

Scientific Capital after 1945 in German Archaeology – Wilhelm Unverzagt and the Archaeology of Hillforts

Susanne Grunwald^a

Strong continuity is visible in German archaeology between the 1930s and 1940s and the years after 1945. How can this be explained in the face of the total exchange of political structures ideologies and protagonists? In my opinion, there are two reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly: the stability of the network of the German archaeology especially and of related German disciplines in general. These networks were strong enough to outlive the dictatorship and the war and most of the protagonists were flexible enough to gain from them. The second reason is that some fields of research were more attractive than others and absorbed money, attention and support. Scientists in these fields became influential in the archaeological network and were supported by their colleagues. They became able to transfer their topics into the frameworks afforded by the new political and scientific systems as a kind of scientific capital. Hillfort research was one of these successful fields and Wilhelm Unverzagt (1892–1971) was one of the most influential protagonists of it. This paper will illustrate a strong continuity in East German archaeology before and after 1945 on the basis of his work at the German Academy of Sciences in East Berlin.

KEY-WORDS: history of archaeology, East Germany, hillforts, Wilhelm Unverzagt

The year 1945 and the period after the end of the Second World War have been considered until today not only as a political turning point of the German and European history but also as a caesura in the history of the study of German pre- and protohistory (Kossack 1999: 92; Schnurbein 2002: 16–17; Schachtmann *et al.*, 2012). Directly after 1945, discussions of the topic had to represent this period as a restart of German Archaeology. The authors wished to show that after the War, there was a continuity of the design and goals of research from the time before 1933. They thus defined the years of Nazi dominance between 1933 and 1945 merely as a break in a good, honorable tradition (Jakob-Friesen 1950; Werner 1945/1946). But modern investigations about the development of German archaeology identify descriptions like these as useful politically opportune constructions. These investigations teach us that the political chronology does not always directly fit the historiographical chronology of archaeology.

^a Independent researcher; e-mail: mrs.susanne.grunwald@googlemail.com

After 1945, most German archaeologists would describe the research before 1933, in the 1920s and early 1930s, as politically neutral and purely scientific. Such statements ignore and deny the impact of nationalism and revanchism on archaeology especially on the Western and Eastern border of Germany during the period between 1918 and 1933 (Grunwald 2017a). Likewise, such views omit to take into account the methodological, ideological and personal continuities from these times into the late 1930s and early 1940s. But it was in these years that the institutionalization of German archaeology progressed, and the network was more differentiated and influential than in the 1920s. That institutional level and that social prestige of established scientists had to be defended after 1945. To describe their own discipline as objective and devoid of all ideology was therefore an opportune strategy.

The context for the creation of such views was the process of denazification, when German archaeologists and scientists of related disciplines had to evaluate each other (Ash 2010). Archaeologists had to assess their own discipline because there was a lack of specialists from outside the German archaeologist network for the evaluation of the scientific work done during the period of National Socialism. It was in this specific framework that opinions about the neutral, unemotional and methodological character of research before 1933 were created and expressed. And in this way, the traditional design of research was legitimated as the basis for the new start after 1945.

In eastern Germany, hillfort archaeology was one of the most developed and institutionalized fields of traditional archaeological research. In the period after the War, Wilhelm Unverzagt transformed it into a modern systematical field and was able to use it as a means of access to institutionalized science of a new level – at the German Academy of Sciences. This paper will begin with presenting a brief overview of Unverzagt's activities before 1945 that were the point of departure for archaeology in East Germany (GDR) after 1945. This will be followed by a description of Unverzagt's strategy to reorganize it at the former Prussian Academy and his main scientific capital for it, his former hillfort archaeology. Also discussed will be the first results of the systematical hillfort archaeology in the Early GDR and its continuous interactions with the Polish archaeology.

INTRODUCTION

There was never a central methodological, structural or ideological institution representing German archaeology before the end of the 1940s. Instead, it is possible to describe some bigger influential circles of some archaeological societies, institutes or commissions with similarities and differences. But the picture would be always incomplete and unclear without a mention of the different local and regional scientific partners and institutions of research funding.

One of the most influential circles of the East-German archaeology was the Association for Research into Pre- and Protohistoric Fortifications in Northern and Eastern Germany (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Erforschung vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Wall- und Wehranlagen in Nord- und Ostdeutschland*), founded in 1927 by Carl Schuchhardt (1859–1943), Unverzagt (1892–1971) and Gerhard Bersu (1879–1929; Fehr 2004; Grunwald and Reichenbach 2009). The association united the heads and most influential archaeologists in East Prussia, West Prussia, the so called Borderland, Upper Silesia, Lower Silesia, Free State of Saxony, Pomerania, Western Pomerania (Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz), Brandenburg, Berlin, Province Saxony, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Lübeck and Hamburg. Until 1932/1933, most of the hillforts in these areas had been inventoried and some excavations had been done. Unverzagt's investigation of Zantoch (Santok) on the river Warthe (now Warta) between 1932 and 1934 was the most famous hillfort excavation in the eastern part of Germany (Fehr 2004; Grunwald 2009a; e.g. 2012)¹. The archaeological monument was in danger and Unverzagt developed a successful cooperation near the German-Polish border in the early 1930s to investigate the site with the conservative historian and scientific manager Albert Brackmann (1871–1952). At the time, Unverzagt was Director of the Museum of Pre- and Protohistory in Berlin and head of the archaeological monument conservation for the Prussian Province of Brandenburg. He applied very successfully for money for the project with the argument of the everlasting struggle to control Zantoch. After 1918, one effective strategy and goal of the eastern German archaeology was to show the German – Polish relationship as a long story of conflicts between strong German states and powerless Slavic tribes and their early states. Zantoch seemed to be the perfect illustration of that. In very close cooperation with Albert Brackmann, the intellectual head of the Eastern Research (*Ostforschung*) in Berlin, at Zantoch Unverzagt tried to prove the tribal differentiation of the West Slavs into Slavic Pomorians and Polanie and their eternal hostility (Haar 2000; Wöllhaf 2008). In his applications for the project Unverzagt, already anticipated the result: "The history of Zantoch shows absolutely clearly the everlasting enmity of the Slavic Pomorians against the Polish Kingdom"². In connection with his excavations, Unverzagt designed and arranged the reconstruction of a medieval tower of the hills of Zantoch as a little museum. Opened in 1935, the tower was to be a symbol of the long-contested place and region on the border with Poland (Grunwald 2017b; Fig. 1: a–b).

¹ The complete documentation of the 1932–1934 campaigns in Zantoch and of the reconstruction of the tower on the *Schlossberg*, including all diaries and most of graphic documentation, photographs and correspondence as well as a small amount of ceramic finds, are preserved at the archive of the Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin (Grunwald 2009a; 2012b).

² Unverzagt/Generaldirektor Staatliche Museen, 27.9.1932: SMB-PK/MVF, File I A 32, Bd. 1.



Fig. 1, a–b. Unverzagt, on the right sitting on a barrow, and two men look across the little bridge at the northwest side of the tower reconstruction. *Schlossberg* of Zantoch. Picture: June of 1935 (SMB-PK/MVF F 4635; SMB-PK/MVF F 4636).

Zantoch became an influential model in many ways: a) for a routine to apply money from scientific associations as well as from political and local sponsors; b) for stimulating and satisfying the expectations of the sponsors and c); for cooperating with well established sciences as historiography for example (Grunwald 2016). But together with the results of Unverzagt's excavations of the hillforts at Lossow, Reitwein, Lebus and Belgrade, it became a scientific treasure, a scientific asset for the reorganization of East German archaeology after 1945³.

POINT OF DEPARTURE 1945

In 1945, the capital of Nazi Germany and centre of east German archaeology Berlin was destroyed. Unverzagt was unemployed because of his membership in the NSDAP since 1937/1938 and his museum was destroyed. After some cycles of the denazification proceedings, the former Friedrich-Wilhelm-University was in the hands of the Soviet

³ Unverzagt's hillfort excavations: Lossow in 1926–1929 (SMB-PK/MVF, File I A 16, Vol. 1 u. 2; Unverzagt 1969); Reitwein in 1930 (SMBPK/MVF, File I A 16, Vol. 1; Grebe and Schulz 1980); Lebus/Pletschenberg in 1938–1940; Lebus/Schloßberg in 1941; Lebus/Turmberg in 1942–1943 (SMB-PK/MVF, File I A 16, Vol. 1–3; Unverzagt 1958c; Grunwald 2009a, 252–253). During the War, in 1942–1943 Unverzagt excavated the fortress of Belgrade in Serbia (Unverzagt 1945; 1958a).

occupiers and “from the lecturers at the University of Berlin in 1944 only ten percent were still teaching in 1948” (Ash 2010: 223). Finally, the Soviet military administration had militated against the continuity of the chair of prehistory at University (since 1949: Humboldt-University of Berlin; Leube 2005: 162). Nevertheless, Unverzagt made working conditions accessible and took part of some strategic decisions for archaeology and other cultural sciences in the later GDR. He established archaeology at the Academy of the GDR and centralized it with homogeneous strategies and goals during the 1950s until his retirement in 1963. For that process, he used traditions of research and networks especially in eastern Germany that dated back into the late 1920s and 1930s.

Martin Jahn (1888–1974) from Breslau (Wrocław) was, beside Unverzagt, the second central figure in the re-organization of the archaeology in the 1950s and early 1960s (Coblentz 1974; Smolla 1975; Fahr 2009). They were connected by having the same concept of what science is and through their long-lasting cooperation and joint functioning in the knowledge-space of Brandenburg and Silesia (Grunwald and Reichenbach 2009). Jahn relocated to Berlin, and in 1946 to Halle. The Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg offered him the chair of pre- and protohistory. In Halle he continued the principles of the so-called school of Breslau (*Breslauer Schule*) while educating archaeologists and became very influential for the development of archaeology and its personnel. In the rehabilitation of archaeology, among their other duties, Unverzagt and his colleagues had to deal with an extreme shortage of skills; a loss of two-thirds of the scientists between 1944 and 1947 by escape and proceedings of denazification. That is why the education of a new generation of archaeologists had priority (Jessen 1999: 271). So on the occasion of Jahn’s sixtieth birthday, Unverzagt expressed the importance of the former Silesian archaeologist for the development of German archaeology and his contributions to the “rescue and rehabilitation of our discipline” in East Germany⁴. Together with Georg Bierbaum (1889–1953), the head of the Archaeological Monument Conservation Service of Saxony (*Sächsische Bodendenkmalpflege*) and well known since the days of their association during research on hillforts, Unverzagt and Jahn became the architects of the archaeology and Archaeological Heritage Management in the later GDR. Hillfort research was one of the key concepts for it and the “spine of the Archaeology” as Carl Schuchhardt had concluded (Schuchhardt 1924: 7).

INSTITUTE FOR PRE- AND PROTOHISTORY AT THE GERMAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

The decision of the Soviet administration about archaeology at the university the former Prussian Academy of Sciences became interesting for Unverzagt as providing

⁴ Unverzagt/Jahn, 6.9.1948: SMB-PK/MVF, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1945–1948.

a structure for re-institutionalization of archaeology in Berlin and the Soviet zone. But the Academy was in trouble. The Prussian State, the former patron of the scientific society was suspended. The idea of German regional academies like the Academy of Sciences in Leipzig (Saxony), Halle (Province Sachsen), Munich (Bavaria) or Göttingen (Hanover) was obsolete. The only realistic option was the funding of a national Academy, an idea discussed since the early 20th century. In the years before the First World War, the merger of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science (*Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften*) and the Prussian Academy was discussed, and in 1940 an Imperial Academy of the German sciences was still being considered (Nötzoldt 2002: 41). Therefore, the idea of the creation of a national academy which was discussed in the summer of 1945 between Soviet culture attachés and German scientists in Berlin was neither unknown nor absurd. Far from it – it was very welcome because of its comparability to the Soviet type of academy (Walther 1997: 236; Timofeeva 2002). At the end of 1945, the members of the former Prussian Academy offered the Administration in Berlin a masterplan about future projects and the application areas of the different commissions (Walther 1997: 252).

Independently of these plans, Unverzagt held meetings with members of the Soviet Military Administration, the member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, S.N. Zamjatnin, and members of the former Prussian Academy. The object of these negotiations was the foundation of an Institute for the investigation of the material culture of the Slavs (*Institut zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur der Altslaven*) – the title and concept were Unverzagt's idea only. He suggested cooperation between that new institute and the Soviet Academy and a conceptual orientation on the principles of the Soviet Academy⁵. As a real archaeological centre, this institute would investigate the archaeological cultures of the 8th century up to the 12th century in the region between Elbe, Saale and Oder (Odra). Unverzagt suggested excavations on most important sites “to see not only into the material remains but also into the former social and genetic relations”⁶.

Unverzagt discussed his ideas for an institute with historians and philologists, most of them his friends and colleagues since the late 1920s. They all were connected by adherence to a comparable scientific and national self-image. Even though Unverzagt was not a regular member of the Prussian Academy – because of a political intrigue his election in 1939 was not executed – the official members of the former Academy

⁵ Unverzagt, Vorschlag zur Gründung eines Instituts für die Erforschung der materiellen Kultur der Altslaven in Berlin, 22.11.1945; zweiseitiger Entwurf bzw. Protokoll „Aufzeichnung über die Gründung eines Instituts zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur der Altslaven“, 3.12.1945; Stille/Unverzagt, 27.11.1945; Unverzagt/Stroux, 3.12.1945; ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

⁶ Unverzagt, zweiseitiger Entwurf bzw. Protokoll „Aufzeichnung über die Gründung eines Instituts zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur der Altslaven“, 3.12.1945; S. 2: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

accepted him as a potential member and co-worker. They advised him to avoid terms like “old Slavic archaeology” and a focus of the working area to the west of the river Oder. Unverzagt should avoid creating the impression that German historians and archaeologists would only be interested in the territory between the rivers Saale, Oder and Elbe and the very early middle ages. In contrast – both disciplines would not abandon the opportunity to investigate the territory to the east of the river Oder⁷. The background of this advice was not only the political opinion of these scientists. For most of them the former German territories east of the river Oder were part of their private and scientific life and they had lost the access to their professional knowledge-space through the War.

Unverzagt offered the executive committee of the Academy a quadrilateral work plan in June 1946. It was the masterplan for the continuation of the historical-archaeological discourse of the 1920s and 1930s about the ethnic and political development in the east of Germany. Unverzagt intended first of all the publication of the results of his hillfort excavations ultimately representing the territory of Lebus as the everlasting key position on the river Oder⁸. According to Unverzagt, since the end of the Bronze Age battles went there on firstly between the people of the Lusatian Culture and the Early Germans, later between the Germanic tribes on the river Elbe and the Poles, and finally in 1945 between the German Armed Forces and the Red Army: “The battle of the Lebus ridge decided about the destiny of Berlin and possibly about the whole future of Germany”⁹. Secondly, Unverzagt intended the publication of an inventory of all pre- and protohistoric fortifications of the former Brandenburg March, based on the results of the surveys of the Hillfort Association. Finally, he intended the creation of a compendium of the fortifications of East Germany for Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, the Free State of Saxony and Province of Saxony as well as East- and West Prussia.

In summer of 1946, the Soviet administration had no concept of the structures or budget of the Academy and so Unverzagt himself recommended to the Academy his idea of the creation of an archaeological institute. Unverzagt brought forward the argument that the Academy would continue in this way the work by the former member Carl Schuchhardt, always supported by the Prussian Academy¹⁰. Unverzagt offered the post-war Academy the chance to continue former projects and to tie into the traditions of its glory days. On the other hand, he offered with it the chance to create a “nucleus for the later reconstruction of East German pre- and Protohistory”. Finally, Unverzagt delivered an argument for the support of archaeological research by the

⁷ Hartung/Unverzagt, 6.4.1946: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

⁸ Unverzagt/Stroux, 13.6.1946, Bl. 1–2: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Bl. 2: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Bl. 3: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

Academy which was old and well known. As in the 1920s, he argued now: “our most inveterate enemy Prof. Józef Kostrzewski, a former student of Gustaf Kossinna in Posen has re-emerged” and surrely he would resume his research on the field of Early Middle Ages and especially on the territory of Lebus¹¹.

Unverzagt addressed the scientists at the Academy with this argument as members of the network of the so called German Eastern Research (*Ostforschung*; Piskorski *et al.*, 2002; Mühle 2005; Reichenbach 2009a). He reactivated with it the old concept of the enmity between neighbours and encouraged its continuation. After 1945, the old hypothesis of Slav autochthony between the rivers Oder and Dniepr as far back as the late Neolithic was seriously discussed and partly canonized in Polish archaeology and made the German side nervous (Urbańczyk 2000: 52). Especially the lost of German territory to Poland became an issue for scientific debate. The scientific legitimation of the so-called Recovered Territories, formerly German lands, by Polish historians and archaeologists was comparable to the situation in the 1920s.

That archaeological discourse was limited to German and Polish archaeologists, but the work of the Westinstitute (*Instytut Zachodni*) was influential for the whole Polish society and was observed by the German public and by scientists like Unverzagt too. The institute was founded in 1945 in Poznan and dealt – like in the interwar period – with questions about the German-Polish relationships and worked as political adviser and therefore coordinated interdisciplinary projects (Piskorski 2003; Brier 2002). Its goal was to boost Polish self-confidence and to defend the youngest land gains as well as the moral and political claims of Poland against foreign scientific arguments and propaganda (Lehr-Splawiński 1955; Brier 2002: 28). In preparation of the Polish referendum of 30 June 1946, the Westinstitute forced a discussion about the new western border of Poland. Representatives of the former Polish Government in Exile favoured the line of the latest historical borders. The members of the provisional government of Poland, the Polish Committee of National Liberation (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*) proclaimed in 1944, argued for the so-called Piast Line. That concept regarded the Western territories of Poland as essential. To balance the loss of the Polish eastern territories to the Soviet Union, that group contested the Oder-Neiße-/Odra-Nysa-border and announced new territorial gain beyond the river Oder in the west. The reporting in German newspapers about the “Polish West idea” (*Polska myśl zachodnia*) made the exponents of the former *Ostforschung* nervous about the jeopardized Eastern border and they saw themselves called into a scientific war zone¹². Unverzagt was especially shocked by the book of the Polish anthropologist Karol Stojanowski “O reslawizację Wschodnich Niemiec” (1946), because Stojanowski

¹¹ Ibid., Bl. 4: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹² Unverzagt/Brackmann, 22.9.1946; Brackmann/Unverzagt, 19.10.1946; Unverzagt/Brackmann, 19.11.1946: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

demanded the “re-slavization” of Germany from the East to the river Elbe¹³. This demand was the occasion for Unverzagt to argue for the reorganization of East German archaeology in a national way.

On July 1st 1946, the Soviet military administration commanded the reopening of the Academy as the German Academy of Sciences (*Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DAW; Walther 1997: 274). Immediately, Unverzagt developed a future “centre” for archaeology at the Academy¹⁴. The archaeologists in the western occupied zones got nervous about Unverzagt’s plans, especially the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, DAI) because of their own plans for the organization of German Archaeology. The Roman-Germanic Commission (*Römisch-Germanische Kommission*, RGK), the national department of the DAI, saw all the German occupied zones as one research territory and all questions about research and cultural heritage management should be organized regionally. In that case, the strategy of DAI and RGK was compatible with the official West German politics of science: after the centralism of the National Socialism the notion of federalism was the first alternative (Ash 2010: 230). Unverzagt’s ideas for a special East German archaeological institution interfered with that design¹⁵. So Carl Weickert (1885–1975), director of the DAI in the headquarters in Berlin and member of the Academy, advised the Academy to block and limit the concept of Unverzagt. Weickert preferred, in contrast to Unverzagt’s idea, the organization of an Archaeological Monument Conservation service in every single German state and was afraid about Unverzagt’s institution becoming “an undesirable parallel institution to the German Archaeological Institute as a whole”¹⁶. The DAI would accept the new East German institute if it had comparable structures to the RGK in order to permit a later fusion with the RGK under the roof of the DAI. Weickert used the question of money as an argument, but also the past trouble between Prehistory and Classical Archaeology in Germany¹⁷. The Philosophical Historical Class of the Academy followed Weickert’s advice and asked Unverzagt to rethink his concept. Unverzagt coordinated his last version with Weickert and in January 1947 the plenum of the Academy decided to found an Institute for Pre- and Protohistory¹⁸.

¹³ I have to thank Karin Reichenbach for the translation.

¹⁴ Unverzagt/Stroux, 20.7.1946; 25.7.1946: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1945–1948; Unverzagt/ Kunkel, 19.9.1946: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹⁵ Merhart/Unverzagt, 28. 5. 1946: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951; Weickert/ Sekretar der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der DAW, 27.11.1946: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹⁶ Weickert/Sekretar der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der DAW, 27.11.1946, Bl. 1: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹⁷ Weickert/Sekretar der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der DAW, 27.11.1946, Bl. 2: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400.

¹⁸ Unverzagt/Brackmann, 20.12.1946; Hartung/Unverzagt, 13.12.1946; Unverzagt/Hartung, 4.1.1947; Hartung/Unverzagt, 27.1.1947: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400; Unverzagt/Kunkel, 12.1.1947: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

The main subject of research of the Commission for Pre- and Protohistory at the DAW founded on April 1st 1947 was the “investigation of all mobile and immobile cultural-historical antiquities at first in the Soviet occupied zone”. Unverzagt’s research on the fortifications on the river Oder was its scientific basis and the DAI reacted with relief¹⁹. The Commission was built of the Academy members: Brackmann (historian), Friedrich Baethgen (mediaevalist), Norbert Krebs (geographer), Max Vasmer (slavicist) and Weickert. Unverzagt and the archaeologist Ursula Gehrecke (*1920) were the scientific assistants of the Commission. To upgrade his status, Unverzagt forced his selection into the Academy and finally on April 1st 1949 he became a full member²⁰. On the occasion of his selection, he assured the Academy of his efforts “to create the Academy as centre in the field of archaeology”²¹. One month later, Unverzagt became the chair of the Commission and forced its establishment as a single institute with better facilities²². The processing of the results of Unverzagt’s previous hillfort investigations was the main duty of the Commission at this time (Table 1).

Unverzagt and East German archaeology benefited from the political support of the Academy since 1949. The Academy was developed into the central headquarters for the whole scientific field in the GDR (Walther 1997: 237). Until the years after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the Academy was opposed to the universities as kind of a protected haven for traditionalist research design and bourgeois scientists (Walther 1997: 237; Jessen 2002: 100). There are reasons for that. The existence of the Academy was a precious pledge delivered by the party politics of the East German government during the inner German conflicts. Until 1961, the all-German character of the Academy was kept. In the statutes of the Academy from 1946 and 1954, the undertaking to promote the sciences of the whole of Germany was codified (Hartkopf and Wangermann 1991: 150–177). Additionally, the Academy delivered results of enormous economical relevance, especially patents. And finally, the Academy helped to build up an international scientific reputation for the young GDR (Walther 1997: 238–239).

At the beginning of the 1950s, the process of the concentration in the Academy of all archaeological interests in East Germany started. On November 23rd 1951 the Commission was transformed into the Section of Pre- and Protohistory; the final foundation took place in April 1952²³. The Institute was supposed to coordinate the work of all archaeological institutions in the GDR. Until then there were three institutions: the

¹⁹ Unverzagt/Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 16.1.1947: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3400; Merhardt/Unverzagt, 4.3.1947: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

²⁰ Unverzagt/Brackmann, 24.3.1948; Unverzagt/Watzinger, 3.6.1948; Unverzagt/Kleemann, 11.5.1949: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

²¹ Unverzagt/Naas, 10.5.1949: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

²² Unverzagt/Zotz, 24.5.1949: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

²³ Unverzagt/Marschalleck, 16.2.1952; Unverzagt/Marschalleck, 9.4.1952: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1952–1955.

Table 1. Translation of the form No. 6 “Specifics about the intended scientific research activities” in the “application about the permission for a scientific research centre”, later the Commission for Pre- and Protohistory (17.2.1948: ABBAW Stock AKL 169, Institut für VFG 1, 1946–1965).

No.	1. Task	2. Main topic	3. Potential applications	4. Senior researcher
1.	Status and tasks of the Early Medieval Studies in the east zone	Overview of the current conditions of the scientific research	Create the basis for all further analyses	Prof. Dr Unverzagt
2.	Site mapping of Brandenburg and Berlin	Scientific status report	Create the basis for all further analyses	Prof. Dr Unverzagt
3.	Pre- and protohistoric fortifications in the east zone	Analysis of the hillfort architecture	Elucidation of the political pre- and protohistory	Prof. Dr Unverzagt
4.	Excavation of the fortifications of the Bronze Age and the Early Middle Ages of Lossow and Reitwein (District Lebus)	Scientific analysis of the results of the excavations	Review of questions of settlement and culture	Prof. Dr Unverzagt
5.	Excavation of Zantoch	Scientific analysis of the results of the excavations	Review of the protohistorical fortifications and the questions of settlement and culture	Prof. Dr Unverzagt

Institute at the Academy, the Secretary of State for Higher Education (*Staatssekretariat für Hochschulwesen*), which coordinated the research at universities, and the Art Commission for the coordination of all questions of cultural heritage management. To avoid doubling work and conflicts of competence, the responsibility for archaeological monument conservation was appropriated to the Section of Pre- and Protohistory at the Academy²⁴. All the important archaeologists in the GDR and some old friends of Unverzagt became members of this Section, for example Gerhard Bersu, Herbert Jankuhn and Ernst Sprockhoff²⁵.

In the summer of 1952, Unverzagt was the real guiding spirit of East German archaeology²⁶. According to Unverzagt’s will, the members of the Section authorised

²⁴ Irmscher/Staatliche Kunstkommission, 20.12.1951: ABBAW, Stock AKL 169, Institut für VFG 1, 1946–1965.

²⁵ Unverzagt/Kunkel, 16.6.1952: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1952–1955; Unverzagt/ Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 9.6.1961: ABBAW, Stock 226.

²⁶ Holtzhauer/Friedrich, 18.6.1952; Naas/Holtzhauer, 8.7.1952; Naas/Unverzagt, 8.7.1952: ABBAW, Stock ZIAGA 3423, Bodendenkmalpflege der DDR, 1952–1958.

the former Archaeological State Museums with the implementation of cultural heritage management. So-called Research Centers (*Forschungsstellen*) at the State Museums coordinated the work of the official County Conservators (*Bezirksfundpfleger*) and the voluntary District Conservators (*Kreisfundpfleger*)²⁷. Because of the centralized politics of education, training specialists at the universities in the GDR was reduced. The proportion of the scientific research was slashed in relation to the Academy. That is one of the reasons why the chances for organizing research projects for archaeologists at the universities were limited (Lingelbach *et al.*, 2001). The Section of Pre- and Protohistory at the Academy planned excavations and projects and was supposed to advise projects at the universities and the work of the Archaeological Monument Conservation services²⁸. The transformation of this Section into the Institute for Pre- and Protohistory on October 14th 1953 with Unverzagt as director and the legal regulations for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage of 1954 and 1956 finished the process of concentrating all archaeological tasks and functions in the Academy (Unverzagt 1956a; 1956b)²⁹. The Institute had an advisory function towards the Secretary of State for Higher Education, which coordinated the research funding in the early GDR, for all applications for archaeological projects³⁰. That particular function was the most influential for the personal network of German archaeology.

EARLY HILLFORT ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE GERMAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

In the first five-year-plan of the Commission for Pre- and Protohistory (1950), the “general inventory of the pre- and protohistorical hillforts and fortifications as the centres of the former cultures and economies, ordered by counties” was named as the most important task³¹. Paul Grimm (1907–1993) worked in Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia, Willy Bastian (1893–1970) in Mecklenburg and since the end of the 1950s Werner Coblenz (1917–1995) in Saxony³². All the structures visible on the surface or sites known through excavations up to the 13th century were to be recorded³³. The data was intended

²⁷ Unverzagt/Klasse für Gesellschaftswissenschaften, 15.10.1952: ABBAW, Stock AKL Sektionen 226, Sektion für VFG.

²⁸ Irmscher/Naas, 6.11.1952: ABBAW, Stock Bestand AKL Sektionen 226.

²⁹ Irmscher/Kommission für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 6.10.1953; Unverzagts/Klasse für Gesellschaftswissenschaften, 14.10.1953; DAW/Finanzministerium, 7.12.1953; Ordnung der Aufgaben und der Arbeitsweise des Instituts für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der DAW, 14.3.1957: ABBAW, Stock AKL 169, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.

³⁰ Abt. Forschung beim Staatssekretariat für Hochschulwesen/Unverzagt, 16.10.1956: ABBAW, Stock ZIAGA 3423 Bodendenkmalpflege der DDR, 1952–1958.

³¹ Unverzagt, Fünfjahresplan für 1950–1955, 12.5.1950: ABBADW, Stock AKL 169.

³² Grimm, Arbeitsplan 1952, 3.1.1952: ABBADW, Stock AKL 169.

³³ Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

to be published in a compendium as Unverzagt had planned it since the days of the Hillfort Association³⁴. Unverzagt wanted to publish his analysis of the excavations in Zantoch and Lossow in a new series, edited by the Commission and Jahn's institute for Pre- and Protohistory in Halle³⁵. But while Zantoch and Lossow have never been published, the inventory of the hillforts was more successful. It was finished in Saxony-Anhalt (1951–1957) and started in Brandenburg and Berlin (1956), in Thuringia (1958), in Saxony (1959) and Mecklenburg (1958)³⁶. In autumn 1959, the East German hillfort inventory was “one of the furthest advanced tasks of the institute” as Unverzagt reported. Now the inventory was officially referred as a continuation of the work of the Hillfort Association from 1929 up to 1934³⁷. It was also in the 1950s, under Unverzagt's patronage, that hillfort archaeology started to change. Already in the inter-war period, the hillforts had been regarded as the most significant sources of information on all kinds of political, social and economic questions on ancient cultures. That research design was comparable with that of the 1950s, however, the impact of controlled finalized historiography and the ideas of the historical materialism on archaeology was low.

For the late 1940s and the 1950s a direct influence cannot be detected, however: 1) in the Philosophical-Historical Class of the Academy the examination of the Historical Materialism was obligatory. In the scientific work of Unverzagt just micro elements of that philosophy of history are observable for example the idea of cyclic history; 2) the passing of a generation since the early 1960s brought however a significant change in the scientific praxis of historians and archaeologists. Since the middle of the 1950s, the Postgraduate Studies as *Aspirantur* as part of East German scientific policy were established at the Academy. These alumni were educated in all kinds of politically opportune philosophy and brought that into their scientific work at the Academy (Kowalczuk 2003: 261–285). A detailed biographical analysis of that first group of GDR-archaeologists is still missing.

Only since the early 1960s are the efforts of the younger, politically compliant junior scientists to displace the ideas and strategies of Unverzagt are documented. Amongst other things this young scientists wanted the employment of more young scientists and a stronger influence of the SED Party at the Archaeological Institute, clearly distinguishing it from West German archaeology and the elaboration of a complete and long-term plan of research for the whole of the GDR³⁸. One of the earliest critics of

³⁴ Unverzagt, Arbeitsbericht für 1951, 29.5.1952: ABBADW, Stock AKL 169.

³⁵ Unverzagt, Arbeitsbericht für 1951, 29.5.1952: ABBADW, Stock AKL 169.

³⁶ Unverzagt, Arbeitsplan für 1953, 17.11.1952; Arbeitsbericht für 1957, 19.5.58: ABBADW, Stock AKL 169 I, Arbeitsberichte der Kommission VFG; Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

³⁷ Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

³⁸ Quitta/Akademieleitung, 9.6.1964: ABBAW, Stock AKL Sektionen 226.

the scientific style of Unverzagt was Karl-Heinz Otto (1915–1989; see Mante 2007: 91–132). In 1952, just one year after his appointment as lecturer at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, he criticized the praxis of research and teaching of the “bourgeois-unprogressive professors” Unverzagt, Friedrich Behn (1883–1970) in Leipzig and Jahn. Otto deplored the lack of progressive tendencies in the “research of prehistory in the GDR” and the “lack of discussions about the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory” in the archaeology (Mante 2007: 105).

In fact the concepts, investigations and inventories of the hillfort archaeology were free of these applications until the end of the 1950s, as the last of Unverzagt’s working plans at the Academy for the years 1959 up to 1966 shows³⁹. Unverzagt wanted to answer questions about the social and political conditions of ancient societies using information from the hillforts and fortified central settlements. He planned to investigate the “problem of the Lusatian culture in narrower sense” at some sites in Mecklenburg, this would be an answer to the activities of Polish archaeology in this field after 1945⁴⁰. Some fortified settlements in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg were supposed to give information about the economy and social history of the Slavs. And finally, the localization and investigation of some imperial palaces of the Early Middle Ages in the western part of the GDR were needed to explain the beginning of the German Middle Ages⁴¹. The interpretation of the hillforts as the main source of evidence for the complex analysis of ancient societies was identical to Schuchhardt’s point of view of 1924 and now Unverzagt started to utilize this evidence systematically. That research was not just interesting for other historical disciplines at the Academy – it was the best way to establish archaeology as a systematic, result oriented, science at the Academy.

In the next working plan from 1959 for the years up to 1966, hillfort archaeology played an essential role. In it, the young aspirant Joachim Hermann (1932–2011) developed a new type of hillfort research and that conception was formative for the East German archaeology until 1989. Hermann continued to develop Unverzagt’s research design, but he was more geared towards historical studies. “Decadent primeval society and early feudal society” were reflected in the hillforts and the chronological and typological variety of the sites was the basis for different questions: 1) the Neolithic forts and fortified settlements should be investigated to clarify the initial conditions; 2) the hillforts of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age should be investigated as elements of speculative “fort lines” and as corresponding sites for hoards of the same time; 3) three tasks were formulated for a differentiated study of the strongholds and fortified settlements of the Early Middle Ages: a) dating of the beginning of the

³⁹ Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

⁴⁰ Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

⁴¹ Unverzagt, Siebenjahresplan für 1959–1965, 14.9.1959: ABBAW, Stock AKL 611.

fortification building by Germanic peoples and of Slavic tribes; b) investigation of the economic and political relevance of the so-called older and younger Slavic strongholds and c) reconstruction of the genesis of towns in German areas in Middle ages⁴². A young colleague of Hermann added “The investigation of these sites must not be limited to the elements of architecture of fortifications but must try to explain the functional correlation between fortifications and settlement”⁴³. These aspects were essential for the hillfort archaeology that was developing within the projects associated with “research about the beginnings of the Polish state” (the Millennium research), which the East German archaeologists observed attentively and with envy.

HILLFORT ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE EARLY PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Even before the Cultural Agreement between the GDR and People’s Republic of Poland in 1952 and the cooperation it engendered, the East German side was well informed about scientific progress in Poland. Since the late 1940s, scientists of the Sorbian Institute in Bautzen placed translations and summaries of some essential books of Polish and Czech archaeologists and historians at the disposal of East German scholars⁴⁴. Most of them were published in the periodicals of the State museum for Prehistory in Dresden (Coblenz 1951). With the edition of “Early Polish castles” in 1960 that kind of scientific reception was later continued (Bukowski 1960). That’s why the archaeologists in the GDR were informed especially about the initiative of 1946 by Witold Hensel (1917–2008) for the Millennium research. “The aim was to antedate [...] the approaching Christian Millennium of the foundation of the Polish state, traditionally calculated from the conversion of Prince Mieszko I in 966. [...] Archaeology was expected to prove that the origin of the Polish state was much older than the ‘baptismal’ date of 966” (Urbańczyk 2000: 51). This massive excavation programme connected with the Millennium “is seen today as part of the Communist regime’s anti-Church strategy” (Urbańczyk 2000: 51) and was observed by Unverzagt. His attention to Polish science was unbroken since the end of the 1920s and so he stated in 1949, that the Polish archaeology “just can’t lose their imperialistic eggshells completely”⁴⁵. Unverzagt turned a blind eye to the ideological based continuations of his own work, however, he criticized the Polish archaeology as a political sensitive one

⁴² Herrmann, „Gedanken zum kommenden Perspektivplan [bis 1965]“, wahrscheinlich Juli oder August 1959: ArchivBBADW, Stock ZIAGA A 3407, Arbeitspläne der Mitarbeiter 1959–1967.

⁴³ Quitta/Grimm, 28.6.1959: ArchivBBADW, Stock ZIAGA A 3407, Arbeitspläne der Mitarbeiter 1959–1967.

⁴⁴ Sorbisches Institut, Arbeitsbericht für 1952: ABBAW, Stock AKL 40, Institut für sorbische Volksforschung, 1951–1964.

⁴⁵ Unverzagt/Kunkel, 29.11.1949: SMB-PK/MVG, Stock IX f 4, Nachlass Unverzagt, 1949–1951.

(Urbańczyk 2000: 52). He was not able to see the parallels between the former and younger German *Ostforschung* and Polish *Westforschung* – the use of the same methodological paradigm and manipulation of data for a suitable ethnic interpretation of prehistory (Urbańczyk 2000: 51).

The Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), founded in 1951, became also the centre for archaeological projects. The PAN took on the projects and structures of the Westinstitute (Brier 2002: 74). The research for the Millennium was carried over into the Institute of Material Culture (IHKM), founded in 1953 at the PAN. The East German archaeologists, especially Unverzagt, observed this intensive rebuilding and development of Polish archaeology with envy – 25 towns and strongholds were investigated only in 1950. The East German colleagues could only dream of so many research projects. One important result, the “Mapa grodzisk w Polsce”, a map of 2684 potential hillfort sites, was published in 1964 (Antoniewicz and Wartołowska 1964; Urbańczyk 2000: 53; Brather 2001: 22–29). East German archaeology wanted to participate in the results of the huge excavation program. The attendance at conferences and excursions was planned and from the beginning of 1956 representatives of the cultural sciences as archaeology of the DAW and PAN negotiated cooperation in Warsaw⁴⁶. Archaeologists planned as part of the “Millennial excavations” a project to investigate the hillforts of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age on the Oder and along the line of Warthe and Netze (Moździuch 2009; Reichenbach 2009b: 232–235)⁴⁷. Witold Hensel, Zdzisław Rajewski (1907–1974), Unverzagt and Paul Grimm substantiated this program at a meeting in early November of 1959 in Berlin and negotiated investigations in Lebus and Zantoch, the traditional research area of Unverzagt⁴⁸. The Polish archaeologists were interested in remains of a bishop’s residence which were assumed in Lebus; Unverzagt wanted to continue his former research in Zantoch (Unverzagt 1958b; 1958c; 1960; 1962a)⁴⁹.

It is recorded that the Polish archaeologist asked Unverzagt for the publication of the results of his excavations in Zantoch, but the publication never followed (Grunwald 2009b: 255). When the new investigations started in Santok in 1958, Unverzagt was informed about it and the Polish Academy offered again a co-edition of his results

⁴⁶ Cooperation agreement between DAW and PAW for 1956, 27.I.1956: ABBAW, Stock AKL 489, Polen 1949–1967.

⁴⁷ The project started in 1957 in the GDR with the excavation of the settlement of Kratzeburg (Kr. Neustrelitz; a site of the Later Bronze Age). Investigations in Basedow (Kr. Malchin; hillfort of the Early Iron Age), in Zieslow (Kr. Röbel) and in Gühlen-Glienicke (Kr. Neuruppin; hillfort of Younger Bronze Age) followed. The project started in Poland with the investigation of the hillfort of Swobnica (Grunwald 2012a: 256, with literature).

⁴⁸ Minutes of meeting on 6.II.1959, signed by Hensel, Rajewski, Unverzagt and Grimm: ABBAW, Stock ZIAGA A 3538.

⁴⁹ Minutes of meeting on 6.II.1959, signed by Hensel, Rajewski, Unverzagt and Grimm: ABBAW, Stock ZIAGA A 3538.

together with the new, Polish results. But Unverzagt did not accept. He visited the excavation site in 1960 and 1965, but he wouldn't discuss his results with the Polish colleagues (Kurnatowska 1995; Biermann 2008: 159)⁵⁰. So the planned cooperation was neither successful nor constructive, though some single scientists gained some benefits from it. The young director of the State museum for Prehistory in Dresden, Werner Coblentz, was able to visit some excavation sites in Poland and extend his knowledge about hillforts. There were long traditions in hillfort archaeology in Saxony and the state was already part of the described hillfort association. Beyond that Saxony was allotted to take on a special position in the upcoming international cooperation between the GDR and the neighbors in the East. "In the future the position of Saxony as a mediator between Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia has to be emphasized" (Coblentz 1950) because of the long shared borders between these countries and the "strong material culture relationship since time immemorial" according to Coblentz in 1950⁵¹. Coblentz was invited to visit the archaeological institutions and sites in the People's Republic of Poland several times between 1950 and 1960, but the necessary foreign currencies or the entry visa were denied him⁵². It was only in 1961 that he was able to visit Poland and Czechoslovakia officially and report on his trips in detail to Unverzagt at the Academy and to his employer in Dresden⁵³. Coblentz was interested first of all in Polish hillfort archaeology. In May of 1962, he made a visit to Poland. He met representatives of the PAN in Warszawa and negotiated with Hensel, he studied archaeological finds and took part at an excursion to Cracow, Przemyśl, Santok and Przeworsk. Back in Warsaw, he gave a talk about "The oldest strongholds in the south of the GDR and its excavations" as well as a presentation about "The strongholds of the time of Boleslaw Chrobry in Saxony". Another lecture covered "The hillforts in Saxony at the time of the Slavic settlement" and in Cracow Coblentz spoke about "The hillforts of the Lusatian culture". Especially at the excavations sites near Wrocław he gained an exclusive "overview of the settlement conditions during the Bronze Age and the Early Middle Ages". Coblentz had not only to report scientific aspects of his trip but he also had to report the daily life in Poland and his relationships to the Polish colleagues and so he stated: "The support was excellent and obliging and the contacts were good, contrary to expectations"⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ Unverzagt/Bersu, 19.9.1960: SMB-PK/MVF, Stock IX f 4, 1956–1961.

⁵¹ Coblentz/SED-Parteioorganisation der Staatlichen Wissenschaftlichen Museen Dresden, 19.3.1956: SächsHStA Dresden, Stock Coblentz 12821, 210, S. 328–329.

⁵² Coblentz/Staatssekretariat für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen, 14.4.1961: HStA Dresden, Stock Coblentz 12821, 210, S. 184.

⁵³ Coblentz, Kurzbericht über Reise nach Polen (5.5.–15.5.1961), 24.5.1961: HStA Dresden, Stock Coblentz 12821, 210, S. 160–164.

⁵⁴ Coblentz, Kurzbericht Reise nach Polen (2.–15.5.1962), undat.: HStA Dresden, Stock Coblentz 12821, 210, S. 57–60.

CLIMAX AND END OF UNVERZAGT'S HILLFORT ARCHAEOLOGY

The climax and end of the “age of Unverzagt” was marked by the holding of the conference “Inventory and investigation of pre- and protohistoric hillforts” on October 1st to 6th 1962 at the Academy in Berlin. It proceeded to “align the contributors [of the inventory, S.G.] at a consistent working program and to spark interest in the neighbouring countries to produce a comparable inventory”⁵⁵. The conference program involved all elements and aspects of the discourse about hillforts of the early 1960s in both parts of Germany. During an excursion, famous sites and excavations in the south half of the GDR were visited. Unverzagt’s colleagues at the Academy as well as the regional contributors reported in their presentations the status of the inventory in their working areas and the state of the research on different archaeological periods (Early Stone Age, Lusatian Culture, Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, Early Middle Ages; Fig. 2).

The conference documented the changing state of hillfort archaeology. The research into single hillforts was embedded in complex questions about cultural-historical periods and archaeological periods oriented more and more towards ages defined under the influence of Historical Materialism. Already at the end of the 1950s, Herrmann had announced hillfort archaeology as the archaeological answer to questions about changes in societies, processes of economical concentration and the genesis of the towns. But the conference documented also another change. First of all, the conference was planned as a kind of showcase for the West German archeologists. However, because of the construction of the wall in 1961 most of the invited West German colleagues were not able to take part in it. The conference became a well-used opportunity for an intensive exchange between the archaeologists of the GDR and of the People’s Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia⁵⁶. A four-day excursion brought the guests of the conference to the most famous hillforts and ongoing excavations at the territory of the GDR. After the hillforts on the Oder (Lossow, Reitwein, Lebus and Klietow) the conference members went to Tornow in Lower Lusatia and to the hillforts in Upper Lusatia. They visited Ostro, the most famous and beautiful site in that region and went then to the hillforts on the Elbe (Fig. 3). In the last days of the excursion, the guests visited some sites of the Early and High Middle Ages, the Imperial Palace (Kaiserpfalz) of Tilleda and the city centre of Magdeburg (Unverzagt 1962a).

⁵⁵ Grimm/Schuldt and Behm-Blancke and Neumann, 5.4.1962: ABBADW, Stock ZIAGA A 3409.

⁵⁶ Undated report about the conference: ABBAW, Stock Schnellerstrasse A 3409.

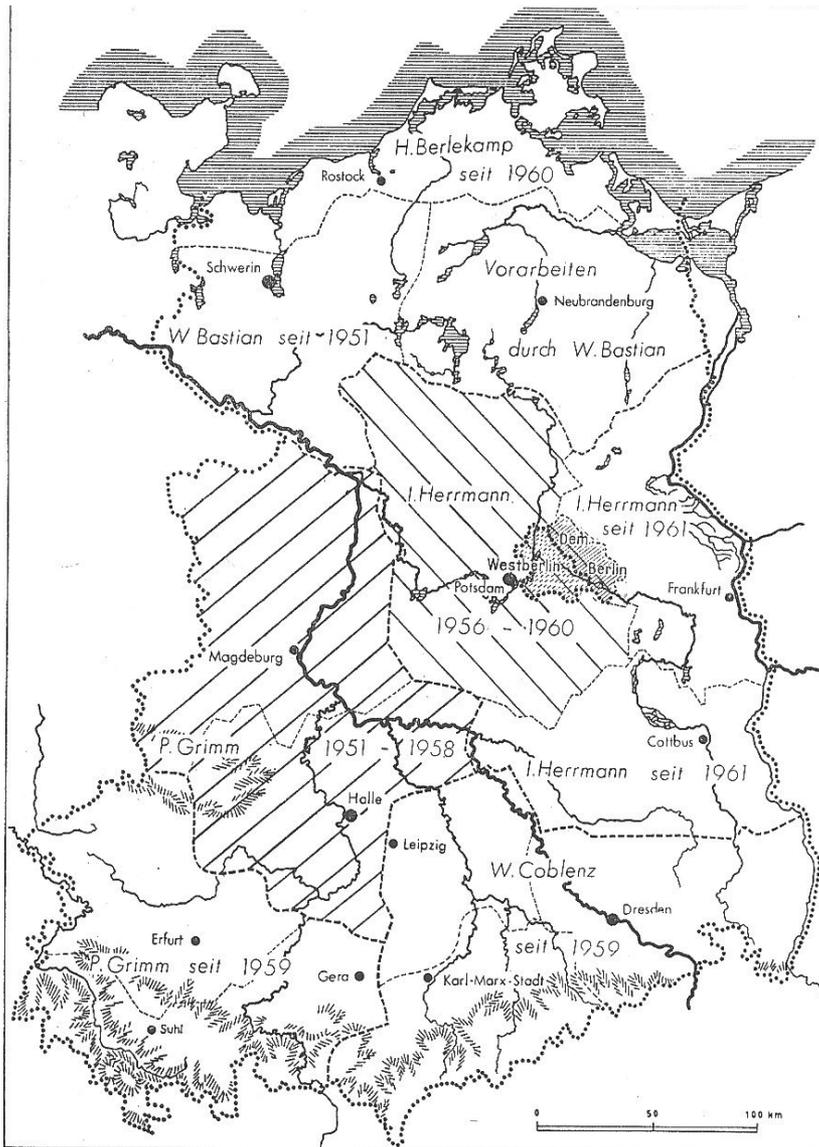


Abb.1. Der Stand der Durchführung der Burgwallaufnahme in den Bezirken der DDR. Senkrechte Schrift: Bezirkshauptstädte; Schrägschrift: Stand der Bearbeitung; schraffiert: bereits erschienen

Fig. 2. Status of the hillfort inventory in the GDR 1962 (Unverzagt 1962)



Fig. 3. Hillfort of Ostro, picture: 22.4.1982 (Archive of the State Office for Archaeology Dresden/Saxony, file Ostro)

CONCLUSIONS

Independently from the cooperation between the DAW and PAN, Unverzagt stated in 1960 about the Millennium excavations: “The political character of these enterprises is unmistakable. It shows that the territory outside the Oder-Neiße-line was part of the Polish state at the time of the state’s largest expansion in the first half of the 11th century. There is little transmitted in writing, therefore the excavations are of great importance”⁵⁷. Without our knowledge of the background of the development of research in East Germany and Poland we would miss the unintended irony of Unverzagt’s view. Under the conditions of the early 1930s he had practiced a highly politicized archaeology and profited from it. But under the post-war conditions in the early GDR a comparable scientific implication did not work. He pushed the other methodological dimension of his hillfort archaeology and established it with his former results and concepts of inventory and focussed on excavations as the key issue of archaeology at the East Berlin Academy. Hillfort archaeology was the means of access not only to the Academy as an institution – it was a means of access to the post-War system of the sciences. Inventorising sites and answering cultural-historical questions using the

⁵⁷ Unverzagt/Jankuhn, 15.1.1960: SMB-PK/MVF, Stock IX f 4, 1956–1961.

example of single hillforts gave archaeology the image of a systematic and calculable science for the first time in the history of east German archaeology.

Apparently Unverzagt never gave up his resentment against Polish archaeology. But he was not able to see the parallels between his research design and the Polish version. On both sides of the Oder, research was being done to clarify issues about the Early Middle Ages in Central Europe with comparable methodology. But only from a distance did it look like an international alliance for the interdisciplinary investigation of the Early Middle Ages in Central Europe. Originally there were two opposing poles of a highly politicized field of research developed after the First World War. These poles interacted but only since the 1950s became cooperation possible under changed political and cultural political conditions.

After Unverzagt's retirement in 1963 and after the reorientation of the Institute from the middle of the 1960s, the hillforts of the Early Middle Ages were started to be investigated in the research group "History and culture of the Slavs in Germany from 7th to 13th century". The projects of this group were concentrated in Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania and the results were presented at the Second International Conference for Slavic Archaeology as answers to questions about the economy and ruling systems of the Slavs.

The wide distribution of the hillforts in the GDR promised to provide a contribution on a sound footing for addressing the socio-cultural questions of history. On the other hand, the hillfort distribution was a way to connect research areas inside the GDR with each other and stabilize the growing network of East German archaeologists as well as with research areas and networks in neighboring countries. Parallel to the policy of the alliances of the Cold War period, hillfort archaeology influenced the development of a huge knowledge-space of European archaeology.

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Abbreviations

SMB-PK/MVF	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Archive of the Museums of Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage/Museum of Prehistory and Early history)
ABBAW	Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Archive of the Berlin-Brandenburgian Academy of Sciences)
ZIAGA	Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie (Central institute for Ancient History and Archaeology at the German Academy of Sciences of the GDR)
AKL	Akademieleitung (Leitung of the German Academy of Sciences of the GDR)
VFG	Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Institute of Pre- and Protohistory at the German Academy of Sciences of the GDR)

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