

The Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning in Cracow During the Second World War¹

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The Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning was one of the oldest and richest archaeological museums in Poland. The Second World War interrupted the way it had been operating over the years. In September 1939, the German and Russian armies entered the territory of Poland. After more than a month of fighting, in October 1939, the part of the occupied Polish territory that was not incorporated into the German Reich and the Soviet Union became a separate administrative unit, the *Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiet*, with Cracow as its capital. Already in the first months of the occupation, Germany forbade the activities of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Jagiellonian University. In November 1939, they carried out the so-called *Sonderaktion Krakau* – the arrest of researchers of several Cracow academic institutions. After the liquidation of the Polish Academy of Learning, the Archaeological Museum received the name *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte*. From that time, until the liberation of Cracow in January 1945, the Museum was subordinate to the educational authorities of the *Krakau* district, one of the four districts of the Generalgouvernement. The Archaeological Museum entered the structure of the Faculty of Knowledge and Science (*Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*) of the occupying powers. Museum work was continued in the facility throughout the War, and Museum staff also conducted excavations, they also secretly carried out scientific and didactic work, even though it was officially forbidden. The museum did not suffer directly during the War and, unlike other archaeological museums in Poland, did not suffer great losses. Its collections – thanks to happy coincidences and the care of the employees – have been preserved almost entirely.

KEY WORDS: the World War II, the Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning, Cracow

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OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

The Archaeological Museum of the Polish Academy of Learning (also known as Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Polish: *Polska Akademia Umiejętności*) was one of the oldest and richest archaeological museums in Poland. Its origins go back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when a Museum of Antiquities was established within the framework of the Cracow Scientific Society. The Museum's collections were exhibited at the Exhibitions of Antiquities organized in Cracow, they were also presented outside the country during international congresses of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology. From the 1870s, after the transformation of the Cracow Scientific Society into the Academy of Learning, the Museum operated within this institution. Thanks to donations, subscriptions and purchases, as well as material from excavations conducted by Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891), Adam Honory Kirkor (1818–1886) and Gotfryd Ossowski (1835–1897) and other fieldworkers, the number of items in the collections was constantly growing. The objects kept in the Museum came from almost all of Polish territories, from the Ukrainian and Lithuanian lands, as well as from distant, exotic countries (in the 1870s, Władysław Kluger handed over a valuable collection of Peruvian artefacts collected in South America). The most valuable object in the Museum's collection was the statue of the pagan deity Światowid discovered in 1848 in the Zbrucz River and brought to Cracow three years later. The contents of the Museum initially reflected a broad, romantic concept of archaeology. Apart from prehistoric finds, there were also historical memorabilia and archival documents. At the turn of the 1880s and 1890s, however, the division of museum objects was made. In 1891, a special archaeological museum was established for prehistoric artefacts in the Academy. This was a separate organizational unit whose first custodian was Gotfryd Ossowski (Demetrykiewicz 1929: 19–20; Nosek 1967: 19–31; Schnaydrowa 1971; Sklenář 1983: 76; Abramowicz 1991: 30–32, Janusz 2016). Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937) became the successor of Ossowski, and he served as the curator and later the director of the Museum from the end of the 19th century until 1937. Thanks to his efforts, the number of items in the collections increased considerably, including a great assemblage of Cucuteni-Tripolye culture artefacts from Bilcze Żłote. The museum became a significant scientific institution at that time, in which over a dozen scholars from Poland and abroad worked every year (Piskurewicz 1998: 84–85, 160; Woźny 2018: 230–242, 403–404).

In 1937, after the death of Demetrykiewicz, the museum's management was taken over by his student, Tadeusz Reyman (1899–1955). In the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, another two members of staff were employed to take care of the collection – Stefan Nosek (1909–1966, who after the War became Professor of archaeology in Lublin and Cracow), as a curator, and Olga Reymanowa (1894–1984), wife of Tadeusz Reyman, as a museum technician, dealing with the conservation of objects (*Skład...* 1945: LXXXII).

CRACOW IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND DURING THE OCCUPATION

Cracow, in which the Polish Academy of Learning's Archeological Museum was located, in the interwar period was one of the five largest cities of the Poland, the capital of a province, and also one of the main centres of cultural and scientific life in the country (Fig. 1). In this city, about 20% of the inhabitants were "intelligentsia" – representatives of free professions, university professors, teachers, and civil servants. Significantly smaller than Warsaw (over a million inhabitants), Cracow occupied an area of about 50 km² and had a population of about 260,000. Slightly less than 75% of this comprised Poles, about 25% were Jews. Representatives of other nationalities, primarily Ukrainians, Germans and Russians comprised less than 1% of the total population. Just before the outbreak of the War, the proportions began to change slightly due to the influx of several thousand Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other European countries who came to Cracow (Brzoza 1992: 27–28; Adamczyk 1997: 27–36).



Fig. 1. Cracow. View from the Market Square towards Wawel Hill. Photo: S. Mucha. 1933. From the collections of the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Learning (PAL) in Cracow, reference number BZS.RKPS.13161.1, digitization: PAL, PAUart project, public domain

About a month after the beginning of the War, in October 1939, the part of the occupied Polish territory that was not incorporated into the German Reich and the Soviet Union became a separate administrative unit, the *Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiet*, with Cracow as its capital (Fig. 2). It was divided into four



Fig. 2. Map of Polish lands conquered by the Germans and Russians with the territory of the General Government marked, 1940. Photo from the collections of the National Libraries in Warsaw, reference number ZZK 25,695

districts – Cracow, Lublin, Radom and Warsaw². Its area was about 96 thousand km², and the number of the population reached about 12 million. The area came under the authority of Hans Frank (1900–1946) who directed the German administration, completely dependent on the Third Reich. Cracow was designated as the capital city of the General Government, where the headquarters and district were located, as well as other German offices of an economic and financial nature (Grabowski 1949–1957: 3–22; Wroński 1974; Chwalba 2002: 24–27).

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of inhabitants of Cracow during World War II. It was subject to dynamic changes, and data collected during the occupation were divergent in this matter (Chwalba 2002: 36–37).

However, it is known that at the beginning of the War, due to the influx of German population, as well as refugees and displaced people from Polish territories incorporated into the Reich, the number of inhabitants increased. Later, after the extermination of the Jewish population, it decreased (see Agatstein-Dormontowa 1949–1957: 185–223, Chwalba 2002: 95–162). During the war, in some periods, there were even over 40,000 German citizens in Cracow, including, at the beginning of 1940, around 10 000 officers of the repression apparatus. Because of it the organization of an underground resistance was difficult and very dangerous, and although secret organizations operated here, they did not develop on such a scale as in Warsaw (Pieradzka 1949–1957: 227–256, Sowa 1992: 21–24, Chwalba 2002: 33–37, 264–315). The Nazi occupants, striving to create convenient living conditions for themselves and trying to create an administrative infrastructure, carried out mass resettlements, which – together with the repressionist terror – made the lives of inhabitants particularly difficult. In the plans of the occupier, Cracow was to become the first completely German city in the *Generalgouvernement*. The population of the city was to be without Jews (who were to be murdered), and without Poles who were to be resettled (Dąbrowski 1946: 6–7, 13, 20–23, Sowa 1992: 23).

THE POLISH ACADEMY OF LEARNING AT THE START OF THE OCCUPATION

The Polish Academy of Learning ordered the securing of its collections before the outbreak of the War. The most valuable objects were already placed in the basement of the Academy building at 17 Sławkowska Street. It was decided not to take them out of the city, because – like in other Cracow institutions – it was expected that as in World War I, it would be possible to continue the scientific activity (Kopera and Buczkowski 1946: 45–51, Hübner 1994: 1). However, the first actions of the Germans

² In August 1941, the Galicia District was added to the General Government, formed after the German attack on the Soviet Union.

who entered Cracow on September 6, 1939 completely dispelled those hopes. Their goal was to completely eliminate the Polish “intelligentsia”. Higher education and general secondary education were banned, research and publication of scientific works was forbidden, museums and scientific institutions were closed. Many collections, as well as the equipment of scientific laboratories and university departments were plundered and destroyed (Barycz 1949–1957: 105–126; Abramowicz 1991: 139–142; Lech 1997–1998: 56–57; 2004: 42–44).

In the first weeks of the occupation, the Polish Academy of Learning was still operating under its statutory powers with certain restrictions. These activities ended when the so-called *Sonderaktion Krakau* was carried out by the Germans on 6th November 1939. This took place when the political police, the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo) organized a “lecture” of Major (*SS-Sturmbannführer*) Bruno Müller (1905–1960), in which he was supposed to present the policy of the German state towards science. However, instead of a lecture, there were the arrests of Professors and researchers from several Cracow universities, which were then taken to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. As a result of protracted international protests, they were gradually released from there, but some of them died in the camp, some of them shortly after they left. During the *Sonderaktion Krakau*, among over one hundred and eighty people, several dozen members of the Polish Academy of Learning were arrested, including the entire Board (Hübner 1994: 3–4; August ed. 1997; Chwalba 2002: 164–170; Pierzchała 2007).

From July 1940, under the laws established by the occupier, the Polish Academy of Learning was in the process of being dissolved. However, the German authorities had already taken over its entire property, and in mid-November 1939 they had dismissed the employees. Only a few people were left in their positions. After returning from the concentration camp, the members of the Academy Board did not resume their meetings, but the Academy still existed and operated underground. Scientific work was carried out, publications were written in secret, most of the employees in museums and libraries enabled researchers access to the collections (Dąbrowski 1949–1957: 87–88, Gawęda 1986: 77–78, 192–214, Hübner 1994: 6–7).

After the liquidation of the Jagiellonian University and the Polish Academy of Learning, Germany tried to establish its own scientific institutions in occupied Poland. In April 1940, the German Institute for Eastern Studies (*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*), known colloquially as the *Ostinstitut* or IDO, began to operate in Cracow. After a year, it opened branches in Warsaw and Lviv. Work was conducted there in the framework of a number of sections: Prehistory, History, Art History, Race and Folk Studies, Law, Economics, Linguistics, Geography, Agronomy and Horticulture, Forestry. In 1943, the Allies placed it on the international lists of criminal institutions. Poles also worked in the *Ostinstitut*, however, they took subordinate positions and performed auxiliary jobs. Some of them were employed there by the underground authorities of the

Jagiellonian University (Rybicka 2002; Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004; Schweizer-Strobel and Strobel 2004: 242; Kozłowski 2012).

THE DIRECTION AND EMPLOYEES OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, in the autumn of 1939, the Polish Academy of Learning's Archaeological Museum found itself under the tutelage of the *Liegenschaftsverwaltung* – the German board of confiscated land estates, whose offices were located in the main building of the Academy. A few months later, in 1940, it came under the rule of the Cracow district and received its official name *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte*. From that time until the liberation of Cracow in January 1945, it was subordinate to the district's education authorities – the Main Department of Knowledge and Science (*Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*). On behalf of this office, the Museum was supervised by Dr Karl Anton Nowotny (1904–1978), a prehistorian from Vienna. He tried to take care of the museum, defended the institution against actions taken by *Liegenschaftsverwaltung* officials, who, in need of new premises, sought to liquidate the museum collections and transport them to Germany. He also protected Polish employees, during the revisions carried out at the Museum by the Gestapo. In 1943, however, Nowotny was appointed to the army and sent to the eastern front. Since that time, the Museum was in the care of officials of the *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, which had a hostile attitude to the Poles (*Sprawozdanie* 1945: 1–2; Jamka 1964: 212; Buratyński 1992: 129; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 3–4).

Nowotny's competitor in the matter of the supervision of the Museum was Dr Werner Radig (1903–1985), known for his anti-Polish attitudes and associated in the structures of NSDAP with the creator of the most important racist theories of national socialism, Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946). Radig was at the head of the Prehistoric Section of the *Ostinstitut* (Fig. 3). He wanted to create a central archaeological institution that would cover the area of the entire General Government. He dealt with the legacy of the Germans in the East (their presence in prehistory in these territories was supposed to legitimise the occupation of Polish territories by the Third Reich) and he intended to devote large-scale publications to this issue. A number of excavations were carried out under his leadership. However, he failed to implement his extensive plans. Probably he also failed to find an assistant for the Prehistoric Section of the *Ostinstitut* and worked alone in it, using only temporarily the help of scholarship holders or employees of the Archaeological Museum. The Prehistoric Section of the *Ostinstitut* was liquidated in 1943 (Rybicka 2002: 28–29, 37–39; Piotrowska 2004: 270–273; Schweizer-Strobel and Strobel 2004: 242–250; Kozłowski 2012).

The museum, despite the supervision of the German authorities, remained a Polish scientific institution. Tadeusz Reyman, the director of the institution before the War



Fig. 3. Werner Radig (on the left) shows Hans Frank around the *Germanenerbe im Weichselraum* exhibition, 1941. From the collection of the National Digital Archives

was seriously wounded during the September 1939 campaign and held in German captivity until 1945 (Woźny 2015: 260). The collection was initially left in the care of Olga Rymanowa. Over time, among other things, due to the need to preserve artefacts, former members of the museum staff were re-employed, and they were also joined by new people (Fig. 4). Stefan Nosek, who was working before the War as custodian was not called-up to the army in September 1939, but, as a reserve officer, he had to leave Cracow on the orders of the military authorities. He came to work at the beginning of October, when the occupants took control of the Museum. German archaeologists, SS officers, Ernst Petersen (1905–1944) and Peter Paulsen (1902–1985), sealed the collection and forbade Nosek to enter the Museum. He could not return to work until June 1940. In the autumn of that year, the Museum also employed Stanisław Buratyński (1908–1994, a historian, after the War a doctor of archaeology and employee of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow). For fear of repression, he kept his higher education a secret. Initially employed at the Museum as a janitor, he was given a job after some time as museum assistant (*Sprawozdanie...* 1945: 1–2; Jamka 1964: 217–218; Buratyński 1992: 131–132; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004). In February 1941, Rudolf Jamka



Fig. 4. Museum employees during World War II. From the left: R. Jamka, S. Nosek, R. Reinfuss, A. Nasz, J. Reyman, A. Kowalska, S. Buratyński, G. Leńczyk. Sitting: O. Reymanowa, S. Jakubowski and M. Trzeczówna. 1943 or 1944. Photo from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

(1906–1972) started working in the Museum, before the War he was an assistant in the Prehistoric Archaeology Department of the Jagiellonian University, later a Professor at the Jagiellonian University. Jamka left Cracow at the beginning of the War, but returned there in mid-October 1939. He then reported to the Museum, having been accused of having hidden Germanic artefacts, allegedly found during his excavation of the Krakus Mound near Cracow in the years 1934–1937. For two days, he was interrogated by SS officers (Jamka 1964: 208–209). After his release from the interrogation, he began to organize the library of the Prehistoric Archeology Department of the Jagiellonian University, which had been removed by the occupying military authorities from its previous location in the “Pod Baranami” Palace to the Collegium Novum. Jamka was present at the Collegium building during the *Sonderaktion Krakau*, but fortunately he managed to avoid arrest. Due to wanting to complete the ordering of the scientific collection together with the students of prehistory, he resigned from listening to the lecture by Müller. Shortly thereafter, fearing arrest, he left the General Government. He returned to Cracow only in February 1941. Employed in the Museum, during the occupation he became its unofficial manager (Jamka 1964: 208–212, Bura-tyński 1992: 127, Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 5). The next employees were admitted in 1943 – then the institution was permanently associated with Dr Gabriel Leńczyk (1885–1977), an archaeologist who before the War worked on the iron artefacts in the Museum’s collections, and also the graphic artist Stanisław Jakubowski (1885–1964) as a draftsman (*Sprawozdanie...* 1945: 2; 1946: 2; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 9–10, 18).

Among the employees of the Museum at this time there were also a number of young people whom the outbreak of War had prevented from continuing their university studies. Among them was Maria Trzepakówna³ (1919–2000), after the War an Assistant Professor of archaeology and lecturer at the Jagiellonian University). She had been associated with the Museum since 1938 and worked in it from the first days of the War, first as a volunteer, and later – from the spring of 1941 – as a museum assistant. In March 1943, the Museum employed Anna Kowalska⁴ (1920–2009), an archaeology student who during the War became interested in ethnography and, in her field, later obtained a doctoral degree. In the Museum also worked, as a volunteer, a student of prehistoric archaeology, Adolf Nasz (1916–1973)⁵ who was also hiding from the Germans. In addition, also associated with the Museum (although was not officially employed) was Professor Mieczysława Ruxer (1891–1957), a classical archaeologist displaced from Poznan, and in the last years of the War also Dr Roman Reinfuss (1910–1998)⁶, taking care of the collections of the Cracow Ethnographic Museum

³ Later Cabalska.

⁴ Later Lewicka-Kowalska.

⁵ After the War, a lecturer in ethnography in the University of Wrocław.

⁶ Later Professor of ethnography at the Universities of Wrocław, Lublin and Cracow.

deposited in the Polish Academy of Learning building (*Sprawozdanie...* 1945: Jamka 1964: 216–218; Cabalska 1990: 234; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 1, 15–18, 20).

PROTECTION OF THE COLLECTIONS

The Polish Academy of Learning's Archaeological Museum did not suffer directly from military action in September 1939. The German occupation, however, brought new threats – soon after entering Cracow, the Germans began searching museum and private collections. The objects of their interest also included the Museum of Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Learning, especially artefacts from the territories annexed to the Reich – from Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), Silesia and Pomerania. Already in October 1939, the Gestapo carried out several searches at the Museum. At that time, most rooms were sealed and staff removed, leaving only Olga Reymanowa to take care of the collections (*Sprawozdanie...* 1946; Cabalska 1990: 234; Hübner 1994: 2, 4).

At the beginning of December 1939, Eduard Beninger (1897–1963) arrived in Cracow. He had been a lecturer at the University of Vienna, who was friendly to Cracow archaeologists and declared in private conversations the dislike of Hitler's Germany. Thanks to his intervention, the employees again gained access to the collections – he removed most of the seals applied to them and made it possible to transfer some of the artefacts from the cellars to warehouses (Raport ... 1945: 1–5; Jamka 1964: 211; Woźny and Dziegielewski 2018: 195–196, 207–208). In 1941, the Museum lent a significant number of artefacts to an exhibition of the *Ostinstitut*. This propaganda exhibition, organized by Radig in Cracow, entitled *Germanenerbe im Weichselraum* (Fig. 5), was supposed to prove that the areas belonging to the General Government were ancient Germanic lands (Radig 1941a; see Schweizer-Strobel and Strobel 2004: 248–249). After closing the exhibition, Radig did not want to return the borrowed objects. Museum staff regained part of them only during the first part of the German retreat from Cracow in August 1944, when the Soviet army was within just over a hundred kilometers from the city. However, some of the exhibits that had been sent to Berlin for an exhibition concerning the General Government in 1943, were not recovered (Jamka 1964: 213; Nosek 1967: 116; Gawęda 1986: 100).

During the War, the collections of several other Cracow institutions were also stored in the Museum. Thanks to the efforts of Roman Reinfuss in 1942, the collection of the Ethnographic Museum found refuge there, as did the archaeological collections from the Wawel Hill (material from excavations around the Cathedral), as well as a part of the collections of the Jagiellonian University from the Departments of the History of Art and Classical Archaeology. Thanks to Beninger's intervention, the Museum also secured artefacts from the Department of Prehistoric archaeology of the Jagiellonian University. However, some of them were also taken over by the Prehistoric Section of



Fig. 5. The *Germanenerbe im Weichselraum* exhibition, organized in 1941 by W. Radig from the *Ostinstitut*, 1942. Photo: Dorneth. From the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

Ostinstitut. The Museum also stored some of the collections and furniture of the Polish Academy of Learning, the Academy of Fine Arts and the collection of books from Cracow's secondary and public schools that the authorities had ordered pulped. After the liberation, these collections were returned to their rightful owners (*Sprawozdanie* 1945: 1–2; 1946: 1; Antoniewicz 1946: 58; Jamka 1946: 117–119; 1964: 211–214; Buratyński 1992: 129).

At the end of the war, the ethnographic collections and book collections evacuated from various Ukrainian museums, especially from Kiev, were kept in the Polish Academy of Learning building for a time. These collections, along with the Ukrainians who were taking care of them, then went deep into the Reich (Jamka 1964: 215, Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 22–23, 34–35). These exhibits, especially ornamented wooden boards for printing on textiles, were of interest to Roman Reinfuss, who secretly made their prints on packaging paper. The copies he made at that time were used in a dissertation published after the War (Reinfuss 1953; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 20, 22–23).

The Museum faced the greatest danger of losing the collections in 1944. The German authorities then decided to export the artefacts it contained to Bavaria and ordered

their packing to allow this to take place. Thanks to the efforts of the president and secretary general of the Polish Academy of Learning, Professors Stanisław Kutrzeba (1876–1946), Tadeusz Kowalski (1889–1948), and also Alfred Wysocki (1873–1959), former Polish ambassador in Berlin, who intervened with the deputy general governor, it was possible to manage to prevent deportation of the collections (*Sprawozdanie* 1945: 2; 1946: 2; Jamka 1964: 216; Michalewicz ed. 2005: 732).

During the occupation, the Museum turned into a store for crates with artefacts and archives (Fig. 6, 7). However, having an institution filled with crates and boxes made it easier to defend it against taking the premises for the needs of the *Liegenschaftsverwaltung* and to secure the artefacts against deportation to the Reich. Employees sabotaged the orders of the occupation authorities – they hid more valuable objects, delayed the execution of orders, removed files and inventories. At the same time, they tried to create an impression of chaos making it difficult for the Germans to understand the collections (Kowalski 1945: 2–4, *Sprawozdanie* 1946: 1–2).



Fig. 6. Interior of the Archaeological Museum during World War II. Former exhibition gallery. Photo: F. Nowicki, from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection



Fig. 7. The interior of the Archaeological Museum during World War II. Former exhibition hall.
Photo: F. Nowicki, from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

SCIENTIFIC WORKS IN THE MUSEUM

During the German occupation, in spite of the difficult war conditions, museum work was continually conducted, the collections were inventorised, conserved and catalogued. An important undertaking was the creation, at the initiative of Rudolf Jamka, of a scientific archive gathering information on archaeological sites from all over Poland (*Sprawozdanie* 1945: 3; 1946: 1–2).

Museum staff also engaged in scientific work. This activity, conducted without the knowledge of the German authorities, was secret and required caution. By using access to museum collections and a library of available books, a number of research topics were studied. Jamka wrote about Cracow in prehistoric times and the period of Roman influence in south-western Poland. Leńczyk studied the settlement in Zawada Lanc-korońska, in the Brzesko area, he also prepared a map of fortified settlements and castles in the Cracow region Lesser Poland (Małopolska). Buratyński dealt with the early-historical period in the western part of Lesser Poland. Nosek wrote about the cemetery in Opatów, area Częstochowa, about the Pomeranian culture, the Neolithic in southern Poland and compiled an outline of the prehistory of Polish lands. He also wrote several popular articles. Most of these works appeared after the War. Mieczysław Ruxer was involved in the study of the collection of Tripolye Culture pottery from

Bilcze Złote (*Sprawozdanie* 1945: 4; 1946: 2). Young employees continued their studies. Maria Trzepakówna and Adolf Nasz wrote their master theses in the underground academy (Jamka 1964: 216–217).

Secret scientific meetings were held in the Museum. Not only prehistorians took part in them, but also representatives of related sciences, including: the slavist Prof. Tadeusz Lehr Sławiński (1891–1965), pre-war Rector of the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Tadeusz Kowalski, orientalist, general secretary of the Polish Academy of Learning, as well as other linguists – Prof. Jan Safarewicz (1904–1992), Prof. Kazimierz Nitsch (1874–1958) and Dr Stanisław Urbańczyk (1909–2001). After the fall of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and expulsion of that city's population, the Museum was also visited by archaeologists once associated with Warsaw institutions: Prof. Włodzimierz Antoniewicz (1893–1973), before the War the rector of the University of Warsaw, Dr Michał Drewko (1887–1964), a longtime conservator of archaeological monuments, and also Eugeniusz Frankowski (1884–1962) Professor of ethnology in Poznań – students of the former director of the institution, Prof. Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (*Sprawozdanie* 1946: 2, Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 27–28, Michalewicz ed. 2005: 703, 732). During the occupation, Prof. Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969), hiding from the Gestapo in the General Government also visited the Museum (see Prinke 2018).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

During the war, Museum employees took part in excavations. They were delegated to these works by Karl Anton Nowotny, the *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, but at least part of these investigations was carried out by the *Ostinstitut*. Werner Radig, as the head of the Prehistoric Section of the *Ostinstitut*, was also the curator of archaeological monuments in the General Government. Having no helpers, he started cooperation with Nowotny, who sent the Museum's employees to excavate (*Sprawozdanie* 1946: 2; Nosek 1967: 115–116; Schweizer-Strobel and Strobel 2004: 242–245; Kozłowski 2009: 285, 287–288; 2012).

Archaeology had an important role to play in the ideology of Nazi Germany. With its help, an attempt was made to show the superiority of the Nordic race from the very beginning of European history. This purpose was to be served, among other things, also during the largest excavations in the area of the General Government during the occupation. They were conducted on the remains of a medieval fortification in Szafłary (Nowy Targ district; Fig. 8). This site was chosen by the Germans for propaganda reasons. The results of the research conducted there were to prove the eternal presence of the German settlement in the upper basin of the Vistula, and especially in the Podhale region (see Maj ed. 2015). They lasted from the end of June to September 1942. The research was carried out by Museum employees sent by Nowotny



Fig. 8. Excavations at Szaflary, Nowy Targ district, 1942. Photo from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

representing the Cracow district of the *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*. On behalf of the *Ostinstitut*, a German, Marie-Luise John, a student of the second year of prehistory at the University of Berlin, was delegated to participate in the excavations. In a report published later in *Deutsche Forschung im Osten*, she reported that she was in charge of research as a representative of the Prehistoric Section of *Ostinstitut* (John 1943: 47). Jamka later wrote: “She really was in charge of the political supervision, because she had neither theoretical nor practical preparation for scientific supervision” (Jamka 1961: 370). After the excavations were completed, the collected material and documentation were deposited in the Cracow Museum (*Sprawozdanie* 1946: 1; Wałowy 1960: 295–332).

The remaining excavations were of a rescue nature. The first such work was undertaken in 1941 in Turbia, in the former Tarnobrzeg district (currently Stalowa Wola). The Germans found an archaeological site there during the construction of the airport. Excavations in Turbia were carried out on behalf of the Prehistoric Section of the

⁷ S. Buratyński, *Dziennik prac wykopaliskowych*, 1942, Documentation of the investigations in Szaflary, archives of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.



Fig. 9. Excavations at Turbia, formerly in Tarnobrzeg district, 1941. Photo from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

Ostinstitut, as well as the *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht* of the Cracow district, by Rudolf Jamka⁸. During the excavation, first the help of German soldiers was used, and later – after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war – Polish workers. Jamka excavated there two sites. The main excavation was of a settlement of the Tarnobrzeg Lusatian culture, and the second area explored was an early medieval settlement. Radig, who visited the site once, published an incomplete test report during the War (Radig 1942a; 1942b; Zeylandowa 1963).

In 1941, Rudolf Jamka, together with Maria Trzepaczówna, explored the fortified settlement in Marcinkowice near Nowy Sącz⁹. In 1942, Stefan Nosek and Stanisław

⁸ R. Jamka, *Dziennik prac wykopaliskowych w Turbi, w pow. Tarnobrzeskim*, 1941. Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.

⁹ R. Jamka, *Dziennik badań wykopaliskowych w Marcinkowicach w pow. nowosądeckim*, 1941. Institute of Archaeology Jagiellonian University.

Buratyński were conducting minor rescue excavations during the construction of a road from Wojciechów to Kazimierza Mała, in the Kazimierza Wielka district¹⁰. In the same month, the Museum's employees also conducted research in Bachórz-Chodorówka, near Sanok. Two years earlier, during the construction of a customs building, a prehistoric cemetery had been found. A small investigation was then undertaken on behalf of the Museum in Sanok, the results of which were later published by Radig (Radig 1941b; see Kozłowski 2012: 45). In October 1942, Jamka was sent to Bachórz and, as his assistant, Ludwik Dubiel (1910–1974), who before the war and during the occupation was a prehistory student at the Jagiellonian University. During the excavations lasting a week and a half, more than thirty graves of the Lusatian culture were discovered¹¹.

At the end of the War, foreseeing the siege and bombing of the city, the Germans began to build water tanks for fire-fighting in Cracow. Museum staff tried to observe the excavations. The work, carried out at the turn of 1943 and 1944 on the construction of the reservoir on the Main Market Square was secretly watched by Gabriel Leńczyk, who collected historical material and prepared notes (Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 9–10, 32–33). Finds from accidental discoveries also went to the Museum. The material collected during the War was studied, conserved and published (See *Sprawozdanie* 1945: 3; 1946: 2; *Sprawozdanie z czynności...* 1946: 24–25).

SECRET TEACHING

During the occupation, the Germans forbade teaching at the general and higher secondary level, leaving Poles only primary and vocational schools. In Cracow, after the closure of the Jagiellonian University and other universities, lectures for students could only take place in secret. The secret teaching, which was initially carried out spontaneously, in 1942, at the behest of the academic authorities, was organized in the university structures. For participating in it, one could be sent to a concentration camp (Dąbrowski 1949–1957: 91–92; Gawęda 1986: 106–181; Chwalba 2002: 315–326). The Archeological Museum also joined the underground didactic activity – in it at the turn of 1941 and 1942 classes were started. These were initially private, and after some time they were incorporated into the structure of the underground university by the rector of the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Władysław Szafer (1886–1970). In the Museum, Rudolf Jamka conducted seminars on various periods of prehistory, Albin Jura (1883–1958), teacher, social activist, also engaged in archaeological research, lectured

¹⁰ S. Nosek, *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych we wsi Wojciechów, pow. Pińczów*, 1942. Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.

¹¹ L. Dubiel, R. Jamka, *Dziennik badań wykopaliskowych w Chodorówce-Bachórz, pow. Brzozów (okręg Krosno)*, 1942. Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.



Fig. 10. Exhibition hall in the Archaeological Museum in 1946, Photo: F. Nowicki, from the Cracow Archaeological Museum collection

in the Paleolithic, Roman Reinfuss in ethnography, Mieczysława Ruxer lectured on classical archaeology; Bronisław Jasicki (1907–1992) and Paweł Sikora¹² (1912–2002) conducted lectures and practical classes in anthropology. Less formal meetings were also held, during which Gabriel Leńczyk talked about the archaeology of strongholds, Olga Reymanowa taught conservation of archaeological artefacts, and Stanisław Jakubowski gave drawing lessons. From spring to the end of 1944, the Museum also hosted prehistory classes conducted by Rudolf Jamka for students of art history, and later, in autumn 1944, also for history students (*Sprawozdanie* 1946: 2; Jamka 1946; 1964: 214–215; Frančić 1964: 228; Kowalska-Lewicka 2004: 18, 23, 25, 27, 29–30; Michalewicz ed. 2005: 517–518).

CONCLUSIONS

The museum did not suffer directly during the War and, unlike other archaeological museums in Poland, did not suffer great losses. Its pre-War collections – thanks to happy coincidences and the care of the employees – have been preserved almost entirely.

¹² After the War, assistants of the anthropologist, Prof. Kazimierz Stołyhwo (1880–1966), later Professors of the Jagiellonian University.

During the difficult times of the occupation, work in the Museum enabled its employees to be involved in the activities of the Underground University, and to be protected from deportation or displacement, which allowed the continuation of scientific activity. During the five years of terror, none of the Museum's employees were killed. Nevertheless, Cracow's archaeology suffered a heavy loss. In 1940, at the order of the authorities of the Soviet Union, two archaeologists (officers of the Polish Army associated with the Museum) were murdered at Katyn, Jan Bartys (1909–1940) and Jan Fitzke (1909–1940; Blombergowa 1992: 179–181; 2006: 279–292; Gurba 2005: 260–261).

The Germans left Cracow in January 1945. After their retreat, the Museum's employees faced the task of re-ordering the collections. In February 1945, Tadeusz Reyman, the head of the institution, returned from captivity, and under his guidance the work was started – the rooms were repaired, storerooms, studios and archives were reclaimed. The collections of other institutions deposited in the building of the Polish Academy of Learning were returned to the owners. A new exhibition was prepared and the Museum was opened to visitors in November 1945.

In later years, the trauma of the War years, as well as the atmosphere of accusations and attacks by the communist authorities on the Polish Academy of Learning and related scholars meant that the Museum's employees for a long time refused to mention the times of occupation. For the most part, they also were unable to prepare the results of excavations carried out during the War for publication.

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