NS 7

# RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES



L'INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE

# RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES NOUVELLE SERIE

# L'INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE

# RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES NOUVELLE SERIE 7

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#### Jan Chochorowski<sup>1</sup>

## 150 years of prehistoric archaeology at the Jagiellonian University

**Abstract:** The credit for establishing archaeology as an academic discipline at the Jagiellonian University goes to Józef Łepkowski (1826-1894), an antiquarian, art historian, and archaeologist, who obtained his habilitation there in 1863 in the field of "medieval archaeology with application to Slavic and Polish monuments" and, as a private docent, was granted the right to lecture. After his appointment as an associate professor in 1867, Józef Lepkowski became the head of the newly created JU Chair of Archaeology. The Chair, initially provisional, gained the status of a permanent one in 1874. In 1867 Łepkowski organised Gabinet Archeologiczny (the Archaeological Collection), with a wealth of archaeological finds from all over Polish lands, and with objects of art as well, which provided necessary basis for his teaching. After Łepkowski's death, lectures in prehistoric archaeology did not resume until 1905, when Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859-1937) obtained his habilitation in the field of "prehistoric archaeology". Demetrykiewicz, who attended Łepkowski's lectures, was an educated lawyer but chose a career as a conservationist of monuments and prehistorian. Until 1933 he remained the main organizer of education in archaeology and prehistory at the Jagiellonian University. Later, the fate of the academic prehistoric archaeology was bound up with the research and organisational activity of Józef Żurowski (leader of academic prehistoric archaeology from 1933 to 1936), Tadeusz Sulimirski (from 1936, in fact till 1936, nominally till 1950), and the creator of the JU Institute of Archaeology, Rudolf Jamka (1950-1971).

**Keywords:** Jagiellonian University, antiquarianism, archaeology, prehistory

The credit for establishing archaeology as an academic discipline at the Jagiellonian University goes to Józef Łepkowski (1826–1894), an outstanding researcher of the past and curator of Kraków's monuments as well as social activist and publicist (Fig. 1). He was the first of the 19th century Polish 'antiquarians' to have achieved the status of what we would call today an 'academic teacher'. Associated with the Jagiellonian University by his studies undertaken in 1843 in the Faculty of Philosophy, in 1863 he obtained habilitation there in the field of "medieval archaeology with application to Slavic and Polish monuments" and, as a private docent, was granted the right to lecture. As early as the academic year of 1863/1864, the university

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Fig. 1. Józef Aleksander Łepkowski (1826–1894); antiquarian, archaeologist, art historian – the founder of Polish academic archaeology and creator of the JU Archaeological Collection

curriculum featured his lectures entitled "Archaeology of medieval art", which he delivered on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays from 11 till 12 AM (Gedl 1996, 47-48). They were devoted to both art history and archaeology,<sup>2</sup> as among the issues addressed by Łepkowski one could find "The characteristics of medieval architecture, sculpture, and painting" but also a lecture "On Slavic and Polish monuments of Pre-Christian era". According to a published review of his lectures (Abramowicz 1991, 41-42, footnote 259), in the winter semester of 1863/1864 Łepkowski: "presented the whole of this discipline (i.e. archaeology – J.Ch.) and its position in the group of historical sciences. Our national studies concerning the assessment of our monuments he related to the principles, achievements, and development of archaeology in Europe".3 In the source-related part of the course he talked about archaeological 'antiquities', that is to say: "Slavic pagan monuments, like tombs, sacred sites, temples, deities, and objects retrieved from graves". This moment is commonly regarded as the beginning of the career of archaeology as an academic discipline in Poland (Gedl 1971, 187-197).

By that time Józef Łepkowski had already established himself as a valued and respected (not only in Kraków) expert on archaeology

and its cognitive potential. Perhaps the most convincing testimony in this respect was given in May 1862 by Karol Libelt (1807—1875), the President of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning, an outstanding philosopher, publicist, independence activist, a great scientific and moral authority. The account was, by the way, given in weighty circumstances, as Łepkowski had just become his... son-in-law. In a letter to Jan Nepomucen Janowski, a historian and independence activist, Libelt wrote: "On the day of St. Stanislaus my younger daughter Stanislawa got married to Józef Łepkowski from Kraków... He is a renowned Kraków archaeologist, living off his literary works — no spring chicken (aged 36), an honest and worthy man, widely respected in Kraków. Under more favourable political circumstances, the chair of archaeology at the Jagiellonian University should not pass him over" (Fogel 1996, 24). Indeed, it did not pass him, as on the 4th October 1866 Józef Łepkowski was appointed an associate professor and nominated as the head of the newly created (and for the time being provisional) Chair of Archaeology. For the needs of that Chair and his teaching Łepkowski organised what came to be known as Gabinet Archaeologiczny

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is why art historians also refer their academic beginnings to Łepkowski and his activity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The quotations originating from source texts are written in 19<sup>th</sup> century Polish which is difficult to translate into a foreign language while maintaining the style of the period (author's comment).

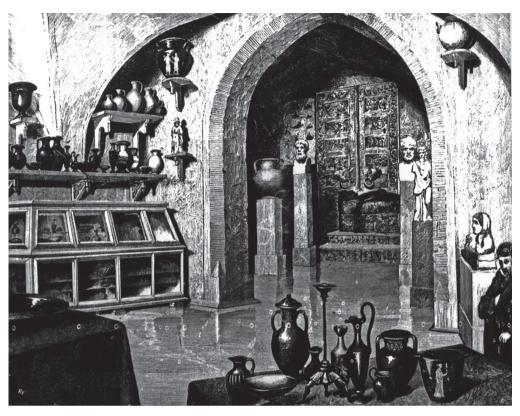
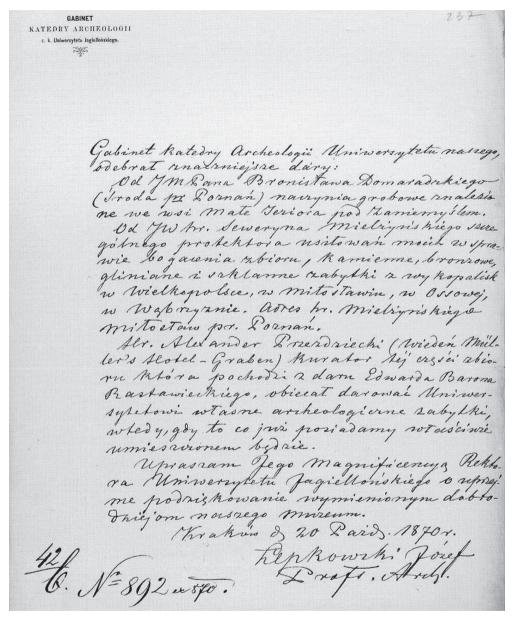


Fig. 2. Józef Łepkowski's Archaeological Collection (the room of "Classical antiquities") at the ground floor of Collegium Maius, in a drawing by Juliusz Kossak from 1877

(the Archaeological Collection), with a wealth of archaeological finds from all over Polish lands, and with objects of art as well (Fig. 2). Towards this end he exploited his extensive contacts with many 'antiquarians' who, often driven by a patriotic desire to document the past of their fatherland, collected archaeological artefacts (Fig. 3). In this context one should also mention his cooperation with Duke Władysław Czartoryski, for whose collection Łepkowski had for many years been searching and buying various objects, undertaking numerous trips throughout the country, during which he allegedly visited about 1,500 localities in all of Poland's partitioned sections. The Archaeological Collection, which in 1870 was given a seat in the then building of the Jagiellonian College at Św. Anny street (JU Collegium Maius), also included a specialist library. His experiences gained while organising the Collection and gathering the books for the library Lepkowski passed down to his students, as indicated by the titles of some of his lectures from 1868/1869, like "The scope of archaeology, its branches, and bibliography of the subject", or "On organising the collections of antiquities". One could say that these were at the same time the first university lectures in the field of archaeological museum studies in the Polish soil. The Archaeological Collection organised by Łepkowski met with a very positive reception in European literature (Kohn 1877, 151-155). In this way an infrastructure was created for a very modern (as for the period) archaeological education, and Łepkowski's career took flight as well. His Chair of Archaeology gained the status of a permanent one in 1874 (a final stabilisation came in 1876), and the following



**Fig. 3.** Official letter from Józef Łepkowski to the Rector of the Jagiellonian University concerning the gifts for the Archaeological Collection donated by Bronisław Domaradzki, Count Seweryn Mielżyński and Count Aleksander Przezdziecki

year Łepkowski himself was nominated a full professor at the Jagiellonian University. From the moment of the foundation of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1873 Łepkowski was an active member, the president of the Archaeological Commission, member of the Anthropological Commission and the Commission for Studies on the History of Art in Poland. From 1881, Łepkowski

also lectured art history in the School of Fine Arts, invited by the painter Jan Matejko. Much of Łepkowski's activity was devoted to conservational issues, and almost until the end of his days he acted as the president of *Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej* (Circle of Inspectors in Western Galicia) (Sobol 2008, 96; Woźny 2011, 77–88). His activity in the life of the Jagiellonian University can be traced by following his subsequent nominations. In 1877 Łepkowski became the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, in 1878 the Dean of this faculty, and finally in 1886 the Rector of the Jagiellonian University. In this context one cannot ignore the social position of Józef Łepkowski in Kraków. As recalled by Leonard Lepszy, the art historian and also a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences (from 1897) and Circle of Inspectors in Western Galicia, Łepkowski: "gathered to his table people from various quarters, and informal talks, brimming with the love for the past, filled the hours spent in his noble house. Many useful ideas were born there, many monumental publications discussed which later came into being" (Lepszy 1894, 6).

The fact that the status of archaeology as an academic discipline was gained and established in such a relatively short time was not a matter of coincidence and not the merit of Józef Łepkowski alone. It resulted from the growing significance of archaeology in the social (national) discourse on the past, which initially started from a romantic (patriotic) approach and outright emotional attitude to material relics (monuments), but with time gained a scientific shape (Pomian 2002, 12– 13). Undoubtedly, the intellectual elites of the broadly understood Kraków milieu of the period, operating in specific socio-political circumstances after the loss of independence, were mentally prepared for undertaking the actions that successfully promoted archaeology and gave it a unique social meaning. "The opening of the fossil archives of the Earth", as the poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid described the search for archaeological 'antiquities', could and was to be used to build a cultural identity and the sense of national pride from the great and ancient past. In the difficult historical situation this need must have been particularly strong and triggered wide interest in 'antiquities' as well as actions oriented on their gathering and consideration, to describe their sense and meaning. The process was very accurately described by Łepkowski himself, who already in 1852 wrote: "From the moment of the complete loss of political independence people started to look deeper into the past and, despite the general lack of understanding of archaeology as a science (...), we can see fervent attempts to preserve national monuments, initially driven only by the love for past monuments and the desire to protect them from perishing, and today this pursuits are developing into a broad field of research" (Lepkowski 1852, 229). The fact that archaeology gained a unique social meaning was sometimes contested, a good example being the statement made by Bishop Ludwik Łetowski, an observer and animator of Kraków cultural life, who wrote that archaeology: "prides itself (...) of its political value, credits itself with lifting national spirits by scratching out national relics of the earliest and later periods, which testify to the nation's genius, talents, industry (...). An archaeologist is automatically regarded as a good Pole here, and this knowledge as a reason for his glory, so that on the appearance of this science every soul flung into it, even those who could barely read" (Letowski 1952, 256-257). Among those defending archaeology in this dispute was Władysław Syrokomla, who poetically wrote: "Archaeology, this decent endeavour/ May, if you insist, be but a cadaver/ But what would a physician's advice be worth, Had he not learnt about life - on a corpse" (Abramowicz 1991, 43, footnote 268).

The pursuit for the scientific foundations of archaeological activity, including a methodical ordering of the finds and attributing them a certain age and historical interpretation was already a widespread phenomenon among the Polish 'antiquarians' of the time. They were undoubtedly familiar with the methodological assumptions of the three-age system, a purely evolutionistic and (until now) the basic paradigm of archaeology, presented in 1836 by the curator of the Old Nordic Museum in Copenhagen, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865) in his study entitled

"Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed" (Guideline to Scandinavian Antiquity). A symbolic confirmation of this fact is a copy of the German edition of Thomsen's 'Guideline' ("Leitfaden zur Nordlichen Alterthumskunde", Copenhagen 1837), which the latter offered to Karol Rogawski (1819–1888), a landowner from Ołpiny (a village between Jasło and Tuchów in Lesser Poland), provided with a hand-written dedication ("Hr. K. Rogawski til en venskahelig Erindring fra CJThomsen", which means "To Count K. Rogawski in cordial remembrance, CJThomsen") and a stamp "Archaeological Collection of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków". A Rogawski probably donated the book to the library of the Archaeological Collection when it was being formed by Józef Łepkowski.

The mobilisation of the Kraków milieu of the 'antiquarians-archaeologists' and the desire to create the scientific foundations for their activity is best revealed by the operations undertaken within the frameworks of the Kraków Learned Society (Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie). They were oriented towards the protection, cataloguing, and gathering of artefacts, and on placing the excavations carried out by 'amateur archaeologists' (as we would call them today) under surveillance together with the increasingly popular (even 'fashionable') private collections (Sznaydrowa 1971, 60). The idea of creating the Society's own collection and establishing a Museum of National Antiquities was put forward as early as 1848 by Karol Kremer (1812–1860), a renowned architect and director of the Kraków bureau of development, who, at a meeting of the Department of Fine Arts, argued that "the objects of which each can be of little value alone, gain a colossal importance when gathered in one place as a whole, as in this way they explain each other and cast light on the entire nation's past" (Sznaydrowa 1971, 61, footnote 35)6. As a result, the Society's governing body accepted the idea on a meeting held on the 11th February 1850, and established (within the Department of Fine Arts) an Archaeological Committee comprising of the following persons: Karol Kremer, Wincenty Pol (1807–1872), Józef Muczkowski (1795–1858), Teofil Zebrawski (1800–1887), who were made responsible for implementing the project. The result of the Committee's intensive work was an instruction, known as the 'Guidelines', which was meant to facilitate the ordering and interpretation of artefacts. The authors adopted a broad definition of ancient monuments, and their interpretations were based on the three-age system (Abramowicz, 30-31, footnote 166). They also issued an 'Appeal' in which the Society appealed to the public to donate "the collections of single artefacts, drawings and descriptions or information about old things from the nation's past" (Sznaydrowa 1971, 62). "Odezwa Towarzystwa Naukowego z Uniwersytetem Jagiellońskim połączonego w celu archeologicznych poszukiwań, wraz ze skazówką mogącą posłużyć: za przewodnika w poszukiwaniach tego rodzaju" (The appeal of the Kraków Learned Society associated with the Jagiellonian University concerning archaeological search, with the Guidelines helpful in such searching) (as the full title of the document read), was signed on the 14th May 1850 by Józef Mayer (1808–1899), the Rector of the Jagiellonian University and at the same time the president of the Society, and by his secretary Józef Kremer (1806-1875). It was published in the Annals of the Kraków Learned Society (Majer, Kremer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to dr hab. Marcin Przybyła for drawing my attention to this fact.

Karol Rogawski (1819–1888), independence and emigration activist, a deputy to the Galicia Regional Parliament, and at the same an exemplar of a "landowner-antiquarian" (who, among other things, wrote a study "An archaeological work on the Leżajsk excavations" – Abramowicz 1991, 32, footnote 180), had gathered a collection of archaeological artefacts which was described by J. Łepkowski in 1885 (Łepkowski 1855). The two gentlemen cooperated in many other fields, too, among others during the organisation of the Exhibition of National Antiquities in 1858 (Ostrowski 1996, 11), or in the contacts between the Kraków Learned Society and the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (Fogel 1996, 29).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See also: Kremer 1849, 546–560.

1851, 123–126)<sup>7</sup> and runs as follows: "In countries with the true education every citizen finds it as his bounden duty to respect the monuments of the past, and eagerly offers them to a national collection. For it is only with having a collection of artefacts that one can compare them with each other and with foreign objects of the same kind, and thus identify their destination, their distinct trait, that is to say to assess and scientifically examine them. In a desire to remedy this deficiency as much as only possible, The Kraków Learned Society associated with the Jagiellonian University has decided to establish, apart from numerous scientific university collections, a separate Museum, in which these artefacts from past centuries shall be deposited, together with all the written information and drawings..." (Sznaydrowa 1971, 62–63). In connection with this mission the idea also emerged of creating an archaeological map, and which was put forward to the Society members exactly by Józef Łepkowski. The map was meant as a manner of recording monuments and, at the same time, thanks to the use of 'telling signs' as a tool for their interpretation (Sznaydrowa 1980, 189–202). The idea, championed and in later years realised by Łepkowski, attracted international interest and brought recognition to its author.<sup>8</sup>

Another action of this kind was undertaken in 1857, prior to the Exhibition of National Antiquities planned for the following year in the Lubomirski Palace. The initiative was carried out under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology and Fine Arts of the now Imperial-Royal (from 1857) Kraków Learned Society, and its prime mover and moderator was Józef Łepkowski. This time, the "Appeal" to the lovers of archaeological investigation for reporting the discoveries along with their description and location was provided, for the sake of a more standardized record, with plates containing drawings of "Urns and vessels from tombs", i.e. the most typical funerary vessels, created again by Łepkowski (Sznaydrowa 1971, 69). The 'Appeal', which was signed on behalf of the Society by K. Kremer, J. Łepkowski, and K. Rogawski, repeated the main points of the 1850 manifesto, placing even more emphasis on the overarching goal of the pursuit for the better understanding of the past. "Nothing can contribute to the science of identifying and investigating national antiquities better than a broad perspective on a great number of age-long artefacts gathered together in one place. It is only from such their gathering that a more lively unriddling and thorough understanding of the historical past can be born" (Abramowicz 1991, 40, footnote 245). Such an understanding of the mission of archaeology by Kraków 'antiquarians' of the period undoubtedly set the research, but also social, objectives for the discipline for many years.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See also: Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego, t. V (XX), 1851, pp. 127–155; Sznaydrowa 1971, 62, footnote 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This concerns, among others, the "archaeological map of the Vistula Basin", created according to Lepkowski's project and presented during the Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Budapest in 1876, along with an exhibition of "Polish antiquities" which comprised mainly of the objects originating from the territories between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea, from the collections of the Museum of Antiquities of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Archaeological Collection of the Jagiellonian University, (Schnaydrowa 1977, 148–149).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See: Fogel 1996, 32. This is confirmed, among others, by correspondence addressed precisely to Łepkowski by many donors and contractors (Schnaydrowa 1977, 148–149).

Presenting the activity of the Kraków Learned Society one has to mention that the artefacts gathered and presented on the Exhibition of National Antiquities (and which were later moved to the Society's temporary seat at Św. Jana street 20), as well as the objects recovered in 1863 from the Jagiellonian University (after the Society started to operate independently from JU) as a result of the dividing of the collection kept in the Jagiellonian Library, were merged in 1864 and deposited in the Society's new building at Sławkowska street 17 (Skrzyński 2010, 206). With time, the archaeological collection of the Society's

One cannot pass over yet another circumstance that determined the research and social dimensions of archaeology in the discussed period. It was a scholarly – although having an ideological aspect and hence often heated – debate on the antiquity of man and his culture. At its heart was the refutation of the dogma of the 'short', biblical chronology. Along with palaeontology, anthropology, and geology, prehistoric archaeology and its research tools provided a significant voice in this discourse.

But it is time to return to Józef Łepkowski and his educational achievements. A brilliant organizer, social activist, initiator and participant of many actions in the field of preservation of Kraków monuments (Antoniewicz-Goraj 2005, 14–24), and first of all an outstanding scholar enjoying much respect among Polish and European archaeologists, he nevertheless did not train a successor of comparable stature (Kajzer 1996, 6). In October 1893, poor health forced Łepkowski to ask for permission to leave his duties as University professor, head of the Archaeological Collection, and conservator (Ostrowski 1996, 13–14). He died on the 27th February 1894. At the moment of his death, art history in the university had already had a great leader in Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911), who also succeeded Łepkowski as the head of the Archaeological Collection (Kalinowski 2000, 74). Soon afterwards, classical archaeology also gained academic status thanks to Piotr Bieńkowski's (1865–1925) chair established in 1897 (Śliwa 2000, 167). But the education in the field of prehistoric archaeology ceased at the Jagiellonian University.

After a short crisis at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the fate of prehistoric archaeology at the Jagiellonian University fell to the hands of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937) (Fig. 4). In a way, he can be seen as Łepkowski's pupil, although the connection between them is of a symbolic rather than a formal nature. It is true that Demetrykiewicz attended Łepkowski's lectures, and in the academic year of 1879/1880 even received credit for the course entitled "On monuments from prehistoric times" (Gedl 2000, 130), but his main focus was on studying law. As a result, in 1884 he obtained a doctoral degree in the JU Faculty of Law. In 1886 published a study entitled: "Konserwatorstwo dla zabytków archeologicznych. Studyum ze stanowiska dziejów kultury i nauki porównawczej prawa" (Preservation of archaeological monuments. A study from the history of culture and comparative law) (Demetrykiewicz 1886; Jamka 1960, 9). This interest in archaeological monuments and legal aspects of their protection determined one of the main directions of Demetrykiewicz's activity, namely archaeological conservation (Majkowska 1980, 206–207). In 1885 he also published a study "Opieka prawna w Austrii dla zabytków sztuki i pomników historycznych. Ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem stosunków galicyjskich (Legal protection of the objects of art and historical monuments in Austria,

Museum of Antiquities (operating at Sławkowska 17 from 1865 – see Schnaydrowa 1971, 71) became the basis of a specialist Archaeological Museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, whose direct descendant is the today's Archaeological Museum in Kraków. Thus, the latter can be seen as the heir of an idea created by Kraków 'antiquarians' in the middle of the 19th century in their pursuit for developing the research potential (including necessary collections) of 'national' archaeology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The discussion has once been widely characterised by Andrzej Abramowicz (1991, 49–55).

This is reflected by the fact that he was appointed as a member of many scientific societies, in particular archaeological and anthropological ones: in Vienna, Berlin, Wrocław, Königsberg, Prague, Nurnberg, Vilnius, and Poznań. In 1872 he participated in the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Brussels, in 1876 was elected vice-president of the 8th International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Budapest and an international member of the Pest Academy. Furthermore, he maintained very extensive research contacts, thanks to his travels (e.g. to France and Germany in 1856–1858) and correspondence with foreign scientific societies. His works were presented for example by Rudolf Virchow on a meeting of Berliner Gesellschaft für Antropologie, Etnologie und Urgeschichte.

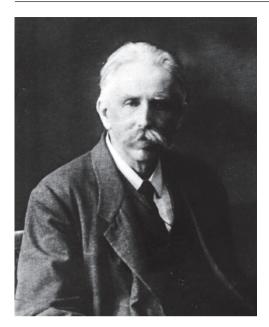


Fig. 4. Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937); lawyer, conservator, prehistorian – originator of the heritage protection service in Galicia and Poland, and organizer of university education in the field of prehistory

with particular reference to the situation in Galicia) (Demetrykiewicz 1885; Radwański 1990, 211). These achievements did not pass unnoticed, and in 1887 Demetrykiewicz was appointed a correspondent member of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for the Investigation and Preservation of Architectural Monuments in Vienna (Woźny 2010, 176). Later on, Demetrykiewicz engaged in preservation activity as a secretary of the first Circle of Inspectors in Western Galicia, elected on the 17th December 1889 (Sobol 2008, 96), and in 1891 was appointed the conservator of section II of the preservation of historical monuments (i.e. objects of art and culture) for the Tarnów and Rzeszów districts (Radwański 1990, 211). As an official conservator he submitted a memorandum to Galicia authorities in which he argued for issuing legal regulations that would define, among other issues, the responsibilities of the owners of historical monuments with respect to their protection (Krauss, 1990, 224). Demetrykiewicz later resigned as a secretary of the Circle and withdrew from acting as a conservator of art, to assume in 1901 the function of conservator

of prehistoric monuments in the Tarnów and Rzeszów districts (Woźny 2010, 177). In 1894 Demetrykiewicz was appointed a custodian of the Archaeological Museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, <sup>13</sup> vacant after Godfryd Ossowski (1835–1897) had left Kraków to settle in Tomsk in Siberia (Chochorowski 2011, 286–292). Furthermore, he was appointed a member of the Anthropological Commission of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, where, from 1896, he also acted as a secretary. The Commission also entrusted him with the task of editing the archaeological-anthropological section of the journal "Materialy Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne" (after WWI as "Prace i Materialy Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne"), a function Demetrykiewicz performed until mid-1920's (Rydzewski 1990, 230–231). In 1903, Demetrykiewicz was appointed a correspondent member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków.

Already in 1895 Demetrykiewicz had completed the work on a study (which has survived as a manuscript – Gedl 2000, 131) entitled "Prehistoric period in Galicia" (Woźny 2010, 178), which in a shortened version was published in the volume "Galizien" of the monumental "Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild" series (Wien 1898), as a chapter "Vorgeschichte". <sup>14</sup> It was precisely this study that was listed at the first position among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> He remained in charge for 43 years until his death in the period from 1928 to 1937 as the director of the Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning.

The chapter is an introduction to the historical part of the study (pp. 111–136) and is signed with the author's name only in the list of contents on p. III. The text is illustrated with drawings depicting artefacts

Demetrykiewicz's achievements as the basis for the habilitation he obtained in the Jagiellonian University in 1905, in the field of 'prehistoric archaeology'. 15 This opened his way to a university career which he started – as a private docent – the same year by giving a three hours long lecture on "The beginnings of culture and the older stone age". It initiated a series of lectures scheduled for four semesters and encompassing within their scope the whole of European prehistory, with particular emphasis on the Polish lands, presented in a chronological order and with reference to the most recent achievements in periodization. This is well evidenced by the thematic order of the lectures from 1905-1908. The first lecture, mentioned above, was followed by "Cultures of the bronze and so-called Hallstatt age with particular reference to excavations in Polish lands", then "The Celtic culture (La Tène) and the period of Roman Empire influences among prehistoric peoples of Europe", and finally "The Migration Period and the terminal prehistoric period in light of excavations" (Gedl 1990, 220–221). Due to his research interests and methodological approach, and thanks to the nature of his research achievements, Demetrykiewicz became the first to create an independent research space for academic prehistoric archaeology. It is also quite easy to notice that elements of Demetrykiewicz's characteristic narration on prehistory can be traced in the archaeology curricula of some Polish universities even until this day. Demetrykiewicz's regular lectures were supplemented with monograph lectures, introduced to the curriculum in 1909, whose subject depended on the current research interests of the lecturer. 16

What slowed the development of academic prehistoric archaeology, however, was the fact that although in 1907 Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz obtained the title of associate professor, he still had no vote in the Faculty of Philosophy and was not granted the right to examine students (Gedl 2000, 133). Students attending the courses on prehistory had to either continue their studies and graduate in other universities, or pass their exams with Piotr Bieńkowski, the professor of classical archaeology. Demetrykiewicz persistently tried to gain full rights in the Jagiellonian University for himself and his discipline, but these attempts were regularly torpedoed by the representatives of other disciplines within his home Faculty. Irrespective of the above, among those attending Demetrykiewicz's lectures<sup>17</sup> were nearly all of the Polish archaeologists who later, in the first years of independence after WWI, laid the foundations of Polish prehistory (Fig. 5). Here one can mention such prominent figures as Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969)<sup>18</sup> (professor at Poznań University and the Director of the Archaeological Museum in the same

typical of particular stages of prehistory until the Migration Period and "what is known as the Purely-Slavic period" (p. 131).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> His habilitation lecture was entitled "Late Neolithic culture with painted pottery in the former Polish lands and in neighbouring countries" (Radwański, 1990, 212).

They were devoted for example to the origins of art among peoples of prehistoric Europe, or the Kraków region in prehistoric times. Gradually, Demetrykiewicz introduced issues particularly discussed at the time, such as "Stone figures, so-called 'baby' in Asia and Europe and their relation to Slavic mythology" (1909), "Types of prehistoric artefacts in Polish lands" (1911/1912), "Culture of the Slavs at the close of the prehistoric times in light of the excavations" (Gedl, 1990, 221).

His courses were attended by around 30 students on average (Gedl 2000, 134).

One of the greatest scientific and moral authorities in the history of Polish archaeology, outstanding scholar and organizer of science, the first excavator of Biskupin, a fervent proponent of the autochthonous origin of the Slavs in the Oder and Vistula basins, the originator of the concept positing the "Pre-Slavic" nature of the Lusatian culture (1300–300 BC) and Biskupin, persecuted by the Germans during the war and harassed by communist authorities after the war. Till his death in 1969 he greatly influenced the shape of Polish prehistoric and medieval archaeology, and is widely regarded as one of the founders of the "Polish school of archaeology" (see: *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, Volume I, Prague 1966, p. 631 and Volume III – Addenda, Prague 1998, p. 184).



Fig. 5. Participants in the archaeological congress held in Kraków in 1930 to commemorate the 70th birthday of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (centre, next to Julian Talko-Hryncewicz). In the background, from the left: Tadeusz Reyman, Rudolf Jamka, Bolesław Czapkiewicz, Józef Żurowski, Józef Wolski, Roman Jakimowicz, Klementyna Sedlaczkówna, Józef Kostrzewski, Józef Marciniak, Leon Kozłowski, Elżbieta Ozimkówna, Stanisława Suderówna, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Konrad Jażdżewski, Jan Falkowski, Tadeusz Sulimirski, Tadeusz Waga, Helena Cehak, Zofia Podkowińska; top row: Gabriel Leńczyk, Stefan Nosek, Jan Fitzke, Kazimierz Salewicz

city), Włodzimierz Antoniewicz (1893–1973) (who later became professor and the Rector at Warsaw University), Leon Kozłowski (1892–1944) (professor at Lviv University), or Michał Drewko (1887–1964) (conservator of prehistoric monuments in Lublin region and in Warsaw), Roman Jakimowicz (1889–1951) (in the interwar period the Director of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, and after WWII professor of the Toruń University), or finally Józef Żurowski (1892–1936) (Demetrykiewicz's successor in Kraków). All of them (and many others) were to a greater or lesser extent the disciples of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz. It was only after the regaining of independence, in 1919, that Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz was appointed an associate professor with full rights, and next, after his nomination as a full professor in 1921, took the newly established Chair of Prehistory at the Jagiellonian University. It was in that period that he was entrusted with the organization of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology (Zakład Archeologii Przedhistorycznej) and began attempts to reclaim a part of the collection of archaeological artefacts and the library of the former Archaeological Collection then kept in the Chair of Art History, the attempts which were finally crowned with a success in 1931 (Gedl 1990, 221) (Fig. 6). Demetrykiewicz's attempts to gain a separate status for the education in the field of prehistoric archaeology resulted in a decision taken in 1925 by the JU Faculty of Philosophy to open a separate programme concluding with a master's degree in prehistory. The project was approved by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education

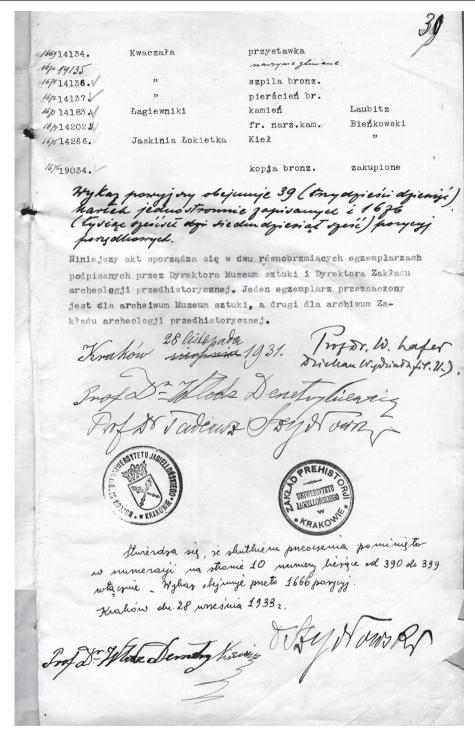
(Stolpiak 1984, 127–129). The programme of studies in prehistory proposed by Demetrykiewicz included lectures encompassing the whole of prehistory, with three partial exams (stone age, metal ages before the birth of Christ, and metal ages after the birth of Christ), exercises, and a seminar during which students were supposed to prepare a written work. These were supplemented with complementary lectures from the field of natural sciences and humanities (Stolpiak 1984, 128). Demetrykiewicz also recognized the importance of promoting scientific activity among students. It was from his inspiration that the Research Association of JU Prehistory Students was formed in 1929 (Gedl 2000, 135), whose traditions are continued today by the Research Association of JU Archaeology Students.<sup>20</sup>

For all this time, archaeological conservation was still an important part of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz's activity and one that he fulfilled with a great sense of purpose. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that he was included in the "*Państwowe Grono Konserwatorów Zabytków Archeologicznych*" (State Council for Preservation of Prehistoric Monuments), a body established on the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1920 and which acted on the basis of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers from the 2<sup>nd</sup> March of the same year (Karczewski 2015, 184–185). The latter, in turn, referred to the Decree of the Regency Council from the 31<sup>st</sup> October 1918, a document which reflected the concern of the then political elites for archaeological cultural heritage in a situation when the independent state was only taking shape and its borders were not yet ultimately determined (Stolpiak 1984, 36–37).<sup>21</sup> Among Regional Conservators was Demetrykiewicz's disciple Józef Żurowski, appointed for the Kraków district (Fig. 7).

After Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz retired in 1933, the responsibility for the teaching of prehistoric archaeology in the Jagiellonian University was taken over exactly by docent Józef Żurowski (1892–1936), who obtained a habilitation in the Jagiellonian University in 1928 on the basis of the dissertation "Skarby halsztackiego okresu z doliny Dunajca" (Hoards of the Hallstatt period from the valley of the Dunajec River) (Gedl 2000a, 337). From 1914 till 1922 he was employed in the Archaeological Museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences as an assistant, and from 1921 worked as a deputy assistant in the JU Department of Prehistoric

Demetrykiewicz positioned prehistory closer to historical sciences, apparently following the tradition originating from Józef Lepkowski's historical archaeology, and in certain opposition to a concept advocated by the Lviv school represented by anthropologist Jan Czekanowski (1882–1965), in which prehistory was closer associated with natural sciences (anthropology in particular). The latter concept, in turn, draw upon the tradition of prehistoric research developed yet in the 1870's by Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891) and Godfryd Ossowski within the frameworks of the Anthropological Commission of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. In this tradition, prehistoric studies were expected to provide answers for universal questions concerning the position of humans in the world from the very moment of their emergence as a species. Demetrykiewicz, however, provided for two specialisations within prehistory programme, with the focus on natural sciences (for the Stone Age) and humanities (for the metal ages) (Stolpiak 1984, 128, footnote 547). The students organising the Association were Rudolf Jamka (1906-1972) and Tadeusz Reyman (1899–1955), and its first president became Gabriel Leńczyk (1885–1977) (who earned a doctorate with Demetrykiewicz in 1929). The first major event, organised by the Association as early as 1930, was the jubilee of Demetrykiwicz's 70th birthday, celebrated by the national congress of students of prehistory and graced by the presence of the luminaries of Polish archaeology (Fig. 6), most of whom were former participants of the courses led by Demetrykiewicz and his disciples (Jamka 1967, 292; Nosek 1967, 109, fig. 37; Gedl 2000, 135).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> A characteristic symptom of the unstable political situation of the period is the temporary nature of conservational districts, demarked within a state that still had to fight for its borders (see: *Dział Urzędowy. Organizacja ochrony zabytków przedhistorycznych w Polsce*, Wiadomości Archeologiczne, vol. V, 1920, 82).



**Fig. 6.** The last page of the official report on separating, in 1931, prehistoric artefacts from the former Archaeological Collection, which after Łepkowski's death was taken over by the JU Chair of Art History



Fig. 7. Józef Zurowski (1892–1936); prehistorian, from 1920 the Conservator of Prehistoric Monuments for Kraków District – active field researcher and Demetrykiewicz's successor in the JU Department of Prehistoric Archaeology

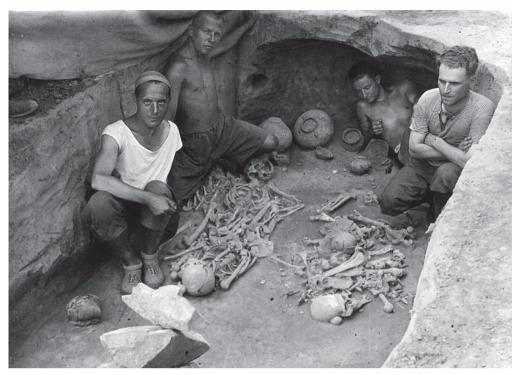
Archaeology.<sup>22</sup> Apart from the academic activity, he was deeply engaged in field research and archaeological conservation. Perhaps the most spectacular of his many excavations was the complex investigation of the Krakus Mound (Kopiec Krakusa) in Kraków (Żurowski 1934). Being a consummate field researcher, through his pro-seminars he introduced the elements of the methodology of excavations and empirical knowledge of archaeological sources on a larger scale to the university education (Jamka 1967, 293-295; Kozłowski 2012a, 133-137). As once noted by M. Gedl (2000a, 336), Żurowski: "left (...) very good memories among his colleagues and students as the one who had laid foundations for modern archaeology in Kraków" (Fig. 8). From the 1st October 1933 he worked as an assistant professor in the Chair of Prehistory. Thanks to his efforts, the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology received a new seat in Pałac pod Baranami on the Main Market Square in Kraków (Gedl 2000a, 338).

After Żurowski unexpectedly died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1936, no scholar of adequate status could be found in Kraków to take over the legacy of Demetrykiewicz. In consequence, The Chair of Prehistory at the Jagiel-

lonian University was entrusted to Tadeusz Sulimirski (1898–1983), a researcher educated in Lviv (Fig. 9). He had initially studied at the Lviv Polytechnic, later to begin studies in law at the Lviv University (then the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów), concluded with a PhD title in 1924 (Rojek 2004, 33). Between 1924 and 1929 he attended the lectures of Professor Leon Kozłowski in archaeology, Professor Jan Czekanowski in anthropology, and Professor Adam Fiszer in ethnology. The pursuing of these interests had led him to a doctorate in philosophy in the field of prehistory and anthropology in 1929, followed by a habilitation in prehistory, which he obtained in 1931 on the basis of a monograph titled "Kultura Wysocka" (The Vysocko culture) (Sulimirski 1931). In 1931 he substituted for Professor Leon Kozłowski as the Chair of Prehistory at the Lviv University, when the latter engaged in political activity (Member of Parliament, Minister of Agricultural Reforms, Prime Minister).

Leon Kozłowski returned to Lviv to the Chair of Prehistory in 1936, but Żurowski's death the same year had left a vacancy in the Chair of Prehistory and the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, and the post was entrusted to Tadeusz Sulimirski (who, by the way, was Żurowski's cousin). But it was not until the 14<sup>th</sup> September

Where he obtained a PhD title in prehistoric archaeology in 1922 on the basis of a dissertation entitled "The excavation from Jakuszowice Male against the background of similar monuments from neighbouring countries" (Gedl 2000a, 336).



**Fig. 8.** Students of prehistory from JU at the excavations led by Józef Żurowski in Złota near Sandomierz; first from the left Rudolf Jamka (graduated with Demetrykiewicz in 1930), next – Jan Fitzke (graduated in 1932), Kazimierz Salewicz (graduated in 1932) and Józef Marciniak (graduated in 1933)

1937 that President Ignacy Mościcki appointed Sulimirski as an associate professor in prehistory at the JU Faculty of Philosophy. The moving to Kraków intensified the cooperation Sulimirski had already maintained before with the Polish Academy of Learning. In July 1937 the Academy appointed Sulimirski for a three-year term in the Council of the Archaeological Museum, and in 1939 invited him to participate in the works of the Ethnographic Commission. Furthermore, in 1938 Sulimirski was invited by the university in Halle, Germany, to give lectures there. He also continued his intensive fieldwork activity whose scope, previously focused on the Wolhynia and Podolia regions, was now broadened to include western Lesser Poland. Prior to September 1939 Sulimirski excavated in 35 localities (e.g.: Sulimirski 1936, 189-197; Rojek 2004, 35), showing particular interest in cemeteries, especially barrow ones (e.g.: Sulimirski 1935, 22–25).

Alas, the outbreak of WWII interrupted the flourishing research activity in Poland. Tadeusz Sulimirski, having an outstanding, patriotic record as a participant of the struggles for independence in the years 1916–1920,<sup>23</sup> was mobilised at the rank of a captain in the armoured forces. After the defeat in the September Campaign, he made his way with the remnants of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> As early as 1916, aged 18, Sulimirski joined Józef Piłsudski's Polish Legions and served in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Uhlan regiment, and next in the 9<sup>th</sup> Uhlan regiment during the campaign against Soviet Russia in 1919–1920. Wounded in the battle of Brody in August 1920 and awarded the Cross of Valour, he was demobilised at the rank of a lieutenant.



**Fig. 9.** Tadeusz Sulimirski, Lieutenant of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the Lesser Polish Uhlans (9 Pułk Ułanów Małopolskich), as a convalescent recovering from wounds suffered in the battle of Brody during the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920

Polish army through Romania to France, and next to Great Britain, where he continued his military service at various posts within the Polish Armed Forces in the West. Then, in 1941, he was granted leave from the army to start working in the educational programmes of the Polish government-in-exile in London (Rojek 2004, 35-38). However, he became known and widely recognised primarily as an outstanding, European-level archaeologist (Fig. 10), a renowned authority on the prehistory of Eastern Europe and early historic nomadic peoples in particular (Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians), a tireless social activist and organiser of the scientific life of the Polish emigration, for many years the Rector of the Polish University Abroad (Jażdżewski 1968, 9-11).24

In the difficult years of the German occupation, the burden of responsibility for academic prehistoric archaeology fell on the shoulders of a younger generation of disciples and colleagues of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz and Józef Żurowski. In this group one should mention first of all Rudolf Jamka (1906–1972)<sup>25</sup>, who was lucky to escape arrest during the infamous action undertaken by the Gestapo against the professors and research workers of the Jagiellonian University (codenamed *Sonderaktion*) on the 6<sup>th</sup>

November 1939 (Gedl 1988, 13). As early as at the turn of 1941/1942 Rudolf Jamka (Fig. 11) and Albin Jura (1883–1958) (school teacher and amateur archaeologist) started clandestine teaching in prehistory, which was next (on the permission of the Rector Władysław Szafer) organised within the framework of the 'Underground University' (Jamka 1964, 208–212). Jamka continued these courses until the end of the occupation, making use of his own books and the library of the Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning, as the premises, library, and collections of the JU Department of Prehistoric Archaeology had been seized by the occupiers. It was the students of these clandestine courses, such as Maria Trzepacz-Cabalska (1919-2000) and Stanisław Buratyński (1908-1994)<sup>26</sup>, who helped Rudolf Jamka to rebuild the academic prehistoric archaeology when the occupation came to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski was commemorated by the JU Institute of Archaeology with a volume published in 2004 (*Kimmerowie. Scytowie. Sarmaci. Księga poświęcona pamięci profesora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego*, ed. J. Chochorowski, Kraków 2004, pp. 481).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> He defended his doctorate in 1932 with Professor Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, and in 1947 obtained a habilitation "on the basis of scientific achievements from the field of Polish prehistory, with particular reference to the Roman Period" (Gedl 1969, 253).

Among these students one can also mention: Ludwik Dubiel, Anna Kowalska i Adolf Nasz (Kozłowski 2015, 270).



**Fig. 10.** Tadeusz Sulimirski (centre) accompanied by professors Józef Kostrzewski (left) and Zdzisław Rajewski; a meeting during a congress in Hamburg in 1958

an end. An important role was also played by Tadeusz Reyman (after his return from Oflag), the head of the Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning, who was teaching museum studies. Within the frameworks of the Underground University Rudolf Jamka also held lectures for art



**Fig. 11.** Rudolf Jamka (1906-1972); organizer of clandestine lectures in archaeology at the Jagiellonian University during the German occupation and the first director of the JU Institute of Archaeology, established in 1971

history students (from the field of prehistory and prehistoric art) and first-year students of history (from the field of prehistory) (Jamka 1964, 218-221). As soon as the Germans had left Kraków, Jamka began to organise the JU Department of Prehistoric Archaeology. He managed, among other things, to get small premises on the ground floor of a Polish Academy of Learning's building at Św. Jana 22 (Fig.12) and to recover some part of the former library and collection. A part of the collection, kept hidden in a cache in the JU Institute of Art History, was unfortunately lost (Jamka 1964,213). The conditions in the Chair's new seat were less then modest, however, and could barely meet the requirements of a university research and education unit.<sup>27</sup> The teaching in prehistoric archaeology resumed in the spring of 1945

They were described, with a typical smidge of irony, by professor Marek Gedl (Gedl 2007, 12) in his memoirs: "The premises of the Chair of Prehistoric Archaeology were situated at the ground floor of the building of the Polish Academy of Learning, with the entrance directly from the gate. The windows and entrance were provided with iron shutters or doors for closing. There were two rooms: a large, dim lecture room, connecting to a smaller compartment behind it, which housed the employees' desks and a library. In the lecture room were set big, solid tables, chairs for students, and armchairs for lecturers... The room was heated with an enormous tile stove... Sometimes the stove rebelled and smoked maliciously, causing interruptions in the courses... The lectures were also disturbed by people passing to the second room, late students, and sometimes also by pedlars, traders, or beggars popping in directly through the gate".



**Fig. 12.** Seat of the Chair of Archaeology of Poland at Św. Jana Street 22, at the ground floor of the edifice of the Polish Academy of Learning, described by professor Marek Gedl in his memoirs (today's view)



**Fig. 13.** Tadeusz Sulimirski (right) accompanied by Professor Rudolf Jamka and Doctor Maria Trzepacz-Cabalska; a first Sulimirski's visit at the JU Chair of Archaeology of Poland at Św. Jana Street 22 on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1960

referred to the system introduced in the interwar period. The JU Chair of Prehistory remained vacant, however, waiting for Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski to return from emigration. It was not before 1950, when it became clear that Sulimirski had decided to stay in England (Fig. 13), that Jamka took over the JU Department of Prehistoric Archaeology (later renamed as the Chair of Archaeology of Poland).<sup>28</sup>

In the early 1950's the system of education in Polish universities was radically changed, and separate studies in the field of prehistory, classical archaeology, and ethnography were merged into a single degree programme in the History of Material Culture (Kozłowski 2015, 123-124, 288). Only after three years of the programme which, along with courses in archaeology and ethnography, was replete with ideological subjects (in Marxism, political economy, etc.), could students choose two years of specialist studies: in prehistoric archaeology in Poznań, classical archaeology in Warsaw, or ethnography in Kraków (Gedl 2007, 12–15; Lech 1997–1998, 60–61, 84–91). As with the entire higher education in that time, archaeological teaching was also subjected to strong ideological pressure, inspired by Soviet solutions. Thanks to the attitude of Professor Rudolf Jamka and his colleagues (Dr Maria Trzepacz-Cabalska, Dr Stanisław Buratyński, and docent Tadeusz Reyman), in the JU Chair of Archaeology of Poland, as recalled by Professor Marek Gedl (2000a, 490), the atmosphere: "remained normal and free from political indoctrination, despite various pressures from outside and irresponsible attempts of some students inspired by youth associations and other political bodies. Also the Chairs of: Classical archaeology Professor Stanisław Gasiorowski and Slavic Ethnography Professor Kazimierz Moszyński, participating in the History of Material Culture study, as well as their assistants, especially Dr Jadwiga Klimaszewska from the Chair of Slavic Ethnography, managed to maintain a decent moral standing in the difficult time of the early 1950's, and to convey to their students the knowledge unburdened with a political doctrine promoted by the authorities. This attitude was of much help for the then students of the History of Material Culture in Kraków in keeping independent views and uninhibited atmosphere, with which Kraków stood out from other Polish universities of that time". This testimony of an

He was appointed as a full professor only in 1963; see: Gedl 1969, 249–257.

archaeology student of the time at the Jagiellonian University probably best reflects the complex situation of the period, which not only the Jagiellonian University had to face (Fig. 14).

The changes that took place after 1956 in the organisation of teaching and teaching programmes reintroduced the independent, five-year long master studies in prehistoric archaeology, carried out in the Chair of Archaeology of Poland. The rules of teaching and research strategies developed at that time in the Chair, which was still led by Professor Rudolf Jamka, have been to some degree continued by successive generations of his older and younger disciples (Fig. 15). The problems of prehistory and the Middle Ages were explained by Professor Jamka to his students in a systemised manner, and always presented against a broad (European) comparative background. He entrenched in students the principles of developing a critical methodology, resting on a thorough foundation of the knowledge of archaeological sources (Gedl 1988, 15). Jamka played an important role in inspiring his students to undertake particular research tasks but at the same time leaving them a lot of freedom in the choice of their own paths. He attached immense importance to field activity, supporting and motivating for undertaking research excavations. By his attitude and multi-aspect activity he greatly influenced the development of the Kraków archaeological centre and archaeological research in southern Poland. He also contributed largely to the re-creation of the archaeological centre in Wrocław<sup>29</sup> after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> As professor Marek Gedl (2000a, 488–489) wrote: "Immediately on the liberation Rudolf Jamka engaged in securing museum collections, archaeological in particular, first in Upper Silesia and next, as the front was moving further to the west, also in Lower Silesia. This activity was burdened with great risk, but allowed many artefacts, museum collections, and archives to be saved and secured. Professor Jamka sometimes recalled what the Polish team, of which he was part, had to go through while Soviet soldiers were looting and burning the houses in the centre of Prudnik, and how lucky they were to avoid execution in the former Lubiqż abbey near Wołów. The team



Fig. 14. A master and a disciple: Professor Rudolf Jamka and (then) Doctor Marek Gedl in the environs of Dzierżysław at the Głubczyce Plateau in the 1960's



Fig. 15. Lecture room in the JU Chair of Archaeology of Poland, which in the years 1967–1972 had a seat at Sikorskiego Square 3. First-year students of archaeology in 1971; in the foreground, from the left: Urszula Bąk, Urszula Jędrośka, Jerzy Ciastoń, Elżbieta Pluta, Halina Jurek, Bożena Reyman, NN, Stanisław Kołodziejski, in the background – Anna Mucha, Adam Szybowicz and Leszek Lenarczyk

the war, and showed considerable care for the newly founded archaeological centre in Rzeszów (Gedl 1988, 14). He can also be credited with establishing a journal/editorial series "*Prace Archeologiczne*" (affiliated with the then Chair of Archaeology of Poland) within the framework of "*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*", with the first volume published in 1960.<sup>30</sup> The organisational achievements of Professor Rudolf Jamka were crowned in 1971 with the

searched for and secured museum collections hidden by the Germans in a number of places in Silesia. Archaeological objects were gathered in a building which escaped destruction at Plac Wolności in Wrocław". In very difficult circumstances, and struggling with a lung disease he had developed in the years of occupation, R.Jamka organised Prehistoric Museum in Wrocław with himself as the Director, and as soon as in June 1946 opened the first exhibition in Polish Wrocław, devoted to the prehistory of Silesia. Simultaneously to organising the museum, he began to form the Chair of Prehistory at the Wrocław University, where the courses in this subject started in early December of 1945. Furthermore, in 1946 Rudolf Jamka launched the first Polish archaeological excavations in Lower Silesia, namely at Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław, and from 1948 started large-scale excavations at Ostrówek in Opole. Meanwhile, he obtained a habilitation at the Jagiellonian University in the field of prehistory of Poland in 1947, and in 1949 was appointed an associate professor at the Wrocław University.

This was the first volume of the "Prehistory of the Kraków district" (Prace Archeologiczne, z. 1, Pradzieje powiatu krakowskiego, vol. I, Kraków 1960, pp. 266) which, together with the second volume published the following year (Prace Archeologiczne, z. 2, Pradzieje powiatu krakowskiego, vol. II, Kraków 1961, pp. 214) constituted a regional study on prehistory (from the first traces of human activity until the Migration Period), based on sources collected, among others, during a thorough field survey carried out by the employees of the then Chair of Archaeology of Poland and the students organised in the JU Research Association of Archaeology Students (see also: Gedl 2007, 16–17). After the foundation of the Institute a sub-series of "Prace Archeologiczne" was started, titled "Studies from the Mediterranean



Fig. 16. Collegium Minus (Gołębia Street 11) – seat of the JU Institute of Archaeology from 1972; the view after a thorough modernization and renovation carried out between 1997 and 2008

establishment, with the help from his disciples, the first Institute of Archaeology in the history of higher learning in Poland, created by merging both 'archaeological' Chairs at the Jagiellonian University: the Chair of Archaeology of Poland and the Chair of Mediterranean Archaeology.31 Professor Rudolf Jamka was appointed the first Director of the Institute, which was given a new seat in the building of Collegium Minus (at Gołębia 11 – Fig. 16).32 However, he did not perform the function long, as he died after a serious illness on 6th April 1972. The responsibility for prehistoric and early historic archaeology fell to Rudolf Jamka's disciples, who had already become independent scholars by that time: professors (then docents) Marek Gedl (1934-2014), Kazimierz Godłowski (1934-1996), and Janusz Krzysztof Kozłowski (Fig. 17). One of the first organisational successes of the JU Institute of Archaeology was being appointed – in the years 1976-1984 - as national coordinator of research programmes in the field of prehistoric and medieval archaeology.33

The debut of archaeology as an academic discipline at the Jagiellonian University in the academic year 1863/1864 and its further development were determined by the research and organisational circumstances of the period, but also by the social context which assigned the discipline its role and tasks. The circumstances and context may be different today, but what remained unchanged is the sense of a mission understood as searching for and discovering the truth about the most remote past of humans and their culture, as well as the fulfilling of an academic duty, based on the relationships between the 'masters' and

Archaeology". Since 2008 "Prace Archeologiczne" have been published in a changed form, as "Monographs" and "Studies", and with new layout, too (Chochorowski 2008).

From the perspective of today one can safely claim that this was a visionary idea and a successful organisational experiment, which has proven beneficial for academic archaeology not only in Kraków but at a national scale. The integrated learning programme, which drew from a range of experiences, turned out to be a rich and attractive educational offer for young archaeology students. It also created an opportunity for close scientific cooperation between traditional sub-disciplines/specialisations within archaeology, mutual enrichment of their methodologies, pragmatic exchange of experiences, and allowed for undertaking on a regular basis the research problems placing at the border between the two main branches of archaeology, making possible the complex examination of the analysed phenomena. The idea has also fit well into the widespread tendency to blur the boundaries between scientific disciplines, to look for new research areas at the borders of one's own discipline, intensify interdisciplinary cooperation, and create global methodologies.

His successor as the Director was Professor Janusz K. Kozłowski (in the years 1972–1976), followed by Professor Kazimierz Godłowski (1976–1990), Professor Janusz A. Ostrowski (1990–1996), Professor Jan Chochorowski (1996-2008), Professor Krzysztof Ciałowicz (2008-2016), and Professor Paweł Valde-Nowak since 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The Leader of these programmes was Professor Janusz K. Kozłowski, and the secretary – Professor Piotr Kaczanowski.



**Fig. 17.** Participants of the Jubilee conference organised in 1979 to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Research Association of the JU Archaeology Students; in the centre is the then director of the Institute, professor Kazimierz Godłowski; first from the left in the middle row is the then president of the Association and the organiser of the conference, Krzysztof Izak





**Fig. 19.** Lecture room (known as the "Gothic Room"), at the lower level of the Collegium Minus basements (originating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and renovated in 2002)

'students', in order to maintain the trans-generational bonds and uninterrupted development of our discipline (Fig. 18). And though we are sometimes surprised by laymen, especially during excavations, with a simple question: "but why are you doing this at all?", we remain firmly convinced that without the thorough understanding of the past (even such a distant one) one cannot understand the present, or even consciously create the future, and, as the poet and bard Jacek Kaczmarski once wrote in a poem "Wykopaliska" (Excavations): "we insist most gently that these are not ruins but foundations". It seems, however, that this mission – if we have any at all – can today be defined in a slightly different manner, maybe even easier to understand, as a simple "restoration of memory" – the memory about the more or less distant past which humans have lost due to the passing of time and the perishable nature of the cultural and material contexts of human existence (Fig. 19). As it is difficult to imagine a man without their own memory, it is equally difficult to accept a vision of a society without its collective memory and sense of its own cultural identity. Cultural memory is not only an element of identity, it is identity itself. Therefore, it seems that the

**Fig. 18.** Rector of the Jagiellonian University Professor Franciszek Ziejka (centre), with the Dean of the Faculty of History Professor Andrzej Banach and Vice-Rector of the JU professor Andrzej Chwalba (to the left, in front view), during the official ceremony of the opening of the Archaeological Laboratory in the renovated basements of Collegium Minus in 2001



**Fig. 20.** Plaque commemorating 150 years of education in the field of archaeology at the Jagiellonian University, in the hall of the seat of the JU Institute of Archaeology in Collegium Minus

great responsibility of archaeologists today is the care, engagement, and maintaining unity of action for the protection of archaeological cultural heritage buried under the ground (and in water), the non-renewable and constantly endangered source of knowledge about the past. This problem is one of the crucial challenges in Poland today, especially in the context of great – and no doubt necessary – civilizational transformations, an important element of which are large-area construction projects.

In the academic year of 2013/2014, the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University celebrated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the presence of archaeology in the university learning and research programmes (Fig. 20). This fact in itself reflects the vitality of archaeology as an academic discipline and its rooting in the University structures. The future of academic archaeology depends primarily on to

what extent the generations of our younger colleagues will want and be able to make use of the achievements of their masters and – what is the most important – whether they will enrich these achievements with values of their own creation.

#### 150 lat archeologii prehistorycznej w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim

Nauczanie archeologii prehistorycznej na ziemiach polskich zostało zapoczątkowane w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, w roku akademickim 1863/1864 za sprawą Józefa Łepkowskiego, który w 1863 roku habilitował się w zakresie archeologii i sztuki średniowiecznej, uzyskał tytuł docenta i prawo wykładania. W swoich pierwszych wykładach z cyklu "Archeologia sztuki średniowiecznej", mówił m.in.: "O zabytkach słowiańskich i polskich, przedchrześcijańskich", wprowadzając do nurtu kształcenia uniwersyteckiego tematykę najdawniejszych dziejów, wyprzedzających czasy historyczne. Informacji w tym zakresie dostarczały gromadzone wówczas przez różnych "miłośników starożytności", zbiory znalezisk archeologicznych i podejmowane coraz częściej - dla ich pozyskania - prace wykopaliskowe. Ta swoista "moda" na gromadzenie materialnych pamiątek i źródeł wiedzy o najdawniejszej przeszłości była popularna zwłaszcza wśród inteligencji oraz wykształconego i patriotycznie nastawionego ziemiaństwa. Łepkowski, aktywny również w tym zakresie, już w 1867 roku zorganizował tzw. "Gabinet Archeologiczny UJ", z bogatymi zbiorami znalezisk archeologicznych ze wszystkich ziem polskich a także zabytkami z dziedziny sztuki, stanowiący zaplecze dydaktyczne dla prowadzonych wykładów. W Gabinecie, który w 1871 roku został ulokowany w Collegium Maius UJ, tj. ówczesnym Kolegium Jagiellońskim przy ul. św. Anny, powstała również specjalistyczna biblioteka. Po uzyskaniu w 1866 roku stanowiska profesora nadzwyczajnego, w 1867 roku Józef Łepkowski obejmuje też utworzona dla niego Katedrę Archeologii UJ; początkowo tymczasową, a w roku 1874 przemianowaną na stałą.

Józef Łepkowski, świetny organizator (w 1886 roku rektor UJ), działacz społeczny, konserwator zabytków Krakowa, a przede wszystkim znakomity uczony cieszący się uznaniem wśród archeologów

krajowych i europejskich, nie wykształcił jednak podobnego sobie następcy. Stad też po jego śmierci w 1894 roku, wykłady z archeologii prehistorycznej podjał dopiero po 10-letniej przerwie (i po habilitowaniu się w 1905 roku), jeden z słuchaczy wykładów Łepkowskiego, a z wykształcenia prawnik – Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz. Jego wykłady, ujęte w cykle trzyletnie, uporzadkowane były chronologicznie, z zastosowaniem najnowszych wówczas koncepcji w zakresie periodyzacji pradziejów. To właśnie działalność Demetrykiewicza spina klamrą archeologie prehistoryczną w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim z czasów przed i po I wojnie światowej. Starania Włodzimierza Demetrykiewicza o odrębność kształcenia w zakresie archeologii prehistorycznej, zaowocowały uchwaleniem w 1925 roku przez Wydział Filozoficzny UJ, projektu odrębnych, 4-letnich studiów zakończonych magisterium z prehistorii. Projekt ten został zaaprobowany przez Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego i wprowadzony do oferty kształcenia uniwersyteckiego. Program studiów z prehistorii zaproponowany przez Demetrykiewicza, przewidywał wykłady kursowe obejmujące całokształt prehistorii, z trzema egzaminami czastkowymi (epoka kamienia, epoki metali przed narodzeniem Chrystusa i epoki metali po narodzeniu Chrystusa), ćwiczenia oraz seminarium, na którym słuchacz miał przygotować prace pisemną. Dochodziły do tego przedmioty uzupełniające z dziedziny nauk przyrodniczych i humanistycznych. Demetrykiewicz wielką wage przykładał też do naukowej aktywizacji studentów. To z jego inicjatywy w 1929 roku zorganizowane zostało Koło Naukowe Słuchaczy Prehistorii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, którego spadkobierca jest dzisiejsze Koło Naukowe Studentów Archeologii UJ. W niepodległej Polsce Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz – podobnie jak Józef Żurowski, jego uczeń i (od 1933 roku) następca na stanowisku kierownika Katedry Archeologii Przedhistorycznej UJ – włączył się aktywnie w organizację służby ochrony zabytków, wchodząc w skład utworzonego w 1920 roku (według wzorców galicyjskiego Grona Konserwatorów), Państwowego Grona Konserwatorów Zabytków Przedhistorycznych.

Józef Żurowski (doktorat w 1922, habilitacja w 1928 roku), prehistoryk, muzealnik i aktywny badacz terenowy, z racji własnych doświadczeń i kompetencji badawczych, w szerokim zakresie wprowadził do programu kształcenia uniwersyteckiego zagadnienia metodyki badań wykopaliskowych, wspierając ten nurt obowiązkowym udziałem studentów w praktykach terenowych. Istotne znaczenie w kształtowaniu warsztatu naukowego prehistoryków krakowskich w tym czasie miała też współpraca z Muzeum Archeologicznym PAU, kierowanym od 1937 roku przez historyka z wykształcenia ale też archeologa i wybitnego muzealnika – Tadeusza Reymana. To z tego pokolenia uczniów Demetrykiewicza i młodych współpracowników Żurowskiego, rekrutowało się grono znakomitych prehistoryków i praktyków w zakresie konserwatorstwa, muzealnictwa i metodyki badań terenowych w osobach m.in.: Gabriela Leńczyka (doktorat u Demetrykiewicza w 1929 roku), Rudolfa Jamki (mgr w 1930, dr w 1932), Kazimierza Salewicza (mgr w 1932), zamordowanego później w Katyniu Jana Fitzke (mgr 1932) i Józefa Marciniaka (mgr w 1933). W 1934 roku, już u Józefa Żurowskiego uzyskali też m.in. magisteria: Jan Bartys – również zamordowany w Katyniu i Stefan Nosek. To na barkach tego pokolenia archeologów spoczęły w dużej mierze losy krakowskiej archeologii w trudnych czasach końca lat 30-tych, wojny i okupacji niemieckiej oraz wczesnych lat powojennych.

Po nagłej śmierci Żurowskiego w 1936 roku, Katedrę Prehistorii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim obejmuje jednak wychowanek szkoły lwowskiej, uczeń m.in. Leona Kozłowskiego – Tadeusz Sulimirski, który rok później uzyskuje też stanowisko profesora nadzwyczajnego UJ. Sulimirski, po uzyskaniu habilitacji z prehistorii na Uniwersytecie Jana Kazimierza, w 1931 roku (w zastępstwie profesora Leona Kozłowskiego pełniącego w tym czasie funkcje rządowe), obejmuje Katedrę Prehistorii na macierzystej uczelni. Po powrocie Kozłowskiego przenosi się do Krakowa, z ugruntowaną pozycją badacza o wielkiej aktywności pisarskiej i terenowej (do września 1939 roku Sulimirski podejmował badania wykopaliskowe w 35 miejscowościach). Rozszerza też wówczas swoją działalność badawczą na zachodnią Małopolskę i pełni różne funkcje, m.in. w Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, w tym funkcję sekretarza Komisji Prehistorycznej. To postać Tadeusza Sulimirskiego symbolizuje w pewnym sensie dramatyczne losy archeologii prehistorycznej na

Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w tych czasach. Sulimirski, mający piękną, patriotyczną kartę udziału w walkach o niepodległość z lat 1918–1920, po klęsce wrześniowej jako kapitan wojsk pancernych przedostaje się przez Rumunię do Francji, a następnie do Wielkiej Brytanii i – w okresie organizacji Polskich Sił Zbrojnych na zachodzie – kontynuuje służbę wojskową na różnych stanowiskach. Później urlopowany z armii w 1941 roku, zostaje mianowany na stanowisko Sekretarza Generalnego w Ministerstwie Oświaty polskiego rządu emigracyjnego w Londynie. Sławę i uznanie zyskuje jednak jako wybitny, europejskiej rangi archeolog, przede wszystkim znawca prehistorii Europy Wschodniej i wczesnohistorycznych ludów koczowniczych; Kimmerów, Scytów i Sarmatów – niestrudzony społecznik i organizator aktywności naukowej polskiej emigracji, wieloletni rektor Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie.

W Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, w latach okupacji, odpowiedzialność za losy archeologii prehistorycznej spadła na barki młodszego pokolenia uczniów i współpracowników Włodzimierza Demetrykiewicza i Józefa Żurowskiego. Należał do nich przede wszystkim Rudolf Jamka, który już w 1941 roku wraz z Albinem Jurą podjął tajne nauczanie w zakresie prahistorii, zorganizowane następnie (za zgoda rektora Władysława Szafera), w ramach Tajnego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, bazując na własnym księgozbiorze oraz bibliotece i zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego PAU. Lokal, biblioteka i zbiory Zakładu Archeologii Przedhistorycznej UJ, zostały bowiem zarekwirowane przez okupantów. To właśnie słuchacze tych zajęć, m.in. Maria Trzepacz-Cabalska i Stanisław Buratyński, tworzyli wraz z Rudolfem Jamką, zręby uniwersyteckiej archeologii prahistorycznej po zakończeniu okupacji. Istotną rolę odegrał tu też (po powrocie z Oflagu), Tadeusz Reyman, dyrektor Muzeum Archeologicznego PAU, prowadzący zajęcia z muzealnictwa, a przez jakiś czas również Stefan Krukowski. Rudolf Jamka położył też ogromne zasługi w budowie polskiej archeologii na Śląsku po zakończeniu II wojny światowej. W bardzo trudnych warunkach, borykajac się z chorobą płuc, której nabawił się w latach okupacji, Jamka zorganizował Muzeum Prehistoryczne we Wrocławiu, którego został dyrektorem i już w czerwcu 1946 r. otworzył pierwszą na terenie polskiego Wrocławia wystawę poświęconą pradziejom Śląska. Równolegle z organizacją Muzeum Prehistorycznego przystąpił do tworzenia Zakładu Prehistorii na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim, gdzie zajęcia dydaktyczne z tego przedmiotu rozpoczęto w początkach grudnia 1945 roku. Kiedy w 1950 roku Tadeusz Sulimirski z powodów politycznych zdecydował się ostatecznie na pozostanie w Anglii, to właśnie Rudolf Jamka obejmuje kierownictwo Katedry Archeologii Przedhistorycznej UJ, przemianowanej następnie na Katedrę Archeologii Polski. W kierowanej przez niego placówce, wypracowane zostały wówczas zasady kształcenia i strategii prowadzenia badań, które w pewnej mierze kontynuowane są po dziś dzień przez pokolenia jego starszych i młodszych uczniów. W 1971 roku profesor Rudolf Jamka, przy wsparciu swoich uczniów, profesorów Marka Gedla, Kazimierza Godłowskiego i Janusza Krzysztofa Kozłowskiego, doprowadza do powstania – w efekcie połaczenia uniwersyteckich Katedr; Archeologii Polski i Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej – dzisiejszego Instytutu Archeologii UJ. Profesor Rudolf Jamka został też mianowany pierwszym dyrektorem nowo powstałego Instytutu, ulokowanego już w samodzielnej siedzibie, uniwersyteckim budynku Collegium Minus (przy ul. Gołębiej 11). Zapoczątkowało to proces konsolidacji dwóch głównych specjalności archeologii w polskich uniwersytetach.

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