

# The Lviv Archaeological Milieu During World War I

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The article deals with the scientific and museological activities of Lviv archaeologists during World War I. The focus is on the fate of archaeologists who were forced to serve in the army (Y. Pasternak, V. Hrebeniak); the state of scientific institutions of Lviv, and the living and working conditions of professors and teaching staff of the University of Lviv, as well as museum workers of the city, were analyzed. In addition, it is about stocking and inventorying the museum collections with archaeological finds, and attempts to restore the activities of museum institutions regardless of conditions (National Museum of Jan III Sobieski, Dzieduszycki Museum). The issue of the loss of human lives is not the least. During these years, Lviv archaeology lost a Polish professor of archaeology Karol Hadaczek and his student, the talented Ukrainian archaeologist Volodymyr Hrebeniak. It was found that the War stopped the development of archaeological science in Lviv and pushed it back for some time. Only in the post-War years, was it possible to restore field research, and publishing activities, replenish museum collections, and educate new personnel.

KEY-WORDS: Lviv archaeological environment, World War I, Karol Hadaczek (1873–1914), Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930), Yaroslav Pasternak (1892–1969), Volodymyr Hrebeniak (1892–1915), museum archaeology

## INTRODUCTION

Every war in history is a test for humanity. Wars bring devastation, death, and destruction. In addition to human and economic losses, there are always losses of cultural values, destruction of historical and architectural sites, etc. The scientific elite of society was and remains one of the most vulnerable strata. On the one hand, it is called to preserve and prevent the erasure of cultural heritage, and on the other hand, it is deprived of the means of subsistence, because scientific research becomes

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superfluous under such conditions, there are other problems in society that require human and material resources; often, the same scientific elite leaves the pen and takes up weapons... “Here I have the opportunity to experience a lot of good mental impressions, received with a victorious march forward” – wrote the young talented archaeologist Volodymyr Hrebieniak (1892–1915) on June 6, 1915, the day before his death. So it was a century ago, and so it is today.

The events of February 24, 2022, will forever go down in history as the beginning of Russia’s full-scale war against Ukraine. This date divided the history of the 21st century into “before” and “after”, stopped the usual rhythm of life, made archaeological expeditions impossible, forced paying renewed attention to the preservation of archaeological collections, and prompted us to reflect and draw parallels. The historian of archaeology, involuntarily, thinks about what happened in the archaeological milieu during the past wars. In the conditions of war, it is natural to write about war. This problem acquires special content and relevance.

Various aspects of the daily, cultural, and scientific life of Lviv (then Lwów) during the Great War have been reflected in a large number of monographic studies and articles. Among historians, it is worth mentioning the names of O. Mazur, I. Pater (Mazur and Pater 1996), I. Berest (Berest 2015), whose works are devoted to the events of World War I in a rather broad context. There are also several articles reflecting the conditions of Lviv museology during the devastation of the War (Oliinyk 2005; Berest 2008). The memories of direct participants in the events of the Great War in Lviv were an important source for our research (Beck 1935; Parandowski 2014). Despite the rather extensive historiography dedicated to the history of World War I, there is no information about the life of scientific circles in the city during the War and Russian occupation of the city.

In this article, we will try to reconstruct the daily life, scientific, site-preservation, and museum activities of a small group of archaeologists who remained to work in Lviv during World War I; the fate of scientists who joined the army; in general, outline the state of the archaeological milieu of Lviv and Eastern Galicia in these turbulent years of more than a century ago.

The outbreak of World War I brought many disasters to the lands of Galicia (in Ukrainian: *Halychyna*). The beginning of the Russian occupation of Lviv and Galicia (3 September 1914 to 22 June 1915) suspended the development of culture and science, including archaeology. In the autumn of 1914, the so-called Russian “inventory” began, in fact, a real robbery of the population of Galicia, state institutions, and museums, which were turned into weapons warehouses (Berest 2015: 132–134). Of course, this did not bypass the museums, which were famous for their archaeological collections. The Russians took the archive of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky from

the National Museum and sealed the correspondence. After the revision of the Academic House, barracks were made in its rooms for Russian soldiers (Mazur and Pater 1996: 307).

## LVIV ARCHEOLOGY ON THE EVE OF THE WAR

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Lviv archaeology developed quite intensively. The University of Lviv had a Department of Archaeology, the museums of Lviv had large collections of prehistoric artifacts, and there was the Regional Archaeological Society [original name: Towarzystwo Archeologiczne Krajowe], which had its printed organ *Przegląd Archeologiczny*.

The protection of prehistoric sites was properly organized. Conservators and correspondents on the ground took care of the preservation of the archaeological heritage (Bulyk 2014: 148–155; Woźny 2018: 73–110). The archaeological map of Eastern Galicia was annually supplemented with new sites, where research was carried out not only by local archaeologists but also by scientists from Cracow, Warsaw, and other cities (Bulyk 2006; Woźny 2013).

On the eve of World War I, there were two archaeological milieus in Lviv – Ukrainian and Polish, which were formed mainly around the Shevchenko Scientific Society (hereinafter referred to as the ShSS) and University of Lviv (Bulyk 2008; Lech 2006: 27–29). Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Volodymyr Hrebeniak, Yaroslav Pasternak, and Bohdan Janusz focused their work on the Ukrainian ShSS. A museum with an archaeological department was created at the Society, a publishing house was founded, and scientific sections were organized (Berest and Taravska 2000: 229–231).

The figure of Mykhailo Hrushevsky is inextricably linked with Lviv archaeology. And even though the scientist was devoted to historiography all his life, his archaeological research falls precisely in the Lviv period of activity. As a student of Volodymyr Antonovych's Kyiv Archaeological School, M. Hrushevsky transferred the methodology of large-scale research to the Lviv ground and successfully used it during the study of burial sites of the Vysotsk culture in Chekhy and Vysotsko (then Czechy and Wysocko Wyzne), Brody district. It was he who caused the formation of Ukrainian academic science in Lviv (Bulyk 2012: 58–67).

The Polish archaeology of pre-war Lviv was represented by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Prehistory of the University of Lviv in the person of Professor Karol Hadaczek (1873–1914; Fig. 1). After successful habilitation (1903) and receiving the headship of the department (1905), he was the only professional archaeologist. Young, talented, and ambitious, with European studies under his belt, K. Hadaczek received



**Fig. 1.** Karol Hadaczek (1873–1914). From the collection of the Archive of the State Museum of Natural History of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

equal amounts of praise and criticism during his lifetime (Bulyk and Lech 2009). Good cooperation was observed between both institutions. For example, M. Hrushevsky held the position of head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, worked at the university, and maintained scientific communication with K. Hadaczek. In his diary for June 14, 1910, M. Hrushevsky made a note: “I was teaching, chatting with Hadaczek, who was showing me photos of the Konyshovetsky<sup>1</sup> finds” (Hyrych and Todiichuk 2002: 119). Although in fairness, we should note that M. Hrushevsky did not always speak positively about K. Hadaczek, in particular, in a letter dated June 21, 1903, to F. Vovk, he disparagingly noted: “*Habemus Papam*, Hadaczek is habilitating in prehistoric and classical archaeology... this habilitation was baked with an unprecedented speed...” (Vynar ed. 2001: 188).

A new generation of specialists was formed around the Department of Archaeology at the University. Young Ukrainian archaeologists Y. Pasternak and V. Hrebeniak were students of K. Hadaczek. B. Janusz, although he was not a university student,

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological finds from excavations in Koshylyvtsi (then Koszylówce), Ternopil region were meant here.



**Fig. 2.** Department of Anthropology of the University of Lviv. Sits in the center: Jan Czekanowski (1882–1965). Standing: Volodymyr Hrebeniak (1892–1915, fourth from the left), Yaroslav Pasternak (1892–1969; second from the right). After: Czekanowski 1956.

attended the lectures of the professor of archaeology and considered him his teacher. In 1913, the Department of Anthropology was opened at the University of Lviv. It was headed by Polish anthropologist Jan Czekanowski (1882–1965). From the very beginning, he involved archaeologist students, among whom were V. Hrebeniak and Y. Pasternak (Fig. 2). They participated in an anthropological expedition that explored the Vertebea cave in the Ternopil region (Romaniuk 2007: 717).

As J. Czekanowski mentioned, to collect material, he divided the Polish students into groups that were supposed to work in Eastern Galicia in the summer. Ukrainian archaeology students planned joint field trips for the summer of 1914. However, the beginning of the War prevented this plan from being realized (Czekanowski 1956: 19).

On the eve of World War I, Lviv archaeology gained a powerful stimulus for scientific research. A methodology of field research was developed and successfully applied. A powerful professional environment for archaeological researchers was formed. A new building was purchased for the needs of the ShSS (Fig. 3). Numerous



**Fig. 3.** Lviv. Building of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. From the collection of the Archives of the Department of Archaeology of the I. Kryp'yakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

museum collections were organized and everything indicated that Lviv was becoming one of the most powerful archaeological centers (Berest and Taravska 2000: 230–231). But World War I slowed down this development and forced some changes.

## MUSEUM ARCHAEOLOGY

Museums are particularly vulnerable during wars. Lviv at the beginning of the XX century was no exception. As of 1914, large archaeological collections were kept and exhibited in several museums, in particular, the Community Hall, the Stauropigion Institute, the ShSS, the National Museum, the University of Lviv, and the Dzieduszycki Museum.

Among the Ukrainian museum institutions on the eve of the War, the leading place belonged to the Museum of the ShSS. In 1913, representatives of the Museum of the ShSS and the Polish National Museum negotiated on the narrower specialization of both institutions. Thus, the museum of the ShSS was to become an archaeological and ethnographic museum, and the National Museum was to become a historical



**Fig. 4.** Yaroslav Pasternak during the Ethnographic expedition in 1913.  
From the collection of the Archive of the National Museum in Lviv.

and cultural one (Svietsitskyi 1931: 18). At that time, Yaroslav Pasternak (Fig. 4) worked in the National Museum and it was he who organized and inventoried the archaeological collections. In June 1914, an agreement was concluded between the museums on the division of rights to collect exhibits, according to which the museum of the ShSS had to collect ethnographic, archaeological, and physiographic exhibits (Khyt 2003: 93; Oliinyk 2005: 13). However, this agreement was never implemented due to the War.

Since 1913, the archaeologist V. Hrebeniak worked as an assistant at the Museum of the ShSS. He was engaged in organizing the exhibits: “Hrebeniak arranged the archaeological collections into the showcases and organized the exact inventory of this department. Unfortunately, the outbreak of War stopped the well-begun work for many years” (Fig. 5; Polianskyi 1920: 102). The temporary catalogue of the museum was prepared by Hrebeniak’s efforts and endeavours (Fig. 6). At that time, the archaeological collection consisted of 5012 items<sup>2</sup> and had grown quantitatively

<sup>2</sup> Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, f. 391, description 1, file 85 (The documents of the Museum of the ShSS), p. 219.

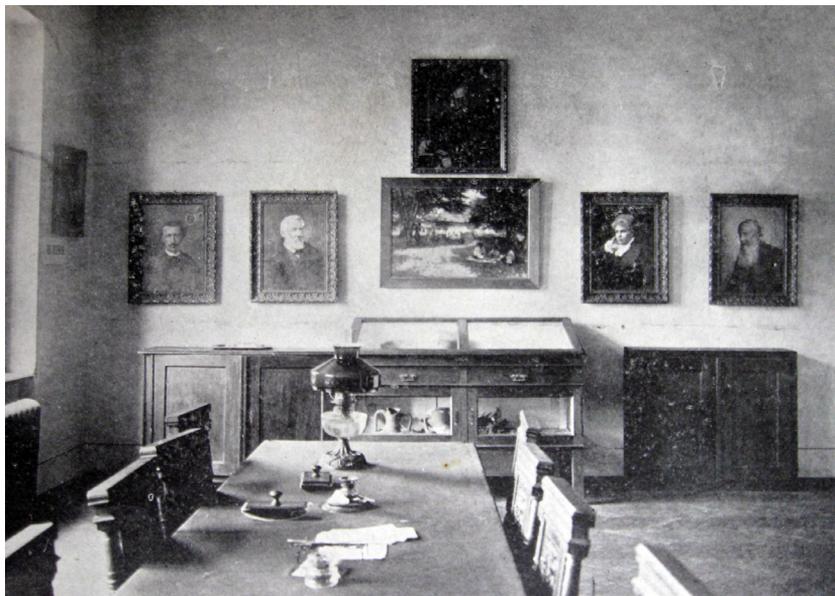


Fig. 5. Lviv. A fragment of the exhibition of the Museum of ShSS during World War I.  
After: Temporary Catalogue of the Museum 1913.

very rapidly. Summarizing the work of the museum in 1913, Hrebeniak reports on 6500 exhibits in the archaeological department (Hrebeniak 1914a: 6). On the eve of World War I, the archaeological collection of the Museum of the ShSS was the largest in Eastern Galicia.

During 1914–1919, when the government changed several times, as a result of numerous revisions, the museum exhibits were destroyed. At the time of the occupation of Lviv by Russian troops in the period from the fall of 1914 to the beginning of the summer of 1915, part of the ethnographic collection disappeared from the museum, and the building was sealed for a long time (Khronika 1918: 141–144). In addition to the loss of official museum assemblages, some private collections were also confiscated. Y. Pasternak mentions prehistoric and medieval finds from Zvenyhorod near Lviv from the private collection of priest Ivan Bilinkevych,<sup>3</sup> which were confiscated

<sup>3</sup> Among the materials of I. Bilinkevych's collection, the find of the palm-sized figure of goddess Artemis-Diana with a doe found on field in Zvenyhorod seems interesting. The collection was examined by K. Hadaczek, who believed that this find appeared in the field by accident, was lost by someone, since by all indications it "is an unquestionably ancient object" (National Museum in Lviv, coll. unit o./n., sheet 41–42).

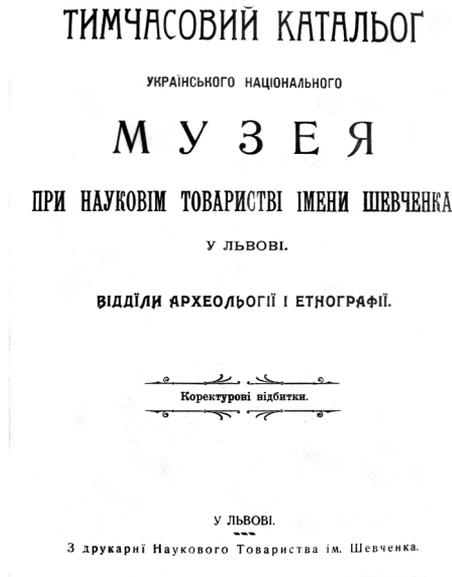


Fig. 6. Title page of the Temporary Catalogue of the Museum.

by Hungarian soldiers in the fall of 1914 as war trophies (Pasternak 1931a: 279). After the retreat of the Russian troops in 1915 and the recapture of the region as a result of the Gorlice-Tarnów offensive (May–July 1915), the Museum gradually continued the work of organization, but several times this work had to start from the beginning due to the decision to send the most valuable items to Vienna for temporary storage during the possible re-occupation of Lviv.

In 1917, the museum board was headed by the famous geographer, cartographer, and ethnographer Stepan Rudnytskyi (1877–1937) and anthropologist and zoologist Ivan Rakovsky (1874–1949). They developed a plan for arranging and placing museum exhibits in five departments: archaeological, ethnographic, naturalistic, portrait gallery, and church art (Polianskyi 1920: 103; Tomeniuk *et al.*, 2017). The archaeological department was headed by Yosyp Pelenskyi (he published his works as Józef Peleński; 1879–1957; see Fig. 7), known in archaeology for his research on medieval Halych (Lukomskyi and Romaniuk 2002: 313). In 1914, his synthetic work *Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej: na podstawie badań archeologicznych i źródeł archiwalnych* was published in Cracow. The results of his field research carried out in 1909 and 1911 were included here (Peleński 1914). In the same year, his habilitation as



**Fig. 7.** Yosyp Pelensky (1879–1957). From the collection of Z. Fedunkiv's family archive.

an associate professor of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow was supposed to take place, but the beginning of the war cancelled these hopes. Due to his health, Y. Pelenskyi was released from service on the front and sent for treatment to the sanitary unit of the 89th infantry regiment of the Austrian army in Przeworsk. However, Y. Pelenskyi was able to achieve full release from military service only in November 1917 thanks to the patronage of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi (Lukomskyi and Romaniuk 2002: 316). At this time, Y. Pelenskyi became a full member of the ShSS, a member of the Conservators' Circle of Eastern Galicia, and began working in the Museum of the ShSS. It is worth noting that during the War, the museum, although rather sluggishly, was still being replenished with archaeological exhibits. These were usually accidental finds, such as a cinerary urn from Zolochiv (then Złoczów) district found in 1916, or a stone axe found in 1906 near Brody (Polianskyi 1920: 105).

In the years of World War I, the National Museum of in Lviv (a Polish historical museum documenting the history of Lviv and its surroundings, mainly during the reign of Jan III Sobieski in the 17th century), almost completely stopped its work (Berest 2008: 429–434). Exhibitions were rarely organized, the arrival of new exhibits to the museum almost ceased, and the only full-time archaeologist of the institution (as archaeological finds were just a small part of the whole, mostly historical and



**Fig. 8.** Yaroslav Pasternak during army service. From the collection of the Ukrainian State Archive of Film and Photography named after H. S. Pshenychny.

art museum collection), Yaroslav Pasternak, served in the army (Fig. 8). The statistics confirm this: in 1908, 65 archaeological finds came to the Museum's foundations, in 1913 – 39, in 1914 – 29, then during 1915–1917, only one (Svientsitskyi 1920: 76–77).

The revival of research activity of the National Museum in Lviv under the direction of his founder and director Aleksander Czołowski (1865–1944) fell in the first post-War years. One of the first to support the activities of the museum was Yaroslav Pasternak (Fig. 9), who returned to Lviv from the Italian front in the fall of 1917 even during the War. At that time, Y. Pasternak was engaged in the museum work twice a week for several hours. After returning to Lviv, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi supported Pasternak's initiative to take visitors to the museum twice a week for two hours (Pasternak 1931b: 31). His work was very important for saving historical items hidden from robbers. He was one of the first who found, catalogued, preserved and salvaged from destruction priceless historical rarities during the War. However, it did not last long. In January 1918, Pasternak again returned to military service.

The situation in the Dzieduszycki Museum (a Polish natural history museum, where apart from natural specimens, geological, prehistoric and ethnographic collections were also collected) during the War was also difficult. Before the beginning



**Fig. 9.** Yaroslav Pasternak. From the collection of the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv.

of World War I, the Archaeological Department of the Museum developed and was replenished with new exhibits. The department was supervised by the professor Karol Hadaczek. He conducted archaeological research at the expense of the Dzieduszycki family, and materials from the excavations replenished the Archaeological Department of the Museum (Berest 1998: 78–79). Among the last pre-War works of Hadaczek, it is worth mentioning the study of the Trypillia settlement in Koshylivtsi (then Koszyłowce; 1908–1912), the results were monographically published in 1914 (Fig. 10; Hadaczek 1914). It is not known for certain whether all the materials from this site appeared in the Dzieduszycki Museum. In particular, several ceramic vessels were exhibited in the office-museum of the University in Lviv, which existed at the Department of Classical Archaeology and Prehistory. Part of the private collection of finds that belonged to Hadaczek was added to the foundations of the Dzieduszycki Museum only after his death. In May 1915, 212 exhibits from Kosylivtsi were transferred to the museum.<sup>4</sup>

The unique collection from Koshylivtsi was mentioned in 1918 during a posthumous auction of Karol Hadaczek's private collection. Then the Polish archaeologist

<sup>4</sup> Legacy of K. Hadaczek in Scientific Archive of the Department of Archaeology of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of NAS of Ukraine, Lviv.

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*Osada przemysłowa w Koshylivtsi  
z epoki neolitu.*

*(Studia do początków cywilizacji w południowo-  
wschodniej Europie).*

*Opis i opracował*  
*Karol Hadaczek.*

	7
I. Wstęp	1.
II. Osada przemysłowa w Koshylivtsi.	6.
III. Przegląd archeologicznych wykopalisk	17.
A) Praceby kamienniane, kościane, ślady metali	17.
B) Ceramika	23.
C) Terrakotowa plastyka	53.
D) Inne wyroby z gliny	77.
IV. Charakter kultury, warunki potencjalnego, chronologia.	79-95.

**Fig. 10.** The first page of the manuscript of K. Hadaczek's work on research in Koshylivtsi.  
From the collection of the Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow.

Włodzimierz Antoniewicz (1893–1973), who considered the possibility of buying and transporting Koshylivtsi materials to Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, was delegated to Lviv. Among the Lviv institutions, there were also several contenders for the scientific legacy of K. Hadaczek. However, the commission created for this purpose resolved the issue in favour of the Dzieduszycki Museum, since it was not appropriate to disperse the collections, and a large part of the exhibits from these sites, which were in the archaeologist's private collection, was in the Museum (*Licytacja zbiorów...* 1918).

During the War, the museum sometimes received random finds discovered during the digging of defensive trenches and entrenchments. However, the fate of many archaeological sites and finds remained unknown and undetermined. On the pages of the magazine *Rozprawy i Wiadomości z Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich* we can find information about a site in Nezvyisko, where the Polish geologist Bolesław Bujalski (1888–1945) emphasizes that the artefacts collected by him were lost in 1914 as a result of military actions. He transferred the individual finds that were preserved to the Dzieduszycki Museum (Bujalski 1920: 102).

During the 1914–1915 Russian occupation of Galicia, scientific work in the museum was almost stopped. The office under the leadership of Tadeusz Dzieduszycki (1841–1918) tried to find finances for the basic needs of the museum and

museum staff. Despite the difficult conditions, the publication of the magazine *Rozprawy i Wiadomości z Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich* was maintained, however, the volume for the years 1919–1920 was the last.

Despite the War, those archaeologists who did not enter military service continued to work on museum collections. This is evidenced by the memories of Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969; a Polish archaeologist from Poznań) of his stay in Lviv at the beginning of 1918, where, while waiting for his habilitation, he studied the collections in the Lubomirski and Dzieduszycki museums, “since it was in February during the War, both museums were not heated, so I was getting over a cold because I spent many hours at both institutions. I was so hoarse that I was already worried that I wouldn’t be able to give my habilitation speech...” (Kostrzewski 1970: 101–102).

During the War, the museum suffered irreparable human losses. Archaeologist Karol Hadaczek, curator of the museum, geologist Marian Łomnicki (1845–1915), and representative Tadeusz Dzieduszycki died.

The end of the War and the economic and financial changes that took place had a very negative impact on the situation in museums. In fact, it was necessary to start from the beginning the work that had been established in previous years. First of all, this concerned replenishment of collections, inventory, and construction of exhibitions. The lack of qualified personnel was very noticeable.

## HUMAN ACHIEVEMENTS AND LOSSES

At the beginning of the War, the Shevchenko Scientific Society lost its long-time head, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, an ardent supporter of archaeology. World War I found him and his family on vacation in Kryvorivna, Hutsul region (Siromskyi 2016–2021: 235). From there, before the offensive of Russian troops on Galicia, the Hrushevsky family moved to Italy via Vienna, and from there to Kyiv. M. Hrushevsky never returned to Lviv. From the first days of the War, Y. Pasternak and V. Hrebeniak were called to military service.

The situation at the University of Lviv was no better. Some of the professors left Lviv. Those who remained found themselves in difficult conditions, because even the university building, where the Russian soldiers were stationed, was no longer a safe place. On September 9, 1914, a meeting of the Academic Senate was held, at which the current dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Karol Hadaczek, was present (Fig. 11). The agenda was changed, urgent matters related to the War, such as the election of the rector and deans, were postponed (Beck 1935: 6). University professors and employees remained in a difficult psychological and financial situation.



**Fig. 11.** Karol Hadaczek. From the collection of the Archive of the State Museum of Natural History of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Whatever the losses associated with the removal of collections, the destruction of sites, and the interrupted educational process, they fade into the background when it comes to the human losses. World War I took the lives of two young and talented researchers from Lviv archaeology. Their deaths were felt by science for a long time. This concerns Karol Hadaczek and his student Volodymyr Hrebeniak. And even though one was a representative of Polish archaeology, the other – of Ukrainian; one was a famous professor, the other was a student who wrote several articles; one did not cope with depression and the fear of occupation, the other – died as a hero with a weapon in his hands – the loss of both is, without exaggeration, irreparable for science. Both of them became victims of military disasters, and if it were not for the War, everything could have been different...

Karol Hadaczek stayed in Lviv during the War and the Russian occupation. Studies at the university were conducted intermittently. However, the professor did not leave his native *alma mater*, continued to work and supported students as best he could. The famous Polish writer, essayist, and translator Jan Parandowski (1895–1978), who attended Karol Hadaczek's lecture course on classical archaeology, left interesting memories of these events. The author makes it possible to imagine what happened at the University of Lviv during the Russian occupation, and also reproduces the psycho-emotional state of the leading Lviv archaeologist, in particular, we read: "not only was the University closed, but its library could not be used. I stood



**Fig. 12.** Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930) during the Russian occupation of Lviv (January 1915).  
Janusz – second from left; Aleksander Czołowski (1865–1944) – third from the left.  
They are leaving the headquarters of the Archive of Historical Records, Lviv.  
From the collection of the Polish National Library, Warsaw.

helpless under its gate with the hope that someone would open it... and here I met my professor of archaeology, Karol Hadaczek. He was strange. He began to ask me about my research (the main topic is Colosseum), which I had given him back in the spring as a practical assignment... And began to talk nervously about the War, about the capture of Belgium, about the victories of the Germans on one side, and the Russians on the other, about the chaos which absorbed the world of archaeological research. In the end, he became concerned about me and wondered whether I would make up for the lost time with my studies” (Parandowski 2014: 38).

The student was most impressed by the fact that the professor understood his problem with the closed library, borrowed the book himself, brought it to him, and said that he would be able to return it when he had studied it well. A few weeks later, J. Parandowski wanted to return the book, but the meeting with Professor Hadaczek did not take place.

Under the influence of the War, Karol Hadaczek became depressed. “Under the influence of a huge nervous breakdown, caused by a pessimistic attitude towards a hopeless situation in winter, he attempted his own young life and on December 19,

1914, he passed into eternity. His unexpected death made a huge impression on the whole city and great regret accompanied him to the grave at the Lychakiv cemetery, where he rested at noon on December 21” – Bohdan Janusz wrote (Janusz 1915: 184–185). Worst of all he could not accept the real situation and find something to do that would distract him. Ten years after this death, Bohdan Janusz recalled that the director of the City Archive Aleksander Czołowski (Fig. 12) offered K. Hadaczek to work on archival collections and live in the Łoziński Palace, where at that time a group of people gathered who continued to conduct scholarly work, regardless of the circumstances. However, K. Hadaczek rejected this proposal (Janusz 1924: 74).

The Russian occupation authorities banned any public meetings. The teaching staff of the University, or rather the small number of professors who remained in the occupied city, were not able to bury their colleague, dean, professor, and teacher appropriately. The funeral ceremony was attended by professors and docents of the University of Lviv, Lviv Polytechnic, the director and employees of the university library, and the students (Beck 1935: 29). As Ludwik Finkel (1858–1830), Polish professor of history and a good friend of K. Hadaczek noted 10 years later: “Now, like a ghost in the recent future... the figure of a scientist – quiet, full of energy, plans, and dreams who left us suddenly during tragic events, broken like a tree by a storm on the slopes of the Tatras. It already seemed that we were all used to the sudden changes that had occurred in our lives since the beginning of September 1914, when his death, the death of our friend and colleague, showed that it was only an illusion” (cited by: Beck 1935: 29).

The memories of this tragic day were left by the then vice-rector of the University, Adolf Beck (1863–1942), who, in his work on the Russian occupation, devoted an entire chapter to K. Hadaczek under the title “Death of Professor Hadaczek” (Beck 1935: 26–30). In particular, he noted that K. Hadaczek “from the first wave of the invasion of Russian troops began to fall into despair, which grew into depression”. On December 19, 1914, when there was a meeting of university professors led by the vice-rector, K. Hadaczek’s servant came with the news that the professor was no longer alive (Beck 1935: 27). It is interesting that in Lviv at that time there was Russian censorship and it has proven impossible even to print mourning posters. The funeral ceremony had restrictions, in particular, public speeches were not allowed. Therefore, his colleagues said goodbye to him in the university chapel.

As L. Finkel, noted later: “There was something majestic in that group of people who gathered around the chapel of anatomy, illuminated by the yellow rays of the December sun, addressed by the respectable, grey-haired old man Tadeusz Wojciechowski, and two other white heads bowed nearby: Ludwig Kubala and Wojciech Kętrzyński. He spoke, contrary to the prohibitions expressed by powerful invaders, that there should be no funeral speeches, referring to the permission of Rector Beck,



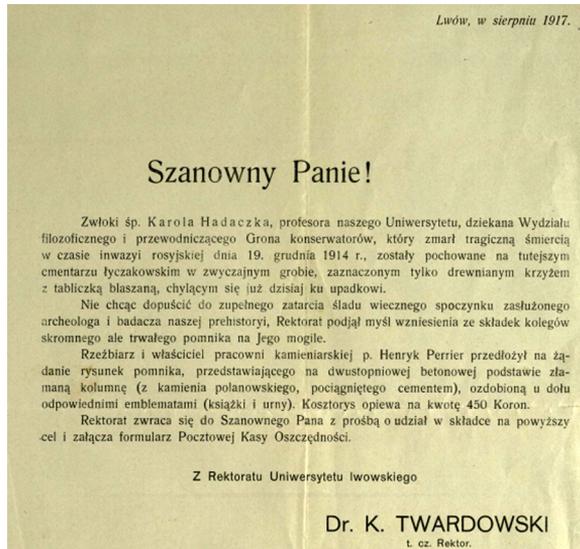
**Fig. 13.** Lviv. Tomb of Karol Hadaczek in Lychakiv cemetery. Photo: I. Lutsyk.

who was standing next to him surrounded by professors who remained in Lviv” (cited by: Beck 1935: 29).

Karol Hadaczek is buried in the Lychakiv cemetery (Fig. 13). A document was found that somewhat clarifies the situation. It is dated August 1917 and signed by the rector of the University Kazimierz Twardowski (1866–1938; Fig. 14). It states that “the grave, since the death of Dr. Hadaczek... who was buried at the Lychakiv cemetery in an ordinary coffin with a wooden cross and a tin plate, is already decaying today. We do not want to allow the destruction of the place of eternal resting of an honoured archaeologist and researcher of our prehistory” and therefore the rectorate asks all employees to collect money for the installation of a “modest but durable” monument.<sup>5</sup>

When it comes to Lviv’s archaeological milieu during World War I, we cannot ignore Ukrainian archaeologist Volodymyr Hrebeniak, who gave his life fighting in the battle with the Russians in the summer of 1915 near Halych. V. Hrebeniak was

<sup>5</sup> Call of the rector of the Lviv University K. Twardowski to collect funds for a monument on the grave of Karol Hadaczek, Department of Manuscripts of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 26, file 13d, p. 71.



**Fig. 14.** Notice of fundraising for a monument on the grave of K. Hadaczek. From the collection of the Department of Manuscripts of V. Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv.

buried in Lviv, where “his body was transported to the Lychakiv cemetery from the battlefield near Halych” (Holubets 1932). Despite his young age, V. Hrebeniak managed to prove himself in the best possible way in the scientific community of Lviv. His path in archaeology is connected with the University of Lviv, where he studied archaeology and anthropology, and the ShSS. His good university friends were W. Antoniewicz and Y. Pasternak. Together with Y. Pasternak, V. Hrebeniak took part in the archaeological and anthropological expeditions to study the Vertebea cave, which took place under the leadership of the famous Polish anthropologist professor Jan Czekanowski. It was in the scientific environment of the ShSS that the 4th year student of the university began to form as a scientist-archaeologist. In April 1914, V. Hrebeniak became a member of the Ethnographic Commission of the ShSS. At this time, he already had some scientific achievements in the field of archaeology. In particular, the newspaper *Dilo* published the articles “The Importance of Recent Archaeological Finds for Our Prehistory” in 1910 and “The Importance of Prehistory and Prehistoric Sites” in 1911, as well as works on the pages of “Notes of ShSS” (Hrebeniak 1914b; 1915). In addition, V. Hrebeniak was a regular contributor to the “Scientific Chronicle” column in that magazine. A large number of reviews of archaeological works and scientific forums came from his pen. In cooperation,

M. Hrushevsky and V. Hrebeniak published several reviews of the works of Czech archaeologist Lubor Niederle (1865–1944), the Ukrainian archaeologist of Czech origin V. Khvoika, V. Antonovych, M. Bilyashivsky, as well as the Polish archaeologists Adam H. Kirkor (1818–1886), Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937), Karol Hadaczek (Petehyrych and Pavliv 1991: 414). Having experience in the field of anthropology, V. Hrebeniak initiated the creation of an anthropological section in “Materials for Ukrainian Ethnography”.

In practical archaeology, V. Hrebeniak was deeply interested in the sites of the Scythian period. He also had special merit in the study of sites of the Vysotska culture. He was the first to make a comprehensive comparison of artefacts of the Vysotska culture and reasoned for their uniqueness among other cultures (Bandrivskyyi 1998: 80).

An important place in the activities of V. Hrebeniak was occupied by the work in the public organization “Society for the Protection of Ukrainian Antiquities”, which was created on the model of the Polish association Conservators’ Circle of Eastern Galicia and was intended to take over the functions of preserving the historical heritage of Ukrainians. V. Hrebeniak wrote in this regard: “The fact of the destruction of our antiquity is well known, it is not necessary to prove that the most valuable sites of our culture either perish pointlessly or fall into the hands of others, hostile to us...” – and called to prevent this by joint efforts (Hrebeniak 1913).

He was not destined to continue his work in the field of Ukrainian science. At the beginning of the War, V. Hrebeniak was mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian army and sent to petty officer courses in Gleichenberg (Romaniuk 2007: 725). In May 1915, the 19th Regiment of Regional Defense, to which V. Hrebeniak belonged, was sent to Budapest, and finally was transferred to Galicia, where it launched an offensive against the Russian army. On June 6, V. Hrebeniak sent his last letter from the front, in which he wrote that he felt physically and spiritually exhausted and that he was on his feet for 16 hours every day, overcoming kilometers of the road.<sup>6</sup> On June 7, 1915, V. Hrebeniak died in battle near the village of Slobidka, Kalush district (in today Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ukraine). In December of the same year, the family managed to find his grave and transport the remains to Lviv. The hero was reburied at the Lychakiv cemetery, on field No 82, where only his burial has been preserved from all the graves in the military cemetery of the Austro-Hungarian army destroyed by the Soviet authorities. On the grave we read a modest inscription: “Here rests Volodymyr Hrebeniak, a student of the IV year of philosophy, a promising researcher of archaeology and anthropology. He died on June 7, 1915, at the age of 23 as a cadet-graduate

<sup>6</sup> Letter of V. Hrebeniak from the front dated June 6, 1915, Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, F. 309, description 1, file 2243, p. 59.



**Fig. 15.** Lviv. Tomb of Volodymyr Hrebeniak in Lychakiv cemetery. Photo: I. Lutsyk.

student of the 19th Regiment of Regional Defence in the battle for the Fatherland in Slobidka on the border between Kalush and Halych. Eternal memory to the deceased!” (Fig. 15).

Stepan Tomashivsky left a substantive obituary about him, and there are also small postmortem notes by Osyp Zaleskyi and Włodzimierz Antoniewicz. V. Hrebeniak was also honoured by the Shevchenko Scientific Society on the pages of the “Chronicles of the ShSS” for 1914–1918, here we can also find a small obituary, which includes a photo of the archaeologist (Fig. 16) and an overview of his scientific achievements (Anon. 1914–1918: 127–128).

In addition to a detailed description of his appearance<sup>7</sup> and some general feelings about the bereavement, the obituary describes him in sufficient detail as a researcher of prehistory and the author of several articles: “these were popular articles mostly, which showed unusual early signs of his talent: a wide knowledge of the subject with

<sup>7</sup> “(...) the Deceased had an almost non-Ukrainian appearance. A slender tall figure, a pale, very intelligent face, beautiful clear eyes, a high forehead, blond hair, unusual respectability of movement and speaking as for a young man, with great fluency, even rapidity in speech, careful simplicity in clothing, cultural politeness in behaviour – all that made his person noticeable in the circles of our youth. No less is the fact that already from the gymnasium bench, he took an interest in science and scientific research in the specified branches” (Tomashivskyi 1915: 5).

an easy and charming way of presentation. More than one reader wondered how it was possible to extract so many interesting facts and conclusions from small prehistoric finds. But the deceased never regretted the fame of the popularizer, and his ideal was to become an effective scientist, who is fascinated by the greatness of science itself. He had a lot of plans and ready-made thoughts in his head, which were impressive by their quickness and originality, and he dreamed after finishing the university courses prescribed by law to supplement his knowledge and methodical education outside Galicia (in Lviv, he studied mainly under the late Prof. Hadaczek and Prof. Czekański”; Tomashivskiy 1915: 6).

We find confirmation of V. Hrebeniak’s extraordinary talent in the postmortem mention of his close university friend W. Antoniewicz, who in one of his letters to professor from Cracow, W. Demetrykiewicz, wrote about V. Hrebeniak with great regret: “Died near Halych in 1915 Volodymyr Hrebeniak from Lviv, an archaeologist whose works, which are currently being published (I know them only in manuscripts), will place him in the ranks of young, very capable researcher-synthetics. The loss is unspeakable... His most interesting work, »Consequences of the Influence of Scythian Culture on the Civilization of the Dnipro Region« was published just before the War. Science has lost in the deceased Hrebeniak a very good researcher, and I have lost a dear friend”.<sup>8</sup>

Undoubtedly, archaeology lost a talented and persistent researcher in this War. “The Ukrainian nation lost in this young soldier (...) an already made, blossoming individuality, in whose place, perhaps, even in a whole human generation, it will not be found an equal candidate to take his place” (Tomashivskiy 1915: 6). In several years of work, he made a significant contribution to the development of Ukrainian archaeology.

## SCIENTIFIC WORK IN TIMES OF WAR DISRUPTION

In fact, throughout the War, only the archaeologist Bohdan Janusz remained in Lviv (for details, see: Bulyk 2018). It is worth noting that Bohdan Janusz was not a figure of official science, he did not have a university education or high scientific degrees, and he belonged to the group of historians who did not even have a full secondary education, however, “despite the lack of a high school diploma, he represented a high level of historical knowledge, professional experience, the ability to write and conduct research” (Toczek 2013: 47).

<sup>8</sup> Letter W. Antoniewicz to W. Demetrykiewicz, 1915, Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Cracow, No SP 8/36.



**Fig. 16.** Volodymyr Hrebeniak. Postal card.

Source: <https://violity.com/en/114696543-volodimir-grebenyak>

The military events of 1914 found Bohdan Janusz in Lviv. Due to his health, he was not accepted into the army. In the conditions of the Russian occupation of Galicia, it was necessary to find a way to feed himself, because during the War the popularity of the newspapers, in the editorial offices of which he earned a small salary, decreased. During this difficult period, B. Janusz continued to write, although the topic changed. During this time, he wrote three works in Polish: *293 dni rządów rosyjskich we Lwowie* (1915) and *Dokumenty urzędowe okupacji rosyjskiej Lwowa* (1916), which still remain an interesting source for studying these events. The archaeological theme was reflected in the work *Z pradziejów Bukowiny* (see Kozłowski 2009: 258), however, this work was never published.

World War I was to some extent a turning point in B. Janusz's scientific interests. After the War and until his death (1930), the protection of sites comes to the fore, and he also began to engage in ethnography and art. As W. Antoniewicz noted in a letter to W. Demetrykiewicz, dated December 5, 1915, "there are rumors that E. Bulanda will be invited to replace Hadaczek. If this happens, it is not difficult to predict the fate of prehistory and Lviv collections, as well as their future development, will be »unhappy« – the absence of a prehistorian will soon be revealed, because B. Janusz dealt with the history of culture and art of Lviv" (Kozłowski 2009: 258).

Probably, this was caused by the situation around prehistory. The period of War and the first post-War years were a kind of gap in the development of this discipline. After all, Y. Pasternak, L. Chykalenko, W. Antoniewicz, R. Jakimowicz left Lviv, and K. Hadaczek and V. Hrebeniak were gone.

Bohdan Janusz by himself obviously could not do anything. And to this was added a difficult emotional state and hard living conditions. B. Janusz kept to himself and stopped communicating even with his friends. W. Antoniewicz, who also went to the front, but was wounded and soon returned to studies and scientific work, was very worried about this. While in Vienna, he received news of the death of his teacher from Lviv, Karol Hadaczek. From there, Antoniewicz wrote a letter to Janusz, in which he was interested in the fate of Karol Hadaczek's scientific heritage (this concerns primarily the private archaeological collection and library). And in the summer of 1915, Janusz and Antoniewicz were united by a common loss – their good friend Volodymyr Hrebeniak died in battle. A few years later, Antoniewicz offered Janusz to write a joint work about him.<sup>9</sup>

In this not the best period for science, B. Janusz published two of the largest and, without exaggeration, the best works (in Polish). This is primarily about *Zabytki przedhistoryczne Galicji Wschodniej* (1918; Fig. 17), which is the first catalogue of sites that covered the entire branch of prehistory. B. Janusz began collecting material for the catalogue in 1906. He tried to use not only articles devoted to archaeological sites but also short newspaper notes (Kostrzewski 1931). This work is a valuable source for modern archaeologists, although it has certain defects. In particular, the author did not involve unpublished materials from Lviv museums, which were nearby. In his review of the book, J. Kostrzewski, in addition to positive comments, noted that “the addition of unpublished materials to the work would significantly increase its scientific value; it would, of course, require longer journeys for which the author may not have had enough” (Kostrzewski 1919: 67) and it is hard not to agree with this. The second equally important work is *Kultura przedhistoryczna Podola Galicyjskiego* (1919). It is worth noting that the work was written several years earlier, W. Antoniewicz mentioned it at the end of 1915 in a letter to W. Demetrykiewicz, at the same time giving it a high rating: “It will be next to the works of Kostrzewski – an interesting work in our prehistory this year” (by Kozłowski 2009: 258). Of course, this work did not avoid criticism too. In addition to favourable reviews, W. Antoniewicz considered the lack of illustrations “so necessary in the archaeological publication” to the weak points of the work (Antoniewicz 1919: 153). The comments to both archaeological catalogues of sites were the same – the lack of new materials from excavations

9 Letter W. Antoniewicz to B. Janusz, 22 December 1920, Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, No. III-166, file 27.

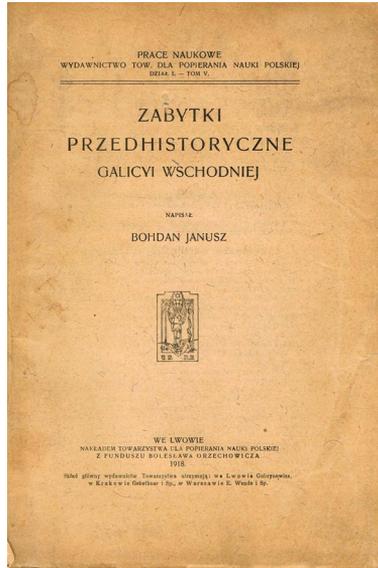


Fig. 17. Title page of Bohdan Janusz's 1918 publication.

in Galicia, the absence of inclusion of archaeological exhibits from Lviv museums, and the lack of interpretation and a critical approach. However, this does not negate the importance of what B. Janusz did for the development of archaeological science.

Outside of work on catalogues, at the end of the First World War, B. Janusz carried out field research. In 1918, he discovered and surveyed many sites in the Stanisławów (today: Ivano-Frankivsk) region. In particular, barrow cemeteries in Demyaniv, Kolodiiv, Korostovychy, Zhukotyn, Tyshkivtsi, Vynohradiv, Honcharivtsi, etc. (*Ivano-Frankivska oblast* 2015: 179–182).

Returning to archaeology at the University of Lviv, we can note that since the death of Karol Hadaczek there was a question about searching for a professor. In July 1916, the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Lviv wrote a petition for the recommendation of Polish archaeologist Edmund Bulanda (Fig. 18), a private docent of classical archaeology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, for the post of extraordinary professor of classical archaeology at the Department of Archaeology and History of Material Culture and head of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Lviv.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Document on admission of E. Bulanda for the post head of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Lviv, State Archives of Lviv Region (later SALR), Fonds 26 (Lviv University), Series 174, p. 6; Series 793, p. 119.



**Fig. 18.** Edmund Bulanda (1882–1951). From the collection of the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

In November 1916, E. Bulanda received the title of extraordinary professor.<sup>11</sup> From December 1, 1916, he began to perform his duties as the dean of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lviv. In fact, Bulanda spent the entire period of the War on organizational issues, mainly the arrangement of the department and the filling of its library, “because, after his predecessor, who dealt more with prehistory, he received only 117 books. Initially, the War, and then the period of inflation did not contribute to this work” – Jerzy Kowalski later wrote.<sup>12</sup>

Józef Kostrzewski was a candidate to head the Prehistory Department of the University of Lviv after the death of Karol Hadaczek, but the War also prevented this. This Lviv episode was described in detail by J. Kostrzewski in his memoirs: “On February 19, 1918, he habilitated in prehistory in Lviv with professors J. Czekański, E. Bulanda, and J. Siemiradzki. Jan Casimir University sought to leave me as the successor of Karol Hadaczek, who, after the occupation of Lviv by the Russians,

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<sup>11</sup> Document on admission of E. Bulanda the title of extraordinary professor, SALR. Fonds 26, Series 174, p. 5, II–14.

<sup>12</sup> Memories of Jerzy Kowalski, Archive of the Wrocław University, No. File RK-120 / Bulanda Edmund, p. 16.

oppressed by illness and deprived of his livelihood,<sup>13</sup> committed suicide. Since there was no prehistorian, the habilitation had to take place in front of professors closest to prehistory, and therefore an anthropologist, a classical archaeologist, and a geologist...” (Kostrzewski 1970: 101).

Thus, after the habilitation, J. Kostrzewski was offered to head the department, which was vacant, and he accepted this offer. However, the circumstances turned out differently. “The confirmation of my habilitation, sent in the fall of 1918, reached me as late as the spring of 1919 having previously spent a long time at the university and at the post office, when the document reached me, at that time I already had a university in Poznan, so I decided to reject teaching in Lviv” – wrote professor Kostrzewski many years later (Kostrzewski 1970: 103). Thus, Lviv remained without a department of prehistory until 1921, when Leon Kozłowski (1892–1944; later the prime minister of Poland) was invited to the position of professor, having obtained his habilitation in Cracow a year before. Assessing university archaeology during World War I, Jan Czekanowski noted that it was not the worst time for this field because “on February 8, 1918, with Professor of Classical Archaeology Edmund Bulanda, we conducted the habilitation of Józef Kostrzewski, and later Leon Kozłowski” (Czekanowski 1956: 20).

In summary, we can affirmatively say that World War I caught the archaeology of Lviv at a time when it was moving forward and developing. A powerful archaeological community was formed here, which worked on the accumulation of the source base, the development of fieldwork methods, and the marking of new sites on the archaeological map. World War I and the Russian invasion of Eastern Galicia slowed down the planned development of archaeological science, led to numerous human losses, and paralyzed the work of societies, museums, archives, libraries, and other scientific, cultural, and educational institutions. It was the War and its consequences that slightly pushed back the development of archaeology in the Lviv scientific center, however, it was not possible to stop it, since the mechanism was launched, and very soon after the War, it started working with a new force.

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<sup>13</sup> This was J. Kostrzewski’s opinion.

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