

Karol Hadaczek's stay in Vienna (1897–1900) and its Effect on his Contribution to Polish Archaeology

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The article discusses Karol Hadaczek's academic education during his studies at the University of Vienna between 1897–1900, which he finished with a doctoral degree in Classical Archaeology. It tries to analyse the impact of his Vienna years on his later career as professor for Classical as well as Prehistoric Archaeology at Lviv University (then Lwów).

KEY-WORDS: history of Polish Archaeology, history of research of Prehistoric Archaeology, History of research in Classical Archaeology, late 19th and early 20th centuries

INTRODUCTION

One may wonder why a German prehistorian working in the 21st century should be interested in Karol Hadaczek, a classical archaeologist by education whose contribution to archaeology at the beginning of the 20th century has almost been forgotten. The reasons are, in fact, manifold. Hadaczek (1873–1914) was one of the most important archaeologists of the early 20th century in Poland. However, it is only in the more recent past (Lech 1997–1998; 2006: 27; Kobyliński 2002: 210; Bulyk 2006; Bulyk and Lech 2009), that his achievements and his role in the early history of Prehistoric Archaeology in Central Europe have been examined more closely.

In the course of my research on the Early Iron Age gold hoards from a village in eastern Galicia then officially called Michałków¹, I came across Karol Hadaczek for the first time, because he had published (Hadaczek 1904) the most comprehensive

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¹ During the Soviet Period, the Russian spelling of the site Michalkov prevailed. Now the Ukrainian Myhalkhiv is the official name of the village. Metzner-Nebelsick 2004, and forthcoming as well as Metzner-Nebelsick 2010a: 241 ff.

account of these two finds which date to the 8th century BC and were found in 1878 and 1897 in what was then the north eastern fringe of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Eastern Galicia was part of Poland in the interwar period and now belongs to the western Ukraine. Hadaczek's monograph is of crucial value for modern research since the inventory of the finds, which were part of the collections of the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv disappeared during the Second World War².

The reason I took a personal interest in Hadaczek as a scholar however, was triggered by a sentimental impulse due to an interesting coincidence: since I not only share the same first name with him (only in the female form), but also because I finished the thesis of my "habilitation", in which the Michałków finds play an important role³, exactly 100 years after the publication of Hadaczek's book on the "Złote skarby Michałkowskie" (The golden hoards of Michałków). The book was published in 1904 in Lwów (today Ukrainian Lviv) and included excellent coloured illustrations of most of the finds. Like its author, the book today is hardly known outside the regions that once belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Poland.

This article is an excerpt from a lecture given at an international conference in Biskupin in 2007⁴. I have since then – thanks to enquiries at the archive of the University of Vienna⁵ – been able to gain access to some hitherto unknown documents about Hadaczek's years in Vienna as a doctoral student between 1897 and 1900 that forms the basis of this article and will be published here for the first time.

I hope this additional information about Karol Hadaczek will help to understand his contributions to Classical as well as Prehistoric Archaeology more fully and will add some further information to the chapter of the history of research of Polish Archaeology.

² A handfull of objects from both hoards are kept in the *Prähistorische Abteilung of the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien* and the Archaeological Museum in Cracow (Metzner-Nebelsick 2003; 2010 and forthcoming; Chochorowska 2001). Galvanic copies of the original pieces which were formerly kept in the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv were on display there during my visit in 1995 (Metzner-Nebelsick forthcoming). After this article was written, a book about the Myhalkhiv find was published by M. Bandryvskij and L. Krushelnicka in 2012.

³ Metzner-Nebelsick 2004; see also Metzner-Nebelsick 2003; 2010; 2010a.

⁴ The conference was organised by Wojciech Piotrowski and Anna Grossmann (2007). I never felt comfortable about publishing a full account of this talk (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007) in the form of an article, since I did not feel competent enough to comment on Hadaczek in the context of Polish archaeology of his time. Before finally embarking on the task to publish parts of it, I was greatly inspired by the article by Natalia Bulyk and Jacek Lech (Bulyk and Lech 2009) to whom I owe much additional information on Karol Hadaczek. [The manuscript of this article was submitted in 2012, publications which appeared after this date could not be included].

⁵ Correspondence with the director of the Viennese University archive *Hofrat* Dr Kurt Mühlberger in July 2007. I am greatly thankful to him for his generosity in providing me with all this information and the permission to publish so far unknown documents on the academic career of Karol Hadaczek in Vienna.

KAROL HADACZEK IN VIENNA

Hadaczek's years of study as a doctoral student in Vienna are crucial for understanding his academic career as well as his work as author and excavator later in his life. This time period only spans three years between the winter term of 1897/8 until June 1900 when he was awarded his doctoral degree majoring in Classical Archaeology.

Vienna, then the capital of a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire, was a major centre of learning in both Classical and Prehistoric Archaeology. During Hadaczek's studies, the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna was facing major transitions. Up to 1898, the chair holder at the institute was Otto Benndorf (1838–1907), who together with Alexander Conze can be regarded as founder of the Viennese school of Classical Archaeology⁶. Benndorf's disciples include the famous art historian Alois Riegl (1858–1905), the archaeologists Emanuel Loewy (1857–1938; Lullies and Schiering 1988: 120–121), Robert von Schneider (1854–1909; Lullies and Schiering 1988: 114–115) and indeed the prehistoric archaeologist Mori(t)z Hoernes (1852–1917). Together with Riegl and von Schneider, Hoernes was one of Hadaczek's teachers in Vienna.

Włodzimierz Antoniewicz in his obituary of Hadaczek (Antoniewicz 1916)⁷, claimed that Benndorf was an important mentor of Hadaczek after Ludwik Ćwikliński (Lech 1997–1998; Bulyk and Lech 2009: 63–64), from Lwów University where Hadaczek had acquired his first degree (Antoniewicz 1916: 1)⁸. When Hadaczek started his studies in Vienna in the winter term of 1897/98, Benndorf was just about to resign from his university chair to become the first director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, which later supported Hadaczek's study-travels (Hadaczek 1903: IV)⁹. Among his distinctions Hadaczek's membership in the Austrian Archaeological Institute as "Ordentliches Mitglied" (elected full member) accounts for his lifelong connections with Vienna.

Benndorf's successor to the chair of Classical Archaeology was Emil Reisch (1863–1933; Lullies and Schiering 1988: 150–151), who also taught Hadaczek and sponsored his doctoral dissertation "Die Formen der griechischen Ohrgehänge. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Schmucks" (Greek earring shapes. A contribution to the history of the development of Greek jewellery). What is interesting here,

⁶ Benndorf (Lullies and Schiering 1988: 67–68) was chair holder and full professor in Vienna between 1877–1898. Alexander Conze (1831–1914) held the chair as full professor between 1869–1877 (Lullies and Schiering 1988: 59–60).

⁷ Here using the German form of his name "Wladimir von Antoniewicz".

⁸ Antoniewicz states that a travel grant by the Austrian government enabled Hadaczek to spend three years abroad to visit Italy, Greece and Germany for further studies (see also Bulyk and Lech 2009: 64).

⁹ Preface of the printed version of his doctoral dissertation.

is the fact that Hadaczek in the printed extended version of this dissertation thesis (Hadaczek 1903; Fig. 4) spelt his first name as “Karl” whereas earlier as a student in his hand written curriculum vitae (Fig. 1) and on his doctoral degree (Fig. 3) the name is written with “C”. This may reflect a tribute to the Polish version of his name which he later used (e.g., Hadaczek 1904; see Buly and Lech 2012: 69, Fig. 7; 74; Fig. 1909).

In order to get an idea of Hadaczek’s studies and his Viennese intellectual environment, it is of vital interest to determine the seminars and lectures he attended. A list is given here (with English translation), the first and the last page indicating the courses given by the prehistorian Hoernes are illustrated here (Fig. 2)¹⁰.

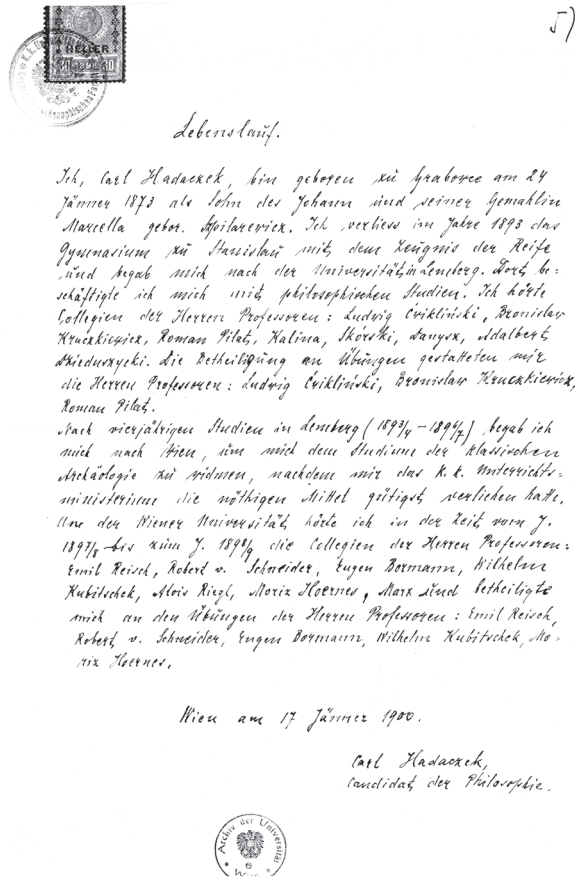


Fig. 1. Curriculum Vitae of Karol Hadaczek (courtesy Vienna University Archives)

¹⁰ Vienna University Archive Nr. 1009–1010 – old registry no. 2825 Z. 988.

Curriculum of lectures and seminars attended:

“Winter semester 1897/8 (15 hours a week)

Prof. Marx:¹¹ *Privatleben der Römer in Rom und den Provinzen* (Private life of the Romans in Rome and the Roman provinces)

Prof. Bormann:¹² *Quellenkunde der Geschichte des Alterthums* (Understanding sources of the history of Antiquity)

Prof. von Schneider: *Über antike Malerei* (About ancient painting)

Prof. Kubitschek:¹³ *Elementarcurs der griechischen Numismatik & Übung im Anschluss an diese Vorlesung* (Introduction into Greek numismatics & and exercises following this lecture)

Summer semester 1898 (19 hours a week):

Prof. Reisch: *Die Göttergestalten in der griechischen und römischen Kunst* (The images of the gods in Greek and Roman Art)

Prof. Reisch: *Der Parthenon auf der Akropolis von Athen* (The Parthenon of the Acropolis at Athens)

Prof. Reisch: *Archäologisches Seminar* (Archaeological seminar)

Prof. Bormann: *Quellenkunde der Alten Geschichte* (Understanding the sources of Ancient History)

Prof. Bormann: *Übung im Sehen und Erklären antiker Inschriften* (Exercise in decoding and interpreting classical inscriptions)

Prof. Marx: *Privatleben der Römer in Rom und den Provinzen* (see above)

Prof. von Schneider: *Archäologische Übungen* (Archaeological exercises)

Prof. Kubitschek: *Numismatische Übungen* (Numismatic exercises)

Winter semester 1898/9 (20 hours a week):

Prof. Reisch: *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* (History of Greek Art)

Prof. Reisch: *Tracht und Bewaffnung der Griechen und Römer* (Dress and armament of the Greeks and Romans)

Prof. Reisch: *archäologische Übungen* (archaeological exercises)

Prof. Schneider: *Das private und öffentliche Leben der Griechen und Römer auf Bildwerken erläutert* (The private and the public life of the Greeks and Romans on the basis of their art work)

Prof. Bormann: *Quellenkunde der Geschichte des Alterthums* (see above)

Prof. Bormann: *Epigraphisches Seminar* (epigraphical seminar)

Prof. Kubitschek: *Cursus der römischen Numismatik* (seminar in Roman Numismatics)

¹¹ Friedrich Marx (1859–1941; Bickel 1942: 122).

¹² Eugen Ludwig Bormann (1842–1917; Obermayer-Marnach and von Csendes 1957: 102).

¹³ Wilhelm Kubitschek (1858–1936; Obermayer-Marach 1969: 314).



Fig. 5. Picture of Mori(t)z Hoernes (courtesy Institut für Urgeschichte und Historische Archäologie, University of Vienna, Dr Alexandra Krenn-Leeb)

Prof. Riegl: Kunstgeschichte der Völkerwanderungszeit (Art history of the Migration Period)

Summer semester 1899 (18 weekly hours):

Prof. Reisch: Geschichte der griechischen Kunst von der Epoche des Phidias bis zur augusteischen Zeit (History of Greek art from the epoch of Phidias to the Augustan period)

Prof. Reisch: Cultbräuche der Griechen und Römer auf den Denkmälern erläutert (Cult practises of the Greeks and Romans on the basis of their monuments)

Prof. Reisch: Archäologische Übungen (Archaeological exercises)

Prof. Borman: Quellenkunde der Alten Geschichte: römische Kaiserzeit (Understanding sources of Ancient History; the Roman Imperial Period)

Prof. Bormann: Übungen im Lesen und Erklären antiker Schriften (Exercises in reading and explaining ancient texts)

Prof. Hoernes: Erklärung prähistorischer Bildwerke (Explaining prehistoric artworks)

Prof. Hoernes: Übungen im Erkennen und Bestimmen prähistorischer Gegenstände (Exercises in the identification and classification of prehistoric artefacts)
Winter semester 1899: no entries, probably time to write up the dissertation”

These lectures and courses clearly show that Hadaczek placed his main emphasis on classical archaeology with excursions into other subjects/disciplines such as Prehistory, Numismatics, and Ancient History. It is interesting to note that the art historian Riegl¹⁴ taught the art of the Migration Period, which is now regarded as an integral part of archaeological studies of Pre- and Protohistory. Although his curriculum only contained one course and one lecture by Moritz Hoernes, Hadaczek was able to gain insight into the two main fields of interest of his professor in Prehistory. Perhaps Hadaczek would have studied Prehistory more intensively had he had the opportunity, but at that time, even in Vienna, additional seminars and lectures were not available.

Hoernes (Fig. 5), originally trained as a classical philologist and classical archaeologist, was one of the most prominent members of the Vienna cultural historical school (Obermayer-Marnach 1959: 368–369; Filip 1966: 491; Urban 2002: 269)¹⁵. He was the first archaeologist who obtained a “habilitation” in Prehistoric Archaeology (*Prähistorische Archäologie*) at a German speaking university (the University of Vienna) and was given the first, however unpaid, professorship in Prehistory at a European University in 1899. Thus, Hadaczek was one of his students during the first year of his period teaching as a professor in Vienna.

It was under Hoernes that one of the most influential schools of archaeological thought of the first quarter of the 20th century would emerge. He can be regarded as the founding father of the Viennese school of Prehistory. Unlike Gustaf Kossinna in Berlin and his disciples, for instance, Hoernes represented a non-nationalistic, non-ethnic and non-chauvinist approach to archaeology, which stands in contrast to the rising national interest in the role of Prehistoric Archaeology at the time in other regions of Europe. In fact, Hoernes can also be regarded as one of the most eminent critics of Kossinna and his methodology¹⁶. As a reaction to a lecture of Kossinna, Hoernes wrote: “... the simplistic identification of prehistoric pots with historical ethnic tribes gives the impression of being a joke, a parody, but the author [Kossinna] is desperately

¹⁴ Riegl can be seen as one of the most influential art historians in central Europe and beyond in the first half of the 20th century. His career was started by his book on “Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn/1” (The late Roman Art Industry after the finds from Austria-Hungary), first edition in 1901.

¹⁵ In 1911, Hoernes was given a full professorship and intensified his teaching.

¹⁶ Grünert (2002: 117), who mistakenly gives a wrong quote (i.e. Hoernes 1893: 52) as the original reference causing confusion. The quote can be found in a series of subsequent papers by scholars unable or unwilling to check the quality of Grünert's referencing.

serious about this”¹⁷. Hoernes’ approach however, would later become most influential, and remains as such until today¹⁸. His interest in the history of humankind was profoundly connected with anthropology, the history of art and particularly the art history of prehistoric Europe (Hoernes 1898; Hoernes and Menghin 1925). The latter might have appealed especially to Hadaczek, since prehistoric art history mainly deals with artefacts, and his own field of interest within Classical Archaeology had a strong material bias. Hadaczek’s dissertation, which dealt with jewellery as applied art or product of high quality artisanship, represents a marginal field in classical archaeological writing, but on the other side shows strong affinities to a prehistoric approach to analysing material culture. It reveals Hadaczek’s specialisation in typology and the classification of artefacts and was probably influenced by the teaching of Hoernes as well as Riegl. The choice of the topic might have been an augury for his oeuvre as a prehistoric archaeologist as well¹⁹.

Hoernes’ way of thinking, writing and teaching also reflected the role of the University of Vienna as a place of education for scholars from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hoernes had worked for a longer period in the Prehistoric Department of the Museum of Natural History in Vienna (Obermayer-Marnach 1959: 368; Filip 1966: 491; Urban 2002: 270), which also pursued an imperial approach in its archaeological finds collection, and he therefore had a very wide range of knowledge of different periods and areas of Europe.

DISSERTATION IN VIENNA

Hadaczek ended his education in Vienna with the submission of his doctoral thesis (title: see above) in January 1900. Following the regulations, he had to submit his

¹⁷ English translation by the author. Original quote: “... eine einfache Identifizierung von prähistorischen Töpfen mit historischen Volksstämmen macht den Eindruck eines Scherzes, einer Parodie, aber dem Autor ist es damit heiliger Ernst” (Hoernes 1903: 161). It can be found in a review of Kossinna’s notorious “Kassel-lecture” (Kossinna 1902).

¹⁸ Hoernes’ methodological approach – involving regarding a thorough description of artefacts as the basis for their classification, and through comparisons with others (and thus contextualisation) and their understanding – was one major instrument of his writing and teaching. The so-called Marburg School (named after the University of Marburg, Germany) of archaeology, founded by Gero von Merhart (first chair of Prehistory in Germany in 1927, held this position between 1927–1938 and again 1947–1949) was significantly grounded in Hoernes’ ideas. It propagated a strong emphasis on the analyses of material culture and chronology in contrast to an ideological biased approach. It formed the most prominent approach to prehistory in Germany after the World War II until today (Kossack 1986; 1992; 1999).

¹⁹ Here one has to take into account that the sources do not tell us, if the topic was chosen by Hadaczek himself or given to him by Reisch. The latter may have been the case, but in accordance with Hadaczek’s predilections.

curriculum vitae as well. A translation of this autographed C.V. will be given here (Fig. 1):²⁰

“Curriculum Vitae [my additions are set in square brackets]

I, Carl Hadaczek, was born in Grabowce²¹ on the 24th January 1873 as the son of Johann [Hadaczek] and his wife Marcella née Szpilarewicz. In the year 1893 I left the Gymnasium [grammar school] in Stanislaw²² with the degree of matura [graduation] and I betook myself to the University of Lemberg [Lviv]. There I engaged in philosophical studies. I heard lectures (“Collegien”) of the professors: Ludwik Ćwikliński, Bronisław Kruczkiewicz, Roman Pilat, Kalina Skórska, Danysz, Adalbert Dzieduszycki. My participation in courses was permitted by the professors: Ludwik Ćwikliński, Bronisław Kruczkiewicz, Roman Pilat.

After four years of study in Lemberg (1893/4–1896/7) I betook myself to Vienna, in order to devote myself to the study of Classical Archaeology, after the k.k. [Austro-Hungarian imperial & royal] ministry of education had kindly granted me the required financial means. At the University of Vienna, I attended the lectures of the professors: Emil Reisch, Robert v. Schneider, Moriz Hoernes, Marx during J.[anuary] 1897/8 until J.[anuary] 1898/9 and participated in seminars of the professors: Emil Reisch, Robert v. Schneider, Eugen Bormann, Wilhelm Kubitschek, Moriz Hoernes.

Vienna the 17th January 1900. Carl Hadaczek, Candidate of philosophy”

His referees were Emil Reisch (first) and originally the ancient historian and epigrapher Eugen Bormann (1842–1917) who was replaced by Robert von Schneider as the second referee. The written work was approved on 7th February 1900 (Fig. 3). The final oral examination (*Rigorosum*) (= *Fachprüfung*) in Classical Archaeology was reviewed by Reisch, v. Schneider and Bormann with the grade “*genügend*” (adequate) or 3 equivalent with *opus idoneum*²³ on 9th March 1900. The final examination of the subsidiary subject Ancient History (*Nebenrigorosum*) took place on the 2nd June 1900. The decision of his PhD award is dated to the 13th June 1900.

For the revision of and additions to the doctoral thesis before its final publication in 1903 (Fig. 4), Hadaczek used the opportunity provided by a three year travel grant (see above) awarded to him so that he might gain further insights into original finds

²⁰ Again, I am thankful to *Hofrat* Dr Mühlberger, University Archive Vienna for a copy of the original and the permission to publish it.

²¹ Grabowiec

²² Stanisławów/ Ivano-Frankivsk

²³ This is however compared with the present system with a scale between 0.5–0.7 for excellent and 5 for insufficient.

from the collections of various museums. This grant can be regarded as the highest distinction the state had to offer to young scholars of (Classical) Archaeology. Hadaczek's professor Emil Reisch and others were also awarded this prestigious stipend (Lullies and Schiering 1988: 150).

In the preface to the printed version of his dissertation, Hadaczek thanks the Imperial Royal Ministry of Education (of the Habsburg Monarchy) for financial support for the printing costs of his book, which appeared as the first volume of the new series of "Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien" (Papers of the Seminar for Archaeology and Epigraphy of the University of Vienna) edited by his teachers Reisch and Bormann. Furthermore, he warmly thanks his Vienna academic teachers and the museum's curators and librarians who allowed him to publish original artefacts: "*Geheimrat* [privy councillor] [Reinhard] *Kekulé von Stradonitz, Berlin* [director of the Berlin Antiques Collection and professor for Classical Archaeology at the Friedrich-Wilhelms University of Berlin]; *Prof. R. v. Schneider* [then director of the Vienna Antiques Collection] and *M. Hoernes, Vienna* [Department for Prehistory in the Natural History Museum and university professor]; *Prof.* [Christian] *Hülsen* [second secretary of the Rome branch of the German Archaeological Institute], [Dante] *Vaglieri* [museum's director, excavator of Ostia], [Antonio] *Pasqui* [State Antiquities Service Rome] and [Bartolomeo] *Nogara* [museum custodian], *Rome as well as* [Dimitrios] *Philios* [former excavator of Eleusis, then Ephoros in charge of the Acropolis, Athens] and [Panayiotis] *Kas(s)triotis*, [Ephoros/leader of the Stately Monument Protection Agency of Athens] *Athens*"²⁴.

Although it is not the aim of this article to embark on a review of this volume, which was written more than a hundred years ago, I would like to point out some aspects that may highlight Hadaczek's approach to archaeology.

What is remarkable for a classical archaeologist is the fact that he compares Etruscan earrings with contemporary earrings from Hallstatt period graves in the Dolensjko region of the south eastern Alps ("Watsch" modern Vače in Slovenia; Hadaczek 1903: 59, Fig. 59)²⁵. Although this can probably never be proven, it is possible that this and other comparisons with prehistoric i.e. early Iron Age earrings from Central Europe were inspired by Moriz Hoernes whose course on the "identification and classification of prehistoric artefacts" was attended by Hadaczek in the summer term of 1899 (Fig. 2; see above).

²⁴ Additions by me are again given in square brackets. For information about the archaeologists mentioned in this paragraph (see Lullies and Schiering 1988: 73–74 and 126–127).

²⁵ They were published in 1879 and 1883 by K. Deschmann (Dežman) and F. v. Hochstetter. Further comparisons with prehistoric finds may have been influenced by the teachings of Moritz Hoernes (see above).

THE IMPACT OF HADACZEK'S YEARS IN VIENNA

What remains to be asked is the question, why Karol Hadaczek might have chosen Vienna as place of study for his doctoral degree. In his native Galicia (modern western Ukraine), which then belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, next to Lviv the Galician capital Cracow was a city of super-regional importance. At the renowned Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Piotr I. Bieńkowski-Łada held the chair for Classical Archaeology since 1897 (Lech 1997–98: 27 ff.; Kobyliński 2006: 209). He was probably the most internationally orientated archaeologist of Polish nationality at that time. The reason why Hadaczek decided to go to Vienna remains unclear. Probably Bieńkowski's call to the chair came too late for him, since he was already a graduate student and commenced his courses in Vienna in the winter term of 1897/98. But, perhaps this move was inspired by his interest in getting to know the already well established and internationally renowned Vienna school of classical archaeology (see above) with excellent teachers such as Benndorf or Reisch. Moreover, he might well have been attracted to a university, which offered students from all parts of the empire the chance to embark on their studies, many times – as in Hadaczek's case – supported by grants of the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Education. The third reason might have been that Hadaczek regarded himself as a committed subject of the Habsburg monarchy and wanted to play his part as a recognized member of the empire's educated classes.

Throughout his short later academic life, Hadaczek remained a dualistic research personality. This was also reflected in his dual chair in Classical as well as Prehistoric Archaeology. As a classical archaeologist, he was embedded in the discourses of his time and published mainly in German, then the *lingua franca* of central European classical scholarship. As a prehistorian, he showed a strong affinity for eastern Galician subjects (his home and later work place as professor in Lviv) and the Polish language and thus reflected the dichotomy between Classical and Prehistoric Archaeology with its super-national versus national approaches to archaeology, prevailing until the present day. His publications on prehistoric subjects are almost exclusively written in Polish (Antoniewicz 1916: 13 ff), rarely in French, then the second *lingua franca* of archaeological research, mainly used in eastern or southeast Europe on prehistoric subjects. Hadaczek's publications in Polish include his aforementioned monograph about the Michałków hoard finds ("treasures") which he rightly dates into the immediate pre-Scythian period (Hadaczek 1904; 1906: 38)²⁶, and his major contributions to studies of the Cucuteni-Trypillia and the Przeworsk Cultures (Bulyk and Lech 2009).

Again, this dichotomy can be illustrated by two facts. Hadaczek invested much of his energy in excavations. His first excavation was commissioned by count Tadeusz

²⁶ For the dating of the finds.



Fig. 6. Karol Hadaczek
(after Bulyk and Lech 2009)

Dzieduszycki (Hadaczek 1898, [61])²⁷. The site, Garbarka Nieluchowska in the district of Kamionka Nadbużna north of Lviv (today Neslukhiv; Bulyk and Lech 2009: 65), was excavated in the summer of 1898. At that time, Hadaczek was already a doctoral student in Vienna and like most students today probably tried to earn some money as well as gain additional expertise as an excavator. We may also assume that he had strong roots in his native eastern Galicia and therefore tried to take an active part in the local archaeology as well²⁸.

Hadaczek gave a report on the excavation at the Anthropological Society in Vienna in December 1898 (Hadaczek 1898)²⁹. This is remarkable for two reasons. First because

²⁷ He was the owner of the museum in which the Michalków treasure was kept and later financed Hadaczek's monograph on the hoards (Metzner-Nebelsick forthcoming).

²⁸ Antoniewicz (1916: 13) quotes three articles on prehistoric subjects for the time of Hadaczek's Vienna years (including Hadaczek 1898), two of which were published in the Polish language.

²⁹ The report about his lecture is published in the minutes of the December meeting of the Society under the chair of Dr Ferdinand Freiherr von Andrian-Werburg. The latter was the founder of the Society and one of the leading physical anthropologists and geologists of his time.

it shows that Hadaczek, although still a (doctoral) student, obviously must have already been a prominent figure within the Viennese circle of archaeological and anthropological research. The Anthropological Society was (and still is) a well-established learned society (founded in 1870) and therefore an invitation to give a talk was a prestigious recognition of Hadaczek. The second reason is that, although Hadaczek was a doctoral student in Classical Archaeology, he was invited by archaeologists with interests in Prehistory and Anthropology to give a talk about a prehistoric subject. This reveals that Hadaczek was well connected and may have been in close contact to Hoernes. In 1898, Hoernes – apart from his status as unpaid lecturer (*Privatdozent*)³⁰ at the university – was also a custodian at the Prehistoric Department of the Natural History Museum in Vienna. Traditionally there was a strong alliance between the Anthropological Society and the Prehistoric Department of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, since the foundation of the library as well as its find's collection were based on donations of this society³¹.

What is additionally remarkable is that Hadaczek already used photography on site and showed photos to illustrate his lecture, a fact that is mentioned in the report about his lecture. Here he clearly proves himself a young scholar at the cutting edge of archaeological methodology at the time. The finds of the excavation remained in the private Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv. Hadaczek stayed in close contact with the Dzieduszycki family in the course of his publication of the Michałków hoards.

Although Hadaczek continued to publish articles and the monograph on Michałków in Polish, it seems hard to determine whether he considered himself primarily a classical archaeologist or a prehistorian. A suggestion what his priorities were, may be seen in a fleetingly documented detail of his post-doctoral travels sponsored by a research grant (see above).

When Hadaczek visited Berlin as a post graduate scholar – the exact date (which lies sometime between 1900 and 1903) is not recorded, he studied the collections of the Antiquarium (decorative arts collection forming part of the famous Berlin Antiquities Collections), probably to see the original earrings he mentioned in his dissertation and to gain access to illustrations for the publication. As we saw above, in the preface of the book, he explicitly thanks the director of the collection for his support. There is however, no mention in the museum archives of the Prehistoric Collection of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum³² that he had corresponded with the members of this institution. This may however just imply that he travelled without contacting

³⁰ The professorship was only awarded in 1899.

³¹ Heinrich 1995/96, 16; and society webpage: <http://ag.-wien.org/ueber-die-ag/geschichte> last accessed May 3rd 2019.

³² I owe this information to Horst Junker, head of the museum archives of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte SMPK Berlin* (Museum for Prehistory).

scholars like Albert Voß (then director of the Prehistoric Collection) or Hubert Schmidt, who also worked at this museum at that time (Filip 1966: 1234, 1604). The fact that he seems not to have contacted Hubert Schmidt, who later excavated at the Eneolithic eponymic site of Cucuteni in Romania and also had strong interests in the prehistory of south and east central Europe (Filip 1966: 1234; Kossack 1999: 34) is particularly puzzling and can, in my opinion, be explained by the fact that Hadaczek seems to have regarded himself predominately as a classical archaeologist at that time.

It is unlikely that he contacted Gustaf Kossinna during his stay in Berlin (Bulyk and Lech 2009: 64) for the following reasons. Until 1903, a meeting with Kossinna may not have appealed to Hadaczek, whose scholarly interests then lay in different fields – and Kossinna’s articles published up to 1903, like his famous Kassel lecture (Kossinna 1895, published in 1902) appeared in journals outside the sphere of Classical Archaeology altogether³³. In 1902, Kossinna, who regarded Classical Archaeology unfavourably (Grünert 2002: 166 f.), had just been appointed extraordinary professor for German Archaeology at the Berlin University. It is unclear when exactly Hadaczek visited Berlin during his three years of travel as a postdoctoral scholar. In any case, even after 1902, Kossinna would hardly have had an interest in meeting a young classical archaeologist from abroad. Moreover, Hadaczek would have had no specific reason to discuss prehistoric issues with Kossinna before he embarked on larger excavations in Galicia.

Only later, after being awarded the chair for Classical as well as Prehistoric Archaeology at Lviv University, did Hadaczek’s interest in Prehistory expand considerably³⁴. He was also an innovative excavator³⁵, and judging from his enormous activities in this field and his high standards of excavations, he seems to have developed a keen interest in the prehistoric past. Obviously, he was a committed archaeologist in all its facets: the practical as excavator and the scholarly, the latter with a remarkable expertise in

³³ See Grünert 2002: 368–373 (annotated bibliography of Kossinna), for the context of Kossinna’s writing until 1903 (Grünert 2002: 72 ff).

³⁴ For a commented account, see Bulyk and Lech 2009.

³⁵ Bulyk and Lech 2009: 78, Fig. 14 showing the plan of his excavations in Koszyłowce near Zaleszczyki (Koshilovcy in western Ukraine). On this plan (Hadaczek 1914: pl. II: 10) all the features are marked with explanations of their meaning (i.e. pits and hearths; the pits are shaded). The measurements inside give information about the diameter, those at the periphery about the depths of the features. There are also *in situ* photographs illustrating the features. He made use of exact measurements with a grid at the sides (a–e, 12–1, I–XII) each with exact measurements like 2 m etc. at a scale of 1 cm = 400 m, thus showing great skills as excavator. There is also a mentioning of the Polish version of Hadaczek’s site publication in the second edition from 1927 of “The Dawn of European Civilization” by V. Gordon Childe (Childe 1927: 161, 170). This quote however is missing in later editions of that book and substituted by the citation of Russian works. Curiously enough, Childe excavated in Koszyłowce himself together with Leon Kozłowski in 1923 (Lech 1997–1998: 44).

Classical as well as Prehistoric Archaeology³⁶. This double commitment makes him an outstanding figure of his time.

The critique of Hadaczek by his native Galician contemporary Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz was recently re-validated by Natalia Bulyk and Jacek Lech (2009) in favour of Hadaczek. Demetrykiewicz was the second prominent figure in the early history of Prehistoric Archaeology in southeast Poland, and in 1919 after Poland's independence, was given the chair for Prehistoric Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Lech 1997–1998; Kobyliński 2006). In contrast to Hadaczek, Demetrykiewicz³⁷ started his career as a monument protection officer for eastern Galicia in the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and thus embodies an increasingly important facet of archaeological education, which involved prehistorians being trained without the basis of Classical Archaeology or Philology like in Hadaczek's case.

Although some of Hadaczek's views cannot be shared today, his approach, which involved transcending narrow local boundaries by looking at distant cultures and places like Greece or the Caucasus to explain prehistoric cultures, opened a new way in the understanding of archaeological material. His views may indeed have been highly influenced by the non-nationalistic academic education he had enjoyed in Vienna in the last years of the 19th century.

One may also suspect that Hadaczek's long neglect by succeeding generations of archaeologists may also have been caused by a paradigm shift in archaeological thought in Poland after World War I.

The reason why Hadaczek killed himself after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian army and the siege and occupation of Lviv by Czarist Russia³⁸ cannot be fully understood today – it may however also be seen as a tragic over-reaction to the coming destruction of the old world of the Habsburg Monarchy which Hadaczek seems to have loved. This interpretation may also be supported by the fact that his lifetime benefactor and mentor Ludwik Ćwikliński became head of department (*Sektionschef*) and minister of education for the region of Małopolska (Lesser Poland) as late as 1917 until the end of the Habsburg Monarchy (Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN 1963 (2): 782; Leitsch 1993), thus showing his support of the old Empire in the time of crisis.

I hope to have shown that his years of further university education in Vienna became crucial for Karol Hadaczek's life's achievements³⁹.

³⁶ The value of Antoniewicz's rather critical judgment of his abilities as a teacher/professor (Bulyk and Lech 2009: 72) cannot be assessed due to the lack of further sources.

³⁷ For his relationship to the younger Hadaczek, see Lech 1997–1998. Demetrykiewicz had accused Hadaczek of being a strong follower of the Berlin scholar Gustaf Kossinna and his ethnical approach.

³⁸ For a more detailed account, see again Bulyk and Lech 2009: 65.

³⁹ I am thankful to Louis D. Nebelsick for correcting my English.

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