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ARCHAEOLOGY  
IN THE U.S.S.R.





# ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE U. S. S. R.

by MIKHAIL MILLER

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PUBLISHED FOR THE  
RESEARCH PROGRAM ON THE U. S. S. R.

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### BOOKS THAT MATTER

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ARCHAEOLOGY  
IN THE U.S.S.R.



## *Author's Note*

I was born in 1883 in the Don oblast. I completed the work of the Classical Gymnasium and then the Historical Faculty of Moscow University and the Law Faculty of Kharkov University. Subsequently I worked as a secondary school instructor, as a university lecturer, and, after 1934, as a professor in Rostov-on-the-Don. Since 1951, I have been a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and Scholarly Secretary of the Institute for the Study of the USSR. Throughout I have taught ancient history and archaeology.

At the same time, almost every year for more than forty years, I have conducted archaeological explorations and excavations during my summer vacations, chiefly in the steppe belt between the Volga and the Dnepr, studying ancient cultures, particularly those of the Bronze Age. I first became interested in archaeology in 1894, when I was in Kerch with my parents and was present at excavations on the Hill of Mithridates. In 1900, still a high school student, I started small independent excavations with the help of friends. From 1904 I took part as an assistant in the major excavations conducted by the Ukrainian archaeologist Professor D. Yavornitski. In the 1920's and 1930's I carried on independent work and then took part in the large Dnepr archaeological expedition. In 1934-35 I was head of the archaeological expedition on the Volga and the North Caucasus organized by the State Academy for the History of Material Culture (GAIMK). Later I directed an expedition to explore ancient settlements along the lower Don and elsewhere. The last time I directed archaeological explorations



and excavations was on the Dnepr in 1943, during the war. During this entire time I also worked in various museums and, after 1930, took part in archaeological conferences and congresses in Lenin-grad and Kiev. During my long teaching career in universities and my archaeological activity I wrote and published more than one hundred works on the prehistory and early history of the Black Sea region.

Thanks to these circumstances of my life and work, I have taken part in the development of Russian archaeology for more than fifty years and knew personally, more or less intimately, the majority of Russian and Ukrainian archaeologists. Hence *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* has been written not merely from literary sources but primarily from my personal recollections and impressions. In many cases I was a witness of or participant in the phenomena and events which I describe. Because of these special circumstances, I could and would have liked to write much more and in greater detail about archaeology in the U.S.S.R., but I was limited by the size of the book, which was determined by the time and means available. The brief, compact presentation forced me to omit certain elements and not mention certain individuals.

This work was written in 1953, with the aid of the Research Program on the U.S.S.R., and was published in Russian in 1954, with the Research Program's permission, by the Institute for the Study of the USSR. In the process of translation, I had an opportunity to supplement and correct several minor facts. In general, I carried the survey of archaeological development in the U.S.S.R. through 1953, but in the English translation some material from 1954 has been introduced. Since I have continued to follow the development of Soviet archaeology since that time, I can state that no basic changes have taken place in its tasks and tendency, and all the points I have made in this work remain completely valid. Since in the U.S.S.R. archaeology, like history and the other humanities, is completely subject to the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and carries out its political assignments, no changes in the trend of Soviet archaeology can

be expected in the future so long as a totalitarian system rules in the U.S.S.R.

After the publication of my *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* in Russian, a number of reviews appeared in various journals in the Russian, Ukrainian, German and Turkish languages. Subsequently the Institute for the Study of the USSR and I received more than forty letters from various writers in various countries, which also contained comments on my book. All these reviews and comments were favorable and, in some cases, highly laudatory. There were very few critical remarks. However, since some of the questions raised in the letters may occur to readers of the English edition, I consider it necessary to offer a short clarification of them.

One important scholar pointed out in his letter that I had not mentioned the work of the *Seminarium Kondakovianum*. This was an archaeological institute organized in the 1920's in Prague by émigré scholars which published several works and then broke up. Its director was the prominent Russian historian Professor George Vernadsky (now a professor at Yale University). Nevertheless, my correspondent pointed out, I wrote about the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, which was also published abroad (in Helsinki) and was devoted to archaeology in the U.S.S.R. More than half the contents of this journal consisted of articles by Soviet archaeologists, and it was widely circulated in the U.S.S.R., thus exerting a certain influence on the development of Soviet archaeology. It was so bound up with Soviet archaeologists and archaeology that when Soviet scholars were finally forbidden to contribute to it any longer it was forced to close down. The publications of the *Seminarium Kondakovianum* were another matter. As the works of "White émigré" scholars, they were banned in the U.S.S.R. They were received only at the GAIMK in Leningrad and Moscow, and even there they were in a special collection and could be consulted only with special permission. Throughout the U.S.S.R., however, archaeologists did not see these publications and could not make use of them. Hence they had no influence on the development of Soviet archaeology.

One reviewer remarked that I had not paid enough attention

to archaeology in the Caucasus, especially Georgia, and had not mentioned the names of certain archaeologists who had worked in the Caucasus. The fact is that I deliberately omitted the history and status of archaeology in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Siberia. Adding surveys of that kind would have meant greatly expanding the scope of the book, which I could not do. Moreover, I felt that my chief task was to trace and elucidate the main lines of archaeological development in prerevolutionary Russia and the U.S.S.R. The direction of this development was formed and established in Leningrad and Moscow—before the Revolution by the Imperial Archaeological Commission and the Moscow Archaeological Society, after the Revolution by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, through GAIMK and its successor. The basic political aims and tasks during the Soviet period have been the same for the entire U.S.S.R., and later for the satellite nations as well. A somewhat special feature in the national republics and oblasts has been the fact that there, in addition to the general political aims, a struggle has been waged against “bourgeois nationalism” in archaeology, in whatever hidden form it might manifest itself. However, even this special feature in the national republics and oblasts held good only until 1938, by which time all the nationalist-minded archaeologists had been liquidated.

The last criticism directed at me was that I paid insufficient attention to classical archaeology and its representatives in pre- and postrevolutionary Russia. This criticism has some basis. Classical archaeology in the U.S.S.R., owing to the abundance of Greek and Byzantine monuments in the Black Sea region, has its own special and extensive history; on the whole, of course, it has shared the fate of archaeology in general. I was unable to single out and stress this topic, again because of the size limitations of the book.

Thus the general purport of the few criticisms I have cited is that my presentation is, in certain cases, too compressed. However, the size of the book was determined in advance, and, whatever my wishes in the matter, I was unable to enlarge it.

The publication of my *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* apparently produced some reaction in the U.S.S.R. It is forbidden to mention my name in scientific works in the U.S.S.R., and Soviet authors who have to refer to my works cite them without indicating by whom they were written. What is more, my older brother A. Miller, the noted Russian archaeologist, was arrested in Leningrad in 1933, and from that time until his death it was also forbidden to mention his name in the press. After his death, however, it was permitted, and for twenty years after that his name was mentioned in references to his works in Soviet archaeological literature. In the most recent scientific articles, however, published in 1955, his works are again cited without mention of his name. Thus not only my name but that of my brother who died long ago have been stricken from the list of Russian archaeologists by order of the Soviet organs of political control.

In September, 1955, an international congress of historians was held in Rome. The Soviet delegation included three prominent archaeologists. Among other things, an exhibition of publications of the Institute for the Study of the USSR was organized at the congress. The members of the Soviet delegation showed great interest in the Institute's publications and made off unnoticed with four books from the exhibition, including, I am told, my *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* Thereupon the head of the Soviet delegation, Pankratova, demanded the immediate removal from the exhibition of the Institute's publications, which she referred to as "petty propaganda." Of course, if they had really been "petty propaganda," Pankratova would not have made this scene, which was reported in the Rome press and in émigré publications. By her behavior she gave a further demonstration of "freedom of scientific thought" as it exists in the U.S.S.R.

Finally, a book was published in Moscow in 1955 with the same title as mine, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, written by one of the present political leaders of archaeology, A. Mongait. The book, unquestionably written on orders from the Party leadership as a reply to my book, sets itself the task of justifying Soviet archaeology and propagandizing its achievements.

The Institute for the Study of the USSR devotes particular attention to the study of Soviet economics and publishes a great many papers and articles in this field. This is evidently what forced the Soviet Union, for the first time in its entire existence, to organize this year in Moscow an "Institute for the Study of the Economy of the Capitalist Countries."

Finally, at the very end of 1955, the Institute received a sensational letter from the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow, requesting that it send all its publications to the Academy, in return for which the latter would send to the Institute all its publications, as enumerated in an attached list.

These facts, as well as other similar ones, show that the Soviet government attaches great importance to the works of the Institute for the Study of the USSR and is painfully affected by works which expose the state of science and scientists in the Soviet Union. Judging from these facts and from numerous comments, my *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* has in some measure achieved this purpose and has shown, by the example of a single scientific discipline, the situation in which the humane sciences and scientists find themselves in the U.S.S.R. And that situation is a terrible warning to the entire free world.

In conclusion, I feel it my duty to express once more my gratitude to the Research Program on the U.S.S.R. for the assistance it gave me, enabling me to write my book and thus remind the free world again that free thought and science do not exist in the Soviet Union. Even archaeology, together with the other sciences, literature and art, has been transformed into an organ of propaganda, which is under the direction and surveillance of the MVD and which is forced to wage a cold war against the Free World.

M. MILLER

*Munich*

*December, 1955*

# I

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN RUSSIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION**

### *A. Introduction*

The physical and historical position of Russia, particularly the southern steppe part of it, favored the accumulation there of an enormous quantity of archaeological remains. The steppe belt stretches from Mongolia through southern Siberia, the Orenburg (Chkalov) region, and the entire Ukraine as far as the Prut River. Across this steppe belt innumerable tribes of Scythians, Sarmatians, Turks and Mongol cattle-herders wandered, and various peoples moved from Asia to Europe. This movement continued for thousands of years; the period of its greatest intensity, the fourth through eighth centuries A.D., is commonly called the era of the Great Migration of Peoples. On the northern shore of the Black Sea Greek merchants founded their colonies, which existed from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Some of the colonies developed into large cities and became the centers of Graeco-barbarian states. During the Byzantine period, from the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D., the Greek merchants again began their trade, starting out from their base on the northern shore of the Black Sea and diffusing their goods along the larger rivers deep into the mainland.

Thanks to these conditions the steppe belt in Siberia is saturated with archaeological remains, chiefly kurgans (tumuli), which prob-

ably number in the hundreds of thousands. The steppe belt along the Black Sea coast, in addition to an immense quantity of kurgans, contains remains of ancient Greek and medieval cities and other relics of culture which are widely varied in form and content.

The kurgans differ as to time of erection and in culture, content, form and size, from scarcely noticeable mounds to grandiose barrows twenty meters high. Some are round or oblong with two summits; some have steep slopes, others have declivities in the form of a hemisphere, cone or other shape. On the summit of some kurgans stood menhirs or stone figures (such a figure is known popularly as a *kamennaya baba* [stone woman]); the base of the kurgan is sometimes lined with large stones. In the large mounds numerous burials of various periods can be found; in some barrows, or under them, there are burial chambers. The practice of erecting mounds on top of burials originated in the Aëneolithic age, in the third millenium B.C., and the custom was maintained in some cases as recently as the end of the eighteenth century A.D. Thus the era during which kurgans were erected comprises a period of some 5,000 years. Most of the kurgans are located along watersheds, where they stretch for long distances, usually in large groups. They are also found in river valleys, such kurgans usually being the older ones.

The quantity of such monuments in the steppes around the Black Sea is so great that they almost seem to be an attribute of the steppe and the steppe landscape. In some regions of the steppe, particularly in the basin of the lower Dnepr and the Don, there is an especially large accumulation of graves.

In a report on archaeological investigations of 1853 we read: "The site on the right shore of the Dnepr between the rivers Sura and Bazavluk was inspected. The whole area is covered with kurgans. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

In the 1860's I. Zabelin wrote, "Nowhere can one find so many burial mounds, so varied in size and construction, as in the area surrounding the Dnepr rapids in a space of about 200 to 300 square versts." <sup>2</sup>

In the 1880's D. Samokvasov wrote:

With regard to tombs, particularly noteworthy is the site beyond the rapids, below the island of Khortitsy, along the river Konka. Examining this site . . . I noticed a number of kurgans in an area of seven kilometers in length and two in width . . . Up to 500 kurgans are located in groups and separately . . . West of the Beschastnaya tomb an almost uninterrupted cemetery stretches for more than five kilometers, consisting of various sizes and forms.<sup>3</sup>

M. Rostovtsev writes, "On the right bank of the Dnepr, between Nikopol' and Yekaterinoslav, there is a chain of the most famous, rich and mighty kurgans."<sup>4</sup>

N. Makarenko writes, "In the steppes you will rarely come across places so densely abounding in kurgans as on the way from Yekaterinoslav to Nikopol' and Aleksandrovsk. . . . The whole length of the road is strewn on the right and left with grouped and individual kurgans from various periods."<sup>5</sup>

The kurgans along the Don did not attract as much attention as those along the Dnepr, and they were less known; nevertheless, P. Leont'yev wrote about them as follows: "The first thing that strikes every traveller at the approach to the land of the Don Cossack Host is the immense number of kurgans. There are a great many of them in the whole area, particularly around the mouth of the Don."<sup>6</sup>

### *B. First Excavations of Archaeological Remains in Russia*

Of all kinds and forms of archaeological remains, the kurgan attracts the most attention and arouses the most interest, and therefore they were the first to be subjected to excavation and plunder. The basic motive for excavation of archaeological remains, over many centuries, was the desire to find treasure, wealth and precious objects. Up to the most recent times the popular conviction has continued to prevail that any kind of excavation is merely a quest for treasure. Such ideas have also contributed to the fact that in Russia till the beginning of the twentieth century the objects of excavation were almost exclusively kurgans, which sometimes contained rich burials with gold and silver objects. These motives were so widespread and strong among the masses that they continued to



manifest themselves in various degrees and forms long after the inception and establishment of archaeology as a science. In Russia all through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this "treasure hunting" tendency (*kladoiskatel'stvo*) persisted alongside the development of scientific archaeology. Remains which were poor in content and inconspicuous, such as the paleolithic and neolithic dwellings, remnants of ancient settlements of the Bronze and Iron Ages and the economic, handicraft and cultural remnants to be found in them, began to attract attention and to become objects of study only as a result of the reasonably high development of the science of archaeology in Russia in the 1870's. The tendency toward studying the way of life of peoples very slowly gained its place in field investigations, and only in the 1920's began to take the place of the emphasis on kurgans and treasure hunting in Russian archaeology.

Long before the beginning of scientific archaeological excavation (and later on even parallel with it) pillaging and ransacking excavations were carried out in search of precious objects. These excavations were a general phenomenon, and in some areas—such as southern Siberia, the Urals and the belt along the Black Sea—sometimes took the form of a mass activity. A second misfortune, though perhaps of smaller scope, was the equally damaging excavation of kurgans all through the nineteenth century by landowners, amateurs and the curious. A third misfortune was the construction of railways, highways, and dwellings which also destroyed archaeological remains. In many places remains were destroyed by natural forces (erosion and so forth). As a result of pillaging, the activities of amateurs and other forms of destruction, an incalculable quantity of remains was lost in Russia.

Plundering excavation of kurgans began soon after the very erection of the tombs, as had been the case with the tombs of the Pharaohs in Egypt. The great Scythian "royal" kurgans attracted the particular attention of the pilferers. Excavations were sometimes made by large groups of people, more often by groups of two or three men, or even by individuals. In the first case kurgans were dug out from above by means of a "well." In the latter cases it

was done by a mine, a tunnel which was dug from the foot of the kurgan towards its center. In many cases traces of the old excavations indicate the great experience of the excavators. The traces of the old excavations of kurgans and their extensive or total plundering are well known to all Russian archaeologists. In the forks of the Don River, for example, of some 150 kurgans excavated and investigated by A. Miller, 85 per cent proved to have been excavated at various times. This percentage can be regarded as more or less general for all the kurgans of the Black Sea steppe, with a possible higher percentage in some places.

In an ancient mining shaft in one of the great "royal" kurgans excavated by I. Zabelin along the Dnepr, the skeleton of a plunderer was found; the man was probably killed by a cave-in. Judging by the mining implements he used, his death occurred at the beginning of our era. Naturally, the people who had erected kurgans over the tombs of their rulers and warriors looked after them. This is evident, for example, from the proud answer given by the Scythian king to Darius, the Persian emperor.<sup>7</sup> However, as soon as migrations took place, the plundering of kurgans evidently also began. Only when the steppes were ruled by the late Turkic nomads with their highly developed ancestor cult were the kurgans left in peace for a few centuries.

In the fifteenth century an Italian merchant, Giuseppe Barbaro, came to Tana (present-day Azov). In his notes he tells how he organized a company of seven merchants in Tana for the search of the treasure of the emperor of the Alans. They employed 120 laborers and dug out a great kurgan, apparently somewhere near present-day Rostov. Barbaro's account of how he met an Egyptian in Tana who had lived there many years and whose special pre-occupation was treasure hunting is also interesting.<sup>8</sup>

A. Rigel'man reported the following concerning the Don Ataman, K. Bulavin:

He had assembled around him up to 500 men, Dnepr Cossacks, barge-haulers, Circassians and other people [during his stay at

Bakhmut]. He used to go with them into the steppe, and there he dug at kurgans in which, particularly in the larger ones, he searched for treasure . . . in the hope of becoming rich.<sup>9</sup>

Excavation and plundering of tombs also assumed the form of a mass activity in connection with the conquest of new areas by the Russians—in Siberia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and on the steppes along the Black Sea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Parallel with the mass plunderings of kurgans, the concept of the scientific investigation of the finds arose as early as the seventeenth century. This approach originated with the government, but individual persons (chiefly the learned men of the time) began to participate more actively in research for scientific purposes. The scholarly approach won out in the end, but the treasure hunting trend, in more or less disguised form and manifested in various ways, was in evidence in Russian archaeology right up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The first interest in archaeological finds and an attempt at their scientific description in Russia can be found as early as the seventeenth century. In 1679, during the reign of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich, I. Smorotski, captain of a troop of Cossacks of Olshanski (Khar'kov *guberniya*), digging up earth for a mill dam at a depth of about 10 feet, came upon huge bones (apparently of a mammoth) which he took for the skeleton of a giant. In 1684, at the *Razryad* (Court of Requests), he produced a tooth of the mammoth. A letter from the Tsar was at once dispatched to the provincial governor of Kursk with the order, "Send someone suitable from Kursk in the spring to those places, and order this emissary to dig out the bones and measure them . . . write an inventory and draw up a sketch." This document in its full form represents the first known Russian instruction for archaeological excavations which were meant to have a scientific rather than a plundering character. At the same time this is the first instance of the organization of archaeological excavations by the government.<sup>10</sup>

*C. Plundering of Kurgans and the First Archaeological Excavations in Siberia*

According to a report submitted to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich in 1670, news from Tobol'sk indicated the following:

Around the river Iset' and in its surroundings Russian people dig gold objects and utensils out of Tatar tombs and cemeteries . . . and such objects are to be found even now around Iset' and in other places in the tombs of the people called the Chudy.

In another document on the same theme it is said that "Russians excavate remains of Tatar funeral feasts and find all kinds of silver and gold in vessels and in bullion."<sup>11</sup>

Spafari, in the description of his travels, mentions some archaeological remains in Siberia<sup>12</sup>. N. Witsen also reports on the excavations along the Urals and in Siberia at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> In 1712 the provincial governor of Shadrin, Prince Meshcherski, on the instructions of Prince Gagarin, sent to the estate of a monastery

. . . the dragoon Slobodchikov, the peasant Lobov and their comrades as experts in order to seek, with the assistance of poor peasants of the monastery, gold, silver, and copper objects in the interior of sepulchres for the Tsar's treasury.<sup>14</sup>

In the Kazan' *guberniya* a Dutchman named Dort, having leased mica quarries, found a great number of varied objects in ancient graves. At his request Peter I gave him in 1714 a permit for excavation "in the land of the Bashkirs, along the Volga."<sup>15</sup>

Miller and Stralenberg, two Swedish officers taken prisoner and sent to Siberia, reported that during their stay there in 1716 the Swedish prisoners joined parties of Russians who used to go out and dig up tombs. The Kalmyks would attack the plunderers and kill them, and so the expeditions sometimes consisted of as many as 300 men who armed themselves when going out on the business of excavation. The Swedish officers also reported that caravans of diggers were formed and went to work with the permission and

protection of the commanders of Siberian cities, to whom they used to give part of their booty.<sup>16</sup>

Captain Unkovski, an envoy to the Kalmyks, quotes in his diary an unpleasant conversation which he had with the Kalmyk envoy Darzha concerning plundering by Russians; passing through the region of the middle Irtysh, they "saw a number of ransacked mounds not covered again by earth; exposed underground chambers are also to be seen all over the steppe." Stralenberg reports that the Russians did not permit Kalmyk envoys to visit the tombs of their ancestors for fear the mass destruction of the tombs might incite bitterness and hostility on the part of the Kalmyks.

Dr. Messerschmidt, sent by Peter I to Siberia to make collections of various kinds, including archaeological ones, tells in his diary (1721) that excavations constituted the usual business of Russian treasure hunters who lived around the upper course of the river Ob'; they went out in large armed parties. People who made a specialty of excavation turned over their finds, in accordance with the decree, to the Court, but they also gave much to the provincial governors, and kept even more for themselves.<sup>17</sup> Bell, who passed through Siberia in 1720, reports that many people departed every summer from Tomsk and other places for the steppe, at times for a ten-day journey, and there excavated kurgans in which they found gold, silver, bronze, and so forth.<sup>18</sup>

In 1718 Peter I issued two famous ukases for the governors and commanders of cities regarding collection and delivery to St. Petersburg of all objects "right old and rare." "Should one find ancient things in the soil, namely unusual stones, bones of animals, fish or birds, unlike those we have now, let him remit them for a suitable reward." The ukase contains an interesting injunction to "make sketches of whatever is found, on the very spot." This injunction definitely shows that the compilers of the edict were guided by scientific interests rather than the hope of material gain. Of course, neither the plunder of kurgans nor the pillage of archaeological items ceased after these ukases, and the vast majority of objects were left lying where they were found and were lost for archaeology; nevertheless part of the finds began to be sent to

St. Petersburg, and in 1726 a government office was able to turn over to the Kunstkammer [Imperial Art Collection] more than 250 objects of gold and silver, in all 74 pounds of kurgan finds. Some of these finds are still preserved and are of great artistic and scientific interest.

In addition to collecting the objects found by excavators, the Russian government itself at times undertook excavations, entrusting them to local authorities or even equipping an expedition for the purpose. In the eighteenth century a whole series of missions were sent by the government to inspect and excavate archaeological remains, and in all cases the government required a description of the work carried on and the objects investigated. In the case of one of these expeditions, a description of its excavations and finds together with drawings has been preserved.<sup>10</sup>

In 1733-1734 G. Miller, a well-known learned academician to whom the Academy of Sciences had entrusted the acquisition of antiquities, travelled in Siberia and personally supervised the excavations of kurgans. He found an especially large number of bronze articles, chiefly weapons and ornaments. He turned over his finds and acquisitions to the Kunstkammer and the Academy of Sciences began preparing the publication of *Monumenta Siberiae*. However, during a fire in the Kunstkammer in 1747 the copper plates with engravings which had been prepared for publication were destroyed and work on the publication was discontinued.

Miller writes in one of his later articles that in Siberia "no one goes into the tomb trade any more, because all the tombs in which there was hope of finding treasure have already been ransacked."<sup>20</sup> Of course, one should understand this report only in the sense that mass excavation as a business had ceased, not that plundering excavations had been completely discontinued. Separate excavations by small groups or even individually continued up to our time, perhaps decreasing in number. It seems likely that the most intensive mass destruction and plunder of kurgans in southern Siberia took place between the middle of the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century.

All the travellers in the eighteenth century, such as Falk, Georgi and Rychkov, wrote of the archaeological remains in Siberia. Pallas and Gmelin gave many details on the Siberian kurgans and tombs.<sup>21</sup>

It is in any case noteworthy that the realization of the scientific importance of archaeological remains reached such a level during the eighteenth century in Russia that as early as 1739 the historian Tatishchev wrote instructions for archaeological excavations, some of which are not outdated even in our day.

#### *D. Treasure Hunting and Plunder Along the Black Sea*

After the annexation by Russia of the steppe along the Black Sea in the second half of the eighteenth century, vast stretches of steppe rapidly began to be populated. New Russia\* became settled by Germans, Serbs, Moldavians, Greeks, and Armenians. A class of landowners was rapidly formed, who then populated the new land with peasants brought mainly from the Ukraine; sometimes they enticed peasants onto the "free land" by promising privileges of all kinds. At the same time peasants hastened of their own accord to the free land and formed communities of state peasants. For a long time the government closed its eyes to this spontaneous exodus of peasants to New Russia. Colonization of the new land proceeded very rapidly, especially in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. New towns arose: Odessa, Nikolayev, Kherson, Mariupol', Taganrog, Simferopol', Novorossiisk. From Moscow and St. Petersburg travellers made journeys to New Russia, mainly to the Crimea, later publishing descriptions of the new province, including its archaeological remains.

In addition to a vast quantity of kurgans in the steppe, among which were monumental barrows more than twenty meters high, many spots on the shore of the Black Sea contained exposed ruins and remnants of ancient Greek towns, such as Tyras, Olbia, Chersonese, Panticapaeum, Tanais, and Phanagoria. The ground was literally saturated with the remains of antiquity. This situation re-

sulted in a shift in the archaeological interest of the government and the general public in the second half of the eighteenth century from Siberia to New Russia.

The new population of the province, landowners and peasants, at once began to excavate kurgans. Conditions were different here from those prevalent during the colonization of Siberia. There was no need to set out in large armed parties, and therefore excavating did not assume the form of an occupation for whole settlements. But here too occurred the mass destruction of remains, on a scarcely smaller scale than in Siberia. Digging was carried on mainly by small groups or by individuals. Sometimes the number of people earning their living by the search and plunder of ancient tombs reached a considerable total. In Kerch', these plunderers were called *schastlivchiki* (lucky ones).

Provincial newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century were full of reports about plundering excavations. Such reports were also common in the catalogs of provincial museums and in the annotations to finds. One newspaper reported:

Recently in one Cossack settlement on the Don frequent searches for treasure were conducted on a group basis in the following manner: a few villagers, having come to an agreement, dug up a few kurgans with the condition that the booty and expense should be shared equally.<sup>22</sup>

Another reported:

Many kurgans are ransacked, but many are not yet touched . . . Many old men came to me and said that in their time they had ransacked numerous tombs. In their possession are long probing rods for use in the investigation of kurgans.<sup>23</sup>

The newspapers also quote reports about rapacious treasure hunts and professional soothsayers who foresaw great finds of treasure, and so forth. Plundering excavations became so much a part of the life of the population that they also found their expression in literary works.<sup>24</sup>

The plundering excavations were especially common on the littoral of the Black Sea, in the Crimea and at Kerch'. The so-called hill of Mithridates and its environs, covered with cultural remains



and sepulchres, were under the protection of a special guard. The *schastlivchiki* invented various ways of avoiding the guard, and the plundering of the sepulchres of Kerch' continued without interruption. Many finds of the *schastlivchiki* were sent abroad through dealers in antiquities and other agents. There were antiquarian shops in Kerch', in which, alongside counterfeit objects, could be found genuine pieces which were sometimes of great scientific value. The remarkable find by the *schastlivchiki* in 1904 of two untouched catacombs with many precious ornaments in Gospital'naya Street in Kerch' is widely known.<sup>25</sup> The interminable ransacking and plundering of the tombs of Kerch' prompted the Imperial Archaeological Commission to send Shkorpil to Kerch' to start mass excavations as the only way to prevent further plunder. The same thing, on a somewhat smaller scale, occurred elsewhere, on the Taman' Peninsula, on the shores of the Black Sea, on the site of ancient Chersonese and Olbia and all along the northern shores of the Black Sea where there had been ancient cities and settlements.

Landowners also carried on large excavations over a long period of time. From the time of Peter I the landowner was the legal owner of all the wealth in his soil, including archaeological remains. While it was sometimes possible therefore for the government to appropriate the finds from the plundering on public, peasant, Cossack and other land, the same thing could not be done in the case of landowners, whose destruction and plunder of kurgans were based on the law itself. Consequently a large number of landowners, having serf labor at their disposal (until the liberation of the serfs), excavated kurgans all through the early nineteenth century out of boredom or curiosity. Some excavated intermittently, other over a period of decades. Among such excavators were some truly fanatical treasure hunters.

The published proceedings of the Second Archaeological Congress contain an account of a Cossack captain named Pulentsov who saw a treasure in a dream but could not remember its location. Thereafter for almost twenty years he carried on excavations all along the shore of the Taman' Peninsula, seeking the place he had seen in his dream. In 1817 he actually found a treasure of

ancient gold and silver coins which were invaluable from the scientific point of view.

The same publication contains a communication concerning a Cossack who searched from 1840 to 1870 for the treasure of the Yefremov Atamans on the Don; he asked for assistance from the government and finally applied to the Archaeological Congress, but his requests were refused in both cases.<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to note that as late as the 1930's another Cossack tried to find the same treasure and also applied to the government for help.

Many landowners owned individual items from excavations or even whole collections. Through their own excavations or through purchase some of these amateurs acquired large and valuable collections which later served as the nucleus for museums. Among such persons were V. Tarnovski in Chernigov, B. Khanenko in Kiev, and A. Pol' in Yekaterinoslav. In Poltava *guberniya* Mazaraki was known for his large-scale excavations over a period of many years; he kept no records of excavations, being interested solely in objects. In the Yekaterinoslav *guberniya* Miklashevski and Ivanitski performed excavations. A. Martynov, a prominent representative of the common landowner-excavator type, excavated from 1820 to 1850 on the Don. Although he made no record of his work, he wrote a treatise on antique objects from the Don region which includes some information of scientific interest. Some of the outstanding objects found by Martynov later reached the Don museum.<sup>27</sup>

A great many archaeological remains, including the sites of ancient towns and settlements, were wholly or partly destroyed by the construction of railroads and highways, operations in stone and sand quarries and other such projects. Remains of ancient cities and structures of stone were used by the local population for its own needs; sometimes whole groups worked on the ruins to obtain stone. The authorities not only failed to protect the remains but in some cases even took part in such activities. Thus in 1744, during the construction of the fortress of St. Ann on the lower Don, the stone castles and towers of ancient Sarkel were dismantled by decree of the government, and the stone was carried along the Don

in barges. The same thing happened in other places in Russia even after the 1917 Revolution. In 1864, during the digging preparatory to the construction of a water tower over the Khokhlach kurgan (near Novocherkassk) an ancient sepulchre was destroyed, and most of the remarkable precious objects found in it were salvaged only by accident.<sup>28</sup> In 1868 during the quarrying of stone for the building of the Rostov-Taganrog railroad eleven kilometers from the N. Gnilovskaya village, the workers found a jug containing gold Bosphorus coins.<sup>29</sup> During the building of the same railroad in 1869-70 part of the cultural remains of Tanais were destroyed. Several hundred fragments and entire marble slabs with ancient Greek inscriptions were found on this site.<sup>30</sup> During the construction of the same railroad at the Khapra farmstead, an ancient necropolis was partly destroyed; in the Kiziterinka settlement both the ancient settlement and the necropolis met the same fate.

After the Revolution, in connection with the development of "socialist construction," the amount of destruction increased considerably. During the building of a viaduct to Rostov-on-the-Don, the ruins of the ancient town of Temernitskoye were completely destroyed. In 1941, during the laying of a railroad branch line, the high bank at Aksaiskaya village was dug up and the ancient town of Kobryakov, known in literature, was completely destroyed. During the laying of the branch line at Azov the ruins of the Podazovskoye settlement were largely destroyed. During the expansion of the fishing enterprise in Azov the so-called "Genoese Gates" were destroyed (such Romanesque monuments are rare in Russia).

In the Nedvigovka settlement, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the inhabitants carried off stone from the Tanais remnants for building needs. The remnants of walls and towers and bridges on the square of the acropolis were taken, and then the remnants of the stone dwellings were removed along with the cellars. Beginning in 1910, whole groups worked there shipping their looted stone on barges to Azov. The many finds which were made reached the museums only rarely; most of them found their way into private hands, sometimes abroad. Almost as soon as the Yelisavetinskaya village was set up, the stone walls of the site and the acropolis

were dismantled. In the N. Gnilovskaya village, ancient cemeteries were destroyed over many years of operations of stone and sand quarries.

The same thing happened all over Russia wherever there were remnants of ancient settlements, cities and cemeteries. They were ruined and destroyed by the local inhabitants, for neither before nor after the Revolution were measures taken to salvage these remains. A. Miller published an article with a description of the devastation and destruction of the ancient sites along the Don with an appeal for their preservation, but it had no effect whatsoever.<sup>31</sup> Prozritelev sounded the alarm at the destruction of the Podazovkoye site. M. Miller published an article in which he spoke of the necessity of safeguarding archaeological remains during construction operations.<sup>32</sup> This article was discussed by the oblast committee of the Party, and the accusation was made that the author, in requesting the protection of remains, had actually opposed the building of socialism.

Natural forces also contributed greatly in some places to the destruction of archaeological remains. All over the northern shore of the Sea of Azov many remains are to be found of settlements from the Bronze Age, the Hellenistic period, the Graeco-Scythian, Roman, Bulgar, and Slavic times, including fortifications from the period of Peter I. The northern shore of the Sea of Azov is being rapidly broken up and washed away by the sea, thus destroying the remains located on the shores or leaving only worthless remnants of them. The same thing is happening to remains on the Taman' Peninsula, especially the remnants of T'mutarakan'.<sup>33</sup>

In consequence of all these actions, especially those of man, an incalculable number of archaeological remains in the steppe belt along the Black Sea were destroyed during the last two centuries. This destruction of remains is happening even now to a certain degree, and threatens in the future to destroy completely even the last of the remains which have been preserved. Those which are not studied in time will be lost forever to science, as so many hundreds of thousands have already been lost.

*E. The Development of Archaeological Work in the Black Sea Region*

In all likelihood the first archaeological excavations began simultaneously with the first plunderings of the remains in the steppe belt along the Black Sea. As early as 1763 the governor of New Russia, General A. Mel'gunov, excavated the great Scythian kurgan which in archaeology acquired the name of "Mel'gunovski." The excavations were described in writing and generally performed with a scientific approach corresponding to the level of scientific development at the time. The excavations produced remnants of the burial of a Scythian king with valuable finds which are now in the Hermitage in Leningrad.

In 1790 Engineer-General Sukhtelen made excavations in the ruins of Olbia. During the same period P. Sumarokov started the investigation of the ancient Greek remains in the Crimea. Clarke is one of a number of travellers who described the Crimea.<sup>34</sup>

The French émigré archaeologists who studied Crimean remains in the first half of the 19th century are particularly outstanding: P. Dubrux, Blaremborg and Sabatier.<sup>35</sup> Dubrux was a true archaeologist and an enthusiastic student of Crimean antiquity; Russian scholarship is indebted to him for sketching out the layout of the fortifications of Panticapaeum, which were still preserved at that time. I. Stempkowski, governor of the Kerch' township, also played a prominent role in the development of archaeology in the Crimea. Among other things, in 1830 he excavated the great Kul'-Oba kurgan, not far from Kerch'; it contained a sepulchral chamber of hewn stone with a number of burial objects such as the famous Kul'-Oba bowl depicting Scythians.

By 1826 so many finds had been assembled in Kerch' that the first museum in Russia was opened there. Blaremborg was appointed its director.<sup>36</sup> In 1837 the first scientific description of the Crimean antiquities was published.<sup>37</sup> In 1849 the director of the Kerch' museum, Ashik, published the first history of the Bosporean Empire, chiefly on the basis of the archaeological collections at Kerch'.<sup>38</sup> During the early 1850's Count A. Uvarov excavated the

remnants of Chersonese. Among other things he discovered remnants of a medieval Christian basilica with a wonderfully well-preserved mosaic floor. Part of this floor he cut out and transported to St. Petersburg, where it was laid into the floor of the Hermitage. In 1852 a professor of Moscow University, P. Leont'yev, undertook a survey of Tanais, examined the lower Don and performed excavations in several places.<sup>39</sup> In the 1860's A. Uvarov excavated at Olbia.

In 1854 Stefani published a description of ancient finds from the Black Sea basin with an atlas of beautiful engravings and a text.<sup>40</sup> In 1850 the plundering excavators started digging the great Scythian kurgan in Yekaterinoslavskaya guberniya known as the Alexandrovski or Lugovaya burial mound. Some gold objects were confiscated from the diggers. From that time dates the rise of interest in the Scythian kurgans of the Ukraine; attention shifted from the Crimea to the steppes of the Ukraine and excavations began of great kurgans in the search for the Scythian royal sepulchres described by Herodotus. A discussion began as to where Herodotus' Gerrhus could be.<sup>41</sup> The Alexandrovski kurgan was excavated by Bukhteyev, Lyutsenko and Tereshchenko, in succession, from 1852 to 1856; their work yielded a range of splendid finds. However, because of the imperfect techniques used no true investigation of this kurgan was carried out by these men, in spite of the continuity and frequency of excavations.

The excavations of Scythian royal tombs were entrusted to the renowned self-taught historian I. Zabelin in Moscow. Almost every summer between 1859 and 1874 he investigated kurgans in the basin of the lower Dnepr and on the Taman' Peninsula; he found a large quantity of valuable remains of the Graeco-Scythian culture, one of the most outstanding of which was the celebrated vase from Chertomlytsk. The excavations of Scythian kurgans were made public in the first and second issues of the *Materialy po arkheologii rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of Russia] under the title "The Antiquities of Herodotus' Scythia" with text by Zabelin, and in other works by the same author. Zabelin, however, excavated large kurgans (sometimes exceeding twenty meters in height) carelessly

and ignorantly. He introduced into Russian archaeology the method of excavating kurgans by two cross-trenches. There is ample ground to suppose that the kurgans he excavated were not pursued to the end and that he left many burials untouched. Keeping a poor inventory, he paid no attention to burials from the Bronze and Aëneolithic ages; when he came across such burials he discontinued the excavations. His descriptions of the course of the excavations were sketchy and in the form of summaries.<sup>42</sup>

At the beginning of the 1850's Savel'yev, under the general direction and with the frequent participation of A. Uvarov, made innumerable excavations of small so-called "Merian" graves in the Vladimirskaya province. Altogether 7,729 graves were excavated. The excavations were conducted carelessly, and the material was confused.<sup>43</sup>

#### *F. Archaeological Organizations and Publications in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*

The rapid development of archaeology in Russia, together with the large quantity of remarkable finds, attracted the attention of European scholars and led to the foundation by the government of the Imperial Archaeological Commission within the Ministry of the Court in St. Petersburg for the purpose of coordinating and directing archaeological work. The Commission played a prominent part in the further development of archaeology in Russia and existed down to the Revolution, when it was transformed into the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture.

In 1854-55, during the Crimean War, archaeological activities were discontinued. The Kerch' museum was the first to suffer; the English took from it almost all its archaeological material. Nevertheless, the social regeneration of Russia after the war also affected the development of archaeology. The liberation of the serfs and the Alexandrian reforms abolished the feudal system in Russia and called forth new strata of the population to social life and activity. A rapid development in industry, transport, trade, science in general and archaeology in particular took place. In connection

with the diffusion of knowledge an interest in the problems of natural science, philosophy, history and political economy arose among the masses. The works of Darwin, Marx, Spencer and others were widely disseminated and exerted a powerful influence upon the formation of the social consciousness.

At first the Imperial Archaeological Commission published only brief extracts from reports on archaeological investigations which had been submitted to the Tsar, but in 1859 the commission was granted the powers of the highest archaeological institution in Russia, the right of issuing permits for excavations on government and public land, and the responsibility of looking after all the archaeological remains in Russia. At this time the commission began the publication of the annual *Otchoty imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] in sumptuous format with beautiful illustrations, which appeared from 1861 to 1918. At the same time the Commission started the publication of the *Materialy po arkheologii rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of Russia], also a sumptuous series. From 1901 to 1918 the Commission published the *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] with *Pribavleniya* [Supplements]. Even today these publications are of great scientific interest and of exceptional importance for the study of archaeological remains and ancient cultures of Russia.

During this period Count A. Uvarov and his wife P. Uvarova displayed exceptional energy in the organization and development of archaeology in Russia; their contribution to Russian scholarship is very great. The Uvarovs established a second archaeological center in Moscow. In 1864 Uvarov organized the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in Moscow, of which he was elected chairman, a post which he retained until his death in 1884. His wife was elected chairman after his death and directed the society until the Revolution, when she emigrated.

On Uvarov's initiative, archaeological congresses were organized and took place every third year, the first congress being held in Moscow in 1869. Uvarov presided at all congresses until his death,



whereupon his wife directed all subsequent congresses until World War I, when they were discontinued.<sup>44</sup> Before every congress a preparatory committee performed preliminary work, organized initial excavations, collected material, managed the arrangement of archaeological exhibits at the congress, and so forth. During some congresses there were excursions with model excavations. The preparatory committees published their proceedings in the form of minutes. The *Trudy arkheologicheskikh s"yezдов* [Transactions of the Archaeological Congresses], published after every congress in two to four luxurious volumes with illustrations, are especially valuable.

Uvarov's Moscow society published its transactions under the title *Drevnosti: Trudy imperatorskovo russkovo arkheologicheskovo obshchestva* [Antiquities: Transactions of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society]. From 1867 until the Revolution some thirty volumes were issued. There were also the *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus] edited by P. Uvarova and published in quarto on fine paper with excellent phototypes. This was a very valuable publication, in spite of its restricted geographical coverage. The *Materialy po arkheologii vostochnykh gubernii Rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Eastern Provinces of Russia] was also started.<sup>45</sup>

At the first archaeological congresses the prevailing topics of interest were paleography, archaeology, church archaeology and other problems which had little or nothing to do with field archaeology. However, beginning with the seventh congress field archaeology occupied the leading position, and the auxiliary archaeological disciplines receded to the background. The archaeological congresses, attended also by archaeologists from abroad, were extremely important for the development of Russian archaeology. From the proceedings one can note the gradual accumulation of archaeological material and the parallel development of the science itself.<sup>46</sup> Of course the transactions of the Moscow, St. Petersburg and Odessa archaeological societies also had a certain importance.

In 1851 an imperial archaeological society was organized in

St. Petersburg with a section of Slavic and Russian archaeology. The society published its proceedings under the title *Zapiski russkovo arkheologicheskovo obshchestva* [Notes of the Imperial Archaeological Society]. The greatest quantity of archaeological material is contained in the *Zapiski russkovo i slavyanskovo otdeleniya* [Notes of the Russian and Slavic Department], especially after A. Spitsyn started to give his close cooperation to this publication in 1890.

Thus two archaeological centers arose and took shape in Russia, one in St. Petersburg, the other in Moscow. These two centers later differed in their approach. The St. Petersburg center was under the strong influence of western European science, whereas the center in Moscow tended toward a uniquely Russian approach. Between these two centers competition and polemical relations arose. Scholars of the two centers engaged in debates in the press which sometimes became most acute. Uvarov's society issued permits for the right of excavation without regard for the prerogatives of the Imperial Archaeological Commission. When the latter presented official protests and brought suit against the Moscow society, Countess P. Uvarova, taking advantage of her personal relations with the monarch, wrote him a letter, and the matter ended there. This antagonism was evident in various ways, and its influence is still felt.

While the St. Petersburg and Moscow centers were coming into existence, local Russian archaeological centers were also being formed, such as The Society of the Friends of Caucasian Archaeology (1873, in Tbilisi), The Kazan' Society for Archaeology, History and Ethnography (1878), The Pskov Archaeological Society (1880), and others. But the oldest and most vigorous of the provincial societies was the Imperial Odessa Society of History and Antiquity, founded as early as 1839. Chiefly concerned with classical antiquities of the Black Sea region in general and those of Olbia in particular, this society was very active and developed a number of outstanding archaeologists. The Odessa Society played a prominent part in the archaeological study of the Black Sea area. Its *Zapiski* [Notes] are still very valuable.<sup>47</sup>

In 1877 the first archaeological institute in Russia was founded in St. Petersburg on the model of the *École des Chartes* in Paris; its founder and director for many years was N. Kolachov. The institute offered instruction mainly in archival matters, paleography, church archaeology (which N. Kondakov taught for many years) and certain other disciplines. It was only in 1900 that a course on field archaeology was introduced; it was conducted at first by N. Veselovski, later by A. Spitsyn. There were more than thirty auditors in the institute, most of whom were students of the Divinity Academy. Basically the institute trained archivists; it produced not a single archaeologist.

#### *G. Leading Prerevolutionary Russian Archaeologists*

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, along with the spread of learning and the general rise in the level of science, a group of archaeologists who were to be of importance for the future development of the science came to the fore. All of them were amateurs, self-instructed in archaeology, with a general education and no definite speciality or specialized training. Among them were professors, landowners, civil servants and military men. Many of them were real archaeological enthusiasts and made excavations over whole decades. They all lacked European scientific training and a knowledge of the methods of excavation. Nevertheless, some of them reached the European level in their understanding of the task of archaeology and in their activities and played a leading part in the development of Russian archaeological science.

*D. Samokvasov*, Professor of the Department of the History of Russian Law at Moscow University, was one of the outstanding Russian archaeologists of that time. He started excavating in 1872 and continued, with interruptions, for almost forty years. He excavated kurgans in various parts of Russia and studied remains from all periods and cultures. Samokvasov's excavating methods were not those of the professionally trained archaeologist. In the course of his many years of activity he wrote numerous articles

and notes, mainly of a reportorial and descriptive character. Yet it was he who first proposed a classification of Russian antiquities, in which he called the Stone and Bronze Ages the "Cimmerian period." This term persisted in Russian archaeology, but its application was later limited to the very late Bronze Age of the Black Sea region as was done in the later periodization of V. Gorodtsov.<sup>48</sup>

*V. Antonovich*, a professor at the University of Kiev, was an outstanding archaeologist and a regular participant in the archaeological congresses. He investigated mainly the burial remains of the Slavs in the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnepr.<sup>49</sup>

General *N. Brandenburg*, director of the Artillery Museum in St. Petersburg, was also a regular participant in the archaeological congresses and conducted numerous excavations of kurgans over a period of many years. He was the first in Russia to start the practice of cutting out whole burials, which he then delivered to the museum for exhibition.<sup>50</sup>

The orientalist *V. Tizengausen* also performed remarkable excavations, as did *V. Yastrebov* who often worked on behalf of the St. Petersburg Imperial Archaeological Commission, mainly in the lower Dnepr basin.<sup>51</sup>

The anthropologist and geographer *D. Anuchin*, a professor at Moscow University, was an outstanding figure in the learned world. Not an excavating archaeologist, he wrote a series of articles and studies on the problems of archaeology. He was the first Russian scholar to start performing anthropometric studies from ancient burials. He was the initiator and organizer of an anthropological exhibition in Moscow in 1878. In order to prepare the material for this exhibition, excavations were organized and carried out in several places in Russia. The artifacts exhibited were described in a three-volume publication.<sup>52</sup>

*A. Ivanovski* distinguished himself as a serious investigator and methodologist. He is widely known for the excavations of 5,887 kurgans in the Novgorod region.<sup>53</sup>

*V. Sizov* made excavations of kurgans in Smolensk guberniya and the Gnezdovski tomb. He was the first to establish the Slavic

burial culture.<sup>54</sup> Slavic kurgans in Volinskaya guberniya were studied in great number by Colonel S. Gamchenko.<sup>55</sup>

Count Bobrinski excavated for many years in Kiev guberniya. A man of European education, he conducted excavations correctly and methodically. He was the first among Russian archaeologists to draw attention to the human skeletal remains in burials, and to hand them over for anthropological study.<sup>56</sup> N. Marr gained a reputation with his excavations of Ani, an ancient Transcaucasian town site. A. Ivanovski and E. Ressler performed excavations in the Transcaucasus.<sup>57</sup>

In Mongolia Yadrintsev, Potanin and Kozlov conducted excavations. Kozlov's work produced sensational results (Khara-Khoto) but did not meet scientific requirements.

In Central Asia in 1885 the orientalist Professor N. Veselovski conducted archaeological investigations, chiefly of medieval towns. Thereafter he excavated for many years in Scythian and Sarmatian kurgans on the Kuban'. Veselovski hunted for sensational and precious finds. He supervised the work carelessly, entrusting excavations to his elder worker Svidyn. He made descriptions which were schematic and unsatisfactory, without drawings or photographs. When he came across burials from the Bronze Age with contracted skeletons he discontinued excavations. Thanks to his position as a senior member of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, he had great resources at his disposal for excavations.<sup>58</sup>

From the 1870's on, side by side with the prevalent emphasis on kurgans, the tendency to study the way of life of peoples (*bytovoye napravleniye*) gained strength in archaeology. The representatives of this trend started investigating remains of the economic life, trades, technology and culture, which are to be found not in kurgans but in camp sites and remains of ancient settlements. This emphasis grew stronger with the development of the science of archaeology and in the end it predominated.

In the 1870's the remains of paleolithic sites in Kostenki were investigated by A. Kel'siyev. In the Crimea K. Merezhkovski investigated paleolithic remains. A. Uvarov excavated a paleolithic site in Karacharov. I. Polyakov developed the methodology of locating

paleolithic sites on the basis of paleontological remnants. The geologist *A. Inostrantsev* conducted well-organized investigations of the neolithic sites along Lake Ladoga.<sup>59</sup>

Thus by the end of the nineteenth century Russian archaeology had already reached a considerable height in its development.

At the turn of the century Russian archaeology made a considerable step forward in its development. A series of important discoveries were made and a number of prominent scholars appeared. The achievements of archaeology became common property and the science gained a remarkable popularity, by far exceeding the scope of the interest displayed by the narrow circle of enthusiasts which had cultivated it earlier.

General attention was aroused by the discovery of the Tripol'ye culture; the Burial Fields (*Polya Pogrebenii*) with the Zarubinites (La Tène) and Chernyakhovski (Gothic) cultures; the Saltovo culture (North Caucasian) on the Donets; the Gothic cemeteries on the southern shore of the Crimea; the Bronze Age culture in the middle basin of the Volga; remnants of prehistoric culture on the shores of the White Sea; and many other finds.

The same period witnessed systematic and continuous scientific excavations of the remnants of Olbia, Chersonese, Crimean cemeteries in Kerch', on the Taman' Peninsula and in the estuary of the Don. These activities raised Russian archaeology to the European level and stimulated its further development. The results of the systematic investigations of the more outstanding remains were published annually. As early as the 1890's an archaeological journal was published (*Arkheologicheskiye izvestiya i zametki* [Archaeological News and Notes], Moscow, 1891-1894) and with the beginning of the twentieth century the *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] in St. Petersburg and the *Arkheologicheskaya leptis' yuzhnoi Rossii* [Archaeological Chronicle of Southern Russia] were started.

A group of new and young archaeologists appeared, most prominent of whom were *V. Gorodtsov* in Moscow and *A. Spitsyn* in St. Petersburg. Gorodtsov, an infantry officer and a talented self-

taught archaeologist, retired from service and devoted the rest of his life to archaeology with the assistance of Countess P. Uvarova. He started excavating at the beginning of the 1890's and continued his work during the course of almost forty years. He expanded his activity at the beginning of the century, when he became director of the Moscow Historical Museum and one of the founders of the Moscow Archaeological Institute. At the Institute he was for many years director and lecturer on field archaeology, in which the emphasis is on the investigation of campsites and settlements to study evidence of everyday life, (in contrast to "kurgan archaeology"). Gorodtsov wrote many archaeological articles, notes, studies and scholarly works which are attempts at generalizations and deductions from the archaeological data at his disposal. He composed a systematic periodization of Russian antiquities and put forward his own archaeological terminology, which was not, however, accepted by Russian scholarship. As head of the "Moscow archaeological school," he trained a series of talented archaeologists who are still active (Artsikhovski, Grakov, Kiselyov, and Bryusov among others). Gorodtsov's chief contribution is that he first proved, on the basis of his memorable excavations on the Don, the existence of the Bronze Age in Russia and determined the periods of its development. His periodization, with further additions and corrections, is accepted to this day in Russian archaeology. Gorodtsov was a follower of the formalist school in archaeology, which at that time was progressive.<sup>60</sup>

*A. Spitsyn*, a member of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, distinguished himself by exceptional industry and productivity in writing all kinds of descriptions, studies, notes, reports and, to a much lesser degree, articles of scholarly research. He also performed many excavations. He was a precursor of what was later called the empirical school, and when he collected material he avoided making generalizations and deductions from it. Spitsyn had no great talents, and his few attempts to produce some sort of generalizations and deductions cannot be considered successful. He was a worker rather than a leader in archaeology, though a very able and energetic one. For many years he lectured on field archaeology at the

Archaeological Institute in St. Petersburg, but he did not manage to train archaeologists or to educate his pupils. V. Ravdonikas is the only archaeologist of stature who called himself a pupil of A. Spitsyn, but he has nothing in common with Spitsyn. In his works Spitsyn used the generally accepted European terminology, but he applied it in his own interpretation, which is the reason why, particularly in Europe, his works seem puzzling.

Spitsyn's main contribution lies in his supervision and editing of the *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] for many years, which he filled with his publications. He also published a great deal in the Slavic and Russian archaeology section of the *Zapiski Peterburgskovo arkheologicheskovo obshchestva* [Notes of the St. Petersburg Archaeological Society]. Through his hands passed all the information about excavations and chance finds in Russia during a period of over thirty years. On the basis of this material Spitsyn built up a remarkable personal file of more than 10,000 cards with drawings and photographs of unpublished finds. After his death in 1927 this file went to the *Institut istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Institute for the History of Material Culture].<sup>61</sup>

A. Miller began excavations in 1902; he undertook systematic excavations of a tomb and a Scythian site in the estuary of the Don. A pupil of Mortillet and F. Volkov, he distinguished himself by the systematic and scientific character of his excavations. He raised to a high level the methodology of excavation and investigation of archaeological remains as well as the subsequent study of the material and its conservation. He later held the chair of archaeology at Leningrad University and became the leader of the empirical school in Russia. He trained a whole series of pupils who still occupy leading positions in Soviet archaeology. From 1907 to 1933 he directed the Caucasian section of the Russian Ethnographic Museum.<sup>62</sup>

N. Repnikov began with excavations of kurgans in the northern area of Russia but after 1902 turned to systematic excavations of Gothic remains on the southern shore of the Crimea which he continued for many years; he made his reputation with these activities.<sup>63</sup>



N. Makarenko began working in the central belt of Russia but later transferred his work to the Ukraine, where he remained until his arrest and exile in 1937.<sup>64</sup>

In 1902 the amateur archaeologist and village teacher V. Babenko discovered the Saltovo culture, a discovery which caused a sensation; the presence of this culture at such a long distance from the Caucasus, as well as the problem of identifying the nationality of the people who had left the remains, provoked discussions and gave rise to a whole literature on the subject.<sup>65</sup>

B. Farmakovski was a specialist in classical antiquity. A good methodologist, he distinguished himself mainly with his systematic excavations and investigations, in particular those of Olbia, which he conducted from 1902 to 1914 and from 1924 until his death in 1928. Farmakovski worked out for Russian archaeology a methodology for studying the remains of ancient Greek colonies. In addition to a number of separate articles, his reports on the excavations of Olbia were published over many years in the *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii*.

E. von Stern, a prominent specialist in the antiquities of the Black Sea littoral, laid the basis for scientific work on the remains of the Tripol'ye culture.<sup>66</sup>

In 1902 the newly appointed director of the Kerch' museum, V. Shkorpil, began mass excavations of Greek tombs on the territory of ancient Panticapaeum and on the Taman' Peninsula, which he continued every year until his death in 1918. The Imperial Archaeological Commission entrusted Shkorpil with the task of salvaging these remains for science instead of leaving them to the *schastlivichki* of Kerch' who were ransacking sepulchres and selling the finds abroad. Shkorpil conducted excavations on a large scale and with remarkable energy, sometimes supervising excavations which were being carried on in more than one locality at the same time. Thanks to the local climatic conditions, the excavations continued almost throughout the year. During the first ten years (1902-1911) he excavated 1,681 tombs, including many catacombs with underground chambers; in many tombs there were as many as ten or more burials.<sup>67</sup>

At the site of Chersones K.K. Kosciusko-Waluzynicz conducted excavations from 1891 to 1907, and from 1907 to 1914 they were continued by R. Löper. The latter's excavations were not sufficiently scientific.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Kiev archaeologist V. Khvoika attracted attention with his sensational discoveries. Czech by nationality and a beer-brewer by trade, he became an amateur archaeologist, working by correspondence and with instructions from L. Niederle. He conducted excavations with great energy and rapidity, skipping from one place to another, but his excavational methodology was far from scientific and did not satisfy even the requirements of that time. The haste and carelessness of his excavations were to a great degree caused by his persistent hunting for sensational discoveries. Fortune was on Khvoika's side, and in a short time he discovered the well-known Kirillov paleontological site at Kiev and later the hitherto unknown Tripol'ye culture, the "Fields of Funeral Urns" (*polya pogrebal'nykh urn*) of La Tène culture and the Burial Fields (*polya pogrebenii*) of the Gothic culture.<sup>68</sup>

N. Belyashevski, an archaeologist from Kiev, published the journal *Arkheologicheskaya letopis' yuzhnoi Rossii* [Archaeological Chronicle of Southern Russia] in which he included many of his own articles and notes. He made high demands for the technique of excavations and vigorously attacked Khvoika, accusing him of barbaric methods in his excavations and of destroying remains.

Beside the new archaeologists mentioned above who represented in general a new progressive tendency, the old archeologists were also active. With their methods and ideas, they were links with the past century. D. Samokvasov did not rise above the amateur level; N. Veselovski represented the treasure hunting tendency. In the provinces, D. Evarnitski, director of the Yekaterinoslav Museum, gained a reputation. Financed by landowners, he performed excavations of large kurgans in the region of the Dnepr rapids. His method was to dig a cross trench somewhat widened in the middle, and for that reason only the middle part of the kurgan was reached by excavations. On the outer edges, burials, stone rings and so

forth frequently remained untouched. Evarnitski did not interpret the remains he found; his notes were summaries; he made no drawings; as for photographs, he took them mostly of himself with his assistants on excavations.

At that time there appeared what might be called "archaeological writers" who did not perform excavations themselves but contributed considerably to the further development of Russia archaeology by their scholarly research. In speaking of this type of archaeologist, mention must be made of *M. Rostovtsev*, professor at St. Petersburg University, who later gained a world reputation. A specialist in classical antiquity, he studied Graeco-Scythian antiquities in the south of Russia and wrote a series of works which are important to this day.<sup>60</sup> *V. Latyshev*, a classical philologist, was another archaeological writer. He was engaged in deciphering and interpreting Greek and Roman inscriptions found in southern Russia. His basic works are also still useful.<sup>70</sup>

Between 1900 and 1914 Russian archaeology reached an adequately high level in the methods of excavation and the investigation of particular archaeological topics. It did not, however, produce major works which, in the description and analysis of material, in generalizations and conclusions of an historical nature, would be comparable to the work which had already long existed abroad.<sup>71</sup> Works of this type began appearing gradually, constantly growing in number and improving in quality. But it is only in our own time that archaeology in Russia has the necessary prerequisites and produces great works in the form of monographs. These works make it possible to reconstruct the prehistoric and early historical periods in the history of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The first prerevolutionary Russian attempt at a work devoted to generalization was the *Ruskiye drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva* [Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art] in six fascicles, written by N. Kondakov and I. Tolstoi (the latter contributed the part on numismatics). In this work the authors, on the basis of a general periodization of Russian antiquities being created at that time, gave a description of Russian antiquities with a comparative analysis and drew some conclusions. This work

stood on a fairly high scientific level for its time and played an important part in the development of archaeology in Russia, but by now it has become completely obsolete.<sup>72</sup>

V. Gorodtsov's manuscripts on the Stone Age and the Bronze Age represented a second attempt at the composition of a study based on generalization. The first of these is considerably outdated and could not be considered a great achievement in scholarship even at the time when it was written. The study on the Bronze Age has been of much greater importance. In this work Gorodtsov attempted to construct a periodization and chronology of the Bronze Age culture in Russia, chiefly on the basis of his excavations and investigations of many years. Preliminary forms of the work appeared between 1914 and 1916, and the last excerpt was published after the Revolution.<sup>73</sup> In these publications Gorodtsov elaborated the original scheme advanced by him at the thirteenth archaeological congress in 1905 in Yekaterinoslav. Gorodtsov's periodization and chronology of Bronze Age cultures in Russia dominated Russian archaeology for a long period. At the present time, in the opinion of A. Tallgren, every archaeologist dealing with problems of the Bronze Age culture in Russia is to some extent forced to reckon with Gorodtsov's periodization, even if he is opposed to Gorodtsov's school.

Mention should also be made of certain auxiliary archaeological publications, varying in size and quality, which came out before World War I and which were of a certain importance for the study of antiquity. Such works include the catalogue of D. Samokvasov's antiquities collection; the catalogue of the antiquities collection of Count A. Uvarov;<sup>74</sup> the catalogue of V. Tarnovski's collections;<sup>75</sup> and the catalogue of the antiquities collections of N. Khanenko.<sup>76</sup> The last of these publications, with text by V. Antonovich and tables of excellent phototypes, is the most important of all.

This, then, is the scientific heritage which the Bolsheviks received from prerevolutionary scholarship. On this foundation archaeology in Russia continued its development into the postrevolutionary period. The schools, trends of thought and influences of European archaeological science shaped Russian archaeology, and it was

against this influence that the Bolsheviks later carried on a merciless struggle.

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 an increasingly large number of people were called up for military service. Normal conditions of life were more and more disturbed. The war developed into a revolution and civil war. A total collapse of the national economy accompanied by famine followed. In connection with these historical circumstances archaeological field work was discontinued from mid-1914 to 1922. This total break in the development of the science covered eight or nine years. Only a few scholarly publications continued to appear, by force of inertia, until 1918 and even 1919, but thereafter every kind of publication of scientific works ceased.

I know of only one expedition during the war: in 1915-1916 an archaeological expedition consisting of N. Marr, N. Orbeli and A. Miller followed the Russian troops which had penetrated into Asia Minor. But in the midst of war and the constantly shifting front, this expedition was not able to accomplish much. Its principal result was the discovery of the previously unknown rock inscription of the Urartu king of Rus'. Excavations were not performed.

*Summary.* The history of Russian archaeology before the Revolution can be outlined as follows:

*The eighteenth century:* First excavations, resulting in the acquisition of objects of antiquity, with an as yet inadequate understanding of them; curiosity the major motive. Objects deposited in museums (the Kunstkammer, the Hermitage).

*First half of the nineteenth century:* Excavations with attempts to use relatively scientific methods, motivated by true scientific interest but characterized by a still unsatisfactory description of the objects and the conditions under which they were found.

*Second half of the nineteenth century:* A more profound study of archaeological objects, their comparative study and description, systematization and the compilation of chronology. Increase in the number of excavations and widening of the area in which they are conducted.

*Beginning of the twentieth century, up to 1914:* Further expansion of archaeological activity, improvements in methodology, increased influence of European science. Study of remains as sources for the reconstruction of the prehistoric and early historic periods of Russian past. Attempts at works of generalization.

## II

### ***THE PERIOD OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY***

#### *A. Introduction*

World War I ended in Russia with a revolution and a civil war, which continued until the early 1920's. The country had been laid in ruins and attempts to introduce the communist system immediately had paralyzed industry, trade, agriculture and transport. The population was impoverished and a terrible famine set in. The Soviet regime, just being formed, did not have the means and apparatus for coercion which were indispensable for its existence. A crisis began which threatened the "conquests of the Revolution" and the very existence of the Soviet regime. At that moment Lenin proposed the adoption of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was officially adopted at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party at the end of 1921.

Basically the NEP meant the authorization of private small-scale and domestic industry and handicrafts and private trade. Trade and correspondence with the outside world were permitted and a series of concessions were granted to European businessmen. Together with the sanction of private property and private initiative in the economy, a relative degree of democratic freedom was permitted in the field of science.

The conditions of the NEP called forth a rapid rise in the productive forces and economy of the country. A hard currency with

a high buying power, the development of agriculture on the basis of small private landownership, industry and trade, brought about a rapid rise in the living standard of the population.

The shortening of the working day for all kinds of intellectual work to six hours and the shortening of the working week to five days allowed a sufficient amount of time free from duty. The relatively high wage rates, the high purchasing power of money and the abundance of domestic and imported goods for sale created favorable conditions for cultivating interests and occupations outside of duty. The relatively democratic conditions of the NEP period made possible the formation of various societies, associations and groups, which were forbidden only where their tendency openly failed to accord with Soviet domestic policy.

The rapid development of the country and the relative freedom of social activity favored the growth of science, literature and art. A development which was important for archaeology was the rise of the so-called "regional studies movement" (*krayevedcheskoye dvizheniye*). It is true that from the very beginning the societies and organisations which were formed stood under the watchful observation of the GPU (the secret police), but for a certain period the GPU did not bother them and in many cases cooperated in their undertakings.

The regional studies movement started in 1922 and eventually embraced the entire country. Every provincial capital and almost every district town had an organization for the study of the local area. These organizations were usually closely associated with museums and used them as their bases of operation. The organizations were usually made up of the local intelligentsia—secondary school teachers, employees, museum workers, local amateur collectors, and so forth. In university towns, professors were also active in them. The actual organizer and soul of such an organization was usually a local enthusiast, an amateur in antiquity and archaeology who had developed his interest and knowledge in prerevolutionary times. This "soul of the society" usually acted as the secretary of the organization. Regional studies groups were also formed in schools by the senior students. Corresponding



members and sympathizers came from among the workers in factories and peasants in villages.

Many regional studies organizations published their proceedings in the form of individual collections or periodical publications. These publications, containing local factual material, were highly valued by the archaeologists in the cities.<sup>77</sup>

The Soviet government at that time not only allowed the regional studies organizations to exist but even hoped that they would help to explore the natural resources of the country. The government tried to channel their activity into searching for useful minerals, organizing phenological and meteorological observations and, in general, studying the local productive forces and natural conditions. To coordinate and direct the activities of regional studies organizations, a Central Bureau for Regional Studies (TsBK) was formed in Moscow, which published the authoritative *Byulleten' TsBK* [Bulletin of the Central Bureau for Regional Studies].

There was no single form of organization among the various societies and no uniformity as to approach or subject of study. Contacts between various groups were loose—there was not yet that unification, totalitarianism and subjection to the center and to the local Party leadership which became characteristic for the country after 1930.

In connection with the development of regional studies and their support by the government, all historical-archaeological museums in the provinces were renamed "regional studies museums." Where there were natural science museums, they were united with the historical-archaeological museums. Where only the latter type of museum existed, attempts were made to form sections for local nature study, useful minerals, local industry, and so forth.

The regional studies organizations during the NEP almost invariably developed into archaeological groups, in spite of the explicit and repeated instructions from the Central Bureau and from the local Board of Political Education and leading Party authorities as to the necessity for the study of local natural resources, industry and such subjects. Young people as well as the old amateurs were above all interested in the romance of archaeology

and the past, in archaeological excursions, collecting material, excavations and local historical traditions. No one was interested in studying local industry or climatology. Particularly toward the end of the NEP era this situation greatly disturbed the government and the local Party organs. Their judgment—and it was not without foundation—was that such interests were an attempt of the non-revolutionary part of society to retire from the contemporary into the archaic and to avoid participating in the “building of socialism.”

A second characteristic of the regional studies organizations was the absence of Party members among them and the lack of any trace of Party spirit in their publications. The Communists at that time occupied responsible, leading positions in the provinces; they were well provided for materially and lived exclusively for the interests of the Party, for meetings and squabbles. They had no connection whatever with the history and even less with the archaeology of the local region. They had neither the time nor the desire to indulge in such questions (indeed most of them did not have the necessary intellectual equipment). The regional studies movement, therefore, in terms of its actual leadership and interests, was a direct continuation and further development of the local amateur archaeology of the prerevolutionary period, which had not been prohibited after the Revolution. A great influx of new forces after the Revolution gave the movement a mass character and it developed without reference to the interests and aims of the Party.

The regional studies organizations, in addition to their publishing activity, conducted meetings at which reports were given, excursions to collect material, and sometimes even excavations. They published articles on their work and discoveries in newspapers, placed their members at the head of excursions conducted by trade unions, assisted in the work of local museums, and so forth. Although the work of the organizations undoubtedly had a dilettante character, they produced a number of interesting observations and discoveries in the field of archaeology. Some of those active in regional studies attained the stature of real scholars and later transferred to work in the archaeological centers.

The all-Russian archaeological center at that time in Leningrad—the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture (RAIMK), later renamed the State Academy for the History of Material Culture (GAIMK)—was composed of learned professional archaeologists of the old generation, who formed a privileged caste and had a superior and condescending attitude towards the provincial regional studies organizations. They treated the provincial local studies people and archaeologists as ignorant amateurs who knew nothing about remains and only ruined them when they attempted to study them. The attitude of the regional studies people toward the great archaeologists of Leningrad was also hostile, and arrivals of archaeological expeditions from Leningrad, which carried away all the most valuable finds, were called “dashing cavalry raids” in the press. The attitude of the scholars of the Moscow center (RANION) towards the regional studies groups was far more sympathetic, and in their work at local sites they looked for contact and cooperation with them. But the Moscow center at that time was weak and small.

Only in exceptional cases did young workers trained in the provinces, who were distinguished not only for their general abilities but sometimes because of their own discoveries, succeed in breaking through the caste exclusiveness of the GAIMK to join the ranks of its co-workers. Thus S. Zamyatin of the Voronezh Museum entered the GAIMK, thanks to his discovery of and work on the paleolithic sites in the village of Gagarino, and M. Gerasimov, a village teacher from the Tomsk region, because of his discovery of the famous Mal'ta site, also entered the GAIMK, where he later became an important sculptor-reconstructor.

Among the most important regional studies organizations was the Lower Volga Learned Regional Studies Society (*Nizhne-Volzhskoye uchonoye krayevedcheskoye obshchestvo*) in Saratov. It was headed by P. Rykov, a well-known archaeologist, a pupil of V. Gorodtsov, who occupied the chair of archaeology at Saratov University. The soul of this society was the amateur archaeologist, P. Shishkin. Also prominent was Krotki, who studied remains of the Tatar period. A series of talented archaeologists who worked

in the Volga region emerged from the school of P. Rykov: P. Rau, T. Minayeva, Arzyutov, Sinitsyn. The society issued a whole series of publications, among which the works of P. Rau were particularly valuable.

The Stalingrad society for regional studies was another organization in the Lower Volga region. Former pupils of Rykov were active in this organization, along with the local amateurs and some scholars (among them A. Brim) who were sent from Leningrad.

In Rostov-on-the-Don the North Caucasian Bureau for Regional Studies (SKBK) was formed, with B. Lunin as its secretary. Lunin was also secretary of another organization, the North Caucasian Society for Archaeology, History and Ethnography (SKOAIE), also in Rostov. A number of university professors (I. Kozlovski, P. Chernyayev, Chernousov, and others) were members of its directing committee. The SKBK published bulletins which included valuable contributions and material on local archaeology. The SKOAIE for its part periodically issued its *Zapiski* [Notes], in which valuable archaeological material was published. For some time a special Tanais Commission was appointed and functioned within the society.

In Taganrog a regional studies association carried on archaeological investigations chiefly on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov; it published its reports in the *Zapiski* of the SKOAIE in Rostov as well as in the *Bulletin* of the Central Bureau for Regional Studies. The Taganrog group made a series of finds which transcended local interest. The director of the archaeological activities as well as of the whole association was M. Miller.

The regional studies organization in the Crimea, located in Simferopol', which was also composed mainly of students, investigated remains of medieval towns and fortifications in the mountainous part of the Crimea and also issued publications of its own.

Similar organizations existed in Voronezh, Kherson and in all the other cities of the U.S.S.R. All these organizations had a predominantly archaeological character and were closely connected with local museums.

With the beginning of the "Stalin epoch" and the "socialist

offensive," the non-Party and non-Marxist character of the regional studies organizations of the NEP period inevitably resulted in the destruction and permanent closing down of all regional studies organizations without exception and the arrest and exile of most of their leaders.

### *B. Archaeological Centers During the NEP*

By a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of April 18, 1919, signed by Lenin, the Imperial Archaeological Commission (IAK) was reorganized as the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture (RAIMK). The reorganization was entrusted to N. Marr, who was appointed its first director; he remained in this post until his death in 1934. In 1924 the RAIMK was reorganized as the State Academy for the History of Material Culture (GAIMK) and occupied the premises of the Marble Palace. Marr, who at that time stood high in the esteem of the Party and enjoyed great authority and importance in high circles, contributed greatly to the development and consolidation of the GAIMK.

Since the former members of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, the most prominent Russian archaeologists, were irreplaceable, all of them became active members of the RAIMK and its successor the GAIMK. Among them were Marr himself, A. Miller, B. Farmakovski, A. Spitsyn, S. Zhebelyov, and P. Yefimenko—all archaeologists of the old generation, with pre-revolutionary views. Naturally the scientific character and direction of the RAIMK differed little from those of the former IAK. Marr himself, by virtue of his position and as director of the RAIMK, joined the Communist Party and wrote articles against bourgeois science, while his famous Japhetic theory was directed against the basic premises of European linguistics. But Marr was never a Marxist, and his leadership of the RAIMK-GAIMK resulted in no significant change in its prerevolutionary nature or in its approach to archaeology.

The RAIMK inherited not only a splendid building from the IAK but also an excellent special library as well as an extensive,

valuable archive, all of which ensured further successful scientific work. After the death of A. Spitsyn in 1927 the excellent card files which he, using his position in the IAK, had been collecting all his life, were brought into the GAIMK.

Like the IAK before it, the RAIMK was given ultimate jurisdiction over all the archaeological activities and institutions, at first within the R.S.F.S.R. and, after its reorganization as the GAIMK, throughout the U.S.S.R. The position and authority of the GAIMK were further strengthened by the fact that all the most important Russian archaeologists were located in Leningrad, as they had been before the Revolution and continued to be during the NEP.

In the middle of the 1920's a second archaeological center was formed in Moscow, which at once established a tradition of opposition to the GAIMK. The Moscow center was created by V. Gorodtsov, and outstanding prerevolutionary archaeologist, formerly assistant to P. Uvarova. Gorodtsov was a professor in the Archaeological Institute and held the chair of archaeology in Moscow University. The center was created in the form of an Archaeological Section of the RANION (Russian Association of Scientific Research Institutes of the Social Sciences). Gorodtsov's collaborators were archaeologists of a relatively young generation, his former pupils A. Artsikhovski, B. Grakov, S. Kiselyov, and A. Bryusov. The then prominent anthropologist and archaeologist B. Zhukov and later his pupils O. Bader and M. Voyevodski (both of whom worked in the anthropological room of the First Moscow State University) also were closely associated with the RANION.

There were chairs of archaeology at the universities in Leningrad and in Moscow which dated from before the Revolution. In 1922 the chairs for archaeology in both institutions were made into Archaeological Departments (ARKhO) attached to the faculties of history, and the archaeological institutes were abolished. The Moscow ARKhO was directed by Gorodtsov and that in Leningrad first by A. Spitsyn and then, from 1923, by A. Miller.

The various archaeological activities in the GAIMK and the persons supervising them were as follows: the Stone Age by P. Yefimenko; the Bronze Age by A. Miller; the ancient world by

S. Zhebelyov; and Tatar antiquities by A. Yakubovski. A separate commission on excavations and field work, headed by A. Miller, directed the planning of work and the formation of expeditions, heard reports on work done and granted permits for excavations. Later on the specialization within the GAIMK developed even further and it was divided into a number of separate divisions (*sektory*).

Students who completed work in the university archaeological departments and who showed an interest in and ability for archaeological work were admitted to the Institute of Postgraduate Studies (*Institut aspirantury*) which had been established within the GAIMK. There they continued their training, specializing under the direction of professors and spending each summer in practical studies on expeditions conducted by the GAIMK. After three years of postgraduate study the ablest ones remained in the GAIMK as junior scientific associates, preparing for their degree. Some entered the Hermitage or the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. The less able students, after completing their studies at the university archaeological department, took up museum work, often in the provinces. The junior scientific associates in the GAIMK, after a few years of theoretical and practical study and participating in expeditions with the GAIMK, thereupon became senior scientific associates in the GAIMK and were sent out on expeditionary projects with independent tasks as heads of small-scale expeditions.

Thus cadres of really professional archaeologists, with a good theoretical and practical background based on the curriculum of the history department, began to be trained for the first time in the U.S.S.R. While still engaged in postgraduate study, the future archaeologists specialized in a particular archaeological period or in the archaeology of a particular region. As a result, the new generation of Russian archaeologists which began to appear at the beginning of the thirties proved to be incomparably better trained and qualified than the older archaeologists, who had entered archaeology without any special training.

*C. The Character of Soviet Archaeology During the NEP*

The situation with regard to historical sciences in the U.S.S.R. during the NEP period was favorable and relatively progressive. The school of M. Pokrovski, who was at that time still considered an orthodox Marxist, was in undisputed sway.

In archaeology a different situation prevailed. Scholars of the old prerevolutionary archaeology with their views and ideas remained at the head of archaeological science and activities. At the same time that a transformation and reorganization was taking place in the historical sciences, archaeology remained in the shade and underwent no change during the entire NEP. All the archaeological schools and trends which had been developed before the Revolution, some even in the nineteenth century, continued to exist. Archaeology did not produce its own Pokrovski. N. Marr had joined the Party, which supported him and his Japhetic doctrine insofar as it was revolutionary in relation to "bourgeois" science and directed against it, but Marr's doctrine was destructive rather than constructive and contributed nothing toward creating a new Marxist archaeology.

The archaeological trends and schools of the NEP were thus a continuation and further development of prerevolutionary concepts. All were non-Marxist and were therefore ruthlessly broken up, while their leaders were suppressed, after the end of the NEP era. To understand the succeeding period, in which the old concepts were replaced by a new Soviet "history of material culture" and later by Soviet archaeology, it is necessary to bear in mind the basic archaeological schools of the NEP and their development. Some were peculiar to Russian archaeology and had risen and taken shape under the influence of Russian conditions; these were the least scientific and the most backward. The schools formed later, under the influence of European science, were the most progressive and influential. Some archaeologists were eclectics and were influenced by several schools. There were not many basic



schools but there were a great many separate trends, some of which were close to or merged into one another.

The most influential and widespread were the formalist and the empirical schools, which developed in Russia in the first decades of the twentieth century.

The *formalist school* was created in Russia under the influence of the works of Oskar Montelius and J. Déchelette. The followers of this school studied the morphology of objects, arranging them typologically. This school studied objects in isolation from the society which had produced them; the changing form of the objects was not thought to be a result of the development of the culture and technology of the society but instead was viewed as the result of the action of intrinsic forces within the objects themselves. The representatives of this school often compared objects from various parts of the world and from various periods without regard to the limits of time and space, merely on the basis of their outer, formal resemblance. They made a detailed description and analysis of the objects and on the basis of comparisons drew conclusions which were basically incorrect because they proceeded from false premises.

The formalist school was relatively scientific and progressive at a certain period in the development of archaeology. A definite system in the arrangement of objects established a connection between their forms, the basic periods of their development and thereby a relative chronology. However, this tendency could not go beyond the study of artifacts, and having reached its maximum development, grew conservative.

The head of the formalist school in Russian archaeology and its most prominent representative was V. Gorodtsov. During the NEP he published a special work in defense of the typological method as well as charts with a typological systematization of the chief objects of Russian archaeology, arranged chronologically and by periods. The colored drawings on the tables were accompanied by explanatory texts, which claimed to be an elementary textbook for the study of Russian archaeology and the definition of the objects of antiquity. The archaeological terminology worked out by

Gorodtsov himself was used in the tables and the text. These charts and Gorodtsov's terminology were not accepted by later Russian archaeology.<sup>78</sup>

Typically object-centered and pseudo-scientific in approach were also many works of the archaeologist and writer Bogayevski.<sup>79</sup>

The *empirical school* (called by Stalin "creeping empiricism") also arose under the influence of European science. A. Spitsyn was one of the founders of this school. It considered that the basic and sole task of archaeology was to make the most exact and detailed description possible of archaeological remains without any attempt at generalizations and deductions or any effort to relate them to the society which had produced them. Spitsyn's favorite expression was, "Our task is to establish facts, establish facts, establish facts." Thus all the tasks of archaeology were reduced to the recording of remains. S. Gamchenko was a typical empiricist among the provincial archaeologists. Empiricism reached its highest development, however, in the work of A. Miller. He raised the methodology of archaeological research and the study of remains to a level unprecedented in Russia. He developed the technique of excavations and the study of individual parts of remains or separate objects to such an extent that it became an end in itself. Drawn into a profound study of details, he sometimes failed to grasp the meaning of the remains as a totality. Like Spitsyn, he refrained from drawing broad conclusions, deeming them to be premature and signs of dilettantism.

Empiricism played an important role in the development of Russian archaeology, especially in the struggle against dilettantism and unsystematic work. It led to a great improvement in the method of investigation and increased the requirements for the study of remains. Empiricism was as progressive phenomenon for a long time.

The reports of A. Miller on the work of the North Caucasian archaeological expedition of the GAIMK in the lower Don region, as well as his instructions for archaeological explorations, may serve as examples of empiricist works.<sup>80</sup>

The representatives of the *treasure hunting* (*kladoiskatel'skoye*)

or *landowner (dvoryanskoye)* approach considered only artistically valuable objects and sensational finds to be worthy of attention and interpretation. They directed all their efforts toward the search for such objects. They ignored remains which were valuable in the scientific sense but which were otherwise poor and not showy; such finds, including osteological material, they usually threw away. This approach was the first in time and was very powerful throughout the nineteenth century; only gradually, at the beginning of the twentieth century, did it make way for a new, scientific approach. After the death of N. Veselovski in 1918, D. Evarnitski, who continued to work in the 1920's, remained as the most prominent representative of this tendency. An archaeological dilettante, he excavated a very large number of kurgans, mainly in the region of the Dnepr rapids, where, according to his own words, he always dreamed of finding a rich Scythian burial—but he did not succeed. While he was director of the Dneprostroi archaeological expedition, he constantly repeated to the young archaeologists on the expedition (some of whom were far superior to him) that although science had its own purpose, it was still necessary to find something sensational, for otherwise the People's Commissariat of Education would give no funds for the work of the following year. Like Veselovski, when he came across contracted burials of the Bronze Age (which he considered Neolithic), he discontinued excavation and abandoned the kurgan.

In the 1930's, although there were no treasure hunters as such among the archaeologists of the new generation, it was still possible to find traces of this approach in the urge to exaggerate and embellish reports on surveys in order to place the results in a more advantageous light. Finds of a few broken pieces of earthenware in the sand were often marked as "remnants of an ancient settlement," a few chips of flint as a "workshop of stone tools" and so forth.

The representatives of the *kurgan approach* were chiefly archaeologists of the nineteenth century who thought that kurgans were the only archaeological remains worthy of study. They had no understanding for the traces of everyday life in settlements, camp

sites and ruins of towns, and so they neither valued nor studied them. That is why in Russia there was no text-book for a long time on the study of such remains. Almost all the major archaeologists of the nineteenth century were prominent representatives of the kurgan approach: I. Zabelin, N. Brandenburg, A. Ivanovski, N. Veselovski and D. Evarnitski; during the NEP era S. Gamchenko was a member of this group. Even later, S. Rudenko and Gryaznov were representatives of this approach to a considerable degree.

The *aestheticizing trend*, which arose under the influence of European science, was not specifically Russian, as were the treasure hunting and kurgan approaches. The principal center and institution where this tendency was cultivated was the Hermitage in Leningrad, where the collection of remarkable remains of ancient and medieval art created a favorable atmosphere for the rise and development of this trend. Its representatives thought that the monuments of ancient and feudal art (articles and ornaments of precious metals, decorated vases, carvings of bone) were the only archaeological remains worthy of attention. They approached archaeological remains from the point of view of art and studied and described objects in themselves, isolated from the society and the time which had created them. They wrote entire monographs on a single object, with the most profound artistic analysis and aesthetic feeling, but made absolutely no use of the object as a historical source. The tendency was conservative, since it did not contribute to the development of science, and it was not fruitful in its results.<sup>81</sup>

The *theory of cultural spheres* (*kul'turnye krugy*) was based on the idea that all cultures throughout the world can be divided into a few spheres, and that every culture belongs to one particular cultural sphere. The development of any culture takes place as a result of the influence that a neighboring culture from a higher sphere exerts upon it. The transition to a higher form of culture occurs not as the result of a spontaneous development but as the result of the transition to a higher cultural sphere. The representative and propagator of this theory in the U.S.S.R. during the NEP

was the noted ethnographer and historian of material culture N. A. Tan (pseudonym of V. G. Bogoraz), director of the Museum of the History of Religion of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>52</sup>

Close to the "cultural spheres" theory was the *cyclical theory* (widespread mainly among classicists), which maintained that culture develops in cycles. Consequently there is neither unity nor absolute progress, only a cyclical movement. All cultures are attached to one or another cultural cycle, of which there have been several in the history of mankind. The historical process amounts to a cyclical movement, after the completion of which a new movement begins, repeating all the phenomena which had already existed.

*Eclecticism* is a combination of heterogeneous and often mutually opposed viewpoints. In some cases eclecticism can take the form of direct quotation from the texts of various authors and become plagiarism. In the Soviet archaeological literature of the NEP period S. Zhebelyov was considered to be an eclectic and was reproved particularly for his book *Introduction to Archaeology*, which contained direct extracts from foreign authors. V. Nikol'ski, with his book on the history of primitive culture, was also considered an eclectic.<sup>53</sup>

According to the *migration theory*, cultural change did not occur as a result of an inner, spontaneous development of society through a transition to higher stages of development; instead, it was a result of the infusion of a higher culture brought in by other peoples. Thus all cultural shifts occurred as a result of the migrations of peoples. This theory had already risen in Western Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century, and in Russia its influence was felt for a long time.

The *nationalist tendency* was developed by the archaeologists of the minority peoples of the U.S.S.R. Its representatives used archaeology to reach conclusions which supported the idea of the independent development of the various national cultures. Among the representatives of this tendency were N. Makarenko, M. Rudinski and Akchokrakly.

*Diffusionism* saw the development of culture as the result of mutual penetration and influence between separate cultures.

*Modernization* was the projection of characteristics of the society and technology of more recent socio-economic systems onto pre-historic societies.

The *racial theory* considered races as eternal and immutable categories, which were defined by a given set of anthropological and spiritual qualities. The "superior races" were the creators and bearers of culture. "Inferior races" played a secondary, subsidiary part in the history of culture; they merely took over cultures (to a certain degree) from the superior races.

These schools, theories, tendencies and ideas, existing in various combinations at different times, dominated Soviet archaeology during the NEP era and were freely developed and propagated by their representatives. The history of the socio-economic relations of the society which had produced remains of material culture did not interest archaeologists and was referred by them to the sphere of history. Archaeological remains and data were studied not as sources for restoring historical and cultural processes but as independent objects, isolated from society. Most archaeologists avoided applying the laws of historical materialism to archaeology, maintaining that archaeology by its nature is a materialistic science inasmuch as its subject is the study of objects of material culture only.

Apart from these non-Marxist tendencies in archaeology, idealistic concepts of the historical process as well as mechanistic and vulgarized Marxist and other philosophical systems were manifest in Russian archaeology during the NEP.

#### *D. Connections with European Science*

The liberalism of the NEP era was also evident in the completely unfettered relations and connections of Soviet archaeologists with Europe and scientific circles abroad. The connection became quite close, and European "bourgeois" science therefore continued to

exert an influence upon the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. It was generally believed in Soviet Russia that archaeological science was on a much higher level in Europe than in the U.S.S.R., and the leading Soviet archaeologists of the NEP period openly or covertly imitated those of Western Europe. Western European archaeological literature was quoted in Soviet publications, while the views on various subjects of the great European archaeologists, who were considered authorities in their field, were referred to in Soviet literature. The idea prevailed that only European science was on a level at which its representatives could write large, synthesizing works, identifying, systematizing and evaluating archaeological materials and drawing the relevant conclusions as to chronology and the laws of development. Archaeology in the U.S.S.R., it was felt, was still far from reaching that level of development, and consequently the basic task of the archaeologists was to locate, describe and identify the materials. No doubt there was a great deal of truth in these ideas.

Soviet archaeologists published their works abroad in complete freedom and without hindrance. Among those who did so were A. Miller, S. Zhebelyov, A. Semyonov, A. Kotsevalov, V. Bartol'd, A. Zakharov, L. Matsulevich, A. Shmidt, V. Ravdonikas, F. Shmidt, and G. Borovka. P. Rau published his works in German in the U.S.S.R., while a great many Soviet archaeologists contributed to the journal edited by A. Tallgren in Helsinki in three European languages under the title *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (abbreviated *ESA*), which was devoted exclusively to questions of archaeology in Russia. The journal opened its pages to all Russian archaeologists and accepted articles, materials, reviews and notes, translating them into the European languages at its own expense. As a result a great number of Russian archaeologists, including some from the provinces who were little known, contributed to the journal.

In the first number of *ESA*, issued in 1927, Russian authors made up 62 per cent of the contributors; in the third (1928), 50 per cent; in the fourth (1929), 74 per cent; and in the fifth (1930), 40 per cent. A mass of manuscripts by Soviet authors had accumu-

lated in the editor's office, and therefore such articles continued by inertia to appear for some time after 1930, but after the end of the NEP era and the devastation of archaeology in the Soviet Union, the number dropped sharply and then stopped altogether. This resulted in the liquidation of *ESA* itself.<sup>84</sup>

During the NEP, European archaeologists freely entered the U.S.S.R. A. Tallgren, for example, visited Soviet Russia in 1917, 1924, 1925, and 1928. He travelled all over the country, examined provincial museums, was present at excavations, and maintained close personal relationships with many Soviet archaeologists. In accordance with the policy of the Communist Party at that time, he was even made an honorary member of the GAIMK. Beside Tallgren, other "foreign" archaeologists also came to the U.S.S.R., among them F. Hančar from Vienna, Arne from Stockholm, Balodis from Latvia, and A. Salmony from Hungary. At the congress of quaternary geologists in Leningrad in 1931, the participants in which later toured the U.S.S.R. in a scientific excursion and stayed in many of the provincial towns and museums, the archaeologists W. Antoniewicz from Poland and Absolon and Skutil from Czechoslovakia were present.

Some European archaeologists specialized in the archaeology of Russia and published large works devoted to questions of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. A. Tallgren and E. Minns had many friends among Soviet archaeologists and corresponded with them, while M. Ebert was himself in Russia.<sup>85</sup> F. Hančar made a name for himself by publishing extensive quantities of Russian archaeological materials, mainly from the Caucasus. He continues to make such contributions to German archaeological publications at present.

The works of the following scholars among many others were published in *ESA*: A. Shmidt, P. Rykov, V. Smolin, M. Khudyakov, L. Yakunina-Ivanovna, B. Grakov, M. Yegorov, B. Zhukov, M. Voyevodski, O. Bader, A. Zbruyeva, O. Krivtsova-Grakova, I. Fabritsius, A. Potapov, T. Minayeva, T. Passek, B. Latynin, and M. Rudinski. It was characteristic of the period that, besides Soviet archaeologists, the "white" émigré archaeologists V. Sakhanev, N. Toll', V. Tolmachov, L. Savitski, and others published in *ESA*,



as did open enemies of Soviet rule, such as the Polish archaeologist J. Kostrzewski. The GAIMK itself published the classical work on the Scythians by the "white" émigré and open enemy of Soviet rule, M. Rostovtsev.<sup>86</sup>

The relative freedom in expressing opinions and the connections with foreign countries and publishing abroad went so far that S. Zhebelyov in 1928 wrote an article in an émigré publication containing unfavorable references to the October Revolution, whereby he "aroused the indignation of Soviet public opinion" according to the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*.<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, the Party and the Soviet regime tolerated freedom of expression and foreign contacts for some time as being politically expedient. It must be said that these contacts were very beneficial for archaeology in the U.S.S.R.: through them there was an exchange of material, knowledge and opinions, and under their influence the first large archaeological works of a synthesizing character appeared in the U.S.S.R.

### E. Archaeological Literature

The archaeological literature of the NEP was in full accord with the character and spirit of the era. Its subject matter and tendency were determined by the predominance in archaeology of the old prerevolutionary archaeologists. Nothing was known or even thought of the possibility or necessity of adopting a new Marxist methodology in archaeology or what this methodology should consist of and how it should be expressed.

The publications of the RAIMK-GAIMK were basic and authoritative. The RAIMK at first published the periodical *Izvestiya rossiiskoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [News of the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture], preserving even the prerevolutionary designation *Izvestiya*; later the journal was renamed the *Izvestiya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [News of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture]. The *Izvestiya* appeared annually in one large

volume; five volumes in all were published. From 1926 to 1929 the publication was renamed *Soobshcheniya GAIMK* [Communications of the GAIMK], simply in order to avoid the similarity in title to the prerevolutionary *Izvestiya* of the Imperial Archaeological Commission. Two volumes of the *Soobshcheniya* appeared, and then, with the end of the NEP era, it was discontinued.<sup>83</sup>

In order to have some idea of the contents and tendency of the *Izvestiya* and *Soobshcheniya* of the RAIMK-GAIMK it is sufficient to look over the names of the leading scholars who contributed to them. They were the most prominent prerevolutionary scholars who were not only far from Marxism of any kind, but also in general hostile to the Revolution: Ainalov, Alekseyev (a Sinologist and an enemy of N. Marr), V. Bartol'd, O. Val'dgauer, A. Vasil'yev, A. Il'in, V. Latyshev, N. Marr, A. Miller, A. Oreshnikov, A. Likhachov, Malitski, R. Fasmer, Troinitski, B. Turayev, B. Farmakovski, Ol'denburg. They all had a great, often European, reputation in the learned world.

Of all these only N. Marr displayed a revolutionary tendency with his Japhetic theory, criticizing European "bourgeois" science. Even he took these positions gradually, changing the content of Japhetology not under the influence of Marxism, but as the result of the gradual development of his ideas in opposition to the philological principles generally accepted in the world of science. The Communist Party supported and propagated "Japhetology" in every way, especially as it developed in opposition to European scientific principles. A whole cult of N. Marr and his teachings was created, which in private conversations was ironically referred to as "Marrism." But in the postwar period, as will be discussed later, Marrism played out its militant role and was no longer necessary; Stalin thereupon exposed Marr, and his doctrine turned out to be anti-Marxist.

All the other pillars of archaeology during the NEP were more or less overt enemies of Marxism, the Revolution and the Communist Party. Fortunately these representatives of the old world were men advanced in years, and of the seventeen people men-

tioned above eleven managed to die in peace before 1930 or in the early 1930's. Of the remaining six, five were arrested and exiled and one fled abroad.

Other less prominent archaeologists participated in the publications of the RAIMK-GAIMK, and they too showed little sign of revolutionary sympathies.

The Moscow archaeological center, the Archaeological Section of the RANION, published four large volumes of its works from 1927 to 1930 under the editorship of V. Gorodtsov. Gorodtsov himself contributed to the publication, together with I. Borozdin, A. Zakharov, P. Rykov, and—especially in the last volumes—the pupils of Gorodtsov: A. Artsikhovski, B. Grakov, A. Bryusov, and S. Kiselyov. It is characteristic that B. Zhukov, who headed the anthropology department at Moscow University and who was hostile to Gorodtsov, contributed to the *Russkii antropologicheskii zhurnal* [Russian Anthropological Journal] and the publications of the RAIMK-GAIMK. At the same time A. Spitsyn, who disagreed with Marr, worked with the RANION.

During this period large works of a generalizing character dealing with the archaeology and history of primitive man were published by Russian as well as foreign archaeologists. Among those who published such works were V. Gorodtsov, M. Rostovtsev, V. Buzeskul, S. Zhebelyov, B. Zhukov, and V. Nikol'ski. Their works, of varying quality, were nevertheless a step forward because they were the first attempts in Russian archaeology to write generalizing authoritative works. They exerted considerable influence on provincial and beginning archaeologists and provided a basis for the further development of the science.<sup>89</sup>

At the same time several works by foreign scholars were translated into Russian and published, which also exerted an influence on the formation of scientific thought in the U.S.S.R. at that time. Among such works were those of H. F. Osborn, J. de Morgan, M. Hoernes, F. Boas, and L. Lévy-Bruhl.<sup>90</sup>

The rise of mass interest in archaeology and the development of the regional studies movement prompted the publication of instructions in the methodology of archaeological surveys and

excavations. Such instructions were written by A. Fyodorovski and A. Spitsyn, and later by A. Miller.<sup>91</sup> The widespread interest, together with the demands of the Communist Party for the popularization and democratization of science and scientific knowledge, led to the publication of a number of popular articles, notes and reports in non-archaeological journals such as the *Russkii antropologicheskii zhurnal*, the *Etnograficheskii byulleten' tsentral'novo byuro krayevedeniya* [Ethnographic Bulletin of the Central Bureau for Regional Studies], the Ukrainian journal *Shhidnyi svit* [Eastern World], and especially such popular ones as *Krasnaya niva* [Red Soil], *Narodnyi uchitel'* [People's Teacher], *Khochu vsyo znat'* [I Want To Know Everything], *30 dnei* [Thirty Days], *Ogonyok* [Spark], and *Chto chitat'* [What To Read]. Many accounts of archeological work, finds and other data were published in provincial regional studies periodicals; many such accounts appeared in the central and almost all provincial papers. The prominent archaeological "democrats" V. Gorodtsov and A. Spitsyn and provincial workers also contributed to these popular publications.

#### F. Attempts at Reviving Archaeological Congresses

The traditions of prerevolutionary Russian archaeology were so strong among the archaeologists of the NEP period that attempts were even made to revive the former archaeological congresses, which had contributed so greatly to the development of archaeology in Russia for half a century. The initiative for reviving the congresses came, in accordance with tradition, from the Moscow archaeological center, the Archaeological Section of the RANION.

But these attempts were destined to fail: the conditions prevailing in the old prerevolutionary society, which had once made the congresses possible, no longer existed. Under the conditions of the new, Soviet society there was neither government support for congresses nor the means to carry them out. The old outstanding archaeologists N. Veselovski, D. Samokvasov, A. Spitsyn, B. Farmakovski and others, who had been the pillars of the congresses, had died or had discontinued their work. The new Soviet genera-

tion of archaeologists was only being formed and had not yet formulated its ideas or become articulate. The Soviet regime and the Party, in accordance with the conditions of the NEP and the general domestic policy of the time, did not meddle in these conferences and did not hamper them, but neither did they have sympathy or extend support for the congresses. They considered affairs of this kind to be unnecessary to the Soviet regime and the fulfillment of its aims.

In such circumstances it was not possible to set up preparatory committees or to publish their proceedings—or even the proceedings of the congresses themselves. Furthermore, the GAIMK, around which were grouped the most prominent archaeologists of the time, avoided participation in the work, merely sending an observer, L. Matsulevich, at that time still a little-known archaeological writer, to the first archaeological conference. The Ukrainian archaeologists, grouped around the VUAK (a branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences), also ignored the conference.

In this general situation a group of Moscow archaeologists headed by V. Gorodtsov called an archaeological congress in 1926 in Kerch', which went under the name of the "First Archaeological Conference of the Archaeologists of the U.S.S.R." Aside from Gorodtsov, most of the people participating in the conference were second-rate archaeologists or provincial workers. The conference passed rather sluggishly, and not a single paper of outstanding importance was presented which drew attention and contributed something new to science, as had been the case with almost all the previous archaeological congresses. Under the same conditions a second conference was held in the following year, 1927, in Sevastopol', which was even smaller in scope and poorer in its results.

The proceedings of the conferences were not published. Only a short report by Matsulevich on the first archaeological conference was published.<sup>92</sup> The papers of some of the participants in the conferences (Yu. Marti and I. Borozdin) were later published as articles in archaeological publications.

Thus ended the attempts at reviving the archaeological congresses, attempts which exerted no influence whatsoever on the

further development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. It was evident from the attitude of silent watchfulness and reserved hostility of the Soviet government and the Communist Party that they were merely tolerating for the time being the manifestation of public initiative and independent action in the sphere of archaeology and that in the future they would take into their own hands the direction of all the sciences and their development.

### *G. Archaeological Work at the New Construction Projects*

In 1928 the First Five-Year Plan for the national economy was adopted, with the principal aim of industrializing the country.

The new construction projects which were called for in the Plan required large excavations and the flooding of wide areas, which affected the territory and changed the geography of the location concerned. Archaeological remains were usually concentrated in river valleys and thus were often destroyed in the process. Anxiety therefore arose among scientific archaeological workers over the fate of these remains from the very beginning of the large construction projects. The question of possible measures began to be considered, if not for salvaging the endangered remains, then at least for discovering, describing and studying them. Later on, special archaeological expeditions were attached to each large-scale construction project which investigated the territory before and during the process of construction and excavated and studied the remains that were found.

Archaeological work at the new construction projects reached its highest development between 1930 and 1940. There was a considerable increase in the number of sites at which surveys, investigations and excavations were being carried on; this widened the territory of inquiry, raised new questions of methodology, resulted in the collection of a large quantity of material, and produced a series of discoveries.

Archaeological work at new construction projects played an important part in the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. One defect of these works was the fact that they excluded the

possibility of drawing up and executing a single thematic plan of action for the whole of the U.S.S.R.; on the contrary, the work was carried out only where a new construction project was in progress. The attitude of the builders toward the archaeological expedition was not always sympathetic, a fact which at times hindered the work.

One of the first large-scale construction projects was Dneprostroi, the construction of a large dam and hydroelectric station at Zaporozh'ye (the former Aleksandrovsk). The main part of the work was started in 1927 and it continued through 1932. Here was set up the first, and probably the largest, of the archaeological expeditions at new construction projects: DAENKU, the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukraine, which was active from 1927 to 1932.

The basic task of the Dneprostroi project was to construct a dam from shore to shore at the Kichkas settlement below the rapids of the Dnepr. The water level was to rise to a height of forty meters, and the Dnepr above the dam was to form a lake which would be up to twelve kilometers wide in some places, gradually narrowing again upstream. The rise in the water level affected the shores of the Dnepr upstream of the dam as far as Dnepropetrovsk and the lower parts of the river Samara, that is, for a stretch of about 100 kilometers. All the area subjected to inundation was called the "area of deformation," and detailed large-scale maps were made of this area. About twenty villages which would be entirely or partly flooded after the raising of the water level of the Dnepr were moved to higher locations on the future banks. The top part of the large elevation on the left bank of the Dnepr was included in the territory of deformation because it was to be leveled and transformed into an area for the construction of several factories. Extensive excavations were also made on the right bank of the Dnepr near the dam, where the area was leveled for the construction of the power station.

The conditions in the area of the Dnepr rapids were favorable to human life in ancient times and to primitive economic forms (gathering wild foods, fishing, hunting, early hoe agriculture), and

a large quantity of various archaeological remains were concentrated on the banks and islands of the Dnepr. Especially common were remnants of settlements and fishing camp sites from the Stone and Bronze Ages. Similarly, on the area to be leveled on the left bank elevation, there were more than eighty kurgans. A large quantity of kurgans was also found on the right bank, where excavation was also conducted.

The initiative for organizing a special archaeological expedition attached to Dneprostroi came from the VUAK. The funds came mostly through the People's Commissariat for Education of the Ukraine. The aged Ukrainian academician D. Evarnitski, director of the Dnepropetrovsk museum and an archaeological dilettante, was appointed head of the expedition; all the equipment used came from the museum and all the material and reports were sent there. In the beginning, members of VUAK took part in the expedition, which began work in 1927 although not yet sufficiently organized; they later left the expedition, and Evarnitski secured the services of provincial archaeologists.

The expedition was later organized so that the personnel was divided into senior and junior archaeologists. Every senior archaeologist had a small group of helpers at his disposal, while the junior archaeologists worked individually, chiefly in making surveys. In the first year M. Miller from Taganrog, A. Dobrovol'ski from Kherson and P. Smolich from Chernigov were senior archaeologists on the expedition. The first two worked until the end of the expedition. P. Smolich later left the expedition, but after the discovery of paleolithic finds a special paleolithic group was formed under the direction of I. Levitski, from Khar'kov. P. Kozar', V. Grinchenko and T. Teslya (a paleolithic specialist) were junior archaeologists. Quaternary geologists also took part in the investigations of paleolithic sites. The number of scientific personnel at times reached twenty persons.

The groups worked in various places, according to a plan drawn up by Evarnitski. The latter lagged so much behind the younger archaeologists of his expedition in the understanding of the tasks of archaeology and the new methods that he did not interfere with



the scientific work, restricting himself merely to the role of an administrator and representative in relation to the Party and Soviet offices. He used to come to the "headquarters" of the excavations only two or three times in the course of a season, which in some years extended to eight months.

The most remarkable phenomenon during this expedition—which was so deprived of scientific leadership—was the organization of conferences, which took place once or twice a month during the first years. All the archaeologists of the expedition took part in them. In general, these meetings planned, regulated and coordinated the work of the expedition. Each archaeologist gave a report regarding his work and future plans. The reports were criticized, and decisions for the further work of the whole expedition were made on the basis of them (e.g., a change to new locations for groups which had accomplished their tasks, the reorganization of groups in connection with the arrival of new workers, and so forth). Questions of the equipment and supply of the expedition were also discussed. In connection with the reports made by archaeologists concerning the investigated remains, questions of a scientific, theoretical and methodological nature were raised and deliberated. In these discussions all the principal trends in archaeology characteristic of the NEP period were brought up and discussed. Because of the meetings, the expedition functioned somewhat as an archaeological field institute, offering experience and knowledge not only to the young archaeologists who grew up and were formed into genuine scientific researchers, but also to the older archaeologists themselves. In 1931 M. Miller was appointed deputy head of the expedition in the field, after which the meetings lost their importance and were discontinued.

Among the outstanding discoveries of the expedition were paleolithic sites of the Mousterian epoch and a whole series of sites from the late Paleolithic period, which previously had not been known to exist on the Dnepr below Kiev. A great number of camp sites and other remains of the Neolithic period and particularly of the Bronze Age were discovered and studied. In the latter the discovery of a series of labyrinth-like constructions, cromlechs,

menhirs and other stone structures is particularly important. Burial fields and their characteristic culture were discovered over almost the whole stretch of the investigated belt along the banks of the river. Remains of the Saltovo (northern Caucasian) culture were discovered. The Kichkas treasure, close in culture to the Pereshchepino treasure and containing several hundred gold ornaments, was found and studied, as were a number of Slavic settlements. These finds, as well as many other less important ones, were of great importance for studying the basic questions of the prehistory and early history not only of the Dnepr region and the entire steppe belt along the Black Sea, but also for Eastern Europe in general.

The expedition collected as many as 40,000 objects and made some 6,000 photographic negatives; it made many drawings, sketches and plans; it made models of ancient forges, up to twenty cross sections of burial sites, paleolithic hearths, monoliths, and other things.

Unfortunately the data of the archaeological expedition on the Dnepr have remained only in the form of preliminary reports. They were not analysed further by scholarly research or laboratory work. Not even a general account of the work was published. At the present time there is only one copy of a general description of the work of the expedition, in the archive of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Munich. Only a few minor papers on the paleolithic sites discovered by the expedition were published.<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless the experience and organization of the Dnepr archaeological expedition, in connection with subsequent archaeological work at new construction projects, were important to the further development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. The whole archaeological world in the U.S.S.R., particularly the GAIMK, manifested great interest in the work of the expedition.

Only in 1932 were detailed reports on the work of the expedition made in the GAIMK by M. Miller (for the scientific part), I. Lepikash (a geologist) and A. Khodak (administration.)

Every summer for propaganda purposes the government and the Communist Party organized a large number of tours from various parts of the U.S.S.R. to the Dnepr construction project.

The excursions were made up of writers, students, teachers, workers and others. They would sail down the Dnepr from Dnepropetrovsk and arrive at the excavations, where archaeologists from the expedition showed them the remains and finds and read them appropriate lectures.

At the end of 1932, when the basic construction on the dam was completed and the turbines were set in motion, a solemn inauguration of the Dnepr power plant was held at Kichkas, at which were present representatives of the government and the Central Committee of the Party, foreign guests, and several thousand representatives of the Party, professional and other organizations. Meanwhile an exhibition of the work of the Dnepr archaeological expedition was organized in Zaporozh'ye under the direction of M. Miller, with the title "From the Stone Axe to Dneprostoi." On the day of the inauguration, while solemn words in praise of the Party and government were being pronounced and compulsory meetings for expressing gratitude were being held, the entire audience escaped to the archaeological exhibition, which was visited by 10,000 people on the first day of the inauguration. For that reason disapproval was expressed to the organizers of the exhibition.

For several years thereafter the materials of the expedition lay in a shed of the Dnepropetrovsk museum, part being used for exhibition. Then the materials were transferred to Kiev, where, owing to lack of supervision and responsibility, they were partly destroyed and partly stolen. During World War II the remaining materials, including reports, were taken to Germany, and then, after the end of the war, the remains of the remains were again returned to Kiev.

In 1929, in connection with the proposed plan of constructing the Volga-Don canal, a GAIMK expedition under the direction of A. Miller inspected the stretch from Stalingrad on the Volga to Kalach on the Don and then followed the Don to the Aksaiskaya station. In this case the expedition merely followed the line of the future canal and observed and marked on a map the archaeological remains which they encountered. Some of them were later excavated and investigated by special expeditions.

Archaeological work in connection with new construction projects was most widespread during the thirties.

#### *H. Leading Archaeologists of the NEP*

The most prominent archaeologists in the U.S.S.R. during the NEP were in Leningrad, with GAIMK. These included:

*A. Miller*, professor in the Archaeological Department of the faculty of history at the University of Leningrad and an active member of the GAIMK, director of the Caucasian Section of the Russian Ethnographical Museum, and lecturer at the Institute of Eastern Studies in Moscow, where he went every week. Miller specialized in the culture of the Bronze Age and headed the section for clan society (*rodovoye obshchestvo*) in the GAIMK. He had many pupils, who comprise the majority of the most prominent archaeologists in the U.S.S.R. to this day.

*P. Yefimenko*, professor, active member of the GAIMK, a specialist in the Paleolithic period. He directed the section on pre-clan society in the GAIMK. Of Yefimenko's pupils, only *P. Boriskovski* made a name for himself.

*V. Gorodtsov* was the head of the Moscow group of archaeologists, a professor, the head of the Archaeological Department at Moscow University. To the end of his active life he remained an all-around archaeologist, not recognizing specialization. He trained a group of archaeologists who are still active in the U.S.S.R.

In addition to these three archaeologists who were of all-Union significance, there were prominent and well-known archaeologists in the provinces who had a certain influence upon the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. Among these were *M. Rudinski* and *N. Makarenko*, members of the VUAK in Kiev. Rudinski headed the section of anthropology at Kiev University and edited the journal *Antropologiya*. Note should be made of *Polikarpovich* in Minsk, and of *Shul'ts* and *Marti* in Kerch'. *P. Rykov* held the chair of archaeology at Saratov University and trained several provincial archaeologists (*Sinitsyn*, *Arzyutov*, *T. Minayeva*). In Rostov-on-the-Don, *B. Lunin* was an archaeological writer and energetic worker.

There were many others, less notable. All the archaeologists mentioned, except B. Lunin, belonged to the old generation, and all without exception were representatives of the old "bourgeois" ideology.

### *I. The End of the NEP.*

The end of the NEP and the beginning of a new "socialist offensive" were marked by an onslaught on archaeological societies and regional studies organizations and the individuals associated with them. In 1929 the first disquieting symptoms appeared in the form of articles in the Party journals and newspapers. In these articles accusations were made against regional studies groups and other similar social organizations that they did not understand and did not want to understand the tasks of the building up of socialism and avoided taking part in them. Instead, they escaped into the archaic and dealt with matters, if not directly opposed to the interests of the Communist Party, at least having no practical significance and "not in keeping with the times." In this way they diverted the forces and attention of society backward, away from the tasks set by the Communist Party and Soviet government and back toward the past; they busied themselves in praising and making much of that past. At the same time attacks began in public meetings and the press on individual, fairly prominent scientific workers, mainly professors; they were accused of escaping from contemporary Soviet life into the archaic and taking refuge in regional studies and archaeological societies.

In order to acquaint themselves with the activity of regional studies groups and other similar social organizations, local Party and government offices assigned observers to them. Up to 1930, their participation in the various organizations was limited to supervision, observation and study of individual members of the organizations. However, as the "socialist offensive" developed and became more and more manifest in the general conditions of life and work, it became clear to everyone that a storm was approaching. The storm burst in the next period, 1930-1934.

# III

## THE REVOLUTION IN ARCHAEOLOGY (1930-1934)

### *A. General Conditions of the Era*

At the end of 1927 the Fifteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was held. The congress claimed to recognize the existence of a sharpening of the class struggle within the country and an intensification of the struggle of international capital against the U.S.S.R. In connection with this situation it decided to "broaden and strengthen the socialist commanding heights . . . in the city as well as in the village." At the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1930 an "extensive socialist offensive covering the entire front" was proclaimed. The Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934 held that the first stage in the building of socialism had been completed. Nevertheless, among the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) the Congress emphasized "repressing the vestiges of capitalism in the economy and in the people's consciousness." A resolution of the Congress proposed to "intensify ideological political work, systematically exposing the ideology and traces of the ideology of the hostile classes and of tendencies hostile to Leninism."<sup>104</sup>

From the frequency of Party congresses between 1927 and 1934 and the militant character of their decisions it is evident that the Communist Party, headed by Stalin, was particularly active and energetic in the "extensive socialist offensive" and the broadening

and strengthening of the "socialist commanding heights." Stalin, with ample reason, could call this era "the years of the great change." The transition from Leninism to Stalinism was characterized by the liquidation of the NEP and the abolition of private initiative and property in industry, trade and agriculture. Using ruthless methods, the Soviet authorities carried out collectivization in the villages and liquidated the kulaks as a class. A terrible famine and mass exile to forced labor camps accompanied the "extensive socialist offensive" and "building of socialism." At the same time a strong attack was waged on the ideological front against the survivals of "bourgeois ideology" in the people's consciousness. The attack was accompanied by a mass closing of churches, the exile or execution of many of the clergy, and a transformation of literature, art and science into tools of Communist propaganda. For all Soviet citizens, from housewives to professors, a compulsory study of the history and program of the Party and the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" was introduced.

Under these conditions and circumstances a revolution was also carried out in archaeology. Up to the end of the NEP archaeology remained almost totally in its prerevolutionary state. No particular importance was attached to this sector of the front of historical science, and its socialist reorientation had therefore been delayed; when the time came for the "extensive socialist offensive" archaeology proved to have fallen into a "deep abyss." As has been shown in the preceding chapters, archaeology remained in the hands of the old prerevolutionary scholars, who were far from being Marxists. N. Marr, the most revolutionary of the old scholars, was made the official head of Soviet archaeology. But he worked in the field of philology and was carried away by the fantastic contrivances of his Japhetic theory and his attacks on "bourgeois science." He had no idea of what a new, Marxist archaeology would be like. For a revolution in archaeology it was necessary to create and educate new, young, revolutionary Marxist archaeologists who would be members of the Party. Such persons were trained mainly in the Archaeological Departments of the Faculty of History in the universities and in the postgraduate study section of the

GAIMK. These people started maturing only toward the end of the NEP. Only by relying on these young members of the Party, who were not as learned as they were politically ambitious, could the Party begin the devastation of the old archaeology and the building of a new, Soviet archaeology.

Because it was the most "backward" of the sciences in the U.S.S.R., archaeology suffered more than the others, and it was here that the greatest number of scholars was swept away.

### *B. The Liquidation of Regional Studies*

As early as 1929, in connection with the end of the NEP, the Communist Party in accordance with directives of the Politburo began to seize control of archaeological organizations, particularly the regional studies groups. In all regional studies societies and archaeological organizations Party surveillance was carried out by observers. These representatives of the Party hardly interfered in the affairs of the societies, limiting themselves merely to studying and watching over their activities. The observers were selected from among the more literate personnel of the Politprosvet (Boards of Political Education) or the Agitprop (the Agitation and Propaganda Departments).

In the winter of 1929-1930, all the societies and private organizations for regional studies and archaeology throughout the U.S.S.R. were closed by Party order. Everywhere the NKVD arrested the more prominent regional studies people. The entire managing committees of the various societies were arrested. The majority of the prisoners, after prolonged confinement and interrogation in the NKVD, were exiled or otherwise put out of the way.

At the same time all the archaeological and regional studies publishing houses were closed and their publications discontinued. Only much later, after the final destruction of these institutions, were official government "regional studies bureaus" established in the oblast centers, ostensibly for directing regional studies but in reality to see to it that the regional studies movement did not arise again. The practice was to appoint a member of the oblast Party



committee as the chairman of the bureau; usually the appointee had no interest in or connection with regional studies. As secretary of the organization someone was chosen who had been active in or had had some connection with regional studies but who had not been arrested, usually a member of the Party or a "non-Party Bolshevik."

Nevertheless, the regional studies movement as it had existed during the NEP had been so thoroughly devastated that it could no longer be revived. All the regional studies enthusiasts, the museum workers and the archaeological amateurs of the NEP era, had been exiled or otherwise prevented from working on regional studies. The oblast bureaus for regional studies had an official rather than a private non-governmental character and did not carry out regional studies at all.

### *C. Revolution in the State Academy for the History of Material Culture (GAIMK)*

Simultaneously with the liquidation of archaeology and regional studies groups throughout the U.S.S.R., a revolution took place in the GAIMK. The disruption was particularly violent because the GAIMK was the central and leading institution in the field of archaeology.

By the end of the 1920's a Communist cell and later a "Communist fraction" had been established in the GAIMK, composed mostly of young postgraduate students and research associates in the GAIMK. A member of the city Party committee who had no connection whatever with archaeology was appointed secretary of the Party organization in the GAIMK. The Party organization, which gradually expanded and consolidated its influence, became the basis for Party surveillance and ideological-political supervision of the life and activity of the GAIMK. The Party organization was connected through its secretary with the city Party committee and from there with the Central Committee of the Party and the Politburo. Along this chain of command, from top downwards, came all the directives and orders.

An offensive began against archaeologists of the old school. Its features were savage criticism, persecution and attacks which usually culminated in political denunciations. At numerous meetings the young students who were members of the Komsomol at the prompting of their Party cells criticized from a Party viewpoint the concepts and individual works of the older archaeological scholars. The criticism consisted of direct attacks and overt accusations of being anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet. At lectures given in the university archaeological departments, Komsomol members among the students used to cry out, "Take off the mask!" "Show your true face!" "What is your attitude to Marxism?" and so forth. The older professors and scholars were required to renounce publicly their old views, confess their errors and declare their loyalty to Marxism and the Soviet regime.

The entire archaeological literature of that time took the form of mutual political denunciations and malevolent criticism. Total confusion set in among the archaeologists of the old generation. Some of them, perhaps in good faith or to save their lives, wanted to join in with the new science and the new ideology, but no one knew what a Marxist archaeology would be like or how it would differ from bourgeois archaeology. Bakunin had once written that the true revolutionary spirit was manifested in destruction rather than in construction. So it was in this case: a fierce battle was conducted against the old science, but nobody knew what the new, Soviet science would be like.

At the end of 1929 Prof. V. Ravdonikas, on orders of the GAIMK Party organisation, gave a report in the GAIMK entitled "For a Soviet History of Material Culture."<sup>95</sup> In this report the views of prominent archaeologists were for the first time subjected to sharp criticism.

The report failed to give a clear definition of what the new Soviet archaeology should be like either, but proposed that a "Marxist history of material culture" should replace the old archaeology. There was no doubt that this report had been considered beforehand by higher Party organizations. It produced the effect of an exploding bomb and provoked heated discussions, which

extended over several meetings. The report was published under the same title, and all the copies were immediately sold out. Since it was clearly composed by order of and in agreement with Party organizations, it served as a basis for the destruction of the old archaeology and its representatives. At the same time it gave some hint of the character of the future Marxist history of material culture. The article was recognized as the Party and political program of the time and was distributed all over the U.S.S.R.; it created a revolution in the views on archaeology and its tasks. In the GAIMK, the center of archaeological thought and work, the report served as a signal for the beginning of the persecution of the old archaeologists, for bitter mutual criticism culminating in political denunciation, and for confessions and the renouncement of personal opinions.

The word "archaeology" itself was rejected and prohibited as being suggestive of a bourgeois science hostile to Marxism; the term used instead was the "Marxist history of material culture."

At an All-Russian Conference for Archaeology and Ethnography held in the GAIMK in May, 1931, and attended by a large number of provincial archaeologists, the Party section of the GAIMK presented an exhibition of Soviet archaeological literature in which works and articles written by prominent Soviet archaeologists since 1917 were shown. Separate exhibits were set up for each of the principal non-Marxist schools and trends in archaeology; over every exhibit there was a sign indicating the trend represented, such as "creeping empiricism," "bourgeois nationalism" "formalism," and so forth. It was obvious to everyone that the authors of works so exhibited were doomed. And indeed, arrests began, the consequence of which was the liquidation of almost all the old archaeologists and a great many young ones who were not able to or did not want to adjust themselves to the new requirements and failed to convince everyone of their devotion to the Party and government. Some of the old archaeologists made every effort to meet the new demands and prove themselves to be Marxists so that they could continue their work; such attempts, however, were often ludicrous and pitiful. Among the scholars of the old generation,

on the other hand, there were some who paid no heed to the dismissals, the arrests, the terrible confusion, the mutual slander and denunciations, the currying of the Party's favor, and the efforts to prove one's loyalty to the leaders of Marxism and their teachings. These scholars preserved to the end the dignity of the scientist, continuing their purely academic work without making the slightest effort to adjust to the new requirements and bow in servility to the Party. Regardless of the impending danger to their lives, they mentioned neither Marx nor Stalin in any of their works, simply because they saw no scientific necessity for it.

For archaeology, the terrible era of 1930-34 was exclusively taken up with the struggle on the ideological front. Field work and research were discontinued and receded far into the background; the results of such work were hardly published. It was political writers and critics rather than field workers, excavators, researchers and scholars who stood out among the archaeologists of that time. They were dogmatists who had memorized the few statements by the "classics of Marxism" regarding primitive society and who commented on them in sharp polemics among themselves. These discussions in the literature and during the endless meetings and sessions often took on a scholastic character. Violent attacks were launched in the literature against the most prominent old Russian, and particularly European, archaeologists, the representatives of the bourgeois, anti-Marxist science. Not only were the old authorities of archaeology—Montelius, Hoernes, Mortillet, Déchelette, Capitan, *et al.*—"exposed" and subjected to ruthless criticism, but attacks were made particularly on the contemporary ones, such as Menghin, von Richthofen, Kossinna, Jastrzebski, Breuil, and Boule.

In this total war in archaeology of all against all, accompanied by the condemnation and rejection of an increasingly large number of ideas and the discussion of Marxist ideology as it applied to questions of primitive society, the contours of a new Soviet history of material culture, which was to take the place of archaeology, gradually began to take shape. At the basis of this new Soviet culture was the idea that an archaeological remain is not something

to be studied for its own sake but is only a source for understanding and reconstructing the society which produced it. Accordingly, the ultimate goal of the history of material culture is to piece together the forms and stages of development of pre-capitalist societies, from the standpoint of their economic bases and technologies, productive forces, productive relations and ideologies.

Marx's scheme of socio-economic structures or "formations" became the basis for the study of the development of society. As is well known, Marx devoted all his attention and efforts to the study of capitalist society of his time, and mentioned the preceding periods of development only superficially, in rough sketches and notes. Demarcating the development of society according to its productive relations into separate socio-economic formations, Marx spoke of the primitive clan society, the Asiatic mode of production, and the slave-holding, feudal and capitalist formations. The mode of production under Asiatic depotism so closely resembled the system of socialism in the U.S.S.R. that after an embittered discussion at the end of the twenties, the concept of an Asiatic mode of production as a separate, independent socio-economic formation was proclaimed to be incorrect and anti-Marxist, and it was forbidden even to mention it.

As a result of the extensive and embittered discussions concerning socio-economic periodization, the following detailed scheme of the development of society was worked out and adopted as orthodox and obligatory:

- I. *Pre-class society*: a. formation of human society; b. pre-clan era; c. clan (*rodovoye*) matriarchal society; d. clan patriarchal society; e. stage of decomposition of the clan (transition from the clan to the village community).
- II. *Class society, slave-holding formation*: a. oriental, primitive slave-holding society; b. developed, ancient slave-holding society.
- III. *Feudal system*: a. early feudalism; b. developed or later feudalism.
- IV. *Capitalist society*.

- V. *Classless society*: a. socialism; b. communism. Communist society is the final stage of development and is not subject to further changes.

In the earlier discussion of this framework Lenin had stated that in every formation there are survivals of the preceding one as well as elements of the future formation rising in it. Therefore a socio-economic formation in the pure state is no more than a theoretical category (the doctrine of the purity of formations). The category to which the formation belonged could only be determined by reference to the prevalent mode of production.

Archaeologists, historians, economists, sociologists and philosophers—among them the most prominent Marxists of the time—took part in the discussions on socio-economic formations. Pre-capitalist formations were acknowledged to be the topics of study in the history of material culture. Former terms and concepts, such as the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, were abolished and forbidden as being bourgeois, having their source not in an understanding of the society itself but in the material prevailing in the development of its technology.

Archaeologists were called upon not only to describe the archaeological remain under investigation but to reconstruct the society which had produced it on the basis of a study of it, with an exact definition of the socio-economic formation and the phase of its development. Artifacts, camp sites, remnants of settlements, workshops and the like became the center of attention. Conclusions were drawn with regard to the dominant economic form, the development of technology, the social structure and the ideological conceptions of the productive groups which had left the remain. Kurgans, burial fields, and burials in general were considerably less studied, and then mainly for the purpose of reconstructing the ideological conceptions and, in part, the social structure of the society which had left them.

Thus the former archaeology was replaced by a new science, the history of pre-capitalist society, which used the remains of material culture only as sources. Ethnography and the anthropological study

of contemporary backward peoples became subsidiary source disciplines for the restoration of the history of these periods. Such a study made possible the restoration and comprehension of many phenomena encountered in the study of primitive society which would have been unintelligible without such parallels. In order to elucidate surrounding natural conditions and economic forms, the following disciplines were employed: geology, paleobotany (pollen analysis) and paleozoology.

For slave-holding society, in which a written language first appears along with the rise of the state, the basic sources for historical restoration are written records. Remains of material culture are still of very great, though not of paramount, importance. The significance of material remains decreases as the written language develops and as the quantity of written records increases. Accordingly, in the feudal era written sources occupy a basic, leading position. Remains of material culture from this period are important only for throwing light on the secondary questions of technology, conditions of existence and other data which complete the picture of the development of the society.

The establishment of the new Soviet science in the place of the former archaeology was accompanied by and to a significant degree determined by violent attacks on bourgeois concepts and theories. In rejecting bourgeois ideas and moving away from them, Soviet archaeological theoreticians gradually fell into the opposite extreme.

The migration theory was proclaimed to be particularly objectionable. In connection with this, not only the concept, but the very expression "the great migration of peoples" was prohibited and dropped from use. For all peoples and tribes, especially those in the U.S.S.R., a local, autochthonous and stage-by-stage type of development was proclaimed. This new premise, applied to the origin of tribes and peoples and their historical development, was carried to absurdities which openly contradicted archaeological and historical data.

Thus because of political considerations, the thesis was put forward that the Crimean Goths did not belong to the Germanic

tribe at all and did not come from somewhere else, but were formed on the spot, in the Crimea. The work of juggling the facts was entrusted to Ravdonikas, one of the most prominent representatives of the new Soviet history of material culture. In a long pseudo-scientific article in which he made use of almost all of the historical and a few of the archaeological sources which could support his side of the question, Ravdonikas rejected not only Jordanes and his account of the migration of the Goths, but also all the other data, including the archaeological ones, regarding the stay of the Goths on the Dnepr. Counting on the insufficient preparation of the majority of his readers, Ravdonikas simply passed over in silence the Caucasian Goths and the remains left by them.

The Crimean Goths created the most difficult problem because of the large quantity of Gothic remains discovered in the Crimea and the wide knowledge of them in European literature, as well as the copious written historical information about their presence in these parts and the preservation of their nationality until at least the end of the sixteenth century. It was here that Ravdonikas was obliged to put forward the quite improbable thesis that, although there were Goths in the Crimea, they had not come from elsewhere and were not of Germanic origin:

We do not dispute the historical reality of the Goths, but we believe that the Goths of the Black Sea were formed autochthonously and by stages from the tribes present here before them by way of intermarriage. The term Goths, in our opinion, is a general and purely conventional term under which different ethnic groups are apparently disguised.<sup>96</sup>

As in the passage quoted, so in many other pages of his work Ravdonikas cites a great number of selected facts which he manipulates, or simply distorts, giving them a one-sided interpretation which suits his aims.

Another archaeologist, M. Artamonov, having investigated for several summers the remnants of Sarkel on the Don and other remains of the Khazar state and culture, on the basis mainly of his excavations wrote a history of the Khazars in which, as in other



books on the Khazars, he maintained that the Khazars did not come from somewhere else to the Don and the northern Caucasus but were formed in these areas and were consequently not Turks, but like Ravdonikas' Goths, represented the "result of autochthonous ethnogeny, created by the intermarriage of local tribes."<sup>97</sup>

The archaeologist M. Khudyakov in his lectures at Kazan' University maintained that the Volga Tatars were not Turks, and did not migrate from elsewhere; they also formed themselves locally by the crossing of local tribes.

The formation of the Russian nation and the European peoples was explained in exactly the same way. This Marxist formula of a spontaneous, autochthonous and stage-by-stage formation and development of peoples was directed principally against the Indo-Germanic theory and the race doctrine. But in rejecting and sharply opposing these theories, the theory of "autochthonous origin of peoples" fell into the opposite extreme and reached absurdity. If, as this hypothesis maintained, all peoples were formed locally by intermarriage among local tribes, it remained completely unintelligible what kind of tribes these were and why, from identical tribes on identical territory and with the closest contiguity, Slavs were formed as the result of one mixture, Finns of another, and Turks of a third.

S. Bykovski, director of the GAIMK, in his work on the origin of the eastern Slavs, particularly the Russians, maintained that they did not come from elsewhere but were formed as the result of a long process of integration and differentiation of various local tribes and peoples, thereby producing the Russian people.<sup>98</sup>

Various attacks were launched against manifestations of the migration theory in West European archaeological literature, in the works of H. Breuil and other investigators. Soviet archaeological literature of that time is also full of attacks on "bourgeois nationalism" in the foreign literature, allegedly intended to provide a scientific basis for chauvinistic and imperialistic tendencies. Uncovering and analysing such theories, Soviet archaeologists made the finding that as a result of the contemporary sharpening of class and international conflicts, archaeology, which was sup-

posed to be the most academic and apolitical of the sciences, had become the most sharply politically and militant science. For example, Japanese archaeologists were accused of having followed in the wake of the troops invading Manchuria, where they carried out excavations and published material mainly on ceramics, comparing it with that of ancient Japan and thereby demonstrating a genetic link between Japanese and Manchurian cultures. On this basis they maintained that the ancestors of the Japanese people clearly came from Manchuria, which provided a basis for the Japanese slogans "Manchuria is the country of our ancestors," "Back to the country of our ancestors," and so forth.

In many places along the Baltic Sea, particularly at Ladoga, Staraya Russa, along the Upper Volga, along the Dnepr down to Chernigov, and in other places, finds had long been known of burials and objects of the so-called Scandinavian or Varangian type. During the struggle to establish a Soviet material culture, all this former Scandinavian culture was proclaimed to be Slavic, and Swedish archaeologists began to be attacked because they continued to regard this culture as Scandinavian and because on this basis they proclaimed a number of old Russian cities (Ladoga, Yaroslavl', Smolensk, Chernigov, Kiev) to have been Scandinavian colonies at a certain period.

Finnish archaeologists were accused of continuing to look upon all the Finnish tribes populating northern Russia and the Volga region as being Finnish and of considering the ancient cultures in these areas (such as the D'yakov culture) to be pre-Finnish or early Finnish and on this basis of claiming for the Finnish people historical rights to "Greater Finland," that is to all of northern Russia to the region beyond the Urals and to a part of central Russia, including the Volga region.

In European archaeological literature of that time an embittered polemic was carried on between Polish and German archaeologists (Jastrzebski, Kossinna, von Richthofen) on the question as to whether the Luzhitsky (Lusatian) culture belonged to the Slavs or the Germans. Soviet archaeologists published the arguments of both sides, with derisive commentaries. Not without reason, the

Soviet archaeologists maintained that at the time of the existence and development of this culture (from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age) neither Slavic nor Germanic tribes existed and that bearers of the Luzhitsky culture, in the process of ethnogeny, could later have entered into the composition of the Germanic as well as the Slavic peoples.<sup>90</sup>

Violent criticism and fierce attacks were also carried on against other bourgeois concepts and their manifestations in Russian and Soviet archaeological literature—empiricism, formalism, modernization and the appearance of mechanicism and idealistic conceptions in particular. At the same time, in the mutual attacks and criticism, efforts were made to detect any sort of survivals or “smuggled-in contraband” representing a deviation from the general line of the Party. Such criticism among Soviet archaeologists was never academic; it always bore the purely personal character of political accusations, slander and denunciation.<sup>100</sup>

#### *D. Archaeological Literature of the Era*

Archaeological literature completely changed its character in accordance with the tasks of the moment. Descriptions of excavations and archaeological material, with appropriate analyses and conclusions, were almost entirely replaced by the criticism of bourgeois theories and concepts, mutual criticism and self-criticism, and attempts to establish a new Marxist history of material culture on the basis of the selection and analysis of individual data in Marxist terms. Archaeology was essentially replaced by the study of the history and material culture of pre-capitalist formations. The primary emphasis was on reconstructing, in accordance with the pronouncements of the founders of Marxism and archaeological materials, the social structure, economics, industrial and technological basis and ideology of the various socio-economic stages of development of pre-feudal society.

The pronouncements of the “classics of Marxism-Leninism,” above all Engels’ *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, served as the basis for establishing the new science and for

understanding all of its aspects.<sup>101</sup> Engels' work is devoid of the slightest originality and represents a paraphrase in shorter and more popular form of the ideas expressed in the works of the American scholar L. Morgan, who had studied the tribal structure of the Iroquois Indians.<sup>102</sup> Archaeologists were expected to "work over" Engels' book endlessly and to learn it literally by heart; they referred to it constantly in their works, and every phrase in it, as well as everything which was said in general by the "classics of Marxism," was regarded as the absolute truth and a postulate not subject to criticism. Because the pronouncements of the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" on the slave-holding and particularly the pre-class society are far from numerous and are scattered through many books and articles, some little known, collections of these pronouncements were made up and published. They were subjected to endless interpretation and examination and were used as the basis for substantiating accusations of incorrect and harmful interpretations of Marxism. Every single pronouncement was accepted without criticism as a revelation of the objective laws of the development of human society.

At the beginning of the period of reconstruction some works by foreign authors were also published, such as the work by Hans Weinert on the origin of man and of Franz Boas and Lévy-Bruhl on the mentality of primitive man.<sup>103</sup> These works were allowed provisionally because they had been written by authors with a basically materialist viewpoint and because there were as yet no orthodox works on these important themes in the Soviet literature of that time. Later on, however, they were condemned and put on the Soviet *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

An attempt was made to publish a series of articles by Soviet archaeologists on clan society, but as soon as it appeared the book was subjected to harsh criticism, and accusations were made against its authors of deviations and anti-Marxist errors.<sup>104</sup> Toward the end of the period the first attempt was made to expound the history of pre-clan society (Paleolithic period) on the basis of archaeological material.<sup>105</sup>

Nearly all the literature of the period had a sociological charac-

ter. Purely archaeological works disappeared almost completely. They were put at the back of publications, taking up not more than one-tenth of the space. One can trace the growing attention devoted to the sociological theme: in 1930 there were relatively few such articles in periodicals, in 1931 their number had increased considerably, while in 1933-34 they are quite predominant. By 1935 they are no longer so polemical in tone and are written in a more self-confident and generally accepted manner. By that time the reorganization of archaeological ideology was accomplished.

From 1930 on, all the archaeological publications of the NEP period were discontinued, never to be started again, including the *Proceedings* of the Archaeological Section of the RANION in Moscow, the publications of the VUAK in Kiev, and all other provincial publications dealing with archaeology, anthropology, and ethnography. In their place the GAIMK began to publish, in the capacity of a leading publication, the *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Communications of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture] during 1930-31, and then in 1932-33 the bulky monthly journal *Problemy istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Problems of the History of Material Culture] (*PIMK*) which was renamed *Problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv* [Problems of the History of Pre-capitalist Societies] (*PIDO*) in 1933.

The title change was made because in *PIMK* a considerable number of articles on the history of material culture which were close to archaeology had still been included. This created the impression that material culture developed by virtue of some unique, inherent forces, independently of the development of society itself. According to the Marxist concept of the historical process, however, human society develops by virtue of its inner contradictions, and only as a result of this process does material culture develop. Consequently in analyzing the development of various aspects of the historical process—material culture, art, ideology and so forth—the main emphasis must be placed on society, which created all these forms and manifestations of culture. The remains of material culture are not to be studied for their own sake but only as

sources for the restoration of particular periods and forms in the development of society.

The GAIMK publications of this period served as ideological and methodological guides rather than as vehicles to publish scientific works. *PIMK* and even more its successor *PIDO* for those years create the strange impression of publications having a discussional and not yet established character. The editorial in each issue invariably had a directing political character. Articles followed which cited and commented upon the works and pronouncements of the "classics of Marxism" regarding the history of pre-capitalist societies. Then came articles on the most varied and disconnected themes, on questions of production, social structure and social relations, technology, the class struggle, material culture, and ideology; these articles covered the immense period from the origin of man to capitalist society, with a Marxist analysis of the phenomena described and appropriate conclusions. Concepts from the ethnography, history and social history of the backward peoples of Australia, Africa and America, as well as of the people of Europe, were often brought in. Following this two or three articles of an archaeological nature were included as material, and the concluding section consisted of criticism and reviews, with vigorous attacks on both European and Soviet archaeologists.

Besides *PIMK* and *PIDO*, the GAIMK continued to publish the *Izvestiya GAIMK*, which now had a quite different form and objective. From 1930 on the *Izvestiya*, instead of the previous thick collections of scientific works, came out in separate fascicles which carried the consecutive numbering of a given volume and from 1933 on had their own consecutive numeration. Most fascicles contained one study but some were in the form of a collection of several articles, always devoted to a single subject. Up to 1935 about 150 issues of the *Izvestiya* were published. The themes of the articles in the *Izvestiya* were similar to those in *PIDO*, and in both publications one can trace the gradual elimination of archaeology in favor of articles expounding Marxist interpretation and procedure in studying the development of society.

After 1932 Marxist themes completely prevailed; the following

articles are characteristic examples: (1) "On the Development of Marx's Views on Primitive Society"; (2) "Marx-Engels and the Basic Problems of the History of Pre-Class Society"; (3) "Marx and the Problems of the Most Ancient Period of Pre-Class Society"; (4) "Marx and the Problems of Language"; (5) "Questions of Linguistics in Marx's *German Ideology*"; (6) "Marx's Doctrine of Primitive Accumulation"; (7) "The Importance of Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in the Study of Ancient Society"; (8) "Engels' Theory of the Origin of Man and the Morphological Peculiarities of the Skeletal Remains of *Sinanthropus*"; (9) "Engels and the Questions of the Development of the Social Organization of the Australian Tribes"; (10) "The Crisis of Bourgeois Archaeology and the Blind Search for New Paths"; (11) "On the Periodization of the History of Pre-Class Society"; (12) "On the Question of the Use Made by Lenin of the Experience in Fighting Feudalism in Western Europe"; (13) "Lenin and the Problem of Autocracy in Russia"; (14) "On the Question of the Dialectics of the Development of Pre-Class Society"; (15) "Sources for the Study of Revolts in the Ancient World"; and (16) "On the 400th Anniversary of the Münster Commune."<sup>106</sup>

Editorial articles in *PIDO* were written on themes such as the following: (1) "The Seventeenth Congress of the Party and the Tasks of the Historians of Pre-Capitalist Formations"; (2) "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*"; (3) "S. Kirov"; (4) "Decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the Teaching of Social History in the Schools of the U.S.S.R."; (5) "The Tasks of Historians in the Light of the Decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of May 16, 1934"; and (6) "For Quality in the Work of Soviet Historians."<sup>107</sup>

The GAIMK published a separate volume entitled *Marx and Engels on Antiquity* and another entitled *Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Primitive Society*.<sup>108</sup> These collections included all the

pronouncements of the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" regarding pre-feudal formations and played a large part in the development of Marxist concepts among Soviet archaeologists. Then a collection of articles devoted to Marx was issued,<sup>100</sup> and one of the numbers of *PIDO* was entirely devoted to Engels.<sup>110</sup>

Thus archaeological literature in the U.S.S.R. from 1930 to 1934 was so far from the academic literature of the preceding period that in comparing them it is almost impossible to find anything in common.

### *E. Archaeologists of the Period of Reconstruction*

It is hardly necessary to speak of the leading archaeologists of this time as field archaeologists or researchers. Archaeological excavations were conducted on a very small scale, including the expeditions attached to construction projects such as the Moscow subway.<sup>111</sup> Attention was concentrated exclusively on the socialist reconstruction of archaeology itself, its subject matter, technique and methodology. Reports or descriptions of archaeological work were hardly published. The scholars, most of whom had had European reputations and connections and whose works had filled the archaeological publications of previous eras, particularly the NEP, had disappeared.

The following names among many others no longer appear in the literature beginning with 1930: *G. Ainalov, Borovka, Bartol'd, O. Val'dgauer, A. Vasil'yev, A. Zakharov, V. Latyshev, A. Lykha-chov, Ol'denburg, A. Oreshnikov, A. Spitsyn, B. Turayev, R. Fasmer, B. Farmakovski, F. Shmidt, and A. Miller. V. Gorodtsov* and his pupils were silent for a long time, while the prominent Ukrainian archaeologists *N. Makarenko* and *M. Rudinski*, among others, disappeared. It is true that many of the scholars of the old generation mentioned here died a natural death, but the majority of them were arrested and exiled.

The archaeologists, or more accurately the archaeological writers of the "revolution in archaeology," were almost all new, young archaeologists from the GAIMK, with a good preparation in the



ideology of the Party. Others were historians, ethnographers, anthropologists, philologists or scholars with other specialties; most of them were members of the Party or "non-Party Bolsheviks" engaged in the Marxist transformation of archaeology. Finally, there were the Party writers who dealt with questions of Marxist philosophy.

*V. Ravdonikas* occupied the leading position in the new publications of the GAIMK. An archaeologist of the middle generation (born in 1886) and a man of exceptional ability, he regarded himself as a pupil of A. Spitsyn in the sphere of field archaeology. For some time he was occupied with Germanic studies and was a master of languages. A brilliant debater and critic and gifted with a good memory, Ravdonikas belonged heart and soul to the new, Marxist archaeology. In the 1920's he had joined the Party but was later ousted for insufficient discipline. In the formation of the new, Marxist archaeology Ravdonikas played an exceptional part. He wrote almost all the leading and most responsible works of a methodological character, and gave a devastating criticism of the old and of bourgeois archaeology, forming in this way a new, Soviet archaeology. His uninterrupted contact with high-level Party organs is beyond doubt, and it is equally certain that he wrote the majority of his programmatic works of that time at the order of the Party.

As a field archaeologist Ravdonikas occupied quite a secondary position. He was not attracted by excavations, although he did perform them from time to time, mainly in order not to lose his standing and reputation as an archaeologist. Basically, however, he was a typical archaeological writer and a philosopher and sociologist of the period of the establishment of the Marxist history of material culture. He continued to be active up to the 1950's.

The second-ranking archaeologist of that time, although considerably below Ravdonikas, was *Ye. Krichevski*. A young pupil of the school of A. Miller and a GAIMK postgraduate student, he was a member of the Komsomol for a time but was later excluded as coming from the bourgeois class. His chief asset was a remarkable memory; at meetings and research sessions during the

struggle for a Party science, people used to turn to Krichevski in moments of doubt, and he would recite from memory the needed passages from the "classics of Marxism," giving the edition, volume and page. He was called a "Marxist Talmudist" or a *nachotchik*, an ironical expression denoting a person who has read and uncritically assimilated a vast amount of material. He wrote many articles and took part in the discussions on the Marxist concept of archaeology, but his works had much less significance than those of Ravdonikas. His exposition and analysis were distinguished by a kind of obscurity and muddle-headedness as well as verbosity. He was close to Ravdonikas in the struggle for the establishment of the new science. He had little interest for and was very weak in field work, but when the period of the reconstruction of archaeology came to a close, he began taking part in field work, mainly on the Tripol'ye culture, and wrote articles on the Neolithic period. Krichevski did not command particular authority in anything related to true science.

Next came a whole galaxy of persons with various specialties who were concerned with theoretical questions of archaeology: S. Bykovski, A. Prigozhin, A. Udal'tsov, V. Aptekar', A. Bernshtam, A. Zolotaryov, M. Khudyakov, P. Boriskovski, I. Meshchaninov, P. Yefimenko, S. Kovalyov, A. Mishulin, A. Matorin, Zhakov, Kagarov, Zelenin and many others. The type of archaeological writers who had never published before, who was completely unknown and who had no clear specialty, was quite prevalent during the struggle for the new science—and for one's own life. Many of them published one or two articles of the Marxist type and then disappeared forever.

If one compares the publications of the GAIMK before 1930 with those after that date, one finds that just as there is nothing in common between the subject matter of the two periods, so the names of the scholarly writers are completely different.

A completely insignificant number of the learned archaeologists of the old school succeeded in jumping over the barrier of 1930, to "rearm themselves" and turn into Marxist archaeologists. N. Marr is not to be counted, since he was at that time a member

of the Party, was considered a Marxist, and thus avoided the barrier. Of other archaeologists of the prerevolutionary time *P. Yefimenko* (born 1881) performed this *salto mortale* and took up Marxist ideology more successfully than anyone else. A good field worker of the old school who had specialized in the 1920's in the Paleolithic period, Yefimenko worked on the development of the Marxist concept of pre-clan society, and published several articles on this topic which were regarded as more or less successful and which have preserved his life and status up to the present.<sup>112</sup>

*S. Zhebelyov* and *B. Bogayevski*, the latter from among the writers of the NEP era, also made the transition into the new "history of precapitalist formations." However, they both cleared the barrier only with great difficulty, under incessant blows and harassment from Party ideological organs. *I. Meshchaninov* (born 1883), active during the NEP as a specialist on the Khalds of Urartu and as a philologist, also surmounted the barrier but also not without great impediments and attacks, clinging to the coattail of N. Marr. He changed into the first student and wholehearted follower and supporter of Marr's Japhetic theory, and appeared in public as a propagandist and popularizer of the theory. He made himself the first student, collaborator and assistant of Marr, and thanks to the latter, to everybody's surprise, landed in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, having absolutely no qualifications for such a position. Concerning this event it was said in the GAIMK and all the archaeological and scholarly circles that Marr had brought Meshchaninov into the GAIMK in the same way that the Roman emperor Caligula brought his horse into the Senate.

In the desperate struggle for status and life, characterized by attempts to transfer to the new Marxist paths, by hostile criticism culminating in political denunciation, and by determined efforts to demonstrate Marxist orthodoxy and devotion to the Party and the government, the total struggle of all against all and the striving to adapt to the new political requirements often assumed a comical or even degrading character. Such was the case with *V. Gorodtsov*, *A. Bashkirov* and others.<sup>113</sup>

Among the older archaeologists with non-Marxist views, however,

there were some who preserved their personal dignity and academic freedom. They refused to satisfy the new political requirements, and of course they all perished.

When A. Tallgren arrived in Leningrad in 1935 and heard of the devastation which had taken place among archaeologists, he was horrified, although he only received information about a few of his acquaintances among the scholars. (Information on all those repressed was of course not published, and it has not yet been gathered to this day, even outside the U.S.S.R.) After his return to Finland, Tallgren published an open letter of protest against the persecution of Soviet scholars, and then in an article on Soviet archaeology<sup>114</sup> listed the names of the archaeologists of his acquaintance who had perished, together with the lines from Horace in which the latter speaks of the valiant men who have done their duty without fear of the menacing looks of tyrants:

Justum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava iubentium  
Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solida . . . (*Odes*, III, iii)

Of course, Tallgren's long friendship with Russian archaeologists and archaeology was finished after this action. He was excluded from among the honorary members of the GAIMK and was forbidden to enter the U.S.S.R. Up until his death in 1945 he never went there again.

#### *F. Connections with Foreign Countries*

From 1930 on, all contacts with foreign countries — travel abroad, visits of foreign archaeologists, correspondence and publication of articles in foreign journals—were discontinued. If archaeologists who were arrested had in the past published articles abroad, this was held against them as being a link with the enemies of the U.S.S.R., in spite of the fact that publishing abroad had previously not been forbidden.

The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad (VOKS) assumed a special role and importance from that time on. Founded

in 1925 to supervise the foreign cultural relations of Soviet scientific and scholarly organizations and institutions and Soviet scientific and scholarly personnel and to see to the exchange of publications, VOKS from 1930 on became a department of the NKVD, taking full control of these relations and watching lest any contact should arise outside of VOKS channels. VOKS had a list of scholars in Europe who were considered fairly reliable in regard to the U.S.S.R. Any Soviet scholar who wanted to send reprints of his article to foreign scholars was obliged to send them first to VOKS, which then distributed them according to its list. Similarly, reprints of articles by European scholars were received in VOKS and then distributed among Soviet scholars. In this manner direct connection between scholars, not only in the form of letters but also in the form of an exchange of articles, was discontinued. Trips abroad were also forbidden to Soviet scholars because the majority of those who were sent out preferred to stay and did not return to the U.S.S.R.

In the same way foreign archaeological literature almost completely ceased coming into the U.S.S.R. In general it was very difficult to subscribe to foreign publications: a license and hard currency exchange were needed. Consequently, European archaeological literature was totally absent in the provinces; such material could be found only in the GAIMK library.

A rupture of the connection of Soviet science with that of Europe, a halt in the publication of Soviet scientific works abroad, and the discontinuation of the *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, one of the best journals devoted to archaeology in Russia—these were a few of the results of the erection of a Chinese Wall around the U.S.S.R. As mentioned before, articles by Soviet archaeologists still appeared in *ESA* in 1931 and 1932, making up about forty per cent of the total in those years. In 1933 the figure dropped to seventeen per cent, in 1934 to four per cent, and thereafter articles by Soviet archaeologists disappeared altogether. In subsequent years Tallgren, the editor, used to write half of the articles in the journal from his old notes; finally, in 1938 the last issue of *ESA*

appeared with a farewell article by the editor, and the journal ceased publication.

### *G. Reorganization of the Archaeological Centers*

The period 1930-1934 witnessed a thorough reorganization of the archaeological centers and their mutual relations. The GAIMK was recognized as the leading and most authoritative archaeological organization. Consequently it was expanded and given a more clearly defined structure. The Collegium of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat of Education, at a session on January 7, 1934, noted the "great amount of positive work" performed by the GAIMK and decreed its reorganization as a system of individual scientific research institutes corresponding to the various socio-economic formations:

1. Institute for the History of Pre-class Society.
2. Institute for the History of Slave-holding Society.
3. Institute for the History of Feudal Society.
4. An Institute of Historical Technology consisting of three branches:
  - a. Field studies;
  - b. Museum science (administration and operation); and
  - c. Training of scientific personnel.

A separate chair was established in each institute for individual socio-economic periods.<sup>115</sup>

After Marr's death in 1934, S. Bykovski, a historian from Kazan' University and a Party member, was appointed director of the GAIMK with Kiparisov, a Communist, as his deputy.

The Archaeological Section of the RANION in Moscow, together with the RANION itself, was completely abolished. In its stead the Moscow Branch of the GAIMK (MOGAIMK) was organized in 1932, and the historian A. Udal'tsov, a Communist, was appointed director.

In 1933 the VUAK in Kiev was also abolished, and instead the Section for the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (SIMK) was established. Since

the people belonging to the VUAK were liquidated or dismissed, the SIMK was a semi-fictional institution; it existed only temporarily and then it too was abolished. In the provinces no archaeological institutions or societies were established to take the place of those that had been destroyed.

As a result of the reorganization period of 1930-1934, the GAIMK occupied the highest and most authoritative position in the centralized system of archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

### *H. The Devastation of Archaeologists*

During the "great change" and the "revolution in archaeology," along with the fierce struggle against the old ideas in favor of a new "Marxist history of material culture," an uninterrupted physical annihilation of the archaeologists themselves, of all carriers of non-Marxist ideas, took place: not only the openly non-Marxists, but even those who were suspected of insufficient Marxism were liquidated. Those who were not able to or did not wish to gain the favor of the Party leaders and Soviet public opinion by showing their loyalty and devotion to the Marxist postulates in science were arrested and exiled, or in very rare cases simply dismissed from office, forcing them to transfer to another specialty or remain unemployed. In one way or another the undesirable scholar was silenced, sometimes forever.

Information on arrests and other forms of repression was, of course, not published; if such a report existed at all, it was in the inner offices of the NKVD. The silence regarding the arrests was not confined to the published word: mention of them was also avoided in conversation. The names of those who had been repressed were struck out of science, literature and life. It was impossible to mention them in the press or refer to their works. It is therefore very difficult now to establish the names and the overall number of all those who were repressed, even when dealing with archaeologists who, generally speaking, were not numerous and almost all of whom knew one another. It seems clear, neverthe-

less, that not less than 85 per cent of the scholars were repressed during these years, at least in archaeology.

The old non-Party archaeologists of the prerevolutionary generation were the first to be liquidated; after them came the middle-aged ones from the NEP era. Finally many of the younger generation (mainly pupils of the Archaeological Department of the Faculty of History in Leningrad University and students at the GAIMK) were also eliminated; most of these were members of the Komsomol and Party candidates. At the same time quite a few of the Party leaders in archaeological institutions, particularly museums, were exiled.

The majority of the exiled archaeologists, particularly the older ones, soon perished. Some committed suicide. Only a few succeeded, after serving their term in the concentration camps, in resuming work in their specialty in the place of exile. A still smaller number managed to finish their term and return to their former location to resume work.

The largest number of archaeologists had been located in Leningrad, where the leading archaeological center was situated and where the ideological struggle was most sharply expressed. It was here that the largest number of arrests was made. From 1930 to 1934 the following persons were repressed in Leningrad:

*S. Bykovski*, director of the GAIMK after the death of Marr, at one time professor at Kazan' University, historian, member of the Party. Exiled.

*Kiparisov*, director of the GAIMK following Bykovski; member of the Party. Exiled.

*A. Miller*, active member of the GAIMK, professor at Leningrad University, head of the Archaeological Department of the Faculty of History. Exiled to Siberia, where he was placed under the supervision of an NKVD man who by his abuses drove Miller to an early death.

*F. Schmidt*, active member of the GAIMK and a professor; specialist in Byzantine remains. Exiled to Alma-Ata, where he served



as a letter-carrier. He was then dismissed as a counter-revolutionary. He died of starvation.

*Professor S. Teploukhov*, active member of the GAIMK, specialist in the archaeology of the Urals region. Upon his arrest and during the search of his lodgings he went into an adjoining room and committed suicide.

*Professor G. Borovka*, specialist in Scythian antiquities. Exiled.

*Professor S. Rudenko*, outstanding Russian ethnographer and archaeologist. Exiled to Siberia. After several years in the camps he began to work again and distinguished himself by his field researches.

*V. Farmakovski*, archaeologist-artist, known for his restoration drawings. He served out his term and was returned.

*R. Fasmer*, active member of the GAIMK, prominent numismatist, director of the Coin Cabinet in the Hermitage. Exiled.

*Yu. Spasski*, young numismatist, assistant and pupil of Fasmer. Exiled.

*B. Zhukov*, very prominent Soviet anthropologist and archaeologist, worked in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Exiled and died soon thereafter.

*G. Bonch-Osmolovski*, specialist in the Paleolithic period of the Crimea. Exiled. After serving his term he returned, but was not allowed to live closer than 100 kilometers from Leningrad, which he used to visit illegally.

*T. Malitski*, specialist in church and Byzantine antiquities. Exiled.

*M. Khudyakov*, pupil and then a Senior Scientific Associate of the GAIMK, specialist in the archaeology of the Volga-Kama region. Exiled.

*M. Gryaznov*, pupil and Senior Associate of the GAIMK. Exiled. After several years he resumed work in his place of exile in Siberia.

*N. Likhachov*, active member of the GAIMK, specialist in sphragistics. Exiled. He was brought back after his term but gave up scientific work.

*K. Boltenko*, pupil and Junior Scientific Associate of the GAIMK;

in 1932 he took part in the activities of the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition. Exiled. At least to the end of the thirties he was in a forced labor camp in the Solovetski region.

*B. Latynin*, pupil and Senior Scientific Associate of the GAIMK. Exiled to Samara. There he again began to work in his specialty, was arrested again and exiled to Siberia.

*S. Chernyshev*, member of the Institute of Historical Technology of the GAIMK, specialist in conservation and restoration of metal objects. Exiled.

*M. Isakova*, member of the Institute of Historical Technology of the GAIMK, specialist in conservation and restoration of cloth. Exiled.

The fate of those exiled, unless otherwise stated, is not known; none of them has returned, and considering that more than twenty years have passed since their exile, it must be assumed that they are no longer alive. Besides those listed, many other scholars in fields related to archaeology were exiled, among them directors and employees of museums, such as the Russian Ethnographical Museum, the Hermitage and the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

In Moscow, *Professor V. Gorodtsov*, for many years head of the Moscow archaeological center, head of the Archaeology Section of the RANION, head of the Archaeological Department of the faculty of history at Moscow University and director of the State Historical Museum, was dismissed from all his duties and work. His most important pupils, *Artsikhovski*, *Grakov*, *Kiselyov*, and *Bryusov*, in fear of being compromised and in order to save their lives, published an open letter which created a stir, in which they criticized Gorodtsov in an extremely sharp form and condemned him for his non-Marxist views in science, proclaiming that they repudiated him and had nothing in common with him. Thanks to this letter and other articles in which they endeavored to prove their adherence to Marxism and Communism, Gorodtsov's pupils were spared and entered the staff of the Moscow Branch of the GAIMK.

These events and moral blows fell very hard on the aged Gorod-

tsov. He openly declared that if, after all that he had had to endure, he were again invited to take up scientific work he would never again work under such conditions but would rather prefer to sit on the street and clean the shoes of the passers-by.

In order to compensate Gorodtsov to some extent for his dismissal and the abuses he had endured, and at the same time to record his great historical services to Russian archaeology, several members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences proposed his candidacy to membership in the Academy. However, Deborin, at the preliminary examination of candidates which he conducted, was presented with a letter from Gorodtsov to one of his pupils in which Gorodtsov, under the influence of what he had gone through, wrote paraphrasing Pushkin, that it was a trick of the devil that had made him work with his brains and heart in the Soviet Union. After that Gorodtsov's candidacy for the Academy was at once dropped.

Some time later the Soviet government awarded Gorodtsov the Order of the Red Banner, but he was not restored to any of his former leading positions. Later on Gorodtsov still tried to perform excavations and to contribute to archaeological publications, and even attempted to impart a Marxist coloration to his treatment of some questions. His role in Soviet archaeology, however, was at an end. He was avoided and was mentioned in literature only by way of criticism and condemnation. He died in 1945 at a very advanced age, forgotten and abandoned by all, in complete isolation, while because of the events that were then taking place, his death passed unnoticed and was nowhere recorded. Thus passed from the scene one of the greatest Russian archaeologists, who had played a major part in the development of archaeology in Russia for almost fifty years.

The following Moscow archaeologists were also repressed:

*Professor A. Zakharov*, archaeological writer of the NEP era. Possessing a good command of European languages, he contributed many articles to foreign publications. He was exiled, in spite of the fact that during the last years of his life he was paralysed and moved about in a wheelchair.

*K. Grinevich*, an archaeologist who during the NEP published many articles on the archaeology of the Crimea, principally ancient Chersonese. He made a name with the sensational discovery and investigation of the "submarine Chersonese," which he exaggerated and played up in the foreign as well as the Soviet press, an action for which he was reprimanded in Soviet archaeological literature. After the war his name reappeared in Soviet publications, from which it would seem that he was released during the war.

*A. Bashkirov*, archaeologist and art scholar, worked in the Crimea and the Caucasus. Exiled.

*P. Rykov*, active member of the GAIMK and Professor of Archaeology at Saratov University, a Communist. Formerly a pupil of V. Gorodtsov. Known for his field research work on the lower Volga region. Trained a number of pupils, archaeologists of the Volga region. Exiled.

*V. Smolin*, worked on the antiquities of the Bulgars of the Volga-Kama region. Exiled.

*P. Rau*, the most able and remarkable archaeologist of the Volga region, one of P. Rykov's pupils. Published his works in Russian and German. Gained a reputation with his excavations, study and interpretations of the cultures from the era of Roman influence in the Volga region. In 1932, on returning home to the colony from his field work, he found his house and courtyard in utter confusion; in his absence his family had been evicted and exiled. Rau went to the stable and hanged himself.

*T. Minayeva*, archaeologist, head of the museum in Stalingrad, a pupil of P. Rykov. She was exiled to Siberia; after serving her term she was permitted to live in the Caucasus but did not resume her work.

*P. Shishkin*, well-known archaeological amateur and student of the Lower Volga region in the regional studies movement. Exiled, and after serving his term permitted to live in the Caucasus. Like Minayeva, he gave up archaeological work.

*N. Zakharov*, archaeologist, professor in the Krasnodar Pedagogical Institute. Exiled.

*A. Leshchenko*, archaeologist and for many years director of the museum in Krasnodar. Exiled.

*B. Lunin*, archaeological writer, Secretary of the Archaeological Society and the North Caucasian Bureau of Regional Studies, both in Rostov-on-the-Don. Imprisoned by the NKVD and released after a year. He subsequently joined the Communist Party.

*Akchokrakly*, a Tatar archaeologist from the Crimea. Exiled.

In the Ukraine the liquidation of archaeologists, art scholars, anthropologists, ethnographers and museum personnel had a special mass character, being part of the annihilation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. This action against those of the intelligentsia who were not of sufficiently Communist views was intensified by the added fight against "bourgeois nationalism." The annihilation of the intelligentsia started with the well-known trial involving the *Spilka vyzvolennya Ukrainy* (Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine) in 1930 in connection with which all the leading personnel of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine and about 5,000 people from all parts of the Ukraine were exiled. This action reached its completion at the end of 1934 with the simultaneous shooting of twenty-five well-known Ukrainian writers and poets. Over a period of four years continuous arrests, banishments and executions took place.

We shall list only a part of the scholars who were archaeologists or in some way connected with archaeology, omitting such people as directors of museums or non-archaeological research associates. With a few exceptions no mention will be made of people whose punishment was no more severe than dismissal from work.

In Kiev:

*Novitski*, chairman of the VUAK for many years, was dismissed in connection with its abolition and avoided exile only because he died shortly thereafter.

*N. Makarenko*, an outstanding Ukrainian archaeologist, former scholar in the Hermitage, active member of the VUAK. During the devastation of the ancient churches in Kiev, he attempted to

protect these remarkable historical and artistic monuments. In addition to appealing to a number of scientific institutions and scholars, Makarenko, in order to protect the Mikhailovskii Zlatoverkhii monastery, sent a lengthy telegram to Stalin and appealed in person to Postyshev. As a consequence, this fearless scholar and patriot was arrested and exiled. He died in exile shortly afterward.

*Professor M. Rudinski*, one of the most prominent Ukrainian archaeologists, headed the Anthropological Room in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.; publisher of the journal *Antropologiya*. Exiled. His name reappeared in postwar Soviet archaeological literature, from which fact it can be deduced that he was released during the war.

*D. Shcherbakiivski*, noted Ukrainian archaeologist, was harassed by the Communists. Because of the slander, accusations and persecution, he committed suicide by tying a stone around his neck and throwing himself into the Dnepr.

*Professor P. Klimenko*, historian and archaeological writer. Exiled.

*F. Kozubovsky*, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. During his interrogation and torture in the NKVD he lost his mind. When the Germans occupied Kiev they shot him together with the other insane persons.

*T. Teslya*, young archaeologist, made his reputation by the discovery of paleolithic camp sites along the Dnepr rapids; worked on the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition. Exiled.

*V. Grinchenko*, young archaeologist, worked on the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition. Known for his discovery of the "Kichkas treasure." Exiled, possibly released during World War II.

*S. Magura*, young archaeologist. Exiled.

*P. Korshak*, young archaeologist. Exiled.

*V. Bilyi*, ethnographer, president of the Ethnographic Commission of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Exiled.

*M. Malamush*, ethnographer. Exiled.

*M. Tkach*, anthropologist, worked in the Anthropological Room of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Exiled.

*A. Nosov*, anthropologist. Exiled.

*N. Zakharevich-Zakharevski*, numismatist. Tortured by the NKVD during the "gold fever." \*

In other cities of the Ukraine:

*K. Chirvak*, noted young archaeologist. Director of the Museum of Sloboda Ukraine in Khar'kov. Exiled.

*Professor V. Dubrovski*, inspector for preserving archaeological remains and art treasures in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Exiled.

*T. Kiranov*, archaeologist, took part in the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition, director of the museum in Nikopol'. Under the pressure of persecution by Communists and the threat of arrest, he hanged himself.

*F. Molchanovski*, archaeologist, director of the museum in Berdichev. Gained a reputation by his investigations of the Raikovetski town site. Exiled.

*V. Babenko*, elder archaeologist, director of the museum in Volchansk. Earned at one time a wide reputation for his discovery and investigations of the Saltovo culture. Exiled.

*Professor Boltenko*, archaeologist from Odessa. Came back after having served his term in exile.

*Professor G. Shteinvand*, numismatist in Odessa. Arrested, imprisoned in the NKVD and in jails. Died after release.

*S. Baran-Butovich*, archaeologist from Chernigov. Exiled.

*I. Lepikash*, prominent young quaternary geologist, worked on the Paleolithic period, especially in the Dnepr Archaeological Expedition. Appointed secretary of the Soviet committee of the International Congress of Quaternary Geologists. Exiled.

*N. Filyanski*, Director of the museum in Zaporozh'ye, noted Ukrainian ethnographer and archaeologist. Shot.

*P. Smolich*, archaeologist, scientific associate of the museum in Zaporozh'ye. Exiled.

*G. Martens*, amateur archaeologist from Kichkas. Shot.

*O. Sadovoi*, for many years secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk museum. Arrested, died in an NKVD jail.

\* The forced confiscation by the secret police of gold and foreign currency.

In addition to the scholars mentioned above who were directly or indirectly connected with archaeology, almost all heads of museums, art scholars, inspectors charged with the preservation of the monuments of history and culture, historians, archivists, and so forth, were also exiled.

One of those exiled met with an unusual fate: a little-known Moscow ethnographer and archaeologist, *B. Kuftin*, after serving his term of exile, was permitted to live in the Caucasus region. Here he started to excavate again and accidentally hit upon some really excellent and rich burials of ancient Georgian tribal rulers of the late Bronze Age. For this discovery he was awarded a first degree Stalin Prize and gained a reputation and authority.<sup>116</sup>

### *I. Summary*

It must be pointed out that the above account of the era 1930-1934, a period of great importance for the history of the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R., has a rather general character. A more detailed account, with a greater number of facts and materials and with references to the literature, would inevitably extend this chapter far beyond the framework prescribed by the general plan of the present work. On the basis of what has been said, however, several conclusions can be drawn which characterize the period 1930-1934. These conclusions can be summarized briefly as follows:

1. Liquidation of the old archaeology as it had existed prior to 1930 as a bourgeois, anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary science.
2. "Struggle on the ideological front" for the establishment of a Communist Party science.
3. Archaeological literature of the period is concerned with problematical and sociological themes.
4. Archaeology is replaced by the "history of material culture" and then by the "history of pre-capitalist societies."
5. Physical annihilation of all archaeologists who were not able or did not want to transfer to the new Marxist paths in science.



6. Subordination of archaeology to the aims of the Party, with ideological and planning centralization in the GAIMK.
7. Formation of a new Soviet science through the rejection of all former concepts and ideas and the adoption of the opposite ones in their stead.

In the course of these developments, the new Soviet "history of pre-capitalist societies" went to extremes in a direction completely opposite to that of European science. In the dialectical process of development a synthesis of these two extreme positions characterized the development and character of the science in the following period.

## IV

### **ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PREWAR PERIOD (1935-1941)**

#### *A. Introduction*

In 1934 the era of the revolutionary reconstruction of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. came to a close. The old, bourgeois archaeology and the men who supported its ideology had been eliminated and in the process the concepts of a new, Soviet archaeology were being developed. Thus instead of a science with a concrete subject matter, there were fruitless scholastic dissertations on Marxist themes. Beginning approximately in 1935 a movement towards synthesis started which sought to reject the extremes of the preceding era and make some concessions to the old bourgeois-European concepts in historical and archaeological science, for the purpose of forming a new Soviet science, which would be a genuine science with a real subject matter but at the same time one based on the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, carrying out the policy of the Communist Party.

The view which the Party took of its tasks for the immediate future was defined at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party in 1934, which was called "the congress of the victors" by the Communists.<sup>117</sup> Stalin, in an official report, referred as follows to the fundamental changes of the period from 1930 to 1934:

The U.S.S.R. during this period has changed at the roots, casting off the guise of backwardness and medievalism . . . From a dark,

illiterate and uncultured country, she became, or more correctly, is becoming a literate and cultured country . . .<sup>118</sup>

At the same time it became perfectly clear that the plans of the Bolsheviks for an imminent world revolution had hopelessly fallen through. The Western world had come out of the political and economic crisis of the beginning of the thirties. The epoch which the Communists called the "temporary stabilization of capitalism" began. The Bolsheviks were forced to change their policy and turn to consolidation on the home front, a process which was expected to extend over a considerable period. The change in policy was expressed in an abrupt about-face from internationalism to Soviet patriotism, which in its later stages of development changed into Russian national patriotism.

Under these conditions a demand arose for the continuous growth and raising of the general level of education and science. The works of scholars were expected not only to be on a high ideological level but also to show a profound knowledge and use of factual scientific material. Learned degrees and the defense of dissertations, which had been abolished at the beginning of the Revolution, were reintroduced.

The close of the preceding period and the beginning of this new period in archaeology were marked by a number of important changes. First of all, in 1935 the arrests and exile of archaeologists stopped. Apparently the Party felt that all the scholars who were not ideologically firm enough or did not accept Marxism-Leninism had been annihilated, and that only people of the new generation, pupils of the Soviet regime, were left. An insignificant number of the old scholars were left who had managed or had tried to prove their loyalty to the regime. During the entire period between 1935 and 1941 there was not a single arrest among the archaeologists.

In January, 1935, during the plenum of the GAIMK in Leningrad, the head of the Moscow branch of GAIMK, Udaltsov, made a sensational announcement: the word "archaeology" was to be reinstated as the name of the science, and the former content of archaeology was to be restored. To distinguish it from bourgeois archaeology however, archaeology in the U.S.S.R. was to be called

"Soviet archaeology." The concept and the term "material culture" were to remain, but were to be applied in their direct meaning, embracing a group of special problems and drawing their source material from archaeological data. Furthermore, the terms and concepts which had previously been prohibited (Stone Age, Bronze Age, the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Aëneolithic periods) were now restored not only in the study of the development of technology, but also in archaeology as a whole. The concept of migration was restored, not as the basic, decisive phenomenon in the historical process, but in the form of "partial migrations." The concepts of cultural influence and borrowing were also permitted.

The unexpectedness of the new rulings, brought from Moscow by Udal'tsov as the Party's directives, aroused confusion and fright among archaeologists, particularly those who had attacked the newly-restored ideas with special violence. However, Soviet education and re-education, together with the instinct for self-preservation, had made the scholars so unprincipled, so elastic and so much out of the habit of thinking independently that the "troubadours of the Party" managed to "rearm themselves" in short order and to defend what they had only recently repudiated.

The problematical and sociological subject matter which had dominated the literature of the preceding period was abandoned completely. In the Soviet publications of 1935 articles on sociological or political themes are to be found only exceptionally; this was in general a year of transition and such articles were only vestiges of the past. After 1935 such articles disappear completely. The abandoning of these themes was brought about by the end of the reconstruction period and the final formation of a "Soviet archaeology." V. Ravdonikas, at the direction of Party organs, published an article which had the significance of a directive in which he stated that Soviet archaeologists were sufficiently developed in the political sense but lacked the necessary knowledge and understanding of the factual material—in other words, they were not sufficiently trained as specialists. On the other hand, the European scholars with their "bourgeois" ideology, the mortal enemies of the Soviet regime and science, had mastered a very

wide and profound knowledge in their specialty. In order to fight successfully against Western European science it was therefore necessary to raise the general level of Soviet archaeology.

At the same time demands were made for raising the level of scholarship of scientific workers. For postgraduate students of the GAIMK, and in effect for all archaeologists, it was made obligatory to write and defend a dissertation for the degrees of candidate of historical sciences (for Senior Scientific Associates of the GAIMK) and then doctor of historical sciences (for Active Members of the GAIMK). The GAIMK obtained the right to award degrees after the presentation and defense of the dissertation at the session of the GAIMK Learned Council.

The shift from internationalism to Soviet patriotism brought about a series of other changes. References to foreign writers and the use of their works were not recommended and were extremely limited, with the exception of those from antiquity and mediaeval times, which continued to be used as sources. The old Russian historians and archaeologists, who had previously been mentioned only for the purpose of abusive criticism and slander,<sup>119</sup> were restored to their rights. The aged Gorodtsov, who had been subjected to the most violent criticism and attacks, even by his own pupils, and who had been removed from teaching, administrative and scientific work, was exalted and restored to his position of importance in the history of Russian archaeology.<sup>120</sup>

The old Russian scientific literature was restored and permitted to be used, whereas the postrevolutionary literature of 1917-1930 was almost entirely banned and withdrawn. The polemic literature of 1930-1934 was also proclaimed to be obsolete and was said not to correspond any longer to the requirements of the time, having already played its role; it was regarded as containing many unproved hypotheses, errors and extremes. The Party leadership, having abandoned the wholesale condemnation and negation of prerevolutionary Russian archaeology and having restored a few of the old Russian archaeologists, at the same time forced Russian archaeology to avoid the paths taken by Western Europe as being "bourgeois" and "class-hostile." With the end of the reorganization

period, however, and the transition to productive scientific work, the attacks against European archaeologists were also discontinued.

### *B. The Tasks Assigned to Soviet Archaeology*

The new patriotic trend in Soviet science was manifested in the restoration of the old Russian patriotic heroes. In archaeology, as part of the raising of the general scientific level, a specialization of scientific workers developed. The old type of all-round archaeologist disappears completely. The new archaeologists specialize on individual periods and their culture. At the same time a differentiation according to the territory being studied takes place.

Archaeology, in connection with these patriotic tasks, was given its basic mission: to direct all efforts and works towards the study of the "genesis of the Eastern Slavs" in order to prove by archaeological materials that the historical Slavs, as well as their prehistoric ancestors, were from time immemorial the inhabitants and masters of the territory of the European part of the U.S.S.R. The task was difficult, not to say impossible, since this historical concept, dictated by political demands, did not find confirmation in the data of archaeology.

In connection with the new demands on archaeology, the "feudalists" rose to the forefront, archaeologists who had specialized even earlier in eastern Slavic antiquities and the archaeology of the Slavic settlements and old Russian cities. The task of reconstructing the genesis of the eastern, i.e., the Russian, Slavs was so politically important in this and the succeeding period that in addition to the "feudalists" such as B. Rybakov, N. Voronin, P. Tret'yakov, A. Artsikhovski and M. Karger, a number of archaeologists of quite different specialities began to write occasional works on special questions relating to the subject. Among such scholars were P. Yefimenko, M. Artamonov, M. Voyevodski, O. Bader, S. Tolstov and I. Lyapushkin.

Thus it can be said that for the fulfillment of the Party's basic task all the forces of archaeology were mobilized. Conferences and consultations of archaeologists and historians on the question of the origin of the Eastern Slavs were held in the U.S.S.R. Academy

of Sciences and the GAIMK. Many reports were written on the subject and a large number of articles and whole volumes of collected materials were published. Excavations and investigations of already known remains of Slavic and early Russian culture were greatly extended and the search for new remains was especially intensified.

It cannot be said, however, that much was accomplished by the search for archaeological remains of the ancient Russian Slavs in the European U.S.S.R. The basic archaeological finds in this field have remained almost the same as those which existed before the Revolution.<sup>121</sup>

The second special task set before archaeology by the Party for the period 1935-1941 was to locate ancient mining sites in the course of archaeological surveys and excavations. This was to be done by questioning local inhabitants and collecting information and traditional beliefs regarding local metallurgy. The task concerned mainly the Caucasus, the Urals, Siberia and part of the Donets Basin, as well as other areas in the U.S.S.R. A special task for the Caucasus was the search for ancient copper, lead and silver, and gold mines (the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece). Among those who worked on this task in the Caucasus were Kruglov, Podgayetski and particularly Degen-Kovalevski and Iyessen.

The government and Party authorities did not limit these activities to archaeological expeditions; all those who wished to search for ancient mines in the Caucasus were permitted to do so, either individually or in groups. All finds were to be handed over to the Treasury in return for corresponding rewards.

A practice grew up which had terrible consequences for archaeology. Groups of drifters and illiterate people rushed to search for gold, digging up kurgans and burial mounds. These wild searches in the end yielded nothing to the government; instead, they irreparably ruined all of the remains in the Caucasus from the period when the mining of precious metals was being developed.

Iyessen learned that the "prospectors" had found gold deposits somewhere in North Osetiya or Daghestan, and were giving objects of great value to the Treasury, meanwhile selling an even greater

quantity on the side. He went to Digora, where there was a group of remarkable sepulchres from the seventh to the tenth centuries which had been only partially plundered and which contained rich burials and striking jewelry of a type which is widely known in Russian archaeology. The gold seekers had found a similar sepulchre and had hurriedly pillaged it. Within a short while the sepulchre was destroyed.

In the same way kurgans were dug up, plundered and destroyed. A large quantity of objects from these diggings was handed over to the Rostov oblast museum. Among the things found were dozens of short iron swords of the Akinak type, spears, two beautiful Greek copper helmets, and a striking silver cup with cast and embossed figures around it representing bacchanalia and a Greek inscription on the bottom which indicated that it was presented by the Parthian ruler Pacorus II (second century A.D.) to some barbarian leader and then buried with the latter in the sepulchre. Several remarkable works in glass were acquired by the Rostov museum, including a unique staff with a knob on the top, evidently a symbol of authority (a scepter).

The cynicism of the local Party leaders, which resulted from their servility and ignorance, led to such things as the remark of the head of the oblast bureau for the preservation of remains in Rostov, a woman named Dolzhenko, who in the author's presence said to one of the leaders of the gold-seeking parties, "Dig up the kurgans and try to find objects; hand over the gold and silver to the Treasury and give us the little pots."

All the efforts to renew the extraction of metals at ancient mining sites of course yielded nothing real. But they led to the final destruction of the famous sepulchres of Digora and the destruction of many kurgans with remarkable burials.

### *C. Leading Archaeologists of the Era*

As a result of the reconstruction of archaeology and the purge of archaeologists during the preceding period the leading role was



transferred to archaeologists of the younger generation who were pupils either of the Leningrad school (A. Miller) or of the Moscow school (Gorodtsov). The overwhelming majority were members of the Komsomol and the Party. Their understanding of Marxism and their attitude towards Communism had already been examined, and they had sufficiently proclaimed their "devotion to the Soviet power and the Party" in their articles. There were also two or three elder archaeologists, mostly of secondary importance, who had accidentally been spared and who were at the end of their careers.

*P. Yefimenko* specialized in the Paleolithic period and continued his investigations which had gone on for many years on paleolithic camp sites in the upper Don region.<sup>122</sup>

*V. Ravdonikas* had played the leading role as a sociologist and as a founder of Marxist archaeology in the preceding period; now in connection with the new requirements and conditions he completely abandoned problematical themes in his articles. He performed excavations in the area of Lake Onega. Ravdonikas was a second-rate field archaeologist and excavator, and the area of his specialization was not sufficiently clear. He investigated the remains of the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age, and feudal times.<sup>123</sup>

*Ye. Krichevski*, one of the most active sociologists and debaters of the preceding period, completely abandoned sociological themes, switching over to field archaeological work and writing corresponding articles. He worked most of all on the Neolithic period and the Tripol'ye culture in the Ukraine. However, he was not attracted by field archaeology and was not regarded as a good archaeologist. The majority of his articles have a rather generalizing and theoretical character.<sup>124</sup>

*A. Iyessen* specialized in the Bronze Age in the northern Caucasus. He distinguished himself by his serious excavations and descriptions of ancient metallurgy in that area.<sup>125</sup>

*B. Degen-Kovalevski*, an archaeological amateur, started to work quite late, in the expeditions of A. Miller. His specialty was the ancient metal of the Caucasus. He belonged to the middle stratum

of archaeologists. In his works he found himself in competitive and hostile relations with Iyessen.<sup>126</sup>

*B. Piotrovski*, a pupil of A. Miller and of V. Struve during his postgraduate work, specialized in the archaeology of the Transcaucasus region, particularly the kingdom of Urartu. Later on he attracted attention with his excavations of Karmir-Blur.<sup>127</sup>

*P. Boriskovski*, the only pupil of P. Yefimenko, a specialist in the Paleolithic period of the Ukraine, published several articles on special topics but also touched on problems involving general principles.<sup>128</sup>

*A. Kruglov*, a young, not yet fully developed archaeologist, worked mainly on the Bronze Age of the northern Caucasus and for the most part published articles with purely factual contents.<sup>129</sup>

*Yu. Podgayetski*, also a young, not yet fully developed archaeologist, specialized in the culture of the Bronze Age. His articles consisted mainly of reports on his work.<sup>130</sup>

*S. Zamyatnin* rose from among the workers in the provincial museums. He specialized in the Paleolithic period and gained a reputation with the investigations of the paleolithic camp sites in the village of Gagarino and, in particular, with the discovery of remains of the culture of the lower Paleolithic period (Acheulean culture), the first to be found in Russia, in the vicinity of Sukhumi.<sup>131</sup>

*G. Bonch-Osmolovski*, an outstanding specialist in the Paleolithic period of the Crimea, was particularly active in the twenties. During the reconstruction period he was arrested and spent several years in exile but thereafter was brought back. He became known for the first discovery in the U.S.S.R. of remains of Neanderthal man, at the Kiik-Koba site in the Crimea (bones of the hand and foot).<sup>132</sup>

*S. Bibikov*, an archaeologist of secondary importance, worked in the Crimea and the southern Urals, mainly on the Paleolithic period. For several years he was secretary of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK).<sup>133</sup>

*N. Prokoshev*, a young archaeologist of secondary importance,

worked in the Urals region and specialized in the Neolithic period and Bronze Age.<sup>134</sup>

*I. Lyapushkin*, a young archaeologist, a pupil of M. Artamonov, continued the investigations started by Artamonov of the sites of mediaeval towns on the middle Don.<sup>135</sup>

*V. Gol'msten*, a woman, one of the older archaeologists, and a pupil of V. Gorodtsov, took part in field work for the last time in 1936 and thereafter published surveys of archaeological work in the U.S.S.R.; she specialized chiefly in the culture of the Bronze Age and died in 1939.<sup>136</sup>

*N. Repnikov*, an old archaeologist who had been excavating Gothic remains in the Crimea since 1902, ceased field work in 1936 and died soon thereafter. In the last years of his life he managed the archives of the IIMK.<sup>137</sup>

*L. Matsulevich*, an archaeological writer specializing in the barbarian antiquities of the Byzantine epoch, was removed from his work in the Hermitage during the purge, but later, during the restoration period, he was put to work again. On this subject it was said in Leningrad archaeological circles that Matsulevich was thrown out of the Hermitage by the front gate, and then was let in on the sly through the back door. He was dismissed as an archaeologist of bourgeois ideology and restored as an irreplaceable specialist.<sup>138</sup>

*M. Karger*, a specialist in the archaeology of feudal times, mainly in the remains of stone architecture, worked particularly in Kiev.<sup>139</sup>

*N. Voronin* was a specialist in Russian remains of the early feudal period.<sup>140</sup>

*P. Tret'yakov* specialized in ancient Russian and Slavic culture.<sup>141</sup>

*G. Sosnovski* was one the better known of the archaeologists who worked on Siberia (chiefly on the Paleolithic period). He had worked on these remains since the beginning of the twenties.<sup>142</sup>

*N. Auerbakh*, an archaeologist from Tomsk, also distinguished himself as an investigator of the Siberian Paleolithic period. He died in 1935.

*M. Gerasimov* became famous with the discovery of paleolithic remains at the Mal'ta site (near Irkutsk) consisting of striking

female figurines and ornaments of bone. After moving to Leningrad he abandoned field work and specialized as an archaeological sculptor.<sup>143</sup>

S. Rudenko and M. Gryaznov continued in exile to excavate the kurgans of the early nomads in the Altai region.

S. Tolstov specialized in the archaeology and early history of Turkestan.<sup>144</sup>

A. Okladnikov, a young, energetic archaeologist, specialized in the Stone Age. He worked in the Altai region and in Siberia and distinguished himself with the sensational find of the first Neanderthal burial in the U.S.S.R. The skull was restored and the type reconstructed by M. Gerasimov.<sup>145</sup>

A. Bernshtam, one of the most active sociological writers of the preceding period, transferred his attention to the archaeology of Central Asia, on which he published and continues to publish many articles.<sup>146</sup>

The aged S. Zhebelyov continued to be the head of the Institute of the Archaeology of Classical Antiquity (*Institut antichnoi arkheologii*), which concerned itself with the material culture and history of the ancient Greek colonies along the northern Black Sea coast.<sup>147</sup>

V. Gaidukevich, one of the most prominent archaeologists on classical antiquity, investigated mainly the remnants of the newly discovered Greek colonies in the Kerch' region. He published many articles and continues to do so.<sup>148</sup>

T. Knipovich, a woman specialist in classical ceramics, worked in the expeditions of A. Miller, and then in Olbia.<sup>149</sup>

S. Kaposhina, a poorly-qualified archaeologist who got a job in the GAIMK because she was the wife of Ye. Krichevski, worked with classical archaeologists in Olbia.

V. Gorodtsov in the Moscow archaeological center had already left archaeological work in the period between 1935 and 1941, and the leading position was taken mainly by his former pupils. His last field expedition was connected with the Timonovka paleolithic site.<sup>150</sup>

A. Artsikhovski continued work on the excavations of ancient

Russian towns and the study of ancient Russian culture, mainly of Novgorod and Moscow.<sup>151</sup>

*A. Bryusov* continued the investigations of neolithic camp sites, mainly in Karelia and on the shores of the White Sea.<sup>152</sup>

*B. Grakov* worked during this period in the lower Dnepr region in connection with a construction project at Nikopol'. He was a classical archaeologist by specialty.<sup>153</sup>

*S. Kiselyov* continued his excavations of many years in the Minusinsk and Altai regions.<sup>154</sup>

*O. Krivtsova-Grakova*, a woman, worked on the culture of the Bronze Age.

*M. Voyevodski*, a prominent archaeologist and pupil of B. Zhukov, specialized in the Paleolithic period. He published a large number of articles.<sup>155</sup>

*O. Bader*, a pupil of B. Zhukov and a specialist in the Stone Age, published many articles of average importance. He gained recognition with the discovery of representations of animals on the ceiling of the grottos of the Kamennaya Mogila site near Melitopol'. His interpretation of these figures met with serious criticism, in particular by Zemlyakov.<sup>156</sup>

*T. Passek*, a woman and a pupil of the Leningrad archaeological school of A. Miller, moved to Moscow and specialized in the Tripol'-ye culture, gaining a reputation with her investigations.<sup>157</sup>

*B. Rybakov* was a prominent archaeologist on the culture of the eastern Slavs and Kievan Rus'.<sup>158</sup>

*Krupnov* worked mainly in the Crimea and the Caucasus on remains of the Bronze Age.

*B. Zemlyakov*, a quaternary geologist, performed excavations and investigations mainly on remains of the Paleolithic period.<sup>159</sup>

*V. Blavatski*, a staff member of the Institute of Graphic Arts in Moscow, was a classicist with a bent for art history. He worked on the Taman' Peninsula, and to a lesser degree in the Crimea.<sup>160</sup>

Not many of the archaeologists living and working in provincial localities were left after the devastation and purges of the preced-

ing period. The Volga region suffered particularly: not one local archaeologist was left there. Most of them had worked in provincial museums or as lecturers in secondary schools. Although they were not professional archaeologists with specialized education and training as were those of Moscow and Leningrad, and although they performed archaeological work irregularly and usually without the allocation of special funds, some of them were worthy of note and played a certain role in the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

Such provincial archaeologists included the following persons: *M. Masson* in Uzbekistan; *M. Pokrovski* and *N. Anfimov* in the Kuban';<sup>161</sup> and *Ya. Gummel'* in the Transcaucasus.<sup>162</sup> *Yu. Marti*, director of the Kerch' museum, continued his work in the Crimea, which he had started in the 1920's.<sup>163</sup> *N. Ernst*, director of the Simferopol' museum, continued to work, mainly on the remains of the Middle Ages. *G. Belov*, director of the Chersonese museum, and his scientific assistant *A. Takhtai* continued the investigations of the remnants of ancient Chersonese.<sup>164</sup> *S. Semyonov-Zuser*, professor at the Khar'kov Pedagogical Institute, was a product of the Leningrad school of archaeologists; he excavated in the Crimea.

*M. Miller* worked in Rostov-on-the-Don, investigating with history students the remnants of the Sarmatian settlements and other cultures in the lower Don region.<sup>165</sup>

In the Ukraine, where the purge of archaeologists was more violent because of the additional accusation of "bourgeois nationalism," all the more prominent archaeologists and provincial workers were eliminated. In Kiev only *P. Kurinnyi*, active as the director of the "Museum town" (which was located in the Kiev-Pecherskaya Monastery), *Ye. Lagodovskaya* (a Communist woman) and *N. Kordysh* were spared. In Kherson *I. Fabritsius* who worked in the Museum survived; in Odessa *A. Dobrovol'ski*. In Khar'kov there was *I. Levitski*, an ex-Communist, ousted from the Party, a specialist in the Paleolithic period, also active in the museum, having almost discontinued field work. *L. Slavin* was in Kiev from 1938 on; he came from Leningrad and was a pupil of the Lenin-

grad school. After 1939, following the Bolshevik seizure of Galicia and its incorporation into the Ukraine, the Ukrainian archaeologists were joined by the L'vov Ukrainians, Professor *Ya. Pasternak*, a pupil of L. Niederle,<sup>166</sup> and the graduate scholar *M. Smishko*.

#### *D. Archaeological Literature of the Era*

In 1935 the content of archaeological periodical literature, in conformity with the new demands, also changed abruptly. In this year of transition *PIDO* and the *Izvestiya GAIMK* continued to be published, but their contents were already changed. In 1936, however, *PIDO* was discontinued forever, and in its place the journal *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* [Soviet Archaeology] was started. The new title reflected the change from emphasis on "problematical" subjects to archaeology proper.

At first the journal appeared quite irregularly; through 1941 a total of only seven volumes had appeared. The historian B. Grekov (not to be confused with Grakov) was the editor, V. Ravdonikas the assistant editor, and S. Zamyatnin responsible secretary; on the editorial board were M. Artamonov, A. Artskihovski, S. Kiselyov and A. Yakubovski. Problematical or sociological themes were totally absent from the journal. Only very rarely would there be editorials which reflected some particularly important political events. In general, the contents were purely scientific, with a great many articles devoted to descriptive, factual accounts. Of course, archaeological concepts and phenomena were examined and treated from the Marxist viewpoint and in terms of the framework of the development of socio-economic formations. Works of the scholarly type, nevertheless, predominate, in which there is not a trace of the tiresome Soviet propandanda and praises of the Party characteristic of the preceding period. The journal was published on good paper with many satisfactory illustrations and approached the good European publications, not only in its scientific level but also in its appearance. It is now published as a quarterly and serves as the basic, leading archaeological journal in the U.S.S.R.

An additional publication began to come out from 1939 on, the *Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh*

*Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Brief Communications on Reports and Field Investigations of the Institute for the History of Material Culture]. The publication came out irregularly, several issues a year; up to 1941 twelve issues appeared. The paper used was considerably poorer than that of *Soviet Archaeology*; the journal had illustrations and used small print. The first issues were thin brochures, but the publication grew continually thicker until it now averages about 150 pages. It includes brief reports on the most recent archaeological work and discoveries, news about meetings and lectures in the Institute for the History of Material Culture (successor of the GAIMK), plenums, conferences and so forth, and articles on special questions. The responsible editor is the historian A. Udal'tsov, the assistant editor T. Passek; members of the board of editors are S. Bibikov, S. Kiselyov, A. Mongait and S. Tarakanova.

A comparison of the editorial board of *Soviet Archaeology* with that of *Brief Communications* reveals that five out of seven members of *Soviet Archaeology* are scholars from Leningrad, whereas in the *Brief Communications* five out of six are from Moscow. Thus *Soviet Archaeology* is directed by a group of Leningrad archaeologists and *Brief Communications*, as a semi-official publication, by a Moscow group. The chief merit of the latter is that it gives information concerning archaeological field work and scholarly research in the U.S.S.R., decisions of the Party and government regarding archaeological matters, congresses, meetings, discussions and decisions. By reading it one is able to follow the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

In 1940 publication began of the *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* [Materials and Investigations on the Archaeology of the U.S.S.R.] (abbreviated *MIA*), four issues of which came out in the first year. Just as the *Brief Communications* was reminiscent of the prerevolutionary *Izvestiya IAK*, so *MIA* is a continuation under new conditions of the prerevolutionary journal *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii* (MAR). *MIA* comes out in separate issues, each devoted to a particular subject or area. Like *MAR*, it is published in large format (in quarto) with many illustrations, maps



and plans. But the quality of the paper, print and illustrations is far poorer than that of the prerevolutionary publications and cannot stand comparison with the luxurious publications *MAR*, *MAK* and *TAS*. Every issue of the *MIA* usually contains not only a description of the works and communications available on the subject under discussion but also a scholarly analysis of these materials with conclusions and generalizations, on the basis of which a more or less extensive period of the prehistory or early history of the given field of study is presented. Some issues consist of collections of articles by various authors, all relating to the particular topic, others are written entirely by one author. Each issue of *MIA* is edited by an outstanding archaeologist on the given subject. Problematic and sociological themes are completely absent from *MIA*, which has a purely scientific character. It is of great value for the study of the archaeology, prehistory and early history and individual archaeological cultures of the U.S.S.R.

In addition to these three basic archaeological periodicals, separate archaeological articles, often of a descriptive character or dealing with specific problems of secondary importance, are also published in other scientific journals, even those not specially devoted to archaeology. The journal *Vestnik drevnei istorii* [Journal of Ancient History] in particular publishes articles on archaeological subjects or matters connected with archaeology. This journal was started in 1937 as a quarterly, and through 1941 fourteen issues appeared. After a period of suspension during World War II, the journal resumed publication and is still issued. It is printed on good paper and has illustrations. In addition to a considerable number of articles specifically devoted to archaeological questions, some of which are of significance, the whole trend and content of the journal are so close to archaeological questions that it can be considered one of the archaeological publications in the U.S.S.R.

There are articles on archaeological questions, although much fewer in number, in *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, [Soviet Ethnography]. This journal is concerned more with the questions of material culture and the experiences of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It is still

being published. Articles on archaeology can be found, in still smaller numbers, in *Sovetskii muzei* [Soviet Museum] which started to appear in 1936, and *Antropologicheskii zhurnal* [Anthropological Journal]. Separate articles and communications on archaeological matters are also found in publications of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—the *Doklady Akademii Nauk*, *Otdelenye obshchestvennykh nauk* [Reports of the Academy of Sciences, Section of Social Sciences], the *Vestnik Akademii Nauk* [Herald of the Academy of Sciences,] and *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk* [News of the Academy of Sciences]. Popular articles on archaeology can be found in the journals *Nauka i zhizn'* [Science and Life], *Nauka i tekhnika* [Science and Technology], *Ogonyok* and others.

None of the periodical forms, however, are suitable for the publication of large monographic works and collective volumes of essays devoted to a particular subject. Such works come out as separate publications or as fascicles of *MIA*.

During the period 1935-1941, scientific requirements were raised, a sufficient amount of material was gathered together, and it became possible to publish large works. These conditions made possible the publication of a whole group of works in which attempts were made at analysis and which were significant for the transition to a higher level in the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R.

A collective volume on clan society published in 1934 was the first attempt at a compilation of data on the Bronze Age in the territories of the U.S.S.R.<sup>107</sup> A volume on the clan society of the East European steppes published in the following year<sup>108</sup> not only contains data on the Aëneolithic and Bronze Ages in the steppes but attempts to unify the materials and draw some conclusions. The work is based almost exclusively on a compilation and description of V. Gorodtsov's excavations, mainly those along the Donets. Gorodtsov's formulations and conclusions are criticized, and an attempt is made to evaluate the materials from a new standpoint, connecting them with the Marxist framework of the development of socio-economic formations. The work bears the mark of apprenticeship and does not yield anything new.

Another work published in 1935 was ostensibly devoted to the "development of economic forms" of pre-class society in the lower Don Basin, but the complicated sociological title was a concession to the times and the work actually gives information, which is almost exhaustive for that time, about all the remains of prehistoric society in the territory of the lower Don.<sup>169</sup> A collective volume on the Paleolithic period in the U.S.S.R. published in 1935 provides a series of unconnected articles concerning finds of paleolithic sites and their culture.<sup>170</sup>

A handbook on the Paleolithic period of the U.S.S.R. published in 1936 gives an inventory of all paleolithic sites in the U.S.S.R. which were known at that time, with the time of their discovery, the archaeologists who discovered them and other data.<sup>171</sup> The book was unsatisfactory, including many omissions and errors, and evoked severe criticism. It is not of particular importance today.

A collected volume published in 1940 on the ethnogeny of the eastern Slavs consists of a series of articles not connected with one another describing various Slavic remains and their significance.<sup>172</sup> On this question works by individual authors with generalizations and deductions, such as those by Tret'yakov, Rybakov, Voronin, Karger and others, are of much greater importance. A volume on the Tripol'ye culture published in 1940 is also composed of a number of articles, mainly descriptions of excavations.<sup>173</sup> This collection has long been surpassed by subsequent general works, in particular those of T. Passek, and at present is of importance only as a reference book for individual points of fact concerning certain remains and the history of their study.

A collective volume on Olbia published in 1940 also contains various articles,<sup>174</sup> but works of a general character which have appeared since have decreased the importance of this publication. A book on the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods of the Ukraine printed in 1943 is significant because it is devoted to a survey and description of the most important paleolithic sites in the Ukraine, which are only mentioned in similar collections on the Paleolithic period in the U.S.S.R.<sup>175</sup> The book was in the process of being published in L'vov during the war. As a result of the movements

of the front, the edition, which had already been printed but not yet bound, was partly destroyed and partly taken by various people.

In 1938 a considerably augmented and revised edition of a work by P. Yefimenko on primitive society (first published in 1934 under the title *Pre-Clan Society*) was issued.<sup>176</sup> The revised edition surveys all of the important paleolithic sites in the U.S.S.R., with all the basic information about them, a description of the materials, a general characterization and a chronological classification. Although many new finds, often of outstanding importance, have been added since the work was published, especially remains of the lower Paleolithic period, the work in general has not lost its importance to the present day (1955) and remains the only classical work on the Paleolithic period in the U.S.S.R. In 1953 the work was republished with several additions.

In 1936 was published an *Introduction to Archaeology* consisting of a series of lectures which the author, A. Artsikhovski, gave at Moscow University.<sup>177</sup> The significance of this work should have been very great because it was the first Soviet textbook on archaeology intended for institutions of higher education. However, the attempt can hardly be called successful; Artsikhovski treats archaeology in a very narrow sense, essentially doing no more than describing, characterizing and giving a possible classification of the most important archaeological cultures in the R.S.F.S.R.

In this sense the two-volume *Introduction to Archaeology* published by S. Zhebelyov in 1922 is far superior.<sup>178</sup> This work can serve even today as a textbook for the university lecturer on archaeology in the entire world and its history, but it is obsolete and inadequate for archaeology in the U.S.S.R. A second and third edition of Artsikhovski's book have recently been published with revisions and additions made on the basis of the criticisms of reviewers. The approach to archaeology and the plan of the book, however, have not been changed.

A book by V. Ravdonikas on the history of primitive society published in 1939 was basically an initial experiment in writing a handbook for university students.<sup>179</sup> Courses in the history of primitive society were given in all history departments, but until the

publication of Ravdonikas' book there was no special textbook on this topic. Lecturers used almost exclusively Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, even though it was obsolete and completely unsuitable for use as a textbook.

The most remarkable thing about Ravdonikas' work is that, undoubtedly on orders from the Party, he subjects a whole series of Engels' ideas and pronouncements on primitive society to critical analysis and refutation. The criticism was applied tactfully, of course; in order not to create the impression that Engels had committed gross errors, the author constantly warns the reader that Engels made use of all the latest data and achievements of his time and that his work stood on an unsurpassably high level for his time. But fifty years have passed, the author points out, since the publication of Engels' book, and many archaeological discoveries have been made; these discoveries basically confirm the brilliant prognoses and concepts of Engels, but in individual cases many new facts have appeared which were unknown in Engels' time.

The criticism of Engels was a most remarkable phenomenon, marking new times and the new demands of the Party. Until the beginning of this period every pronouncement of the "classics of Marxism," including of course Engels, had been regarded as dogma, an objective truth and a categorical imperative. Only from these axioms was it possible to proceed towards all knowledge, understanding and interpretation. Only a short time before, any scholar would have been assured of prompt arrest and exile to forced labor for ten years for "social re-education" if he had allowed himself to express doubt, not merely in a letter but in private conversation, concerning any one of these "pronouncements." But now, with the demand to raise the level of science and with the realization that Engels' pronouncements were in many ways erroneous or obsolete, their absolute and uncritical acceptance hindered the development of science and in some cases led to false paths. Criticism and correction of these pronouncements was dictated by the same Party which a short time before had exalted them as immutable truths which brooked no discussion.

At this time the Party and the government decided that Soviet archaeology and history had reached a level which made possible the compiling and writing of the first monumental history of the U.S.S.R., to include all the latest scientific facts and data and giving a Marxist analysis and interpretation of historical phenomena and the whole historical process. The Institute for the History of Material Culture was ordered to write the first part of the work, a two-volume section on the prehistoric period; the job was to be done at top speed, as is always the case with such Party orders. All the prominent archaeologists from Leningrad and Moscow (P. Yefimenko, V. Ravdonikas, Ye. Krichevski and A. Artsikhovski among other) were drafted for the project. The work was laid out according to a predetermined plan, but the chapters on particular periods and cultures were written by individual contributors.

In 1939 the two volumes covering the prehistory of the U.S.S.R.—the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods and the Bronze Age—were written and printed. They were not put on sale, but five hundred printer's dummies of each volume (at a total cost of 500,000 rubles) were made up and sent to outstanding archaeologists in the U.S.S.R. with the request that they send in their comments, suggestions and corrections. All the answers received were unfavorable, and the work was adjudged a failure. Soviet archaeology at that time already stood on a fairly high level, but it had not yet reached a point at which it was capable of giving a systematic exposition of the prehistoric period in the history of the U.S.S.R. Soviet archaeologists had not met a test with such high requirements. The dummy was not printed up for circulation, and the compilation of a monumental history of the U.S.S.R. was discontinued.<sup>180</sup>

### *E. Further Reorganization of Archaeological Organizations and Activities*

During this period the reorganization of archaeological institutions and work continued for the purpose of further consolidating and centralizing the direction of archaeological matters. In 1937

the GAIMK was reorganized and renamed the *Institut istorii material'noi kul'tury* (Institute for the History of Material Culture, abbreviated IIMK) of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Although M. Artamonov continued as director, having assumed this duty after the arrest of Kiparisov, a Party member, the institute, now no longer an academy, had completely lost its former independence and autonomy. It entered into the system of scientific research institutes of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, on a par with the Institutes of History, Language and Thought, Ethnography, Eastern Studies and others which were all part of the Department of Social Sciences.

Furthermore the Leningrad IIMK was subordinated to the Moscow Institute, although it preserved its autonomy. The Moscow Institute was subordinated to the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Moscow, which acted on the basis of the direct orders of the Central Committee of the Party. The Leningrad IIMK was moved out of the sumptuous Marble Palace on Khalturina Street, which it had occupied since 1918, to uncomfortable and cramped premises which lacked even a conference room. The personnel of the Leningrad IIMK joked about how they now had to get together and exchange their thoughts in the corridor. The long and stormy history of the GAIMK had ended. A new period had begun with a more jealous and direct supervision by the Party from Moscow. Nevertheless the autonomy of the Leningrad IIMK was preserved and the competitive relations with the Moscow Institute were not yet completely overcome.

Still greater changes took place in Kiev, the archaeological center of the Ukraine. After the abolition of the VUAK in 1933, the Sector for the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (SIMK) was organized, with Kozubovski as its director. After his arrest in 1936, Yachmenev was appointed director. Yachmenev was a Communist, a former sailor who had not the slightest connection with any branch of science. During his time the SIMK was renamed the Institute of Archaeology (IA) of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. However, after the destruction of the VUAK, there were

hardly any archaeologists left in the Ukraine, and archaeological work had almost been discontinued. The SIMK, like the IA, was only a formality lacking any real substance.

In 1938, therefore, L. Slavin was sent to Kiev as the deputy director of the IA for scientific affairs. A pupil of the Leningrad school of A. Miller and a member of the Party, Slavin was at that time a little-known scientific associate of the Leningrad IIMK. However, he had a good scientific background and great organizing and administrative abilities and soon was advanced, becoming director, a post he still (1953) holds. He joined the staff of the city soviet, was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., and gained a great deal of authority and influence in leading circles. To build up archaeology in the Ukrainian S.S.R., he had to "start from nowhere," as he himself put. He selected a few young men whom no one had heard of until then and an older man (V. Petrov); none of them were true archaeologists, nor were they Ukrainians.

With exceptional energy Slavin created a new institute. From 1938 to January 1941, he initiated and carried out four large archaeological conferences, which were attended by about 100 archaeologists, quaternary geologists and anthropologists from all parts of the U.S.S.R., the greatest number being from Leningrad and Moscow. Almost all the personnel of the Moscow and Leningrad centers took part in these conferences, with the exception, of course, of the heads of the Leningrad and Moscow IIMK, Artamonov and Udaltsov. A pressing need for conferences of this kind had been felt for a long time, and they were very successful. It was really up to the Leningrad IIMK to organize such conferences, but this was not done because of the inertia of Artamonov, who excused himself by citing the lack of facilities at his disposal.

Slavin also engaged in extensive publishing activity, and the Institute of Archaeology issued a series of valuable publications, both fundamental and popular, on the archaeology of the Ukraine. Slavin himself took part every summer in the excavations of Olbia, although he was not particularly attracted by field work. He used to send his associates to make archaeological surveys in the region



of the Dnepr rapids. At the same time expeditions from Moscow and Leningrad came every year to the Ukraine to excavate remains of the Tripol'ye culture, Kiev, and so on. Archaeology in the Ukraine was revived, even though it was done in the Russian language and without Ukrainian archaeologists.

In this manner three archaeological centers developed—Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev. These centers were closely interconnected by ideological and Party ties, and the general guidance came from Moscow. The connection between Kiev and Leningrad was further strengthened by Slavin's personal relations with the personnel of the Leningrad IIMK.

In connection with the development of the scientific aspect of archaeology in the period from 1935 to 1941, field research work was expanded steadily. Large regions were systematically explored and individual archaeological remains were studied. As had been done previously, archaeologists worked at the site of new construction projects, being limited of course to the construction areas in the choice of a site for study. But at the same time field research on particular topics was expanded; such research was carried out in various places in the U.S.S.R. on the basis of a definite plan, with definite purposes in mind. The planning and organization of these operations were increasingly concentrated in the hands of the archaeological centers, which were interconnected. Local initiative and enterprise, so widely developed during the period of the regional studies movement and the NEP, was now almost totally discontinued because it supposedly resulted in badly organized and conducted work which had no connection with work being done elsewhere.

In Leningrad the IIMK, the Hermitage and the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, and in Moscow the IIMK, the State Historical Museum and the Museum of Graphic Arts were chiefly concerned with organizing and staffing expeditions. Expeditions also often drew into the work local personnel, usually those employed by the local museums.

All the more important expeditions make use of personnel of diverse specialties and include quaternary geologists who study

geological conditions at the excavation sites. Subsequently the materials gathered by the expeditions are analyzed in the laboratory by paleozoologists, ichthyologists and paleobotanists. Pollen analysis is widely used, and chemical, technical and other analyses are carried out. High standards are set for the technique of field investigations.<sup>181</sup>

Archaeology in the U.S.S.R. at the beginning of World War II had almost attained the European scientific level, and far transcended European archaeological works in scope. The Party and the government ascribe an urgent political significance to archaeology and to the results of archaeological research, formulated in accordance with a definite interpretation, and provide almost unlimited funds for archaeological projects.

The lack of technical equipment for field work was the basic weak spot in archaeological activities in the U.S.S.R. For example, in the absence of surveying instruments, home-made contrivances were used, and field workers were plagued by the bad Soviet cameras, the lack of photographic equipment, inexact compasses, and so on.

In conclusion it can be said that the Party and the government in the U.S.S.R., attributing great political significance to archaeology such as it has never had before, and not sparing any expense in the organization and development of archaeological projects, have made it possible to raise Soviet archaeology to a great height and to give it a position on a level with history, as a fully equal branch of history.

# V

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE U.S.S.R. AFTER WORLD WAR II**

### *A. Soviet Domestic and Foreign Policy and its Effect on Archaeology*

The wars of aggression which the U.S.S.R. started in the 1930's in the east and west passed into the great war with Germany in 1941-1945. As a result of developments the U.S.S.R. found itself among the victors in that war, a circumstance which considerably strengthened the Soviet regime within the country and promoted the spread of Communism throughout the world. Furthermore the U.S.S.R. seized and annexed several states and regions (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia), including territories which never had belonged to Russia (part of Finland, East Prussia, Galicia). Communist regimes were established in a number of other states which were subjected in varying degrees to the U.S.S.R. (Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, East Germany, China).

Communist ideology, including the Soviet conception of the tasks of history and archaeology, was forced upon all these countries; archaeology became based on Marxist premises and served political aims dictated from the Kremlin. Soviet archaeological leaders kept a watchful eye on the state of archaeology in the satellite countries. A new section entitled "From the pages of the periodical literature in the countries of people's democracy" was

introduced in the *Vestnik akademii nauk* [Journal of the Academy of Sciences]. Soviet archaeological journals publish articles regarding archaeology in the satellite countries and the progress made in communizing it.<sup>182</sup>

For direct supervision and guidance, leading Soviet archaeologists and historians are sent to the satellite countries. Thus in June 1953 a congress of Hungarian archaeologists and historians was called in Budapest to which P. Tret'yakov, Tarle and Pankratova of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences were sent to maintain political supervision and guidance.<sup>183</sup>

At a session of the Department of History and Philosophy of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and a plenum of the IIMK in April 1951 dealing with the results of IIMK field research in 1950, S. Kiselyov gave a report entitled "Soviet Archaeology in the First Five Years After the War" (1946-1951). After enthusiastic praise of Soviet archaeology, he launched into harsh abuse of archaeology in the "bourgeois" countries and then declared that it was necessary to note the "completely different situation in the people's democracies, which have broken off with the decaying world of capitalism."<sup>184</sup> A. Udal'tsov, director of the IIMK, said in his concluding remarks at the session and the plenum that there was an upswing in archaeological sciences in the "People's Democracies," especially in the People's Republic of China, all of these countries having "broken with capitalism."<sup>185</sup>

The international and domestic situation determined the further political moves to be made by the U.S.S.R., including those in the sphere of archaeology. The basic task, to which all efforts were to be subordinated, was to prepare for the future world war, as a result of which the U.S.S.R. expects to conquer the whole world and establish everywhere a uniform communist system.

The Soviet regime set a number of specific tasks before Soviet archaeology as its part in helping to achieve these goals. On the domestic front, these tasks were as follows: (1) the further development of patriotism with the transition from Soviet to Russian patriotism; (2) the search for archaeological evidence strengthening the claim of the Russian people (the Soviet state) not only to

the European territory of the U.S.S.R. but also to the recently acquired western provinces and the satellite states in the West, and even to all of Eastern Europe; (3) the further communization of archaeology and its complete subordination to the aims of the Party, to be brought about by a further centralization of all archaeological institutions and work; (4) the liquidation of "Marrism," which for thirty years had been considered revolutionary and progressive, but which was now hindering the fulfillment of the political tasks of archaeology under the new postwar conditions; and (5) a change in the leaders of archaeology who directed its policy.

On the foreign front the following tasks were set for archaeology: (1) merciless criticism of science in capitalist countries and a struggle against it and its influence on Soviet science; (2) violent attacks particularly on the U.S.A. and to a lesser degree on England and Germany, with accusations of "imperialism," "racism," and "preparations for a new war"; and (3) servility to the Party, special praise of Soviet archaeology and acclamation of every policy in Soviet science as a contribution to the "struggle for peace."

In reality all of the tasks to be performed by Soviet science and in particular by archaeology are closely connected with one another and serve a single purpose: the preparation for a new war.

The transition to Russian national patriotism (Nazism) was proclaimed by Stalin himself as soon as World War II ended. During his speech in the Kremlin in honor of the commanders of the Red Army on May 24, 1945, Stalin declared:

Comrades . . . I would like to raise a toast to the health of our Soviet people, and *above all, the Russian people*. I drink above all to the health of the Russian people because it is *the most outstanding of all the nations* that comprise the Soviet Union . . . because in this war it has earned general recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union *from among all the peoples of our country*. I drink to the health of the Russian people not only because it is *the leading people*, but also because it is endowed with a clear mind, firm character and endurance . . .<sup>186</sup>

Immediately after Stalin's declaration, as is the custom in the U.S.S.R., a frenzy arose over "Russian patriotism." A multitude of articles were published enlarging upon the idea of the greatness of the "great elder brother" (the Great Russians). The same thing was repeated in many pronouncements of Party leaders and responsible people throughout the U.S.S.R., and thus Stalin's order was executed.

In archaeology patriotic themes were raised to first place: the study of the origins of the Russian people, the development of ancient Russian culture and handicrafts, the rise and development of ancient Russian towns. Field and research work on these topics was greatly expanded. Even before World War II a "Section of Ethnology and Slavo-Russian Archaeology" had been set up in the IIMK. Now a separate Institute of Slavic Studies was established within the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, with P. Tret'yakov as its director. Several permanent archaeological expeditions were organized, the "Dnepr Slavic," the "Dnestr Slavic" and one for the Desna River area. The latter was directed by the IIMK jointly with the Moldavian Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

The basic Slavo-Russian task of archaeology is to study the origin of the eastern (so-called Russian) Slavs and the selection of evidence to show that they originated in the basins of the Vistula, Dnestr, Dnepr, Don and Volga Rivers, that is, on almost the entire European area of the U.S.S.R. today. As for the outskirts of this territory (the Baltic area, the Kuban' region and the Crimea), it is to be demonstrated that the Slavs occupied these areas as early as the third to eighth centuries A.D. The primordial right of the Russian people to the main part of the territory that it now occupies was thus affirmed.

At the same time as part of the struggle against "homeless cosmopolitanism," there was a denial of any influence whatsoever on the Russian Slavs and on the formation of the first Russian state by the Goths, the Normans and Byzantium. All the archaeological remains of these peoples, as well as any others that had existed on the territory of the European U.S.S.R. from the first to

the tenth century A.D., were proclaimed to be remains of Slavic culture. The jewelry handiwork of the "Gothic style," including the digitate fibulae characteristic of the Gothic culture which were manufactured in the Black Sea region, were proclaimed "creations of Slavic masters." The objects of inlaid enamel from a manufacturing center in the Baltic region were also proclaimed Slavic products.

The *Polya pogrebenii* (Fields of Burials) and the culture associated with them, which had been considered Gothic since their discovery half a century ago up to World War II, were now declared to be Slavic remains. The culture of the Fields of Burials in the Dnestr region, in particular the Lipitsa culture, had already been related by the German archaeologist K. Tackenberg to the ancient Germanic (Gepidae) culture. Later the Polish archaeologist J. Kostrzewski, on the basis of a profound study and analysis of the culture of the Fields of Burials in the western Ukraine, fully confirmed Tackenberg's thesis. This idea was accepted by European and, until recently, by Soviet science. But now, in connection with the new patriotic aims, this idea is proclaimed to be "grossly tendentious."<sup>187</sup> The dominant tendency attempts to prove that the "culture of the Fields of Burials, in the course of the sixth to the ninth centuries, gradually passes over into the ancient Russian culture and is genetically linked with it."<sup>188</sup>

The solution of this problem by another group of more objective archaeologists is different. Thus I. Lyapushkin, on the basis of an archaeological examination of remains from the Iron Age in the Vorskla River basin, comes to the conclusion that

the population in the area did not have a continuous line of development during the period in question. Three periods with interruptions between them can be distinguished clearly . . . the "Scythian" period, the "Fields of Burials" period and the "Slavic-Russian" period . . . The chronological gap between the periods and the absence of traces of consecutive development in the material culture and in the way of life of the population of each of these periods indicate that there is no direct genetic connection between these groups of peoples. A genetic connection is also lacking between the peoples of the eighth to the tenth centuries who have left behind

remains of manifestly Slavic culture, and the population of the preceding Fields of Burials and Scythian periods.<sup>189</sup>

Such a prominent specialist in the remains of the Eastern Slavs as B. Rybakov writes that "to this day a direct line of development [between the culture of the Burial Urns and the Slavic culture] has not been proven."<sup>190</sup>

Similar confusion and contradictions on the formation of eastern Slav nationality and culture are characteristic of the treatment of this problem in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*:

The attempts at revealing the origins of an ethnogenetic process within the limits of the period indicated [the Bronze Age] have not had, and cannot have, real substance . . . Any attempt to find proto-Slavic tribes, that is, tribes which formed the basis for the development of the Slavs, cannot have real substance.

Further on in the same article, quite the opposite is said:

. . . It could be said that . . . individual early formations, in the process of subsequent development, entered into the composition of the Slavs, who were in the process of forming themselves.<sup>191</sup>

The article then explicitly lists the cultures whose representatives entered into the composition of the Slavs, which makes of them proto-Slavic tribes.

The archaeologists who deny the formation of the Slavic culture from a number of cultures preceding it consider that the Slavic culture of the ninth century undoubtedly has a direct line of development and was formed directly from the recently discovered Romny culture (sixth to eighth centuries), which in turn developed from the Yukhnov culture.<sup>192</sup> This concept is incomparably more objective and scientific and based to a greater degree on the factual materials. However, the former concept is becoming increasingly predominant and one can predict that in the not distant future it will be recognized as orthodox and obligatory for all.

It has been found that there is a link between the Sarmatian and Fields of Burials cultures and the most ancient Slavic remains of the Dnepr area . . . The culture of the late D'yakovo town sites in



the area between the Volga and the Don proved to be quite close to the early Slavic culture of northeast Rus'.<sup>193</sup>

In fact, nothing of the sort has been "found" or has "proved to be" the case. These attempts to transform into Slavic culture all the cultures preceeding it, ones which were different in time and character and which were not in any way connected with the real Slavic culture of the ninth to thirteenth centuries, are dictated by the policies of the Party and by national and patriotic considerations, and are "grossly tendentious" to a much greater degree than the ideas of Tackenberg and Kostrzewski regarding the Lipitsa culture.

Recent leading political pronouncements emphasize the "particular importance of the question of the origin of the Slavs, which goes far beyond the limits of Slavic studies."<sup>194</sup> The search for Slavic remains in the borderlands and in the countries not populated by Russians but taken over by the U.S.S.R. after World War II has become particularly intense.

In recent years archaeological investigations were initiated in the western parts of our motherland and in the republics of the Baltic region, in the western parts of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia. It is necessary to expand this work in every way in view of its exceptional importance for the solution of the questions of origin in the history of the eastern Slavs and their neighbors.<sup>195</sup>

Some archaeologists try to demonstrate the local, gradual formation of the Saltovo culture, which they hold to be "the result of a long process of development. Various tribes which inhabited an extensive area and which were in continuous mutual cultural intercourse took part in the formation of its culture."<sup>196</sup> In reality the Saltovo culture (the Alan culture) is identical with the ancient Osetian culture; representatives of this culture moved into the area between the Don and the Dnestr as a result of the Great Migration of Peoples and left archaeological remains behind in that area.

In order to prove the ancient right of the Russians to the Crimea, a special conference of archaeologists and historians was called in 1952 in Simferopol', under the chairmanship of the historian B. Grekov. The basic conclusion drawn at the conference, one

which has become a historical concept obligatory for Soviet archaeology and history, was the following:

The Crimea actually was a part of the territory of the ancient Russian people . . . it is to be assumed that at the beginning and during the first centuries of our era, when the union of Scythian tribes was destroyed by the Sarmatians coming from the East and when close connections were established between the latter and the Slavs, the Slavic population began to penetrate the territory of the Crimea, founding their settlements there.<sup>197</sup>

As an archaeological support for this fantastic historical structure there is cited the similarity between the burial rites found in ancient Crimean tombs and the early Slavic one in the Dnepr region (cremation), as well as the wide distribution in the Crimea of the digitate fibulae, which to be more convincing are called "Middle Dnepr." All Gothic tombs, including the famous one of Suuk-Su, were proclaimed to be Slavic. The independence of the history of the Crimea and its isolation from the history of the Ukraine were explained by the theory that the "process of the economic, political, ethnical and cultural unification of the Crimea with the ancient Russian state was hindered by nomadic peoples of the steppe. . . ." <sup>198</sup>

The political significance of the Crimean problem is perfectly clear. Until the end of the eighteenth century the Crimea was a Turkish state. Up to the end of World War II it formed the autonomous Crimean A.S.S.R. After the war the republic was abolished and the entire remaining Turkic population was deported to Siberia. The Crimea was populated by people brought in from central Russia. It was necessary to make an ancient Russian domain out of the Crimea, and this task was put before Soviet archaeology and history in the form of an order from the Party.

Regarding the North Caucasus, the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* states that the Kuban' Basin was populated by Russian Slavs as early as the eighth century A.D. The Slavs supposedly reached the shores of the Baltic Sea in the sixth century A.D.<sup>199</sup> V. Ravdonikas, who for many years investigated Staraya Ladoga, declared on the basis of his work that this was an ancient Russian town, founded in the seventh century A.D. by the Slavs.<sup>200</sup>

At the meeting of the Department of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences and the plenum of the IIMK in April 1951, G. Fyodorov, on the basis of the work of the Dnestr-Slav expedition to Moldavia in 1950, announced the discovery of Slavic remains "which bear witness to the firm local Slavic roots in Moldavia, and thus refute the opinion about the short stay of the ancient Russian tribes in the Dnestr region."<sup>201</sup> In his report, Fyodorov said:

One can consider as established the fact that the territory of Moldavia was populated by Russians, at least up to the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries; they had many villages and a number of towns.<sup>202</sup>

Matters went so far that Slavic remains are searched for even in Romania, and by order of the Kremlin there are rewards for the archaeologists who find them.

The indications in the Chronicles regarding the existence of ancient Russian towns not only in the Dnepr region but also on the Pruth and Danube Rivers were recently brilliantly confirmed by remains of material culture. In the Romanian People's Republic a government decree was published on awarding a government prize of the second class to a team of archaeologists for the discovery of Slavic sites in the locality of Tarven in the province of Galatz.<sup>203</sup>

Slavic remains are also searched for throughout Eastern Germany, occupied by the Soviets. There is an attempt to justify the seizure of the eastern parts of Germany and their transfer to Poland. Hungary also is not forgotten.

Attempts are even made to proclaim as Slavic the Hallstatt culture of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C., which spread over the North Caucasus and the Dnepr region and whose principal centers of development and diffusion were in Central Europe.

The cultural proximity of the Dnepr region to Central Europe is once more manifested in just such precise forms as one finds between them at the beginning of our own era. This proximity must not be regarded as a sign of the cultural dependence of the tribes in the middle Dnepr region on the Luzhitski [Lusatian]-Hallstatt tribes; instead it speaks for the ethnic affinity and a definite community of development of ancient Slavic tribes in various territories who had temporarily been weakened by Scythian domination.<sup>204</sup>

From such a daring hypothesis, put in the form of an axiom, it follows that the Hallstatt culture of the eighth century B.C., the highest of its time and the one from which the La Tène and all subsequent European culture sprang, was created by the Slavs. For this it is necessary to consider it proved that the Slavs existed as a nationality in the process of formation in Central Europe as early as the eighth century B.C. and that there they created a culture on a very high level even before the rise of Rome.

The artificiality, groundlessness and political aims of the concepts discussed are perfectly obvious. The diffusion and development of the fantastic, pseudo-scientific historical constructions and hypotheses which are connected with the tasks of Russo-Slavic patriotism were hindered above all by Marr's theory of the autochthonous and stage-by-stage character of development by means of intermingling which had been imposed upon Soviet archaeology by the Party and which was considered orthodox Marxism from 1920 to 1950. In its time, and especially between 1930 and 1934, this theory was forced into the consciousness and practice of Soviet science—archaeology, history, philology, anthropology, etc.—by draconic means, and a great many scholars suffered in the process. After the war, under the new conditions, the theory proved to be obsolete and hampered the creation of new concepts which would satisfy the new political demands.

In this connection Stalin in 1950 published his well-known articles on "Marxism and the Problems of Linguistics", which in Soviet literature are invariably referred to as the "creation of a genius," "universal-historic" and so on. In these articles Stalin completely liquidated "Marrism," proclaiming it to be a vulgarization of Marxism, hampering the development of science. Immediately a movement against Marrism began, just as previously all efforts had been made to promote Marrism.

Stalin's new directive was as usual treated as a categorical imperative. More than 200 lectures were delivered and 29 articles written by the members of the Institutes for History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences alone on the questions dealt with in Stalin's articles. In the Institute for History of the Academy

of Sciences more than fifteen sessions, meetings and theoretical conferences, directly connected with Stalin's dictate, were held, and at meetings of the Department of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences and plenums of the IIMK each year the anniversary of the publication of Stalin's "work of genius" is celebrated.<sup>205</sup> The appearance of Stalin's work was referred to as "the year of the greatest change, called forth by the brilliant works of Stalin."<sup>206</sup>

The "great change" and the "universal-historic importance" of Stalin's treatment of Marr's theory consisted in his abolishing all its dogmatic limitations, thus giving Soviet archaeology and history full scope to build an unlimited patriotic structure on the question of the origin of the Slavs.

The political leadership in this question was assigned to P. Tret'yakov, and the others were expected to follow him. At a session of the Department of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences to celebrate the anniversary of Stalin's work, Tret'yakov delivered a long report entitled "The Origin of the Slavs in the Light of J. Stalin's Works on Linguistics."<sup>207</sup> During the session of the IIMK in Tartu in 1951, which was devoted to archaeological problems of the Baltic region, Tret'yakov gave a report entitled "The Eastern Slavic Tribes and the Problems of the Origin of the Slavs."<sup>208</sup>

In these reports, which were striking in the scope, boldness and groundlessness of the basic propositions advanced, the results were given of the research and study on the origin of the Slavs, and the guiding ideas for further work on this subject were put forth:

The rise of three groups of ancient Slavic tribes occurred during the second and third millenium B.C. . . . In the second millenium B.C. . . . under the conditions of a primitive communal social structure, dialectical differences arose among them, which probably resulted in the splitting off of the Lithuanian tribes from the Slavic tribes . . .<sup>209</sup>

Tret'yakov criticized the point of view of the numerous archaeologists who, starting from Marr's erroneous "theory," considered the tribes of the first millenium B.C. to be the forefathers at that

stage of the Slavs. Using Stalin's directives as his starting point, Tret'yakov stated that the language and culture of the Slavs were the result of a slow development, that as early as the first millenium B.C. the three groups mentioned were already Slavs, and that the actual division of the Slavs into various groups during this period was not the initial but the concluding period of Slavic ethnogeny. "The eastern Slavic tribes . . . were formed not during the seventh to ninth centuries of our era, as was thought earlier, but in the first half of the first millenium of our era. In the years of the 'great migration of peoples,' . . . the culture which had developed among the Slavs in the south—in the regions of the Dnestr, the middle Dnepr and the Carpathian mountains—spread over all the Slavic lands. . ."

Thus the basic postulates of this new conception can be summarized as follows: the Slavs were formed during the second or even the third millenium B.C. During the second millenium B.C. the Lettish tribes separated out from the Slavs. During the first millenium B.C. the process of the ethnogeny of the Slavs was completed. During the first half of the first millenium A.D. the southern, that is, the Russian, Slavs created a culture which spread over all the Slavic lands.<sup>210</sup>

During an extended session of the Learned Council of the IIMK devoted to the second anniversary of the publication of Stalin's "brilliant" work on linguistics, B. Rybakov presented a paper entitled "The Formation of the Ancient Russian Nationality in the Light of the Teachings of Comrade Stalin" in continuation of Tret'yakov's theme on the origin of the Slavs in which he spoke of the further process of growth of the Russian nationality out of the eastern Slavic tribes:

Archaeological materials allow us to trace the gradual growth of the small tribe of Rus' (on the river Ros') into a Russian tribal union, which by the sixth century had united a whole group of Antic tribes from the wooded steppes. At the same time there took place the transformation of the group of tribes into a nationality, while the alliance of tribes developed into the most powerful state in Europe.

The political and patriotic aims of this historical conception, which has now become obligatory for Soviet archaeology, are perfectly clear.

The study of ancient Russian towns and their rise and development is a Russian patriotic theme in Soviet archaeology which occupies second place after the question of the origin of the eastern Slavs. Research in this direction expanded greatly after World War II.

Particularly great successes were achieved after the Revolution by Soviet archaeologists in the study of ancient Russian towns . . . Kiev, Novgorod, Pskov, Staraya Ladoga, Staraya Ryazan', Suzdal', Vladimir, as well as the hamlets and castles of princes such as Vyshgorod near Kiev, Bogolyubov near Vladimir . . . For the first time the archaeological investigation of Moscow also acquired a broad scale . . . The archaeological investigation of the remains of ancient Rus' plays a role of exceptional importance . . .<sup>211</sup>

In the past five years, very extensive investigations of ancient Russian towns have been carried out. Kiev, Novgorod, Chernigov, Grodno, Pskov, Staraya Ryazan', Belozersk, Staraya Ladoga, and a number of smaller town centers have been studied. Extensive excavations were performed also in Moscow itself . . .<sup>212</sup>

In 1941 the first plenum of the IIMK devoted to the investigation of ancient Russian towns was held in Leningrad. A second plenum devoted to the same problem was held in 1951. In the post-war period a multitude of reports on excavations and research on ancient Russian towns were published, along with many collections, monographs, and articles on individual aspects of this topic.

In research on ancient towns, among the things studied are their situation and topography, plan, construction, system of fortifications, and material culture. Particular attention is paid to handicraft industry, trade and the general cultural level. The basic aim of the study of ancient towns is to prove that the building of towns in ancient Rus' started and went on simultaneously with the growth of medieval towns in Europe and that there were many towns and cities in ancient Rus' which were not at all inferior to or in some cases were even superior to the European towns in the technique

of construction and the development of handicraft, trade and culture.

In this connection the discovery of the remains of the wooden aqueduct and drainage system in Novgorod and Staraya Ryazan' was especially noteworthy. Ancient Russian towns had extensive trade and cultural relations with Europe and the Orient, and their handicraft industry was highly developed in producing implements, tools, arms and ornaments which were widely diffused among the ancient population.

As for the areas of the U.S.S.R. which could by no means be proclaimed ancient Slavic, such as the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Siberia, the Party also makes high demands on archaeologists for studying the remains and reconstructing the ancient history of the peoples who populate these areas, and the results are included in the history of the U.S.S.R. At the same time it is maintained that the subjugation of these peoples by Russia and the annexation of their land to Russia and the U.S.S.R. played an exceptionally great and progressive role in their development.

The importance of these areas in the cold war and in the preparation for a great war lies in the fact that the Transcaucasus is the most important base for Communist expansion into Iran, Turkey and the Arab nations. Central Asia is an equally important base and military bridgehead for Soviet aggression in India, Afghanistan and Iran.

Especially in the postwar period, archaeological research in these areas was greatly expanded. On the basis of the results of this research monographs were compiled and special plenums were held on the archaeology of the ancient states of the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Siberia. Typical of this emphasis was a research session of the IIMK and the State Hermitage in January 1948 devoted to the archaeology of the Transcaucasus<sup>213</sup> and a plenum of the IIMK in March 1948 devoted to the archaeology of Central Asia.<sup>214</sup>

In view of the special importance of the study of these areas, the works which most nearly satisfy the demands of the Party are awarded Stalin Prizes.<sup>215</sup>



Thus the new postwar conception of Soviet archaeology on the basic internal policy questions of the origin of the Slavs, the development of the Russian Slavs and their culture, and the creation by them of the most powerful state in Europe amounts to a demonstration of the profound antiquity of the Slavic people and the immense historical, cultural and progressive role which they have played in Europe and the Orient. This pan-Slavic and Great-Russian conception suspiciously resembles the pan-Germanic ideas of the Nazi archaeologists and historians of Hitlerite Germany when it was preparing for aggression, and in some cases this resemblance amounts to a literal repetition.

The dissemination of this conception through propaganda and agitation aims at inculcating in the consciousness of the Russian population of the U.S.S.R. a conviction of its greatness and superiority over other peoples, the idea of the high cultural role in history of the forebears of the Russian people and the conception that the Russian people at present are the bearers of Communist ideas and are historically destined to reorganize the whole world.

The other side of the coin is the attitude toward the inferior capitalist world; here Soviet archaeology performs tasks on the external front. Underlying the conception are the demands of the Party which were formulated by Molotov in his speech on the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1947:

There are people among us who have not yet freed themselves from fawning and subservience before the West, before capitalist culture . . . Without freeing oneself from these infamous vestiges it is impossible to be a *real Soviet citizen*. That is why the Soviet people are imbued with such a determined effort to put a stop more promptly to the vestiges of the past and mercilessly criticize every manifestation of fawning and subservience to the West and its capitalist culture.<sup>216</sup>

Proceeding from these premises, postwar ideologists and the Party leaders of Soviet archaeology go much further. The struggle against bourgeois culture in reality turns into bitter attacks not only against the culture of the West but also against the democratic states and peoples. Of course, Enemy No. 1 in preparing the

population of the U.S.S.R. psychologically for war is the United States, after which follow Great Britain and to some extent Germany, Sweden and Denmark. France and Italy were not taken into account and are hardly mentioned.

The basic positions of Soviet archaeology and the demands made on it in this connection are most fully expounded in a paper by A. Mongait entitled "The Crisis in Bourgeois Archaeology." In this paper Mongait maintains that twentieth century bourgeois society is undergoing an acute crisis, and that therefore it cannot produce advanced ideas; even the progressive ideas of the nineteenth century have turned into their opposite. Special tasks were placed before bourgeois archaeology during the era of imperialism. The study of antiquity has become one of the most tendentious and politically acute sciences, serving the needs of the present day. Further on Mongait condemns the formal typological method (Nils Åberg), the cultural-historical school (Gräbner, Ankermann, Schmidt), and the *Siedlungsarchäolog* school (K. Schumacher, G. Kossinna), which is close to the cultural-historical school.

In view of the importance of Mongait's "theses" for an understanding of the question and of the archaeological tasks set by the Party, as well as because of the special sharpness with which they were formulated, we will cite several of his positions verbatim:

American-English imperialism, preparing a third world war and instilling revanchiste ideas into the Germans in West Germany and Austria, is trying to resuscitate reactionary archaeology in Europe. Hence the endeavor to resuscitate the cultural-historical school, hence the slogan "Back to Kossina." These ideas are expounded in Eastern Germany by Martin Jahn and Friedrich Behn. Particularly, however, [they are expounded] in West Germany, i.e., where the American and English imperialists are seeking to resuscitate German militarism and Fascism as a weapon for the battle against peace and democracy . . . The racist theories are particularly frankly expressed in contemporary Austrian archaeology (Robert Endres) . . . The racist pseudo-science is also cultivated in other bourgeois countries . . . There is evidence for this in the archaeological literature of Sweden, Denmark and other countries . . . But the racist idea, as well as the other reactionary ideas, have reached their highest development in American archaeology.

Corresponding to the active role which the reactionary bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. now plays in the whole world, the bourgeois American scholars are becoming the vanguard of reactionary science. Racism, as is known, belongs to the oldest traits of the "American way of life." Racial discrimination and the racial "theories" engendered by it began to be disseminated in the U.S.A. when the extermination of Indians and subjugation of Negroes started. *With the advent of the era of imperialism, the propaganda of racist theories in American historiography has been further intensified.*

*Racism has been proclaimed the official doctrine in Anglo-American sociology, ethnography and anthropology.*

Comrade Stalin, unmasking the reactionary significance of Anglo-Saxon racism, points out: "Hitler began the unleashing of the war by proclaiming the racial theory, declaring that only Germans represent a fully valid nation. Mr. Churchill also begins the unleashing of a war with the racial theory, maintaining that only the nations which speak English are the fully valid nations called upon to decide the fate of the whole world. (*Pravda*, March 14, 1946.)

Mongait further explains how American-English racism is expressed in archaeology:

From the single world center of cultural development, the ancient Mediterranean, development was transferred to the West European peoples, as well as to the Americans, who are the sole inheritors of this world civilization ([Alfred] Kroeber, W. Taylor) . . . For separate and "primitive" peoples contemporary high civilization remains forever unattainable . . . For the contemporary "primitive peoples" the path to development is forever barred. They are doomed to be the slaves of the people of the "higher civilization" and are destined to die out . . . This . . . can be demonstrated from archaeological materials . . . The role of archaeology as an important political discipline is well appreciated by the owners of that science . . . Bourgeois archaeology, like history, is distinguished by extreme idealism (A. Goldenweiser). The English historian [R. G.] Collingwood goes even further . . . and [Glyn E.] Daniel follows after Taylor.

Mongait repeats his conclusion that bourgeois archaeologists have ceased to be empiricists and collectors of facts; instead they have concerned themselves with theory. "But what a theory!" exclaims Mongait: "It is hostile to authentic science. It is pitiful in comparison with the well-ordered Marxist-Leninist philosophy."

Mongait also criticizes the works of Goldenweiser, Kluckhohn, and Kelly and draws the conclusion that "American cosmopolitanism demands self-renunciation from the peoples [of the world] in the name of imperialism."

Mongait points to "geographism" as one of the main reactionary tendencies in archaeology and declares that geographic determinism is propounded in the U.S.A. by Griffiths Smith and Ellsworth Huntington and in England by Fleure and Fox, as well as Hawkes (Oxford) and Brøgger (Norway). Generalizing from the situation he has described, Mongait states:

Bourgeois archaeology is placed in the service of imperialism. Idealistic conceptions also serve this purpose. In their practical excavation activity, bourgeois archaeologists serve the imperialist aims of their governments. Thus American archaeologists, in addition to excavations in their own country, have launched widespread excavation activities beyond its borders. Expeditionary work serves as a handy pretext for espionage and so-called "cultural penetration" within the country under investigation . . . The English strive to keep up with their senior partner . . . France, impoverished and colonized by the Americans, is not in a position to carry out significant archaeological investigations . . . their work is characterized by backward methods.

Contemporary bourgeois archaeologists serve the political aims of their governments. This is particularly evident in the example of American archaeology. The *American bourgeoisie*, in connection with that *new active role* which it has assumed as the leader of world imperialism, is demanding action from its scholars also. They have modernized themselves . . . the task of science consists not in the search for objective truth, but in the formation of ideas which could be useful today . . . Objective truth, like the objective historical fact, does not exist. That theory or hypothesis is true which is practically useful . . . Contemporary bourgeois archaeologists . . . are the vanguard of reaction, *against which we lead and will continue to lead a bitter struggle* [italics supplied].<sup>217</sup>

Mongait's report, particularly the extracts cited above in which he attacks bourgeois archaeology, especially that of the U.S.A., has been widely disseminated in the Soviet Union as part of the preparation of public opinion for war and the formation of public hatred against America. His report was published in the *Brief*

*Communications* of the IIMK and his basic points were repeated in a report by G. Fyodorov at the second session of the IIMK devoted to the Baltic area, which was also published. The basic conceptions of Mongait's report were also expressed in an extremely sharp form in a report by S. Kiselyov.<sup>218</sup> Finally, Mongait wrote a special work on the fulfillment by American archaeologists of the tasks set by imperialism, which was also published.<sup>219</sup>

We have given a considerable number of extracts from the report by A. Mongait, which define the basic political tasks of Soviet archaeology up to the present. To give a detailed analysis of these positions would be a task too extensive for the present work, which aims only at providing a picture of the contemporary position of archaeology in the U.S.S.R. It is impossible, however, to avoid mentioning that Mongait's report is very deliberately worked out. In it truth is continually mixed with untruth. There are a number of strained interpretations, exaggerations, contradictions and direct lies. The compilation of this programmatic report should be the subject of a special investigation.

We shall omit altogether the content of the report by S. Kiselyov, since basically it repeats the positions of Mongait, formulated sometimes in an even sharper form and in a language not customary in science. Nevertheless Kiselyov's report also has great significance as a confirmation of the theses of Mongait. The same confirmation, expressed perhaps in a somewhat weaker form, we encounter again in reports by other present-day political leaders of archaeology in the U.S.S.R.—G. Fyodorov, A. Udal'tsov, B. Grekov.<sup>220</sup>

This repetition of basic, fundamental theses shows that what is involved is not the opinion of individuals, but the *directives of the Party*, which have merely been given to these people for popularization.

The journal *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History], published by the Institute of History of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, is full of articles on the history and contemporary policy of the U.S.A. which accuse that country of obscurantism, treachery, the falsification of history, imperialist annexations in the past and

plans for new expansion in the future, making apologies for slavery, inciting a new world war, and so on.<sup>221</sup>

Constant abuse of the U.S.A. and accusations against it of horrible crimes against mankind in the past as well as in the present, even without reference to any facts, have become compulsory for Soviet archaeology and Soviet archaeologists in the postwar period. Abuse of Western science, particularly American, is to be found now in many archaeological articles, even when the subject of the article has nothing to do with Western or American science.

As part of the preparation for a new war Soviet archaeology performs still another task at the behest of the Party: the endeavor to establish a fifth column in the "capitalist world." A careful watch is kept on the development of science in the democratic countries in order to find, among the less objective workers, "elementary materialists" or direct "sympathizers." Contacts are established with such persons, and they are supported, acclaimed and encouraged in every way. Attempts are made to widen the circle of these contacts and to unite them with the various pro-Communist movements "for peace" in order to strengthen Soviet influence inside the "capitalist world."

The successes of Soviet archaeology are enormous . . . More and more often even the scholars who are hostile to us are obliged to turn to the achievements of Soviet scholarship . . . Among bourgeois scholars there are not only our ideological enemies. There are also progressive scholars who are friends of our country and who understand very well the universal significance of our science. One of these persons among the English archaeologists, for example, is [V.] Gordon Childe. Childe has not yet succeeded in overcoming many of the errors of bourgeois science. But he understands that scientific truth is in the socialist camp and is not ashamed to call himself a pupil of Soviet archaeologists. Both our enemies and our friends clearly realize the universal importance of Soviet scholarship.<sup>222</sup>

The praise of Childe is also to be found in other reports. The journal *Vestnik drevnei istorii* [Journal of Ancient History] pub-

lished an article by R. Hilton on the work of English Marxist historians, describing the organization of the English fellow-traveler historians.<sup>223</sup> Judging from this article, one can assume that Childe is not alone in the "capitalist world" and that Soviet undermining activity is not without results.

### *B. Postwar Archaeological Literature*

The reorganization of archaeology during 1930-34 meant the liquidation of prerevolutionary archaeology and the influence of foreign "bourgeois" archeology, together with all the representatives of these tendencies. This was accompanied by communization of science and the entire scientific apparatus: members of the Party were appointed directors of all scientific institutes; Party supervision and control were introduced everywhere into all branches; the aims of scientific work were laid down by the political center. With the completion of the destruction of archaeology and the creation of a "Soviet archaeology," beginning with 1935, new tasks were set for archaeology. In order to compete with and resist "bourgeois" archaeology, it was necessary to raise the scientific level of Soviet archaeology to that of Western archaeology.

Under these conditions fierce attacks against bourgeois archaeology and archaeologists generally ceased. The furious quarrel among Soviet archaeologists and the mutual accusations of anti-Marxist and political errors also stopped. The endless discussions and articles on theoretical themes in publications also disappeared. Archaeological literature assumed a much more scientific character. This trend continued generally right up to the war and after. Incidentally it must be said that Soviet archaeologists were so attracted to the new tendency that they altogether abandoned socialist and Party themes.

After World War II the emphasis of Soviet archaeological literature changed completely and the themes of 1930-34 were again reintroduced, of course in conformity with the new conditions. Thus a leading and authoritative article sets forth the political guide lines for Soviet archaeological literature as follows:

Soviet archaeology has begun to be endangered by a wave of descriptive works, profoundly empirical, devoted to specific themes and avoiding basic historical conclusions. General and critical articles are rarely published. The number of works exposing the reactionary views of contemporary bourgeois archaeologists is entirely inadequate . . . Science must be Party [science].<sup>224</sup>

The new demands on archaeological literature are put forward and repeated in leading works by B. Grekov, A. Udalt'sov, S. Kiselyov, P. Tret'yakov and G. Fyodorov and in articles by other archaeologists.<sup>225</sup> The political pressure was strongest after the publication of Stalin's articles on linguistics in 1950 with their references to Marr's mistakes and the subsequent liquidation of Marrism.<sup>226</sup>

A merciless criticism of Soviet archaeologists as well began. Today this politically important and directing role is entrusted to Mongait, Kiselyov and Fyodorov. All three are from Moscow. During 1930-34 this most important task had been performed by V. Ravdonikas, A. Bernshtam and Ye. Krichevski, all of whom were "Marrists" from Leningrad. They had bitterly attacked and even denounced politically many Soviet archaeologists, including Kiselyov. The attacks and criticism were made mainly from the standpoint of Marrism, a doctrine which the Communist Party itself then supported as orthodox Marxist. But twenty years later the situation had changed, and Marr and his doctrines were condemned and liquidated by Stalin himself. Now the Muscovites amply repaid the Leningrad leaders.

Particularly severe attacks were made on V. Ravdonikas, A. Bernshtam, the leaders of the Leningrad IIMK A. Okladnikov, V. Mikhankov, M. Artamonov, S. Rudenko, and others. It is characteristic that Ravdonikas was attacked for his work on the Goths, which had been written on the commission of the Party at the beginning of the thirties, and Artamonov for his work on the Khazars, written at the end of the thirties, that is, at a time when it was obligatory to support the Marxist thesis of autochthony and development by stages in the genesis of peoples as the foundation of the Marxist concept of history.<sup>227</sup> The first edition of



Artsikhovski's work, on the other hand, came out in 1939 and aroused no opposition in regard to the political demands of that time.

Thus postwar Soviet archaeological literature again took on a sharply political character; its pages were full of bitter criticism not only of bourgeois archaeology but also of the works of individual Soviet archaeologists, accompanied by demands that archaeological publications be saturated with political interpretation. In this respect postwar Soviet archaeological literature is formally very reminiscent of the literature of the period 1930-1934.

At the same time, evidently in connection with the transformation of archaeology into "one of the most . . . politically acute sciences, serving the tasks of the present day," archaeological literature in the Soviet Union has been greatly expanded—editions are larger and are more widely distributed. The journals *Brief Communications of the IIMK*, *Soviet Archaeology*, *Journal of Ancient History*, and publications in the series *MIA* were thrown in great quantity on the book market and exported to "bourgeois" countries, evidently for propaganda purposes.

As early as 1947 an editorial in the *Brief Communications of the IIMK* emphasized the significant extent of Soviet archaeological publications, citing in addition to the above journals the proceedings of the State Historical Museum, the publications of the Georgian, Armenian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian Academies of Sciences and the various branches of the central Academy of Sciences, as well as a number of publications by local scientific research institutes, universities and museums; monographs which summed up the achievements in particular fields of archaeology were also indicated.<sup>228</sup> In the editorial there is a characteristic effort to shorten the number of publications with archaeological articles published in the center (the journals *Sovetskaya etnografiya* [Soviet Ethnography], *Vestnik Akademii Nauk* [Journal of the Academy of Sciences], *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History] and others are not mentioned) and at the same time to exaggerate the number of archaeological publications in the provinces, whereas in fact the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of

the Ukrainian S.S.R. in Kiev is the only one that issues regular publications on archaeology. This false picture is designed to conceal the centralization of archaeology and archaeological publications in Moscow, which has been effected since the beginning of the thirties.

Kiselyov, speaking at the April 1951 plenum of the IIMK, stated:

[There is] a growth in publishing activity [in the U.S.S.R.] which reflects the progress of scientific work . . . The figures regarding only a single central archaeological institution, the IIMK, are striking evidence of this increase. In 1946, a total of 48 folios\* of scientific work were issued, in 1947—112, in 1948—193, in 1949—288, and in 1950—388. This growth continues without interruption.<sup>220</sup>

On the same occasion, B. Grekov also spoke of the growth and development of Soviet archaeological literature and of the great successes achieved by Soviet archaeologists in the postwar five-year period:

Thanks to their efforts, it has become possible to reconstruct the ancient history of several peoples and to publish such generalizing historical works in recent years as the *History of Georgia*, *History of Armenia*, *History of Yakutia*, *History of the Tadzhik People*, *History of the Uzbek S.S.R.* and others.

One should add that an *Outline of the History of the Neolithic Tribes* has even appeared.

Grekov noted that Stalin Prizes had been awarded as follows: B. Kuftin's archaeological works on the Caucasus; B. Piotrovki's monograph *Urartu*; B. Rybakov's *Handicraft of Ancient Rus'*; S. Kiselyov's *Ancient History of Southern Siberia*; S. Tolstov's *Ancient Khorezm*; T. Passek's *Periodization of the Tripol'ye Settlements*; A. Okladnikov, M. Gremyatski and M. Nesturkh for the collective volume *Teshik-Tash*; and L. Potapov's ethnographic-archaeological study *Sketch of the History of the Altaians*. To this list of prize-winning works we should add the collective work in two volumes entitled *History of the Culture of Ancient Rus'*. Nearly all of these works appeared after the war.<sup>230</sup>

\* Sixteen printed pages.

The basic periodical publications on archaeology in the U.S.S.R. are the same as those which appeared during the prewar period. Now they are published quite regularly. The journal *Brief Communications of the IIMK* has been considerably increased in size and has definitely assumed the character of the official organ of the government and the Party. Twelve issues appeared from 1939 to 1941 inclusive. In the postwar period the journal has appeared six times a year; up to 1954 fifty-one regular numbers had appeared. Four issues of *MIA* appeared in 1940-1941. In 1952, thirty-two regular numbers had appeared. Seven volumes of *VDI* appeared from 1936 to 1941; the second volume in 1952 is already the fifty-third since the start. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* (SA) is also published regularly.

Articles on archaeology are also published in a whole series of other periodicals, such as *Sovetskaya etnografiya* [Soviet Ethnography], *Vestnik Akademii Nauk* [Journal of the Academy of Sciences], *Doklady Akademii Nauk* [Reports of the Academy of Sciences], *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History], and others.

The basic postwar publication of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is the periodical collection *Arkheologiya* [Archaeology]. The institute also started publishing collective volumes entitled *Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki USSR* [Archaeological Remains of the Ukrainian S.S.R.], with reports and brief communications on field investigations. The first volume, as could have been expected, was devoted to Slavic antiquities.<sup>251</sup>

It is characteristic that the Institute's publications, like provincial publications in general, are not included among the Soviet archaeological literature which is thrown onto the foreign book market. The selection of this literature for export to the "bourgeois countries" is determined exclusively on the basis of the propaganda significance of the publication.

### C. The Centralization of Archaeological Leadership

During the postwar period there was a great increase in the centralization of political leadership in all Soviet archaeology, its

direction of research work and its literature, a process which had started at the beginning of the thirties. The most important step in this direction in postwar years was the abolition of the Leningrad branch of the IIMK, which up to that point had preserved its autonomy. Stalin's work on linguistics served as the occasion for this action.

The three present political leaders of Soviet archaeology, A. Mongait, S. Kiselyov and G. Fyodorov, came from Moscow to attend a plenum of the Leningrad IIMK at the end of 1950 which was devoted to carrying out Stalin's directives in the linguistics articles. The Muscovites subjected to the most severe criticism and attacks almost all the members of the Leningrad branch of the IIMK, including its president, A. Okladnikov, and especially V. Ravdonikas and Bernstam, as well as the institution as a whole. The Leningrad IIMK was accused of adhering to the cult of "Marrism," a sin which was manifested in the fact that the plenum on such an extremely important question as Stalin's pronouncement, with its demand for the liquidation of Marrism, was called only after great delay, and in the fact that the majority of the leading members of the Leningrad IIMK, including the president and especially Bernshtam, had not only failed to confess their errors at once, but had tried to defend certain of Marr's positions, or to smuggle in his ideas secretly. Bernshtam was accused of having professed the possibility of adapting some of Marr's points without mentioning his name, and this, so the accusers said, meant an appeal to direct deceit.

As a result of this plenum, the Leningrad IIMK was deprived of its autonomy by a decision of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Consequently its members became simply a group of IIMK members residing in Leningrad. Thus ended the strife between the Moscow and Leningrad archaeological centers which had gone on for almost a century, at first between the Imperial Archaeological Commission and Moscow's Imperial Archaeological Society, then between the RANION and the GAIMK after the Revolution and, after the reorganization of RANION, between the Moscow IIMK and that of Leningrad.

Up to Stalin's pronouncement of 1950, the Leningrad center was stronger in the scientific respect. But with the transfer of the government and the Party Central Committee to Moscow and the organization there of the IIMK, it was to be expected that that center would be further strengthened. Now it has been made not only the leading but also the only archaeological center.

With the flight abroad of almost all the Ukrainian archaeologists during the war and their replacement by Russians, and with the appointment of a director of the Kiev Institute of Archaeology from Moscow, the Institute became in effect a section of the IIMK. At the same time, a branch of the Kiev Institute was opened in L'vov.

Among the instrumentalities for centralizing ideological leadership are the plenums of the IIMK and the joint convocation of these plenums with the sessions of the Department of History and Philosophy of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, held several times a year and, as far as the plenums are concerned, attended by representatives of the provincial scientific research institutions. Before World War II, plenums of the IIMK were called usually once, at the beginning of the year; they were devoted almost exclusively to reports on the field investigations accomplished during the preceding year. Joint meetings of the IIMK and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences began only after the war; now at these combined sessions, in addition to reports on archaeological work performed in the past year, papers are read which set forth the political line.

Another means of centralizing ideological leadership is the concentration of the mass archaeological publications in Moscow and the extraordinary increase in the size of their editions.

Great changes have taken place among the leading personnel of archaeological institutions. In 1953, after the death of Academician B. Grekov, director of the IIMK in recent years, M. D'yakonov, an Iranist, philologist and specialist in the material culture of Iran, was appointed director in his place. D'yakonov was unknown in archaeological literature; up to the war he worked in the Institute

of Eastern Studies (IVAN). Officially he was considered a non-Party man, but according to persons who had worked with him, he was the NKVD representative for political supervision in the IVAN. If this is true, his appointment would indicate an intensification of the political surveillance over archaeological institutions and their subordination directly to the MGB. According to the latest information, D'yakonov recently died. It is not yet known who has been named director of the IIMK in his place.

In the Institute of Archaeology in Kiev L. Slavin, who organized this Institute and directed its works for fifteen years, has been dismissed. Slavin was a remarkable organizer and administrator and was able to organize the Institute and direct it in such a way that in many respects it surpassed the IIMK even before the war. In the period 1938-1941, for example, the Institute conducted a series of thematic conferences which were of all-Union importance and which were attended by archaeologists, anthropologists and quaternary geologists from Moscow, Leningrad and the provinces. Neither the Moscow nor the Leningrad IIMK was able to organize such conferences at that time. In general Slavin displayed great initiative and independence in his work.

In the course of the further centralization of leadership an aged member of the IIMK, P. Yefimenko, was named to succeed Slavin as director of the Institute. Yefimenko was neither an organizer nor a leader, and thus the Institute was in fact deprived of its independence and transformed into a department of the IIMK. In 1953, however, Yefimenko was subjected to crude attacks in the press, in the Institute itself and in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. He was accused of having "directed the work of the staff badly and covered up for fawners and hack workers. . . ." As the result of this criticism Yefimenko was removed from his post as director. Subsequently several department heads of the Institute, V. Bogusevich and V. Danilenko, were also dismissed from their work; their successors are not yet known. Thus the Institute was subjected to new disruptions.<sup>232</sup>

The Moscow center was further strengthened by the fact that

all archaeological work in the Ukraine is being conducted by Russian archaeologists such as G. Fyodorov, T. Passek, M. Artamonov and others.

#### *D. War and Postwar Losses Among Soviet Archaeologists*

In the past decade especially, Soviet archaeologists, mainly as a result of the war and its consequences, have suffered great losses which it will be difficult to make good.

The Soviet regime called up archaeologists to the front without any regard for their relatively rare scientific specialties or for the fact that the training of scientific personnel is a costly, lengthy process.

S. Anosov, a young archaeologist, was called up at the beginning of the Soviet-German war and was killed in the very first days.

A. Kruglov, Yu. Podgayetski and B. Degen-Kovalevski were also killed on the Soviet-German front. Ye. Krichevski was killed by a random bomb in Leningrad. During the siege of Leningrad, Professors S. Zhebelyov and A. Zograf died from starvation.

The following "chose freedom" and emigrated abroad: from Rostov, Prof. M. Miller; from Kiev, Prof. B. Petrov, V. Kozlovskaya, Prof. P. Kurinnyi, N. Kordysh, P. Bezvengliniski and the numismatist V. Shugayevski; from L'vov, Professors Ya. Pasternak, D. Gornyatkevich and Dombrovski; from Khar'kov, Professors A. Kotsevalov and V. Dubrovski; from Poltava, K. Moshchenko; from Odessa, G. Shteinvand; from Novgorod, V. Ponomarev; and from Riga, Prof. E. Shturms.

The young Ukrainian archaeologist A. Chernysh also turned up in the emigration. He served in the Vlasov Army and subsequently moved about in Ukrainian émigré scholarly circles, especially among archaeologists. In 1948 Chernysh disappeared and later appeared in the U.S.S.R., where he again began to work as an archaeologist; beginning with 1949 he began to publish his works. One must assume that he participated in the Vlasov Army and spent some time in the emigration at the behest of the appropriate Soviet agencies and that he fulfilled a special assignment in these activities.

Of the Russian archaeologists only one fled, a pupil of the GAIMK who found himself in the area occupied by the Germans. The archaeologists of Moscow, Leningrad and the Crimea were forcibly evacuated to Vyatka and Central Asia. On the basis of a whole mass of available information, it seems that, had these measures not been taken and had the Russian archaeologists, like the Ukrainians, been on territory occupied by the Germans, a considerable part of them would have left for freedom. Thus the aged S. Zhebelyov remained in Leningrad, like a great many others, thinking that the Germans would take the city. Several attempts were made to evacuate him by plane, but every time he evaded them under the pretext of illness. There is other information available concerning the state of mind of Soviet archaeologists at that time, but for the time being it is not expedient to discuss it.

A particularly large number of Soviet archaeologists have died since the war, most of them in the full bloom of their maturity and powers. It seems that the average life span of Soviet archaeologists is half as long as that of so-called bourgeois archaeologists. Thus of the better known scholars the following died during or after the war: *V. Gorodtsov, M. Voyevodski, B. Bogayevski, M. Farmakovski, S. Zhebelyov, G. Bonch-Osmolovski, V. Gol'msten, G. Sosnovski, P. Dmitriyev, M. Ivashchenko, N. Prokoshyov, Ya. Gummel', A. Dintses, M. Talitski, G. Grigor'yev, I. Borshchevski, M. Suzin, I. Khozerov, N. Bortvin, S. Dzhanashia, V. Smirnov, Ye. Rydzevskaya, N. Milonov, A. Mansurov, V. Lesyuchevski, M. D'yakonov, B. Grekov, A. Yakubovski, I. Levitski*, and many others less known, mainly provincial archaeologists. *B. Lunin* from Rostov completely abandoned archaeological work at the beginning of the war.

The losses among Soviet archaeologists during and after the war should thus be reckoned at fifty persons or more. The unusually high mortality among Soviet archaeologists, especially the young and middle-aged ones, can be explained only by the generally difficult moral and material circumstances of life and work, under conditions of steady terror and spiritual compulsion and fear. At the same time, apparently in connection with the war,



the aged *M. Rudinski* and *V. Grinchenko* were brought back from exile and resumed work in the Ukraine. The Soviets also obtained *M. Smishko*, who had remained in L'vov, and *Kh. Moora* from Riga.

In spite of the huge expenditures and the mass preparation of archaeological scholars in the U.S.S.R. in archaeological institutes and in postgraduate study, the scholarly ranks are filled extremely slowly. The heightening of political demands on the work makes a career in the field of archaeology unattractive and dangerous in the U.S.S.R. Apparently the majority of young archaeologists prefer to go into the quieter work in museums or as instructors, since Soviet archaeologists specialize in their discipline on a broad basis of the historical sciences and are historians at the same time that they are archaeologists.

Archaeological literature is full of short articles written by a great number of unknown personalities, none of whom, however, advance and gain the stature of prominent scholars. The foremost archaeologists in the U.S.S.R. today are still those who were trained in the Leningrad and Moscow centers during the twenties. Of the leading archaeologists of the postwar period only two relatively young scholars have distinguished themselves, *A. Mon-gait* and *G. Fyodorov*; both of them, however, were already known during the thirties.

### *E. Conclusion*

Archaeological science in the U.S.S.R. since 1935 has enjoyed and still enjoys conditions incomparably more favorable to growth than those obtaining in the free world. This situation has been brought about by the totalitarian system in the U.S.S.R., in which the finances, scientific institutions and planning of all operations are fully centralized. This centralization makes possible the unlimited financing of all scientific work and its subordination to a single ideology and a single leadership, which is carried out in the U.S.S.R. by the Communist Party.

Since the beginning of the thirties, archaeology has been made to serve the aims of the Party and was thus transformed into a

science of political significance. In the postwar years the Communist Party still further advanced archaeology as one of the most acutely political and leading sciences in the U.S.S.R. Extensive and constantly increasing funds are allocated for its growth and broadening, for field work and archaeological literature. The best scholars are rewarded by prizes, promotions, and other means of encouragement.

The tempo of growth of archaeological work can be judged by the fact, for example, that immediately after the war, in the summer of 1945, the IIMK conducted twenty-five archaeological expeditions, encompassing the entire U.S.S.R. In 1946 the number of expeditions rose to thirty-one and in 1947 reached thirty-six.<sup>233</sup>

Of the discoveries made having the greatest scientific importance the following may be mentioned:

In the Caucasus, Central Asia, and on the Volga and the Dnestr discoveries were made of sites with Chellean and Acheulean remains, as well as new sites of the Upper Paleolithic. The skeleton of a child of the Neanderthal type was found in Central Asia, at Teshik-Tash, and another in the Crimea, near Bakhchisarai.

Of the neolithic remains the most interesting were the peat bog sites in the Baltic region, Vologda oblast and the Urals. Great successes have been achieved in the study of the remains of the Tripol'ye culture and in the investigation of remains of the Aëneolithic period and the Bronze Age in the Caucasus and Siberia.

Considerable progress has been made in the study of the states and towns dating from classical antiquity in the northern Black Sea region.

Investigations of the archaeological remains in Central Asia, on the territory of Khorezm and in ancient Parthia, have been successfully conducted. In the field of the Scythian-Sarmatian culture the study of the Scythian kingdom in the Crimea (investigation of the remains of Scythian Neapolis and Ilurat) and excavations of the large Altai kurgans yielded major results.

Much new material was collected on the history of Central Asia in Khorezm, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan, as well as in the ancient and medieval centers in the

Transcaucasus (excavations at Gandzha in Azerbaidzhan, Karmir-Blur and Dvin in Armenia and Dmanisi in Georgia).

The greatest achievements, however, have been made in the study of the origin of the eastern Slavs (the discovery of the Romny and Yukhnov cultures). Especially extensive research has been carried out on ancient Russian cities.

This picture of the development of Soviet archaeology refers to the years 1946-1950. In the succeeding years the number of archaeological expeditions and the scope of the investigations have continued to expand.

The basic Soviet approach to archaeological methodology in recent times can be seen from the following statements:

Soviet archaeology is an inseparable part of Marxist-Leninist historical science . . . Soviet archaeologists consider the principal aim of their activity to be the reconstruction of ancient history in all its many aspects and above all the study of the productive forces, the economy, and the social, political and cultural characteristics of a society . . .<sup>234</sup>

Soviet archaeologists look upon any archaeological remain as the result of the toiling activity of man . . . By the study of an object we learn to know the history of human society . . . Soviet archaeology analyzes archaeological facts for the purpose of reconstructing the material conditions of life of a society, to obtain a general picture of the historical process and its conformity to laws. Archaeology is an integral part of historical science; it studies the past of mankind on the basis of material historical sources.<sup>235</sup>

Soviet archaeology, in distinction to bourgeois archaeology, is not preoccupied with individual, private excavations according to the interests of individual scholars; it is entirely subordinated to studies which are directed at solving problems in the history of the tribes and peoples of our motherland. Therefore, the basic task of Soviet archaeology is the investigation of archaeological remains with the purpose of illuminating the fundamental questions of the historical process—the history of the productive forces of a given society, the characteristics of the status and development of the economic basis, the nature of the relation between the society's basis and its superstructure, peculiarities and changes in the basis, the characteristics of the development of the society's culture and the history of the society's relationship with the neighboring tribes and peoples . . .

As for excavations, they are the means for explaining the real life in the past in all its uniqueness, development and internal connections.<sup>236</sup>

It is clear that these pronouncements on the tasks and methods of Soviet archaeology coincide with the "Marxist concept of the tasks of archaeology." But this is only the academic side; in the U.S.S.R. a limitation to these tasks would be tantamount to "objectivism without ideas," a manifestation which is ruthlessly denounced. Every science in the U.S.S.R. including archaeology, must above all be a Party science, that is, it must not only reflect the aims of the Communist Party but must also bring them into reality through propaganda.<sup>237</sup>

Thus while it may be said that the concept of the significance of an archaeological remain is on a high level in the U.S.S.R., all archaeological literature and all archaeological conferences, sessions and plenums in the Soviet Union are basically sharply political propaganda.

Until 1953 the propaganda consisted first of all of a gross, subservient adulation of Stalin who was never referred to except as "the greatest coryphaeus of world science," "the greatest scholar of all times and peoples," and so on. After Stalin's death, his name disappeared from the propaganda, and he ceased to be the greatest scholar.

The second element in the propaganda is praise of the Party and government for the attention and large allocations of funds devoted to the growth of Soviet archaeology. Then follows praise of Soviet archaeology and its achievements.

The eulogistic part of the propaganda is herewith complete and the invective begins. It consists above all in merciless criticism of "bourgeois" archaeology (especially American) and fierce attacks against the archaeologists of the free countries. In this part of the propaganda the grossest words and expressions are applied, terms which are used neither in the scientific nor in the literary language of the democratic countries.

The propaganda program includes an equally merciless criticism and abuse of individual Soviet archaeologists, who are accused

chiefly of "Marrism" and of succumbing to the influence of bourgeois archaeology. In this case a certain gradation is maintained, depending upon the errors of the accused. In cases of the more serious offences the abuse of the culprits almost reaches the degree of the abuse against America.

This propaganda constitutes Soviet archaeology's contribution to the Party and political aims of Soviet propaganda; the political tone has been considerably sharpened in Soviet archaeology during the postwar period, in particular since 1950, after Stalin's "universally-historical" directive on the questions of linguistics.

All pronouncements at archaeological conferences, plenums, and sessions are full of political propaganda. All archaeological literature of the postwar period is saturated with the same propaganda. Soviet archaeology is thus placed entirely at the service of the Party and the government. Carrying out these tasks requires it to depart from archaeological material for the sake of political expediency; as a result, archaeology is increasingly transformed into an organ of Soviet propaganda.

Archaeological literature is fulfilling its basic task—preparing the population of the U.S.S.R. for a war against the free countries, and first of all against the U.S.A. The preparation for war is composed of two elements: the formation and growth of Russian national-Soviet patriotism, and the inspiring of hatred against America.

In evaluating Soviet archaeology, it is necessary to have in mind these basic propaganda aims to which Soviet science is subjected. The large-scale research work, the great results obtained, and the growth in the literature, coupled with the obligation to give everything a sharply political character and to subordinate all research and articles to definite Party requirements, lead to the result that all published works, even those of the most descriptive nature, are subjected to definite tendencies in their deductions and conclusions and sometimes even in the exposition itself. Therefore even the descriptive part of a work must be approached with great caution; conclusions are quite untrustworthy, since they are necessarily deprived of "objectivity without ideas." The conclusions are not

determined by the study of the material and the increase of knowledge concerning a given question, but by a previously given "social command of the Party."

At the same time, as one can easily see in the development of archaeology in the U.S.S.R., the Party commands often change. Whenever there are changes in the general line of the Party, the programmatic directives in archaeology are adapted to the change immediately. It suffices to recall how, on the directives of the Party, "Marrism" was propagated in archaeology. The scholars who were not "reforged" fast enough or did not express enthusiasm for Marr's doctrine were subjected to violent attacks and persecution. For insufficiently understanding and rejoicing in Marrism such scholars as V. Gorodotsov, A. Spitsyn and Bartol'd were at one time excluded from active membership in the GAIMK. Minor personnel were subjected to much worse attacks and persecution, and many of them ended up in Siberia.

The forcible inculcation of Marrism in archaeology continued for thirty years. But then Stalin proclaimed Marrism to be "only a gross vulgarization of Marxism," along with a number of other still harsher definitions. If this were really so, if Marrism actually did contradict Marxism and hinder the development of science, why then did Stalin keep quiet about it for thirty years, while the Party used all its strength to see to the compulsory inculcation of Marrism in science? The same scholars who proved themselves most devoted to the Party and who for decades zealously propagated Marr's ideas, ruthlessly criticizing and exposing those who were not sufficiently permeated by them, were later proclaimed to be the saboteurs and criminals of ideology and science.

A general survey of archaeology in Russia and the U.S.S.R. thus shows that archaeology developed more or less normally up to 1930. From 1930 to 1935, a "Soviet archaeology" was built up on the basis of the Marxist interpretation of history. Between 1935 and the beginning of World War II, archaeology in the U.S.S.R. departed more and more from the political demands of the Party and took on an academic character. Finally, after the war the sharpest transformation took place: archaeology was declared to be an

acutely political science; it was subordinated to Party aims and became a means for domestic and foreign propaganda. As a result of these developments facts were manipulated and long-accepted theses which there was no valid reason to doubt were perverted and rejected. The conclusions and statements of contemporary archaeology in the U.S.S.R. must therefore be approached with extreme caution, since they are frequently based on facts which are falsified from the instant they are compiled by Soviet archaeologists.

## Notes

### Part I

1. *Izvlecheniye iz vsepoddaneishevo doklada ob arkheologicheskikh izyskaniyakh v 1853 g.* [An Extract from the Most Humble Report on Archaeological Investigations in 1853], St. Petersburg, 1855.
2. Zabelin, I., *Istoriya russkoi zhizni* [History of Russian Life], Moscow, 1876.
3. Samokvasov, D., "Raskopki u Novogrigor'yevki" [Excavations in Novogrigor'yevka] *Otchot imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission], (hereafter cited as *Otchot IAK*), 1882-1888, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 52.
4. Rostovtsev, M., *Skifiya i Bosfor* [Scythia and the Bosphorus], Leningrad, RAIMK, 1925.
5. Makarenko, N., "Arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya 1907-1908 gg.; 2: Yekaterinoslavskaya guberniya" [Archaeological Investigations of 1907-1908; 2: Yekaterinoslav Guberniya], *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] (hereafter cited as *Izvestiya IAK*), Vol. XLIII, St. Petersburg, 1911.
6. Leont'yev, P. "Arkheologicheskiye izyskaniya na meste drevnevo Tanaisa i v evo okrestnostyakh" [Archaeological Investigations at the Site of Ancient Tanais and its Environs], *Propilei* [Propylaea], No. 4, Moscow, 1853.
7. Herodotus, Book IV, 127.
8. Barbaro, G., *Puteshestviye v Tanu* [Journey to Tana], Library of Foreign Writers in Russia, St. Petersburg, 1836.
9. Rigel'man, A., *Istoriya ili povestvovaniye o Donskikh kazakakh* [A History or Narrative of the Don Cossacks], Moscow, 1778 and 1846.



10. The correspondence regarding the discovery and excavations of the bones of the "giant" was first published by N. Novombergski in the article "Ocherki vnutrennevo upravleniya Moskovskoi Rusi 17 st." [Sketch of the Internal Administration of Muscovy in the 17th Century], *Zapiski moskovskovo arkheologicheskovo instituta* [Notes of the Moscow Archaeological Institute] (hereafter cited as *Zapiski MAI*), Moscow, 1915, Vol. XX, p. 199. A contemporary Soviet interpretation of this correspondence with a facsimile of the document containing the instructions was published by S. Zamyatnin in "Pervaya russkaya instruktziya dlya raskopok" [The First Russian Instruction for Excavations], *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* [Soviet Archaeology] (hereafter cited as *SA*), Vol. XIII, 1950, p. 287.
11. Tolstoi, I. and N. Kondakov, *Russkiye drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva* [Russian Antiquities in Art Monuments], fasc. III, St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 31.
12. Spafari, *Kniga a v nei pisano puteshestviye tsarstva Sibirskovo ot goroda Tobol'ska i do samovo rubezha gosudarstva Kitaiskovo* [A Book, Being a Description of a Journey into the Siberian Realm, from the City of Tobol'sk to the Very Border of the Chinese State], (1675), Moscow, 1903.
13. Witsen, N., *Noord-en Oost Tartarye*, 1692.
14. Tolstoi, I. and N. Kondakov, *op. cit.*
15. Weber, F. C., *Das veränderte Russland*, Frankfurt, 1721. This work includes other information on the finds in Eastern Russia and Siberia, as well on finds which were sent from Siberia to St. Petersburg.
16. Stralenberg, *Nord und östlicher Theil von Europa und Asien*, 1730. Information on plundering excavations of kurgans in eastern Russia and Siberia at the beginning of the eighteenth century can be found also in *Das Leben Petri des Ersten und Grossen*, 1725; Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Supplement V, 1724.
17. Diary of Messerschmidt's travels, 1721.
18. Some details on the plundering of kurgans and on finds in Siberia are given in Tolstoi, I. and N. Kondakov, *op. cit.*
19. Somewhat later, in 1761, P. Demidov gave a report with drawings to the London Society of Antiquarians, which published it in the second volume of its publications.
20. Miller, G., "Iz'yasneniye o nekotorykh drevnostyakh v mogilakh naidonnykh," [Explanation of Some Antiquities Found in Tombs], *Yezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchonykh delakh*

[Monthly Papers and News on Scholarly Matters], December, 1764, pp. 433-515.

21. Pallas, P., *Puteshestviya po raznym provinstsiyam Rossiiskogo gosudarstva* [Travels Through Various Provinces of the Russian State], sections of Part II and all of Part III, St. Petersburg, 1788. *Idem.*, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches in den Jahren 1768-73*, St. Petersburg, 1780. Gmelin, S. *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der drei Natur-Reiche*, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1770. (A Russian translation appeared in the same year in St. Petersburg).
22. Trailin, F., "Po povodu odnoi arkheologicheskoi nakhodki" [Apropos of an Archaeological Find], *Donskiye oblastniye vedomosti* [Don District News], Novocherkassk, 1871, No. 53; see also *Ibid.*, 1876, No. 90 and 1878, No. 98.
23. Nomikosov, S., "Nakhodki v kurganakh" [Finds in Kurgans]. *ibid.*, 1878, No. 83.
24. Chekhov's story *Schast'ye* [Happiness] and Sholokhov's novel *Tikhii Don* [The Quiet Don], Part I.
25. Spitsyn, A., "Veshchi s instruktsiyami iz kerchenskikh katakomb 1904 g." [Objects from the Kerch Catacombs of 1904 with Instructions], *Izvestiya IAK*, 17, 1905 and *ibid.*, 25, 1907.
26. *Trudy arkheologicheskogo s"yezda* [Transactions of the Archaeological Congress] (hereafter cited as *TAS*), second congress in St. Petersburg, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1881, p. 16.
27. Martynov, A., *Zapiski o mestnostyakh v voiske Donskom i veshchestvennykh tam otkrytiyakh, zasluzhivayushchikh vnimaniya antikvariyei i istorikov, s prisovokupleniyem predanii* [Notes on the Don Army Domains and Finds of Objects There which Deserve the Attention of Antiquaries and Historians, With an Addendum of Traditions]. This material was published in abridged form by A. Korsun in the journal *Don*, Novocherkassk, 1887, Nos. 7-12.
28. The first information on burials and the conditions of their discovery is to be found in Professor P. Borisyak's articles in *Moskovskye vedomosti* [Moscow News] for 1864, Nos. 138 and 146, and in the *Otchot IAK* for the year 1864, St. Petersburg, 1865. For description with an attempt at a comparative analysis and the depiction of the objects found, see Tolstoi, I. and N. Kondakov, *op. cit.* Mentions of this remarkable find, known in Russian archaeology as the "Novocherkassk treasure," are made in many works, with a more or less detailed description. But a solid and complete study on all the objects of this find, together with

a modern scientific description and analysis, has yet to be published.

29. *Donskoi Vestnik* [Don Messenger], Novoherkassk, 1868, No. 3.
30. "Arkheologicheskaya nakhodka pri rabotakh Rostovskoi n/D. zhel. dor." [An Archaeological Find During the Construction of the Rostov-on-the-Don Railway], *Otchok IAK* for 1869, St. Petersburg, 1871. For texts of the inscriptions with commentaries see Latyschov, B., *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, St. Petersburg, 1890, 1-2. The remarkable inscriptions in this find, together with those found earlier and later, bring the number of the Tanais texts to sixty. These texts make it possible to reconstruct the social and state structure of Tanais during the period from the second to the fourth century A.D., and give extremely interesting data regarding the juvenile collegiums which were formed for the purpose of worshipping Zeus. The Tanais texts called forth a whole literature in English, German and Russian: Pomyalovski, I., "O Tanaitskikh kollegiyakh," [On the Collegiums of Tanais], *TAS*, VI, Vol. II, Odessa, 1888; Novosadski, M., "Bosporskiye fiasy" [Bosporus Collegiums], *RANION*, III, Moscow, 1928; Poland, F., *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, 1909.
31. Miller, A., "K voprosu ob okhrane pamyatnikov stariny" [On the Problem of Preserving the Monuments of Antiquity] *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Communications of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture] (hereafter cited as *Soobshcheniya GAIMK*), Leningrad, 1931, No. 4/5.
32. Miller, M., "Na Pod'yome" [On the Ascent], *Sovetskoye krayevedeniye v Azovo-Chernomorskom kraye* [Soviet Regional Studies in the Azov-Black Sea Region], Rostov-on-the-Don, 1935, No. 3.
33. Miller, M., "Nekropol' u Beglitskoi Kosy" [Necropolis at Beglitska Point], Rostov-on-the-Don, 1928, and Miller, M., "Obsledovaniye pamyatnikov material'noi kul'tury severnovo poberezh'ya Azovskovo morya" [Investigation of Remains of Material Culture on the Northern Shore of the Sea of Azov], *Byulleten' severnokavkazskovo byuro krayevedeniya* [Bulletin of the North Caucasian Bureau of Regional Studies], Rostov-on-the-Don, 1927, Nos. 1-6.
34. Clarke, E., *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, Cambridge, 1810, Vol. II.
35. Cf. Sabatier, *Kerch' i Bosfor* [Kerch and the Bosporus], St. Petersburg, 1851.

36. Marti, Yu., *Sto let kerchenskovo muzeya* [One Hundred Years of the Kerch' Museum], Kerch', 1926.
37. Keppen, N., *Krymskii sbornik; O drevnostyakh yuzhnovo berega Kryma i gor Tavricheskikh* [Crimean Collection; on the Antiquities of the Southern Shore of the Crimea and the Tauric (Crimean) Mountains], St. Petersburg, 1837.
38. Ashik, *Bosporskoye tsarstvo* [The Bosphorus Kingdom], Vols. I-III, Moscow, 1848-49.
39. Leont'yev, P., *op. cit.*
40. *Drevnosti Bosfora kimmeriiskovo* [Antiquities of the Cimmerian Bosphorus]. Atlas with tables of drawings, text by Academician L. Stefani, St. Petersburg, 1854.
41. Herodotus (Book IV, 53) speaks of an area called Gerrhus.
42. Zabelin, I., *Drevnosti Gerodotovoi Skifi* [Antiquities of Herodotus' Scythia], vols. I-II of *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of Russia] (hereafter cited as *MAR*), Moscow, 1866-1872. See also Zabelin, I., *Istoriya russkoi zhizni* [History of Russian Life], Moscow, 1876. Accounts of Zabelin's excavations were published in *Otchet IAK* for the corresponding years.
43. The report on the excavation of the Merian tomb was published in *Izulecheniya iz vsepoddanneishikh dokladov* [Extracts from Most Humble Reports] for the years concerned. For a general description, see Uvarov, A., "Meryane i ikh byt po kurgannym raskopkam" [The Meryans and Their Everyday Life According to Kurgan Excavations], *TAS*, I, 1869, Vol. II, Moscow, 1871.
44. For the Soviet attempt to revive the Congresses, see pp. 61-62.
45. *MAR* was published from 1861 to 1918 in quarto, with many engravings, phototypes, tables and drawings in the text and other illustrated material. In all, 37 volumes were issued. Many of them are of great value, such as, for example, Vols. I-II, cited above, Vols. III, V, XV and XXVII, (*Sibirskiy drevnosti* [Siberian Antiquities] with the text by V. Radlov), Vol. XXXIV, (*Doklady chitannye na Londonskom mezhdunarodnom kongresse istorikov v 1913 g.* [Papers Read at the International Congress of Historians in London in 1913], St. Petersburg, 1914). Volume XXIV contains the most complete description available of the Pereshchepino treasure in the article "Bessarabskaya nakhodka drevnostei 1912 g." [The Bessarabian Find of Antiquities in 1912] by A. Bobrinski with phototypes and text by E. von Stern.

*Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus] (hereafter cited as *MAK*) was edited by P. Uvarova beginning with Volume I (Moscow, 1886) and continuing through Volume XIX (Moscow, 1916). The publication was of the same format and in as sumptuous a form as *MAR*.

*Materialy po arkheologii vostochnykh gubernii Rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Eastern Provinces of Russia] was published in three volumes similar to the others mentioned.

The *Otchoty IAK* appeared annually from 1859 in quarto volumes with many illustrations. The reports for 1882-88, however, were issued in one volume (St. Petersburg, 1891). The last report (for 1913-1915) was issued in Petrograd in 1918.

The *Izvestiya IAK* appeared irregularly, a few issues per year, in a sumptuous quarto format with photographs. From 1901 through 1918 a total of 65 numbers were issued. The *Izvestiya IAK* published information on excavations, accidental finds, and so on. The *Dopolneniya k IAK* [Supplements to the News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] contained reports on minor excavations, archaeological notices, and so forth. The permanent editor of the *Izvestiya IAK* and the *Dopolneniya* was A. Spitsyn, who published in them many of his own articles, notices, archaeological news items and notes.

46. The archaeological congresses were held as follows: the Ist in 1869, the IInd in 1872, both in Moscow; the IIIRD in 1874 in Kiev; the IVth in 1877 in Kazan'; the Vth in 1881 in Tbilisi; the VIth in 1884 in Odessa; the VIIth in 1887 in Yaroslavl'; the VIIIth in 1890 in Moscow; the IXth in 1893 in Vilna; the Xth in 1896 in Tbilisi; the XIth in 1899 in Kiev; the XIIth in 1902 in Khar'kov; the XIIIth in 1905 in Yekaterinoslav; the XIVth in 1908 in Chernigov; and the XVth in 1911 in Novgorod. The XVIth was to have taken place in 1914 in Pskov, but did not, owing to the outbreak of the war. The XVIth congress was held in 1926 in Kerch', and the XVIIth in 1927 in Kherson.

Valuable data on field archaeology, especially in the Ukraine, are to be found in *TAS*, Volumes I and II for the VIth Congress, Odessa, 1886, Volumes I-III for the XIIth Congress, Moscow, 1905, and in Volumes I-III for the XIIIth, Moscow, 1907.

At the archaeological congresses the agenda included not only the presentation of papers by individual archaeologists concerning their works, but also discussion of basic scientific questions, both general and particular, such as the question of whether there had been a Bronze Age in Russia, or the origin of the *kamennye*

*baby* [stone figures]. Such questions were deliberated, material on them was collected, and discussions took place in subsequent congresses. Each congress carried out surveys of the development of the science and offered plans for its further development. The transactions of these congresses, together with *MAK* and the publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission (the *Otchoty*, the *Izvestiya* and the *MAR*) are the basic materials for the study of archaeology in Russia and are the pride of Russian archaeology, for they have no parallel in the European science of that time.

47. *Zapiski odeskskovo obshchestva istorii i drevnosti* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity], beginning with Vol. I, 1849, Odessa.
48. For the most complete description of Samokvasov's works see *Mogily russkoi zemli; Opisanie arkheologicheskikh raskopok i sobraniya drevnostei Prof. D. Samokvasova* [The Graves of Russia; A Description of the Archaeological Excavations and the Antiquities Collections of Professor D. Samokvasov]. The periodization proposed by Samokvasov was first published in *Osnovaniya khronologicheskoi klassifikatsii i katalog kollektsii drevnostei Prof. D. Samokvasova* [Principles of Chronological Classification and Catalogue of the Antiquities Collection of Professor D. Samokvasov], Warsaw, 1892.
49. Antonovich, V., "Arkheologicheskaya karta Volynskoi gubernii" [Archaeological Map of Volyn Guberniya], *TAS*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1901. See also "Arkheologicheskaya karta Kievskoi gubernii" [Archaeological Map of Kiev Guberniya], *ibid.*, and the supplement to *Drevnosti; Trudy moskovskovo arkheologicheskovo obshchestva* [Antiquities; Transactions of the Moscow Archaeological Society], Fasc. XV, Moscow, 1895, p. 30. Still another example of his work is "Drevnosti yugo-zapadnovo kraia; raskopki v strane Drevlyan" [Antiquities of the Southwest Region; Excavations in the Land of the Drevlyans], *MAR*, Vol. XI, St. Petersburg, 1892.
50. Brandenburg, N., "Kurgany yuzhnovo Priladozh'ya" [Kurgans on the Southern Shores of Lake Ladoga], *MAR*, XVIII, St. Petersburg, 1895; see also "Zhurnal raskopok" [Diary of Excavations], St. Petersburg, 1908.
51. Tizengausen, V., "Raskopki kurganov u st. N. Chirskoi, Aksaiskoi, N. Gnilovskoi i u Novocherkasska" [Excavations of Kurgans in the Chirskaya, Aksaiskaya, N. Gnilovskaya Stanitsy and in Novocherkassk], *Otchet IAK* for 1865, St. Petersburg, 1867. Yastrebov,

- V., "Opyt topograficheskovo obozreniya drevnostei Khersonskoi gubernii" [An Attempt at a Topographical Survey of the Antiquities of Kherson Guberniya], *Zapiski odesskovo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities], XVII, Odessa, 1894.
52. Anuchin, D., ed., *Antropologicheskaya vystavka* [Anthropological Exhibition], Vols. I-III, Moscow, 1878-1879. "O kul'ture kostromskikh kurganov" [On the Culture of the Kostroma Kurgans], *MAR*, II, 1896.
  53. Ivanovski, A., "Kurgany S. Peterburgskoi gubernii" [Kurgans of St. Petersburg Guberniya], *MAR*, XX, St. Petersburg, 1896. "Po Zakavkaz'yu: Arkheologicheskiye raskopki i issledovaniya 1893, 1894 i 1896 gg." [Archaeological Excavations and Investigations in the Trans-Caucasus Region in 1893, 1894 and 1896], *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus], VI, Moscow, 1911.
  54. Sizov, V., *Kurgany Smolenskoi gubernii* [Kurgans of Smolensk Guberniya], Fasc. I, "Gnyozdovskii mogil'nik bliz Smolenska" [The Gnezdoovo Sepulchre Near Smolensk], *MAR*, Vol. XXVIII, St. Petersburg, 1902; "Dlinnye kurgany v Smolenskoi gubernii" [The Long Kurgans in Smolensk Guberniya], *TAS* XI, Vol. I. See also studies in *MAK*, II, and *TAS* VI, Vol. IV; *TAS* IX, Vol. II.
  55. Gamchenko, V., "Raskopki v basseine r. Sluchi" [Excavations in the Slucha River Basin], *TAS* XI, Vol. I. Gamchenko published many other studies in various publications, up to an article in *Zapiski VUAK*, Vol. I, Kiev, 1931. They are all in the nature of reports and descriptive works.
  56. Bobrinski, A., *Kurgany i sluchainye arkheologicheskiye nakhodki bliz m. Smely Kievskoi gub.* [Kurgans and Accidental Archaeological Finds at the Smely Site in Kiev Guberniya], St. Petersburg, Vol. I, 1887, Vol. II, 1889, Vol. III, 1891, with numerous illustrations. For accounts of the excavations in Kiev Guberniya in 1901-1912 see *Izvestiya IAK*, Nos. 4, 14, 17, 20, 35, 40, 49, and 54. See also *Pereshchepinskii klad* [The Pereshchepino Treasure], *MAR* Vol. XXXIV, St. Petersburg, 1914.
  57. Ivanovski A., *MAK*, Vol. VI, Moscow, 1911; Ressler, E., "O ras-kopkakh v Erivanskoi i Yelizavetpol'skoi gub. za 1901-1903 gg." [Regarding the Excavations in the Erivan and Yelisavetpol' Gubernii in 1901-1903], *Otchet IAK* for 1901, St. Petersburg, 1903 and for 1903, St. Petersburg, 1906; see also *Izvestiya IAK*, Vol. XII, St. Petersburg, 1904.

58. For excavations on the Kuban' see Veselovski, N., "Kurgany Kubanskoi oblasti v period rimskovo vladychestva na severnom Kavkaze" [Kurgans in the Kuban' Oblast in the Period of Roman Rule in the Northern Caucasus], *TAS* XI, Vol. I. See also *Otchot IAK* for 1912, St. Petersburg, 1916; for 1902, St. Petersburg, 1904; for 1897, St. Petersburg, 1900; for 1898, St. Petersburg, 1901; and for 1901, St. Petersburg, 1903.
59. Iuozrantsev, A., *Doistoricheskii chelovek kamennovo veka po berezh'ya Ladozhskovo ozero* [Prehistoric Man of the Stone Age on the Shore of Lake Ladoga], St. Petersburg, 1882.
60. The classification of the southern Russian Bronze Age into separate cultures was first set by V. Gorodtsov at the Twelfth Archaeological Congress in Khar'kov in 1902 and in a report at the Thirteenth Congress in Yekaterinoslav in 1905. Gorodtsov wrote many studies, articles and notes. The most important is his *Arkheologiya* [Archaeology], Vol. I, *Kamennyi Period* [The Stone Age], Moscow, 1923. He also completed work on the second volume, *Bronzovyi Vek* [The Bronze Age] of the *Arkheologiya* but could not get it published because it did not meet the changed demands on science made by the Soviets. The preliminary sketches of the second volume were published in the *Otchot gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo museya v Moskve* [Report of the State Historical Museum in Moscow], Moscow, 1914, and in a separate publication in 1916. The outline of the work in its definitive form was published under the title "Bronzovyi period v SSSR" [The Bronze Age in the U.S.S.R.] in *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Vol. VII, col. 621, Moscow, 1927. This was the first attempt in Russian archaeology to give a systematic survey of the development of the Bronze Age culture in Russia, with an indication of the distribution of cultures on a map. But the complete monograph on this theme was never published. The material on Gorodtsov's excavations in the Izum and Bakhmut districts is valuable as a source on the Bronze Age culture; these data were published in the form of reports in *TAS* XII and XII.
61. Spitsyn published a number of notices and other materials from 1895 to 1927 in *Izvestiya IAK* and the *Zapiski russkovo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* [Notes of the Russian Archaeological Society] (hereafter cited as *Zapiski RAO*). He wrote almost no studies in which he formed generalized concepts or made conclusions. His few attempts in this direction were of no significance for the development of Russian archaeology (See his "Kurgany



- s okhrashennymi kostyakami" [Kurgans with Painted Skeletons], *Zapiski RAO*, Vol. IX, fasc. 1-2, St. Petersburg, 1899.
62. Miller's reports on the excavations and investigations of the kurgans and ruins of the city of Yelisavetskoye at the mouth of the Don were published in *Otchot IAK* for 1908, St. Petersburg, 1912; for 1909-10, St. Petersburg, 1913; for 1913-15, Petrograd, 1918; and in *Izvestiya IAK*, Fasc. 35, St. Petersburg, 1910, Fasc. 56, St. Petersburg, 1914, and in *TAS XII*.
  63. The basic publications by N. Repnikov on the excavations of the tombs of the Crimean Goths are the following: "Nekotoriye mogil'niki oblasti krymskikh Gotov" [Several Sepulchres in the District of the Crimean Goths], *Zapiski odesskovo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity] XXVII, Odessa, 1907, and "Raskopki Suuk-Su" [The Excavations at Suuk-Su], *Otchot IAK* for 1904, St. Petersburg, 1907.
  64. Makarenko published many articles and reports in various Russian and Ukrainian publications from 1903 to 1935. One of his most important works is *Mariupil'ski mogil'nik* [The Mariupol' Sepulchre] (in Ukrainian), Kiev, 1933. The same study, somewhat abridged, is available in English in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 9, Helsinki, 1935.
  65. Babenko published reports on his excavations in Saltovo in "Drevne-Saltovskiye Pridonetskiye okrainy" [The Donets Environs of the Ancient Saltovo Culture], *TAS XII*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1905, and in *Rozpovsyuzhdennya starodavn'oi Saltivs'koi ta skhozhykh na nei Kul'tur* [Diffusion of the Saltovo and Similar Cultures], Khar'kov, 1926 (in Ukrainian). Spitsyn also wrote about the Saltovo culture in "Istoriko-arkheologicheskiye izyskaniya: Iskonnye obitateli Dona i Dontsa" [Historical and Archaeological Investigations: The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Don and the Donets], *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnovo Prosveshcheniya* [Journal of the Ministry of Education], Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1909. See also Got'ye, Yu., "Kto byli obitateli V. Saltova" [Who were the Inhabitants of Verkhneye Saltovo?], *Izvestiya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [News of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture], (hereafter cited as *Izvestiya GAIMK*), 5, Leningrad, 1927.
  66. Von Stern, E., "K voprosu o vozdeistvii antichnoi kul'tury na oblasti raspolozhennye vne raiona drevnikh poselenii na sev. poberezh'ye Chernovo morya" [Regarding the Influence of Ancient Culture in Areas Located Outside of Ancient Settlements

- on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea], *Zapiski odesskovo obshchestva istorii i drevnosti* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity], Vol. XXIII, 1901. See also his "Doistoricheskaya grecheskaya kul'tura na yuge Rossii" [Prehistoric Greek Culture in the South of Russia], *TAS* XIII, Vol. I, Moscow, 1907; and "Bessarabskaya nakhodka drevnostei 1912 g." [The Bessarabian Find of Antiquities in 1912], *MAR* 34, St. Petersburg, 1914.
67. Accounts of Shkorpil's excavations are contained in every number of *Otchoty IAK*, including the last issue in 1915.
  68. Khvoika, V., "Polya pogrebal'nykh urn v srednem podneprov'ye" [Fields of Burial Urns in the Region of the Middle Dnepr], *Zapiski RAO*, Vol. XII, Fasc. 1-2, St. Petersburg, 1901; *Drevnye obitateli srednovo podneprov'ya i ikh kul'tura v doistoricheskiiye vremena* [The Ancient Inhabitants of the Middle Dnepr Region and Their Culture in Prehistoric Times], Kiev, 1913; "Raskopki v oblasti Tripol'skoi kul'tury v 1901 g." [Excavations in the Area of the Tripol'ye Culture in 1901], *Zapiski RAO*, Vol. V, Fasc. 2; "Kiyev-kirillovskaya paleoliticheskaya stoyanka i kul'tura epokhi Madlen" [The Kiev-Kirillov Paleolithic Site and the Culture of the Magdalenian Epoch], *Arkheologicheskaya letopis' yuzhnoi Rossii* [Archaeological Chronicle of Southern Russia] I, Kiev, 1903.
  69. Of Rostovtsev's works prior to the Revolution the following were of the greatest importance: *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na yuge Rossii* [Hellenism and Iranian Culture in the South of Russia], St. Petersburg, 1914; *Antichnaya dekorativnaya zhivopis' na yuge Rossii* [Ancient Decorative Pictorial Arts in the South of Russia], two volumes, text and drawings, St. Petersburg, 1913; "Kurgannye nakhodki Orenburgskoi gubernii epokhi rannevo i pozднеvo ellinizma" [Finds of Kurgans from the Early and Late Hellenistic Epochs in Orenburg Guberniya], *MAR*, 37, Petrograd, 1918.
  70. In addition to those published in the work cited above, footnote 30 (*Inscriptiones antiquae . . .*), inscriptions from the Black Sea region were published by Latyshev in *MAR*, 23, St. Petersburg, 1889; in *Sbornik grecheskikh nadpisei khristianskikh vremyon iz yuzhnoi Rossii* [Compilation of Greek Inscriptions from Christian Times in South Russia], St. Petersburg, 1896; and in *Izvestiya IAK*, 3, 1902, and 14, 1905. Latyshev continued to publish his studies until 1927.
  71. The following works auxiliary to archaeology should also be

- noted: Lappo-Danilevski, "Skifskiye drevnosti" [Scythian Antiquities] *Zapiski RAO*, 4, St. Petersburg, 1887, and Rostovtsev, M., *Skifia i Bosfor* [Scythia and the Bosphorus]. This work was published by the State Academy for the History of Material Culture in Leningrad in 1925, although it was written before the Revolution. See also Minns, E., *The Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1914.
72. Tolstoi, I., and N. Kondakov *Russkiye drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva* [Russian Antiquities in Art Monuments] in six fascicles which appeared from 1889 to 1896. Each fascicle was devoted to a particular epoch: I, *Klassicheskiye drevnosti yuzhnoi Rossii* [Classical Antiquities of South Russia]; II, *Drevnosti skifo-sarmatskiye* [Scythian-Sarmatian Antiquities]; III, *Drevnosti vremyon pereseleniya narodov* [Antiquities from the Time of the Migration of Peoples]; IV, *Slavyanskiye drevnosti* [Slavic Antiquities], and so forth.
  73. See footnote 60.
  74. *Katalog sobraniya drevnostei A. Uvarova, po kurganym raspkopkam* [Catalogue of A. Uvarov's Collections of Antiquities, on Excavations of Kurgans], Vol. I, Moscow, 1887.
  75. *Katalog kollektsii ukrainskikh drevnostei V. Tarnoskovo* [Catalogue of V. Tarnovski's Collection of Ukrainian Antiquities], Kiev, 1898, preface by V. Antonovich, text by N. Belyashevski. The collection deals mainly with remains from Cossack times, although there is also a small amount of archaeological material.
  76. Khanenko, B. I. and V. N. Khanenko, *Kollektsiya drevnosti Pridneprov'ya*, [Collection of Antiquities of the Dnepr Region], Fasc. I, *Kamenniy i bronzoviy veka* [The Stone and Bronze Ages], Kiev, 1899; Fasc. II-III, *Epokha predshestvuyushchaya velikomu pereseleniyu narodov* [The Era Preceding the Great Migration of Peoples], Kiev, 1899, and Part II, Kiev 1900; Fasc. IV, *Epokha velikovo pereseleniya narodov* [The Era of the Great Migration of Peoples], Kiev, 1901; and Fasc. V, *Epokha slavyanskaya (VIII-XIII vv.)* [The Slavic Era (Eighth to Thirteenth centuries)], Kiev, 1902. Bogdan Ivanovich Khanenko, a very wealthy man and a well-known art patron, collected a fairly large and valuable collection of antiquities, which he described in a beautiful publication with phototype illustrations. The text for the catalogues was written by V. Antonovich. Although the text is now somewhat obsolete, the illustrated and descriptive parts of the series are still of great

value. In addition to the publications mentioned, the catalogues of archaeological exhibitions presented at the archaeological congresses, as well as the catalogues of the larger central and provincial museums, are of importance in making a survey of archaeological material.

## Part II

77. For local periodicals which contained archaeological material see the following: *Byulleten' tsentral'novo byuro krayevedeniya* [Bulletin of the Central Bureau of Regional Studies] and *Moskovskii krayeved* [Moscow Regionalist], both published in Moscow; *Sborniki Rzhevskovo obshchestva krayevedeniya* [Compilations of the Rzhev Society of Regional Studies] in Rzhev; *Izvestiya Ivanovo-Voznesenskovo obshchestva krayevedeniya* [News of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Society of Regional Studies], Perm; *Permkiye krayevedcheskiye sborniki* [Perm Regional Studies Compilations], Perm; *Trudy Mologskovo obshchestva izucheniya mestnogo kraya* [Transactions of the Mologa Society for the Study of the Local Region], Mologa; *Vestnik Ryazanskikh krayevedov* [Herald of the Ryazan' Regionalists], Ryazan'; *Voronezhskiy krayevedcheskiy sbornik* [Voronezh Regional Studies Compilations], Voronezh; *Drevnosti Izyumshchiny* [The Antiquities of the Izyum Region], Izyum; *Trudy Nizhne-Volzhskogo obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii* [Transactions of the Lower Volga Oblast Scientific Society of Regional Studies] and *Nizhneye-Povolzh'ye* [The Lower Volga Region], Saratov; *Zapiski Severo-kavkazskogo obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii* [Notes of the North Caucasian Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography]; *Byulleten' Severokavkazskogo byuro krayevedeniya* [Bulletin of the North Caucasian Bureau of Regional Studies]; *Sovetskoye krayevedeniya v Azovo-Chernomorskom kraye* [Soviet Regional Studies in the Azov and Black Sea Regions]; *Drevnosti: Trudy Rostovskogo n/D. oblastnogo muzeya* [Antiquities: Transactions of the Rostov-on-the-Don Oblast Museum], Rostov; *Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obshchestva istorii, arkheologii i etnografii* [News of the Tauric Society of History, Archaeology and Ethnography], Simferopol'; *Letopis arkheologicheskogo muzeya* [Chronicle of the Archaeological Museum], Kherson; and *Izvestiya obshchestva issledovaniya i izucheniya Azerbaidzhana* [News of the Society for the Investigation and Study of Azerbaidzhan], Baku.

Archaeological material was also contained in the various periodicals entitled *Izvestiya arkhivnykh uchonykh komissii* [News of the Archival Learned Commissions], published wherever these commissions were kept intact from prerevolutionary times into the NEP period (in Stavropol', Simferopol' and other cities). The *Uchonye trudy* [Learned Transactions] and *Zapiski* [Notes] of the provincial universities and pedagogical institutes also contained archaeological material.

78. For works by Gorodtsov which propound the typological method (apart from his typological tables) see *Tipologicheskii metod v arkheologii* [The Typological Method in Archaeology], Ryazan', 1927, and *Arkheologicheskaya klassifikatsiya* [Archaeological Classification].
79. Bogayevski, V., *Rakovina v raspisnoi keramike Kitaya, Krita i Miken* [Shells in the Decorated Ceramics of China, Crete, and Mycenae], Leningrad, 1924.
80. Miller, A. *Arkheologicheskiye razvedki* [Archaeological Explorations], Leningrad, 1935 (the work was written in 1932).
81. The following studies could serve as examples of this approach: Luk'yanov and Grinevich, "Kerchenskaya Kal'pida 1906 g." [The Urn of Kerch' in 1906], *MAR*, 36, Petrograd, 1918; M. Artamonov on the ancient Russian ikon in *Sbornik aspirantov gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Symposium by the Candidates of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture], I, 1929; A. Bashkirov, "Derevyannye dveri dagestanskovo aula Kara-Koreish" [Wooden Doors of the Daghestan Aul (Hamlet) of Kara-Koreish], *Trudy seksii arkheologii RANION* [Transactions of the Archaeology Section of RANION], II, Moscow, 1928.
82. Tan (Bogoraz), *Teoriya kul'turnykh krugov* [Theory of Cultural Spheres], Leningrad, 1926.
83. Zhebelyov, S. *Vvedeniye v arkheologiyu* [Introduction to Archaeology], Vol. I, *Istoriya arkheologicheskovo znaniya* [History of Archaeological Learning], Petrograd, 1923, Vol. II, *Teoriya i praktika arkheologicheskovo znaniya* [The Theory and Practice of Archaeological Learning], Petrograd 1923; Nikol'ski, V., *Ocherk pervobytnoi kul'tury* [An Outline of Primitive Culture], Moscow, 1925.
84. The works of the Soviet archaeologists were issued abroad in separate publications and in the following journals: *Philologische Wochenschrift*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, *Antropologischer Anzeiger*, *Archeologia Hungarica*,

*Encyclopedia of Islam*, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *F.U.F. Anzeiger*, *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, *Revue anthropologique*, and others in France, England, U.S.A., Sweden, Finland, Hungary, and especially Germany.

85. Golomshtok, E. A., *The Old Stone Age in European Russia*, Philadelphia, 1938. Tallgren, A., *La Pontide préscythique après l'introduction des métaux*, (*Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, No. 2), Helsinki, 1926. Minns, E., "The Scythians and the Northern Nomads," *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 1925. Ebert, M., *Südrussland im Altertum*, Berlin, 1921 and in somewhat revised form in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII, Berlin, 1929. The following scholars, among others, were interested in the question of Russian archaeology and published surveys or articles on individual questions: Field, A. Bruckner, I. Brutkuss, B. von Richthofen, T. Arne, A. Salmony, A. Alföldi, G. Childe, G. Merhart, I. Bryk, M. Burkitt, N. Cleve, F. Hančar.
86. Rostovtsev, M., *Skifiya i Bosfor* [Scythia and the Bosphorus], GAIMK, Leningrad, 1924.
87. "Zhebelyov," *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Moscow, Vol. XXIV, 1932, col. 655.
88. *Izvestiya rossiiskoi akademii istorii material'noi kultury* [News of the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture] (hereafter cited as *Izvestiya RAIMK*), Vol. I, 1921, Vol. II, 1922; *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Vol. III, 1924, Vol. IV, 1925, Vol. V, 1927; *Soobshcheniya GAIMK*, Vol. I, 1926, Vol. II, 1929..
89. Besides the works cited in notes 83 and 86, see also Buzeskul, V., *Otkrytiya XIX i nachala XX vv. v oblasti istorii drevnevo mira* [Discoveries in the Field of the History of the Ancient World in the Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries], Vol. I, *Vostok* [The Orient], Petrograd, 1922, and Vol. II, *Drevne-grecheskii mir* [The Ancient Greek World], Leningrad, 1924. Buzeskul, V., "Studiyuvannya starodavnostey Pivnichno-Chernomors'kho nadberezhzhya i ikhnya vaha z pohlyadu grets'koi ta svitovoi istorii" [Study of the Ancient Northern Shore of the Black Sea and its Importance in the Light of Greek and World History] *Yubileynyi zbirnyk na poshanu Akad. D. Bahalyi* [Anniversary Album in Honor of Academician D. Bahalyi], All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1927 (in Ukrainian). Buzeskul, V., "Otkrytiya i nauchnye dostizheniya za posledniye gody v oblasti izucheniya drevnevo vostoka" [Discoveries and Achievements of Science in the Field of the Study of the Ancient

- East in Recent Years], *Shhidnyi svit* [Eastern World], 1927, No. 1. Gorodtsov, V., "Bronzovy period v SSSR" [The Bronze Age in the U.S.S.R.], *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], Vol. VII, Moscow, 1927, col. 621. Yefimenko, P., "Melkiye kremnevye orudiya geometricheskikh i inykh svoeobraznykh ochertanii v russkikh stoyankakh ranne-neoliticheskovo vozrasta" [Small Flint Tools in Geometric and Other Characteristic Designs in Russian Sites of the Early Neolithic Period], *Russkii antropologicheskii zhurnal* [Russian Anthropological Journal], 1924, Fasc. 3. Zhukov, B., *Proiskhozhdeniye cheloveka* [The Origin of Man], Moscow, 1925; see also several works by M. Rudinski.
90. Osborn, H. F., *Men of the Old Stone Age*, New York, 1915; Russian edition, Leningrad, 1924. Hoernes, M., *Kultur der Urzeit*, Vol. I, *Steinzeit*, Vol. II, *Bronzezeit*, Vol. III, *Eisenzeit*, Berlin, Goeschel Bibliothek, 1922-1924. Morgan, J. de, *L'humanité préhistorique; esquisse de préhistoire générale*, Paris, 1921 ("L'évolution de l'humanité," No. 2); Russian edition, Moscow, 1926. Boas, F., *The Mind of Primitive Man*, New York, 1924; Russian edition, Moscow, 1928. Lévy-Bruhl, L., *La mentalité primitive*, Paris, 1922; Russian edition, Moscow, 1930.
  91. For the methods of archaeological field investigations see Fyodorovski, A., "Instruktsii i programmy arkheologicheskikh razvedok i sbora arkheologicheskikh materialov" [Instructions and Programs for Archaeological Explorations and Collecting of Archaeological Material], *Trudy ekspeditsii dlya izucheniya Izyumskovo kraya* [Transactions of the Expedition for the Study of the Izyum Area], Izyum, 1923; Spitsyn, A., *Razvedki pamyatnikov materialnoi kul'tury* [The Examination of Remains of Material Culture], Leningrad, 1927. These manuals, like some others, are of a popular type and were meant mainly for regionalists and amateurs. The work by A. Miller cited in note 80 (*Arkheologicheskiye razvedki*) is entirely scholarly.
  92. Matsulevich, L., "Konferentsiya arkheologov v Kerchi" [The Conference of Archaeologists in Kerch'], *Soobshcheniya GAIMK*, Vol. I, 1926.
  93. Only the reports of A. Dobrovolski and P. Smolich for the first year of the expedition's work (1927) were published in the *Zbirnyk dnipropetrovs'koho istoryko-arkheologicheskoho muzeyu* [Compilation of the Dnepropetrovsk Historical-Archaeological Museum], Vol. I, Dnepropetrovsk, 1929 (in Ukrainian).

General information on the Paleolithic period in the area above the rapids is given in Yefimenko's *Pervobytnoye obshchestvo; Ocherki po istorii paleoliticheskovo vremeni* [Primitive Society; An Outline of the History of the Paleolithic Period], Moscow, 1953 (3rd edition). For more detailed information see M. Miller's *Paleolit Nadporizhzhya* [The Paleolithic Period of the Region Above the Rapids], Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Augsburg, 1948 (in Ukrainian). All separate publications on the Paleolithic period in the area above the rapids are cited in Miller's publication. The journal kept by M. Miller during 1932 is now deposited in the Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture of Columbia University.

### Part III.

94. *VKP(b) v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK* [The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Part 2, 1924-1933, Moscow, 1933.
95. Ravdonikas, V., "Za sovetskuyu istoriyu material'noi kul'tury" [For a Soviet History of Material Culture], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 3-5, Leningrad, 1930.
96. Ravdonikas, V., "Peshchernye goroda Kryma i gotskaya problema v svyazi s stadial'nym razvitiyem severnovo Prichernomor'ya" [The Cave Communities in the Crimea and the Gothic Question in Connection with the Stage-by-Stage Development of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea], *ibid.*, Vol. XII, Fasc. 1-8 (*Gotskii sbornik* [Gothic Compilation], Leningrad, 1932).
97. Artamonov, M., *Ocherk drevneishei istorii khazar* [An Outline of the Ancient History of the Khazars], Leningrad, 1936.
98. Bykovski, S., "Yafeticheskii predok vostochnykh slavyan-Kimmeritsy" [The Japhetic Ancestor of the Eastern Cimmerian Slavs], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 8-10, Leningrad, 1931.
99. Ravdonikas, V., "Arkheologiya na sluzhbe u imperializma" [Archaeology in the Service of Imperialism], *Soobshcheniya GAIMK*, No. 3-4, Leningrad, 1932. Mosberg, G., "Ob estonskoi burzhuaiznoi istoricheskoi nauke" [On Estonian Bourgeois Historical Science], *Problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv* [Problems of the History of Pre-capitalist Societies] (hereafter cited as *PIDO*), No. 6, 1934.



100. The following articles can serve as examples of political denunciations: Smirnov, I., "Natsionalisticheskaya kontrrevolyutsiya na Ukraine pod maskoi istoricheskoi nauki" (The Nationalist Counterrevolution in the Ukraine Under the Guise of Historical Science), *PIDO*, No. 6, 1934; Mavrodin, V., "Po povodu odnoi novoi teorii o mestopolozhenii Tmutarakani" [Regarding a New Theory of the Location of T'mutarakan'], *PIDO*, No. 9-10, 1935; Trever, K., "Olen' s toskoi vo vzore i melankholicheskaya svin'ya" [The Deer With Longing in Its Eyes and the Melancholy Pig], and many others in the archaeological publications of GAIMK for 1930-1934.
101. There were many Russian-language editions of Engels' work published in various years. For almost each new edition a new translation was made, with new interpretations of German words and expressions, sometimes with significant changes, which in fact reflected the latest positions of the Party on the given question. Engels' work is also included in all editions of the complete works of Marx and Engels. Regarding it see the article by Ye. Krichevski, "K 50-ti letiyu *Proiskhozhdeniya sem'i* . . . Engel'sa" [On the 50th Anniversary of Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*], *PIDO*, No. 9-10, 1934.
102. Morgan, L. H., *Ancient Society*, New York, 1878; Russian edition, Leningrad, 1934; Morgan, *Houses and Home Life of the American Aborigines*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1881; Russian edition, Leningrad, 1934.
103. Weinert, H., *Ursprung der Menschheit*, Stuttgart, 1932; Russian ed. under title *Proiskhozhdeniye chelovechestva* [The Origin of Mankind], Moscow-Leningrad, 1935; see also the works by B. Zhukov (note 89), Boas and Lévy-Bruhl (note 90). Zhukov's work, published in 1925, had been recommended during the NEP era, but it was subsequently condemned as anti-Marxist and was prohibited.
104. *Rodovoye obshchestvo* [Clan Society], a collection of articles edited by A. Matorin, Leningrad, 1931. Immediately after the appearance of this book, almost all the articles in it were condemned and the collection was prohibited. Another collection was then issued, offering concrete material on particular questions and disciplines instead of ideological generalizations and problematic themes (see *Iz istorii rodovogo obshchestva na territorii SSSR* [From the History of Clan Society on the Territory of the U.S.S.R.], GAIMK, 1934, with articles by M. Voyevodski, O. Bader, P. Dmitriyev, A. Zbruyeva, P. Tret'yakov and A. Shmidt). All the authors of this collection (except A. Shmidt)

were Moscow archaeologists, whereas those of the first collection were all from Leningrad. In this case, as in many others, there was rivalry and strife between the two archaeological centers; but while the earlier difficulties were confined to scientific matters, the contention now took on a political character as well.

105. Yefimenko, P., *Dorodovoye obshchestvo* [Pre-clan Society], Leningrad, 1934, and a new editions published by the IIMK under the title *Pervobytnoye obshchestvo* [Primitive Society], Moscow, 1953.

106. The original Russian titles and publication data for the enumerated articles are as follows:

(1) Shmidt, A. and V. Ravdonikas, "O razvitií vzglyadov Marksa na pervobytnoye obshchestvo," *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Vol. IX, Fasc. 5-6, 1932. Previous to this, a study by Shmidt, entitled *O vzglyadakh Marksa-Engel'sa na pervobytnoye obshchestvo* [On the Views of Marx and Engels on Primitive Society] had been published, but it was fiercely criticized and condemned.

(2) Ravdonikas, V., "Marks-Engel's i osnovnye problemy istorii doklassovogo obshchestva," *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Fasc. 81, Leningrad, 1934.

(3) Yefimenko, P., "Marks i problemy drevneishevo perioda doklassovogo obshchestva," *ibid.*

(4) Marr, N., "Marks i problemy yazika," *ibid.*, Fasc. 82, Leningrad, 1934.

(5) Katsnel'son, S., "Voprosy yazykoznaniya v Nemetskoj ideologii Marksa," *ibid.*

(6) Shchegolyov, P., "Ucheniye Marksa o pervonachal'nom nakoplenii," *ibid.* Fasc. 84, Leningrad, 1934.

(7) Kovalyov, S., "Znachenije *Proiskhozhdeniya sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstva* Engel'sa v izuchenii antichnovo obshchestva," *PIDO*, No. 7-8, Leningrad, 1935.

(8) "Teoriya Engel'sa o proiskhozhdenii cheloveka i morfologicheskiye osobennosti kostnykh ostatkov sinantropa," *ibid.*

(9) "Engel's i voprosy razvitiya sotsial'noi organizatsii avstraliskikh plemyon," *ibid.*

(10) Bryusov, A., "Krizis burzhuaanoi arkheologii i poiski novykh putei vslepuyu," *ibid.*, No. 9-10, 1935.

(11) Ravdonikas, V., "O periodizatsii istorii doklassovogo obshchestva," *ibid.*, No. 7-8, 1934.

(12). Lotte, S., "K voprosu ob ispol'zovanii Leninyim opyta bor'by s feodalizmom v Zapadnoi Yevrope," *ibid.*, No. 2, 1934.

(13) Smirnov, N., "Lenin i problema samoderzhaviya v Ros-

sii," *ibid.*, No. 1, 1934. See also Prigozhin, A., "Lenin i osnovnye problemy dokapitalisticheskikh formatsii" [Lenin and the Basic Problems of Pre-Capitalist Formations], and Krichevski, Ye., "Lenin i problema rodovogo stroya" [Lenin and the Problem of the Clan Structure], in *PIDO*, No. 1, 1934.

(14) Ravdonikas, V., "K voprosu o dialektike razvitiya doklassovo obshchestva," *ibid.*, No. 2, 1934.

(15) Zhebelyov, S., "Istochniki izucheniya vostanii v drevnem mire," *ibid.*, No. 9-10, 1934.

(16) Rozenberg, A., "K 400-letiyu Myunsterskoi kommuny," *ibid.*, No. 5, 1935.

107. The original Russian titles and the publication data for the articles enumerated are as follows:

(1) "17-i s"yezd partii i zadachi istorikov dokapitalisticheskikh formatsii," *PIDO*, No. 2, 1934.

(2) "50-ti letiye Proiskhozhdeniya sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstva," *ibid.*, No. 3, 1934.

(3.) Krichevski, Ye., "S. Kirov," *ibid.*, No. 9-10, 1934.

(4) "Postanovleniye SNK Soyuza SSR i TsK VKP(b) o prepodovanii grazhdanskoi istorii v shkolakh SSSR," *ibid.*, No. 11-12, 1934.

(5) "Zadachi istorikov v svete postanovlenii Tsk VKP(b) i SNK ot 16.5.34 g.," *ibid.*, No. 6, 1934.

(6) "Za kachestvo raboty sovetskikh istorikov," *ibid.*, No. 5, 1934.

108. *Marks i Engel's ob antichnosti* [Marx and Engels on Antiquity], GAIMK, 1932 and *Marks, Engel's, Lenin, Stalin o pervobytnom obshchestve* [Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin on Primitive Society], edited and with an introductory essay by A. Prigozhin, GAIMK, 1935. The latter publication was issued in January 1935, and distributed to the participants in the plenum of the GAIMK. Examining the book, I noticed the absence of two half-quires at the end; it was explained to me that they contained some statements by Lenin which at the moment of the publication of the book were obsolete and contradictory to the general line of the Party. Therefore, after the book was printed, but before it was put into circulation, these pages were cut out.

109. The collection *Karl Marks i problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh formatsii* [Karl Marx and the Problems of the History of Pre-Capitalist Formations] in *Izvestiya GAIMK*, No. 90, 1934.

110. *PIDO*, No. 11-12, 1935.

111. "Raboty GAIMK na novostroikakh v 1932-1933 gg." [The Work

- of GAIMK at the New Construction Sites in 1932-1933], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, Vol. I, Fasc. 109, Leningrad, 1935. Meshchaninov, I., "Arkheologicheskiye raboty na novostroikakh" [Archaeological Work at the New Construction Sites], *PIDO*, No. 5, 1934. Artsikhovski, A., "Arkheologicheskiye raboty na Metrostroye" [Archaeological Work at the Subway Construction Site], *PIDO*, No. 5, 1934.
112. Yefimenko, P., "Znachenie zhenshchiny v Orin'yakskuyu epokhu" [The Significance of Woman in the Aurignacian Epoch], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, XI, Leningrad, 1933; see also his works cited in notes 105 and the third title in note 106. Yefimenko's efforts at a Marxist analysis of archaeological phenomena made it possible for him to publish archaeological material without sociological interpretation, for example: "Zhilishche epokhi bronzы, otkrytoye na poime Dona v okrestnostyakh s. Kostenki" [A Bronze Age Habitation Discovered on the Don Floodlands in the Vicinity of the Kostenki Site], *PIDO*, No. 5, 1934; "Itogi rabot v Kostenkakh v 1933" [The Results of Work in Kostenki in 1933], *ibid.*, No. 4, 1934.
113. See, e.g., Gorodtsov, V., "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskii stroi drevnikh obitatelei Timonovskoi paleoliticheskoi stoyanki" [The Socio-economic Organization of the Ancient Inhabitants of the Timonovka Paleolithic Site], *SA*, No. 3, 1936.
114. Tallgren, A., "Archaeological Studies in Soviet Russia," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, X, Helsinki, 1936.
115. *PIDO*, No. 1, 1934.
116. Kuftin, B., *Arkheologicheskiye raskopki v Trialeti* [Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti], Vol. I, Tbilisi, 1941.

#### Part IV.

117. *Politslovar'* [Political Dictionary], Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1940.
118. Stalin, *Sochineniya* [Works], Moscow, Gospolitizdat, Vol. XIII, 1951, p. 306.
119. Khudyakov, M., *Dorevolutsionnaya russkaya arkheologiya na sluzhbe ekspluatatorskikh klassov* [Prerevolutionary Russian Archaeology in the Service of the Exploiting Classes], Biblioteka GAIMK, No. 13, 1933.
120. "Stareishii russkii arkheolog Vasili Alekseyevich Gorodtsov" [The Senior Russian Archaeologist Vasili Alekseyevich Gorodtsov],

*Kratkiye Soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevikh izyskaniyakh IIMK* [Brief Communications on Reports and Field Investigations of the IIMK] (hereafter cited as *Kratkiye Soobshcheniya IIMK*), 5, 1940.

121. Previously there had been only two works in Soviet literature devoted to the origin of the Eastern Slavs: Artsikhovski, A., *Kurgany Vyatichei* [The Kurgans of the Vyaticians], RANION, Moscow, 1930, and Rybakov, B., *Radzimichy* [The Radimichians], *Pratsy BAN* [Transactions of the Academy of Sciences of the Byelorussian S.S.R.], published by the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History, Vol. III, Minsk, 1932 (in Byelorussian). During the period 1935-1941 a large number of works on Slavic and ancient Russian archaeology appeared. The following are among the more interesting: Tret'yakov, P., "Rasseleniye drevne-russkikh plemyon po arkheologicheskim dannym" [The Diffusion of the Ancient Russian Tribes According to Archaeological Data], *SA*, 4, 1937; Tret'yakov, "Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki vostochno-slavyanskikh plemyon v svyazi s problemoyu etnogenezisa [Archaeological Remains of the Eastern Slavic Tribes in Connection With the Problem of Ethnogeny], *Kratkiye Soobshcheniya IIMK*, 2, 1939; Tret'yakov, "Nekotorye voprosy etnogenezisa vostochnykh slavyan" [Some Problems of the Ethnogeny of the Eastern Slavs], *ibid.*, 5, 1940; Rybakov, B., "Anty i Kievskaya Rus'" [The Antae and Kievan Rus'], *Vestnik drevnei istorii* [Journal of Ancient History], (hereafter cited as *VDI*), I, 1939; Artamonov, M., "Spornye voprosy drevneishei istorii slavyan i Rusi" [Controversial Questions on the Ancient History of the Slavs and Rus'], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 6, 1940; Artsikhovski, A., "V zashchitu letopisi i kurganov" [For the Protection of Chronicles and Kurgans], *SA* 4, 1937; Mavrodin, V., "Slavyano-russkoye naseleniye Nizhnevo Dona i Severnovo Kavkaza v 10-14 vv." [The Slavic-Russian Population of the Lower Don and Northern Caucasus in the Tenth to the Fourteenth Centuries], *Uchonye zapiski pedagogicheskovo instituta im. Gertsena* [Scientific Records of the Herzen Pedagogical Institute], Vol. II, Leningrad, 1939 (see the review of this work in *VDI*, No. 1 (10), Moscow, 1940); Lyapushkin, I., "Slavyansko-russkiye poseleniya 9-12 vv. na Donu i Tamani po arkheologicheskim pamyatnikam" [The Slavic-Russian Settlements of the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries on the Don and the Taman' Peninsula According to Archaeological Remains], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 6, 1940; Voronin,

N., "K itogam i zadacham arkheologicheskovo izucheniya drevne-russkovo goroda" [On the Results and Tasks of the Study of the Ancient Russian City], *ibid.*, 12, 1944; Karger, M., "Ryurikovo gorodishche" [The Site of Rurik's City] in *Arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya v RSFSR v 1934-1936 gg.* [Archaeological Explorations in the R.S.F.S.R. in 1934-1936], I, IIMK, 1941; Karger, "Dofeodal'nyi period istorii Kiyeva po arkheologicheskim dannym" [The Prefeudal Period in the History of Kiev According to Archaeological Data], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, I, 1939.

In connection with the new "patriotic" tasks given to Soviet archaeology after 1935 and the intensification of excavations of Slavic-Russian settlements, many studies were conducted in ancient towns such as Novgorod, Pskov, Kiev, Ryazan' and Moscow. A large number of works and descriptions in the form of reports were published in connection with this activity; among the main authors were A. Artsikhovski, N. Voronin, M. Karger, and N. Chernyagin.

122. See Yefimenko, P., *Dorodovoye obshchestvo* [Pre-clan Society], *op. cit.*; Yefimenko, "Selo Kostenki 1934-1936 gg." [The Village of Kostenki, 1934-1936], *Arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya v RSFSR v 1934-1936 gg.*, IIMK, 1941; and Yefimenko, "Znachenie zhenshchiny v Orin'yakskuyu epokhu," *op. cit.*
123. Ravdonikas, V., *Naskaľnye izobrazheniya Byelovo morya* [Rock Drawings of the White Sea Area], U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, 1938; Ravdonikas, "Neoliticheskii mogil'nik na Onezhskom ozere" [A Neolithic Sepulchre at Lake Onega], *SA*, No. 6, 1940.
124. Krichevski, Ye., "Mesolit i Neolit Yevropy" [The Mesolithic and Neolithic Periods of Europe], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 4, 1940; Krichevski, "Osnovnye problemy ukrainskovo neolita" [Basic Problems of the Ukrainian Neolithic Period], a paper read at the Fourth Conference on the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age of the Ukraine held in Kiev, Vol. I, 1941.
125. Iyessen, A., "K voprosu o drevneishei metalurgii medi na Kavkaze" [On the Question of the Earliest Copper Metallurgy in the Caucasus], *ibid.*, 110, 1935.
126. Degen-Kovalevski, B., "K istorii zheleznovo proizvodstva Zakavkaz'ya" [On the History of the Iron Production of Transcaucasia], *ibid.*, 120, 1935.
127. Piotrovski, B., *Urartu*, Leningrad, 1939; Piotrovski, *Istoriya i kul'tura Urartu* [The History and Culture of Urartu], Erevan, 1944.

128. Boriskovski, P., "Paleoliticheskaya stoyanka Pushkari I" [The Paleolithic Site Pushkari I], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 2, 1939.
129. Kruglov, A., "Arkheologicheskiye raboty na severnom Kavkaze" [Archaeological Works in the Northern Caucasus], *ibid.*, 5, 1940.
130. Podgayetski, Yu., "Poseleniya epokhi bronzy na Srednom Donu" [Bronze Age Settlements on the Middle Don], *ibid.*, 2, 1939.
131. Zamyatnin, S., "Raskopki u Gagarina" [Excavations at Gagarino] in *Paleolit SSSR* [The Paleolithic Period in the U.S.S.R.], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 118, 1935; *idem.*, "Peshchernye navesy Mgvimevi bliz Chiatur" [The Mgvimevi Cave Dwellings near Chiaturs], *SA*, 3, 1937; *idem.*, "Pervaya nakhodka paleolita v doline Seima" [The First Paleolithic Find in the Seim Valley], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 8, 1940.
132. Bonch-Osmolovski, G., *Paleolit Kryma* [The Paleolithic Period of the Crimea], Moscow, 1939; see also his "Kist' iskopayemovo cheloveka iz grota Kiik-Koba i yego znachenie v probleme etnogenezya" [The Hand of an Excavated Man in the Kiik-Koba Grotto and its Importance for the Problem of Ethnogeny], *ibid.*, 2, 1939.
133. Bibikov, S., "Peshchernye paleoliticheskiye stoyanki basseina R. Yuryuzany (Yuzhnyi Ural)" [The Paleolithic Cave Sites in the Basin of the Yuryuzan' River (Southern Urals)], *ibid.*, 3, 1940.
134. Prokoshev, N., "Zhilishcha epokhi bronzy v Permskom Prikam'ye" [Bronze Age Settlements Along the Kama near Perm], *ibid.*, 2, 1939; *idem.*, "K voprosu o neoliticheskikh pamyatnikakh Kamskovo Priural'ya" [On the Problem of the Neolithic Remains in the Urals Region near the Kama], *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* [Materials and Studies on the Archaeology of the U.S.S.R.] (hereafter cited as *MIA*), I, 1940.
135. Lyapushkin, I., "Raskopki pravoberezhnoye Tsimlyanskoye gorodishche" [Excavations on the Right Bank of the Tsimlyanskaya Town Site], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 2, 1939.
136. Gol'msten, V., "Obzor arkheologicheskikh rabot 1937 g." [Survey of Archaeological Work in 1937], *VDI*, 3/4, 1938; *idem.*, "O proiskhozhdenii skorchennykh kostyakov v pogrebeniyakh rodovogo obshchestva." [On the Origin of the Contracted Skeletons in the Burials of Clan Society], *PIDO*, 5-6, 1935.
137. Repnikov, N., "Gorodishche Eski-Kermen 1936 g." [The Eski-Kermen Town Site in 1936], in *Arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya v RSFSR v 1934-1936 gg.*, IIMK, 1941.

138. L. Matsulevich wrote very little; the most valuable of his works, *Serebryanaya vaza iz Kerchi* [The Silver Bowl from Kerch'] and *Pogrebeniye varvarskovo knyazya v Vostochnoi Yevrope* [The Burial of a Barbarian Prince in Eastern Europe] are separate publications of the GAIMK. Both works include exhaustive material and literature along with an analysis concerning the Southern Russian and Crimean finds of remains in the Barbarian-Byzantine style of the fifth to the eighth centuries, which have been little studied in the U.S.S.R.
139. See his work cited in note 121; see also "Raskopki drevnevo Kieva" [Excavations of Ancient Kiev], *Nauka i zhizn'* [Science and Life], 2, 1940, and "Tainik pod razvalinami Desyatinnoi tserkvi" [A Secret Place Under the Ruins of the Desyatinnaya Church], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 10, 1941.
140. In addition to his works in note 121, see "Osnovnye problemy istorii kul'tury drevnei Rusi" [Basic Problems of the History of the Culture of Ancient Rus'], *ibid.*, 7, 1940; and "K voprosu o vzaimootnosheniyakh Galitsko-Volynskoi i Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoi arkhitektury 12-13 vv." [On the Question of the Interrelationship between the Galician-Volynian and the Vladimir-Suzdal' Architecture of the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries], *ibid.*, 3, 1940.
141. See his works cited in note 121.
142. Sosnovski, G., "Poseleniye na Afontovoi gore" [The Settlement on Afontova Hill], and other articles in the collection *Paleolit SSSR* [The Paleolithic Period in the U.S.S.R.], GAIMK, 1935. See also *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 6, 1940.
143. Gerasimov, M., "Raskopki paleoliticheskoi stoyanki v Mal'te" [Excavations of the Paleolithic Site in Mal'ta (in Siberia)], *Paleolit SSSR*, *op cit.*
144. Tolstov, S., "Khorezmskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g." [The Khorezm Expedition of 1939], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 6, 1940; Tolstov, "Drevnosti Verkhnevo Khorezma" [Antiquities of Upper Khorezm], *VDI*, I, 1941.
145. Okladnikov, A., "O nakhodke v peshchere Teshik-Tash" [On the Find in the Teshik-Tash Cave], *VDI*, 1939; for information on the same find, see *SA*, 6, 1940, and also a number of descriptive articles in *SA*, 4, 1937, *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, Nos. 2, 5, 1940.
146. Bernshtam, A., "Istoriko-kul'turnoe proshloye severnoi Kirgizii po materialam Bol'shovo Chuiskovo Kanala" [The Historical and Cultural Past of Northern Kirghizia on the Basis of Materials of the Big Chu Canal], Moscow, 1940. *Idem.*, "Arkheologicheskiye



- raboty v Semirech'i v 1939 g." [Archaeological Works in Semirech'ye in 1939], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 4, 1940.
147. Zhebelyov, S., "Bosporskiye etyudy" [Bosporian Studies], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 104, 1935; *idem.*, "Narody severnovo Prichernomory'a v antichnuyu epokhu" [Peoples of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea During the Classical Period], *VDI*, 1-2, 1938; *idem.*, "Poslednii Perisad i skifskoye vosstaniye na Bospore" [The Last Paerisade and the Scythian Uprising on the Bosporus], *VDI*, 3, 1938. This work, describing the class struggle during the ancient period of the history of Russia, was highly rated by the Party leadership. It was revised by the author and republished three times. The episode was included in the course on the ancient history of Russia.
  148. Descriptions and results of excavations at the sites of the ancient Greek colonies on the Bosporus, Tiritaka and Mirmeki, from 1932 through 1939, are to be found in articles by Gaidukevich in *VDI*, 1, 1937, 3-4, 1940 and in *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 4, 1940. For various other studies, see his articles in *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 104, *SA*, 6, 1940, *MIA*, 4.
  149. Knipovich, T., "Opyt kharakteristiki gorodishcha u stanitsy Yelizavetovskoi po nakhodkam SKEGAIMK, 1928 g." [An attempt at Characterizing the Town Site at the Yelizavetovskaya Station on the Basis of the Finds of the North Caucasian Archaeological Expedition of GAIMK in 1928], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 104, 1935. Knipovich, "Arkhaicheskii nekropol' na territorii Ol'vii" [An Archaic Necropolis on the Territory of Olbia], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 6, 1940.
  150. Gorodtsov's last work was the investigation of the Timonovka paleolithic site in 1935-36. He considered as the main task the restoration of a paleolithic habitation in the form of an oval pit, covered with logs, which he theoretically reconstructed in detail. However, Soviet archaeology rejected his projected restoration.
  151. See, e.g., Artsikhovskii, A., "Raskopki na Slavne v Novgorode Velikom" [Excavations at Slavna in Novgorod the Great], *SA*, 3, 1937.
  152. Bryusov, A., "Otchot o raskopkakh 1938-39 gg." [Report on Excavations in 1938-39], *Trudy GIM*, [Transactions of the State Historical Museum], Fasc. XII, Moscow, 1941.
  153. Grakov, B., "Arkheologicheskiye raskopki bliz Nikopolya" [Archaeological Excavations near Nikopol'], *VDI*, 1, 1939. *Idem.*, "Pogrebal'nye sooruzheniya paleometallicheskoj epokhi v raione Nikopolya" [Burial Edifices from the Paleometallic Epoch in the Nikopol' Region], paper read at the conference in the Institute

- of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in Kiev, 1941.
154. Kiselyov, S., "Rezultaty rabot Sayano-Altayskoi arkeologicheskoi ekspeditsii" [The Results of the Work of the Sayan-Altai Archaeological Expedition], *VDI*, 1, 1937 and 6, 1939. *Idem.*, "Karasuk-skiye mogily po raskopkam 1929, 1931, 1932 gg." [The Karasuk Tombs According to Excavations in 1929, 1931 and 1932], *SA*, 3, 1937.
  155. Voyevodski, M., "K voprosu o razvitii epipaleolita v Vostochnoi Yevrope" [On the Question of the Development of the Epipaleolithic Period in Eastern Europe], *SA*, 5, 1940. See also articles in *Trudy assotsiatsii po izucheniyu chetvertichnovo perioda* [Transactions of the Association for the Study of the Quaternary Period] (hereafter cited as *Trudy AICHPE*), 5, 1934; *SA*, 1, 1936; *VDI*, 2, (3), 1938; *SA*, 3, 1937; *VDI*, 1 (6), 1939; *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 4, 1940.
  156. Bader, O., "Drevniye izobrazheniya na potolkakh grotov v Priazov'ye" [Ancient Drawings on the Ceilings of the Grottos in the Azov Region], in the symposium *Paleolit i Neolit SSSR* [The Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods in the U.S.S.R.], *IIMK*, 1937; *idem.*, "Dve ekspeditsii po izucheniyu paleolita v Severnom Prichernomor'ye" [Two Expeditions for the Study of the Paleolithic Period on the Northern Shore of the Black Sea], *Antropologicheskii zhurnal* [Anthropological Journal], 2, 1936; *ibid.*, 4, 1936, *ibid.*, 1, 1937. See also the articles on various topics in *Trudy AICHPE*, 6, 1937; *SA*, 6, 1940; *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 2, 1939; *SA*, 3, 1937; *Sovetskii Muzei* [Soviet Museum], 5, 1937; *VDI*, 1, (6), 1939.
  157. Passek, T., "Issledovaniya Tripol'skoi kul'tury v USSR" [Research on the Tripol'ye Culture in the Ukrainian S.S.R.], *SA*, 3, 1937. See also *VDI*, 4/5, 1938; *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 122, and the symposium *Tripol'skaya kul'tura* [Tripol'ye Culture], I, Kiev, 1940.
  158. Rybakov, B., "Znaki sobstvennosti v knyazheskom khozyaistve Kievskoi Rusi 10-12 st." [Signs of Property in the Princely Economy of Kievan Rus' in the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries], *SA*, 6, 1940. See also the work cited in note 121.
  159. Zemlyakov, B., "O poslednikovykh kolebaniyakh klimata i ikh znachenii v arkheologii" [On the Post-glacial Changes in Climate and Their Importance in Archaeology], *PIDO*, 2, 1934; *idem.*, "Ob izobrazhenii mamonta iz 'Mamontova Grota' v Kamennom Mogile" [On the Drawings of a Mammoth from the "Mammoth Grotto" in the Kamennaya Mogila Site], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya*

- IIMK*, 8, 1939; *idem.*, "Arkticheskii paleolit na Severe SSSR" [The Arctic Paleolithic Period in the North of the U.S.S.R.], *SA*, 5, 1940.
160. Blavatski, V., "Opisaniye raskopok v Fanagorii v 1936-1939 gg." [Description of the Excavations in Phanagoria in 1936-1939], *VDI*, 3-4, 1940; for the excavation in 1940, see *VDI*, 1 (14), 1941.
  161. Pokrovski, M., and N. Anfimov, "Karta drevneishikh poseleniya i mogil'nikov Prikuban'ya" [Map of the Ancient Settlements and Sepulchres Along the Kuban'], *SA*, 4, 1937. Pokrovski and Anfimov also discovered and partly investigated the remnants of the settlements with Gothic culture in the middle Kuban' and of the Slavic culture in the lower Kuban' area.
  162. Gummel' has articles in the publication of the Azerbaidzhan Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Nos. 4, 5, 1939 and Nos. 2, 6, 1941; see also *SA*, 1, 1936 and No. 6, 1940. These articles are all concerned with finds and excavations of local cultures.
  163. Marti published articles in *VDI*, 2, 1939; *VDI*, 1, 1941. The articles all deal with remains and finds in Kerch'.
  164. See Takhtai's publications in *Pido*, 5-6, 1935, and in *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 4, 5, 1940.
  165. Miller, M., *Tanais*, Rostov-on-the-Don, 1940. A series of articles appeared in local archaeological publications from 1935 to 1941 on the remains, finds and excavations of the remnants of the Graeco-Sarmatian culture on the lower Don. For studies on the culture and sites of the Aëneolithic period and the Bronze Age on the Dnepr see *PIDO*, 8-9, 1935.
  166. The outstanding monograph by Ya. Pasternak, *Staryi Galich* [Old Galich], L'vov, 1934, gives a historical survey of all the excavations, finds and other information on Galich and a description of the author's own excavations of the remains of Galich over a period of many years.
  167. *Iz istorii rodovovo obshchestva na territorii SSSR* [From the History of Clan Society on the Territory of the U.S.S.R.], 1934.
  168. Kruglov, A. and Yu. Podgayetski, *Rodovoye obshchestvo stepei Vostochnoi Yevropy* [Clan Society of the Steppes of Eastern Europe], *GAIMK*, 1935.
  169. Miller, M. "K voprosu o razvitii khozyaistvennikh form doklassovogo obshchestva v basseine Nizhnevo Dona" [On the Question of the Development of Economic Forms of Pre-class Society in

the Lower Don Basin], in the compilation *Krayevedeniye v Azovo-Chernomorskom kraye* [Regional Studies in the Azov-Black Sea Region], 3, Rostov-on-the-Don, 1935 and in a separate publication at the same place and time; Miller, "Doistoricheskii period v istorii priazov'ya" [The Prehistoric Period in the History of the Azov Region], *Uchonye zapiski Rostovskovo n/D. Pedagogicheskovo instituta* [Scientific Records of the Rostov Pedagogical Institute], I, 1941.

170. *Paleolit SSSR: Materialy po istorii dorodovovo obshchestva* [The Paleolithic Period in the U.S.S.R.; Materials on the History of Pre-Clan Society], *Izvestiya GAIMK*, 113, 1935.
171. Berezin, M., *Spravochnik po paleolitu SSSR* [Handbook on the Paleolithic Period in the U.S.S.R.], U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, 1936.
172. *Etnogenezis vostochnikh slavyan* [The Ethnogeny of the Eastern Slavs], 1940.
173. *Tripol'skaya kul'tura* [The Tripol'ye Culture], 1940.
174. *Ol'viya* [Olbia], 1940.
175. *Paleolit i neolit Ukrainy* [The Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods of the Ukraine], 1943.
176. Yefimenko, P., *Pervobytnoye obshchestvo* [Primitive Society], 1938.
177. Artsikhovski, A., *Vvedeniye v arkheologiyu; Kurs lektsii* [Introduction to Archaeology; A Series of Lectures], Moscow, 1936.
178. Zhebelyov, S., *Vvedeniye v arkheologiyu* [Introduction to Archaeology], Vol. I, *Istoriya arkheologicheskovo znaniya* [A History of Archaeological Learning], Vol. II, *Teoriya i praktika arkheologicheskovo znaniya* [The Theory and Practice of Archaeological Learning], Petrograd, 1923.
179. Radvonikas, V., *Istoriya pervobytnovo obshchestva* [A History of Primitive Society], Part I, 1939.
180. Vols. I and II were entitled *Doklassovoye obshchestvo* [Pre-class Society].
181. Miller, A., *Arkheologicheskaya razvedka* [Archaeological Research], Leningrad, GAIMK, 1935. Miller was arrested and sent to exile in 1933, where he died in 1935. From the moment of his arrest the publication of his works was discontinued and even the mention of his name in the literature was forbidden. As the head of the empirical school, however, Miller had insisted on high scientific standards in archaeological methodology. This emphasis coincided so well with the demands of the Party for

raising the level of science that after his death the prohibition on his works was rescinded and the work was published, in spite of the fact that he made no reference to Marxism.

### Part V.

182. For example, see Its, R., "Noveishiye arkheologicheskiye raskopki v Kitaiskoi Narodnoi Respublike" [The Most Recent Archaeological Excavations in the Chinese People's Republic], *VDI*, 3, 1953. See also Kolker, B., "Po stranitsam rumynskovo zhurnala *Ocherki i issledovaniya po drevnei istorii*" [On the Pages of the Rumanian Journal *Essays and Studies in Ancient History*] and many other such articles.
183. Radio announcement of the European branch of the Voice of America, June 12, 1953.
184. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 44, 1952.
185. *Vestnik akademii nauk* [Journal of the Academy of Sciences], (hereafter cited as *VAN*), 8, 1951.
186. Stalin J., *O velikoi otechestvennoi voine Sovetskovo Soyuz* [On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union], Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1951. Italics supplied.
187. Smishko, M. "Ranneslavyanskaya kul'tura Podnestrov'ya v svete novykh arkheologicheskikh dannyykh" [The Early Slavic Culture Along the Dnestr in the Light of New Archaeological Data], *Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK*, 44, 1952.
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228. "Sovetskaya arkheologiya k tridsatiletiyu Velikoi Oktyabr'skoi Revolyutsii," *op. cit.*
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*Teshik-Tash; Ocherk po istorii altaitsev; Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi.*

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## Abbreviations

AICHPE	Assotsiatsiya po izucheniya chetvertichno-vo perioda [Association for the Study of the Quaternary Period].
ARKhO	Arkheologicheskoye otdeleniye istoricheskovo fakul'teta [Archaeological Department of the Faculty of History].
BAN	Akademiya nauk Belorusskoi SSR [Academy of Sciences of the Byelorussian S.S.R.], Minsk.
DAENKU	Dneprovskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya Narkomprosa Ukrainy [The Dnepr Archaeological Expedition of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukraine].
ESA	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua</i> , Helsinki.
GAIMK	Gosudarstvennaya akademiya istorii material'noi kul'tury [State Academy for the History of Material Culture], Leningrad.
GIM	Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii musei [State Historical Museum], Moscow.
IA	Institut arkheologii akademii nauk Ukrainskoi SSR [Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.].
IAK	Imperatorskaya arkheologicheskaya komissiya [Imperial Archaeological Commission], St. Petersburg.
IIMK	Institut istorii material'noi kul'tury akademii nauk SSSR [Institute for the History of Material Culture of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences].
IVAN	Institut vostokovedeniya akademii nauk SSSR [Institut of Eastern Studies of the

- Izvestiya GAIMK* U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences], Leningrad.  
*Izvestiya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [News of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture].
- Izvestiya IAK* *Izvestiya Imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Commission].
- Izvestiya RAIMK* *Izvestiya rossiiskoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury* [News of the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture].
- Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK* *Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh izyskaniyakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury* [Brief Communications on Reports and Field Investigations of the Institute for the History of Material Culture].
- MAE* Muzei antropologii i etnografii akademii nauk [Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences], Leningrad.
- MAK* *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza* [Materials on the Archaeology of the Caucasus].
- MAR* *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii* [Materials on the Archaeology of Russia].
- MIA* *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* [Materials and Studies on the Archaeology of the U.S.S.R.].
- MOGAIMK* Moskovskoye otdeleniye gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury [Moscow Branch of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture].
- Otchot IAK* *Otchot Imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii* [Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission].
- PIDO* *Problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv* [Problems of the History of Pre-

	capitalist Societies].
PIMK	<i>Problemy istorii material'noi kul'tury</i> [Problems of the History of Material Culture].
RAIMK	Rossiiskaya akademiya istorii material'noi kul'tury [Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture], Leningrad.
RANION	Rossiiskaya assotsiatsiya nauchno-issledovatel'skikh institutov obshchestvennykh nauk [Russian Association of Scientific Research Institutes of the Social Sciences].
SA	<i>Sovetskaya arkheologiya</i> [Soviet Archaeology].
SIMK	Sektor istorii material'noi kul'tury akademii nauk Ukrainskoi SSR [Section for the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.].
SKBK	Severokavkazskoye byuro krayevedeniye [North Caucasian Bureau of Regional Studies], Rostov-on-the-Don.
SKOAIE	Severokavkazskoye obshchestvo arkheologii, istorii i etnografii [North Caucasian Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography], Rostov-on-the-Don.
<i>Soobshcheniya GAIMK</i>	<i>Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury</i> [Communications of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture].
TAS	<i>Trudy arkheologicheskovo s"yezda</i> [Transactions of the Archaeological Congress].
<i>Trudy AICHPE</i>	<i>Trudy assotsiatsii po izucheniyu chetvertichnovo perioda</i> [Transactions of the Association for the Study of the Quaternary Period].
<i>Trudy GIM</i>	<i>Trudy gosudarstvennovo istoricheskovo muzeya</i> [Transactions of the State Historical Museum], Moscow.
TsBK	Tsentral'noye byuro krayevedeniya [Central Bureau of Regional Studies], Moscow.

- VAN* *Vestnik akademii nauk SSSR* [Journal of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences].
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* [Journal of Ancient History].
- VI* *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History].
- VOKS* Vsesoyuznoye obshchestvo kul'turnoi svyazi s zagranitse [All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Abroad].
- VUAK* Vseukrainskii arkheologicheskii komitet pri Prezidiume Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk [All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee Under the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences].
- VUAN* Vseukrainskaya akademiya nauk [All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences].
- Zapiski MAI* *Zapiski moskovskovo arkheologicheskovo instituta* [Notes of the Moscow Archaeological Institute].
- Zapiski RAO* *Zapiski russkovo arkheologicheskovo obshchestva* [Notes of the Russian Archaeological Society], St. Petersburg.
- Zapiski VUAK* *Zapiski vseukrainskovo arkheologicheskovo komiteta pri prezidiume Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk* [Notes of the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee Under the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences].

## *A Brief Survey of Materials on Soviet Archaeology*

Abbreviations used in this section (in addition to those shown in the list of abbreviations, pp. 203-206):

*AP USSR*—*Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki USSR* (Archaeological Monuments of the Ukrainian S.S.R.)

*Izd. AN SSSR*—*Izdateľstvo akademii nauk SSSR* (Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.)

*Izd. AN USSR*—*Izdateľstvo akademii nauk USSR* (Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.)

*Izd. GE*—*Izdateľstvo gosudarstvennovo ermitazha* (Publishing House of the State Hermitage)

K.—Kiev

*KSIIMK*—*Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh izyskaniyakh IIMK* (Brief Communications on Reports and Field Investigations of the Institute for the History of Material Culture)

L.—Leningrad

*LGU*—*Leningradskii gosudarstvennyi universitet* (Leningrad State University)

M.—Moscow

*MGU*—*Moskovskii gosudarstvennii universitet* (Moscow State University)

*SE*—*Sovetskaya etnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography)

*UZLGU*—*Uchonye zapiski Leningradskovo gosudarstvennovo universiteta* (Scholarly Transactions of the Leningrad State University)

*UZMGU*—*Uchonye zapiski Moskovskovo gosudarstvennovo universiteta* (Scholarly Transactions of the Moscow State University)

*VLGU*—*Vestnik Leningradskovo gosudarstvennovo universiteta* (Herald of the Leningrad State University)

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*Note:* From the above list it is clear that the greatest development in Soviet archaeology since World War II has been in the direction of investigating the origin of the eastern Slavs and ancient Russian towns. Great successes have been achieved in the study of the material remains of the paleolithic and neolithic periods. On the other hand there has been an obvious hiatus in the study of the remains of the Bronze Age, of which there are many in the U.S.S.R. This break in development was the result of the death in exile of A. Miller, head of the Section on the Bronze Age in the GAIMK, together with the death during the war of his pupils A. Kruglov and Yu. Podgayetski, who had been systematically studying the remains of the Bronze Age.

Of the remaining Bronze Age specialists, A. Iyessen has recently abandoned entirely the study of Bronze Age cultures, evidently because of the exhaustion of the subject in the Northern Caucasus, where he worked, and has turned instead to other themes. O. Grakova publishes only small studies of a descriptive character. As a result, the Bronze Age is apparently the only subject on which a generalized work has not appeared in the U.S.S.R. since the war.

Even more weakly represented in Soviet archaeology is the study of the remains and cultures of the late nomads. Even earlier this subject hardly attracted the attention of Russian archaeologists at all, and the information available is based merely on the accumulation of materials produced by random excavations. Only in recent years has there been a development of interest in the cultures of some of the most important tribes. There are no specialists in the culture of the late nomads in the U.S.S.R.



For a biographical sketch of the author, M. Miller, with a list of his publications to 1949, see "Mikhailo Oleksandrovich Miller. Bio-bibliografichni materiyali," New York and Göttingen, Naukovo-doslidchii institut mors'koi ukraini, 1949 (in Ukrainian).

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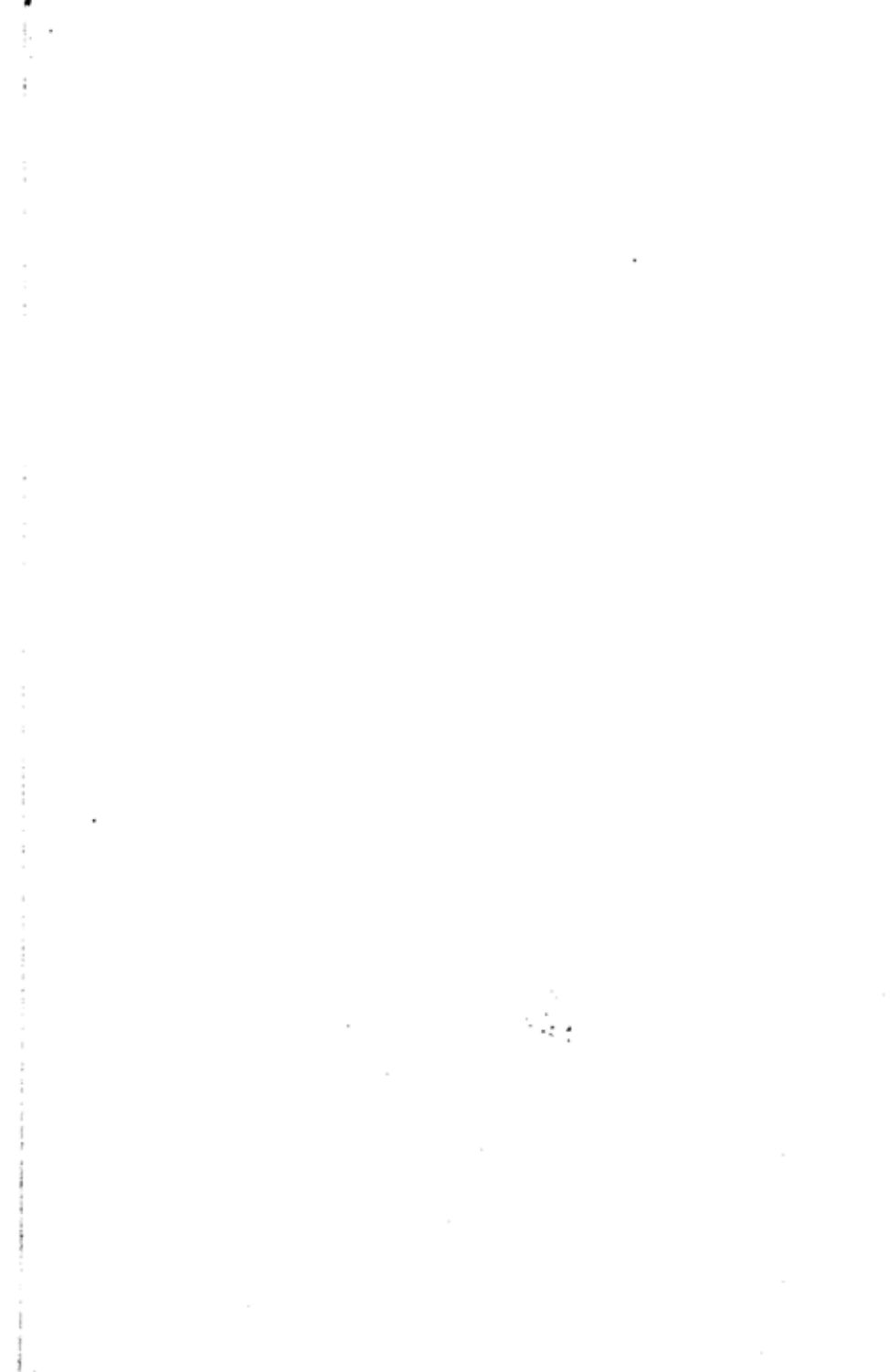
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