was exposed after 1989. However, such characteristics do not touch the inner problems of the NIAM, the heavy burden from the communist regime and the absence of opportunities for development of effective policy toward professionalization and higher academic standards of Bulgarian archaeology to meet the requirements of the global society.

There are some non-Bulgarian archaeologists who work in Bulgaria as employee of the American University in Blagoevgrad (for instance Mark Stefanovich) and American Research Center, but their impact on the inner condition of archaeology is not very essential, for the time being. However, as a significant institution, the American University in Blagoevgrad has the ability to introduce novel methodological and theoretical propositions to Bulgarian archaeology. In a similar way, the initiative of D. W. Bailey with "Prehistoric Bulgaria" (Bailey & Panayotov, 1995)

and the extraordinary contributions of Jan Lichardus to prehistory of Bulgaria (e.g., Lichardus et al., 2000) although welcomed, are not sufficient for instituting high standards to be followed by Bulgarian archaeologists.

Final Considerations

The lack of critical analysis of Bulgarian archaeology might be connected with a somewhat pessimistic perspective due to inefficiency of the state to take measures to safeguard the archaeological heritage and to provide adequate cultural legislation with stronger rights for archaeologists as professionals to incorporate them to decision-making processes and limiting their dependence on purely bureaucratic decisions. The need of a national strategy for the archaeological heritage is more than necessary.

Archaeology in Bulgaria, as in other Eastern and Central European countries, was in general more historical in its approach simply because this was expected under the conditions of continuous competition between states for territorial gains and much of this legacy has pervaded until recent times.

No matter what approach would be used in the interpretation of the archaeological data, the most important that happened in the periods discussed above was the enormous increase of the archaeological records, regardless the political system in the country. Archaeology should be embedded in empirical research and practiced according to professionally established and generally recognized procedures.

Bulgaria is a wealth of archaeological heritage and it needs a contingent of dedicated professionals to reveal this wealth to the world and to replace the traditional gold-exhibit model of presenting the past with a scientific model that will elevate Bulgarian archaeology and studies of past cultures to the highest standards of the world cultural heritage.

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Chapter 9
Archaeology in Hungary 1948–1989

László Bartosiewicz

Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationships between intellectual tradition, statutory regulations, and institutional background in Hungarian archaeology between 1948 and 1989. I choose a quote from Mark Twain as the motto for my analysis in recognition of the fact that a major section of this chapter detailing laws, decrees, and university curricula is actually boring to read. These details are needed, however, because they characterize the context for arguments concerning ideological developments which are often impressionistic in nature. Even a subtle change in the political environment may limit or expand one's frame of mind thereby defining the nature and degree of professional engagement. The dramatic developments related to the three decades after the end of WWII are presented here as second-hand memories as my summary relies on the review of literature and unrecorded eyewitness accounts of the most difficult "communist" years when I was a child.

The situation changed in the period from 1978 onward and for 22 years (i.e., half of the time period discussed) I became a part of the events outlined here. Employed as an archaeozoologist, I consider myself only as a bystander regarding the organizational matters of archaeology of those times. However, my memories as well as personal experience and impressions relate to what was indubitably the more progressive and politically more open second half of the time period identified by political scientists as communist Hungary. Thus, my current understanding of the

"*Get your facts first, and
then you can distort' em
as much as you please*."
Mark Twain (Quoted in Kipling, 1899:180.)

L. Bartosiewicz (✉)
Osteoarchaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University,
Lilla Frescativägen 7, 106 91 Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: laszlo.bartosiewicz@ofl.su.se

"communist" past is colored by my previous understanding. In spite of the risk of distortion I have tried to develop an approach that is as objective as possible, incorporating extant documentary sources.

In a previous summary article (Bartosiewicz, Mérai, & Csippán, 2011) we have already reviewed the changes in archaeological theory in Hungary, recognized the works by outstanding scholars and detailed their achievements by giving due credit. This chapter is not focused on individuals, however. The emphasis is on the political/institutional context within which those archaeologists operated. The few individuals mentioned in this chapter by name were not selected because of their undeniable academic merit but because they are indispensable in illustrating this complex historical period, which has somewhat simplistically been labeled as "communism."

Interpretational Framework

Ideological trends in the history of Hungarian archaeology have rarely been clear-cut and could not be understood without a brief review of the historical and political contexts in which they developed. In my view the following three factors stimulate intellectual tendencies in archaeology at any given historical context:

- Research tradition.
- Statutory regulations.
- Institutional background.

In strictly Marxist terms, these three factors characterize the well-known relationship between infrastructure and superstructure. In a more dialectical approach, however, these three components may be seen as mutually interconnected vectors whose relations are governed by economic and ideological conditions, often in the form of financial constraints, political manipulation or outright oppression. This interconnectedness creates a system of mutual feedbacks that determines the main source of thoughts as well as the impact of the external intellectual milieu. Such was the nature of the systemic political influence under the communist ruling. I see the word "communism" as a catch-all term used to describe the 45-year long Soviet-controlled ideological domination in Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1990. The Soviet Union itself was exposed to communist rule for twice as long, i.e., no less than three human generations.

As a probable hangover from the Cold War times, the former "Soviet Bloc" was seen by outsiders as a politically homogeneous unit. Its considerable diversity was acknowledged only towards its collapse, also leading to the realization that archaeologies in "communist" countries varied (e.g., Hodder, 1991; Milisauskas, 1997:390). The origin of the three aforementioned vectors, however, not only differed among countries in the region, but also underwent perpetual, often dynamic change between 1945 and 1990. Such changes in internal relationships between science and ideology largely mirrored those occurring in the last 45 years of "communism" in the Soviet Union. However, the degree of their similarity attributable to direct Soviet influence varied strongly among countries of the Bloc and also over time.

History in a Nutshell

Generally, archaeology in Hungary always had a toned-down ideological side. In fact, it was probably the least politically committed discipline among all of the humanities (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:287). This phenomenon may have been rooted in the fact that state-level administrators in charge of research usually had fewer expectations for archaeology, which, from a propaganda point of view, was seen as a marginal discipline.[1] Moreover, education and research in archaeology were built on a silent consensus that ideological matters should be avoided. Archaeology therefore attracted scholars interested in the material, rather than ideological aspects of history, thereby reinforcing its character as an ideology-free *refugium*. Thus, any ideologically inspired subtle changes in archaeological thought cannot be recognized without a basic familiarity with the ebb and flow of political changes that took place in communist-ruled Hungary between 1948 and 1989.

While the continuous Soviet military occupation of Hungary since 1945[2] was an unquestionable fact, from a political perspective the immediate post-war years may be considered a brief "democratic interlude" (Gati, 1986). Communist control tightened after the 2-year period 1945–1947, following the gradual erosion of the parliamentary majority composed of the prewar Smallholder's Party. Until 1945, the Hungarian Communist Party operated underground but dominated the political scene after the rigged elections of 1947, when a seemingly unknown number of multiple votes were cast in favor of the Party, which became the country's largest political force (Szerencsés, 1992:73). Between 1948 and 1956, it was ruled by Mátyás Rákosi, General Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party. Under his tenure, Hungary was exposed to 6 years of the harshest kind of totalitarian rule that lasted until the death of Rákosi's mentor Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, better known as Stalin, in 1953.

In 1949, the first ever written constitution of Hungary was implemented. It was modeled after the 1936 constitution of the Soviet Union, crafted under the supervision of Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin. During this initial period it was not only ordinary Hungarian citizens who suffered political persecution, internal exile or incarceration as "class enemies," but also potential supporters of the *ancien régime* (aristocrats, former capitalists, intellectuals, and the clergy).[3] By 1951, infighting intensified within the Communist Party and the ranks were ruthlessly purged with inspiration and consent from Moscow. In show trials that

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[1] Paradoxically, the large-scale politically inspired misuse of archaeological concepts in Hungary happened after 1990, when "alternative" ethnogenetic theories mostly cultivated by Hungarian emigres, or underground, became widely available serving a romantic but aggressively nationalistic agenda (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:312–314).

[2] Austria remained under allied occupation until the thaw in East-West relations during the reign of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. The country was accorded full independence in 1955.

[3] In 1948–1953 hundreds of Budapest families were deported to rural areas to perform unpaid agricultural labor in areas such as the Hortobágy "*puszta*." The victims included some archaeologists of that generation.

Fig. 9.1 From icon to relic: Stalin's head severed from the 25 m tall bronze statue toppled in Budapest on October 23, 1956 and the left ear, subsequently removed, kept in the Hungarian National Museum

followed prominent members of the government were sentenced to death or were handed long-term prison sentences (Zinner, 2014).

By 1954, after Stalin's death, a slow political thaw had begun in Hungary. Forced labor camps closed down and rival factions of the notorious State Protection Authority (1948–1956) turned onto each other. A more pragmatic version of communism was on the rise. Getting out of control, events accelerated into a violent armed uprising that took place between October 23 and November 4 in 1956 (Fig. 9.1), aimed at the communist government and Soviet occupation. At the time, however, attention of the Western powers was largely distracted by the Suez Canal crisis which was of undeniably greater global significance.

While the communist government retaliation made possible by a massive Soviet military support was ruthless[4] and resulted in a major wave of emigration,[5] over the long run a form of *Realpolitik* evolved. There were lessons to be learned by all actors of the ideologically heterogeneous uprising largely unified under the banner of anti-Soviet agenda. The two most significant were: (1) ordinary citizens realized that in spite of encouraging rhetoric by the US State Department-sponsored Radio

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[4] Although the numbers are still contested, court documents show that at least 223 people have been sentenced to death between 1957 and 1961 due to their involvement in the uprising (most hanged and two shot http://www.bp18.hu/ [in Hungarian]).

[5] According to a detailed demographic study (Hablicsek & Illés, 2007:166), between 1955 and 1959 an estimated 176,000 refugees left Hungary illegally for good (90 % escaped to Austria, the rest through Yugoslavia to other Western countries).

Free Europe, NATO would never go to war with the Soviet Red Army to defend Hungarian freedom, and (2) the newly installed communist government of János Kádár began seeking cooperation of the wider populace. The new government policies were engineered in minute detail, relying on several communist cadres who had spent time in the much feared prisons of the State Protection Authority.[6] Stalinist paranoia was replaced by slogans of reconciliation. Kádár's legendary 1961 *bon mot* paraphrased Mark (9:40)[7]: "Anyone who is not against the Hungarian People's Republic is for it …" Such an attitude contributed to the creation of a conformist popular base and on the long run paved the way for economic reforms, limited civil liberties and cautious overtures towards the West. Repressions became less common, but at the same time not as predictable as during the Stalinist era. This had less to do with the subtlety of the new regime but problems with intra-Party communication, or power play, summarized in a common saying that the right hand sometimes did not know what the left hand was doing.

Under the doctrine that has often been referred to as Kádár's patronizing rule, feverish efforts were made to educate the masses according to an idealized socialist type of human. The carefully cultivated ethos was dictated by the "rules of socialist coexistence." Beginning with the 1960s, however, Western influences became gradually but unambiguously difficult to control and social dialogue was initiated regarding many aspects of daily life. In a typical totalitarian fashion, the Party ideologues attempted to control discussions concerning a variety of social topics ranging from family planning to taxation of "kitsch."

The relative political openness of the Khrushchev era in the Soviet Union (1953–1964) suffered a setback when Leonid Brezhnev came to power in 1964. However, the momentum of positive events in Hungary led to bold economic and even political reforms including the introduction of some elements of market economy and increasing, though relative, political tolerance that materialized by 1968. In consequence, the Brezhnev Doctrine accepted national brands of socialism in the Soviet satellite countries of Eastern Europe (Janos, 2000) that emulated sociopolitical tendencies developing in Hungary, closely watched by the Kremlin.

Legislation lagged behind these trends, however. In 1972, amendments were made to the constitution which included new regulations concerning private and cooperative property as well as nongovernmental organizations. While relevant clauses could by no means be called liberal, the existence of such phenomena, "new" to communist ideology, as private property or NGOs was acknowledged. Political openness was nonetheless balanced by a paragraph taken from the 1936 (!) Soviet constitution emphasizing that citizens' rights could be exercised only in accordance with the interests of socialist society and that these rights were inseparable from citizens' duties.

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[6] Kádár himself was arrested between 1951 and 1954 as part of communist in-fighting, although this element in his political career was never emphasized in his toned down public image.

[7] Ordinary people were rather reminded that previously Stalin and Rákosi regularly referred to the opposite of this principle.

Through such protracted changes, the cataclysm of the 1956 uprising evolved into a silent compromise between the single-party government which dominated the national assembly and ordinary people in Hungary. Communism became a word only sparingly used in official propaganda. It was still emphatically regarded an ideal toward which card-holding members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP; varying around 1 % of the country's population) strove as the *avant garde* in building socialism. Toward the late 1970s, an abstruse phrase "socialism with a human face" was preferred and it replaced "communism" in official statements, which remained a distant ideal with badly eroded name in mundane usage during the abusive early 1950s.

A Comment on Personal Histories

The HSWP membership was heterogeneous and changed in composition. There was a small group of committed believers, many of whom had become Party members at times it was illegal, or lived in exile in the Soviet Union before 1945. The second, possibly significant portion was made up by conformists who were attracted to whatever party was in power at the time. Last but not least, there were pragmatic professionals who saw the HSWP not simply as a vehicle for advancing their personal careers, but as the means of achieving practical aims in society. Due to natural demographic changes the first group decreased with time, whereas the pragmatic group increased in number and became very active especially toward the end of the time period discussed here. Whereas the faceless bulk of opportunists may be presumed to have remained more-or-less constant.

After 1956, the HSWP membership was not a formal requirement for leading positions in archaeology, but the Hungarian National Museum, the key public institution, was always directed by a HSWP member. On the other hand, directors of the Archaeological Research Group/Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, created in 1958, were not HSWP members, although they consciously sought the administrative support of Party card-holding deputy directors.

The Internal Department of the Secret Service also infiltrated archaeological institutions. However, the few informers whose names were revealed after 1990 were usually of lower academic status although often popular figures and their reporting had no dramatic effect on the daily lives of their fellow archaeologists. This was not due to a good will of informers as much as the realization of the fact that, from a political point of view, there was little at stake in the quiet field of archaeology. My personal case serves as example. In post-1991 Hungary, access to the Secret Service files is only given to those whom they directly concern. Having reviewed my own files in 1994, I found no trace of anything I would consider of critical significance in the first four decades of my life that would distort my professional career in the communist-ruled Hungary. I was labeled as of "conservative" ancestry, my student activities were recorded and intensive Western contacts recognized. Such modest interests of the Secret Service may have been caused by my age, as I was considered late arrival in the "system" (my professional career started in the late 1970s).

However, let us get our facts first ….

Institutional Changes in Hungarian Archaeology 1948–1989

Archaeology After World War II

After WW II archaeological research resumed within the prewar institutional framework at the University of Budapest, the Hungarian National Museum, and in many provincial, county, or municipal museums. Radical centralization, however, soon caused shifts in responsibilities among these institutions. While financing was stable due to ideologically inspired emphasis on culture and tightly planned state investment, ideas of heritage management developed slowly. At the beginning of this period, the emphasis was on offsetting war losses in archaeology, both human and material. András Alföldi established the Institutes of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology at the Péter Pázmány University of Sciences in Budapest. However, the founder himself left Hungary for Britain in 1947.[8] At this time, medieval archaeology was not included in the archaeological curriculum of the university as the material culture of the Middle Ages was seen as more relevant to art history.

Before 1948, none of the Hungarian universities awarded specific degrees in archaeology. A general degree in liberal arts could have been obtained only at a higher level of academic specialization by acquiring a university doctorate. From 1948 on, archaeology was included in the academic training of the first-ever 150 so-called museologists whose curriculum included the following:

- 1948/1949 semester 2: archaeology.
- 1949/1950 ethnography and art history.
- 1950 closing examinations.

This scheme turned out to be a complete failure and archaeology as such had to be taught again in 1950. The reason was the initial format of academic study rather than the contents of teaching (Bóna, 1990:48). The early post-WWII efforts to teach archaeology as a separate discipline took place against the backdrop of the domineering educational reform implemented in 1949 (Kalla, 2003:421). The universities were organized by discipline (e.g., Technical University, Economic University, Medical University, etc.) each comprising only a single or a few faculties. The supervision of these specialized universities was assigned to the relevant ministry (e.g., the ministry of heavy industry, finance, health etc.).

Even before WWII, intellectual freedom was not characteristic at authoritarian, Prussian-style Hungarian universities that functioned under close political control. Token signs of intellectual autonomy appeared only in the operational guidelines of each institution (Ladányi, 1999:28). The first university reforms proposed in 1936 were never implemented and the dictatorial pre-WWII style of university leadership

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[8] Alföldi's keen historical interest in the archaeology of Roman Pannonia and its contextualization within a universal framework of interpreting ideologies and institutional structure was eminently unfit for the type of Stalinist and vulgar Marxist inquiry that was on the rise (Török, 2002:24).

endured and strengthened during the early 1950s. University governing bodies were not included in key decision making and senior positions were assigned with regard to political loyalty rather than academic merit.

The communist government also introduced early bills to regulate the status of museums and access to cultural heritage remains. Statute 13/1949 concerned the management of museums and heritage, mostly architectural remains. All museums were nationalized in 1951. The National Centre for Museums and Monuments was organized under the supervision of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. Regulations were implemented through rules and decrees, including limitations of private ownership aimed at protecting land of "archaeological significance." These statutory regulations remained almost completely unchanged until 1965 with only minor amendments in 1962–1964.

Especially significant statutory development of this era was Law XXVII/1949 that elevated the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) to the rank of a ministry, granting it a near-monopoly on research synchronized with the 5-year plan of the country's economy. Naturally, this legislative initiative also followed the Soviet model aimed at "coordinating theory with practice." In effect the number of research institutes quadrupled from ten in the prewar times to a network of 38, including the newly established Archaeological Research Group (ARG/HAS) in 1958.

The HAS was to become a potent institution. According to the ministerial decree, the Excavation Committee was placed under the auspices of the Archaeological Committee of the HAS, but operated as an interdepartmental body in which delegates of the Academy, the National Museum and relevant governmental agencies (ministries) reviewed the need to excavate a site and issued permits accordingly.

The right to award scholarly degrees was taken away from universities. Between 1949 and 1993, following the Soviet model, all degrees were awarded by a designated body, the Commission of Scientific Qualification that worked independently of the HAS and the Ministry of Education. From its inception, there were efforts to include acclaimed professionals into the committee responsible for archaeology (Bálint, 2003:426). The levels of academic career included the candidate degree (C.Sc.; comparable to Western Ph.D) and continued with the Academy doctorate to advanced candidacy (D.Sc.; comparable to university habilitation). In a complete career, the next step was to become a corresponding member of the HAS (CMHAS) before attaining full membership (MHAS) at the top of the academic hierarchy. Between its establishment in 1825 and 2002, archaeologists made up 1.5% of the membership of this elite body (Tigyi, 2006:347). The ages at which archaeologists were elected members of the HAS before and after 1948 are summarized in Table 9.1.

Archaeologists admitted to the Academy after 1948 were on average almost 14 years older than in the pre-WWII era, with the difference being highly significant in formal statistical terms. As shown in Fig. 9.2a (top) this trend confirms Tigyi's (2006: Fig. 2) observation concerning the entire HAS membership (Fig. 9.2b). Both distributions are close to normal but also show a slight positive skew due to the presence of a few scholars whose life's *oeuvre* was recognized only when they had become old. The difference is hard to explain on the grounds of internal policies

Table 9.1 Age of archaeologists admitted as members of the HAS

	1825–1947	1948–2002
Number of members	25	10
Mean age, years	44.8	58.6
Standard deviation, years	13.7	7.9
Range, years	24–91	44–72
Student *t*-value	−2.980	
P-value	0.005	
Degrees of freedom	33	
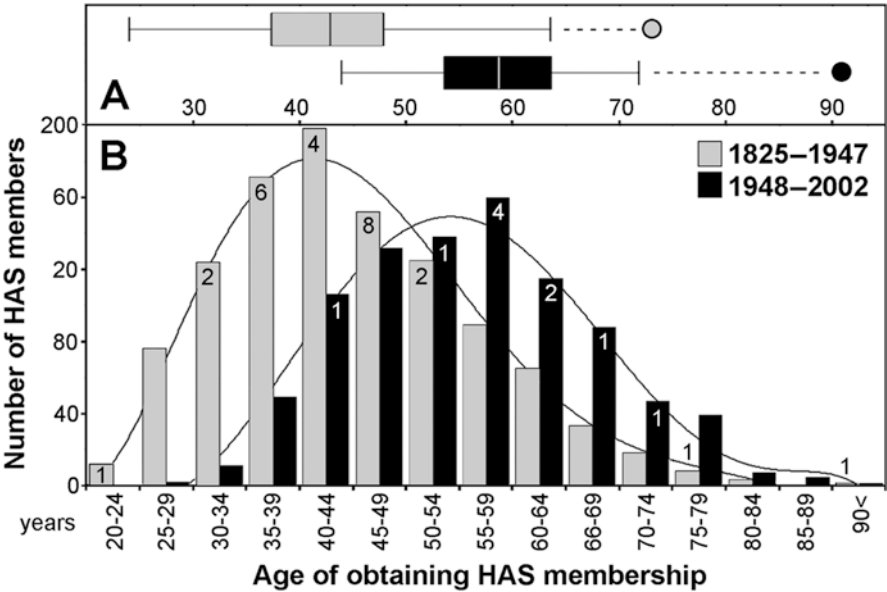
Fig. 9.2 Statistically significant difference in the ages of obtaining HAS membership among archaeologists between 1825 and 1947 and 1948–2002 (**a**) in comparison with the age distribution of all HAS members (**b**, after Tigyi, 2006). Numbers added to the columns of the bar chart indicate the numbers of archaeologist HAS members within the same age group

alone. Tigyi (2006) found a statistically significant difference between ages at death of the 799 HAS members who died between 1825 and 1919 (68.5 ± 12.7) and the 665 who died between 1920 and 2002 (74.3 ± 11.1), which directs attention to the probable effects of increasing life expectancy in the overall population.

Aside from its perpetual presence, the communist regime visibly interfered with the autonomy of the HAS only twice: first in 1949 it expelled a large number of members of the old guard, a move aptly termed *Gleichschaltung* by Török (2002:15), and secondly when it kept an eye on the election of subsequent members. According to Bökönyi (1993: 142): "… this did not necessarily mean that members were selected

only on the basis of political merit" (i.e., Party affiliation). However, election of a member could be blocked on the basis of political "misbehavior." While the average annual increase in the number of all HAS members before 1945 was nine, this number almost doubled, growing to 16 during the years 1946–2002 (Tigyi, 2006:347).

Communist social rhetoric promoted equal opportunities for women. The first ever female HAS member was elected in 1949 and was followed by ten others elected within the next 40 years (until 1989). Initially the representatives of the natural sciences dominated the Academy membership, but from 1973 until 1989 three female members represented the humanities. Until present 35 archaeologists became HAS members, all men. This number does not reflect the gender ratio among Hungarian archaeologists. Bartosiewicz et al. (2011:306, Fig. 11) have found a statistically significant homogeneous gender distribution in all age cohorts by 2008 within a sample of 439 registered female and male archaeologists. Except for the top ranks of academic management, women were equally represented in hands-on archaeological work.

The First Five-Year Plan (1950–1954) and Archaeology

War damages, massive industrialization and works related to regulation of waterways created a tremendous need for large-scale archaeological rescue works. Voluntarism, the superiority of will over intellect, was the common approach during this early, truly communist-spirited period. According to a widely propagated slogan, Hungary was to become "The Land of Iron, Steel, and Machinery." Newly licensed museologists (trained in an admixture of archaeology, art history, and ethnography) found employment in large, state-sponsored projects such as the development of the village of Dunapentele on the right bank of the Danube, some 70 km downstream from Budapest, into the capital of the steel industry presently known under the name Dunaújváros.[9] A new city was designed to accommodate 25,000 residents and in 1950 construction works began. The young archaeologist László Zolnay, specialist in the archaeology of the Middle Ages, who was sent to carry out archaeological rescue work compared the chaotic scene on the site to Klondike at the time of the 1897–1899 Gold Rush (Zolnay, 1986: 527). The steelworks was opened as planned in 1954, at the end of the First Five-Year Plan. The large-scale preventive excavations were organized in haste and in result the curation, storage, and analysis of the finds were often neglected and sub-standard. Sometimes proper treatment and conservation remained unresolved for decades, resulting in the massive degradation of the finds and the information they carried.

The large Bronze Age cemetery from Dunaújváros–Duna-dűlő "rescued" in 1951 is a paradigmatic example of this sort of works. A total of 350,000 Hungarian Forints[10] were spent on uncovering this important site (Bóna, 1990:52). The timetable

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[9] Between 1951 and 1961 the new city was officially named Sztálinváros. The present name means "Danube New City" (cf. Stalingrad 1925–1961, Volgograd thereafter).

[10] According to the minutes of a 1954 meeting of the Political Committee, the average monthly salary in 1950 was 652 Hungarian Forints (Honvári, 2006).
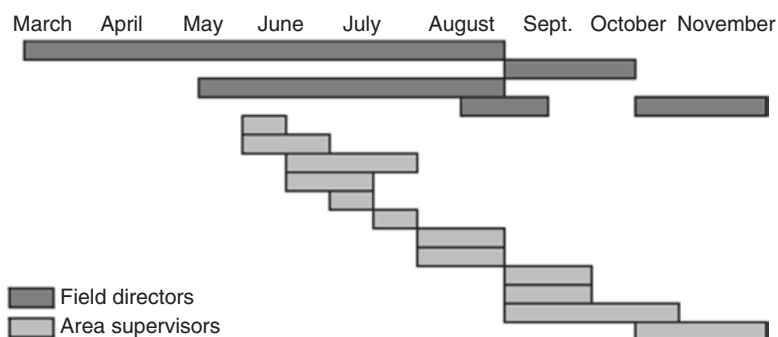
Fig. 9.3 Gantt chart for 16 archaeologists employed at the site of Dunaújváros–Duna-dűlő between mid-March and early December in 1951 (raw data Vicze, 2011:15)

for 16 archaeologists supervising dozens of students and hand laborers between mid-March and early December in 1951 clearly shows the increasing intensity with which 1600 graves were recovered from the site (Fig. 9.3). Due to the speedy nature of fieldwork, unfortunately not even the location could be precisely recorded for one quarter of these burials (Vicze, 2011:15).

Massive archaeological losses related to this project continued in 1954, when the new City Council ordered rapid evacuation of the facilities in which the finds had been stored. Amidst the Cold War paranoia the basement-based repository had to be converted into bomb shelters. The finds were jammed into used 50 kg Portland cement paper bags (widely available in this newly built city), dumped on trucks and transported 110 km away from the site. They were returned to Dunaújváros in the very same manner in 1965.[11]

Aside from field campaigns, employment by museums was guaranteed in the early 1950s. As declared on the banner of the 1954 Congress of Museum Directors in Budapest: "The task of museums is to present the colorful present and to explore the bright future!" (Bóna, 1990:47). Meanwhile these tactical objectives, focused on propaganda aspects of exhibitions did not include heritage management issues such as acquisition of finds through excavation or the curation and storage of the archaeological records.[12] Relevant statistical data consistently focus on the educational/entertainment aspect of exhibits, i.e., the activity of museums regarding organized shows and not research (KSH, 1963:181, KSH, 1988a:77; KSH, 1988b:282). An exponential increase in the number of museums and other exhibition venues followed the organization of a centralized and hierarchical museum network during the early 1960s into which many small, local exhibition venues were integrated.

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[11] Here, an aborted inventorying campaign of 1965–1967 resulted in additional catastrophic deterioration of non-retrievable archaeological information. In the end, less than two thirds (1916/2977) of the vessels recorded at the site could be identified to particular burials during the long overdue scholarly analysis (Vicze, 2011:18, Fig. 9.6).

[12] Due to its immense financial implications this problem has resurfaced and even been exacerbated, haunting "post-socialist" archaeology even today.
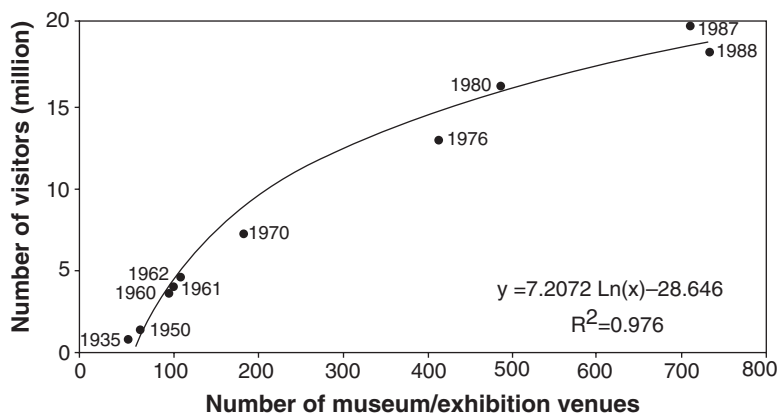
Fig. 9.4 Relationship between the numbers of museums/exhibition venues and their visitors in Hungary (KSH, 1963, 1988a, 1988b)

This "explosion" of exhibition venues was not followed by a linear increase in the number of visitors as the generous supply seems to have gradually saturated the existing demand (Fig. 9.4).

This degressive trend may have even been underestimated as reporting on the annual statistics was usually a formality. Income generated by entry fees would be of little help in verifying these data due to the number of allowances given to school classes, pensioners and even army detachments in line with the sole primary mission of museums as the means of propaganda and secondary mission as institutions of mass-education (Fig. 9.5).

Unfortunately, the closely watched trend in increasing museum visits did not contribute to a proportional increase in financial support for archaeology as funds were allocated to a variety of projects. On the one hand, museums also hosted numerous non-archaeological exhibits, but more importantly, in comparison with the other arts and humanities, the logistical expenses of archaeology in relation to fieldwork, conservation, and curation have always been unusually high.

The First Five-Year Plan ended with a more than twofold increase in the number of students enrolled in programs related to the five major fields of higher education (Fig. 9.6). The actual number of archaeologists is unknown, however, as they fell into the category of 150 museologists produced during this period.

In 1950, the University of Budapest was renamed. Instead of the name of its founder, the prominent Jesuit and counter-reformer Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), it received the name of the renowned nineteenth century physicist Loránd Eötvös (1848–1919).

In addition to the Ministry of Culture, the HAS became the second main funder of archaeology between 1950 and 1989 (Bálint, 2003:426), even before the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology of the HAS in 1967. In 1953, the Supreme Committee for Archaeology operating within the HAS was put in charge of licensing

Fig. 9.5 The 1952 opening of the exhibit celebrating the 60th birthday of Mátyás Rákosi in the Old Palace of Justice of the Royal Supreme Court in Budapest, then housing the Institute of the Workers' Movement (Archives of the Hungarian National Museum)
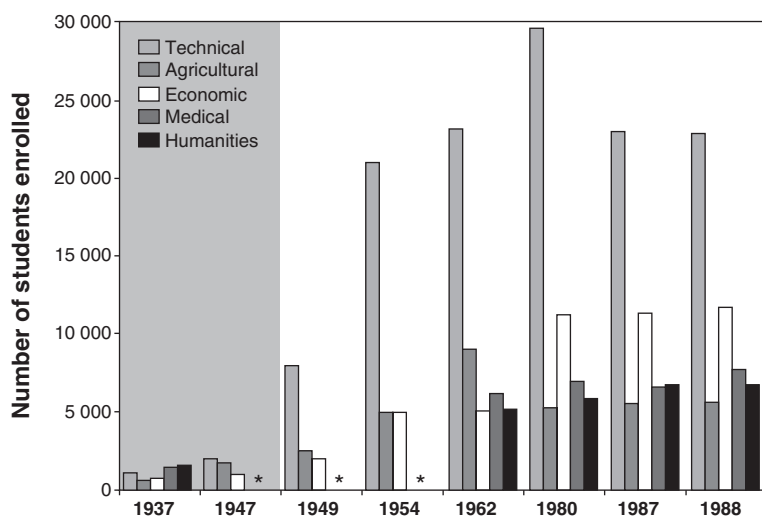
Fig. 9.6 Number of students in five major Disrupted by WWII fields of higher education in Hungary. *Asterisks* indicate years when institutional (dis)organization made accurate estimates impossible. In 1950, 150 "museology" students were registered (KSH, 1947, 1963, 1988a, 1988b). The 1948–1989 period is highlighted

all excavations in Hungary, thereby securing their funding. The so-called "Academy 'A' Projects" enjoyed a privileged position having received full state funding during the First and Second Five-Year Plans. From 1951 onward, the HAS also sponsored archaeological conferences and other forms of international scholarly communication,
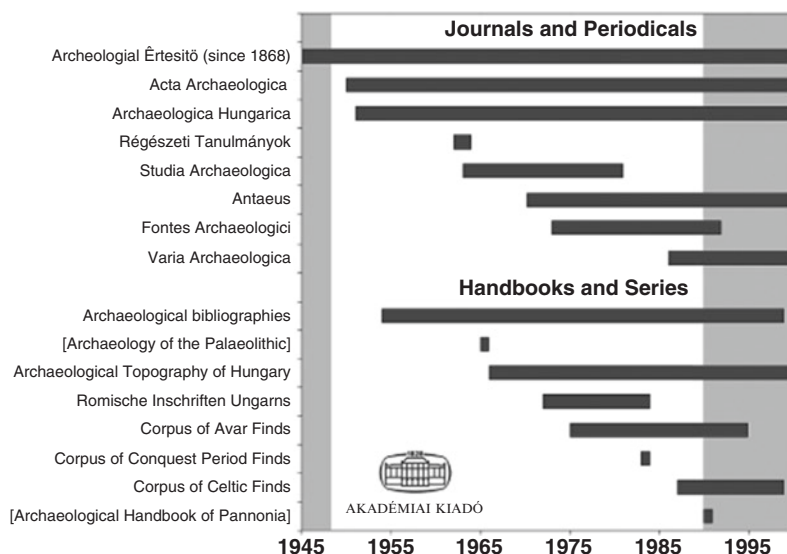
Fig. 9.7 'Life spans' of archaeological publications of the Publishing House of the HAS. The 1948–1989 period is highlighted (raw data: Bálint, 2003:426)

years before the founding of the ARG/HAS. The Publishing House of the HAS (1951–1996)[13] was established as the prestigious official forum for publication of the research results achieved in various research institutes (Fig. 9.7).

Archaeology After 1956

Apparently a number of changes unrelated to the political turmoil and subsequent shifts in the style of political leadership took place in Hungarian archaeology after 1956. Shortly after 1956, a second tier of museum administration was established: the legal and financial directions of museums were delegated to local governments ("councils") in Hungary's 19 counties. In 1958, the first such institution, the Directorate of Museums in Baranya County (southwest Hungary), was created in the regional center of Pécs. Reorganization continued and major municipal museums were transformed into similar directorates, first in large cities with independent county status such as Debrecen (1962), Szeged (1962), and Miskolc (1963). In the meantime, some building complexes of outstanding archaeological and historical significance in the countryside were gradually placed under the direction of the Hungarian National Museum to accentuate their nationwide importance partly due to their association with significant historical figures. They

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[13] In 1996, this publishing house has been transformed into a joint venture company co-owned by the HAS and Wolters Kluwer.

included the King Mátyás Museum in Visegrád, the Rákóczi Museum in Sárospatak, and the Kossuth Museum in Monok. Subsequently, the exhibition organized at the early hominid site of Vértesszőlős (1968) and the Castle Museum of Esztergom (1985) were added to this prestigious list.

The county directorates seated in major regional museums organized a network of smaller museums within their counties, coordinated funding, services, research, and exhibition facilities (Gazda, 1985:7). The introduction of this system was opposed by prominent archaeologists who feared that giving the multitude of tasks museums would need to perform under the new arrangements, their discipline would be side-lined. This pessimistic scenario did not turn into a problem for another quarter of the century. Between 1989 and 1999, the number of permanently employed, full time archaeologists still averaged between 100 and 120 in the 19 county museums (Jankovich & Nagy, 2002:38), while prior to the 1958 reorganization usually a single specialist was in charge of archaeology even in major museums in the countryside. Trouble eventually materialized years after the socialist era, when archaeologists started competing for limited funding in the rapidly emerging market economy (Choyke, 2004:171).

Archaeological works related to the construction of two motorways illustrate a trend similar to the one described above. According to Law 9/1963, rescue excavations related to any large-scale state investment had to be funded from the budget of the state-controlled investor rather than the Ministry of Culture or the HAS. Development of the countrywide motorway network began in 1963 and in 1964 sections of two 4-lane express roads (M1 and M7) were inaugurated in the outskirts of Budapest (Wollák & Raczky, 2012:116). Altogether less than 350 km of such roads were built during the quarter of a century that followed (Fig. 9.8; Raczky, 2007). Despite being meticulously planned, such works were considered of low-significance and it took a while before coherent excavation strategies were developed to deal with these projects.[14] On the other hand, storage, restoration, and curation capacities were well planned and expanded by the concerned county museums.

During the communist era Hungary produced dozens of archaeology graduates every year. Because under the state rules employment was mandatory, most of them found jobs as professional archaeologists. In the University of Budapest, beginning with the 1957/1958 academic year, archaeology was taught in a 5-year program which included a mandatory joint degree in teaching with specializations in either history or Latin. It allowed the graduate to seek employment as high school teacher. Such structured archaeological education was aimed at making the degree more marketable. In reality, however, pedagogical training subsumed half of the curriculum at the expense of archaeology, while from the pragmatic point of view single-subject teachers educated in this program were disadvantaged as compared to those who were qualified to teach two or more subjects. As full employment was one of the cornerstones of planned socialist economy and the job market in archaeology became

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[14] Although no systematic excavations preceded these early projects, motorway investments intensified after the 1989 political changes and temporarily became a major source of financing archaeology in Hungary, especially after the country joined the European Union in 2004.
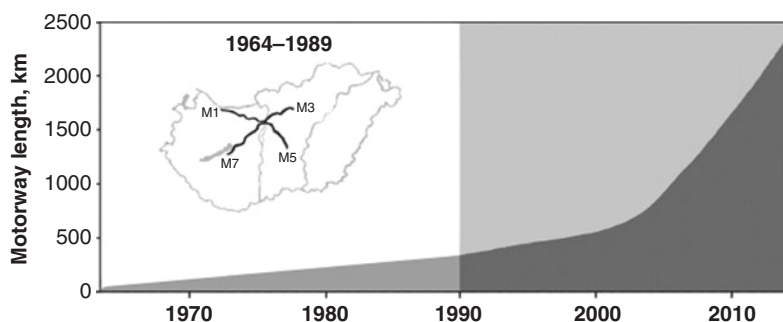
Fig. 9.8 The development of Hungary's motorway network before and after 1989 (after Wollák & Raczky, 2012). The 1964–1989 period is highlighted

saturated, university enrollment to study archaeology could only be launched every other year (Bóna, 1990:55). In 1958, universities regained the right to award lower-level doctorates (Dr. Univ.) in the Arts and Humanities, which was an important change for archaeologists and representatives of the other social sciences.

As for the content of archaeological training, the first four semesters were devoted to teaching general archaeology of the four key chronological periods (Prehistory, Antiquity, the Migration Period, and the Middle Ages). They were followed by three years of further specialization in one of these periods.[15] In 1957, the Department of Medieval Archaeology was established under the direction of Gyula László.

Mimicking similar fusions that occurred about the same time in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the three departments were united into a single Department of Archaeology in 1961. The underlying message of this administrative move was that archaeology was more of a research method than a sovereign scholarly discipline. Gyula László, who took over the direction of the unified Department of Archaeology in 1967, strove to synthesize archaeological, historical, and linguistic data with ethnographic and physical anthropology evidence (Kalla, 2003:423).

The research of Hungarian ancestry within the territory of the Soviet Union undoubtedly benefited from contributions by a then younger generation of archaeologists such as István Erdélyi and István Fodor who already conducted studies in the Soviet Union developing a perfect command of the Russian language and literature in addition to having access to a network of Soviet scholars. Due to these rich sources of information, Finno-Ugric specialists gained the upper hand in the long-standing "Ugric-Turkic War" regarding the ethnic origins of Hungarians (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:283–284).

Disrupted by WWII, the archaeology program was resumed in the József Attila University of Szeged in 1962 when Gyula Gazdapusztai was appointed director of

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[15] This system remained in use until September 2006 when Hungary joined the Bologna Process designed to ensure comparability of standards and qualifications in higher education across Europe.

the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology (Fodor, 2003:424). This Department became the second archaeology department in Hungary to be accredited in an academic institution.

In the meantime in July 1958 archaeology received a major boost within the HAS. According to Decree 13/1958 MTA (A. K. 15–16.), issued by the President of the HAS, the Archaeological Research Group has been called to existence. Its director and nine staff members were responsible for:

(a) Carrying out research in an exemplary manner, gradually introducing modern technology in the evaluation of finds using historical materialism.
(b) Gradually organizing the countrywide coordination and control of archaeological research.
(c) Preparing the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology.

Opponents of this idea preferred to have this structural investment made in the National Museum. They also worried about the subsequent loss of control of their traditional functions in the fervor of academic centralization. These functions included the countrywide register of archaeological excavations and managing structural elements of vital importance to the profession: the Archaeological Archives and the Central Archaeology Library. The idea of creating a central research institute also meant that university responsibilities would be increasingly limited to simply training archaeologists. However, the aforementioned Soviet model of academic research institutes could not be challenged (Bóna, 1990:76) and the move fostered animosities between archaeologists working in what was seen as competing institutions (Török, 2010:11).

The ARG/HAS was elevated to the rank of a *bona fide* Institute of Archaeology (AI/HAS henceforth) by Decree 4/1967 (A. K. 4.) issued by the President of the HAS.

In 1960, the ARG/HAS was moved into a prestigious venue (a former Clarissan monastery closed down in 1782) in the Buda Castle district. In 1967, Aurél Bernáth (1895–1982) painted a monumental mural in the spacious staircase of this building. Entitled *History*, the picture is a reinterpretation of emblematic works in art history.[16] What makes this secco interesting is that in the lower right-hand corner Bernáth depicted himself working on a triptych showing László Gerevich the director of the AI/HAS at its center (Fig. 9.9).

Over the long run, the AI/HAS, the National Museum, and the Department of Archaeology at the Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest (Bökönyi, 1993:143) have formed the solid metaphorical tripod upon which Hungarian archaeology came to stand.

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[16] The rich imagery relies on the *Annunciation* (Fra Angelico), *Melancholy* (Albrecht Dürer), *The Third of May, 1808* (Francisco de Goya), and *La Liberté Guidant le Peuple* (Eugène Delacroix), just to name some of the best known works. Artistic citation in this tableau also includes the *Steel Worker* by József Somogyi. This statue, created in 1953, was deemed unacceptable until 1960 as instead of a working-class hero it depicted the exhausted operator of an open-air furnace. This interesting blend of images is a reflection of the ideological diversity that impacted Hungarian intelligentsia, including state commissioned artists, during the late 1960s.
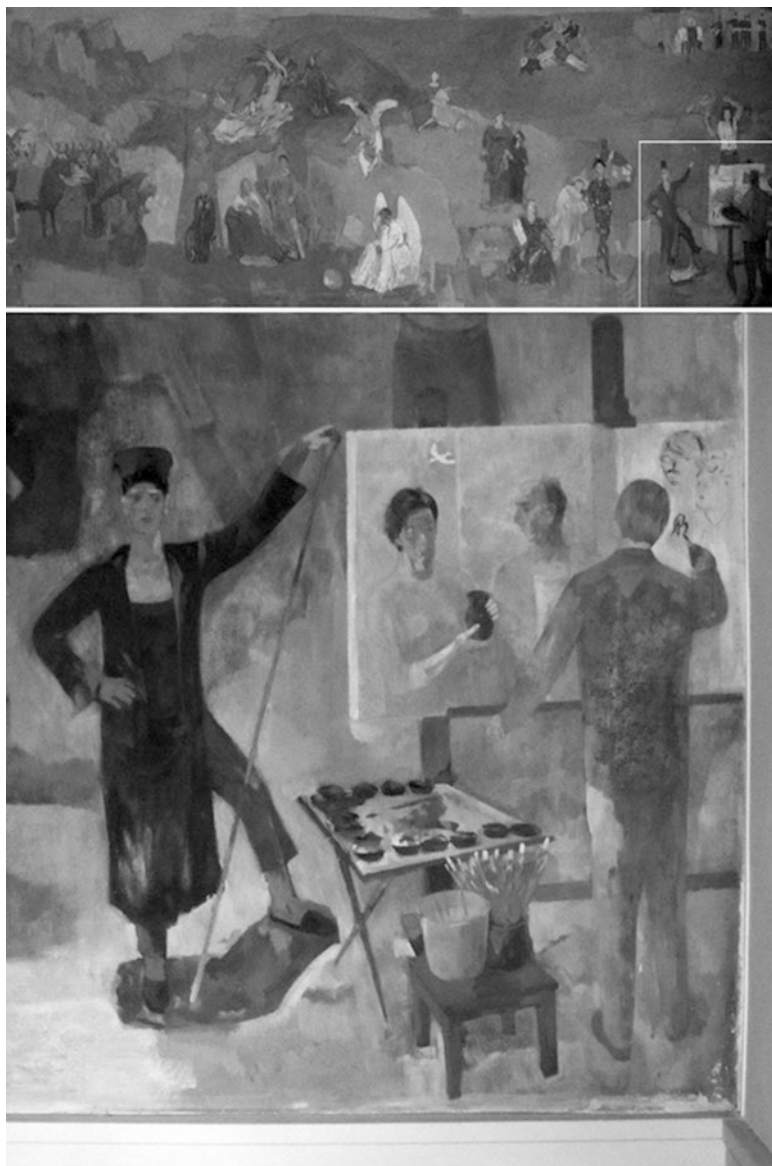
Fig. 9.9 László Gerevich in the center of the artist's canvas in Aurél Bernáth's mural titled *History*. Another AI/HAS staff, Ágnes Salamon is shown holding a jug. The statue *Steel Worker* is personified in the left. Excerpt from the painting above (photo by Erika Gál)

By the time of its official foundation, the AI/HAS staff had already been involved in two major projects, far beyond the capacity of a humble research group. They were put in charge of organizing and coordinating large scale 1959–1960 and 1964–1965 preventive excavations associated with the construction of flood control reservoirs

along the 70 km long Komárom–Visegrád stretch of the Danube floodplain (Török, 2010:17). The project was ultimately associated with the hydroelectric dam planned in the Danube Bend Gorge whose details were laid out over a decade later in the 1977 Budapest Treaty between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the People's Republic of Hungary.[17] That year, systematic excavations were resumed, coordinated by the Hungarian National Museum. By this time, however, a decade-long topographic research had been carried out by the AI/HAS whose standard methodology could be applied.[18] Dense archaeological occupation in this alluvial area was convincingly illustrated by the 30 km long section of the Roman *limes* recovered between Esztergom and Nagymaros. Within this short distance three military camps and a chain of 23 watch towers were identified. Large-scale projects initiated at six sites in 1978 did not simply include preventive excavations in the area along the river. They were aimed at serving as a basis for reconstructing the unique settlement history along the banks of the Danube (Fülep, 1979).

The clearly defined, long-term professional aims of the AI/HAS included the compilation and publication of the "Archaeological Topography of Hungary," a nationwide field survey project. In hindsight it is clear that grandiose surveys on this scale were financially sustainable only within a centralized, strictly planned economy: it was estimated that such a systematic archaeological survey would eventually require over a century of coordinated work and concomitant funding (Torma, 1969:75; Jankovich, 1985). Thanks to the hard work of this dedicated team, ten volumes could be published although with declining intensity during the first 46 years of its operation between 1966 and 2012 (Fig. 9.10). Despite of this great effort, however, the areal coverage of the country may be estimated as only slightly over 1/8 of the land surface (Pásztor, 1999). Regardless its scholarly importance, maintaining such a monumental project was very difficult in a decentralized, postcommunist market economy.

A pragmatic form of socialism emerged in Hungary by the late 1960s and remained until 1989. Around 1968, the year the "Prague Spring" failed, this silent compromise brought about carefully controlled political and economic reforms (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:290).

Law 14/1969 and associated Statutory rules 3/1969 and 25/1969 tailgated the major economic political reforms at the time: for the first time since 1948, institutions of higher education were granted and the right to elect their own boards that also included student representatives, but all strategic decisions had to be cosigned by the minister of education and all senior officials were also appointed by the government.

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[17] By 1984, environmentalists began questioning the transparency of this project (McIntyre, 2010: 228) which soon became a symbol of the *ancien régime*. Tens of thousands demonstrated against it in Budapest on September 12 1988. After a series of rallies, in 1989, the Hungarian government abandoned the construction as scientists also expressed their concerns about its environmental implications. In retrospect, these developments have been recognized as tests of democracy on the eve of a new political era.

[18] This was the first field project I participated in as a new employee of the AI/HAS in 1978.
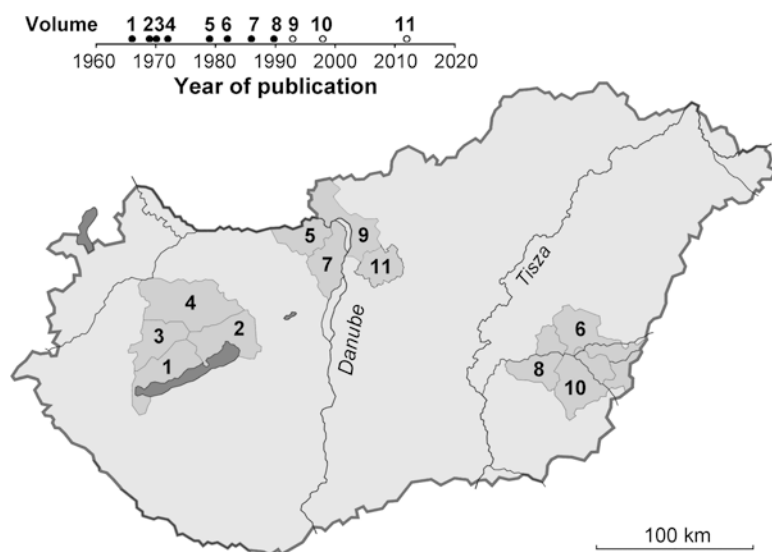
Fig. 9.10 The diachronic (top scale) and geographical distribution of volumes published in the "Archaeological Topography of Hungary" series. *1*: Keszthely and Tapolca districts; *2*: Veszprém district; *3*: Devecser and Sümeg districts; *4*: Pápa and Zirc districts; *5*: Esztergom and Dorog districts; *6*: Szeghalom district; *7*: Buda and Szentendre districts; *8*: Szarvas district; *9*: Szob and Vác districts; *10*: Békés and Békéscsaba areas; *11*: Gödöllő and Aszód districts. "Post-communist" volumes are marked by *empty circles* on the time-line (map updated after Bálint, 2003:427, Fig. 10)

Ever since the 1951 creation of the Commission of Scientific Qualification, there had been efforts to include noted professionals among the sub-committee members responsible for archaeology. From the 1970s onward political considerations no longer played a decisive role in the selection process (Bálint, 2003:426). In archaeology this was the fortunate phase of transition "when generous central funding (of the past) and increasing political openness (of the future) met" (Choyke, 2004:144) in a synergetic *mélange*.

In higher education, a 1981 resolution of the Political Committee of the HSWP was implemented in 1984 (Anonymous, 1984:20), initiating a protracted procedure that eventually put universities in charge of their own training, personnel, and financial responsibilities. Along with developing democratic internal structures, special emphasis was laid on student participation and the overall simplification of legal conduct. Law I/1985 further expanded these rights by declaring the right of self-government at universities and colleges alike and guaranteeing freedom of education.

Ideological Influences

Following the 1948 communist takeover in Hungary, Soviet ideological influence became inevitable. Referring to Bulkin, Klejn, and Lebedev (1982), however, Bánffy pointed out that Soviet archaeologists, similarly to their brethren educated in

Central European schools of archaeology, received a traditional German-Prussian style training in descriptive typology and typo-chronology at Russian universities (Bánffy, 2013b:625). Such "new" ideas could not have been forced on Hungarian archaeologists by the Party apparatchiks if the continuity of linear historical-evolutionary thinking had not been deeply rooted among Hungarian scholars since the late nineteenth century. The tedious typo-chronological classification of finds as a goal of archaeological research was combined with historicism; in many ways archaeology was delegated to the role of being "*ancilla historiae*," a handmaiden to history (Bánffy 2013a: 278).

Historical research was directly influenced by the appearance of cadres who returned from Soviet emigration or emerged from poverty through careers in the Communist Party. This resulted in a trend of ideological counter-selection in Hungarian archaeology, which attracted scholars feeling less political ambition or even an aristocratic indifference to politics. This was not a unique phenomenon: many scholars in Eastern Europe were drawn to an ideologically neutral archaeology (Milisauskas, 1990:285).

Communism: The Early Years

The 1949 volume of *Archeologiai Értesítő*, the oldest surviving archaeological journal in Hungary, contained a full page portrait of a mustachioed man in uniform. The caption said: "We salute Comrade STALIN [sic!], wise teacher of progressive humankind, on the occasion of his 70th birthday."

Although the first paper in this issue was translated from Russian, no other article seemed to have been ideologically inspired. Nevertheless, the methods applied in Soviet archaeology were propagated through the rather superficial teachings of Marxism and Leninism made paradigmatic in research of the social sciences. Also chronological terminology was redefined following the one proposed by Sergey Pavlovitch Tolstov (Bóna, 1990:49):

- Prehistory = "history of ancient societies."
- Classical/Roman = "history of slave-keeping societies."

Notably, this was the time when medieval archaeology was not practiced in an institutionalized form in Hungary. In 1950, the Hungarian National Museum began publishing a series titled Soviet Archaeology (*Szovjet Régészet*) in which articles selected from the journal *Sovietskaya Arkeologiya* were published in Hungarian.

The first direct blow inflicted by a Soviet-born theory on Hungarian archaeology was delivered by Marrism. In the 1920s, Nikolai Yakovlevich Marr developed the highly controversial Japhetic theory on the origins of language and a range of related hypotheses according to which languages spoken in highly differentiated class societies differed structurally from those of the primordial classless societies. The key idea was that languages spoken by people who represent the same social class in different cultures are closer to each other than dialects of the same language spoken by members of different social classes within a group/ethnicity/nation. Marr also

carried out archaeological research concerning the ancient history of peoples of the Caucasus. Hungarian archaeology was hard hit by his ideas including such notions that the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Slavs could be considered stages in the local cultural development in Southern Russia. Since the nineteenth century, the essence of reconstructing Hungarian ethnogenesis has revolved around the idea of migration regardless of conflicting linguistic theories of the aforementioned Finno-Ugric or Turkic origins (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:284, Fig. 5). Promoting Marrism in Hungary served strictly ideological goals as it contradicted previous theories and offered an opportunity to cleanse research of its *bourgeois* practitioners. At the same time archaeologists managed to reconcile Marrist theory by removing the concept of ancestral (people, language, homeland) from the discourse. Such theoretical effort by the medieval historian Erik Molnár resulted in confusion between tangible archaeological evidence and chronological information (Molnár, 1949:16–18).

The threat of Marrism was resolved *deus ex machina* (Bóna, 1990:48). In 1950, Marr's theory fell from favor when Stalin personally denounced it as anti-Marxist in the June 20, July 4, and August 2 issues of the Communist Party daily *Pravda*. Although the 1950/2 volume of the prestigious journal *Archeologiai Értesítő* devoted itself to praising Nikolai Yakovlevich Marr, by the end of the year the HAS organized a meeting honoring Stalin's linguistic *oeuvre* (Fülep, 1951a), highlighted by statements such as "The 'class character' of language formula is erroneous and non-Marxist … [as] … language … lives immeasurably longer than any base or any superstructure" (Stalin, 1950).

The HAS also came up with its own "relevant" contribution. As Russian was not widely spoken in Hungary at the time, three Soviet studies were translated by the talented young linguist János Harmatta[19] and published with an introduction by Ferenc Fülep, then deputy director of the Budapest History Museum. According to Fülep (1951b), the formalist-typological methods followed in Hungarian archaeology in the "fascist" research atmosphere between the two World Wars needed to be developed with regard to the achievements of Soviet archaeology. He suggested that special attention be paid to ethnogenesis in the history of all the peoples who once inhabited a particular study area (Fülep, 1951b:3). Consequently, a "historical revolution" got underway. This new aim was spelled out in an editorial in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, the leading archaeological journal in Hungary at that time (Anonymous, 1951:67):

> We all know that our archaeological research was a function of Western, more exactly German, scholarship as was the case in the entire country … The majority of researchers studied (formal) characteristics, isolated from real life. Chronologies as well as dozens of 'cultures' were created this way which often only meant differences in the shapes of vessels between societies living at the same level of development … the human factor was missing.

Superficial, formal analogy began giving way to more complex historical narratives in the best of Hungarian archaeology (as in the rest of Eastern Europe; Sklenař, 1983:5).

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[19] Best known for his key works on the Parthian ostraca and papyri of Dura Europos and as the first linguist who deciphered a major Bactrian inscription.

Fig. 9.11 Vere Gordon Childe (*right*) with László Vértes in Hungary in 1953 and the autographed caricature of Childe drawn by Vértes (1957:205)

The intellectual influence of Vere Gordon Childe on Hungarian archaeology has already been discussed in detail elsewhere (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:287). His participation in the 1927 field campaign at the Tószeg–Laposhalom tell settlement also meant the establishment of valuable personal contacts (Leighton & Stig Sørensen, 2004:52, Fig. 3). Within the context of this sub-chapter, however, it is of particular significance that having visited the Soviet Union in 1935, he developed amiable working relations with his Soviet colleagues (Trigger, 1980:124–125) and as a reaction to his previous experience with the Great Depression and resulting rise of fascism he cultivated a certain degree of sympathy for Stalinism (Faulkner, 2007). This also made him welcome in Hungary at an archaeological congress in the autumn in 1953 following a trip to the Soviet Union (Stevenson, 2011:1476) at a time when few western archaeologists had direct contacts here (Fig. 9.11). It must be stressed, however, that regardless of this political aspect, his ideas of culture history fitted seamlessly within the historicist tradition of Hungarian archaeology, prolonging its "*Childehood*" that began in the late nineteenth century. A more specifically Marxist attitude is expressed in his letter sent to László Vértes congratulating him on the publication of his analysis of Istállóskő Cave (Vértes, 1955):

> May I say it is a splendid article, and particularly valuable is the way you have emphasized the *economy* of the Aurignacian instead of relying merely upon formal typological criteria … (Vértes, 1957: 205).

Developments After 1956

After 1956, there are relatively few traces of in-depth ideological influence in the archaeological literature beyond sheer phraseology. While dramatic political pressures are known to have been exerted to play out (often personal) animosities, their evidence often remains anecdotal and its effect can be appraised rather in the composition of governing bodies of archaeology than in the professional literature.

The journal *Szovjet Régészet* was published until 1966. While in the beginning it was dominated by articles that were heavily ideological in nature (including the Communist Party directives and self-criticism by scholars connected to Marrism), scholarly writing gradually prevailed. There was a candid effort to present quality papers, although the selection still remained arbitrary. However, the journal played an important role at the time when foreign language literature was not widely available and personal research contacts with Soviet colleagues had not yet been established.

At this time, the ruling paradigm of dialectical materialism challenged but did not fundamentally contradict the strong, nineteenth century historicist/evolutionist tradition in Hungarian archaeology; the subject was by definition material culture, including the "means of production." It is unsurprising that among less ideologically committed archaeologists the change was largely phraseological in nature. However, even some "committed" Marxists seemed to have faced difficulties to come up with coherent historical interpretations concerning the periods they studied. In part, this is certainly due to the fact that in Hungary scholars specializing in different archaeological periods followed their customs and distinct methods well-entrenched in the local intellectual tradition, selection of which was often directly governed by the type of materials they chose to study. For instance:

- Prehistorians mostly relied on typology and relative chronology of pottery as a method to distinguish cultures, feeding the resulting information into a descriptive narrative rather than theory rooted in culture history (*sensu* Childe).
- Specialists of the Great Migrations and the Period of the Hungarian Conquest focused heavily on cemetery analyses and the use of linguistic data as well as ethnographic parallels in reconstructing a social history of the nation.
- Practitioners of Classical and Roman Provincial archaeology as well as archaeologists of the Medieval Period represented a fundamentally positivist approach. Often focusing on architectural and epigraphic remains in the field, they took ample advantage of written historical sources and closely cooperated with art historians.

As it has been a long-lasting tradition in general education and university training (embedded in Hungary's overall educational culture), Hungarian archaeologists predominantly followed a local version of the previously mentioned "German school," characterized by a strong typological-chronological outlook that primarily produced descriptions and classifications of finds (Bánffy, 2013a:278). This form of inductive inquiry was traditionally contextualized within the interpretive framework of historicism.

Reflecting on pre-WWII discussions concerning the ill-effects of "Hungarocentrism" in archaeological and historical research, many older archaeologists saw that the ideological and practical limitations imposed by Marxism would inevitably result in similar isolation and decline in scholarly standards. In the same way as (with a few notable exceptions) extreme nationalism was not popular among Hungarian archaeologists during the period between the two World Wars, there was no measurable impact of Soviet-propagated pan-Slavism in Hungarian archaeological work after

1948.[20] One notable response intended to demonstrate recognition of official expectations was the organization of a Slavic Archaeological Seminar in 1963 undertaken by the ARG/HAS (Török, 2010:19).

Hungarian archaeology in general has been slow to absorb new theoretical influences, something shown by the reluctant acceptance of the so-called "interdisciplinary" studies. The rejection of new ideas is frequently accompanied by what Bánffy (2013a:278) aptly called a "certain false sense of pride" rooted in the misconception that archaeology has no need for such a questionable approach as Hungary is unusually rich in sites to excavate and the data recovered through the use of just archaeological methods provide the necessary information regarding the past. Progressive archaeologists, however, began integrating interdisciplinary methods into their research agendas, including those offered by "objective" natural sciences such as pollen analyses (László, 1961:64) and physical anthropology (Bottyán, 1968, 1972; Thoma, 1965; Wenger, 1971). The 1981 appointment of a world-famous archaeozoologist, Sándor Bökönyi, as director of the prestigious AI/HAS (Bartosiewicz, 2010:xvi, Fig. XVI) may look like a nod to processual archaeology. His aim was "to place man, that is, past behaviors, and not material culture, at the centre of archaeological research" (Török, 2002:39).

People Versus Nation

Some areas of archaeological inquiry profited from communist criticism, namely that the human factor should be more at the heart of historical inquiry (Anonymous, 1951:67). Researchers who specialized in the Middle Ages were usually specialists in the history of art or religion and paid scant attention to the "working classes" represented by medieval peasantry. Consequently, the archaeology of "feudalism" developed as a valuable new branch, which was innovative in Hungary both in its methods and theory. As medieval life was largely unknown outside spectacular centers of power (castles, forts, churches), István Méri not only pioneered studies of medieval rural settlement patterns, but also played a prominent role in introducing field surveys and sampling techniques for the first time in Hungarian archaeology (Méri, 1952).

Although the first complete plan of a medieval village (Nyék) resulted from excavations by László Gerevich before WWII (Török, 2010:13, footnote 14), he later abandoned rural archaeology for the recovery of Buda Castle, devastated during WWII (Gerevich, 1966). Decades later, the first systematic research on the Migration Period and Hungarian Conquest Period settlements contributed a novel dimension to the knowledge of those periods, which until then were only known through the data obtained from cemetery analyses (Bóna, 1971, 1973).

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[20] In this regard the pressure was on Slavic-speaking nations where there was an evident opportunity for the local propaganda to emphasize their long-lasting cultural connection with "Mother Russia" (Zvelebil, 2010).

In 1954, the Archaeological Committee of the HAS held a meeting devoted to the evaluation of Marxist-inspired archaeological inquiry and identification of future directions of the field. The president, János Banner, highlighted achievements in studying the ethnogenesis of Hungarians during the First Five-Year Plan. This branch of archaeology also benefitted from research contacts with Soviet institutions and study trips, which were deemed necessary to recover new data on location (MTA, 1954:457). Gyula László seconded this opinion, emphasizing the importance of a retrospective method in understanding the archaeology of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin.[21] He drafted a multidisciplinary scheme in which linguistics, archaeology and Obi-Ugrian ethnographic data from the Kama River valley in Russia should be carefully integrated. He also indicated that he was preparing a book integrating relevant data from the Soviet Union (MTA, 1954:463). These discussions illustrate how a potentially "nationalist" topic became politically acceptable when pursued with scholarly discipline and linked to research in the Soviet Union.

Simple geopolitical proximity to the source of the new ideology, however, would not have justified concern with the ancestry of Hungarians. During the early 1950s, a new image of the "people" (*sensu* working classes rather than *Volk*[22]) was consolidated in Hungary where references to nationality were carefully avoided. This romanticized past is beautifully reflected on the banknotes of the then new currency, the Forint, introduced right after the communist takeover in 1948. The year 1948 was the centenary of the Hungarian Revolution and war of independence against the Habsburgs. [23] Leaders of this revolution (Lajos Kossuth and Sándor Petőfi) as well as those of previous uprisings (György Dózsa c.a. 1470–1514, Ferenc Rákóczi 1703–1711) were portrayed on these banknotes whose reverse sides were mostly decorated with prints or romantic paintings (Fig. 9.12). This was in sharp stylistic contrast with the functionalist, often simple-minded style that dominated communist art and design at the time.

Far from being a communist himself, the revered composer, music educator, and musicologist, Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967), also fit within this cultural scenario with his world famous method of promoting folk music-based musical literacy beginning at the elementary school level. In my opinion, the strengthening of archaeological research

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[21] Gyula László (1944) had written a ground-breaking book on the topic which pre-dated Soviet political influence. Years later, Marxist critics acknowledged that it had been a progressive work, one which avoided discussing social conflict but focused on extended families instead. They also mentioned a "capitalist reviewer" who saw Marxist methodology as the strength of László's, 1944 (!) book (Bartha & Erdélyi, 1961:72).

[22] The concept of nation, known as a bourgeois development, would have been ideologically far more problematic to promote.

[23] The 1848 Hungarian Revolution (one of several in Europe that year) broke out only a month after the publication of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Karl Marx. Curiously enough, in spite of their revolutionary character, the two events have rarely been mentioned together. They were even taught in different years (Hungarian vs international history) when I attended elementary school in the 1960s.

Fig. 9.12 Károly Lotz: Fleeing the storm (1872). Reverse side of the 100 Forint banknote newly issued in 1948

concerned with the daily life of peasants as well as the search for Finno-Ugric Hungarian roots in the territory of the Soviet Union conformed easily in a social context where national sentiments were channeled into science, artistic achievement, and sport.

The importance of the picture outlined above cannot be understood without returning to the "Trianon syndrome" whose effect on archaeological practice has already been outlined in Bartosiewicz et al. (2011:276, Fig. 1 and 286, Fig. 6). The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed in the aftermath of WWI. As a result of the 1920 Paris Peace Treaty signed at the Grand Trianon Palace in Versailles, Hungary was economically and politically crippled, having lost 72 % of the territory once covered by its medieval kingdom (325,411 km^2). Meanwhile 3.3 million ethnic Hungarians (31 % of the Hungarian population) were left stranded outside the newly drafted borders.

The resulting historic shock has led to grave ideological consequences, most notably in the way it has fueled a long-term nationalist agenda. This situation in itself would have created long-lasting tensions even if politicians had not tinkered with it. Nationalist propaganda has long operated on the premise of territorial claims in Europe. Political agendas are thus, well-known to have influenced archaeological inquiry (Kaiser, 1995:114).

Due to the ever-changing political situation over the past century, the nationalist paradigm weakened and resurfaced in a number of different forms. Suppressing nationalism after WWII was partly a reaction to it having been a daily staple for state-level irredentism previously, while thereafter the issue code-named "Trianon" was swept under the carpet until the late 1980s, when Hungarian historians began once again tackling this very sensitive problem (e.g., Gerő, 1988). In the name of proletarian internationalism, more precisely under the influence of Soviet hegemonial demands, issues of nationality were suppressed but never forgotten throughout almost the entire 1948–1989 period.

Censorship

Somewhat understandably, during the Cold War, aerial photographs became classified military material. Even as late as the 1980s, archaeologists were granted access to such information only in exceptional cases. This situation connects to one of the more notable cases of censorship in Hungarian archaeology. This was the case of the Archaeological Topography of Hungary series in which no undistorted contour maps could be included. As the publication of volumes took far longer[24] than professional mapping work, the ARG/HAS was far ahead in the precision of the maps it submitted to the Publishing House of the HAS. Some of these were not accepted as they were considered classified material at the time of submission but, frustratingly, became legal by the time the volumes were at last published many years later (Török, 2010:19).

While no central office of censorship existed to exercise control over ideologically sensitive content, authors and editors were legally responsible for whatever was published in print. My personal experience with having to exercise "censorship" as junior editor at the Publishing House of the HAS in 1978 was briefly described elsewhere (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:292, footnote 6). Much of the known cases in archaeology can be traced back to what could be called the "Trianon syndrome." The guidelines were clearly set in reference to literature, a far more sensitive subject, by Klaniczay (1964:237):

> Special consideration is due when problems with certain texts do not simply concern us [Hungarians] but also our relations with other peoples. This means nationalist texts regarding our neighbors, especially when published after 1919 … Publishing such writings reflecting an irredentist spirit need to be given up, even if they were written by [classical Hungarian writers] Gyula Juhász or [Zsigmond] Móricz. No academic interest would be worth disturbing the relationship that has developed in the spirit of proletarian internationalism with neighboring socialist countries. These works may be listed in footnotes and bibliographies, thereby guaranteeing theoretical completeness and scholarly value in spite of such.

Careful wording was one way of avoiding confrontation with the authorities. The series of archaeological bibliographies of pioneering importance first initiated by János Banner and Imre Jakabffy in 1954 was titled "Archaeological bibliography of the Central Danube Basin." The wording was carefully chosen in an effort to avoid the adjective "Carpathian" as no part of this mountain range falls within the post 1920 borders of Hungary. Although the Carpathian Basin has eventually become a standard archaeological term in reference to the territory of present-day Hungary, the cautiously worded name of the series survives (Banner & Jakabffy, 1961).[25]

Another example of politically correct language related to post-WWI geopolitics can often be seen in the international archaeological literature. The so-called Great

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[24] E.g., the seminal book by Kalicz and Makkay published in 1977 was actually submitted in 1963 (Chapman 2000:13).

[25] The symbolic power of the name is easier to understand in retrospect. Today, "*Kárpátia*" is a militant Hungarian supremacist rock band renowned for its openly racist and homophobic agenda. In March 2013, its front man, János Petrás, was decorated by the Hungarian government for his artistic achievement. http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2013/40/48565.html.

Hungarian Plain continues into Serbian Bačka and Romanian Banat. Thus, it is neutrally referred to as the "Pannonian Plain." Lake Pannon was a tertiary lake that covered the entire Carpathian Basin between ca. 12–5.4 My BP. Confusingly, this lake was named after the AD first–fourth century Roman province of Pannonia in the western hilly part of Hungary on the right bank of the Danube, that extended over everything, *except* the Great Hungarian Plain (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:277, footnote 1).

From the 1960s onward, milder politically sensitive statements could be counterbalanced in texts by what was called a "red tail." This was a brief communist credo—preferably with direct reference to Marx or Lenin[26]—usually put in the concluding remarks or in the introduction that could buy some leeway for both authors and editors (Mérő, 2003). A form of double talk evolved that absorbed "unnecessary" tensions. The moral consequences of such duality are evidently dubious and its academic disadvantages were also recognized. Török (2010:10, footnote 4) refers to an unpublished comment made by András Mócsy in the minutes of a 1962 meeting of the ARG/HAS. Based on a warning by Mócsy (a member of the HSWP), in line with official expectations, general social-historical conclusions were supposed to be written at the end of every archaeological paper. Along with a likewise advisable declaration that the analysis was "pure" of sources undesirable from an ideological point of view, this requirement resulted in a forced blend of material studies ending with shallow historical generalizations.

The "red tail" approach was a product of separation between the public narrative and personal (private) discourse, the first being congruent with political expectations, the second maintaining social identity in mental refuge. Nevertheless, the need for such academically irrelevant formal quotes faded away with time as tolerance for absurdity had its clear limits.

One of the most curious cases of *de facto* censorship is known in relation to the publication of the Vértesszőlős early hominid site discovered by László Vértes.[27] A popular book describing his investigations was printed in 3700 copies (Vértes, 1969). However, it was withdrawn from circulation within weeks. In his introductory description of village history on page 18 the author casually referred to local villagers as being of "Tót" ethnicity, an old-fashioned synonym for Slovaks that had attained a pejorative tone in the twentieth century. Later on, Vértes also mentioned an interview with a local elder who said "On June 28 1914 the evil Serbs, incited by the Russians, killed our beloved pretender, Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife." The same person continued to talk about 1920: "… following the dictatorship of the Reds came the Christian course with lots of fireworks but little conviction" (Kordos, 2014). Having revisited the reprinted book that appeared a few months later I found the villagers described as Slovaks. Erasing the first-hand historical account of the local elder not only left page 20 blank in the new volume but as printers produced books in 16 page arches, a 5 mm wide stub along the binding still indicated the place of the excised page.

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[26] References to such authorities as Stalin and Rákosi, were mandatory during the early 1950s but had no bearing for negotiating questionable content.

[27] The linguistic relationship between the name of the excavator and the site is a sheer coincidence.

Fig. 9.13 Portrait of
László Vértes drawn by his
wife in the booklet of
caricatures he made of his
colleagues in the
Hungarian National
Museum (Vértes, 1953)

Such extreme wording would not have been tolerated in a widely circulated book
at the time. It hit an especially raw nerve in the aftermath of the Warsaw Pact inva-
sion of Czechoslovakia overnight on August 20th 1968, which involved Hungarian
forces, to suppress the "Prague Spring."[28] World-famous by this time, Vértes
(Fig. 9.13) was a flamboyant and original intellectual who possibly did not care
much about the risk involved. It is unknown, however, how the incriminating parts
of his book escaped editorial rigor and made it to print in the first place. The grim
fact of censorship is not made more positive by the fact that neither these sections
nor their removal had anything to do with the archaeological content of the book
concerning the discovery of a 350,000 year old hominid find in Hungary.

Archaeological aspects of the sensitive political relation between Hungary and
Romania following WWI were summarized by Leighton and Stig Sørensen
(2004:49–50) through the example of the first visit by Vere Gordon Childe in the
region during the 1920s. Since then the noxious issue of Trianon has stayed
around ….

A politically charged but intellectually noteworthy project was the 1986 publica-
tion of a tripartite "*History of Transylvania*" by the HAS. It created understandable

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[28] Vértes died on the very same day in 1968; his manuscript was already being edited, i.e., his
wording had pre-dated the invasion.

tensions between increasingly open Hungary and Romania struggling with economic, political, and moral crises in the wake of Nicolae Ceaușescu's *bona fide* dictatorship. Volume I (Makkai & Mócsy, 1986) included chapters by widely respected authorities in Hungarian archaeology, addressing politically delicate questions such as the competing theories of ethnogenesis that have been a staple for polemics between Hungarians and Romanians since the nineteenth century. It remains unknown to what extent the archaeological chapters were censored and how much of the content was due to the editors own initiative (Makkay, 1999). However, the volumes were written in a moderate language, palpably striving for a distinct air of scholarly objectivity.[29] In a subtle way, this language was not simply moderated but also formulated in such a way that control could be maintained during the scholarly discourse. According to the editor-in-chief, Béla Köpeczi, then Minister of Culture:

> We have endeavored to benefit from that up-to-date aspect that has been elaborated in Hungarian Marxist historiography on the basis of general Marxist theory for the past thirty years … we have all been spurred on by the desire to break with the traditions of nationalist historiography (Köpeczi, 1988:303).

In February 1987, the Council of Nationalities in Bucharest responded by addressing the "historical challenge." Ceaușescu accused the authors recruited by the HAS of disturbing the "harmonious relations" between two fraternal socialist countries. Among the issues of archaeological relevance he re-asserted the contested idea of Daco-Roman continuity (a cornerstone in Romanian historiography). On 7 April 1987, a paid advertisement was taken out in the London Times pointing to the "falsification of history" committed by the HAS as well as the pamphlet: "A Conscientious [*sic*] Forgery of History of Transylvania under the Aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences" (Ludanyi, 2009:132).

In response to the continuing accusations by Romanian historians, a conference was organized on historical research in Transylvania in Hungary in October 1987. The authorities' rationale for tolerating the meeting was that "Hungarian historians … cannot rely on other nations to do this task, all the less so because as experience has shown, those nations may distort it" (Rácz, 1988:259).

The deeper issue underlying the polemics surfaced on June 27, 1988 when a spontaneous rally took place in Budapest, possibly the largest since the mass movements of the 1956 uprising. An estimated number of at least 30,000 peaceful demonstrators protested against Ceaușescu's declaration made in the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. He announced that by 2000 the inhabitants of small villages would be moved into standard "agro-industrial centers." The demolition of rural life would have disproportionately hit small settlements traditionally inhabited by ethnic Hungarians. These were, however, the last months of "communism" in Europe. Barely a year later Ceaușescu and his wife

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[29] In his review of the English edition Ludanyi (2009: 151) considered it shockingly disproportionate that a mere three pages long discussion was devoted to the Trianon Peace Treaty in the three heavy volumes.

Elena, Deputy Prime Minister of Romania, were to be hastily executed by a firing squad on Christmas Day. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, Eastern Europe faced a free but uncertain future.

International Exposure of Hungarian Archaeology

The ordinary international relations of Hungarian archaeologists were, fortunately, far more constructive, especially after 1956. First the presentation of Hungarian archaeology to the outside world is worth considering by analyzing foreign language preferences of paper abstracts published in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, the leading Hungarian language archaeological journal (Fig. 9.14).

The half-heartedness of political posturing in Hungary is revealed by the sporadic occurrence of exclusively Russian language abstracts published in *Archaeologiai Értesítő* in the 1950s. From the early 1960s onwards, Russian abstracts were published usually in conjunction with another summary in a western language (labeled "bilingual" in Fig. 9.14) although consistently preceding it (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011:301). After 1989, however, even such bilingual abstracts are rare: in addition to the ever-dominant German, only English abstracts began to be consistently provided while the use of exclusively French abstracts became sporadic during the studied period.

Although after 1956 travel restrictions were gradually lifted in Hungary, the first foreign expeditions were usually led by professionals who were also members of the HSWP. For instance, excavations in the People's Republic of Mongolia between 1961 and 1990 were directed by István Erdélyi of the ARG-AI/HAS. Archaeologists investigated a wide range of sites including Hiung-nu Period pit mounds (the first century BC) at Noin-Ula and the tenth–fifth century
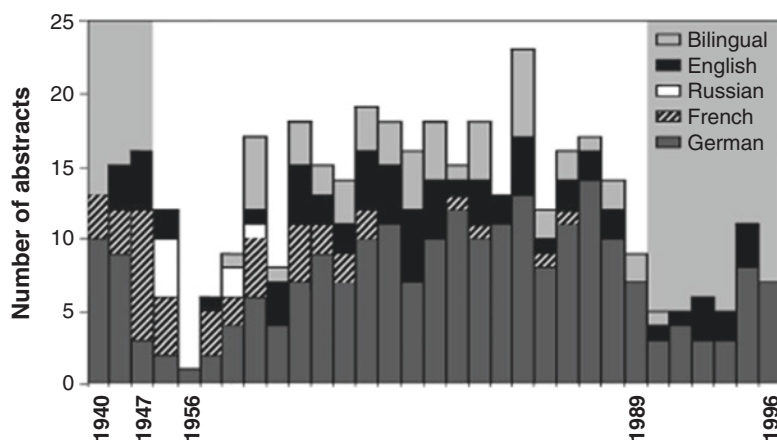
Fig. 9.14 Preferences for abstracts in foreign languages in Archaeologiai Értesítő

BC burials in the Orehon–Selenga interfluve. Later periods were represented by the AD seventh century pit-grave with a stone superstructure in the Huniy River Valley (e.g., Erdélyi, Dorjsüren, & Navaan, 1967; Erdélyi, 2000).

In 1964, the HAS was granted an opportunity to take part in the UNESCO-sponsored rescue excavations preceding the construction of Aswan Dam on the Nile in the former United Arab Republic. The team led by László Castiglione of the ARG/HAS uncovered the AD fifth–twelfth century urban settlement and cemetery at Abdallah Nirqi in the proximity of Abu Simbel (Török, 2002:37). For years, however, Castiglione (another member of the HSWP) failed to find support for expanding excavations into relevant parts of Turkey and North Africa. On the other hand, joint excavations by the Institute and the Archaeological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and the AI/HAS enjoyed support at Majatzkoye (District of Voronezh, 1975, 1977) in the Soviet Union. Within the framework of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation they were reciprocated by Hungarians and Russian colleagues were invited to participate in excavations in Hungary at the Late Neolithic-Middle Bronze Age tell settlement of Berettyóújfalu–Herpály (1977, 1978), and the Late Roman fort at Keszthely–Fenékpuszta (1976–1977, 1978, 1979). Although these valuable sites were selected with scholarly care, the results of excavations have never been published beyond annual preliminary reports (Kalicz, 1978–1979).

In 1983, the Department of Egyptology of the Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest began excavations at Tomb 32 on the El-Khokha mound in Thebes under the direction of László Kákosy (1986). In the same year, the AI/HAS was given the opportunity to begin the first ever Hungarian excavation in Italy near Rome at the early Roman Imperial Period villa of San Potito di Ovindoli (Gabler & Redő, 1986). Although Italy was a "Western" country, its influential Partito Communista Italiano (partly financed by Moscow; Danckers, 2010) made it an easier academic partner in the eyes of Hungarian authorities than "Western" Germany or Great Britain. Facilitating the San Potito project was a major achievement by Sándor Bökönyi, director of the AI/HAS, who in the meantime personally cultivated good working contacts in Italy, especially at the *Università degli Studi di Roma* "*La Sapienza*" and the *Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (Bartosiewicz, 2010:xx, Fig. XV). During the late 1980s, members of the latter institution took part in AI/HAS excavations in Békés County, southeastern Hungary (Bökönyi, 1992).

After succeeding in unifying the left wing parties under his candidacy, President François Mitterrand lavishly supported archaeological research at the ancient Celtic center of Bibracte at Mont Beuvray, France. In 1985, he inaugurated a monument there; his speech celebrated the place where, for the first time, "the unity of the Gallic chiefs was achieved around Vercingétorix" (Thiesse, 2010:53). In 1988, a team from the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Loránd Eötvös University led by Miklós Szabó joined scholars from another 12 countries collaborating in the ambitious research project. This cooperation was paralleled by the 1988–1994 Franco-Hungarian Mont Beauvray–Velem-Szentvid project of study excavations directed by Miklós Szabó (Kalla, 2003:423).

Concluding Remarks

Understanding the historiography behind the late twentieth century developments in Hungarian archaeology is the precondition for creating fresh attitudes within this field. Central planning, mandatory full-employment and predictable long-term funding indubitably favored large scale projects hardly imaginable today, even if the efficiency of work often lagged behind some of the most ambitious enterprises.

However, intellectual influence associated with the socialist political/institutional infrastructure left relatively little lasting mark on the way archaeology was approached in Hungary. Most work produced during the "communist years" remained within the positivist and functionalist culture-history paradigm commingled with aspects of the material culture rhetoric characteristic of the Marxist approach. The natural symbiosis between these fundamentally late nineteenth century ideas is quite visible in mainstream Hungarian archaeology even today.

The concept of "Man conquering Nature" was a key element in communist ideology, a tenet taught from elementary school onwards as reflecting human development and evolution. These ideas fit perfectly with the Marxist concept of unilineal social progress from the primitive towards the advanced. Human nature was likewise considered open to perpetual improvement. Self-censorship therefore played a significant role. A consensus developed by which authors used a disciplined tone, avoiding statements that would directly antagonize the prevailing political standards. In archaeology it was not particularly difficult to maintain such a politically neutral style of writing although a few strong taboos remained in the public discourse. These included consequences of the massive territorial losses to neighboring countries in the aftermath of WWI. Racism and specifically antisemitism were other topics to be avoided in public, although they remained unimportant from an archaeological point of view.

Epilogue

Although not archaeological in nature, to me the "evolution" of a contemporary artifact, a piece of built heritage, seems to offer the best summary of the time period discussed in this chapter. It is the story of the *Zero Kilometer Monument* that marks the point from where all distances from Budapest are measured. First a graceful marble statue of the Holy Virgin holding the royal crown of Hungary (*Patrona Hungariae* by Jenő Körmendi Frim) was erected in this spot in 1932 sponsored by the *Hungária Automobil Club*. Destroyed during the 1944–1945 siege of Budapest, the statue was replaced in 1953 by the figure of an industrial worker with a wheel (by László Molnár), typical of social realism in art. In 1974, this effigy was "sent into exile" to a hidden suburban railway station and replaced by the sculpture created by Miklós Borsos in 1975, a piece of functionalist art, free of any explicit ideological leanings (Fig. 9.15).

Fig. 9.15 The Zero Kilometer Monument in Budapest by Miklós Borsos (1975)

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Chapter 10
Between Science and Ideology: Aspects of Archaeological Research in the Former GDR Between the End of World War II and the Reunification

Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer

Introduction

Fundamental Aspects of the History of Research

The goal of researching the history of a scientific field[1] cannot just be to determine who concerned him/herself in what manner with a certain problem, or at such and such time, and what new interpretations of old findings have been offered. All these things are important, but they only form a factual base for the really important question. That question simply is: Why did it all happen? In order to answer this question, two inter-related aspects need to be considered. First, the intellectual context in which the research was conducted and in which each person engaged in scientific research was embedded, even if often unwittingly, needs to be outlined. Secondly, it is necessary to reveal the political condition of research. Both aspects contribute to answering more significant questions about the relationship between science and politics: Could research topics and especially methods be freely chosen? Were the research subjects purely field-related, or were they politically influenced or even manipulated for the purpose of political legitimation or propagandistic use? The danger for the latter is especially great in nondemocratic countries, but it is also not completely eliminated in democracies. Although democracies offer more opportunities to evade political demands, in many cases the economic pressure is overwhelming and while scholars are able to freely choose a topic, they are

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[1] General reflections on the history of research in archaeology by Veit (2010), together with extensive additional literature. Due to the limited scope of this article, Veit embedding the issue in a large history of science context cannot be pursued.

E. Gringmuth-Dallmer (retired) (✉)
Ostseestraße 98, 10409 Berlin, Germany
e-mail: eike.gringmuth@gmail.com

also being "forced" sometimes to work on a temporary, assigned topic in order to make a living.[2]

These few remarks outline the context of this paper, which is to present the fundamentals of prehistoric research in the former GDR[3] and its intellectual-historical, ideological-historical, and political contexts. It is necessary to take into account that in dictatorships ideology and politics are strongly interconnected and that development of ideas in relation to the history of ideas outside the stipulated framework of thoughts does take place, but that the possibility to disseminate such ideas is so small that they have little impact on the overall activities.

I would like to start by making a personal statement. The question of whether contemporaries should talk about a history of research in which they participated, or even are jointly responsible for, is rightly asked. However, the temporal and mental distance is too short and the danger that idealization or bitterness might wield the pen too big. This applies especially to a situation when it concerns not just a listing of pure facts but also their evaluation and interpretation. A balanced presentation of the history of the discipline can certainly not be provided here. Besides the necessary internal distance, it would require processing and analyzing of extensive unpublished source materials, which cannot be conducted by a single person within a reasonable period of time.

I have decided to contribute an article to this volume after all, because I am convinced that a large part of the conduct of the actors during the time period in question as well as their research-related decisions has barely been documented. At least no written records are currently accessible, and especially when one is asking the "why" question, it can only be answered by those affected by the decisions they describe. In such a context, it is clear that the history of archaeological research in the GDR can neither be objectively nor comprehensively presented. It is the experience of participants that forms an important source that should not be understated. For this reason, I do not share Th. Widera's (2009:216) opinion that: "The hasty conclusion that many scientists have tried to evade the politically stipulated way of thinking, is analytically of no value…," but I do agree with another Widera's conclusion "…that the answers to the question on the position of science and the scientists concerning their relationship to politics has to be as multi-faceted as the topic itself"(ibid., 217).

Prominent Individuals

H. Behrens (e.g., 1984:19) and the editorial team of the posthumous article by W. Coblenz (2000) have made membership in the communist party *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (*SED*) the key criterion to assess whether a scientist

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[2] More detailed on the issue of adaptation or refusal cf. Härke (2000), 21 ff., who in this regard also refers to difficulties confronted by scientists in democratic countries.

[3] The GDR (German Democratic Republic). Part of Germany which was the Soviet occupation zone from the end of WWII in 1945 until 1949 when it became a communist-ruled country. The period 1945–1949 is included here and for the sake of simplicity, is terminologically not specifically distinguishable.

identified him/herself fully with the communist system and allowed him or herself to operate as its vicarious agent. For good reasons, Coblenz himself has refrained from such blanket assignations. There were leading scientists who, at least in regard to their professional work, were irreproachable, and on the other side, there were non-Party members who went along with everything the system had imposed. There were *Genossen*[4] (comrades) who were not allowed to travel to the West, and some non-*Genossen* who were allowed to travel. The first group included people who became Party members with conviction and who later withdraw their membership. Leaving the Party would have prevented any halfway satisfying work.

And there were people who actually for the sake of the matter made certain compromises, e.g., on the occasion of an official anniversary they added an acknowledgment to a publication because without such acknowledgment the publication would not have been authorized. The individual cases are complicated and require a nuanced view, which this article cannot provide, the more so as often there are no written records of the specific circumstances. For this reason, the membership in the SED is only sporadically mentioned; otherwise, the facts should speak for themselves.

State of Research and Publication

Of course, no comprehensive history of archaeological research in the GDR has been presented yet. Most notably, a collection of source materials is missing, which makes the verification process especially difficult, because a proof of every piece of information, to the extent they do not fall into the clear category of "personally experience," would pointlessly inflate this article. Almost all the information on institutions and persons mentioned in this article is scattered throughout the magazine *Ausgrabungen und Funde* (Excavations and Finds) published between 1956 and 1994, mostly as "*Kleinen Mitteilungen*" (brief communications) as well as in the journal *Mitteilungen zur Alten Geschichte und Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Communications on Ancient History and Archaeology in the German Democratic Republic). This was an internal bulletin published by the *Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* (Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology) at the behest of the "*Problemrat*" (Advisory Council) from 1973 to 1988, since 1976 known as *Wissenschaftlicher Rat für Archäologie und Alte Geschichte* (Scientific Council for Archaeology and Ancient History), containing work reports and publication reports of all archaeological and classical studies institutions of the GDR. It is only occasionally stocked in public libraries.

However, there is also a number of publications that give an overview of the status of archaeology in the entire GDR, or individual regions and institutions, which describe it in detail. Georg Kossack (1999) has analyzed the *Prähistorische Archäologie in Deutschland im Wandel der geistigen und politischen Situation* (Prehistorical Archaeology in Germany throughout Changing Intellectual and Political Landscape) from its beginnings, which also included research in the GDR.

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[4] The official term for members of the SED (German Socialist United Party).

Gabriele Mante (2007) took a comparable approach in her book *Die deutschsprachige prähistorische Archäologie. Eine Ideengeschichte im Zeichen von Wissenschaft, Politik und europäischen Werten* (The German-speaking Prehistoric Archaeology. A History of Ideas in the Context of Science, Politics and European Values). Herrmann Behrens (1984), who for two decades held a managing position, presented the first overview of the status of archaeology in East Germany shortly after moving to the Federal Republic of Germany. Johannes Wien (1992) has attempted another overall assessment in his diploma thesis, which, unfortunately, has not been published yet. Papers by Werner Coblenz (1998, 2000), who also held a managing position in the past, and by this author (Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1993) present an initial review based on personal experiences. All authors attempted to show both positive and negative aspects of archaeology under political pressure.

In 2006, the mostly fact-oriented conference proceedings *Berlin und Brandenburg: Geschichte der archäologischen Forschung* (Berlin and Brandenburg—A History of Archaeological Research) (Haspel & Menghin, 2006) was published, which for the first time in Germany examined all aspects of research for a bigger region, and which included an analysis of research conducted by museums and amateur societies, universities, *Bodendenkmalpflege* (protection and preservation service for archaeological monuments), and research outside of universities. A. Leube (2010) devoted one whole volume to prehistory and early history at the *Berliner Universität Unter den Linden* (today Humboldt University). The whole volume 67 of the "*Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*" (1984) (Annual Review of Central Germany Prehistory) was devoted to the history of the *Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle* (State Museum of Prehistory in Halle). J. Brabandt (2007) has presented an "analyzing compilation of published archaeological materials" from Saxony-Anhalt. In addition, there is a number of articles that are cited throughout this article. Particularly worth mentioning is H. Grünert's (1992) paper on prehistory and early history research in Berlin. The author is one of those responsible for the status of research during the final phase of the GDR, but he incorporated a few self-critical remarks into an otherwise purely fact-oriented presentation (see section "Universities").

Of course as everywhere also in the GDR some of those responsible for the status of archaeology under communism assessed themselves in a larger context of the history of science. Such discussions appeared mostly in summarizing publications such as an anthology prepared for the IX Congress of the UISPP (IUPPS) in Nice, which looked back on the 25 years of research in Eastern Germany (Herrmann, 1976a). Quoting such publications further would go beyond the scope of this article, however.

Research Stages

Overall Framework

Bernhard Hänsel (1991:14) has consolidated the periods of Nazi Germany and of the GDR, i.e., the time between 1933 and 1989/1990, into one period for the purpose to present the history of archaeological research as a "scientific legitimation of

the ruling state ideology" and to equalize the Nazi and communist approaches to the past. This view is to be rejected and was already countered with arguments presented upon the publication of Hänsel's article (cf. Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1991a). This issue will not be reviewed more closely here.

Also, archaeological research in the GDR is not to be viewed as one unified approach. It is delineated by two major periods. The first period encompasses the 1950s and most of the 1960s. It is defined by the presence of individuals whose personal and scientific views were shaped before World War II, but who did not engage politically during the Nazi period. The most prominent representative of this period was Wilhelm Unverzagt. The second period, which evolved from a longer transition phase, dates from the end of the 1960s and dominated the 1980s. It is defined by the scientists, who, except for a few individuals, were educated in the GDR and whose complete agreement with the political-ideological views of the SED and state leadership was the main requirement for reaching a managerial position. Its most prominent representative was Joachim Herrmann. Both groups have made significant contributions to the archaeological research.

Because no sudden shift from one period to the next took place and because there was also a short additional "phase-out period" after the collapse of the GDR and its transition into the political and social system of the Federal Republic of Germany, the research is to be divided into four general periods[5] (Gringmuth-Dallmer, 2006, 122 ff.):

1. The "Unverzagt Era," 1945/1947 to 1964. This period was characterized by the establishment of a high-performing institute for prehistory and early history at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Academy of Science, hereinafter *Akademie*), the resumption of teaching activities at universities, the establishment of a capable government-led *Bodendenkmalpflege* and by interdivisional bodies that bolstered the field overall and secured its external representation. From the perspective of science policy, this period is also characterized by efforts to preserve the integrity of pan-German research.
2. The "Otto Phase" from 1964 to 1969 should be considered an interim stage with as a whole not much successful efforts to establish Marxism-Leninism (dialectical materialism and historical materialism) in archaeology. During that time, the course was set for the forthcoming Herrmann Era.
3. The "Herrmann Era" from 1969 to 1989/1990. This period was characterized by the attempt to anchor the communist state ideology in research and teaching and by a more intense broad effect, but also by a distinctly solid *Bodendenkmalpflege* with important excavations and extensive publishing.
4. The phase-out period during the systemic transition at times of Reunification in 1990/1991 which led to a complete takeover of archaeological research by the scientific standards of the German Federal Republic.

These periods are described in more detail below.

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[5] The author used this division for the first time in 2006, but only in relation to the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Academy of Sciences) and with fewer details (Gringmuth-Dallmer, 2006, 122 ff.).

From the End of WWII Until Mid-1960s: The "Unverzagt Era"

In the first years after the end of WWII, Marxist-inspired research of any sort did not exist in GDR as there were no scholars familiar with this view. Rather, the SED and state leadership[6]—largely composed of the same persons—were forced to rely on scientists who during the Nazi time did not expressly voice their support for the regime, as openly critical position was not possible. This situation often caused problems as it is astoundingly shown in the case of Wilhelm Unverzagt (1892–1971; Herrmann, 1982; Coblenz, 1992). With a bourgeois-liberal background and conviction, he was director of the *Staatliche Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in Berlin (State Museum for Prehistory and Early History), one of the most important archaeological institutions in Germany. Both the director and the museum staff stayed out of official politics. Nevertheless, the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Prussian Academy of Sciences) made him a member, but the responsible for nominations *Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (Reich Ministry of Science and National Education) refused to officially appoint him. Instead, he was given a choice to either becoming a member of the NSDAP or lose his position as the director of the museum. He succumbed to this pressure and became a member of the NSDAP, certainly also in order not to jeopardize his life's work. In 1946, due to his membership in the NSDAP, the *Akademie* refused appointing him and his wish for an appointment at the Humboldt University was also declined. In 1949, he was finally appointed a member of the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften* (DAW; German Academy of Sciences) and as such had, until his retirement in 1964, the opportunity to shape the research related to prehistory and early history in the GDR.

Unverzagt focused his research on castles. If I see this correctly, the basis for his interests was of strictly scientific nature, i.e., he concerned a specific site or a specific issue arising from the material. In 1947, under his leadership the Commission for Prehistory and Early History at the DAW in Berlin converted in 1952 into a section under the same name that coordinated research in the former GDR. Besides Unverzagt and his deputy Paul Grimm (1907–1993; Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1994), the members of the Commission were university professors and the directors of all *Archäoglische Landesmuseen* (Regional Archaeological Museums) (see section "State-Run Bodendenkmalpflege (Preservation of Archaeological Monuments)"). The staff also included representatives of other closely related disciplines to which Unverzagt attached great importance due to his belief in a pan-German science, such as colleagues from the FRG, E. Sprockhoff, O. Kunkel, G. Bersu. The section's probably most important work was the passing of the "*Verordnung zum Schutze und der Erhaltung der ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Bodenaltertümer*" (Ordinance to Safeguard and Maintain Prehistoric and Early Historical Archaeological Monuments)

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[6] The official political leadership was, of course, in the hands of government agencies, whose leading positions were almost exclusively staffed with members of the party *Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED). The Party reserved the right to set out main policies as well as to make all the important individual decisions.

in 1954, which put the *Bodendenkmalpflege* on legal footing and declared all archaeological monuments and new discoveries property of the state.

Another activity worth mentioning was the *Handbuch der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Wall- und Wehranlagen* (Handbook of Prehistoric and Early Historical Ramparts and Military Fortifications) prepared in the tradition of the "*Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Erforschung der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Wall- und Wehranlagen Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*" (Working Group for the Exploration of Prehistoric and Early Historic Ramparts and Military Fortifications in Central and Eastern Germany), founded in 1927 with Unverzagt's significant contribution. Its goal was to systematically catalogue all fortifications from their early appearance until around 1300 CE and their scientific evaluation, but ultimately, only a volume on the Halle and Magdeburg Districts (*Bezirke*) (Saxony-Anhalt) in Central Germany by P. Grimm (1958), and a volume on Berlin and the neighboring Potsdam District (*Bezirk*) by J. Herrmann (1960) were published. Even if this undertaking was stopped for some incomprehensible reasons at the end of the 1960s, especially P. Grimm's work as well as his full excavation of the *Kaiserpfalz Tilleda* (Grimm, 1968/1990) set new standards that apply beyond the borders of the former GDR until today.

The section was quietly dissolved in 1968 and its members have not even received an official notification.[7] This fact does not only prove the end of a research history epoch at the *Akademie*, but also a new style that was to shape the times to come.

Transition Period: The "Otto Phase"

In the 1960s, a decisive restructuring of the research landscape in the GDR began. In the beginning, it was driven by Karl-Heinz Otto (1915–1989; Leube, 2010:134–136), who had studied in Halle where had obtained his doctorate in 1939. Evidently, he saw a chance for a successful career in a shift toward Marxism-Leninism. In his postdoctoral thesis defended in 1953 titled *Die sozial-ökonomischen Verhältnisse bei den Stämmen der Lausitzer Kultur in Mitteldeutschland* (Socio-economic Relationships of the Tribes of the Lausitz Culture in Central Germany) (Otto, 1955) he attempted to use the Marxist-Leninist[8] approach to prehistoric research. He had laid out the methodological foundation for his approach, starting with a quotation of Stalin, in an article on the basic research principles published in 1953 (Otto, 1953)[9]

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[7] Verbally notified by my academic teacher, the section member Gotthard Neumann, Jena, 1968.

[8] The type of Marxism in the former socialist countries was based on Lenin's interpretation of Marx's works and is not comparable to the approach by archaeologists in the Western world, which is based on Marx. The issue cannot be more detailed here.

[9] Joachim Werner (1954) critically analyzed this article in "*Neue Wege vorgeschichtlicher Methodik*?" (New Paths for Prehistorical Methodology?), to which Otto (1954) wrote a response. Werner's article contained the footnote: "With the publication of the above article the publishers respond to a desire by several representatives of the field to open a discussion about methodological issues in prehistoric research." Because the FRG-side feared straining the still good relation at that time between prehistorians in East and West Germany by this unavoidably highly ideologi-

and presented to the larger public later (Otto, 1962). After working in museums and teaching in Halle, he arrived in Berlin in 1952, where he became the director of the department *Geschichte der Urgesellschaft* (History of Primitive Society) at the Museum of German History, an institution that was organized to present the official government's view of history to the public (Griesa, 2007, see section "Museums"). At the same time, he was also rising through the ranks at the Humboldt University and after going through several intermediate levels received a professorship of pre-history and early history in 1960. He also became dean of the philosophical faculty. Simultaneously, he led the Institute of Prehistory and Early History at the DAW from 1964, as Unverzagt's successor. All these appointments indicate that there were not many competent candidates with the desired by the authorities political orientation.

Overall, it needs to be taken into consideration that K.-H. Otto's efforts—and the same applies to his successor—were not a solo run but in full conformity with the GDR government efforts to control science through its policies. However, his influence regarding the identification of topics and archaeological research methodology was, all in all, minor—except assigning topics of master theses and dissertations (see section 6.2).

Attempting a More Ideological Approach: The "Herrmann Era"

In the years 1968–1969, the structure of science was completely reorganized in the GDR. The most important changes included universities and the *Akademie* reforms. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for such massive restructuring was the desire to get rid of undesirable scholars, especially of so-called "bourgeois" background, i.e., non-Marxist, scientists many of whom still occupied key positions. In effect, without detailed explanations institutes that did not fit into the new political landscape were either eliminated or fundamentally restructured. At the *Akademie* this happened by way of consolidating the institutes of relatively manageable size into bigger, centralized units.

Interestingly, the assignment to prepare a plan for the consolidation of archaeology and ancient history at the DAW, now renamed *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*, was not given to K.-H. Otto but to his 36-year old pupil Joachim Herrmann (1932–2010; Leube, 2010, 145–150; Brather, 2010), who, contrary to his teacher, was renown internationally. The *Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* (*ZIAGA*, Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology) was founded on May 1, 1969, with Joachim Herrmann becoming its director. In 1972, Herrmann was appointed a corresponding member of the *Akademie*, and in 1974, full member. The *ZIAGA* consisted of four scientific departments Prehistory and Early History, Ancient Orient, Greek-Roman History, and Greek-Roman Cultural History. The

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cally charged debate, the discussion was not continued (Gotthard Neumann personal communication).

structure also included library and the Department of Information/Documentation. The first director of the now Department of Prehistory and Early History was K.-H. Otto, the previous director of the institute (until 1976), who was followed by Bruno Krüger from 1977 to 1990.

Leading the *Akademie* institute was important because its director was in a position of extraordinary power and his influence extended far beyond the *Akademie*. Herrmann's aspirations to expand the *ZIAGA* into a "*Leitinstitut*" (governing institute) for the whole archaeological research in the GDR could not be fulfilled. Particularly, the directors of the *Landesmuseen* (regional museums) safeguarded to a large extent the autonomy for their areas of responsibility. But one body existed that discussed all questions regarding the whole field: the *Problemrat* (Advisory Council), later known as the *Rat für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* (Council on Ancient History and Archaeology), whose members represented all archaeological and ancient history fields (including the classical and Near Eastern archaeology, Egyptology, classical philology, and others). Its chairman was also Joachim Herrmann. The *Nationalkommitee für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der DDR* (GDR National Committee for Prehistory and Early History) under the leadership of K.-H. Otto was founded in 1965 and served as an external representative of the GDR struggling for international recognition rather than a decision-making body. The extent to which both institutions set the course for the scientific field as a whole is an open question. At least, Herrmann was able to commit all archaeologists of the country to certain joint tasks. A prime example is the *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (7.-12. Jh.)* (Corpus on Archaeological Sources on the GDR Territory (seventh–twelfth century.)) (Corpus), in which all leading specialists with the exception of E. Schuldt participated. The valuable corpus included the Frankish/Teutonic finds, but the actual goal was the search for the Slavic materials. Between 1973 and 1985, four of five volumes were published, with efforts continuing to finalize and print the last part (south part of Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia) that fell victim to the political upheaval. Additionally, handbooks on Slavic and Teutonic research were presented (*Handbuch Slawen, Handbuch Germanen*). Especially B. Hänsel (1991:15) negatively noted that the purpose of both was to present a Marxist-Leninist-based overview to a larger public. Both volumes, to which authors from all over the GDR contributed, contain a number of contributions without any ideological distortion. Also worth mentioning is the two-volume *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, published simultaneously in Leipzig (East Germany) and by Theiss in Stuttgart (West Germany) in 1989. The latter was not a sign of liberalization, as one might think, but was due to the country's precarious financial situation. Besides overview articles, it contains descriptions of 333 important sites organized chronologically and regionally, plus literature, and, therefore, is a good introduction to the many problems encountered by archaeologists in East Germany.

Of great significance were the international conferences organized by the *ZIAGA* every two years on quite often ideologically loaded topics such as *Probleme der Staatsentstehung* (1970) (Problems of State Formation), *Die Rolle der Volksmassen*

in der Geschichte der frühen Gesellschaftsformationen (1973) (The Role of the Ordinary People (commoners) in the History of Early Formation of Society), *Die Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte und die gesetzmäßige Abfolge der Gesellschaftsformationen* (1978) (The *Development of Productive Forces and Order of Formation of Society*), but also more neutral topics such as *Archäologische Denkmäler und Umweltgestaltung* (1975) (Archaeological Monuments and Shaping of the Environment) or *750 Jahre Berlin – Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen der Stadtentwicklung in Mitteleuropa und der Entstehung europäischer Hauptstädte* (1987) (750 Years of Berlin—Prerequisites and Fundamentals of Town Development in Central Europe and the Emergence of European Capitals).[10] At the conferences, the keynote speeches given by the director and especially by his deputy Mrs. Irmgard Sellnow—an ethnographer whose paper *Grundprinzipien einer Periodisierung der Urgeschichte* (Sellnow, 1961) (The Fundamentals of Prehistoric Periodization) gave important impulses for a Marxist interpretation of the archaeological records—were ideologically coated while nearly all of the individual lectures, to which representatives of the *FRG* (Federal Republic of Germany better known as West Germany) and other Western countries were invited, satisfied strict scientific requirements.

The same applies to the conference proceedings of the prehistoric and early history group of the *Historiker-Gesellschaft der DDR* (Association of Historians of the GDR), an umbrella organization of all historians (and therefore also archaeologists) of the country who conducted research following the Marxist-Leninist approach. The group was formed in 1958 after the Central and East German Association for Archaeology—as a complement to the existing North West German and South West German Association for Archaeology in the FRG—was forbidden (for details see Behrens, 1984, 14 ff.). The group was supposed to be formed during a conference in Erfurt in 1958, after the stunned participants were informed by the Contemporary Period historian Ernst Engelberg that no founding was going to take place. Instead, all prehistorians were supposed to become members of the prehistory and early history group of the *Deutsche Historiker-Gesellschaft* soon to be formed, which, of course, later was renamed *Historiker-Gesellschaft der DDR*. That group clearly saw itself as trailblazers for the Marxist-Leninist view of history and its propagation. Here are a few citations from the editorial to the report on the colloquium in 1967 with the topic *Beitrag der Urgeschichtsforschung zur Herausbildung eines wissenschaftlichen Weltbildes* (The Contribution of Prehistoric Research to the Emergence of a Scientific World-view) (Hoffmann, 1967): "In light of the rising political role of the science of history for the achievement of socialism, there are still many opportunities and also obligation to work more effectively toward self-improvement." The science of history was accorded great importance "as a tool for education and formation in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress" whereby also

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[10] Omnibus volumes were published on all conferences, individual evidence in "Mitteilungen zur Alten Geschichte und Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik." Conference proceedings were published in the *Ethnographisch-Archäologischen Zeitschrift*, which in general was dedicated to reporting on such events and, thus, an important tool for the history of science issues.

the older periods researched by archaeology "have to be an integral part of a comprehensive scientific world view." It was all in contrast to the West, which attempts to "put history in the service of the ruling state monopoly system." Subsequently, it was determined that as a result of the VII SED party convention[11] "a specific task will arise for our group, namely to increasingly help reinforce the socialist view of history of the residents of the GDR and to simultaneously confront the unprogressive West German propaganda on history" (Hoffmann, 1967, 1, see also Schlette, 1975, 268). In practice, these efforts were barely noticed. It must be emphasized that by far not all scholars became members of the group. Also, to my knowledge, and as it concerns non-party members, no attempts were made to put pressure on the group members in this regard.

Membership in international bodies was of special political importance for the GDR authorities because the country was missing general international recognition until the beginning of the 1970s (Coblenz, 1998, 543–545). As a result, Germany was represented by only West German scientists in various international organizations. The country was eventually recognized by the *Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques* (UISPP) through complicated interims solutions—first, a West German colleague waived his membership in favor of an East German colleague, later two not officially nominated archaeologists were appointed and the GDR got its own representation aligned to its government's expectations. The founding of the *Union Internationale d´Archéologie Slave* within the UISPP, in which scientists from the GDR played a leading role, was much more successful because Slavs had settled mostly the territory of the now socialist European countries (Eastern Europe) and, therefore, their representatives called the shots.

The Final Stage: Integration of Research in the GDR with the Scientific Structures of the FRG

As with other institutions, there were internal efforts already in fall of 1989 to democratically reorganize the country. These efforts, the core of which was not only democratization in politics but also in science, were neither appreciated by the rulers who feared the loss of their power, nor by the West. Many managers were subject to a vote of confidence, and in case of loss, the successor was democratically elected. In the *Akademie*, J. Herrmann survived the vote in April 1990, but had to resign as of October 1, 1990, and details of this decision cannot be stated here. Because more profound changes were foreseeable, the post of director of the institute was not filled again, but replaced with a board of directors consisting of the four department heads. At the *Landesmuseen* the development was more differentiated. For instance, in Schwerin the director was voted out of office, in Dresden he resigned, in Halle, Weimar, and Potsdam no vote took place and the old directors

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[11] The SED convention, which took place every 4 or 5 years, formally set the fundamental official policy in all areas, including science and ideology.

remained. At the Humboldt University, the chairperson hastily resigned while the one at the University of Halle remained in office.

The full integration of research in East Germany into the scientific structures of the FRG after the reunification in October 3, 1990 meant the dissolution of the *Akademie* and the *ZIAGA* because a central research institution of its size—at that time the *Akademie* employed about 24,000 staff—did not fit into the federal system of the FRG. A great number of employees of the Department of Prehistory and Early History were hired by the *Deutsche Archäologische Institut*, or other institutions, so that hardly anybody was left unemployed (Gringmuth-Dallmer, 2006:125ff). For the state agencies, the change was mostly a continuous process (see section "State-Run Bodendenkmalpflege (Preservation of Archaeological Monuments)"). The universities also underwent a thorough reorganization at the end of which chairs for prehistoric archaeology on East German territory remained only in Halle and Berlin. As already stated, everything remained the same in Halle, but the chair in Berlin and the reestablished ones in Jena, Leipzig, and Greifswald were newly appointed (see section "Universities"). The *Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* in Berlin merged with West Berlin's *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, whereas the *Museum für Deutsche Geschichte* transformed into the *Deutsche Historische Museum* with a completely different concept (see section "Museums").[12]

This section provided a condensed overview on the development of archaeology in the GDR. Overall guidance was provided by the *Akademie* and its subsidiaries as the leading research institution. It had a prominent position in the organization of science and was the pure research institute in the country. In this context, it must be mentioned that research in the GDR was exclusively financed by the government. Financing by third parties, as in Western countries, was unknown. Below I provide descriptions of other academic institutions for archaeological activities, except the *Akademie*, because the most important points about the role of this institution have already been stated.

Other Academic and Research Institutions

Universities

As a general rule, under the principles of the socialist centrally planned economy, student enrollment depended on the anticipated position availability in later years. Practically, there was a universal *numerus clausus*. In effect, only 5–12 persons studied at each university per academic year, who, if they passed the final exam, were guaranteed jobs. Real competition did not exist, which in general was a problem for the whole society, and precipitated the collapse. In the field of archaeology this was

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[12] *Editor's note*: the difference between *Geschichte* and *Historische* is difficult to notice in the English language. The closest distinction might be the difference between story-telling and historical research.

mitigated as most students worked at a specialized museum for 1 year prior to enrolling to a university and thus, understood what they were getting into.

The degree program in prehistory and early history was 4 or 5 years long. Initially, a freely chosen minor was offered. Depending on the university the most students selected history, physical anthropology, ethnology, and geography. The minor was eliminated during the university reform in the late 1960s. Classes on Marxism-Leninism were mandatory. Practical courses concerning excavation techniques were also part of the professional training, but could only be conducted within East Germany. The program concluded with a diploma thesis, writing of which was allowed to take up to 1 year to complete. The graduate received the title "*Diplomprähistoriker*" (certified prehistorian).

During the post-war years, a full training with degree was offered at the universities in Berlin, Halle, Jena, and Leipzig.[13] After the university reforms of 1968/1969, students enrolled only in Berlin and Halle in alternating years so that no more than 10–15 persons studied at one institution. The low number of students allowed for intensive studying and was the prerequisite for a mostly close relationship between teaching staff and students.

After the war, lectures started at the universities even before any institute was officially reopened or professors appointed.[14] The first lecture at the University of Halle held by Martin Jahn (1888–1974; Szter, 2011) in October of 1946 (Daten), was on general prehistory. At the same time, Jahn also served as the director of the *Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte* in Halle, and, until 1958, as the chair of the Department of Prehistory and Early History. He was a refugee from Breslau (Wrocław), presently in Poland, and shared his fate with many German scientists (Smolla, 1975; Szter, 2011). In Leipzig, the chair was newly filled with Friedrich Behn (1883–1970: Böhner, 1970).[15] In Jena the first lecture was delivered on April 1, 1948 by Gotthard Neumann (1902–1972), who had already worked there before WWII and took office in 1953 (Müller, 2001). All of the professors mentioned above were among the scholars who were relatively disengaged politically during the Nazi period and who as far as methodology and the subject of teaching provided traditional, mostly material-related training.

The opening of archaeological studies in Berlin[16] appeared differently than in other academic centers. The difference was in the theoretical outlook of the first specialized lecture on general history of the *Urgesellschaft* (ancient [primitive] society) delivered by K.-H. Otto on September 1, 1951. The wording of the title signals a new, Marxist-related approach. While elsewhere such occasional lectures

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[13] Until 1969, all course catalogues were published in the magazine "*Ausgrabungen und Funde*."

[14] The individual career levels of a scientist, e.g., Dozent (lecturer)—außerordentlicher Professor (professor without chair)—Professor mit vollen Lehrauftrag (full professor)—Professor mit Lehrstuhl (professor with chair) cannot be portrayed here and, in the overall context, are irrelevant.

[15] Successor until dissolution of the institute: H.A. Knorr (1909–1996: Wetzel, 1997), who made a name for himself especially through an ideological orientation of the museums.

[16] The chair was dissolved in 2010, see Struwe & Biermann (2010).

were on prehistory and early history in which speakers used science-related terminology, Otto used the term *Urgesellschaft* (primitive society), an obvious borrowing from the government-imposed Marxist-Leninist ideology. The point of the lecture was related to Engels' views on social development based on the classification presented in the book "Ancient Society" by the American ethnologist L.H. Morgan (1877). Thus, the idea was to present human social development from the classless primitive society through several stages of society based on exploitation of one class by another to advanced classless society, the communist society. According to this reasoning, the socialist state, such as the GDR, was a preliminary stage to an advanced communist society. Corresponding to the official state ideology, the purpose of archaeology was to research the earliest period of this development. In other words, the practice of science was not determined by science-generated issues, but was to provide evidence of an externally determined, allegedly scientifically proven historical process. This process was presented, for instance in a five-volume publication titled "*Lehrbuch der deutschen Geschichte (Beiträge)*" (German History Textbook [Contributions]), whose first volume "*Deutschland in der Epoche der Urgesellschaft (500 000 v.u.Z. bis zum 5./6.Jh. u. Z*[17])" (Germany during the primeval period, 500 000 BC to fifth/sixth century AD)"was authored by Otto (1961). Interestingly, the *Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte*,[18] founded in 1953 and led by Otto, covered in its curriculum, as well as examination papers without exception, the very "traditional" topics such as reviews of individual archaeological cultures, etc. (see section "Research Topics").

Otto's successor, Heinz Grünert (1927–2011, Leube 2010, 173–177), who was appointed the director of the Department of Prehistory and Early History in 1968 and became a professor in 1975, continued this policy.

In the same year, a new curriculum for archaeology programs at universities and colleges in the GDR became effective,[19] and Grünert was instrumental in its design. Lectures and seminars on Marxism-Leninism—already mandatory for all students in the GDR since the 1950s—became a significant part of the teachings but they barely offered any content relevant to archaeology.[20] Thus, the Marxist-Leninist body of thought hardly had any significant effect on the student's later work as a professional. Grünert resigned from office in 1990 shortly before reaching the official retirement age, and after his too-close association with non-university-related government bodies had become public.[21]

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[17] As is could not be admitted that our calendar is a Christian one, "before the birth of Christ" and "after the birth of Christ" were replaced by "vor unserer Zeit" (v.u.Z., before our time) and "unserer Zeit" (u.Z., our time).

[18] Early forms, changes in structure and of names are usually not described in detail.

[19] Because the area of study was part of the basic studies of a history teacher, it was also taught in institutions where subject-specific studies were not possible.

[20] Kerstin Kirsch has provided information on the practical organization of studies under H. Grünert to the author. Based on a complete survey of examination papers in Halle, the situation there was probably similar.

[21] On January 2, 1992—exactly 38 years after entering into service with the Humboldt university and 6 months before reaching the statutory retirement age—H. Grünert wrote a letter to his col-

In Halle, the traditional center of research on the Neolithic Period, Friedrich Schlette (1915–2003; Preuß, 2003), a pupil of Martin Jahn and his successor, was politically active in one of the so-called "*Blockparteien*" that existed alongside the SED. He was also for a time a member of the *Volkskammer* (The People's Chamber), the GDR's highest parliamentary body. Joachim Preuß succeeded him from 1981 to 1992. Like Schlette, he mostly taught archaeological subject-related courses. From 1982 Klaus-Dieter Jäger worked closely with him. He was politically not very active and continued to lead the institute without decisive turning points after the Turn (*Die Wende*).

Besides the universities, the *Pädagogische Hochschule* (Pedagogical College) in Dresden also trained future teachers in Medieval Archaeology and led some of them to earn a doctoral degree. This special situation is described in section Excavations.

In 1982, the volume titled "*Geschichte der Urgesellschaft*" officially recognized as textbook for archaeology courses at universities and colleges in the GDR (Autorenkollekiv) was published.[22] Its basic outline included (1) Anthropogenesis (hordes, pretribal period) and (2) *Urgesellschaft* (social organization). Within the latter development of the *Urgesellschaft* was discussed in hunter-gatherer society, agricultural society with emphasis on the dissolution and overcoming of primeval conditions. Every section was followed by the sequence of cultural changes in accordance with the extended three-period system and finally economic-ethnographic stages. Thus, the book followed a scheme delineated by the official governmental ideology and not a science-based outlook on the evolution of human society. The chapters, however, include discussions organized according to the basic archaeological periods, whereby even the commonly accepted as irrefutable classification of the stages of human society by Engels, after Morgan, was criticized. For instance, it is stated that "with progressing research a number of criteria chosen or developed by Morgan, especially in the area of material culture and family organization, cannot be confirmed" (Autorenkollekiv, 36). The students studied the essentials of this textbook for exams: otherwise, it played only a minor role during the basic training.

The question remains, however, to what extent this book with its official overtone and written with a strictly Marxist-Leninist outlook influenced the archaeological research in the GDR? The fact is that it is rarely cited in the specialized literature even by its own authors, and thus, had hardly any effect on the students and their subsequent professional work. Nevertheless, Grünert (1992:141), the key person in charge of this book, called it one of a number of "contributions to legitimize the societal and ruling system in the GDR."

After Reunification, the universities were integrated into the education system of the former Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). As already mentioned, it happened in Halle with Klaus-Dieter Jaeger appointed as chair. In Berlin, Johan Callmer, a Swede, and Achim Leube, from the *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*, were also newly appointed university professors. Additionally, chairs of archaeology

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leagues explaining the reasons for resigning. A copy of this letter is in the author's possession.

[22] See also discussion by Behrens (1990).

were again recreated in Leipzig, Jena, and Greifswald.[23] Karl Peschel and Guenter Mangelsdorf, who had already worked there and like Jaeger were not politically active in the GDR, and for that reason would never have been appointed by the communist authorities, filled the latter two positions.

State-run Bodendenkmalpflege (Preservation of Archaeological Monuments)

Five *Landesmuseen* (regional museums) were responsible for the *Bodendenkmalpflege* (preservation of architectural monuments), each responsible for one of the five former Länder (states, regions).[24] The *Landesmuseen* were under the authority of the *Staatssekretariat*, later the *Ministerium für Hochschulwesen* (Ministry for Higher Education) and, besides *Bodendenkmalpflege* (preservation and conservation of monuments), research was their explicit tasks with emphasis on the main archaeological periods of the region and the personal interest of their directors. Each of the museums published its own professional journal and the majority also one or more book series, in which, without exception, artifacts and their scientific evaluations appeared.

The *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte* in Halle focused on researching the Neolithic Period. It was founded in 1884 and housed in the first building in Germany constructed explicitly for the purpose of an archaeological museum and inaugurated in 1918. It served the Magdeburg and Halle *Bezirke* (district), today Saxony-Anhalt, which is extremely rich in prehistoric finds.[25] Martin Jahn was its first director, in addition to his professorship at the local university. In 1959, Herrmann Behrens (1915–2006, Kaufmann, 2009) became director and attempted to free the museum's activities from political interference. He remained in office until his retirement, but his tenure was not without problems. Thus, his sharp review of archaeology in the GDR, which he wrote after moving to West Germany, is surprising (Behrens, 1984). Nevertheless, despite all the appropriate criticism, his work contains a number of important details about the museum and its mission. His successor Dieter Kaufmann led the *Landesmuseum* until 1992.

The *Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* in Weimar in neighboring Thuringia (*Bezirke* Erfurt, Gera and Suhl) was initially led by Günter Behm-Blancke (1912–1994, Dušek, 1994). It had no strict archaeological period-specific orientation, which was probably due to the extraordinary number of finds ranging from the Paleolithic Age to the Middle Ages—and it distinguished itself with a leading among the specialized institutions restoration center. It also employed a chemist

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[23] On the "survival" of pre- and early history in Greifswald during the GDR era see Mangelsdorf, 2005, 139 ff., with interesting information on the content and form of prehistoric training in the framework of history teacher studies that also applies to other institutes outside the field.

[24] The five *Länder* were dissolved in 1952 and each replaced by two to three Bezirke (districts). In 1991, the Länder were restored with minor amendments.

[25] Vol. 67 of "*Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*" (1984) is dedicated to the history of the museum.

who performed a variety of specialized testing and services. Behm-Blancke's successor was Rudolf Feustel, the museum's director from 1978 until 1990.

In neighboring Saxony (*Bezirke* Dresden, Leipzig, and Karl-Marx-Stadt[26]) Werner Coblenz (1917–1995, Hänsel, 1995), a pupil of Gero von Merhart, salvaged archaeological finds from the city ruins after the end of WWII and set up an efficient *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte* in Dresden. Because the area was archaeologically less diverse, a concentration on the Bronze Age and partially the Slavic Period was assigned to this institution. His successor, Heinz-Joachim Vogt (1935–2010, Gamsch, 2011), took office in 1983 and resigned in 1990.

While the above-referenced museums in the southern part of the GDR could rely on a long tradition of *Bodendenkmalpflege* dating back to pre-war times, the artifacts-rich northern part of the country in Mecklenburg (*Bezirke* Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg, today Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) had mostly no such tradition, but a few individual scholars made considerable contributions to preservation and conservation of archaeological sites.[27] From a very modest beginning, Ewald Schuldt (1914–1987, see Herrmann, 1987) set up an extraordinary *Bodendenkmalpflege* with excellent excavations that were promptly published, which was not the norm at those times. He conducted several important research programs in cooperation with the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, the most important ones concerning the Slavic forts and Neolithic megalithic tombs. His successor as director of the *Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Schwerin*, Horst Keiling (from 1981), was forced by his colleagues to resign in 1989.

The *Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* in Potsdam served the Brandenburg *Bezirke* Potsdam, Frankfurt/Oder and Cottbus. It was founded as a research facility in 1963. After the early death of its director Sieglind Kramer in 1965 (1914–1965, Geisler, 1964), Bernhard Gramsch took over the leadership and transformed it into an efficient institution (Kunow, 1999). He resigned from his leadership position of his own volition in 1991. No specific research concentration could be determined for this institution.

The *Bodendenkmalpflege* in East Berlin, where due to the Four Powers status special political conditions were in place, was initially conducted by the *Akademie*. Beginning in 1965 the institution acquired its own office managed by Heinz Seyer until the reunification in 1990. Its research focused on the city center, with important publications on the early development of the city, and on settlements from the Roman Imperial Period.

To discuss common questions of *Bodendenkmalpflege*, a *Beirat für Bodendenkmalpflege* (Advisory Panel for Preservation of Archaeological Monuments) was founded to which the directors of the *Landesmuseen* and other prominent archaeologists belonged. Its first chairman was W. Unverzagt, followed by Werner Coblenz in 1966 and Bernhard Gramsch in 1980.

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[26] Formerly Chemnitz, renamed as Karl-Marx-Stadt during GDR-period, again bears the name Chemnitz.

[27] One of the founders of the three-period-system, Friedrich Lisch, worked for decades in Schwerin and achieved the results that put the archaeology on a scientific basis mainly based on material stored in the museum.

Museums

Except for East Berlin, each of the research institutions mentioned above were complemented by a specialized museum that presented the public with extensive exhibitions of the most important finds in the area of their responsibility. Since 1963, there existed in Berlin besides the *Staatlichen Museen Berlin* the "*Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte*" that housed the finds from the former *Staatliche Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*. The finds were transported by the Soviet Union in 1945 but the collections were returned in 1958 (Griesa, 2004/2005). Because in 1945 this museum was located in West Berlin, restitution to the old owners was impossible for political reasons. Therefore, in 1958 the museum was newly founded in East Berlin and its staff had to work under extremely difficult conditions, unpacking and organizing finds and documentations. The museum never had its own permanent exhibition. Such was planned for the to-be-reconstructed "*Neue Museum.*" The museum's collections, which included finds from regions far beyond Europe, allowed for a number of special exhibitions such as "*Troja und Thrakien*" (also shown in Rotterdam and Bergen), "*Lepenski Vir – Prähistorische Plastik vom Eisernen Tor*," and "*Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Stadt Warschau*." The last highlight was the exhibition "*Troja –Mykene – Tiryns – Orchomenos*" to commemorate the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Heinrich Schliemann's death. The exhibit was organized in cooperation with the National Museum of Athens and presented in Athens and Berlin during *Die Wende* (The Turn) of 1990.[28] A collaborative conference in Athens which accompanied the exhibit was for most of the scientific staff of the museum the first opportunity to attend a conference in the West. The following consolidation with the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, currently located at the "*Neue Museum*," was the final act in the short existence of the museum.

The second museum-like institution with transregional demands was the "*Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*," founded in 1952. Its primary goal was to relay the official government-sponsored Marxist-Leninist view on history to the public. The Department of Prehistory and Early History directed by K.-H. Otto (Griesa, 2007) yielded to this task. The implementation of such state-controlled policy was unacceptable at that time to some members of the earlier founded scientific council of the museum and thus they resigned as soon as the politically charged goal became clear. Among them were the prehistorians Martin Jahn and Wilhelm Unverzagt.

In 1981, the prehistoric section of the museum was opened exhibiting 1500 artifacts displayed on 600 m^2 area. The exhibit covered the period from the beginning of humanity to the sixth century A.D. It did not include any artifacts or data related to the Slavs, whose history was one of the main subjects of archaeological research in GDR. The reason why they were omitted was the division of the whole museum into thematic periods of the world's history that followed the official state-imposed philosophy,

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[28] *Editor's note*: *Die Wende* (The Turn or The Change) refers to the process of German reunification in 1990.

according to which the Middle Ages and, therefore, the Slavs belonged to a different socioeconomic formation than the preceding prehistoric periods—i.e., feudalism.

Finds from all over Germany were exhibited and it is interesting that, despite all the efforts to create a socialist GDR as a state with its own history in contrast to the "capitalist" FRG, the museum carried the name "*Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*" until its very end. In consequence of its ideological concept the museum was dissolved in 1990 and its collection moved to the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*.

A number of regional and local museums, which were often founded due to the initiative of local archaeological societies in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, contain sizeable archaeological collections. Their collections related to prehistory and early history of Berlin and Brandenburg are comprehensively presented by Haspel and Menghin (2006). Another wide-ranging publication on the museums from Eastern Germany is a collaborative effort titled *Handbook Museen* (Gläser & Hermann 1981). Several museums employed trained prehistorians and some of them made significant contributions to the *Bodendenkmalpfleg*e and effectively worked with young people.

"Kulturbund" as Recreational Activity of Nonprofessionals

The fact that archaeology in the GDR with its rather modest personnel resources was able to make major contributions to the field is due to a network of about 2000 volunteer *Bodendenkmalpfleger*, who specifically performed a great service that included rescue excavations and field pedestrian surveys. They were organized in the "*Kulturbund*" (societies, associations), a network of governmental organization, that replaced the customary elsewhere, but not permitted in the GDR, amateur organizations of sympathizers of archaeology (history) that were able to evade a political mandate. The volunteer *Bodendenkmalpfleger* were trained by the staff of *Landesmuseen* and, after a probationary period, received an official *Fundpfleger* (site caretaker) identification card that gave them access to agricultural fields and sometimes construction sites and allowed them to conduct rescue excavations. Active *Fundpfleger* conducted systematic field pedestrian surveys mostly near their homes as many did not own a car. Because the same sites were surveyed several times the results were in some cases considerably richer than during a normal survey performed by trained archaeologists with its customary one-time walk-through. Over time, best *Fundpfleger* acquired knowledge suitable for preparation of scientific publications. Thanks to their efforts, important sites were discovered and the indispensable base for archaeological work on settlements in their respective region was established.

In some regions, the *Kulturbund* issued its own series of publications, of which particularly noteworthy are the continuously published over several decades "*Mitteilungen des Bezirksfachausschusses für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Neubrandenburg*" and the "*Informationen des Bezirksfachausschusses für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Schwerin*." Despite occasional laudations here and there, e.g., upon the anniversary of the founding of the GDR, and rare articles with particular ideological political content (e.g., Grünert, 1982), the booklets covered extensive

archaeological data in an overall factual manner and were often written by *Fundpfleger*. All in all it can be said that in many cases the *Kulturbund* working groups were in fact apolitical "niche" to practice archaeology.

Conditions of Scientific Work

Methodological Aspects

Let us review how the official state ideology impacted the discipline from inside. The question to consider is: Were archaeologists really forced to strictly comply with the Marxist-Leninist methodology prescribed by the government, more precisely historical materialism?

One thing is certain: the explicit use of other methodologies, such as the New Archaeology, was not possible. Herrmann Behrens, who in his book on the Neolithic Period in central Germany (Behrens, 1973) dared to use the behavioral science approach for archaeological purposes, could not get the respective passages printed.[29] Later, he was able to put his views in a natural-science publication, whose publisher approached the problem from a less ideological angle.[30]

All in all, it is evident that the continuous efforts to anchor Marxism into the scientific paradigm of archaeology were not successful. Therefore, the opinion of B. Hänsel, one of the most fervent critics of research in the GDR, "that thinking the Marxist way … inevitably steers or even forces the so-called pure and apolitical research of a scientific field into certain channels" (Hänsel 1991:14), is to be rejected as unjustified generalization. On the other hand, he did concede that the forgoing statement "cannot actually be proven from the generally available relevant specialized publications, but indeed from the great number of publications at the margins of the field" (ibid). However, in my opinion, based on direct observation of the era, it could hardly have been a "great number."

Despite all the ideological restrictions, new methodological approaches were occasionally presented. For instance, the geographer Dietrich Denecke (1985:29) concluded that the archaeology of the Middle Ages in the GDR focused on "the issue of spatial settlement research taken from human geography and applied to archaeological studies" (Denecke). Gabriele Mante (2007:233) evaluated my works—in addition to the works by West German authors—as "processual known as *New Archaeology* in the Anglo-American language area." Nevertheless, I must add that I was declined any access to the relevant foreign literature.

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[29] He hectographed and enclosed the passages into the copies of the book sent directly to specialized libraries where they partially remained in the books.

[30] For a detailed description of the described events see Behrens, 1984: 60 ff.

Research Topics

One might think that at universities with their primarily political education mandate, especially in Berlin, exceptional importance was attached to ideologically relevant subject matters of research. Surprisingly, this was not the case. As the "*Kleinen Mitteilungen*" (brief communications) published in the magazine "*Ausgrabungen und Funde*," which was the most important source of information on research results in the GDR[31] show, topics of habilitations, dissertations, and diploma theses covered almost exclusively "traditional" themes, i.e., monographs of archaeological cultures or studies of artifacts and similar topics. A detailed list available for Halle (Brabandt, 2007) serves as an example. In all during the years 1948–1990, among the four habilitation theses only one by G. Guhr (1986) was on "Marx and Engels' thoughts on ethnography and prehistory" and all 22 dissertation theses, without exception, were studies devoted to artifacts and settlements. Of the 76 diploma theses, five dealt with the history of research, and only one of them on the influence of the dialectic-historical materialism of V. G. Childe (Hecht, 1978) should be viewed as ideologically engaged. Such selection of research topics was typical until the end of the communist ruling, as proven by a search in the *Mitteilungen zur Alten Geschichte und Archäologie*. For instance, for the years 1986–1988 (Mitteilungen, 14–16), the following picture emerges: two habilitation theses (Halle and Greifswald) as well as nine dissertation theses (seven in Berlin, one in Halle and Leipzig) covered traditional topics. The same applies to the diploma theses (nine in Berlin and 12 in Halle). An exception is the work by M. Bertram (1988) "*Zu Problemen der deutschen Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung während der Zeit der faschistischen Diktatur*" (On Issues of the German Pre- and Early History Research during the Fascist Dictatorship) in Berlin and M. Brückner's (1988) "*Zeugnisse und Kenntnisse zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte bei Theodor Fontane im Blickfeld moderner archäologischer Forschung*" (Theodor Fontane's Testimonial and Knowledge on Pre- and Early History with Focus on Contemporary Archaeological Research) in Halle—especially the latter barely fits a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of archaeology.

The situation at the *Pädagogischen Hochschule* in Dresden, where the prehistorian Gerhard Billig worked, was different. Since the end of the 1960s, under his leadership, a number of diploma theses were written with titles such as "*Die mittelalterlichen Wehranlagen des Kreises Borna, ihr Erhaltungszustand, ihre wissenschaftliche Aussage und Möglichkeiten ihrer Einbeziehung in die Bildungs- und Erziehungsarbeit der sozialistischen Schule*" (Bochmann, 1984) (Medieval Fortifications in the Borna Kreis. Their State of Preservation, Their Scientific Meanings and Options for Inclusion in the Educational Work in Socialist Schools), or "*Die mittelalterliche Teer- und Pechherstellung im Raum Uhyst/Schöpsdorf, Kr. Hoyerswerda, ihre Aussagen zum Entwicklungsstand der Produktivkräfte und ihre*

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[31] Besides discipline-related articles and personal information, the magazine devoted one volume per year to publishing bibliographic notes, which contained all articles related to archaeology in GDR including *Heimatliteratur* (regional publications).

geschichts-ideologischen Potenzen" (Rost, Ch, 1984) (The Manufacturing of Tar and Pitch in the Region of Uhyst/Schoepsdorf, Hoyerswerda Kreis, in the Middle Ages: What it Reveals Concerning the Level of Development of the Productive Forces and Their Historical-Ideological Power). Looking only at the titles, it is quite obvious that the intention was to use or misuse of scientific evidence for nonscientific ideological purposes. If one knows the context in which such works were prepared, a more complicated picture emerges. As a pedagogical institution, the school could only assign topics with wider pedagogical goals. The goals were quite clear as the endings of each title show.[32] What the titles do not show, however, is the fact that these theses, without exception, contained survey-based sections devoted to the presentation of data that covered a majority of Saxony's medieval fortifications and ancient roads as well as a number of smaller towns and, therefore, prepared important material for further research.

In later years, the *Akademie*, which had the right to award doctoral degrees, tried most consequently to anchor the scientific work produced there in Marxism. However, this happened mostly in a subject area a non-Marxist could work in without having to surrender to the ideology. Because, as emphasized by Marx and Engels, economy was the real driving force of all historical events, questions regarding settlement patterns and economic conditions stood in the foreground of scientific interests as an important field of archaeological inquiry beyond any ideology. The extent to which the "Classics" played a greater role, was mostly left to the author's invention and was not closely monitored by the authorities. My own case serves as an example. In my doctoral thesis (1975, published in 1983; Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1983) in an innocuous statement on soil I cited Marx, and in a paragraph on the *Markgenossenschaft* (partially self-governing association of agricultural users of an area) Engels—together with Herrmann's critical remark that current research sees a few things differently. In the habilitation thesis (known in the GDR as "Dissertation B"), submitted before the political turnaround, neither are even mentioned. The publishing of the dissertation fell victim to the upheaval and only my lecture related to the habilitation exam was published (Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1991b). Some authors proceeded in a similar fashion, while others tried to meet the ideological requirements, partially, however, out of conviction. In my opinion, only one work really adequately implemented Marxism's inherent potential, namely Herrmann's habilitation thesis "*Siedlung, Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der slawischen Stämme zwischen Oder/Neiße und Elbe*" (Herrmann, 1968) (Settlement, Economy and Societal Relations of the Slavic Tribes Between Oder/Neisse and Elbe). Also, in G. Kossack's opinion (1999:85) only Herrmann was of the caliber "to expand on the old formation scheme of the Marxist 'Classics', to carefully separate the social formation from the means of production, and to think about the driving social forces," while all others fall short not only in both quality and quantity.

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[32] It must be emphasized that also in Dresden the titles of the majority of the diploma theses did not contain such ideological undertones.

Excavations

The quality of excavations in the GDR met to a large extent the commonly accepted international standards. Besides rescue archaeological activities caused by disturbance of soil due to construction projects there were research excavations guided strictly by scientific interests. The *Akademie* and all *Landesmuseen* conducted such projects. To mention a few, the 1950s joint research by the *Akademie* and the Museum in Schwerin on Slavic forts in Mecklenburg (Schuldt, 1965; Schuldt, 1985 for a project without the *Akademie*), and on the Neolithic Period megalithic tombs systematically studied later on (Schuldt, 1972); in Brandenburg the Mesolithic site at Friesack (not yet summarized and published); in Saxony-Anhalt the Neolithic Period cemeteries and fortified settlements (Behrens & Schröter, 1980); in Saxony the Early Iron Age cemetery in Niederkraina with several thousand graves (Niederkaina) and in Thuringia the complete excavation of a medieval village including the manor house at Gommerstedt (Timpel, 1982). Especially notable is the project by Paul Grimm (1968–1990), which included comprehensive excavations of the medieval kings' place *Pfalz Tilleda* in the Kyffhäuser area, and the publication of the results, an undertaking unparalleled in Central Europe of the time.

Medieval town centers have not been well researched and only in the heavily destroyed during WWII Magdeburg an office that led extensive excavations existed from 1948 to 1968. Unfortunately, the results have not been sufficiently published yet. Also in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, and a few other small towns a few projects have been conducted.[33]

Rescue excavation and planned excavation were sometimes linked in comprehensive projects in a few regions in Brandenburg and Saxony when extensive planned excavations took place prior to the demolition of whole villages due to the construction of opencast lignite (brown coal) mines. Especially notable was the excavation of a fort and settlement complex dating to the Roman Imperial period and the Slavic period at Tornow in the *Niederlausitz* (Lower Lusatia) (Herrmann, 1966, 1973). After the reunification, certain results of this project led to a heated dispute related to the implementation of political agendas in archaeology (see section "Was Archaeology Ideologically Distorted? The Tornow Example").

Excavation projects in foreign countries started in 1972 with works on the Roman forts in Bulgaria (Iatrus-Krivina, from 1981 Karsura). They were followed by projects in Sudan (Musawarat es Sufra) and, at the end of the GDR, in Egypt (Tel Basta) and Syria (Abu Hagaira). Particularly piquant was the one in Tanais the Greek colony located on the Azov Sea. The project started in 1984 when the Soviet Union still existed, but it could not be continued after Gorbachev took office and introduced his *glasnost* and *perestroika*. The explorations in Sudan were conducted by the Humboldt University in Berlin, all others by the *Akademie*. Close ties were established with Vietnam and a visiting Vietnamese scholar could always be found in Berlin, but no planned excavations took place.

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[33] Detailed in Herrmann (1976b); last summary of projects provided by Herrmann (1989a).

Only one principal limitation concerning archaeological fieldwork existed until the end of the GDR. For security purposes aerial photography was strictly forbidden due to existence of military installations. Later, the declining financial situation of the government, the sole financial backer of all archaeological projects, could be felt. The use of modern geophysical methods lagged behind the international standard and modern communication technology was only sporadically introduced at the very end of the discussed period. This author received his first computer after The Turn (*Die Wende*) in 1991!

Treatment of Artifacts

Observers accused both East and West German archaeologists of antipathy toward theory. Identifying some exceptions, J.H.F. Bloemers (2000, 381 ff.) wrote, concerning the West German research:

> Generally, there is in German archaeology a clear lack of understanding of the importance of theory and conceptualization, and there is almost no serious reflection on the foundations of archaeology as a discipline within the wider field of cultural history. As a consequence, there is also a lack of integration of theory and practice aiming at the development of both with the framework of an empirical cycle.

This accusation of antipathy toward theory is right and it existed for a long time, but a lot has changed in the interim. The misuse of prehistoric and early history research during the Nazi Socialist period (cf. far reaching overviews by Leube & Hegewisch, 2002; Steuer, 2001), especially related to the Slavic tribes, in order to historically validate the war policy, led to a purely positivist treatment of finds in both parts of the country after the war. In effect detailed material analysis under chronological and chorological considerations, reviews of excavations or simply the presentation of finds dominated. Simple historical analyses that led to simple conclusions supported by the data were usually added to the published texts. Such a style of archaeological research substantially changed in West Germany only in the 1980s (example Steuer, 1982; Eggert, 2001). In the GDR besides the increasing demand for Marxist-Leninist views in regard to the analysis of artifacts a second factor limiting the use of theory became significant: restricting oneself to the analysis of artifacts made it unnecessary for the author to yield to any ideological requirements.

Admittedly, the limiting of theory also happened for other reasons, as in West Germany. Especially the *Landesmuseen*, which were foremost preoccupied with *Bodendenkmalpflege*, were interested in publishing as much as possible on the continually increasing number of finds. They were happy to make at least the source material available for general access and also to expand the library holdings by adding their own publications (see section "Gathering Information: Publications, Libraries and Contacts").

Gathering Information: Publications, Libraries, and Contacts

Archaeology in the GDR is characterized by an extraordinary amount of publishing. All *Landesmuseen*, the *Akademie* and some of the university institutes published their own journals and one or more book series.[34] They not only offered quick information on the ongoing research projects and new finds,[35] but were also a decisive factor for well-stocked libraries, which held at least the important new releases from other European regions. The exchange of books did not require foreign currency, which was very limited and not used to purchase any theoretical texts.

Even if the necessary literature to support the work on newly found artifacts was available, personal scientific contacts across the border were most difficult. Simply wanting to travel to a museum in one of the "brotherly nations," i.e., a member-country of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" respectively known as the Warsaw Pact, required extensive application and reporting, but was in most cases possible. Traveling to the West after the Wall has been built in 1961 was difficult. Only selected persons, who were politically reliable and almost exclusively members of the SED, were appointed as members of the so-called "*Reisekader*" (travel cadre), whose main task was to actively represent the policies of the GDR and to distinguish it from the FRG (whether they really did this to the extent claimed in the reports is questionable). Therefore, the main criterion for an appointment as "*Reisekader*" was not one's professional qualifications. Thus, scientists with an international reputation who did not qualify for political reasons had to stay in the country.[36] Their only opportunity for personal contact with colleagues from the West was at international conferences organized in the Eastern Bloc countries as well as systematic development of personal networks. The fact that missing personal contacts combined with inability to study original materials had a profound impact on the level of the scientific work is obvious to everybody.

All in all, the East-West relationship within the field during the four decades discussed here underwent a fundamental change. Under Unverzagt the explicit aim was to preserve a unified German science. The membership of colleagues from West Germany in the section for prehistory and early history of the DAW is an expressive testimony of this desire (see section "From the End of WWII Until mid-1960s: The

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[34] The sole exception was the Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam, whose "publications" partially had the character of magazines, contained from time to monographs (often dissertation theses with material from Brandenburg). Compilation of publication organs in "Ausgrabungen und Funde" Vol. 21, 1976, 205 f.

[35] Notable the transregional magazine "Ausgrabungen und Funde" and "Kurze Fundberichte" in the almanac "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg," which presented all important new finds immediately after discovery.

[36] J. Herrmann presented himself and the management of the institute as consequent but unsuccessful opponents of the "*Reisekaderordnung*" in a report printed after the start of the upheaval (Herrmann, 1989b, footnote 29), which with the experience of the people not allowed travel may be doubted.

'Unverzagt Era"'). After the Wall has been built, such efforts were categorically halted and one of the first measures after the reform of the *Akademie* in 1968/1969 was to force all employees to resign from pan-German and international associations.[37] Such pressure did not prevent Joachim Herrmann, however, from accepting an appointment as a full member of the *Deutsche Archäologische Institut* (DAI) in West Germany. The goal of DAI's Roman-Germanic Commission initiative by way of Herrmann's appointment as "Chief Archaeologist" was to give other colleagues from East Germany a chance to travel—of course without success (Kossack, 1999, footnote 55).

However, it must also be said that even during the darkest times of the Cold War, the cooperation in some areas went on without a hitch. This applies especially to the exchange of books, which was not subject to any restriction. When an image was needed from the other part of Germany for a scholarly publication, it was immediately provided free of charge. This was unthinkable in other scientific fields, especially the ones connected to economics.

Presentation of Archaeology to the Public: Education and Popular Science

As stated above, the official interpretation of the historical process propagated by the GDR government was based on Friedrich Engels' views rooted in L. H. Morgan's ethnological theories of "predetermined" development from classless primitive society through several stages of society based on exploitation of one class by another such as slaveholding society, feudalism, capitalism—to again classless, communist society. The latter was supposedly preceded by the socialist stage, with which the GDR political authorities identified. It was the role of the science of history, and thus of archaeology as the discipline in charge of the oldest period, to scientifically corroborate this theoretical construct, the basic truth of which could not for ideological reasons be called into doubt. The disciplinary research reluctantly and never fully accepted this view, but it was thoroughly implemented in the primary and high school history textbooks. While in the 1960s prehistory and early history was part of the fifth and ninth grade curricula, it was later thought as necessary to familiarize 10–11 year olds in the fifth grade only with the earliest millennia of human cultural development.

In the "*Lehrbuch der Klasse 5 für den Geschichtsunterricht*" (fifth grade history textbook) (Donat, 1986[38]) P. Donat divided the *Urgesellschaft* into three developmental stages. The emergence of the *Urgesellschaft* and the life in hordes is followed by the development of the new human society organized in *Sippen* (tribes, clans) and finally by the Neolithic Period with complex polities based on surplus-

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[37] This measure concerned all *Akademie* staff members, not only archaeologists.

[38] See also Erbes (2010); this publication contains a number of grave errors.

producing economy. As the author of the textbook explained, common to all of the three stages characteristics were sharing of the means of production and same rights and duties for all. He further described that with the production of surplus, the *Urgesellschaft* started dissolving into social strata because the surplus went to persons such as priests and tribal elders only causing economic and social disparity among the people. The textbook did not include the basic scientific classification of the past into the Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. The Middle Ages, also a subject of archaeological research, were subsumed under feudalism. The fact that only 8 h of instruction time was allotted (Lehrplan 1984) for a subject matter that comprises tens of thousands of years signaled what profound knowledge the course could impart. In order to prepare this topic, the teachers were provided with stories on prehistoric times (Mühlstädt, 1985).

The efforts to communicate the results of archaeological research to the public, especially to young people, present a different picture. The books were written by experts (to my knowledge, journalists and freelance writers who corner this market in other countries do rarely work in the field of archaeology), who wrote objectively, even if sometimes with official ideology-related vocabulary. Good examples are works by G. Behm-Blancke (1958), on the exploration of caves in Thuringia, or by F. Schlette (1972, 1979), who presented the Teutons and Celts. Peter Donat, who is responsible for the above-referenced textbook, has written "*Rund um die Archäologie*" (About Archaeology) (Donat, 1988), an ideology-free book for children and adolescents (12 years and older) that describes methods and results of the discipline. More ideologically defined were his other books for the public, "*König und Bauer. Vom Werden des deutschen Feudalstaates*" (King and Peasant. Development of the German Feudal State) (Donat, 1984), and especially "*Wie sich der Mensch aus dem Tierreich erhob*" (How Man Emerged From the Animal State), the latter written with a coauthor (Donat & Ullrich, 1979).

Noteworthy is the book by Joachim Herrmann with the programmatic title "*Spuren des Prometheus. Der Aufstieg der Menschheit zwischen Naturgeschichte und Weltgeschichte*" (Traces of Promeutheus. The Ascent of Humanity between Natural History and World History). Here, Prometheus steps in the arena against Zeus and embodies "for long centuries the symbol of revolt for the benefit of the creative humankind) (Herrmann, 1977:11). The author follows Karl Marx's belief that "the creation of the human being through human work" is the driving force of all developments. The history of humanity is revealed in the chapters such as: "*Das millionenjährige Ringen um das Menschengeschlecht. Die Besiedlung der Erde*" (The Million-year Struggle for the Humanity. Settling the earth), "*Die Wende der Geschichte—die agrarische Revolution der Produktivkräfte*" (History Turnaround. The Agricultural Revolution of the Productive Forces), "*Die Menschheit im Kampf mit sich selbst—Krieg und Knechtschaft als Preis der Zivilisation*" (Humankind fighting itself—War and Servitude as Price for Civilization), "*Sklaverei und Zivilisation an der Wiege der Menschheit. Aufstieg und Fall des Prometheus*" (Slavery and Civilization at the Cradle of the Humanity. Rise and Fall of Prometheus) and "*Der Aufstand der Sklaven, Kolonen und Barbaren. Neue Bahnen der Weltgeschichte*" (Insurrection of the Slaves, Coloni, and Barbarians. New Paths of

World History). The last chapter ends with a characterization of Martin Luther as "revolutionary despite himself."

It is difficult to assess whether the either listed or similar works really made the desired wide-ranging impact. Still, Herrmann's "Prometheus" had two press-runs with a total of 50,000 copies printed. Also intended for general audience was the "*Lexikon früher Kulturen*" (1984) (Encyclopedia of Earlier Cultures), which listed about 8000 key words related to the world's history from the origin of the humankind to the year 1000 A.D. Despite being ideologically loaded—for instance, one article devoted 577 lines to Marx and Engels, while the other only 16 to Heinrich Schliemann—this publication with its numerous references is a good source on cultures, artifacts, sites, technical terms, technology, mythology, and much more. Its "spin-off" was another encyclopedia addressed to young people "*Jugendlexikon Archäologie*" (Encyclopedia of Archaeology for the Youth) (Herrmann & Voos 1988). The two-volume "*Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*" was already mentioned.

Finally, the efforts to make archaeological knowledge available to the public through lectures should be mentioned. Many museums organized lecture series with invited scientists and all scientific fields were covered by the government-run organization "*Urania. Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung wissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse*" (Urania. A Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge). Its president since 1986 was Joachim Herrmann.

Was Archaeology Ideologically Distorted? The Tornow Example

The manner in which the official view of history—also without explicit relation to Marxism-Leninism—influenced archaeological research is shown in the example of forts from the *Niederlausitz* (Lower Lusatia). The *Niederlausitz*, a historical region in south-eastern Brandenburg that also reaches into neighboring Saxony, has an extraordinary concentration of Early Medieval fortified enclosures, mostly small circular ramparts. Large areas of this countryside fell victim to opencast lignite (brown coal) mining, which gave archaeologists the otherwise barely existing opportunity for full or almost full excavations of many sites. The first time, this was the case in Tornow, where on a flat, mostly sandy elevation west of a stream a settlement consisting of a ringwall fort and a village with the field name Borchelt or Lütjenberg was discovered. In 1961–1962, J. Herrmann fully excavated the fort and in 1965–1969 a large part of the neighboring settlement (local supervisors of the excavations were D. Warnke and S. Gustavs) on an area totaling 5.05 ha. Pollen analysis, paleoethnobotanical samples, dendrochronology, archaeozoology, metallurgy, mineralogy, and historical settlement geography (Herrmann, 1966, 1973) were involved in the examination and evaluation of the site. Examined were: one cemetery of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, six Late Roman Imperial/Migration Period third–fifth century settlements, four Slavic settlements, a two-phase fort and the medieval village, whose inhabitants probably

came mostly from abandoned Slavic settlements. Trenches were also dug on three additional Slavic settlements.

In the entire publication, which was prepared quite expeditiously for the GDR standards, J. Herrmann presented a conclusive interpretation that was incorporated in other comprehensive presentations—especially the "*Handbuch Slawen*" (The Handbook on Slavs)—and a few fundamental statements that dominated the official version on the early presence of Slavs in the region until the end of the GDR.

Especially important was the assertion that the first Slavs settled the region in the first half of the sixth century A.D., which led to the assumption that the earliest Slavic settlers had contacts with the last Germanic dwellers at the location. This approach, already not generally accepted at the time of Herrmann's publication, has not been confirmed. More important, however, were the conclusions on a social history of the site. Herrmann identified four phases of this fort-settlement complex:

Tornow A: Peasant settlement of eight dwellings plus a refugial fort consisting of a residential dwelling at the gate, a building where grain was ground, living quarters by the ramparts and a well. The settlement consisted of about 13 residential and 29 nonresidential buildings; typical was the *random arrangement of the buildings*. Directly in front of the fort was a special courtyard with workshops and additional work area existed in the corner between the village and fort. As for residential buildings, they represent poststructures dated to the seventh–eighth century A.D.

Tornow B: was built on the ruins of Tornow A, but had different structural characteristics. The dwellings of the village were leveled by replacing the large buildings with blockhouses. Outlines of about 15 residential and 29 nonresidential buildings were found. The fort was dominated by a central residential building with cellar that was surrounded by 19 two-story storage buildings. In the storage buildings, 70 different grain reserves were found, originally stored in pottery vessels, clay tubs, wooden crates, and bags. At least one quern made of porphyry imported from Rochlitz-Mügeln was found on each floor of a storage building. K.-D. Jaeger's examination of the grains pointed to crop rotation. The entire find was dated to the eighth–ninth century A.D. and prompted Herrmann's following interpretation[39]: "*Tornow B formed the center of a manor, to which probably other in the surrounding area ascertained settlements belonged.*" (Archäologie in der DDR 658). In other words, his interpretation suggests that already before the time of stronger Germanic influences, the Slavs had independently formed almost identical as Germanic complex societal structure (a feudal system, which was more developed than the preceding disintegrating *Urgesellschaft*), i.e., the Slavs were at the same level of cultural development as the Germanic volk. This interpretation contradicted the generally—also in the West—held opinion that the Slavs only obtained a complex economic and societal system based on the manorial system under the Frankish-Germanic rule.

Tornow C: the fort and settlement were destroyed at the beginning of the ninth century A.D., only the village and the manor house were rebuilt with the same layout for about 13 residential and eight nonresidential buildings. Dated to: ninth–tenth century A.D.

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[39] Emphasis by the author.

Tornow D: after being destroyed again, the village was rebuilt with the same layout and about 11 residential and 20 nonresidential buildings. Dated to: eleventh/twelfth century A.D.

Finally, the village of Tornow, as it existed until it was dug away by excavators, was probably founded at the edge of the valley by Flemish immigrants who settled there together with the residents of Tornow D. The examination of the village center yielded material from the eleventh–twelfth century A.D.

J. Henning (1991) critically evaluated Herrmann's findings and interpretation. Henning as well as P. Donat (1980, 26) pointed to uncertainties in the assignment of findings. The reconstructed poststructures were often strikingly similar to those from the Roman Imperial period found at the same location. On the other hand, he pointed to ash pits uniformly aligned according to the terrain that Herrmann linked to work bays, assigned to different time periods. For Henning, those are probably proof of block constructions, also because of his own finds in the Berlin region. This resulted in a completely different reconstruction with almost equally aligned residential buildings similar to those found at Gross Raden (Schuldt, 1985). Based on the dendrochronological dates—which were not yet known at the time of Herrmann's publication—Henning concludes:

> Rebuilding several forts using post construction falls obviously into the period of the Germanic conquest, and all signs suggest that the forts of Tornow B were complexes already built by the Saxon nobility on old Slavic fortifications" (Henning, 1991, 132).

He also refers to the similarly constructed Saxon circular ramparts. In result, Tornow B would be about 200 years younger than Herrmann assumed. At the same time, this new interpretation would disprove the existence of a feudal system, i.e., an independent Slavic manorial system as such systems east of the Elbe river were the result of the Germanic conquest since the first half of the tenth century A.D.[40]

The outlined new interpretation led to an enduring controversy between Herrmann and Henning, based especially on two papers whose starting point was the same dendrochronological dates interpreted by each of the authors differently (Henning & Heußner, 1992; Herrmann & Heußner, 1991).

In order to corroborate his new interpretation, J. Henning, in the framework of a DFG project, examined 25 of 38 ringwall forts in 1992–1996. The goal was to obtain material for dendrochronological dating that would shed new light on defense architecture, internal building structures, and cultural-historical and economic picture of the hillforts and their outer ward settlements. Until now, only the dendrochronological data has been satisfactorily published (Henning, 1998).

The examination of other forts in the *Niederlausitz* region showed that greater destructions than recorded at Tornow could be proven and only after the houses of post constructions were built that took up the entire inner surface of a fort. A large number of radiocarbon and dendrochronological age determinations prove that these newer installations all originated only around the year 1000 A.D. The same scenario is likely for Tornow where reexamination of data is not possible due to the

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[40] *Editor's note*: Manorial-like structures and evidence of discontinuation of social status (ranked society) east of the Elbe River existed before the tenth century CE (cf. Lozny 2013).

site being completely destroyed by the mining project. Therefore, the "Tornow ring-walls" were only built in the second half of the 9th century, continuing throughout the time of the German conquest of the *Niederlausitz* in 932/63.

Overall, five constructional phases of the fort emerged. The beginning of the fort construction should be dated to the years after 885 A.D. Although no specific historical events are identifiable for the first phase, the subsequent phases might be linked to certain events such as King's Heinrich I advances against the Slavs in the area around Daleminze and invasion of the Magyars Kings´s Heinrich rise and his campaign into the Lausitz. The development culminated in 958–962 A.D. and ended in 963 when margrave Gero brought the Lausitz under direct "imperial rule" of the Holy Roman Empire (acc. to the chronicle Thietmar von Merseburg). Henning convincingly concludes:

> With one exception, the almost complete ceasing of construction activities on the circular ramparts in the lowland after 963 is therefore the result of the Saxons' ruling the Niederlausitz and it stands to reason that the "slump in activity" following each of the older three ring-walls was also connected to military actions from outside the Lausitz for the purposes of establishing dominance (Henning, 1998:26).

The outlined dispute is more than the usual discussion about different interpretations of archaeological materials, and Herrmann could only be attacked in such a manner by a former colleague (Henning was a leading young scientist at the *ZIAGA* with all the necessary prerequisites) after The Turn (*Die Wende*). The issue here is the accusation that with earlier age determination, especially highlighting a parallel development of a manorial system, Hermann deliberately distorted the view of history for political reasons. In my opinion, this goes too far. Herrmann's intention to highlight the Slavs independent cultural achievements after they were downgraded to subhuman status during the Nazi time was politically motivated.[41] His view splendidly fits the political agenda of the times. Barely understandable, however, is his stubbornly holding on to the old interpretation after the dendrochronological dating of the constructions became known. It goes along with Herrmann's lack of insight concerning the political change after 1989.

Summary: Science and Ideology. Eight Hypotheses on Prehistory and Early History Research in the GDR

Below, I briefly outline the key points discussed in this article and suggest the following eight hypotheses for further examinations:

1. *The policy regarding science in the GDR and its implementation in archaeology was fundamentally different from the Western countries.*

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[41] These efforts were also obvious in the West German history after the war, for examples see omnibus Schlesinger (1975).

While the universities were mostly tailored to teaching activities, archaeological research was conducted by the five *Archäologische Landesmuseen* (Schwerin, Potsdam, Halle, Weimar, Dresden, plus one office for *Bodendenkmalpflege* in East Berlin), each concentrating on certain main points, and by the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* (until 1969 *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, later *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*). The *Akademie* was allocated a position of power unthinkable in the West because of the far-reaching controlling institution existing within its structure such as *Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, later *Problemrat* respectively *Rat für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie*. The institutions were exclusively financed by the government and external non-government-controlled funding was unknown. The extent to which universities conducted scientific research depended on personal interests of the teaching staff.

2. *Archaeological research in the GDR cannot be viewed as a unified whole.*

The history of research in the GDR falls into two large periods. The first one (that also includes the period from 1945 to 1949, before the founding of the GDR) was shaped by personalities who had received their training before the war and who had at least internally distanced themselves from the Nazi system (its prominent representative was Wilhelm Unverzagt). During the second period, after 1969, only members of the communist party SED were appointed to managerial positions (its prominent representative was Joachim Herrmann). The years 1968/1969 were an important turning point due to reform of the universities and of the *Akademie*, dissolution of the *Akademie's Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, founding of the *Zentralinstituts für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie*. In between both periods was an interim phase, during which Karl-Heinz Otto occupied the most important positions and was the first to attempt the introduction of Marxism in archaeology in the GDR. Finally, a brief transition period existed in 1989/1990 during the collapse of the GDR. During that time, an attempt was made to develop new democratic structures for the academic life. This short period passed without any consequences for the content of the research. After the reunification in 1990, the whole science structure was fully aligned with the West German structure.

3. *The Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Landesmuseen were the principal actors in the field research in the GDR.*

The approach chosen for excavations—sometimes conducted in cooperation with the *Akademie* and museums—met the generally accepted standards. In practice, growing difficulties arose from the fact that the country had less economic power than the Western European countries, which resulted in a delayed technical development and use of, e.g., surveying technology, introduction of computers, etc. in research. Such technology was too expensive. For security reasons, a targeted use of aerial archaeology was disallowed. Due to a lively book production at the institutions and the exchage of books the libraries were relatively well stocked.

4. *Universities, specialized museums and the Akademie der Wissenschaften had different missions and priorities.*

University training (initially in Berlin, Halle, Jena, and Leipzig; after 1969 only in Berlin and Halle) focused mainly on specialized knowledge. Doctoral and diploma theses were equivalent to those in the former West Germany. The same applies to the standards of excavation and research work. In later years, students had to participate in more heavily ideologically coated events that had no connection to the professional training.

The *Archäologischen Landesmuseen* carried the official title of "research facility," which announced their position to the public. Their excavation and publication work mostly focused on *Bodendenkmalpflege* requirements and the review of old holdings, thus comparable to Western countries. Important was the intensive cooperation with volunteer *Bodendenkmalpfleger*, i.e., the use of qualified nonprofessionals.

The archaeologists at the purely propaganda-oriented "*Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*" and at the existing only for a short period of time "*Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte*" in Berlin barely conducted any independent research on their own.

The *Akademie der Wissenschaften* conducted large-scale research based on discipline-inherent questions, even if the main research area of the history of the Slavs tuned nicely with the ideological views of the communist government. The ideological position of the GDR's government, which depended on the Soviet Union, a country controlled by Slavs, was obvious. Another priority was the research of forts and later Germanic history and culture. Among the central topics were settlement patterns, economy, and social environment. They conformed to the Marxist view of historical process, but due to being largely source-related could objectively be worked on by scientists with different political convictions.

Additionally, were written general presentations, e.g., regarding Germanic societies and the Slavs as well as encyclopedias such as *Lexikon früher Kulturen,* Archäologie *in der DDR* for a larger public. Their preparation involved specialists from different institutions.

5. *The research was very interdisciplinary.*

From the beginning of the GDR, some of the neighboring disciplines were included in the work of the academic institutions and museums. The *Akademie* owned a radiocarbon and a dendrochronology laboratory. Archaeoethnobotany and -zoology, anthropology and for a time historical geography were also represented. The *Landesmuseen* employed zoologists (Potsdam, Schwerin), botanists (Potsdam), and chemists (Weimar). The laboratory in Weimar among other things analyzed soils and textiles. The *Akademie* held especially close contacts with historians, numismatists, and linguists (especially specialists in onomatology).

6. *Over time, the opportunity for a scientific career depended more and more on a scientist's publicly stated political conviction.*

While initially none or minimal political relations with the Nazi regime was the most important requirement for holding a managerial positions, from 1964 on, almost exclusively, members of the communist party SED, or persons who publicly stated their agreement with the official policies were appointed. Otherwise, there was no chance of career advancement. Such conformist attitudes influenced the scientific work in the way that only scientists loyal to the Party were allowed to travel to the West (so-called "*Reisekader*"), while others were excluded from attending conferences, visiting archaeological monuments and museums, thus from personal contacts and review of important sources in the original. For this group, a career at a university was completely out of the question[42] because officially the ideological molding of the student body came before the professional training and negative political influences were feared.

7. *In principal, no Marxist-inspired archaeological research was conducted.*

Despite assertions to the contrary, basically no Marxist-based archaeological research developed, but certain archaeologists attempted to write school textbooks following the Marxist view of history, which is, however, barely visible in the specialized literature. Marxism practiced in those works differs fundamentally from the concept of the same name followed by scholars in Western countries. The difference is in the fact that in archaeology controlled by the GDR's government "historical rules" arose outside of archaeology, which was supposed to provide archaeological proof. This concerns especially the postulated entire human social development from the classless *Urgesellschaft* through several stages of class-based society to again classless, communist society. Fundamentally different methodical approaches such as New Archaeology could not be studied.

8. *Despite politically motivated appointments to managerial positions, the GDR era is characterized by a continuum of archaeological research from pre-communist times, mostly conducted without undue political influence.*

The hypothesis formulated by Bernhard Hänsel that in East Germany the period 1933–1989, i.e., the period of Nazi and communist rule, was just *one* period in the history of research characterized by government indoctrination, is to be rejected. Surely, there were always attempts in the GDR to anchor the Marxist doctrine in the archaeological science, but only few were successful. The majority of publications presented the traditional approach to the analysis of source materials and occasionally contained their evaluations. Pursuing such an approach, the authors could evade political utilization.

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[42] Exception at the university institutes with training in the field K.-D. Jäger, see section "Universities".

Final Remarks

The execution of excavations, research, and teaching can be ascertained by analyzing the produced publications. A critical overall appraisal of the relationship between science and ideology is suitable for future research. It cannot be accomplished in this article because, on one hand, it necessitates a review of unpublished material and, on the other hand, the author himself was personally involved in the research in question, which, naturally, leads to a starkly subjective view on related events and phenomena.

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Chapter 11
A Story of Their Own: What Happened and What is Going on with North Korean Archaeology?

Yongwook Yoo

An attempt to properly narrate the history of North Korean archaeology is not an easy task. It involves historical insight and political viewpoint of the narrator which might be biased through a single and narrow viewpoint. As one of the most secluded countries, North Korea has emerged and still remains a highly touted communistic country. Its outer image is controversial due to persistent economic crisis and violation of the basic human rights often reported via clandestine sources. Its nuclear armaments threaten the neighboring countries, while its diplomatic tactics are mind-boggling and puzzling everybody.

I do not intend to evaluate the social environment of contemporary North Korea here but want to admit first that the available knowledge on North Korean archaeology is extremely limited, perhaps too limited to distinguish between good and bad that it offers. Despite such limitations, however, a fistful of research on North Korean archaeology is currently available, most of which have been very recently published in South Korea (e.g., K. Chun, 2015; C. Han, 2013; K. Yi, 2011). However, this handful of written accounts on North Korean archaeology is still enigmatic because of the lack of reliable sources to provide data or corroborate views and interpretations. Thus, the analyst must carefully approach the subject in order not to render speculation and conjecture.

I do believe that the history of North Korean archaeology still leaves much to be discussed, but nevertheless is worth commenting on. Each archaeology has its own story and is composed of several main characters with their own historical events they either caused or faced. The developing story of North Korean archaeology, however, requires many supportive materials (data) and a crystal-clear trajectory of historical events. These requirements are not to be fulfilled in the meantime because, as mentioned before, we do not have enough available sources that directly originate from North Korea. Furthermore, we cannot guarantee that any detailed

Y. Yoo (✉)
Department of Archaeology, Chungnam National University, Daejeon, S. Korea
e-mail: palaeo@cnu.ac.kr

information on the nature of North Korean archaeology will be obtained in near future because it contains painful and shameful record of historical events on both personal and national levels.

Notwithstanding this inconvenient truth, the reason why I try to develop a story on North Korean archaeology is very simple. It is quite intriguing and conducive to understanding the modern intellectual history of archaeology both as an academic discipline and as a conveyance of political agenda. North Korean archaeology is a rare example that we can interpret in either way. It emerged as a pure scientific interest in the remains of the past societies; it developed as an intellectual way of protest against colonialism; it served as a pragmatic tool for self-realization of two friends and rivals; and finally, it materializes a masterminding plan of a national leader and offers some useful hints regarding the maintenance of power and brainwashing people through manipulation of archaeological data and mixing mythological stories with archaeological facts.

These complicated features of North Korean archaeology reflect a very unique history of modern Korea. From the later nineteenth to early twentieth century, Korean people underwent as many sociopolitical changes as we can count. They were abruptly exposed to modernity of the Western world and got immediately colonized by a neighboring country. They were directly impacted by global conflicts and their territory was divided into two pieces. They experienced a modern civil war and subsequent separation for more than a half century. If this whole sequence can be put into a single word, perhaps "turmoil" will be the right term to epitomize the modern Korean history.

As a scientific discipline, archaeology in North Korea evolved and transformed under the conditions of such historical turmoil. This is why a story of North Korean archaeology presented here may be intriguing, but it also brings about much pathos as well. Some even resort to emotional sympathy toward the academic collapse of North Korean archaeology and treat the main heroes of this tragedy as martyrs of historical fate of the separated nation (e.g., K. Chun, 2015; K. Lee, 1990).

Personally, I do not want to adumbrate the pros and cons of North Korean archaeology, nor do I want to feel remorseful about the historical fate of separated Korea. Rather, I will take advantage of this opportunity to introduce North Korean archaeology to a wider audience and address its academic accomplishment in the context of modern Korean history. Even though I do my best to demonstrate the real worth of North Korean archaeology, some unclear issues and vague realities cannot be clarified in this chapter. I further believe that this chapter may become another text critically reviewed in the future, but some misleading and unbounded information on North Korean archaeology will be eventually examined and corrected by other, more resourceful researchers.

Korean Archaeology Before Modern Era

It is noteworthy that archaeological activity in Korea budded far before the modern era of the twentieth century. About 800 years ago, Lee Gyu-bo (AD 1168–1241), a royal official of the Goryeo [Koryŏ] dynasty, wrote a description on the prehistoric

dolmens of Geumma town in Jeolla Province of southwestern Korea. After that, some archaeological discoveries were documented on various historical sources of the Joseon dynasty and these discoveries are witnessed at least nine times in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* from AD 1441 to 1622 (S. Yi, 1988: 223; S. Yi, 2001: 155). However, in those early writings discoveries of primitive things are overall regarded as outputs of supernatural forces according to the ideologies and philosophical viewpoints of governing officials of the time. For example, words such as thunder-axe, thunder-arrow, and thunder-spear are coined out of the old Chinese five element (Wu Xing) theory. Accordingly, some weird-looking stone weapons were believed to have been spontaneously formed by the intervention of the five natural elements: fire, water, wood, gold, and earth.

Such publications as the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, *Cheong Pa Geuk Dam* (written by Lee Ryuk), and *Seong Ho Sa Seol* (written by Lee Ik) commonly describe the idea of the five elements. Some thunder-axes are attributed to be useful enough for manual works even though they are believed to be made with the combination of stone (earth) and thunder (fire). Nonetheless, Lee Ryuk (AD 1428–1498) pointed out that various thunderstones had been made through the use of human craftsmanship because such finesse works cannot be done by natural forces alone. He, however, did not strongly assert his notion and reserved his contemplation by saying that a well-established intellectual would verify this later.

Lee's anticipation was fulfilled by another Confucian scholar ca. 300 years after him. Kim Jeong-Hee (1786–1856), a well-rounded man of letters and artisan inspired by rather positivistic philosophical tenets, understood that all prehistoric monuments and artifacts were made by ancient people. He deciphered old scripts on various tombstones and tablets such as Monument of King Jinheung's Tour of the Silla dynasty (BC 57–AD 935). Under political prosecution, he was sent into exile (1851) in the Bukcheong County of northeastern Korea, near the border with China and Russia where nomadic Jurchen people continuously resided even under the domination of the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. At the age of 66, he conducted a field survey singlehandedly and collected many stone weapons such as axes and arrowheads (S. Yi, 1988: 225). He recognized these artifacts as products of the Sushen people, a clan of ancient Jurchens, and inspired by his findings wrote *Elegy for Stone Crossbow* describing the Sushen's weaponry. His materialistic approach to the subject of his study is well reflected in the selection of words such as "stoneaxe" and "stonearrow" replacing previous mythical-like terms such as "thunder-axe" and "thunder-arrow." He then identified ancient royal tombs of the Silla dynasty at the Gyeongju area, which hitherto were believed to be simple man-made mounds. His insight on historiography and geography led him to write the first archaeological treatise in Korea: *On the royal tomb of King Jinheung of the Silla Dynasty* (S. Yi, 1988: 226).

It is of great obscurity that other archaeological activities with pure academic perspective have persisted during the nineteenth century in Korea after Lee Ryuk and Kim Jeong-hee. Since the époque of *Jin Gyeong* (literally means "realistic landscape") in the eighteenth century of the Joseon dynasty, the Korean social milieu was experiencing a change of a worldview from Confucian-dominant morale to the pragmatic knowledge obtained by studying material things. This change coincided

with the influx of the Western learning via the Qing dynasty of China and many individuals were on their own tracks of studying and publishing a "new knowledge" gained through empirical-based reasoning.

In the meantime, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Joseon dynasty was enforced by Japan and several Western countries to open its ports to international trade. In effect, Koreans lost their opportunity for independent development of archaeology as an educated academic discipline. The modern form of archaeology was introduced by more westernized Japanese officials who were dispatched to Korea as colonists.

Japanese Occupation and Two Main Heroes of Early Korean Archaeology: Han Hung-soo and Do Yu-ho

Although Japanese archaeologists sent to Korea were highly skilled and innovative in various fieldwork techniques, even more advanced than those in inland Japan (I. Jung, 2011: 55), the initial archaeological works in Korea were principally designed to justifying the colonization of Korea. Prompted to annexation of Korea, the Japanese government was highly concerned with the verification of archaeological and/or historical "truth" that Korea is intrinsically destined to be governed by an exterior influence. This simple motivation led the Japanese government to indulge in discovering and studying ancient remains of Luolang, the first foreign commandery in northwestern Korea (108 BC–AD 313) established by the Han dynasty of China.

In essence, the Japanese governmental archaeologists, represented by Sekino Tadashi (1868–1935) and Fujita Ryosaku (1892–1960), were neither interested in studying of ancient Korean culture nor in founding modern archaeology in occupied Korea. Their archaeology was originally characterized in no other terms than as inspired by imperialistic agenda. For example, Sekino, who played a significant role not only in the excavation of Luolang tombs but also in the development of archaeological field methods (I. Jung, 2006), overemphasized the influence of the Chinese culture and institution on the ancient Korean Three Kingdoms.[1] Fujita who published the first monograph of Korean archaeology (1942) even suggested the term "Chalcolithic Age" to describe the Stone Age and Bronze Age of Korea as cultural phases of ancient Chinese colonization (K. Yi, 2010: 33–34). This simple colonial perspectives on the ancient Korea formed a basis of Japanese political propaganda and persisted even after the liberation of Korea after WWII (1945). Therefore, the initial stage of modern archaeology in Korea was characterized by the struggles between the Japanese imperialistic viewpoints and the Korean antithesis against this colonial notion.

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[1] *Editor's note*: The Three Kingdoms of Korea consisted of Silla, Hubaekje ("Later Baekje") and Hugoguryeo ("Later Goguryeo," replaced by Goryeo).

Fig. 11.1 Portrait of Han Hung-soo around his 30s. Photograph was taken for his academic document in Czech (recaptured from K. Chun, 2015)

Fig. 11.2 Portrait of Do Yu-ho in 1936 in Vienna, Austria (taken from Daily Chosun Newspaper of 7 APR 1936)

During the Japanese era, one of these struggles for "righteously" narrated ancient Korean culture is witnessed through the pioneering works of scholars of Korean origin who were educated within the intellectual context of the modern academic system in Europe. Among those pioneers, Han Hung-soo (1935a, 1935b), and Do Yu-ho (1940, 1941) are the two founders of North Korean archaeology after the formation of government in 1948 (Figs. 11.1 and 11.2).[2]

Since both were later abandoned by North Korea due to political reasons, their well-written biographies currently do not exist and their initial accomplishments are hardly known among current archaeologists. Thus, it seems worthwhile to briefly introduce their careers during the era of Japanese colonization in order to better understand the background of North Korean archaeology after 1945.

Han was born in 1909 and educated in Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan. He was under tutelage of Dorii Ryuzo (1870–1953) who was already an established international ethnologist/archaeologist of Imperial Japan. Han's view on anthropology as a generalized study of human culture might have been formulated during his days in Sophia. Due to his interests in ethnology and archaeology, he highly valued such topics as family structure and hierarchical social organization of ancient cul-

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[2] *Editor's note*: From 1945 until 1948 both parts of Korea separated at the 38 parallel were governed by military governments backed by the Soviets (North Korea) and the US (South Korea) and replaced by civilian governments in 1948 with the same political backing.

tures. He was originally committed to the classic Marxist ideas and the influence of Marx and Engels' works is continuously visible in his works. He argued that the principal research topic of prehistory is to "investigate the material culture for clarifying the elementary form of production and the genetic significance of primitive social organization (H. Han, 1935b: 57)." In 1936, he commenced his doctoral research at the *Universität Wien* (The University of Vienna) in Austria. His original intention was to study Korean primitive society by focusing on the dolmen and megalithic culture in the context of Elliot Smith's argument of *Heliolithische Kultur* (The Sun and megalithic culture; H. Han, 1935a: 133), and he naturally chose the *Universität Wien* where such big figures of diffusionist in its principle *Kulturkreis* (culture circle) theory as Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) and Oswald Menghin (1888–1973) resided (K. Chun, 2015; C. Han, 2013).

Do, whose original name was Cyong-ho, was born in 1905 and studied economics in the Commercial College of Seoul (now the School of Economics, Seoul National University). He pursued his graduate study in the *Göethe Universität* in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, and his original major was socioeconomics that he studied under Karl Manheim (1893–1947) who became his supervisor. In 1933, Do was imprisoned by the Nazi's prosecution and banned out of Germany, possibly because of Manheim's defection to England (C. Han, 2013). Subsequently, Do transferred to the *Universität Wien* in Austria and obtained his doctoral degree in 1936. The title of his thesis was *Probleme der koreanischen Geschichte in kulturellem Zusammenhang* ("The Problem of Korean History in Cultural Context") and it mainly covered a general Korean history with regard to traditional Korean culture and its interactions with continental Asia. Although the topic of his thesis was far from archaeological approach, it highly criticized Japanese imperialists endeavor to justify the annexation of Korea by using past cultural evidence as key arguments. After completion of his doctoral thesis, he extended the scope of his academic interests to ethnology and prehistory under the guidance of such prominent anthropologists of the Vienna School as Schmidt, Menghin, Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961), and Robert von Heine-Geldern (1885–1968). In the course of attaining his archaeological/anthropological career in Vienna, he met Han Hung-soo and they immediately became close friends and academic colleagues.

After the Nazi Germany annexed Austria in 1938, the faculty members of the *Universität Wien* were displaced across Europe and North America. Han and Do were also separated. Han followed Schmidt and Koppers to the *Universität Freiburg* in Switzerland (presently *Université de Fribourg*) in 1938 and got his doctoral degree there in 1940. He submitted his thesis titled *Die Stellung der Megalithkultur in der koreanischen Urgeschichte* ("The Position of Megalithic Culture in Korean Prehistory") and it was finally endorsed by Hugo Obermaier (1877–1946) and Schmidt. It deals with the idea that the emergence of Korean megalithic culture is the result of cultural diffusion from the southern parts of Asia, which follows the footsteps of *kulturkreis* theory of Heine-Geldern. Because his academic accomplishments in archaeology corresponded with the goals of the Japanese diplomatic campaign in Europe, he was able to extend his stay in Austria and Czechoslovakia as a high-profiled Asian specialist assigned to ethnology museums of both Vienna and Prague even after the end of WWII (K. Chun, 2015: 421).

Unlike Han, Do could not stay in the Nazi-occupied Europe because of his past record in Germany. In 1940, he returned to Korea and published several research papers in the Korean language. Because his two elder brothers were among the most wanted communist "big shots" in the anti-Japanese movement, he could not enjoy his academic freedom and sociality under the Japanese government ruling. During the time of WWII from 1941 to 1945, his whereabouts and detailed activities are not well documented. He might have stayed put under the harsh surveillance of the Japanese government during the war. According to C. Han's (2013) speculation, he stayed in Manchuria and Japan continuing his works on future publications. This was the period when Korean archaeology and history were still led by Japanese bureaucrats but some independent Korean academic movements were emerging organized by local scholars. The Chindan Society organized by Lee Byeong-do and others was the result of this movement (originated around 1934)[3] and Do was also a devoted member of this society until the end of Japanese occupation (C. Han 2013).

Separated Koreas and the Initial Phase of North Korean Archaeology

On the 15 August 1945 Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation by the Allied Forces and two Koreas—North and South separated by the 38 parallel—were created under the trusteeship of the Soviet Union and the USA according to the Moscow Agreement (1945). In 1946, North Korea promptly legislated the "Act of Cultural/Natural Heritage Protection" and declared rules of operation and regulations for this legislation as well. In effect, each province of "New Korea in the North" was enacted to have committees for cultural properties and a dozen of local museums were organized (Y. Pak, 1998: 80). North Korean government tried to gain academic advantage over South Korea and invited many scholars and scientists from the South and other countries. In this course, Han and Do were also accepted and entered North Korea. In 1946, Do was offered a full professorship in the National University of Pyongyang (now the National University of Kim Il-sung) and Han, who was still in Czechoslovakia, was invited by Kim Il-sung and joined the same faculty with Do in 1948 (K. Chun, 2015; C. Han, 2013).

These two archaeologists gave an immediate edge to the initial development of North Korean archaeology. In addition, proper law system on cultural heritage preservation boosted new archaeological tasks. For example, Songpyeong-dong shell midden of Unggi County (1947), the Bronze Age settlement of Chodo of Najin City (1949), both in Northern Hamgyeong Province, were the first identification of prehistoric remains after the establishment of new Korea. In 1949, three ancient tombs of the Goguryeo dynasty (37 BC–AD 668), one of which contains delicate artistic

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[3] *Editor's note*: The Chindan Society was established to compete with the Japanese academicians. It focused on empirical research conducted by Korean scholars. Its empirical outlook somewhat contradicted the Marxist approach becoming popular in Korea in the 1930s.

murals, were found and excavated at the Anak area around Pyeongyang City (K. Lee, 1990: 109). Interpretation of these excavation results emphasized the eradication of Japanese imperialistic legacy and propelled spiritual resuscitation of Korean people. This agenda combined with the struggle for power by Kim Il-sung was propagated among North Koreans in order to make them believe that communist North Korea solely assumes historical legitimacy/supremacy over South Korea. The final result of this agenda burst into an undeclared war in 1950.

During the Korean War (1950–1953), although no prominent excavation fieldworks were recorded, North Korean archaeology witnessed two major changes. The first was Han's loss of influence, while the second was the establishment of the North Korean Academy of Science (NKAS) in 1952. The cause for Han's downfall is quite unclear, but it can be surmised that Han suffered from political purge movement in the intermingled situation of the North Korean Labor Worker's Party. Before and after the war, Kim Il-sung executed a "home-cleaning" operation that discounted his political rivals, mostly from the South Korean Worker's Party, in order to consolidate his exclusive reign over North Korea. In the course of this event, many collaborators of the former Japanese government, defectors from the South with bureaucratic background, and ideologues with pro-capitalistic, bourgeois mind were systematically eliminated with or without clear charge. In spite of Han's stellar career in Europe and his significant contribution to initial development of North Korean archaeology, he was by no means free from political accusation. Han's academic value was continuously questioned and threatened by his colleagues and authorities, including Do. His political prestige as the head of the National Committee for Research and Protection of Cultural Heritages (NCRPC) was tainted by a charge of impure ideology and reactionary expressions. It is commonly speculated that his charge was partly and primarily influenced by Do's harsh criticism over Han's previous articles published in the period from 1948 to 1952 (K. Chun, 2015; C. Han, 2013).

Han's downfall immediately brought about the rising of Do's political power in academic realm. In 1952, the North Korean Academy of Science (NKAS) was established and its archaeological affiliate, the Institute for History of Material Culture (IHMC), was chaired by Do. The IHMC conducted all nation-wide archaeological research and excavations replacing the previous NCRPC-led projects by Han. In harmony with the governmental economic 3-year development plan, the archaeological work resumed from 1954 with the purpose of new discovery and restoration of cultural heritage rampaged by the Korean War. Do, a well-acknowledged scholar and loyal Party member, commanded a very effective and confident leadership in excavations and publication of works. In result, several renowned prehistoric sites were discovered and excavated from 1954 to 1957, among them: the Bronze Age settlement site of Odong, Hoeryeong (1954–1955), the Neolithic Period site of Jitapri, Bongsan (1957), and so forth. Until the end of the 1950s, the number of fieldwork campaigns reached 128, combining surface surveys and full subsurface excavation (Fig. 11.3).

This number enormously exceeds that of South Korea during the same period (32 surface surveys and only one excavation project). Several academic journals began
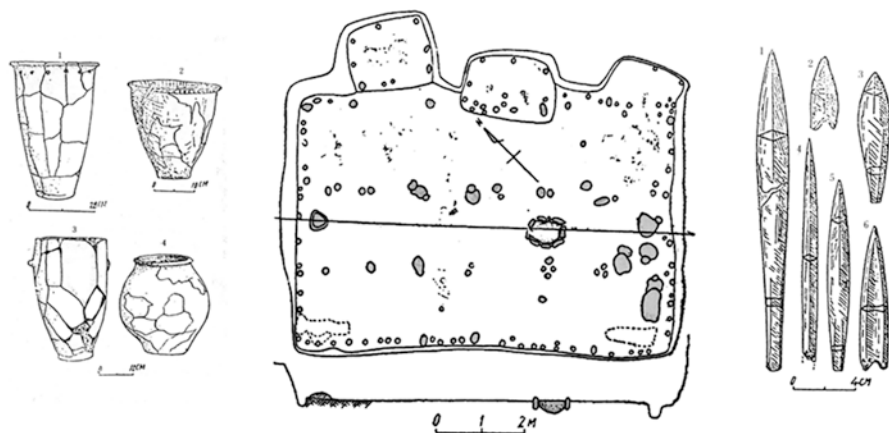
Fig. 11.3 Measured drawings of the Bronze Age pit house and excavated potteries and stone arrow points from Odong Site, Hoeryeong, Northeastern Korea (taken from Do, 1960: 217, 220, 223)

to be published during this period and they included "Excavation Reports" (*Yu Jeok Bal Gul Bo Go* from 1956), "Cultural Heritage" (*Mun Hwa Yu San* from 1957), and "Archaeological Anthology" (*Go Go Hak Ja Ryo Jip* from 1958).

In 1957, the IHMC was changed into the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology (IAE) and was chaired again by Do. This change fortified Do's leverage on the entire archaeology and academic society in North Korea. However, Do's archaeological perspective highly depended on cultural diffusionism (*kulturkreis*) imbued during his stint at the *Universität Wien*, and this was totally against the doctrine of the North Korean Worker's Party.[4] His archaeological articles during this time clearly show that he either superficially understood/adapted principles of historical materialism or deliberately did not accommodate this approach (C. Han, 2013; K. Yi, 2011; S. Yi, 1992). For example, he was interested in the possibility of cultural impacts of such remarkable remains in foreign lands as Mastaba of Egypt, believing that cultural diffusion can be done without tangible ethnic migration. In his view, the megalithic culture of Korea was instigated by the introduction of ideas from Egypt via Indo-China to the Hwanghae Province of North Korea (Do, 1959: 32–33).

His somewhat excessively schematic opinion on the emergence of the Korean ancient culture was of course criticized and harshly dismissed. However, he wisely evaded possible academic hazards with such crafty statement as below:

> …for example, I admit that the theories of ethnic migration and cultural exchange are truly reactionary; but I also affirm that we cannot answer the old ethnological questions ignoring the factual migration and exchange of ideas (Do, 1957: 6).

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[4] *Editor's note*: At that time, following Stalin's agenda in the USSR, diffusionism was not common in archaeological reasoning while autochthonism (cultural continuity) was favored.

Fig. 11.4 Do Yu-ho's (*second from left*) military service as a liaison officer and translator during the Korean War in 1953 (from J. Lee, 2015: 548)

In sum, Do was politically powerful but ideologically not reliable from the viewpoint of the North Korean communist government. But they did not interfere with Do's archaeological leadership until the 1960s. This "hands-off" attitude of the government toward Do's archaeological perspective can be interpreted in two ways; (1) since Han was irreversibly disgraced after the Korean War, Do might have been the only available respected archaeologist acting for the government, and (2) Do still carried utility value as a favorite local figure for the inspiration of national spirit overcoming Japanese colonialism of the past and for excelling the "Americanized southern enemy" of the present. Besides, it cannot be denied that Do was at least a loyal Party member and valuable intellectual who even served in uniform during the Korean War (Fig. 11.4). His political position and loyalty to the Party were not easily questioned considering his career as a leading archaeologist.

Whatever the reason may be, Do's tenure as the head of North Korean archaeology seemed secure until the onset of the 1960s. During this time, he played a major role in invigorating academic discussion and colloquial activities. He was rather a democratic and resourceful commentator than an authoritative and argumentative synthesizer in discussions. He especially emphasized objective research attitude and highly valued the importance of academic freedom, as evidenced by the following statement:

> … we should be reminded that the false "reactionary" blame not be charged by simply judging one's political beliefs … Of most importance is to accurately understand the objective history … we need to expand our endeavors to talk freely on and listen to others' opinions so that this long-pending problem can be solved (Do, 1957: 2).

Do's thoughts and attitudes are well portrayed in the passage above. He championed his ideals of archaeology in the midst of rapid political change during the 1950s.

However, he neither "brown-nose," nor succumbed to severe ideological indictment while his former friend Han Hung-soo was dismissed. He survived political purge and balanced between his social reality and ideal belief in the 1950s and took the lead in every task of North Korean archaeology until the first half of the 1960s.

Meanwhile, his career reached its peak from 1955 to 1962. He successfully set up a chronological scheme of Korean prehistory from the Neolithic Period to Bronze Age based on the accumulated data of excavated materials. As a final step of this work, he published the first comprehensive archaeological monograph in 1960 entitled "Korean Prehistoric Archaeology*" (Jo Seon Weon Si Go Go Hak*, 1960). He also enjoyed an honor of being the first national academician in 1961 (Yi, 1992: 40). In 1962, he discovered and excavated the Gulpori site of Unggi, the first Korean Palaeolithic locality. This led him to confirm that Korean prehistory can be described in the same cultural sequence with that of the Western world and that Korean archaeology succeeded in overcoming the pessimistic historical images left over by Japanese colonialists who did not accept the existence of the Palaeolithic period in Korean prehistory.

North Korean archaeology has blossomed in the early 1960s. Field techniques and theoretical background developed in accordance with those of the Soviet Union and its ideological allies. Some international cooperative works organized by the IAE were conducted in northeastern China and Far Eastern Siberia. These field-works were highly relevant for investigations of the origins of the ancient Chosun Kingdom (*Go Jo Seon*), political organization of the first Korean nation recorded in historiographic texts. The next phase of North Korean archaeology from the early 1960s is characterized by hot debates on the geographical domain and territorial issues of the ancient Chosun. It also involves a paradigm shift in North Korean archaeology remarked by the emergence of new political order: Jucheism (*Ju Che Sa Sang*).

Jucheism as a Ruling Ideology and Its Impact on North Korean Archaeology

Thanks to Do's endeavor, North Korean archaeology basked in the national attention until the early 1960s. Meanwhile, Kim Il-sung, who was in the course of strengthening his political power overcoming the burden of operational failure of the Korean War, faced a diplomatic obstacle. Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) came up to power in 1958, denounced the former Stalin's reign, and introduced a new order. Khrushchev's vision clearly contradicted and threatened Kim's yearning for absolute power over North Korea. He even underwent a covert expulsion attempt made by his political rivals in 1956 (W. Li & J. Seo, 2013: 163), which led him to declare a totally new doctrine combining the principles of self-reliance and boycotting any foreign influence. Jucheism is a political neologism, a new ruling ideology embraced by all social units of North Korea since the early 1960s.

The word "Juche" means "self-motivation" and it signifies a perfect freedom and voluntary resolution with no external interference; this word gained utmost value in the 1960s since the Sino-Soviet split turned into a full-blown diplomatic crisis and the North Korean leadership decided to keep political distance from both China and the Soviet Union (J. Seo, 2001: 28–33). In addition, the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) gave Kim Il-sung an substantial initiative to solidify his authority over entire nation because he feared that the Far Eastern communist bloc can be ultimately dissolved as a result of diplomatic conflicts between China and the Soviet Union.

The nature of Jucheism is that it was created by Kim and his close associates as the means for instigating a political dogma. It reflects Kim's ambition to secure his lifelong and exclusive rule over the country. Archaeology under Jucheism serves as an academic discipline historically supporting and eloquently vindicating the Kim's reign. It is obligatory that archaeological validity is destined to be tampered with by authority and its interpretations are easily distorted and bracketed into the evidence of autonomous ancient Korean people. The formula of social evolution is tailored according to the policies of modern government. Archaeological research under Jucheism is expected to find and to present adequate historical examples flattering current government and its legitimacy.

Jucheism inevitably coexists with totalitarianism, which frequently involves suppression of individual freedom and instillation of hyped patriotism. Under this dogma, archaeological interpretation always tends to be colored with the "perenniality of endemic cultural elements originally created by ancestors of the current ethnic group." This kind of interpretation furnishes a flashy national pride willingly taken by every person, and is easily abused by the ruling group. The apotheosis of Kim as "the ONE" who can lead every Korean personal life and future was initiated on the basis of this propaganda since 1960s. This political image-making solidified his position as a regal leader who can make any executive decision on domestic and international affairs.

The exaggerated form of Jucheism is liable to ignore any possibilities that contributed to the diversity of past cultures. This ideology is closely linked to the political independence and self-complacency of the North Korean government, which is heavily responsible for the diplomatic isolation that continues since 1960s. Jucheism came to reality in archaeology as an overstatement of Kim's leadership and of governmental control on every aspect of academic achievement. What is more serious is that the origin and/or driving force of cultural change are to be internally sought and any impact from outside is strictly ruled out. The self-sufficient condition of internal integrity over time was the key factor in Juche-oriented archaeology. Thus, the new missions of archaeology in North Korea turned to: (1) finding the evidence for such condition of cultural continuity from the past remains, (2) proving it with an assumption that Koreans were a gifted ethnic group and have independently survived in this country, (3) making it seem historically valid and appropriate, and finally (4) stating it was incessantly inherited to modern Koreans and has never been changed since the past.

Obviously, these multifaceted aspects of Juche-oriented archaeology impeded development of various historical discourses in the 1960s. For instance, in the

course of a debate on the location of the capital of the ancient kingdom of Chosun, Jucheism played a pivotal role in formulating two competing academic factions among archaeologists and historians (M. Ha, 2006; C. Han, 2000; K. Lee 1990). At that time most historians supported the idea that the capital area of Chosun was located westward off the Liao River in northeast China and that position meant that the territory of Chosun would extend far beyond the Korean Peninsula. On the contrary, most archaeologists, including Do, argued that the capital was around the Pyongyang city and the argument was based on the excavation result and geographical distribution of relevant artifacts.

The location and territory of ancient Chosun is closely linked to the question about Luolang (S. Yi, 1992: 37). Most archaeologists, including those of South Korea, believed that the existence of Luolang in the Korean Peninsula is an undisputed historical fact and such developed technologies as iron forging and hardware pottery were imported from continental Asia via Luolang that served as a midway hub. However, the idea that the territory of ancient Chosun may have not been limited to the Korean Peninsula clearly challenged the newly launched Jucheism: firstly, the cultural influence of external origins (ancient China) could not be postulated, and secondly, the fact that Pyongyang, the capital of ancient Chosun and modern North Korea, was invaded and occupied by external force must have been negated.

The debate continued until 1963, but it soon became quite clear that the faction of historians gained predominance over that of archaeologists as the former group strongly supported the essence of Jucheism and their argument was well entrenched within the propaganda of Kim's party. In addition, Do's culture-oriented approach, the emphasis on human migration and cultural diffusion, was quite vulnerable to biting criticisms and his perspective was regarded not only as belittling of ancient Korean people's self-relying capacity but also as self-contradictory since his opinion is no more than the old Japanese imperialists, one that Do himself criticized and liquidated in the 1950s.

Although no public statement or clear proof was issued, the aftermath of this debate itself was quite poignant and somewhat annihilating! The locally popular name of Do Yu-ho disappeared in archaeological publications from 1965 onward (K. Lee, 1990: 135; C. Han, 2000: 12). He has never been identified in any field of archaeology and ethnology since then and fell into oblivion. His life afterward has officially never been known in both North and South Korea. Some rumors indicate that he lost every control of the IAE and was finally expelled out of academic league (C. Han, 2000; K. Lee, 1990; S. Yi, 1992). The archaeological works in North Korea drastically diminished during the 1960s and the number of published excavation reports was only a half of those published in the 1950s (C. Han, 2000: 5). The reduced number of archaeological discoveries might be due to the loss of Do and his cohorts who have taken a vanguard role in conducting fieldwork since the 1950s. In addition, most periodicals of archaeology were discontinued (Y. Lee, 2009: 183–184) and only minor irregular issues covered the results of some small-scale excavation and contained trivial articles reiterating old ideas of the 1950s (S. Yi, 1992: 44).

Reorganization of academic institutes was also carried out from 1964 onward. The IAE was divided into the Institute of Archaeology (IA) and the Institute of

Ethnology, and both were attached to the newly established North Korean Academy of Social Sciences (NKASS). The NKASS is primarily designed for research and propagation of Jucheism and major institutes devoted to the humanities and researching of social issues, including archaeology and ethnology, remained under the wing (or jurisdiction) of Jucheism. All publications of the NKASS were under control of the affiliated press agency and it is still the only source by which archaeology of North Korea is available to the public. This means that North Korean archaeology neither advocates political neutrality, nor pursues objectivity as a pure scientific knowledge, but that it voluntarily participates in the movement of Jucheism and willingly incorporates a political ideology into research.

According to C. Han (2013), who reviewed the history of North Korean archaeology, the Han and Do's period (1950s–1960s) is regarded as the formative or transient stage because Marx-Leninism was critically adopted in archaeological narratives and finally Jucheism was unanimously taken as a general theory across the overall social sciences. This stage is an endeavoring and experimenting period when archaeology as science, although its nature was highly innocent and superficial, was pursued and realized within the context of overcoming the previous colonial view. K. Yi (2015) recently commented that North Korean archaeology as science has changed as a medium of "enlightenment" or propaganda as of 1970s when Jucheism was officially proclaimed and prescribed as the only ideology to which North Korea and its Worker's Party relate. This is a revolutionary change of the basic value of archaeology and totally different from what Han and Do have cherished. The immediate result is clearly visible as archaeology has gradually become a national and/or social science to enrich Jucheism and to serve as a loyal discipline for supporting North Korea's governing doctrine since 1970.

The Age of Extremes: The Current Status of North Korean Archaeology

After disintegrating Do's monopolizing structure, the second generation of North Korean archaeologists has embarked on solidifying the Juche-oriented archaeology. Of major accomplishments in the 1970s are discoveries of several Palaeolithic sites with hominid fossils. New Pleistocene hominid fossils were discovered in Seungrisan Cave of Dukcheon (1972–1973) and Mandal Cave of Pyongyang (1979–1980). Two molars and left scapula from lower layer of Seungrisan Cave are identified *H. erectus* while one mandible from Seungrisan and all skeletons from Mandal Cave represent anatomically modern humans (I. Jeon & G. Kim, 2009). These recent discoveries of hominid fossils in North Korea are taken as great evidence of ancient Korean people who resided in Korea from very remote time indeed. Even a more "cringe worthy" embellishment is witnessed in the preface of *The Korean Palaeolithic Sites* (*Jo Seon Ui Gu Seok Gi Yu Jeok*) published recently:

> Our country boasts long history, a history that began with the very first phase of mankind. Our Palaeolithic sites and artifacts clearly address that our ancestors have permanently resided in this land. Their gifted creativity enabled themselves to conquer the nature, to succeed in social evolution and to enjoy cultural prosperity… Systematically putting together current Palaeolithic sites and artifacts greatly matters in that we can have rich database for scientifically exploring our people's perennial history and superb cultural tradition…(I. Jeon & G. Kim, 2009: i–ii).

It is somewhat embarrassing that such a paragraph as cited above can be put in print by a national academic institute in the twenty-first century. However, we can easily find here an example of extremity that archaeology can be fully charged with a single overwhelming political ideology. Literally, according to Jucheism, the hominid fossils make it obvious that Korean people have evolved in a single lineage without any external population influx. This also means that internal integrity not only applies to cultural phenomena (continuity), but also extends to the gene flow and biological inheritance.

During the later 1980s, Kim Jong-il, the son and descendent of Kim Il-sung, developed his father's Jucheism and took his own form of nationalism as an ideological base for his political power. Originally, nationalism was conceived of a reactionary thought in North Korea because of its nature to advocate and propagate the class interest of bourgeoisie (J. Kim, 2009). However, the dissipation of the Soviet-led Eastern European communist bloc in 1990s prompted Kim Il-sung and his junior to devise a more consolidated ruling ideology. Carrying the banner of nationalism, especially its extreme form, was more than the best action for them to unite the North Korean people and to respond to changing international circumstances. Kim Il-sung, before his death in 1994, even described himself as a "nationalist" in the first edition of his memoirs published in 1992, but it was later changed to "patriot" because the original word was still unfamiliar and negative among the people of North Korea (J. Kim, 2009: 228; Y. H. Lee, 2009: 197–198).

Under the changed political leadership and updated doctrine, North Korean archaeology has ostensibly recovered its productivity as it used to be before the 1960s. However, the tone of Jucheism combined with nationalism still echoes in every part of archaeology (S. Yi, 1992). Archaeological periodicals revived in 1986 and one of them is the "The Study of Korean Archaeology (*Jo Seon Go Go Yeon Gu*)." It covers government-controlled archaeological campaigns, possibly inspired by Kim Jong-il's new doctrine of "Korean Supremacy (*Jo Seon Min Jok Je Il Ju Ui*)." New generations of archaeologists successfully adapt more advanced scientific techniques and vigorously publish their results in journals and monographs controlled by the NKASS. However, the topics principally center on the display and encouragement of national sprit that continues from the very ancient time of Korea. Excavation tasks are designed to verify the antiquity of Korean people and their culture, whereas originality and uniqueness of archaeological remains are always valued and attributed to be intrinsic to ancient Korean people. The interpretation and concluding remarks always converge on the eulogy of the "Great Leader" and "Great People" with "Great Civilization."
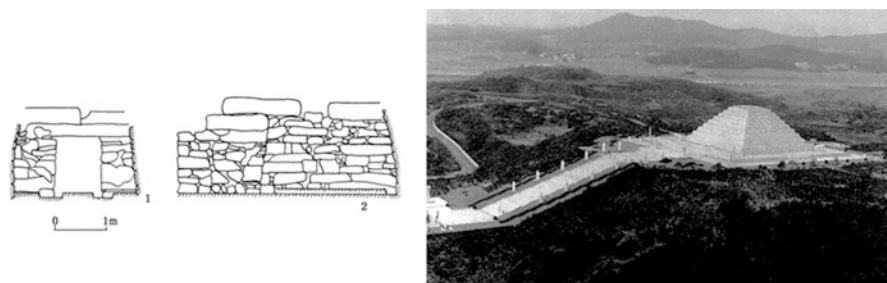
Fig. 11.5 Original stone-cist of "Dangun's Tomb" (*left*) and its full-restored current view (*right*). Note that the size of restored one including its perimeter is over a 100 m (Ro 2009)

In North Korean archaeology, the way how data is oriented toward Jucheism is now beyond moderation and reality. The recent discovery of "Dangun's Tomb" is a good example of this situation. In 1993, a pyramid-like ancient tomb with several human skeletons was found near Pyongyang (J. Park, 1994). It was excavated and restored immediately while the media claimed it to be the ancient tomb of Dangun, a mythical figure believed to have been the progenitor of Korean people and the founder of the ancient Chosun kingdom. The skeleton of an adult male was chronometrically dated *ca* 5000 BP, a corresponding year to the calculated historical age of Dangun (G. Kim, 1994; Ro 2009). Without scripted tablets or clear indication of the buried individual, it was made official that the skeletons are of Dangun and his wife who were interred together with buried alive attendants. Because the outer structure of the tomb shows typical style of the Goguryeo period (H. Kim, 2008), though, it was confirmed that Goguryeo people had repaired and modified the original tomb out of respect for Dangun (J. Park, 1994). The restored size and configuration of the tomb is aggrandized to a monument of grandeur and its perimeter is decorated with stone statues out of nowhere (Fig. 11.5). The case of Dangun's Tomb clearly demonstrates the extreme application of Jucheism and nationalism in public archaeology of North Korea.

Another example of extremities is the argument regarding the so-called "Daedong Civilization" (I. Seo, 1999). After several discoveries of prehistoric sites and the Dangun's Tomb around Pyongyang near Daedong River, Jucheism is embodied in the unverifiable archaeological culture around their national capital. The "Daedong Civilization" is a recent term prevalent among North Korean archaeologists and historians. They attempt to consecrate the Pyongyang area and officially name it a sacred place of Korean people. They enumerate several attributes of classic civilization such as monuments, development of agriculture, military bases, city walls, use of script and astrology, and all these are included in the entity of Daedong Civilization (I. Seo, 1999: 389–392). What is remarkable is that their arguments in favor of the Daedong Civilization are neither cautious nor hypothetical but confidently confirmative. For example, they compare other civilizations of the world with the Daedong area and ultimately demonstrate that the Daedong Civilization is characterized by its permanence and purity because it was never discontinued from

the Palaeolithic period to the Dangun's era and never hybridized with other elements imported from external cultures (I. Seo, 1999: 393).

Taking these two cases into consideration, we cannot but characterize the current North Korean archaeology as perplexing. Perhaps all could not agree more with S. Yi (1994: 7) who properly labeled such archaeological thinking as "surrealistic" features of North Korean archaeology. As his "shock" can be easily shared, we do not have to examine and assess the *status quo* of North Korean archaeology here. However, we cannot easily imagine the extent to which an extreme form of archaeology can be prevalent inside a country where solid scientific background of archaeology was once pursued and discussed. Turning back several pages of this chapter, we can compare the intellectual context of the current archaeology in North Korea with that of premodern Korea when mythical thunders and stones were believed to be responsible for making ancient stone axes and archaeological reasoning was primarily based on the idealization of things. Now, the Pyongyang area is held sacred as the birthplace of a great civilization and the entire archaeological reasoning is devoted to idolization of the nation and its leader. I strongly believe there is no significant difference between these two kinds of reasoning and both clearly indicate that an ideology-tainted reasoning turns all the past endeavors into a null.

Conclusion

A part of North Korean archaeological collection is now available in South Korea and the artifacts are critically reviewed and commented by some South Korean archaeologists. This chapter is also a small output originating from their works. While South Korean archaeology has undergone the trial and error phase and attempted to take a sound form insofar as international communication is allowed, North Korean archaeology since the 1960s seems like a gradually faded-out picture.

North Korean archaeology has experienced major shifts at least two times. Its initial development into a scientific discipline was attempted by combined intakes of historical materialism and culture-historical approach from the West. Han Hung-soo and Do Yu-ho are worth paying a tribute for their accomplishments and contributions in that they have at least succeeded in overcoming the colonialism-ridden past. North Korean archaeology is, however, far from its prosperity since complicated international circumstance and internal political conflicts did not allow it to develop as it was originally intended. Jucheism emerged as a cross-national overriding rule and directly influenced its objective and direction. The result is somewhat astonishing as North Korean archaeology of the twenty-first century is mesmerized by a leviathan of unprecedented communistic government.

As I already mentioned, the extremities of North Korean archaeology are not to be easily understood by foreign archaeologists, including those of South Korea. It is still unknown whether the extremities will be eventually mitigated or accentuated in the future. What we can be sure of is that any measures cannot be taken now for the amelioration of North Korean archaeology unless Jucheism is eliminated

from archaeological reasoning and replaced by an approach favoring alternative interpretations. Of course, presently it seems unconceivable to see North Korean archaeology forsake a chronic circle of influence that has been dominating for over a half century. Nevertheless, expecting the unexpected for the time being will be a wise choice taken by those who are practically interested in the unsolved archaeological questions of the northern part of the Korean Peninsula.

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Chapter 12
Marx, Sherlock Holmes, and Late Italian Prehistory

Jonas Danckers

Introduction

In 1988, Chris Wickham argued in his review article entitled "Marx, Sherlock Holmes and Late Roman Commerce" that "cultural hurdle" impeded British archaeologists to fully understand works by Marxist-inspired Italian classical archaeologists centred on Andrea Carandini (Wickham, 1988). It can be argued that an important part of the Italian late prehistoric studies has in a similar vein been inspired by Marxist ideas. The works of the proto-historical archaeologists Salvatore Maria Puglisi (1912–1985) and Renato Peroni (1930–2010) have been decisive for the further development of this direction of studies, in particular regarding the level of (current) social interpretations of the past. This chapter discusses the sociopolitical and academic context wherein their basic ideas caught on and convinced others that such an analysis can enhance our understanding of the intellectual development of these Italian approaches.

Before focusing on the *Zeitgeist* of the 1950s and 1960s, a brief introduction to the field of archaeological historiography, a short sketch of the historical context of post-WWII Italy, and an overview of the relationship between politics and late prehistoric archaeology before the end of WWII seems necessary for a better understanding of the key argument developed in this chapter.

Anglo-American archaeologists sometimes consider Italian archaeology implicitly as not having "arrived yet" at the post-processual stage. I would argue, however, that such unjustified, "linear evolutionary" vision is totally inappropriate and rather the result of looking at disciplinary changes in Italy with a clear-cut Kuhnian-derived succession of scientific paradigms, ranging from culture-historical to processual and finally post-processual archaeology in mind (Chapman, 2003; Guidi,

J. Danckers (✉)
Dottorando alle Università di Lovanio e Bologna, Aspirant FWO—Vlaanderen,
Onderzoekseenheid Archeologie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, Belgium
e-mail: Jonas.Danckers@arts.kuleuven.be

1996c; Trigger, 2006). While such a straightforward "paradigmatic succession" has even been questioned for the Anglo-American world, it has been repeatedly pointed out that, especially when seen in a global context, many different regional archaeological traditions exist and existed and that discussing them from such a narrow point of view seems rather reductionist (Lozny, 2011a; Ucko, 1995b). For instance, European archaeology developed diverse characteristics, often in relation to specific Marxian thoughts and historical studies (Biehl et al., 2002; Hodder, 1991:1–24), and various social contexts continue to determine furthermore the praxis and theory of different archaeological subfields (Díaz-Andreu & Champion, 1996; Lozny, 2011b:7).

Recent developments in the field of archaeological historiography have indicated that the picture is indeed much more complex and varied (Díaz-Andreu, 2007b). Theoretical and methodological developments did not and do not occur in a "vacuum", but are inextricably bound up with a series of interrelated factors. Starting with the idea that an archaeologist is always (consciously or unconsciously) "influenced" by his or her social, economic, political, cultural and other environments, an understanding of the societal tendencies and academic power structures wherein certain methods and theories developed and continue until the present, is considered crucial and will also be the leitmotiv of this article (Chapman, 2003; Patterson, 2003:2). While until the 1980s an "internalist perspective" prevailed that explained the history of archaeology as a series of "big" discoveries and inventions and as one evolutionary "process of progress" towards nearly perfect methods and theories; subsequently an "externalist perspective" started to gain strength, spurred by more relativistic, postmodern currents (Shanks & Tilley, 1987). This "critical history of archaeology" begun to demonstrate how archaeology is a "cultural and historical product" (Moro Abadía, 2010:217) and how the discipline was and is "influenced" by "external factors" as for instance nationalism (Kohl & Fawcett, 1989), or colonialism and imperialism (Díaz-Andreu, 2007b; Trigger, 1984). Oscar Moro Abadía has recently argued however that this "external or contextual perspective" of the "history of archaeology" studies contrasts with the general situation in the history and sociology of science, where this approach has already been criticised since the 1970s (Moro Abadía, 2010). In lines with these developments, Moro Abadía critiques the externalist assumption that "science" and "society" can be (artificially) distinguished and he suggests historians of archaeology should pay more attention to "sociological literature", so as archaeology would be more easily conceptualised as "a socially embedded activity" (Moro Abadía, 2010:217). David Van Reybrouck argued in 2002 in a similar way that "contextual notions are only invoked to account for errors" or how "science explains successes, society explains errors" (Van Reybrouck, 2002:160–161). Van Reybrouck's plead for the examination of a plethora of factors that have shaped the history of archaeological method and theory and his use of a Latourian ANT-approach, is one of the few examples of what Moro Abadía means by going "beyond externalism" (Van Reybrouck, 2002).

The history of Italian prehistoric studies has received serious attention since the end of the 1980s, a tendency of which Alessandro Guidi's manual *Storia della Paletnologia* is an emblematic example (Guidi, 1988). Many historiographical

accounts are however inspired by a concise but important text on the history of Italian *Paletnologia* (as prehistoric archaeology is called in Italy) by Renato Peroni. His influential essay was published in a booklet in 1992 (Peroni, 1992), while substantial parts of it had 2 years earlier been included in an less easily accessible *Gedenkschrift* for Jürgen Driehaus (Peroni, 1990). Besides specific case studies, such as the exceptional work on the history of the nineteenth-century research on the *Terramare* (Bernabò Brea & Mutti, 1994; Desittere, 1988; Peroni & Magnani, 1996), it was Alessandro Guidi who during the last 25 years published several general overviews of the history of the discipline (Guidi, 1987, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2008, 2010). On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Italian nation, the *Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria* (Italian Institute for Prehistory and Protohistory, *IIPP*) organised a 4-day conference in November 2011 on the history of Italian *Paletnologia*. Although no fixed programme was set out before, the conference addressed a widely varied range of chronological and thematic issues, showing the current vitality of this field of studies in Italy. Strikingly, relatively less attention was paid to the political aspects of Italian prehistoric studies and the more recent part of its history. During the final discussion of the 2011 *IIPP* conference, it was argued that the current generation of scholars is still lacking the "chronological and emotional distance" necessary to discuss "objectively" the developments of the last half a century, an observation that indicates how delicate this kind of studies remain. Nicola Terrenato argued in 1998 in an article on the recent history of Italian classical archaeology that the virtual absence of historiographical studies of recent disciplinary history can be related to the fact that explicit and open theoretical debate is rather scarce in Italian archaeology (Terrenato, 1998:175–176).

One can consequently argue that a better knowledge of this most recent, and "sensible" part of the history of Italian *Paletnologia*, especially its political aspects, demonstrates how the praxis, theories, and methods of its different "communities of practice" evolved during the last decades into their current state. It can be argued that in contrast to their Anglo-American counterparts, Italian archaeologists do not frequently engage in open theoretical discussions (Terrenato, 2005) and making the genesis of the theoretical background of current interpretations "explicit" seems a necessary premise to any theoretical innovation. In lines with the recent developments in the "history of archaeology" studies, an "intellectual history" of current theoretical concepts and interpretations should be pursued from a sociologically and historically contextualised approach (Kaeser, 2002). Furthermore, since foreign and Italian archaeologists study Italian late prehistory not exactly as communicating vessels, a sociological study of recent Italian prehistoric studies and its political entanglement can provide foreign archaeologists working in Italy with the necessary *empathy* for the "Italian way of doing archaeology" and can prevent them from lapsing into a colonial archaeology, which does not bother about local discussions.

The relation between prehistoric archaeology and politics has received relatively little attention, with notable exceptions such as Guidi's article on nationalism (Guidi, 1996b) and Tarantini's study of the link between fascism and prehistoric archaeology (Tarantini, 2002). The entanglement with politics during the post-WWII period has

only been sporadically discussed (Guidi, 1996a, 2000). Yet, since historical and Italian cultural studies have repeatedly stressed how the Italian Left, and the Italian Communist Party in particular, has widely impacted Italy's cultural, social, political and intellectual life during this period (Ward, 2001), this article aims at considering what is the possible link between these Left-wing Italian politics and the use of specific "Marxist" social theory in Italian late prehistoric studies from the 1950 and 1960s onwards. The focus is on the life and works of Salvatore Maria Puglisi and Renato Peroni, who both had a decisive influence on the field and were linked to the University "*La Sapienza*" of Rome.

After a brief historical introduction of the post-war situation and an overview of the earlier history of the discipline, with particular reference to its political links, their engagement with "Marxist" social theory and their development of a specific "Italian" way of using it, will be discussed. Ludomir Lozny described recently that his impression of European archaeology is that "archaeologists rarely discuss such anthropological topics that relate to the past like 'power', 'leadership', 'social complexity', and 'social structure', but spend most of their time cataloguing masses of artefacts and creating endless typologies" (Lozny, 2011b:2). I will try to point out in this article that when Puglisi and Peroni shattered this stereotype and used explicitly social theory, they referred to what was logically acceptable and available in the left-wing Italian context of the 1950s and 1960s. Discussing the use of different stands of "Marxist" thought, particular attention will be paid to the knowledge of language, the importance of personal relationships and the national context in which the Italian scientific community operated and operates. Peter Ucko's emphasis on the "importance of singular roles played by certain individuals in carrying a particular theory and practice of archaeology elsewhere" (Ucko, 1995a:6), and Kristian Kristiansen's remark that "the national framework for archaeology in Europe still dominates the research and perception of the past" (Lozny, 2011b:7); will in this article thus find good cases in point. As Glyn Daniel already pointed out years ago (Daniel & Chippindale, 1989), (auto) biographical information is crucial to this kind of historiographical studies. This article gathers the available, but scattered, published information and provides consequently only a guideline for a full-blown analysis. In-depth archival research will in the future be necessary to understand more thoroughly the plethora of factors that determined the genesis of the current interpretations (Kaeser, 2008).

Post-WWII Italian Politics and Culture

The history of post-World War II Italy is inextricably bound with the rise and fall of fascism in the preceding decades. The Italian fascist regime guided Italy into WWII on the side of the Axis powers, but the Italian army soon resulted unable to deal with Benito Mussolini's ambitions. A narrow win in southern France and a defeat in Greece, were at the end of 1942 also followed by losses in Africa and Soviet Union, where the Italian troops had first gained some successes. These setbacks led to several strikes in Italy and further undermined the support for Mussolini's regime. On

July 24th 1943 the *Gran consiglio del Fascismo* expressed their distrust in the *Duce* and let arrest him. General Pietro Badoglio was nominated head of the government by king Victor Emmanuel III, and initially publicly declared that Italy would continue the war at the side of the Germans. In the meantime, however, Badoglio secretly negotiated an armistice with the Allies, who had already liberated Sicily. On September 9th 1943, one day after the treaty with the Allies was made public, the king and general Badoglio left Rome and fled to Apulia. The German forces had in the meantime strengthened their position on the peninsula and, after having succeeded in releasing Mussolini, they installed the Italian fascist leader at the head of the *Repubblica Sociale Italiana* (*RSI*), a puppet state in northern and central Italy, with Salò near Lake Garda as its capital. The allied forces, now at the side of the southern Italian kingdom, *Regno d'Italia*, could gradually liberate the rest of Italy from German occupation and were assisted by an intensive anti-fascist resistance that was particularly active in northern and central Italy. This *Resistenza* arose partly spontaneously but became also coordinated by the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale*, a heterogeneous organisation under which umbrella a series of (previously outlawed yet clandestinely still active) political parties gathered, such as the *Partito Comunista Italiano* (*PCI* or Communist Party), the *Partito Socialista Italiano* (*PSI* or Socialist Party) and the *Partito d'Azione.* When Italy celebrated its liberation from fascism on April 25th 1945, the country was materially ruined and the struggle between fascists and anti-fascists had profoundly marked Italian society (Dunnage, 2002; McCarthy, 2000).

Directly after the war a strong anti-fascist sentiment prevailed and many Italians, especially in the North, raised objections against the monarchy because of its dubious relationship with the fascist regime and its acts at the end of the war. A (narrow) majority of Italians voted during the referendum of June 2nd 1946 for a republican state. After the birth of the so-called First Republic, a unitary national political coalition was formed, which besides the Christian-democratic *Democrazia Cristiana* (*DC*) consisted of left-wing parties such as the *Partito Socialista italiano di Unità proletaria* and the *Partito Comunista Italiano*. The *PCI* could participate to the government until 1947 but was then, during the entire post-war period, at all costs excluded from a real participation to the executive branch. The *DC*, encouraged by the United States and the Vatican, was the first party to form the government and it has been argued that its monopoly depended much on its overtly anti-communist programme (McCarthy, 2000). This situation is remarkable as the Communist Party had gained considerable credibility with its leading role during the *Resistenza* and would, during the 1970s, become the largest communist party of Western Europe. It has been argued that this continuing tension between Left and Right made Italy become much more influenced by the Cold War and the so-called K-factor, or better the resonance of communism, in contrast to other Western European countries (Cento Bull, 2001:54).

Although the Left and the *PCI* in particular, were politically rather sidelined, it has been maintained that post-WWII Italian "culture" was much inspired by the Left, to an extent that sometimes one has referred to its influence as the "cultural hegemony of the Left" (Ward, 2001–2002:305–309). The cultural élite of the 1940s identified itself with the anti-fascist resistance and since its dominant ideology was

of the Left, intellectuals and ex-partisans were drawn in great numbers to the political orbits of the *PSI* and *PCI* (Gordon, 2000:199). As it seemed for a while that the Left had received a monopoly over cultural activity in Italy, visible in a heterodox Marxist culture, "this occurred not because the *PCI* took draconian measures to silence its adversaries but because it had become far more problematic to take up a conservative political and cultural agenda" (Ward, 2001–2002:305–306).

Interesting in this respect, is the political role of "permanent persuader", Antonio Gramsci, one of the co-founders of the *PCI* in 1921, ascribed in his *Prison Notebooks* (written during his imprisonment under fascism), to the "intellectual". Gramsci emphasised how "the effective leadership over society is contingent on the existence of a set of moral, political, and, importantly, cultural values that both the leaders and led share" and he argued that such a "cultural hegemony" can only be reached with the help of the "organic intellectual" who stands in a specific relationship to the Party (Ward, 2001–2002:294–296). That this relationship between the "party line" and the "freedom of the intellectual" is a difficult one, is already visible in a discussion on the in 1945 founded cultural review *Il politecnico*. While the communist editor Elio Vittorini argued for the radical autonomy of the intellectual, *PCI* party leader Palmiro Togliatti stuck to a line that made culture subservient to politics. While this episode soured already the relationship between left-wing intellectuals and the *PCI* (Ward, 2001–2002:306–307), the convulsions of Budapest in 1956 and Prague in 1968, would spur the former to steer an even more independent course (Gordon, 2000:203). However, even if the intelligentsia were not straightforwardly linked to the left-wing parties, the mainstream intellectual *Zeitgeist* in Italy directly after the Second World War, remained leftish, visible in a counter-hegemonic attitude and coming to expression in a heterodox Marxist culture. But how did this context influence the Italian late prehistoric studies?

After an overview of the history of the Italian late prehistoric studies and its link with politics in the decades before, I will argue that in a first phase after WWII individual archaeologists with a leftish political profile, had rather difficulties entering academia but that, once they obtained a firm position, they profoundly influenced the field.

Proto-Historic Italian Archaeology, Ideology and Politics: Before WWII

The Nineteenth-Century Developments: From Internationalism to Nationalism

Already in the nineteenth century, the discipline of Italian *Paletnologia* represented very intense and scientifically prolific phase of research (Desittere, 1991). The first pioneers excavated mainly in northern Italy, were often of *bourgeois* origins and sympathised with catholic liberalism (Guidi, 2000:3). Yet operating within an international milieu of scholars (Guidi, 2008) and coming from different disciplinary backgrounds, they used a positivist and naturalist approach for the study of

prehistoric settlements. Certainly until 1875, these scholars had a considerable "freedom of research" and local research initiative flourished widely (Guidi, 2000:3). The first prolific research phase on the *Terramare*, the typical ditched settlements of the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the central Po Plain (northern Italy), is a good illustration of this tendency (Bernabò Brea & Mutti, 1994).

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Luigi Pigorini (1842–1925) became the "absolute leader" of Italian prehistoric archaeology and the local initiative was crippled by his "national centralisation". Together with the two Emilian scholars Gaetano Chierici (1819–1886) and Pellegrino Strobel (1821–1895), Pigorini founded in 1875 the journal *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*. In the same year, he opened in Rome the *Museo Nazionale Preistorico ed Etnografico* with considerable support of the influential right-wing minister Ruggero Bonghi. When in 1877 Pigorini became the first scholar to occupy the chair of *Paletnologia* in Rome, his monopoly was complete (Guidi, 2000:3–4). Consequently, Pigorini had the means to widely propagate his so-called "*teoria pigoriniana*" according to which lake-dwelling people migrated to northern Italy from Central Europe in the beginning of the Bronze Age and later founded the *Terramare* in Emilia (Pearce & Gabba, 1995). At the end of this period these *Terramaricoli* would then have moved southwards, uniting Italy for the first time in history and preparing by these means the foundation of Rome (Guidi, 2010:15). It has been pointed out how this influential, nationalistic and idealistic theory shows striking similarity with the modern unification process of Italy, initiated by the North-Italian regions, and how well it accorded with Italy's place in the Triple Alliance alongside Prussia and Austria-Hungary (Guidi, 1996b; Peroni, 1992:32–33).

The Early Twentieth-Century Decline

Most historiographical accounts describe the next phase in the history of Italian prehistoric studies, the first half of the twentieth century, in relatively negative terms (Guidi, 2000:5–7, 2002:353–354; Peroni, 1990:3–6, 1992:41–65). It has been argued that from the beginning of the twentieth century, the discipline was characterised by a serious "decay in the standards of field methods and a growing isolation from the international scientific prehistoric community" (Guidi, 2010:15). Peroni has even stated in very general terms that during the long period between the last years of the nineteenth century and the 1960s, prehistoric studies in Italy can be categorised as "anti-positivistic", "anti-materialistic" and "anti-evolutionistic" (linking in that way the "rebirth of the studies" after WWII with the nineteenth century "positivism") (Peroni, 1990:3). In a similar vein, he has argued how during the first decades of the twentieth century the discipline was generally characterised by a progressive loss of the willingness of making accurate and precise observations, pursuing thorough descriptions and systematic analysis and he maintained that the phenomenon of excavated sites remaining for a long time unpublished, started in this period (Peroni, 1992:46). While "wordiness and a lack of meticulousness" have

been ascribed to archaeologists of this period as Giovanni Pinza (1872–1940), Giovanni Patroni (1869–1951) and Ugo Rellini (1870–1943), other archaeologists such as Giuseppe Angelo Colini (1857–1918), Giacomo Boni (1859–1925) and Paolo Orsi (1859–1935) are generally described in much more positive terms (Guidi, 1988:54–55; Peroni, 1992:46–54). The fact that during this time span a series of monographs on Italian prehistory was written by foreign scholars, is seen as the consequence of this "disastrous" Italian situation (Guidi, 2000:6, 2008).

Such "involution" of prehistoric studies in Italy has been associated with "idealism" that dominated the early-twentieth-century cultural climate in Italy and is best exemplified in the works of the influential philosopher Benedetto Croce (Guidi, 2000:5). While it can be argued that such an "idealist" reaction against the nineteenth-century "positivist" tradition can be observed in the critiques of Pinza and Patroni to the school of Pigorini, also in the latter's later further elaboration of the "*teoria pigoriniana*", "spiritualistic and irrational" tendencies can be observed (Peroni, 1990:3). It is, however, difficult to pinpoint what the exact causal relationship between these tendencies was: "idealism" as a philosophic current in general and Croce's ideas in particular. A serious study of this complex issue remains to be undertaken (Peroni, 1992:44–45; Tarantini, 2000–2001:5–10). An in-depth historiographical research of this period would be interesting to counterbalance the often negative picture that is until now (often all too easily) drawn regarding Croce's influence on Italian prehistoric archaeology (Bietti Sestieri, 2007:32). The absolute monopoly of Luigi Pigorini during the first quarter of the twentieth century has been considered another negative factor for the development of the discipline in this period as during his life no new chairs of *Paletnologia* were created in Italy (Guidi, 2000:5). When Pigorini died in 1925, he left an impressive vacuum of ideas and power (Peroni, 1990:3), which left its mark on the development of the discipline during the rest of the twentieth century.

Archaeology and Fascism in Italy

Although classical archaeology regained much strength during the fascist *ventennio*, because of the regime's natural interest for *Romanità*, it has recently been demonstrated that also Italian prehistoric archaeology interacted profoundly with politics during this period (Tarantini, 2002:7). Tarantini shows how detailed archival and contextual analyses can provide an alternative for value judgments that were often implicitly formulated about the quality of the work and the ideological and theoretical orientations of Italian prehistoric archaeologists working in the first half of the twentieth century (Guidi, 1988:78–83).

Ugo Rellini, who succeeded Pigorini at the University of Rome in 1928, had the difficult task to mediate between the epigones of Pigorini and a group of naturalist (mostly early) prehistoric archaeologists, based at Firenze (who founded the *Istituto Italiano di Paleontologia Umana* in 1927). In his inaugural lecture, Rellini argued that recent research had indicated several weaknesses in the "*teoria pigoriniana*"

and he contended that instead of calling for the external origins of the *Italici*, priority should be given to explanations that stressed local cultural continuity since the Palaeolithic. Rellini used the example of the so-called "*extra-terramaricoli*" settlements of Central Italy to demonstrate how elements of Eneolithic culture continued into the Bronze Age. Such autonomous, local origins for the ancient Italians fitted well with the fascist interest in the Mediterranean roots and Roman grandeur of the Italian nation (Tarantini, 2002:12–16). Tarantini suggests that Rellini's rapprochement to the regime, also visible in some positive references to fascism in his work, was, as for many others, a "functional instrument" of obtaining a more influential position in his field of study.

Rellini's "inversion of Pigorini's theory" needs however to be seen as the outcome of a series of researches and perspectives that had already stressed the autochthonous and Mediterranean instead of the northern and external links with Italian prehistoric "civilisations", from the end of the nineteenth century onwards (Tarantini, 2002:17). In Italian politics and society, nationalistic tendencies, and irredentism in particular, had started to share now an anti-triplicist attitude that stressed its links with the Mediterranean in order to elucidate its imperialistic aspirations of expansion, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean (Tarantini, 2002:18–21). Such "Mediterraneist perspective" also prevailed in the anthropological work of Giuseppe Sergi, who from 1893 onwards focused on the identification of an ancient "Mediterranean race". Sergi's ideas, such as the importance of this "race" in the local formation of the Neolithic and his stress on the negative (yet now considered "minimal") effects of an Arian or Indo-European "invasion" in Italy, soon received broad acceptance in nationalist circles (Tarantini, 2002:21–25).

Giovanni Patroni was another archaeologist who tried to weld prehistoric research to the propaganda of the fascist regime (Pearce, 1994:29–30). One year before Rellini's inaugural lecture, Patroni anticipated similar ideas in his essay "*Le origini preistoriche d'Italia e il suo destino storico*", a text in which he expressed moreover already the main ideas of his 1937 *magnum opus* "*La Preistoria d'Italia*". Patroni saw Italian prehistory as the "autochthonous preparation" of the fortune of Rome, he attempted to trace the origins of the "noble" Italian "race" back to the Palaeolithic and rejected in general migrationist explanations for cultural change (Tarantini, 2002:25–27). He pled for local origins for the inhabitants of the *Terramare* and argued that they were "Mediterranean, thus distinct from the Indo-European populations of Central Europe by 'race'", but noticed however that "they were culturally different from the other Mediterraneans". This allowed him to describe the *Terramaricoli* in very negative terms as pertaining to the most rude communism (as no direct visible differences in material culture could be observed), stressing that they could certainly not have been the ancestors of the Romans. This comparison of the *Terramare* villages with a "kind of Soviet", marked for good the end of the nineteenth century "political" importance of the *Terramare*, and allowed Patroni to express his aversion to the left-wing political movements in Emilia (Dunnage, 2002) and to demonstrate that the "real roots of Italy" were now located in Central Italy (Patroni, 1937:848–852; Peroni, 1996b:26–28).

During the second half of the 1920s, Patroni and Rellini elaborated a vision of Italian prehistory that stressed how the "Mediterranean race and culture" was already established during the Final Palaeolithic and how it reached its full apogee during the Neolithic and Eneolithic. Although this "splendour" would then have been interrupted by invasions from northern Europe, it was emphasised how these "influences" were assimilated by the Mediterranean substrate (Tarantini, 2002:29–30) and how the persistence of primitive Mediterranean populations would have led to the formation of the ancient Italian *ethnos* and finally the foundation of Rome (Tarantini, 2002:26–27).

When in July 1938 biological racism was accepted as part of Italian state ideology, this idea contrasted widely with the theories that defined an Italian unified identity rather by common history and tradition. Since the *Manifesto del razzismo italiano* stressed moreover that the Italian population had Arian origins and that the pre-Arian people had left little traces, Rellini soon published an article wherein he adapted his previous ideas and emphasised how Arian and Mediterranean components had equal importance in the formation of the Italian *ethnos* (Tarantini, 2002:29–32). In 1940, the politician Giacomo Acerbo published a text that re-stressed the historical instead of biological aspects of the Italian race and now fully integrated the ideas of Rellini of a reduced influence of Arian elements. After these "semi-official" statements, a "new declaration of the Italian race"—in lines with Acerbo's ideas—was approved in April 1942 by a commission of which Rellini was a part (Tarantini, 2002:33–38). Strengthened by his political ties with the regime, Rellini was able to open in 1942 the *Museo delle Origini e della Tradizione* and his own research centre for pre- and proto-historic studies. It has moreover been documented how Rellini asked Mussolini for extra financial and practical help, but how these requests were met with variable success. In the meantime, the biological and "esoteric-traditional" current of racism had (re) gained power in fascist Italy. Rellini committed suicide in June 1943 (Tarantini, 2002:38–42). While Tarantini's detailed analysis demonstrates an obvious link between "politics" and "archaeology" during the fascist epoch, this relationship is perhaps less direct in the democratic post-war period, but anyway still visible.

After World War II: "Rebirth" of the Studies

In general terms, it has been argued that, directly after the Second World War, Italian prehistoric archaeology found itself in a somewhat pernicious situation (Guidi, 1988:135–139; Peroni, 1992:65–69). A notable exception however was the activities of Luigi Bernabò Brea in the early 1940s, and especially the excavation he conducted together with Luigi Cardini in the cave of Arene Candide near Finale Ligure. The unique stratigraphy that resulted from this collaboration would form an important base for the entire late prehistoric Italian sequence and the Neolithic in

particular (Peroni, 1992:65–66). Peroni has described how directly after the war, in the wake of the economic and cultural revival of the country, one could observe a proliferation of "local" prehistoric researches all over Italy, a phenomenon that was in many ways similar to what happened directly after the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century (Peroni, 1992:67). This "rebirth" of pre- and proto-historical research manifested itself fully during the 1950s, not by accident in accordance with the "Italian economic miracle". Peroni notes however that notwithstanding the high professional standard of these scholars, their renewed attention for the systematic study of materials, their precise excavations and detailed documentation, etc.; more "critical aspects", such as the discussion of theoretical issues, a critical history of the studies, a profound knowledge of foreign literature, etc. remained still rather neglected (Peroni, 1992:67–68). This new fervour was also visible in the foundation of the journal *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* in 1946 by Paolo Graziosi, one of the most important figures of the *Istituto Italiano di Paleontologia Umana* in Firenze (Peroni, 1992:66). After a split within the latter institute, in 1954, it was the same Graziosi who found, with others, the *Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*. Much as the *Rivista*, which was also striving for interdisciplinarity and international collaboration (Guidi, 1988:129–134), the institute represented the different existing currents in the Italian prehistoric studies (Peroni, 1992:68).

This prolific phase of new activities contrasted however with a lack of similar changes on the organisational level. After Rellini's death, no chair of *Paletnologia* was occupied until the 1960s at nearly all Italian universities and courses on these topics were still taught by university professors of other disciplines, such as classical archaeology, anthropology, palaeontology, etc. Neither in the *Soprintendenze*, the Superintendencies, or regional archaeological agencies, a specialisation in this field was recognised until the 1960s. The responsibility for prehistoric evidence was often assigned to classical archaeologists (Peroni, 1992:65–70). In practice, many state institutes, and also universities, showed a considerable continuity in personnel and ideas with the preceding fascist era (Barbanera, 1998:156–158). For instance, the classical archaeologist Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, famous for his focus on the social aspects of Italian classical archaeology and art history, described in his diary the difficulties he experienced when he applied for a chair position at the University "*La Sapienza*" at Rome. Notwithstanding he openly admitted his communist sympathies only after 10 years of his full professorship elapsed and objections against him were then raised because of clearly political reasons (Barbanera, 1998:158–162, 2003).

While at least officially the "break" with the preceding fascist era was made explicit and left-wing parties regained strength, these changes were not immediately observable in the post-war proto-historical sciences. Leftish archaeologists with a rather counter-hegemonic attitude, or better, those who were keen to innovate, especially on the theoretical and interpretative level, had consequently to fight hard battles against the old establishment.

Puglisi and "*La Civiltà Appenninica*"

During the 1950s, the prehistoric archaeologist Salvatore Maria Puglisi experienced similar problems (Manfredini, Conati Barbaro, & Scarpelli, 2007). Born in Catania (Sicily) in 1912, Puglisi started his university studies in archaeology at Rome, where he got "in contact with that part of the world of art and literature opposed to the official fascist culture" (de Nardis, Liverani, Palmieri, & Peroni, 1985:IX). At the Institute of *Paletnologia*, Puglisi was a student of Ugo Rellini. After a postgraduate course at the *Scuola archeologica di Atene*, he joined the *Amministrazione delle Antichità e Belle Arti* (National Antiquities Service) and at the outbreak of World War II, he was in Ethiopia, studying the prehistoric western Tigrai and Axum civilisations. Puglisi was appointed to the *Soprintendenze* of Lombardy and Sardinia and this enabled him to carry out important fieldwork and reorganise museums in these regions. He remained however linked to the University of Rome and from 1942 onwards was "*libero docente*" at the Institute of *Paletnologia* (de Nardis et al., 1985:IX). During the last months of 1943, Puglisi decided to join the "*Corpo Italiano di Liberazione*", the Italian resistance formation that, side by side with the Anglo-American allies, liberated the Italian peninsula from German occupation. At the risk of being fusilladed by the fascists, Puglisi had crossed undercover the southern frontline and attached himself to the specialised division that was responsible for the salvation of monuments and works of art. It has been argued that some of Puglisi's friendships with Anglophone scholars started in this period (Peroni, 2007:23). When WWII ended, Puglisi became a communist militant (Ward, 2001–2002:305) and it has been suggested that his political stand led during the 1950s to his partial "isolation" (Peroni, 2007:23).

Salvatore Maria Puglisi spent then 1 year at the Institute of Archaeology in London, where he studied with Vere Gordon Childe, sometimes mentioned as "the most influential archaeologist of the twentieth century" and director of the Institute from 1946 until his death in 1957. This study stay in England was decisive for his further intellectual development. Puglisi's consideration of the "internal cultural dynamics of a 'culture', their relationship to social complexity, ecology and so on", were definitely inspired by Childe's concepts (de Nardis et al., 1985:IX). Although Puglisi's and Childe's political ideas were arguably very similar, this did not have to influence a priori their scientific collaboration (Díaz-Andreu, 2007a), but it did probably enhance their good personal relationship.

As is well known, the theoretical formation of Vere Gordon Childe was based on aspects of the evolutionary sociology of Herbert Spencer, the functional sociology of Émile Durkheim, the social evolutionism of Karl Kautsky and the classical works of Marx and Engels (Patterson, 2003:37–42). Although Childe sympathised already with Marxist principles during his student years in Australia, his "deepening perception of the relevance of Marxism to prehistory was not immediate" (Gathercole, 2009:181–182). While there exists a debate from which moment onwards a clear Marxist influence becomes visible in Childe's work (Gathercole, 2009:183), his first visit to the Soviet Union in 1935 seems to have been a crucial factor in this process.

Childe was impressed by the way archaeological research was organised in Russia, but he was above all "fascinated by the efforts of Soviet archaeologists to explain history in terms of processes internal to societies and on explicitly materialist principles" (Trigger, 2006:345). This approach appeared to Childe as an alternative to the migrationist and diffusionist theories that were popular in Western Europe and revealed to him the narrowness of his own earlier "economic interpretations". However, he clearly rejected the so-called "stadial theory", inspired by *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*" of Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), which interpreted (pre)history as a unilinear sequence of phases: from pre-class societies divided into "pre-clan", "matriarchal clan", "patriarchal clan", and "terminal clan stage" to class-societies, namely slave, feudal and capitalist societies to reach finally, at the end of history, the socialist and communist systems (Gosden, 1999:106; Guidi, 1988:66–70). Childe has indeed emphasised how Karl Marx (1818–1883) had been keen to admit multilinear evolutionism instead of this deterministic succession. Rejecting likewise its shortcomings, Childe started to use the important innovations of Soviet archaeology in his own work. During and after WWII, Childe "turned away from Soviet archaeology as a major source of creative inspiration and began to investigate the philosophical basis of Marxism itself" (Trigger, 2006:349). In his later works, he paid increasing attention to the cognitive aspects of human behaviour (Guidi, 1988:98–115; McGuire, 2002:69–71; Trigger, 2006:344–353).

Puglisi published his most important and influential book in 1959 (Guidi, 1988:137–138). "*La Civiltà Appenninica. Origine delle comunità pastorali in Italia*" was a complete innovation for Italian Late Prehistoric studies because Puglisi did not limit himself to the mere level of description, but employed an interdisciplinary and anthropological approach for the study of the Bronze Age societies of the Italian Apennines and attempted to provide for the first time a fully elaborated socioeconomic interpretation (Puglisi, 1959). In the introduction to his book Puglisi emphasises the importance of the use of an "anthropological reading" of the "culture" concept in accordance with Tallgren and Childe, and explains how, starting form a "historical-dialectic" or "economic-functional" approach, a good comprehension of the economic activities of these Bronze Age groups can lead to a better understanding of their formation (Puglisi, 1959:11–14). In the first chapter, he notes how the distribution of the "Apennine culture", as defined by Rellini, shows a clear overlap with the geographical area of the Central Italian Apennines. He further suggests that the "relatively short time necessary to reach mountainous pastures form the lowlands" and the "fairly easy availability of water" made this area particularly suitable for pastoral activities. Puglisi argues convincingly that the "relative homogeneity" of the "Apennine culture" at both sides of the mountain range, point at the frequent interaction of these pastoral groups (Puglisi, 1959:15–20). He clarifies however that "pastoralism" could only become the "structural fundament of this economy and society" after a preparatory period during which non-agricultural groups could "appropriate" the necessary flocks for this new form of economy. Puglisi hypothesises that the "warlike and erratic" groups that he associates with the "Eneolithic" *facies* of Gaudo and Rinaldone (and to a certain extent also the *facies* of Remedello in the North), would have lived in an "antagonistic" relationship with

the "Neolithic", agricultural groups of Abruzzo, Marche and Apulia, and that they would have obtained the "first accumulation of herd animals" by raids on these agricultural, sedentary societies (Puglisi, 1959:21–30, 46–47). Puglisi argues further how this gradual adoption of the "Apennine" nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle based on pastoralism was a premise to the introduction of megalithic elements in the construction of tombs, a trait shared with ideologically similar (west-) Mediterranean groups (Puglisi, 1959:43–54). He exemplifies in his book how faunal remains and specific kinds of material culture (e.g., the so-called "milk boilers") can indicate the economic base of these Bronze Age societies (Puglisi, 1959:31–41), considers the importance of water for these pastoralist groups (Puglisi, 1959:55–61), and reflects, starting from the distribution of the typical incised "Apennine" pottery, upon the question where the "*Civiltà Appenninica*" first occurred (Puglisi, 1959:63–72). After a chapter wherein he describes the particular relationship between pastoral and agricultural groups (Puglisi, 1959:73–78), Puglisi concentrates on the so-called later sub-Apennine *facies* and discusses how during this phase pastoralist and agriculturalist ways of life coalesce and how this has implications for the social organisation of these groups (Puglisi, 1959:79–85).

As it becomes also clear from Puglisi's dedication at the beginning of "*La Civiltà Appenninica*" to Ugo Rellini and Vere Gordon Childe (Puglisi, 1959:6), the theoretical and methodological lead of this book is influenced by ideas of both prehistorians, while the innovative mark of the latter's work is perhaps the most clearly observable. The emphasis on the economic base of society, the influence of the "structure" on the "superstructure" and the described social tensions between groups with different relations (means) of production, clearly point to a Marxist inspiration (D'Agostino, 1991:60–61). With hindsight, decades later, when many new data are at our disposal, criticism can be formulated such as the objection that Puglisi would have oversimplified the distinction between pastoralists and agriculturalists (Cazzella & Moscoloni, 2005). But Puglisi's main ideas remain valid: the most significant contribution of his *magnum opus* was his attention for the "complex framework of interacting groups with differences in economic, social and political organisation" (Manfredini, 2005:9–10). It has been argued that his innovative analysis preceded those propagated by the later advent of the New Archaeology. Puglisi's anthropological approach would later on found fertile ground within his School at "*La Sapienza*", but this was possible after a more difficult period for Puglisi expired.

The academic dispute regarding the stratigraphy and dating of the dolmen tumuli that Puglisi discovered at the site of Pian Sultano (Puglisi, 1959:52–54), illustrates well his "relative isolation" during the entire 1950s and also how the above-mentioned political and often personal tensions became observable within the discipline (Peroni, 2007:25–26). Baron Alberto Carlo Blanc, son of an old Fascist minister and already professor of Ethnology at "*La Sapienza*", accused Puglisi of having committed an error during the excavation of these tumuli. Blanc carried out a very limited test excavation in one of the tumuli excavated by Puglisi (without any advisement or involvement from Puglisi) and argued to have shown by these limited excavations that the Bronze Age level Puglisi declared to have found, was in fact not present

(Peroni, 2007:25). This polemic probably influenced the faculty commission that had to decide who would hold the chair of *Paletnologia* after the retirement of Piero Barocelli. While Salvatore Maria Puglisi was the "natural candidate" for this position, Carlo Alberto Blanc managed to convince the commission and he was assigned the chair. Because of this "defeat", Puglisi received many expressions of support and sympathy and this freed him perhaps for the first time of his somewhat "isolated position" among his peers (Peroni, 2007:25). Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1900–1975) and Massimo Pallottino (1909–1995) agreed to a new discipline, i.e. *Protostoria Europea*, and assigned it directly to Puglisi. Nevertheless, Blanc died unexpectedly in 1960 and Puglisi became the chair of *Paletnologia* (Peroni, 2007:26).

As head of the Institute of *Paletnologia*, Puglisi was able to exert considerable influence on its structural organisation. He created new courses on European prehistory, prehistoric ecology, African prehistoric ethnography, the prehistory of the Near and Middle East and also history of the Near East (de Nardis et al., 1985:IX). Besides his important excavations on the Palatine, of the Eneolithic site of Conelle d'Arcevia and the stratified site of Coppa Nevigata, Puglisi's attention became mainly directed to the Near East and North Africa (for instance his long excavation at the tell of Arslantepe near Malatya in Turkey and the late-predynastic settlement of Maadi in Egypt) (de Nardis et al., 1985). Puglisi would produce a rather limited bibliography (Cazzella, 1985) and hold few or nearly no academic positions. He would however invest enormous personal efforts in teaching and coaching students, what made his ideas circulate widely. Puglisi also reorganised the "*Museo delle Origini*" and in 1967 founded the journal "*Origini. Preistoria e protostoria delle civiltà antiche*" (Manfredini, 2007).

From a historiographical point of view, Puglisi's novel "*Il sentiero degli scarabei*"(Puglisi, 1987) is very interesting, as it explains much of his personal motivations behind his approach (Bietti Sestieri, 2007:29). Notwithstanding Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri has argued that Italy did not constituted Puglisi's ideal terrain of research and activity (Bietti Sestieri, 2007:29) and the fact that even half a century after the publication of "*La Civiltà Appenninica*" its promising approach has only been partially followed by the Italian scientific community (Bietti Sestieri, 2007:31), Puglisi's work has had a decisive impact on the field and on many archaeologists (that worked with him) such as for instance Alberto Cazzella, Alba Palmieri and Maurizio Tosi, in particular (Trigger, 1993:171–172). The remaining influence of "*La Civiltà Appenninica*" was moreover recently demonstrated with a reissue of the book (Puglisi, 2005), and a commemoration of Puglisi 20 years after his death (Manfredini et al., 2007).

The "*Società Degli Archeologi Italiani*" and "*Dialoghi di Archeologia*"

The second episode during which Marxism played a decisive innovative role in the elaboration of a framework for social interpretations in Italian late prehistoric studies, has started with the foundation of the "*Società degli Archeologi Italiani*" (Society

of Italian archaeologists) or *SAI*. In 1961, Massimo Pallottino, famous Etruscologist and at that time one of the most distinguished Italian academic archaeologists (Sannibale, 2005–2006), discussed in the journal *Archeologia Classica* the various problems Italian archaeologists had frequently to cope with. Although alongside the prosperous economic situation of the 1950 and 1960s, public interest in "culture" and archaeology in particular had increased and local initiative were thriving, the needed organisational structures for archaeological research were still lacking (Peroni, 1992:69). Pallottino had already lamented the fact that Italy lacked a national umbrella organisation that could coordinate the different archaeological activities in the country (formation of archaeologists, practical organisation of archaeological work, research, publication of the data etc.) (Barbanera, 1998:162). When it turned out that the authorities were not directly fond of the idea of such a democratic coordinating organ, where practical as well as scientific problems could be discussed, Pallottino launched another idea to organise a "free association of archaeologists" (inspired by the American and English "societies") (Barbanera, 1998:163). Several young archaeologists quickly adhered to the initiative and wrote, in response to Pallottino's appeal, a programme with 13 issues they wanted to see discussed by the entire Italian archaeological community. Because of a continuing unease with the state of Italian archaeology, this proposal gained support by archaeologists from universities and *Soprintendenze* all over Italy. The *SAI* was founded early in 1964 under the chairmanship of Massimo Pallottino, but would only exist for a relatively short period of time. The younger generation got in disagreement with the older, more established one, which argued that an approach based on the 13-issue programme was too radical (one accused them of using a language of "syndicalists"). In December 1965, after a heated discussion on a reform of the "*Scuola Archeologica*", the proposals of the younger generation were accepted, but at the same time nearly all older scholars left the association, thus, according to Renato Peroni, the "archaeological Left became a master of an 'empty nutshell'"(Barbanera, 1998:164).

As a reaction to this situation, some of these younger "leftish" archaeologists asked their mentor Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli to help them with the foundation of a periodical wherein their "cultural-political" ideas about archaeology could be defended by means of scientific research and discussion. The review "*Dialoghi di Archeologia*" saw the light in 1967 and was during these early years leaded by Bianchi Bandinelli and carried by the publishing house *Il Saggiatore* of Alberto Mondadori (Barbanera, 1998:165). The "*Dialoghi*" were clearly interdisciplinary in nature and covered chronologically the "whole of Antiquity", notwithstanding most of its collaborators were classical archaeologists. The so-called "friends of the journal", among whom were Renato Peroni and Andrea Carandini, held several formal and informal discussion meetings. It has been argued by Guidi that this intellectual movement was linked to the more progressive socialist and communist milieu of that time (Guidi, 1996a:7), while Bruno D'Agostino has stated that their motivation was rather ethical than political (D'Agostino, 1991:57–58). The journal contained a section where cultural politics and the problems Italian archaeology coped with could be thoroughly addressed. Although the "*Dialoghi*" would have a decisive influence on the discipline, it was in these years certainly not a "mainstream" journal.

It is in this "progressive" intellectual environment that two very important "practical" innovations started: a discussion on excavation methods and a reorientation of the archaeological discipline in Italy towards a more intensive study of the "ordinary material culture" (Barbanera, 1998:167). A spokesman of this new development was the classical archaeologist Andrea Carandini, who published in 1975 a "pamphlet" or booklet "*Archeologia e cultura materiale. Dai lavori senza gloria nell'antichità ad una politica dei beni culturali*" (Carandini, 1979a). Inspired by the ideas of Bianchi Bandinelli and starting from his own experiences at the excavations of Carthage, Carandini pled for a "materialistic re-foundation" of classical studies in Italy. He clarified however that his enthusiastic plea for the systematic use of the stratigraphic method and the detailed study of archaeological finds and their typology in order to obtain not only chronological but also "social information" about past societies, was evidently not his own invention, but that he was inspired by English archaeology (Barbanera, 1998:168; D'Agostino, 1991:59)

Important for a better understanding of the intellectual genealogy of certain "social interpretations" about late prehistoric Italy, is to grasp which kind of social theory was used in the intellectual environment of the "*Dialoghi*". As a reaction against traditional archaeology, these young archaeologists used classical Marxist concepts in order to reconstruct social and economic processes of the past (Terrenato, 1998:181). Crucial in this respect was a conference organised in 1968 by the "*Dialoghi*" on the beginnings of Greek colonisation in the West, where prehistoric archaeologists, classical archaeologists and ancient historians intensively discussed (D'Agostino, 1991:57–58).

Renato Peroni and the Genesis of His Social Categories

The involvement of Renato Peroni in the milieu of the journal has been a crucial factor for the further development of prehistoric studies in Italy. Born in Vienna in 1930, Peroni studied at the University of Rome and graduated with Piero Barocelli in July 1953 (Peroni, 2007:25). After graduation, Peroni spent a period at the University of Freiburg in Germany studying with Wolfgang Kimmig, where he got better acquainted with the Central-European typological methods. Subsequently, he remained unemployed for 6 years, though he studied during the first 4 years at the "*Scuola Nazionale di Archeologia*" and continued to be very active in the field of prehistoric archaeology (Peroni, 2007:24). During these years Peroni wrote entries on prehistoric topics for the "*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica e orientale*". Salvatore Maria Puglisi, who was during the 1950s responsible for the prehistoric part of the encyclopaedia, introduced Peroni to Bianchi Bandinelli, an encounter that would be important for his further career (Peroni, 2007:26). Together with Delia Lollini (later *Soprintendenza delle* Marche), Peroni also frequented the excavations by Puglisi (e.g., Filottrano, Coppa Nevigata, Pian Sultano). At the end of 1959, Peroni was finally adopted by the "*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*" as a collaborator of Herman Müller-Karpe (Guidi, 1988:278–281) in Italy. While in this function he

first helped with excavations in Lazio (e.g. San Lorenzo Vecchio di Rocca di Papa and Colle dell'Acero di Lariano di Velletri), later on he focused more on bibliographic and museological aspects (Peroni, 2007:26–27). In the same year Peroni published "*Per una definizione dell'aspetto culturale subappenninico come fase cronologica a sé stante*" (Peroni, 1959). He applied in this work the Mittel-European typo-chronological method in a very systematic and "positivistic way" to the study of the archaeological material, an attitude that "had lacked during the last years in Italy" (D'Agostino, 1991:61; Guidi, 1988:138). Renato Peroni became "*libero docente*" in *Paletnologia* in 1962 and started lecturing at "*La Sapienza*" the following year. Between 1965 and 1971, Peroni held the office of "*ispettore archeologo*" near the "*Soprintendenza Speciale alla Preistoria e Protostoria*", housed in the "*Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico* "*Luigi Pigorini*"". During this period he directed several important late prehistoric excavations such as "La Romita" near Asciano (Pisa), Palidoro (Rome), Narce (Rome), Poggio della Pozza (Allumiere) and Pianello di Genga (Ancona).

In 1969, Peroni published a pioneering article on the socio-economic organisation of late prehistoric Italy in the journal "*La Parola del Passato*" (Guidi, 1996a:6). In this essay, entitled "*Per uno studio dell'economia di scambio in Italia nel quadro dell'ambiente culturale dei secoli intorno al Mille a.C.*", he aimed at outlining the general characteristics of the period between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, putting them into contrast with the preceding Early and Middle Bronze Age and searching for commonalities with the Urnfield period north of the Alps (Peroni, 1969). Because of the decisive influence of this article on the discipline, a literal English translation appeared 10 years later in the volume "*Italy before the Romans*", edited by David and Francesca Ridgway (Ridgway & Ridgway, 1979). Being aware of the broad generalisation, Peroni sees the "centuries around 1000 BC" as characterised by the following phenomena: a growing demographic expansion, the strengthening of the agricultural economy, technical progress and quantitative increase in bronze metallurgy, a progressively increased stabilisation of settlement and the rise of more densely populated communities, changes in the social structure of the communities, an increase in the size and range of the markets and new forms of accumulating wealth such as hoards (Peroni, 1979).

Particularly interesting is the terminology Peroni uses to describe the social processes that were going on between the Bronze and Iron Age in Europe and Italy in particular. While he argues that the Middle Bronze Age societies could still be described by what we might call "patriarchal clans", he specifies that significant changes were dialectically already on their way and that this "transformation process" was completed during the so-called *bronzo recente* or Recent Bronze Age, when communities functioned in terms of "family units that were economically, socially and juridically autonomous" (Peroni, 1969:139, 1979:11–12). Peroni describes how a "society of patriarchal clans must clearly be considered a society with established internal distinctions, in so far as there is a social difference—archaeologically demonstrable—between the chieftain and the rest of the clan" but he also clarifies that, "since this differentiation concerns only single individuals and not entire family units, we cannot speak of a division into levels or classes" (Peroni,

1969:141, 1979:13). He adds however that such distinction is possible within a "village or tribal societies", but that a stabilised form of differentiation only appears in the Early Iron Age, when one can observe the formation of a "warrior aristocracy" (Peroni, 1969:141–142).

A substantial part of the article explains the "causes" for the series of changes that Peroni situates in the Late Bronze Age. He argues that "the increase in population, the stabilisation of settlements and the growth of ever more densely populated communities were all results of the strengthening of the agricultural economy" and he explains how this was possible due to the "technical progress and quantitative increase that took place in the output of the bronze metallurgy" (Peroni, 1969:143–144, 1979:15). Peroni argues further that "an improvement in market conditions" was an essential prerequisite for the latter quantitative and qualitative increase in metallurgy, and that this "market" was favoured by the fact that new social structures were now "capable of undertaking the formation of new reserves of wealth" by means of the accumulation of metal (Peroni, 1969:151, 1979:20). Peroni seeks a broader historical explanation for the "rapidity" of this change in the "rise and diffusion" of a shared metallurgical *koiné* between Central Europe and the Aegean. He suggests that the increased demand of the "Mycenaean commercial 'Empire'" would have triggered mining activities in the Carpathians and Eastern Alps and that this in turn would have led to their wider "commercial diffusion" and availability (Peroni, 1969:151–152, 1979:20–21).

The tenets of this essay on the socio-economic organisation of late prehistoric Italy rely thus largely on the idea of a metallurgical *koiné*, the concept of "market economy" and a rather modernistic view of this economy. Later on Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri has criticised these basic assumptions from a substantivist approach (Bietti Sestieri, 1976–1977). During the 1970s, debate within the Italian cultural Left, would, in accordance to developments in French anthropology, give more attention to Marx's writing on pre-capitalist economic societies and the idea that "economics should not necessarily be regarded as the immediate driving-force of the social dynamic in pre-capitalist societies" (D'Agostino, 1991:62–63). Andrea Carandini dedicated a book-length reflection to this theme (Carandini, 1979b).

While the 1969 article of Peroni seems at first sight rather traditional, the leitmotiv that runs through the article, that of an evolution from "patriarchal clan" societies to apparent "egalitarian" village communities and then to the sporadic and finally systematic emergence of social differentiation, indicates that by that time Peroni drew already attention to a particular body of "Marxist" social theory. When he describes how the social structure of the earlier Italian Bronze Age was characterised by "patriarchal clans", he refers to Puglisi's "*La Civiltà Appenninica*" (Peroni, 1969:145, 1979:16–17; Puglisi, 1959:21). For a more theoretical reflection wherein he specifies that the internal differentiations in these "clan" societies only concern single individuals and not entire families, and the idea that one cannot yet speak of a distinction in classes (Peroni, 1969:141, 1979:13); he refers yet to "*La Cecoslovacchia prima degli Slavi*" (Neustupný & Neustupný, 1963), the Italian translation of the book "*Czechoslovakia before the Slavs*" by Jiri and Evžen Neustupny, edited in the series "*Ancient Places and Peoples*" (Neustupný & Neustupný, 1961). This book

provided a synthesis of the prehistory of this Eastern European country, interpreted however as a succession of stages in lines with the classical work of Friedrich Engels, and the book "*Ancient Society*" of Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) (Guidi, 1988:19–21): "pre-clan", "matriarchal clan", "patriarchal clan", and then the emergence of further social differences that would lead finally to "class societies".

Interestingly, regarding the possible link between the Eastern European literature and the theoretical underpinnings of Peroni's first systematic article on socio-economic aspects, is a passage of a review in "*Dialoghi di Archeologia*" that Peroni wrote on the already mentioned thought-provoking booklet of Andrea Carandini, "*Archeologia e cultura materiale*" (Carandini, 1979a, 2000:65–67; Peroni, 1976–1977). Since Carandini separated in his book recurrently "Mediterranean" and "Northern European" archaeology and praised the latter and British archaeology in particular, Peroni argued that Carandini would have better talked about Europe *tout court* "because of a deserved recognition of one the most evolved and culturally solid kinds of archaeology of the countries that are inclined to socialism, in the first place Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany" (Peroni, 1976–1977:649). It is difficult to pinpoint if Peroni referred in this paragraph to the practical organisation of archaeology of these communist Eastern European countries or rather to the "historical materialist" approach that was (at least officially) commonly used in this context. Several references in his later writings, for example to the work of the German archaeologist Karl-Heinz Otto, would however rather point to the latter (Coblenz, 2002; Kossack, 1992:96–100; Tomášková, 2011). Renato Peroni's participation in the Seventh Congress of the *International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* (IUPPS) at Prague (Czechoslovakia) in August 1966 seems however to have been crucial for the opinion he expressed in this 1975 review, for his professional network with Eastern European archaeologists, his knowledge of historical materialism and the further elaboration of his personal theoretical framework (personal communication Maurizio Tosi 15/02/2011) (De Laet, 1970; Filip, 1970:1401).

Already in 1970, Peroni seems to be well acquainted with the "Marxist" social theory that would be at the base of his later seminal works. In a discussion of the article "*Su alcuni mutamenti storici nel Lazio tra l'VIII e il V secolo*" of Carmine Ampolo, in the journal "*Dialoghi di Archeologia*", Peroni abundantly cites the work of Friedrich Engels (Ampolo, Coarelli, Johannowsky, Peroni, & Torelli, 1970–1971:69–99). After repeating in clear and well-chosen words the main theory he developed in his 1969 article in "*La Parola del Passato*", i.e. an evolution from kinship-based "clan" communities in the earlier Bronze Age to what he defines as "tribal" societies with a strong egalitarian tendency at the super-structural level in the Late Bronze Age and finally to gentile societies (Ampolo et al., 1970–1971:74), he maintains that this accorded well with some assertions of Engels where he pointed out how a long period of time and a series of "intermediate stages" passed between the beginning of the crisis of kinship-based societies and the transition to class-based societies (Ampolo et al., 1970–1971:75). Peroni quotes entire passages from the Italian translation of "*The Origins of the Family*, *Private Property and the State*" and clarifies where he agrees and disagrees with the "traditional Marxist theories" (Ampolo et al., 1970–1971:75–79). Later on he even explicitly states that

he considers the ideas of Engels more valid than certain interpretations based on modern ethnographic works because he thinks that the most important discoveries regarding pre- and proto-historic Europe (not the Aegean) were already made in the period that Engels wrote his book. Peroni adds moreover: "Afterwards we had the 'nationalistic and Fascist regression' and the polarization on ethnical problem. It is thus not strange that when we retake nowadays the study of social and economic problems, we go back to these works." (Ampolo et al., 1970–1971:87).

It seems thus that already at the end of the 1960s, the main theoretical underpinnings of Peroni's later substantial oeuvre; for instance his large synthesis of 1989 (Peroni, 1989), his handbook of 1994 (Peroni, 1994) and his masterpiece "*L'Italia alle soglie della storia*" of 1996 (Peroni, 1996a, 2004), were already in place. In all these later works he discerns an evolution of late Italian prehistory from kin-based communities in the Early Bronze Age over territorially organised communities in the Middle Bronze Age to gens-client based pre-urban communities in the Final Bronze Age and finally proto-urban communities in the Early Iron Age (Guidi, 2004:71; Peroni, 2004:3–43). This social evolutionary scheme, that draws much attention to the relation between public and private property, egalitarian relations and "hegemony", economy, external influence by colonialism, and the role of the household, finds its main conceptual origins in dialectical and historical materialism and especially the writings of Friedrich Engels. As Peroni's second mother tongue was German and he was a man of wide readings, it seems logical that the substantial German literature on the topic was easily accessible for him and co-determined his ideas.

Further in-depth historiographical research will be necessary to point out to what extent Peroni's acquaintance with "classical Marxist" literature and Engels' writings in particular were stimulated by his participation to the IUPPS 1966 congress, the general left-wing cultural climate in Italy in the decades after WWII, his involvement in the milieu of the "*Dialoghi*", his political affiliation with the Marxist oriented group of the Italian Socialist Party (*PSI*) around the politician Riccardo Lombardi (personal communication Alessandro Guidi 10/12/2010) (Vallauri, 2009); or better of a combination of all these personal motivations and experiences.

Only in 1974, Peroni was able to obtain the chair of *Protostoria Europea* at "*La Sapienza*". This first Italian *cattedra* in European proto-history had, after Puglisi could hold the chair of *Paletnologia* in 1960, been left there as an "empty nutshell" (Peroni, 2007:27). From this position, that held until his retirement in 2006, Peroni had the possibility to form the so-called "School of Peroni" around him. His combination of a rigid typological method for the systematic study of the material (Peroni, 1998) and an evolutionary framework to "socially interpret" the Italian Bronze and Iron Age, has now left a serious imprint on the Italian proto-historical scientific community. Peroni clearly distinguished himself from more "spiritualistic" or "idealistic" perspectives (although it can be argued that his concept of "type" as "mental template" is to a certain extent "idealistic"), a perspective that becomes also visible in his historiographical accounts (Peroni, 1992). Historical materialism can from this point of view be seen as the ideal alternative to these "earlier" tendencies. Peroni's later disapproval of the neo-positivist (materialist, but not historical) New Archaeology (Peroni, 1990) and idealist post-processualism, needs to be seen in the

same context and can at least partially explain its scarce influence on the Italian scene (Guidi, 1996c). In the *Festschrift* that was dedicated to Peroni in 2006 (AA. VV., 2006), Carandini described similarly that Peroni helped to "introduce to Italy" "scientific methods of detailed analysis" from abroad and that furthermore "the knowledge of Marx" united their thoughts (Carandini, 2006).

Even if Peroni's most visible influence on the Italian archaeological scene is the widespread use of his typological method (e.g. (Cocchi Genick, 1995; Damiani, 2010), concerns of "social theory" in many interpretations are inspired by his work (e.g. (Cardarelli, 2009; Leonardi & Cupitò, 2005). Since Peroni's seminal works were until recently one of the only systematic manuals on Italian proto-history, his books were frequently used textbooks in many Italian archaeology departments. Being aware of the "conceptual genealogy" of his categories, a more detailed historiographical research seems necessary in order to be able to link this "social theory" to other, more explicit, schools of thought.

Conclusions

The classical Kuhnian succession of archaeological paradigms proposed for Anglo-American archaeology, is not observable in the history of the Italian studies related to late prehistory. It can indeed be argued that, in accordance with other "regional archaeologies", its particular development was determined by the national historical, social, economic, academic, political etc. contexts wherein it caught on. In the first part of this article it has been shown how before World War II, "politics" had considerable influence on the work of Italian proto-historical archaeologists. The formulation of the "*teoria pigoriniana*" fitted for instance well with the nationalistic expectations of a young Italian state that was keen to prove the importance of the Northern *bourgeoisie* and to show its ties with Central Europe. During the *ventennio*, the "inversion" of this theory, now stressing autochthonous development and its links with the Mediterranean, accorded better with Fascist ideology. Patroni's negative description of the *Terramare* as relating to "crude communism", is emblematic for the end of an old political discourse and was at the same time a critique of left-wing movements in Italian society: the inhabitants of these settlements could certainly not have been the ancestors of Rome.

"Knowledge is thus never absolute, nor certain, but must be contextualized, related to a particular time and space" (Lozny, 2011b:5). The end of World War II, with the "*Resistenza*" and the fall of the Fascist regime, heralded a new era for Italy, characterised by an anti-fascist attitude and a relative openness, especially in the cultural arena, to the Left. The Italian Communist Party formed in 1947 and until its dissolution in 1991 never became a part of the government, so direct political influence on archaeological practice did of course not happen. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the "K-factor" has influenced the development of Italian late prehistoric archaeology, since the work of two of its protagonists was, each time in a personal way, determined by the specific Italian left-wing cultural milieu of the 1950s and 1960s.

Salvatore Maria Puglisi's experience as a partisan during the anti-fascist resistance and his activity as a communist militant in the years after the war, certainly marked his personal political convictions. Though it is not clear to which extent his left-wing ideas influenced his relationship with Vere Gordon Childe, his stay at London and his interaction with the famous Marxist archaeologist have marked his further curricular track. The anthropological, historical-dialectical, Marxist approach that Puglisi adopted in his "*La Civiltà Appenninica*" seems to have been in his personal context a "natural answer" to his willingness to "innovate" and to give prehistory a "social appeal". When Renato Peroni searched during the 1960s similarly for a "social theory" that could help him to go beyond the mere description of the protohistoric archaeological material, he found inspiration in historical materialism and the writings of Friedrich Engels. His attendance of the IUPPS 1966 conference at Prague seems to have been crucial for his acquaintance with these models, as much as his involvement in the milieu of the younger generation of the *SAI* and especially the "*Dialoghi di Archeologia*" and probably also his personal left-wing political ideas. It can be argued that the "scientifically rigid" Eastern European positivism appeared to Peroni an interesting source of inspiration for the elaboration of an "Italian alternative" to the criticised by him "earlier idealistic influences" in the Italian prehistoric studies. These two examples demonstrate how, in contrast to Eastern Europe were "Marxist concepts" were imposed, but did not always have a serious impact, the same concepts were successfully introduced in Italy by key figures who considered it as useful "social theory". When Puglisi and Peroni obtained influential academic positions, their ideas would even gain broader acceptance.

This article has only to be considered as a first step towards a more in-depth analysis of the different kinds of Marxist thought that circulated in these contexts. The influence of Antonio Gramsci's thought remains for instance an important issue to be further explored since his ideas definitely received attention in the immediate post-war left-wing Italian cultural circles. Although at first sight no explicit references are made in Peroni's and Puglisi's works, the concept of "hegemony" is indeed sporadically used (e.g., Peroni, 2004:16). However, the perception of Gramsci will then need to be placed in the already mentioned discussion on the "whether or not" problematic nature of Croce's influence on Italian proto-historic studies (Terrenato, 1998:181–182).

Based on the discussed articles and books, it seems however that the kind of Marxist thought that Peroni and Puglisi used during the 1950s and 1960s is closer to the ideas of the Second International than to Western Marxism, which with the Frankfurt School oriented itself to more idealistic and relativistic perspectives (McGuire, 2002:21–51). In the case of Peroni, this choice seems logical in relation to his aversion to idealism, while in the case of Puglisi this option needs probably to be seen in relation to the characteristics of Childe's early oeuvre. In this respect it is interesting to note that American archaeologists such as Bruce Trigger, Mark Leone and Randall McGuire have pointed to the fact that idealist and positivist aspects unite under the umbrella of Marxism (McGuire, 2006). Once in-depth historiographical research has illustrated more clearly what kind(s) of Marxism has or have been used in the Italian late prehistoric studies, and in which context they originated, Marxism as a philosophical system can possibly again suggest how the current approaches can be reconciled with more idealist approaches.

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Chapter 13
Looking for the Palaeolithic in Central Europe: Research, Impact, and Geopolitics

Iza Romanowska

Where Is the Palaeolithic Hiding?

The rarity of Early Palaeolithic finds in Central Europe has been acknowledged by local researchers (Fridrich, 1976; Tillier et al., 2006; Vencl, 1991; Vértes, 1975) and their Western colleagues alike (Darlas, 1995; Dennell & Roebroeks, 1996; Gamble, 1999; Hodder, 1991; Hopkinson, 2007). To illustrate this point, there are more identified Lower Palaeolithic finds in the British region of East Anglia (Wymer, 1985, 1999) than is known from the whole of Central and Eastern Europe, from the Rhine all the way to the Ural and Caucasus. As a result, most of the syntheses on the subject focus on Western Europe (e.g., Barton, Michael, Clark, & Cohen, 1994; Desbrosse, 1992; Monnier, 2006; Roebroeks, 2001; Santonja & Villa, 2006) despite the artificiality of this division stemming from the recent geopolitical situation rather than any true geographical or environmental disparity between the eastern and western parts of the continent. Despite its robustness this pattern in the archaeological data is heavily "under-researched". As a result, it is not understood if it reflects a real demographic phenomenon in Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Europe or a modern research bias. The latter has been repeatedly suggested (Bosinski, 2006; Darlas, 1995; Hopkinson, 2007; Tourloukis, 2010), although for most researchers it remains an assumption.

The aim of this paper is to critically examine this notion by trying to establish if the low density of sites reflects the current state of knowledge (i.e. nobody has been looking for the sites) because the research only commenced recently, it was not intensive enough, or it did not follow modern scientific standards. Alternatively, it might be related to limited communication between Eastern and Western researchers

I. Romanowska (✉)
Centre for the Archaeology of Human Origins, University of Southampton, UK, Southampton, UK
e-mail: I.Romanowska@soton.ac.uk

(i.e. Palaeolithic sites may have been found, but that information is not widely available), perhaps impacted by the political situation in the region throughout the twentieth century.

In order to address these issues, a detailed account of the development of Palaeolithic studies in Central Europe will be given focusing on Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. After a brief summary of pre-World War II developments, the post-war communist period will be discussed with a greater emphasis on the intensity of the research, quality of field methods, and the impact of political ideologies in the region. The second part of this paper deals with the direct impact of the Iron Curtain on Central European Palaeolithic researchers and their interaction with Western research. I will investigate if the politically driven limitations and restrictions, imposed on researchers during the second half of the twentieth century, affected the inter-personal and inter-organizational contacts between Central European and the international Palaeolithic research community. Finally, it has also been noted (L. Lozny *pers. comm.*; Lozny, 2011) that, despite the small number of Central European Palaeolithic researchers, they were better known in the West than their colleagues specializing in later prehistory or the Middle Ages. This observation will be quantitatively evaluated through an assessment of the h-index academic impact measure (Hirsch, 2005) for a selected group of scholars.

The Roots of the Discipline

The first examples of scientific evaluation of Palaeolithic material in Central Europe date to the antiquarian period when local legends and myths mixed with the Biblical interpretation of the history were still dominating. This first appreciation of the antiquity of stone tools in Central Europe (J.F. Esper in a report from the cave of Gaillenreuth in 1774) was roughly contemporary with the first announcement of Palaeolithic finds and their "pre-flood" interpretation in Western Europe (Frere, 1797, published in 1800) (McNabb, 2012; Sklenář, 1983). More empirically informed research soon followed and Central European archaeology thrived during the nineteenth century. A network of museums[1] and universities[2] with chairs dedicated to archaeology was established, complemented by numerous archaeological societies dotted around the region (Bartosiewicz, Mérai, & Csippán, 2011; Bökönyi, 1993; Chochorowski, 2008; Kobyliński, 2006; Sklenář, 1983; Velkov, 1993). Archaeology was extremely popular among the middle-class and the intelligentsia at that time, and as a result museums and private collections grew fast. They

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[1] Museums with antiquarian expositions with the opening date: Puławy, Poland—1800, Budapest, Hungary—1802, Wilanów, Poland—1804, Prague, Czech Republic—1823, Zagreb, Croatia—1821, Berlin, Germany—1830, Belgrade, Serbia—1844, Kraków, Poland—1850, Vilnus, Lithuania—1855, Poznań, Poland—1857, Sofia, Bulgaria—1892.

[2] Archaeological chairs at universities with the foundation date: Buda, Hungary—1777, Vienna, Austria—1849, Prague, Czech Republic—1850, Kraków, Poland—1863.

provided a continuously increasing stream of data to be milled in artefact-oriented typo-chronological schemes.

This process closely mirrors the beginning of archaeology in Western Europe (McNabb, 2012) where the first museums and university chairs of archaeology were established (e.g., Cambridge—1883, Oxford—1896) throughout the nineteenth century (Miller, 2007).

Similarly to the rest of the discipline, Palaeolithic studies in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century were embedded in the empirical-positivist approach, a predecessor of the culture-historical framework substantiated in De Mortillet's system, which, given the minuscule base of finds, dates and contexts at that time suited them well. It was a great period of international data collection that provided a solid basis for later, better-informed interpretations. The main focus of research was the quest for new sites, comparing and contrasting the assemblages with the industries from other parts of the world, and continuing efforts to refine and correlate the geological framework with the dating of glacial and interglacial phases (e.g., Benet-Tygel, 1944).

Moravia was traditionally the centre of Palaeolithic studies in Central Europe (Oliva, 2005; Svoboda, Ložek, & Vlček, 1996). Jindřich Wankel and Karel J. Maška, probably under the influence of English palaeontologist William Buckland, began investigating the caves of the Bohemian and Moravian Karst: Býčí Skála (1867), Kůlna, Pekárna and Šipka (1880) and the open-air site of Předmostí (1880) (Svoboda, 2005; Valoch, 1970, 1996, 7–8). Their work soon caught the attention of the most prominent French prehistorian Abbé Breuil, who ventured there on a research trip in 1925. In his "*Remarks on a Paleolithic Trip to Central Europe"* (1925), Breuil recognized Acheulean and Mousterian in Pekárna, Kůlna, Šipka and Čertova Díra and Aurignacian in the Mladeč Cave (Svoboda et al., 1996, 6).

The most prominent Moravian figure of the first half of the twentieth century was Karl Absolon who, drawing on the legacy of Maška, introduced a more multidisciplinary approach to excavations, but also aimed to bring together artefacts dispersed among numerous private collections. Professor at the Charles University in Prague, Absolon excavated Dolní Věstonice, Pekárna and Byčí Skála Caves, and Předmostí (Valoch, 1996). Other researches were equally active, and a number of excavation projects were under way when the Second World War put all research on hold (Svoboda & Valoch, 2003; Valoch, 1996).

In Poland, most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Palaeolithic research concentrated near Kraków where Jan Zawisza and Godfryd Ossowski explored the caves of the Prądnik Valley. The most famous of them, the Mammoth Cave, contained a sequence of deposits comprising Middle and Upper Palaeolithic assemblages rich enough to fuel the research for many years (Benet-Tygel, 1944). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Erazm Majewski started his work on late Palaeolithic and Mesolithic assemblages (Kobyliński, 2006). Majewski applied French typologies, especially the De Mortillet system. He also created Polish terminology for the discipline and trained a generation of Palaeolithic researchers who dominated the study for another 50 years, among them Stefan Krukowski, Leon Kozłowski, and Ludwik Sawicki (Kobyliński, 2006; Lech, 1998).

The archaeological survey of the caves in the Krakow area intensified at the beginning of the twentieth century. A cluster of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic sites close to the village of Piekary was excavated by Ossowski and Krukowski (Sachse-Kozłowska & Kozłowski, 2004). L. Kozłowski reopened the Mammoth Cave while Albin Jura worked at Zwierzyniec and with Krukowski at the site of Sowiniec (Benet-Tygel, 1944)). Finally, Krukowski excavated the caves of Okiennik and Ciemna. An equally high number of Upper Palaeolithic sites were discovered during that period, including Przemyśl, Sowiniec, Koziarnia, and Nietoperzowa Caves (Benet-Tygel, 1944). Many new research questions emerged at that time such as raw material provenance, transitional industries or the definition of archaeological cultures but were only refined by a new generation of archaeologists after the Second World War.

In Hungary, no traces of early human occupation were known until the beginning of the twentieth century when Ottó Herman began more systematic research (Biró, 2003). Ottokár Kadić demonstrated for the first time the unequivocal concurrence of stone tools and extinct fauna during his excavations of the Szeleta Cave between 1906 and 1913 (Lengyel, Szolyák, & Pacher, 2009). At the same time, the well-known Middle Palaeolithic sites of Tata and Jankovich and the early Upper Palaeolithic site of Istálóskő were excavated for the first time (Simán, 2003). In the 1930s, the first Palaeolithic human remains were discovered in the Subalyuk Cave in the Bükk Mountains (Simán, 2003).

This quick summary of the pre-Second World War Palaeolithic research in Europe gives an image of a formation of an international discipline where new techniques, significant discoveries, and communication between researchers lacked borders. For example, L. Kozłowski collaborated closely with Abbé Breuil in Western Europe (Breuil & Kozłowski, 1931) where they introduced a new division of the Acheulean into seven stages while Vere Gordon Childe worked with L. Kozłowski at the site of Koszyłowice (present day Ukraine) (Lech, 1998). In this early period, the most important Central European contributions to Palaeolithic studies include the identification of a new Middle Palaeolithic bifacial tool type—*keilmesser* and its local variants, for example the *prądnik knife* (Jöris 2006, 297–299), research into so-called transitional cultures marking the transition from Middle to Upper Palaeolithic (Bohunicjan, Jerzmanowicjan, Szeletian) (Svoboda, 2003), and Krukowski's recognition of the importance of conducting a functional analysis of a site before its cultural attribution. Although hardly questionable nowadays, recognizing that assemblages preserve different technological features depending the site function (settlement, flint workshop, short-term hunting station, etc.) was almost revolutionary in the nineteenth century archaeology predominantly concerned with cultural attributions. Finally, the Western typo-chronological frameworks, mostly the De Mortillet's system, were critically applied to Central European assemblages by researchers such as Maška or Majewski providing a solid baseline for interregional comparisons (Abramowicz, 1969; Benet-Tygel, 1944; Kobyliński, 2006; Lech, 1998; Svoboda et al., 1996).

Stone Age research in Central Europe has surprisingly long and strong roots reaching well into the nineteenth century. A number of important sites allowed

researchers to establish local cultural sequences and lay foundations to more in-depth analyses. The empirical-positivist approach to science developed in the nine-teenth century had a much bigger impact on researchers in the twentieth century than any other theoretical paradigm, creating a solid cultural-historical framework in which Central European archaeologists conducted their research. Furthermore, one would struggle to find significant differences in the development of archaeology as during that time between the western and the eastern part of the continent. Although Great Britain, France and Germany led the way in terms of new method-ologies, theoretical consideration or field methods, Central European archaeologists did not lag behind (for a similar view, see Vékony, 2003, 15). They critically adapted to the local conditions ideas coming from the West, including the type-fossil approach as well as terminology and field methodology, therefore creating frame-works more adequate to the industries found in the region, for example Krukowski's cultural sequence of the Polish Palaeolithic (Schild, 1998), Maška's and Absolon's meticulous field methodologies or Majewski's terminology (Svoboda et al., 1996).

Under the Shadow of Ideology

It is estimated that prehistoric research in Poland lost between 20 and 40 % of its pro-fessional staff during the Second World War (Gurba, 2005), and other countries were not far behind in this sad statistic. The loss of archaeological materials, library collec-tions, and academic equipment was also significant. One of the most serious disasters for Palaeolithic studies was the fire at Mikulov Castle in Czechoslovakia, which housed the rich Moravian Palaeolithic collection including hominin remains from the Mladeč Cave (Oliva, 2005; Svoboda et al., 1996; Valoch, 1996, 10).

The first post-war years have also witnessed an important political shift, which initially had only minimal impact on the discipline. Soon, however, the Soviet regime brought a new structure to the archaeological institutions, restrictions on contacts with the Western world and ideological pressure previously unknown in these parts of Europe (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011; Lech, 1998; Neustupný, 1993).

The post-war period (1945–1956) saw the introduction of Marxist-Stalinism, a specifically tailored version of Marxism implemented over the vast Soviet realm. During this period, strong administrative pressure was enforced to introduce new methodology, to cite the classic works of Marxist-Leninism philosophers, and to train students in the spirit of the new ideology. Although the history departments were the main actors in substantiating the dialectical materialism in human history, archaeology was also influenced. Researchers were supposed to use archaeological and ethnological data in order to distinguish the forces of production and relations of productions reflected in social and spiritual culture. Material culture was believed to reflect all aspects of human life providing enough proxies to reconstruct a full picture of past societies (Lech, 1998; Neustupný, 1993). However, soon after Stalin's death, the ideological influence began to lessen and in some countries it disappeared almost entirely by the 1970s. Gradually, researchers moved away from

Marxism, but remained interested in the dominating themes of economy and society. From this moment on, contacts with the West increased and a number of joint missions around the Mediterranean and in Africa were established (Bökönyi, 1993; Lech, 1998; Lozny, 2011; Laszlovsky & Siklodi, 1991, 281; Neustupný, 1991).

Even though after WWII most of the Central and Eastern Europe fell under the influence of the Soviet Union, it cannot be stressed enough that the nature and intensity of this influence varied significantly from one country to another. The strongest administrative pressure was exercised on researchers in East Germany, Bulgaria, Albania, and all of the countries directly bordering with Russia such as Ukraine, Belarus, or Moldova (Bökönyi, 1993; Gatsov, 2001; Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1993; Miraj & Zeqo, 1993). The impact of the Soviet regime varied in time as well, as illustrated by the case of Czechoslovakia, which enjoyed relative freedom until the Prague Spring in 1968 (Neustupný, 1991, 261). The 1968 rebellion and the subsequent persecution, however, marked a turning point in many aspects of the political but also daily life directly affecting researchers in all disciplines. For example, the well-known Palaeolithic researcher Jan Jelínek was dismissed from the position of a director of the Moravian Museum as a result of political accusations (Frayer, 2005).

In the whole Soviet Bloc, Marxism became a dominating doctrine, heavily influencing academia and the social sciences and humanities departments in particular. However, even during the most severe period of Stalin's reign, most of the leading archaeologists in Central Europe did not surrender to the schematic implementation of the Marxist doctrine, but rather tried to quietly hide in the cultural-historical paradigm where compiling long, typological sequences, and distribution maps allowed them to steer well away from theoretical debates (Gheorghiu & Schuster, 2002; Heather, 2010, 102–103; Hodder, 1991, 5; Kobyliński, 1991; Laszlovsky & Siklodi, 1991, 275; Lech, 1998; Milisauskas, 1998; Neustupný, 1991 but see Hensel, 1983). Likewise, the political situation might not have been as dire as sometimes depicted, particularly after 1956. For instance, among members of the Polish Academy of Science—a newly founded by the communist authorities research institution—were Włodzimierz Antoniewicz and Józef Kostrzewski, who overtly regarded themselves as opponents to the Soviet rule and were previously persecuted (Lech, 1998). Their stories, as well as other accounts (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011, footnote on page 292; S. K. Kozłowski, 2007), show how complex the manoeuvring between the authorities, academic centres, and colleagues was following the war. Although ideological training in Marxism was compulsory at all universities, it was often not taken seriously (Neustupný, 1993), and even in Russia in the 1960s and 1970s, archaeology had a status of a place for free-thinkers and was considered less politicized than other disciplines within the humanities (Davis, 1983; Koryakova, 2001). On the other hand, in some parts of Central and Eastern Europe, such as for example East Germany, archaeology was much more affected by the political influences and the Marxist-Leninist *Historiker-Gesellschaft* still operated in the 1970s due to higher ideological pressure from authorities (Bökönyi, 1993; Gringmuth-Dallmer, 1993; Lech, 1998). In conclusion, the political pressure on researchers depended heavily on the time and place, and the use of Marxist framework was hardly a homogenous phenomenon.

The 1960s witnessed a great paradigm shift in Western, mostly Anglo-American, archaeology when the old culture-historical methodology was criticized by the proponents of New Archaeology. Central European archaeologists were aware of this new methodological framework, but only few individuals became influenced (Suhr, 2005). *New Perspectives in Archaeology* published by the Binfords and their quantitative analysis of stone assemblages were cited by a number of Central European researchers working on the final Palaeolithic. Works by Sackett, Binford, Clark, and Renfrew were equally well known—many researchers (e.g., J.K. Kozłowski and R. Schild) cited them in their publications. In the second half of the 1970s, J. K. Kozłowski and S. K. Kozłowski worked with P. Dolukhanov on a programme, which applied Anglo-American New Archaeology to the analysis of classic concepts in the European Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. They wanted to verify the intuitive cultural classification of these two time periods using a classic typological scheme of lithic assemblages combined with Clark's hierarchy of taxonomic units, factor analysis, and palaeo-geographical characteristics (Lech, 1998; Suhr, 2005, 33). In general, however, examples of using Western theoretical frameworks were not common.

In the 1980s new waves of archaeological theory, such as post-processualism, reached Central Europe. Their impact, however, was even less consequential than that of New Archaeology and did not extend much beyond the publication of "Unconventional Archaeology" edited by Schild (1980), which gathered under one cover a collection of "alternative" approaches (Kobyliński, 1991; Lozny, 2011, 478). In general, Central European archaeology has always been dominated by the culture-historical approach occasionally sprinkled with Marxist vocabulary. The theoretical waves from the West, although recognized by the majority of Central European archaeologists, did not leave a lasting legacy compared to their western colleagues.

Thriving Archaeology Under the Communist Regime

Despite the political repression imposed by communism, the introduction of the Marxist perspective offered certain advantages: it shook the established, dominating methodological framework, provided necessary resources for research, and created an inspiring, multidisciplinary environment for researchers gathered under one roof at the universities and academies of science. It also developed a network of museums acting as local research centres. Above all, however, it brought more funding to the discipline than ever before.

Firstly, the introduction of Marxism promoted a new way of looking at archaeological data, more similar to the anthropological approach typical to the other side of the Atlantic. The newly introduced discipline of "the history of material culture" combined prehistory and Mediterranean archaeology with anthropology and historical studies in order to develop a more comprehensive and structured approach to the human past (Tabaczyński, 2007). The shift toward material culture also had a

positive effect in the creation of museum studies. New archaeology museums were established in Brno, Wrocław, Gdańsk and Łódź, and older museums expanded in Kraków and Poznań (Lech, 1998), creating a network of important research centres (Lozny, 2011; Milisauskas, 1990).

This theoretical shift gave the younger generation of researchers an opportunity to rid themselves of the culture-historical school, with its endless compilations of cultures and chronologies. Indeed, in the second part of the twentieth century, more comprehensive anthropological, social, and behavioural interpretations were placed on archaeological material. This new generation strongly criticized earlier researchers, accusing them of turning archaeology into a list of cultures with controversial names and unsubstantiated ethnic determinations that brought nothing but museum showcases filled with artefacts sorted according to various typologies (Curta, 2001; Kobyliński, 1991; Lech, 1998; Tabaczyński, 2007). Nevertheless, despite this criticism, the younger generation of Central European archaeologists was equally weary of the New Archaeology and other theoretical frameworks.

The quality of field methodology in the second half of the twentieth century, although varied from one site to another, did not generally differ from the western methods. In 1948, Hołubowicz published a critical analysis of excavation and documentation techniques where he postulated stratigraphic exploration, 3D recording, excavating within trenches separated by profile bulks, and more consistent methods of recording and publishing. These guidelines were generally followed by other researchers (S. K. Kozłowski, 2007; Lech, 1998). In Czechoslovakia the tradition of 3D recording of the spatial distribution of lithics accompanied by detailed micromorphological and pedological analysis of the deposits continued since before the war (Svoboda et al., 1996). However, a significant development came from the way in which archaeology was structured: much of the fieldwork was undertaken within large, multi-disciplinary institutions, such as universities and, in particular, national academies of science. This gave archaeologists access to a wider range of specialists, such as geologists, historians, archaeozoologists etc., and provided a good research environment. The flow of knowledge, exchange of ideas, and development and implementation of methodological innovations between researchers in different disciplines became more common.

Finally and most importantly, the communist authorities provided a steady stream of funding (Heather, 2010, 102–103; S. K. Kozłowski, 2007; Lech, 1998; Milisauskas, 1986, 1990). Even if not overwhelmingly extensive at all times, communist regimes were feeding the research institutions with enough support to carry out substantial undertakings (Davis, 1983; Lech, 1998; Milisauskas, 1986, 1990). Research projects conducted on a scale much larger than before provided researchers with jobs and enabled them to carry out their research uninterrupted for decades. To give a few examples, the excavation of a Bronze Age cemetery at Kietrz, lasted almost three decades from 1956 to 1983 (Gedl, 1973). The preparation for the "Millennium celebrations" (the 1000th anniversary of the foundation of the Slavic states) alone created in Poland positions for 221 professional university-trained archaeologists employed by the Committee for Research on the Origins of the Polish State (Hensel, 1946; Kobyliński, 1996). Similar celebrations combining archaeo-

logical excavation with creation of museums and archaeological parks to raise the general public's awareness of the earliest history took place in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other countries in the region (Velkov, 1993). Another extensive archaeological project of that time, the AZP (Archaeological Photo of Poland), launched in the 1970s, combined results of individual field surveys undertaken by all archaeological institutions in Poland using one standardized template. By the end of 1997, 75 % of the surface of Poland had been investigated, with thousands of sites recorded and detailed maps of settlements in different time periods made freely available to researchers (Jaskanis, 1995; Konopka, 1983; Ławecka, 2000).

Large-scale research projects were not the only type of archaeological activity— with the grand infrastructure project, came equally grand "rescue" (UK: "commercial", USA: "CRM") excavation. The pre-development research at the site of Nowa Huta (just outside Kraków) covered approximately 100 km^2 (Rydzewski, 1989). From 1960 about 300 sites were excavated per year just in Poland, some of them ahead of planned construction projects while others as part of academic research. For example, in 1974 archaeological institutions (museums, universities, and the Academy of Science) excavated 323 sites. Hundred and eleven of them were rescue excavations and the reminder conducted as part of academic research projects (Lech, 1998; Tabaczyński, 2007).

This observation goes in line with the notion of uncommonly high number of archaeologists working in Central and Eastern Europe at the time. As Milisauskas noted (1986, 779): "Eastern Europe is saturated with archaeologists". He points out that there were four times more university-trained archaeologists per square km in Poland than in New York (Milisauskas, 1986). Similarly, Lozny (2011) provides more detailed information about the number of archaeology graduates between 1949 and 1980. With 1362 archaeology graduates in that 32-year period, Poland seemed to have enough hands to do the job. In comparison, currently, the median number of archaeologists in an EU country is 754 (Aitchison, 2009).[3]

Stone Age Research Under Communist Rule

Objectives and Institutions

Post-war Palaeolithic research in Central Europe focused on introducing new methods and refining the already existing typologies (Svoboda et al., 1996, 8). The use of geo-chronological systems and detailed comparisons of loess sequences with the four glacial periods (Günz, Riss, Mindel, Würm) gave researchers a stable, pan-European chronological framework. Standing on the shoulders of such eminent

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[3] Data gathered in 2008; for more details see (Aitchison, 2009). The average is 1388 archaeologists, however the data is heavily skewed by a high number of archaeologists working in the UK (six times more than in any other country), therefore, the median is probably a more reliable indicator.

figures as Absolon, Krukowski and L. Kozłowski, a new generation of researchers pushed forward the Stone Age research agenda by postulating:

- Precise methods of excavation based on geochronology.
- A strong interest in palaeo-environmental changes.
- Detailed technological and typological examination of flint artefacts (Lech, 1998).

Although the type fossil approach has never lost its appeal, the system proposed by D. de Sonneville-Bordes, J. Perrot, and F. Bordes gradually dominated the typology of stone artefacts used for classifying lithic material (Bordes, 1961). Most of the researchers, however, were critical in their adaptation of the Bordean system and adjusted it to local conditions (B. Klíma (1956) and K. Valoch (1968) in Czechoslovakia; B. Ginter and J. K. Kozłowski (1969) in Poland; and L. Vértes (1965, 1968) in Hungary), creating a strong typological framework for lithic analysis of the local Palaeolithic assemblages.

In 1953, the State Archaeological Institute in Moravia was incorporated into the Czechoslovakian Academy of Science. As Palaeolithic research did not contradict the dominating historical-materialist doctrine, it was smoothly incorporated into its scientific programs. The Department of Diluvium of the Moravian Museum became the Anthropos Institute led by Jan Jelínek—the only Central European institution devoted exclusively to Palaeolithic studies (Frayer, 2005). The two traditional hubs of Palaeolithic research in Poland were always Kraków and Warsaw, with Wrocław emerging later, while other archaeological centres focused on later time periods (Prinke, 1978). In Hungary, most of the Palaeolithic research was conducted at the Hungarian National Museum (Vértes, 1961).

The Early Post-war Period

In Poland, Krukowski's work had the greatest influence on this first post-war generation of Palaeolithic archaeologists, including Waldemar Chmielewski, Bolesław Ginter, Jan Krzysztof Kozłowski, Stefan Karol Kozłowski, Romuald Schild, Hanna Więckowska, Michał Kobusiewicz, and Zofia Sulgostowska, among others (Schild, 1998). Ginter and J. K. Kozłowski, together with Schild, worked on evolving and clarifying the classification systems of Palaeolithic industries introduced by L. Kozlowski, Krukowski, and F. Bordes (Lech, 1998). Schild developed a dynamic technological analysis of chipped stone assemblages, which first appeared in Krukowski's early works. Krukowski's ideas about directions and methods in the study of mines, flint workshops and raw material provenance were even more elaborated. Lithics were studied in association with the mechanisms governing their distribution, the economics and social structures of the communities, and detailed studies on cultural systematics were undertaken (Schild, 1998).

In Hungary, an important Lower Palaeolithic site—Vértesszölös (Dobosi, 2003a; Kretzoi & Dobosi, 1990) was excavated from 1963 until 1969, when the passing away of the leading archaeologist, L. Vértes, put a stop to the work. Vértes created a new archaeological unit, Buda industry, on the basis of the finds from Vértesszölös. He acknowledged the small size of the pieces as well as specific technological aspects of the assemblage. His ideas, however, did not meet with a wide acceptance, locally or internationally. He was also one of the pioneers of computing applications in archaeology "use(ing) mechanical edge cards (with holes around their edges, selectively slotted to indicate the presence/absence of traits), and sorted sets of Paleolithic stone artifacts by combined search terms enabling 'faceted navigation', i.e. choosing the order by which the hierarchy of categories was defined" (Bartosiewicz et al., 2011, footnote on page 295). Other important Palaeolithic sites in Hungary were excavated at that time, for instance Érd in Transdanubia and Tata where the shell with a carved cross has been interpreted as an important example of Neanderthal "art" (Chase & Dibble, 1987).

Likewise, in Czechoslovakia, and particularly in Moravia, post-war fieldwork gained momentum. The Moravian Karst provided a few significant sites (e.g. the Kůlna cave) identified by the team from the Antropos Museum in Brno (Valoch, 1970). The Upper Palaeolithic finds from Moravia were widely known and large-scale excavations of Gravettian sites such as Pavlov and Dolní Věstonice (re-opened in the 1970s) attracted a lot of attention on both sides of the Iron Curtain (e.g., Marshack, 1988). To some extent these spectacular discoveries overshadowed other Central European Palaeolithic sites. This was especially the case of Hungary, where most of the assemblages conveniently fit into the dominating Central European framework not creating any controversies (Dobosi, 2003b).

The Thaw: 1970s and 1980s

During the 20-year period starting in the 1970s there was a noticeable increase of research concerned with technological aspects of lithics, including the introduction of refitting, studies in lithic raw material provenance, and the first attempts to apply dynamic analysis *sensu* Schild (Svoboda et al., 1996). Also, a number of important sites were excavated. In Poland, the site of Kraków-Spadzista raised questions about the nature of accumulated mammoth bones and their possible interpretation as human dwellings similar to the structures known from Mezhirich in Ukraine (Wojtal & Sobczyk, 2005). Another specifically Central European phenomenon, which saw intensive research at that time, was the so-called Central European transitional cultures, marking the change from the Middle to Upper Palaeolithic in the region (Svoboda, 2003). In the 1980s, field work at many important Palaeolithic sites re-opened and a large amount of critical discussion into the role of human behaviour in the morphology of lithic industries took place, also a few Western scholars visited Central Europe (Svoboda et al., 1996).

At Stránská skála in Czechoslovakia, the longest Palaeolithic stratigraphic sequence was investigated between 1981 and 1988 bringing to light a number of rich assemblages dating from the Early Upper Palaeolithic (Bohunician) to the epigravettian (Svoboda & Valoch, 2003; Valoch, 1999). In Poland, Paweł Valde-Nowak uncovered another long sequence spanning from the Middle to late Upper Palaeolithic in the Obłazowa Cave (Western Carphatians) (Valde-Nowak, Nadachowski, & Madeyska, 2003). A bone boomerang found in the cave (Valde-Nowak, Nadachowski, & Wolsan, 1987) is one of the most outstanding finds from that time. At the site of Zwoleń, Schild and Sulgatowska excavated a large horse kill site (Schild, 2005). The only two Lower Palaeolithic sites known from Poland, Rusko and Trzebnica, were identified in the late 1980s and early 1990s by J. M. Burdukiewicz (2003) and excavated by his team from the University of Wrocław. Based on this work, Burdukiewicz differentiated a new cultural unit: "Technocomplex with Small Tools" (Burdukiewicz, 2003; Burdukiewicz & Ronen, 2003) representing a Central European phenomenon of assemblages characterized by the distinctively small size of lithics unrelated to the size and quality of the local raw material. Similar Middle Palaeolithic assemblages were recognized elsewhere in Central Europe, for example, in Tata, Hungary or Kůlna, Czechoslovakia, becoming yet another example of exclusively Central European phenomenon—Taubachian (Glaesslein, 2009; Moncel, 2001).

This short overview shows that the amount of Palaeolithic research conducted in the field in the second half of the century in Central Europe was probably not less intensive than in the rest of Europe. Palaeolithic researchers were at the forefront of field and lab methodological developments (field methodology, technological analysis, typological lists), and a number of distinctive archaeological phenomena were recognized and interpreted (transitional cultures, Taubachian).

Impermeable Border?

We have shown that Central European archaeologists conducted a significant amount of research in the second half of the twentieth century. However, given the geopolitical factors limiting international communication, were the results effectively disseminated to scholars on the other side of Iron Curtain or did they remain confined to the local archaeological community?

A heated debate has been taking place in Central European archaeology over the last two decades regarding the issue of isolation from Western influences in archaeology during the communist times (Barford, 2002; Lech, 2002; Marciniak & Rączkowski, 1991; Tabaczyński, 2007). Although nobody denies that the Iron Curtain did not facilitate contact between researchers, the magnitude of its impact is highly contentious. Difficulties related to obtaining the necessary passports and visas, disparity in the value of currencies, and only limited formal international links between research institutions restricted research visits, data collection, literature review, and conference attendance (Hodder, 1991; Krupic, 2008; Marciniak &

Rączkowski, 1991). Equally hindering was the limited circulation of Western archaeological journals within the Soviet Bloc countries, and restricted accessibility to archaeological publications in general. This could have been further aggravated by language barriers and, to some extent, different disciplinary interests (Barford, 1993; Maday, 1968). It is, however, difficult to determine to what degree these limitations affected Central European researchers in real terms. Based on anecdotal evidence, restrictions varied depending on the institution and the people involved (Begun, 2005; Frayer, 2005).

Interpersonal Contacts

An important factor preventing isolation was joint missions between Central European and Western institutions. A few of them were conducted during the second half of the twentieth century, including the well-known mission by Fred Wendorf (Southern Methodist University) and Romuald Schild (Polish Academy of Sciences) to the Eastern Sahara (Schild & Wendorf, 2002; Wendorf & Schild, 1980). Initially formed as a response to the 1960 Aswan Dam UNESCO appeal the international team of researchers developed into an American-Polish-Egyptian joint mission providing an extensive survey and salvage research of the Nile Valley and the Egyptian part of the Sahara, Sudan, and Ethiopia. It identified and excavated a number of Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites in the Eastern Sahara and became the source of a constant stream of new discoveries and publications related to the prehistory of the region, as well as a training ground for new generations of Stone Age archaeologists for over 40 years (see Schild & Wendorf, 2002 for the exact breakdown of the research). Western researchers also joined their Central European colleagues to cooperate on excavations of Central European sites. For example, Alexander Marshack contributed to the interpretation of a possible example of early art from the Bacho Kiro Cave in Bulgaria excavated by a Polish team (Marshack, 1982). Overall, however, most of the excavations in Central Europe were led by local archaeologists with a secondary involvement of their Western colleagues (for a full list of joint projects, see Milisauskas, 1986).

It would be a futile task to try to accurately estimate the participation of Palaeolithic researchers in international conferences. The aforementioned limitations (lack of funding, passport issues, etc.) most likely played a role in the accessibility of international conferences to Central European researchers. However, these factors would have affected early-career researchers differently compared to a more established academic. Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence indicates that Central and Eastern European researchers did take part at least in some international gatherings. For example, during the ninth congress of the International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences in Nice in 1976, at least three sessions dedicated to Palaeolithic studies were chaired by Central European archaeologists. Karel Valoch led *the Colloque VIII Les premiéres industries de l'Europe*, Bohuslav Klíma *the Colloque IX Périgordien et Gravettien en Europe* while Janusz Krzysztof

Kozłowski gathered many Central European archaeologists (9 out of 12 contributions) in the session *Colloque XVI L'Aurignacien en Europe* (Klíma, 1976; Kozłowski, 1976; Valoch, 1976). Also, the previous congresses took place in Central and Eastern Europe: in 1966 in Prague and in 1971 in Belgrade.

Academic Impact

Paradoxically, it has been noted that Central European archaeologists specializing in Stone Age studies are quite well known in the West compared with their colleagues leading research in later epochs (Lozny *pers. comm.*). "Paradoxically" because the number of Palaeolithic sites, the size of assemblages and the general quality of the archaeological record related to the earliest period do not compare favourably to what is known from Western Europe. Possibly as a direct result of this was the much lower number of graduates specializing in the Stone Age compared with other epochs (Lozny, 2011). For later time periods, especially the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, the number of sites, the quality of the record, and the general understanding of how people lived are much higher (Heather, 2010). Nevertheless, archaeologists working on the later Prehistoric and medieval research were relatively less known in the international community.

To test this largely anecdotal evidence, the H-index of researchers mentioned in this paper has been obtained using the programme *Publish or Perish* (Harzing, 2007) (Table 13.1). In order to provide a benchmark, which the results could be compared to, the same methodology has been applied to a sample of Central European researchers specializing in a subject that is particularly rich in the region—the Iron Age (Table 13.2).

The H-index is a single-number measure of academic impact, which takes into account both the number of papers and the number of citations to those papers (Bornmann & Daniel, 2005, 2007). Its main advantage is that it is not biased by a small number of "high-hit" papers which can lift the indices based only on the total number of citations or a large number of rarely cited papers which would affect indices based only on the number of papers rather than their influence. The H-index therefore favours enduring performance both in terms of quality and quantity. For that reason, it provides a handy proxy for assessing impact and/or recognizability of an individual in their field. Finally, the *Publish or Perish* software used to calculate the H-index is based on the Google Scholar database, which includes a large corpus of monographs and, therefore, in some cases provides higher citation counts (i.e. has higher publication coverage) than the ISI Web of Knowledge, the most commonly used publication database. This is particularly true for the fields of Social Sciences and Arts and Humanities, including archaeology (Harzing, 2007; Kousha & Thelwall, 2008).

The H-index does have systematic biases which may impact the results of the analysis. First of all, authors of the same name are usually lumped together giving a false result (Bornmann & Daniel, 2007). To prevent this, a manual cleaning of the

Table 13.1 H-index of a
sample of Central European
Palaeolithic archaeologists

Stone Age researcher	H-index
Karel Absolon	5
Viola Dobosi	7
Bolesław Ginter	4
Bohuslav Klíma	10
Michał Kobusiewicz	8
Janusz Krzysztof Kozłowski	10
Stefan Kozłowski	9
Gábori Miklós	5
Martin Oliva	9
Romuald Schild	22
Josef Skutil	5
Jiří Svoboda	14
Karel Valoch	14
László Vértes	11

data has been performed. All publications used in the analysis were individually checked to ensure that they belong to the author in question. Secondly, there are several reasons for low citation metrics, which may give a false picture of the real contribution of an individual to their field (Harzing, 2007):

- Working in a small field (less potential of citations of one's work).
- Publishing in a language other than English (underrepresented in the Google scholar database).
- Publishing mainly in books (also underrepresented in the Google scholar database).

All three are likely to have an impact on the final results. However, they should affect all the Central European Palaeolithic researchers in the same way. All of them worked in the same small field (Palaeolithic Archaeology), none of them is a native English speaker (although their preferred language of publication varies), and given their proximity in time and space (all spent their active research life in Central Europe in the second part of the twentieth century), their publishing behaviour (journals versus books) is likely to be similar. As a result, these factors, although potentially biasing the results, should not affect the relative comparison between the researchers.

The results strongly confirm Lozny's intuitive observation (Fig. 13.1). Compared to a test sample of Iron Age specialists, Central European Palaeolithic researchers have been quoted more extensively and their papers were more influential abroad, indicating that they had a higher direct impact (as measured by the H-index) on the discipline globally. This is not to say that researchers of other time periods produced any less-impressive results—given the richness and importance of Central Europe

Table 13.2 H-index of a
sample of Central European
Iron Age archaeologists

Iron Age researcher	H-index
Kazimierz Bielenin	4
Anna Bitner-Wróblewska	2
Éva Bónis	3
Jaroslav Böhm	6
Miloš Čižmář	3
Jana Čižmářová	1
Sylwester Czopek	2
Petr Drda	4
Jan Filip	11
Kazimierz Godłowski	7
Eszter Istvánovits	2
Libuše Jansová	3
Fitz Jenő	9
Piotr Kaczanowski	5
Andrzej Kokowski	3
Jerzy Kmieciński	4
Valéria Kulcsár	2
Karel Ludikovský	1
Henryk Machajewski	2
Renata Madyda-Legutko	3
Magdalena Mączyńska	3
Jiří Meduna	4
Szabó Miklós	5
Karla Motyková-Šneidrová	2
Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn	2
Emanuel Šimek	4
Jaroslav Tejral	8
Andrea Vaday	3
Natalie Venclová	5
Jiří Waldhauser	3
Ryszard Wołągiewicz	2

in later prehistory this is certainly not the case. What the H-index reflects is the general *awareness* of Central European archaeology research among the general archaeological audience and in that respect Palaeolithic researchers seem to have an advantage. The impact of the language of publication is also clearly visible in the results. The highest H-index score belongs to Schild who published mostly in English, while other researchers (e.g., Kozłowskis, Valoch, Vértes) preferred French and German as their language of publication.
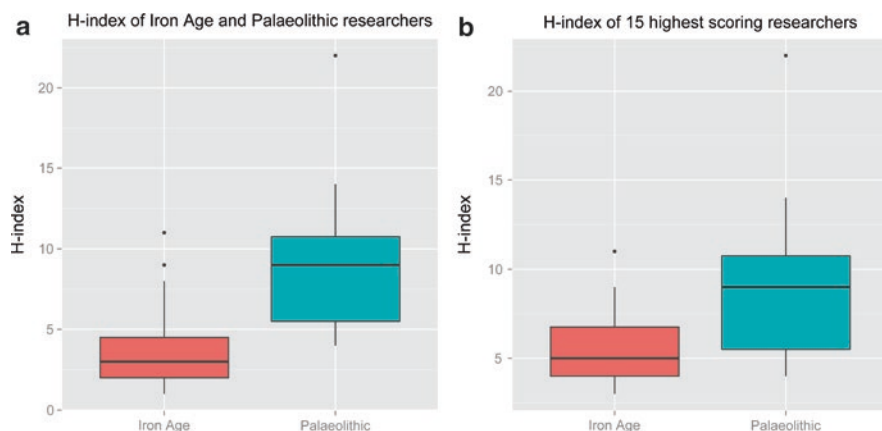
Fig. 13.1 Comparison of the H-index of Central European Palaeolithic and Iron Age researchers. (**a**) All researches included in the sample; (**b**) 15 highest scoring researchers in each time period

Discussion: The Matthew Effect?

The identified pattern is statistically significant,[4] but it requires an interpretation to explain the observed phenomenon. As it is common with social phenomena, it is likely that this situation is the result of more than one factor. Below we will discuss a few of the most likely ones.

First of all, the universal nature of Palaeolithic studies encourages a wide international exchange of data and ideas. Due to the coarse granularity of the Palaeolithic data and its large temporal and spatial scales, the research often focuses on very broad topics such as the biological, cultural and cognitive evolution of humans, the relationship with the environment, or the development of technology, hunting strategies, food processing, and social structures etc. Regional and especially microregional studies so typical for later time periods are often regarded as means to a better understanding of the broad topics rather than a goal in itself; hence, the research often traverses modern regional and international borders.

With the wide adoption of the Bordean system (Bordes, 1961) and the popularity of Clark's (1969) division of lithic technology into five modes, Palaeolithic researchers could work in a unified framework regardless of their location, bringing their data even closer together and concentrating on what is common rather than dissimilar. This encouraged large-scale comparative studies and forced researchers to strive

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[4]The *T*-test was run on two sets of data: (1) Palaeolithic researchers compared with a full sample of Iron Age researchers (Fig. 13.1a), and (2) Palaeolithic researchers compared with the top 15 Iron Age researchers (Fig. 13.1b). Both scenarios proved significant: (1) $P \approx 0.00003$ and (2) $P \approx 0.002$, where $\alpha = 0.01$.

to include all available datapoints—factors, which would be clearly reflected in the higher citation rates and general awareness of Central European researchers work.

A second possible reason for the wider recognition of Central European Palaeolithic researchers was the overall popularity of Palaeolithic studies in the second half of the twentieth century. "New Archaeology" had the greatest initial impact on Palaeolithic studies (Johnson, 2010, 30), and Middle-range Theory and Ethnoarchaeology was developed in direct reference to the Palaeolithic record (Johnson, 2010, 51). Even gender archaeology seems to take the caveman as a starting point (Johnson, 2010, 125). Since the 1960s, Palaeolithic research has been at the centre of theoretical advances in archaeology.

Finally, we might be dealing here with an example of the "Matthew effect" in science. First described by Robert K. Merton (1968) it can be referred to as the "rich get richer" effect. Put into the domain of academia it describes the phenomenon of more established, better-known scholars receiving more credit than their lesser-known colleagues for equal or even smaller contributions to the research (Merton, 1968, 1988). Thus, they are more likely to spread their results wider and to have a higher impact on the discipline.

The Matthew effect is widely recognized in all scientific disciplines (see the review of Nobel Prize winners in Merton, 1988). It could be argued, however, that Palaeolithic archaeology had an additional boost when it comes to creating a strong Matthew effect, paradoxically, thanks to the rarity of sites and the dearth of material to work on. With only a few irregularly distributed Palaeolithic sites there was enough material to support only a handful of specialists. For example, in most of Central Europe the Lower Palaeolithic was for a long time lumped together with the Middle Palaeolithic, hence the lack of exclusively Lower Palaeolithic specialists in the region (Milisauskas, 1986, 782). In Poland between 1949 and 1980 only 69 graduates specialized in the Palaeolithic, far behind other time periods such as the Bronze Age (170 graduates) or the Middle Ages (305 graduates) (Lozny, 2011). As a result, only a limited number of archaeologists were drawn into Palaeolithic studies and those who did were exempt from the fierce competition that their colleagues working on later time periods faced.

This also meant that invitations to conferences, scientific collaboration and co-authoring would be shared within a smaller cluster of scholars creating a self-propelling positive feedback loop and strengthening the natural Matthew effect. A similar process regarding the publishing opportunities before and after the change of the political system in 1989 has been described by Milisauskas, who noted: "When only a small number of eastern European archaeologists received permission to publish in the west, the journals and publishing companies accepted their work enthusiastically. As the number of submitted articles and manuscripts increases, the selection process will be tougher" (Milisauskas, 1990, 285).

This, together with the aforementioned universal nature of the data and the high demand for Palaeolithic research in the second half of the twentieth century, could have contributed to a better recognition of Central European researchers in the West, giving them more opportunities to collaborate, publish and spread their results in

the international research community which would produce a higher H-index compared to their colleagues specializing in later epochs.

In sum, there is very little to suggest that Palaeolithic research in Central Europe during the second half of the twentieth century would be unfamiliar to Western researchers. Quite the opposite, a number of important syntheses of the region were published in high impact journals and in widely available books by both local researchers (e.g. Kretzoi & Vértes, 1965; Valoch, 1968) and Western archaeologists who showed a good understanding of the research in the region (e.g. Davis, 1983; Movius, 1960; Smith et al., 1982; Soffer, 1985).

Conclusion

At the beginning we asked if the scarcity of Palaeolithic finds in Central Europe could result from the insufficient quantity of research. We broke the issue into three components: (1) the research only commenced recently, (2) it was not intensive enough, or (3) it did not follow modern scientific standards. We also added the question of limited communication between researchers on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Out of the three components, the delay is the easiest to discount because the discipline developed in a similar fashion almost in parallel in both Western and Central Europe. From the mythical beginnings embedded in the Biblical interpretation of the world, to the first attempts to explain encountered objects as the works of people living in the past, to the slow emergence of archaeology as a modern, scientific discipline—archaeology in both parts of the continent went through similar stages of development at comparable time. We have shown that Central European researchers were an important part of the thriving international community of Palaeolithic archaeologists during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

The remaining two hypotheses are much more difficult to assess because of their innate qualitative character. However, the picture that emerges from this short summary of Palaeolithic research undertaken in Central Europe during the twentieth century shows that it was multidisciplinary, intense and generally of high quality. Eastern researchers were aware of Western methodologies and theoretical approaches even if they did not choose to follow them. The availability of funding, stable research positions and legions of fully trained archaeologists made for good working environment and provided enough support to conduct remarkably high volumes of research. A number of important sites have been identified and subsequently explored from the late nineteenth century onwards, even if the fieldwork only gained momentum in the second part of the twentieth century.

Also, it has been repeatedly suggested that the dominating Marxist ideology had little or no influence on Central European archaeologists who predominantly steered clear of any theoretical debates and preferred to concentrate on more pragmatic tasks such as fieldwork or refining typological and chronological frameworks. Palaeolithic archaeologists were relatively safe from the dominating historical-

materialist Marxist doctrine thanks to the time depth of the topics they studied and as such they were perhaps slightly more drawn towards theoretical issues than their colleagues dealing with more politically sensitive subjects. However, as they worked mostly within Western theoretical frameworks, such as the binfordian Middle-range theory, Marxism appeared infrequently in their publications, mostly as short mentions not relevant to the discussed topics and giving the impression of being an imposed quota of citations from the Marxist classics (e.g., in student textbooks: Ginter & Kozłowski, 1969, 8). In their daily methodology, Stone Age researchers also used Western schemes such as De Mortillet's system in the first half of the twentieth century or Bordean typology list in the second half, but they critically adapted them to local assemblages often creating original regional frameworks.

Finally, the view of Central European researchers living in isolation is equally hard to support. Although such view has been expressed before (e.g., Gatsov, 2001; Marciniak & Rączkowski, 1991), the international joint missions, publications in Western journals, conference attendance, and multiple citations of Western literature all indicate that Central European researchers were an integral part of the archaeological community. Despite institutionalized difficulties to contact the West Central European Palaeolithic researchers had enough opportunities to disseminate their findings effectively. Furthermore, the H-index analysis shows that Central European Palaeolithic researchers were better-known abroad than their colleagues studying later time periods, perhaps at least partially due to their limited numbers and the interregional and international nature of the subject.

In summary, the history of research is an unlikely cause of the scarcity of Palaeolithic material in Central Europe. This short review demonstrates that none of the null hypotheses presented at the beginning of this study can be convincingly supported. Neither the research time nor its intensity or its availability to the international archaeological community can account for the robust discrepancy in the volume of Palaeolithic finds between Western and Central Europe. Instead, research should focus on investigating other factors influencing the distribution of finds, such as taphonomic and preservation issues or different conditions in the past including environmental regimes, raw material types, or natural barriers.

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