



PRACE I MATERIAŁY

*Muzeum Archeologicznego
i Etnograficznego w Łodzi*

SERIA ARCHEOLOGICZNA

48

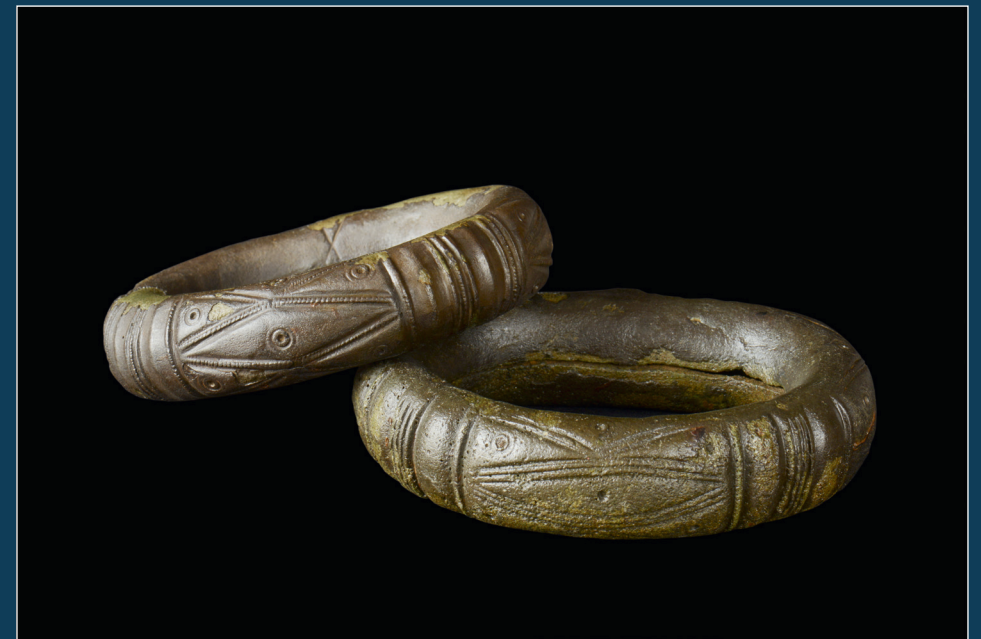
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I ETNOGRAFICZNE
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PRACE I MATERIAŁY 48



ŁÓDŹ 2021

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Under the Kuyavian Sun: Memories of Brześć Kujawski, 1976

Introduction

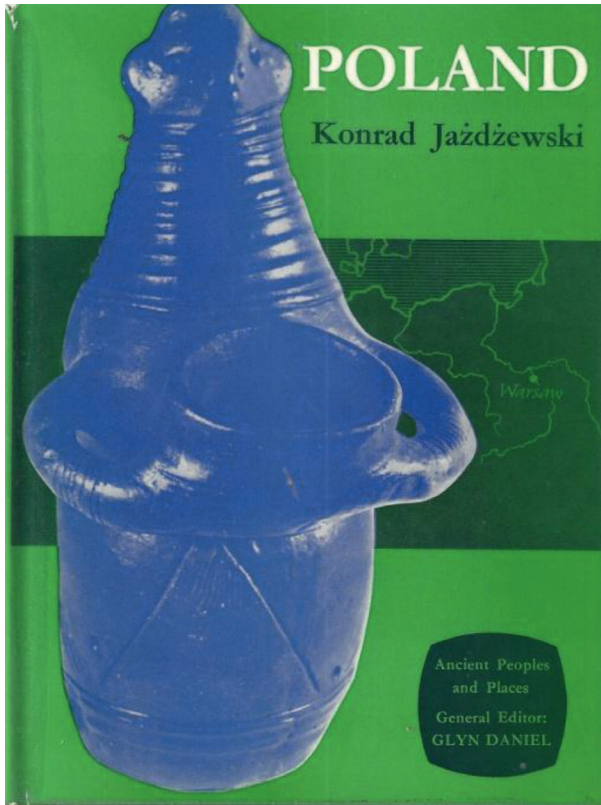
In August 1976, Ryszard Grygiel and I began work on Site 4 at Brześć Kujawski, launching our collaboration in the study of Neolithic farming communities that has lasted 45 years. Dominik Płaza has invited me to share memories of my first encounters with the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Brześć Kujawski, and Ryszard Grygiel. I am grateful for this opportunity. In the summer of 1976, I was 22 years old and between my first and second years of graduate study at Harvard University. My connection with the Museum and its excavations at Brześć Kujawski developed over several months. Please forgive my nostalgia and digressions, which I believe are important for understanding the full story, and the informal tone of the text below. A fuller account of our first season at Brześć Kujawski can be found in Ryszard Grygiel's memoir, *Przygody archeologa pod starobrzeeską lipą* (Łódź, 2011).

First Contact with Polish Archaeology

Why was I even attracted to Polish archaeology? There are many interesting sites in the New World. Why should I travel all the way to Poland to take part in archaeological research? I had been drawn to anthropology, of which prehistoric archaeology is a part in the United States, during first year at the University of Pennsylvania. My father encouraged me to take an anthropology course, and I enrolled in one taught by John Witthoft, which was fascinating. At the time, I had no specific geographical or temporal interests but continued taking anthropology courses.

That changed during the summer of 1973, when I participated in the Jagiellonian University Summer School of Polish Language and Culture under the auspices of the Kościuszko Foundation in Kraków. In order to impress a young woman from Boston with my knowledge of archaeology, I suggested that she accompany me to the Archaeological Museum on ul. Poselska. Here I encountered the Polish archaeological record for the first time. The flint blades and cores looked like the pictures in textbooks, and the pottery was so varied, unlike the tiny pieces I had found at the Byram site by the Delaware River earlier in the summer. The artifacts told a story much more interesting than the North American finds.

Returning to Penn in the fall, I tried to learn more about Polish archaeology and European prehistory in general. Luckily, University Museum library received many Polish archaeological periodicals, and the articles often had summaries in English or German. Slowly I acquired basic Polish archaeological vocabulary. Bernard Wailes taught European prehistory, and I enrolled in his courses. I also discovered Konrad Jazdźewski's 1965 book *Poland* in the Ancient Peoples and Places series published by Thames and Hudson (Figure 1), which provided background for the finds I had seen in Kraków. On page 77, I encountered the Neolithic settlement at Brześć Kujawski and its iconic longhouses for the first time. My interest in Eastern European



archaeology led to admission to Harvard for graduate study under the supervision of Ruth Tringham, whose 1971 book *Hunters, Fishers and Farmers of Eastern Europe* provided the first modern post-Childe synthesis of the Neolithic and Copper Age of the region. At the same time, I gained archaeological experience at Franklin Court, site of Benjamin Franklin's home in Philadelphia with complex urban stratigraphy, on excavations conducted by the National Park Service.

Figure 1. On page 77 of *Poland* by Konrad Jazdźewski (1965), I first encountered the settlement plan of Brześć Kujawski 4.

1975 Reconnaissance

After graduating from Penn, I traveled to Poland in July 1975, with the goal of familiarizing myself with the archaeological landscape. I also traveled to Hungary and Austria to obtain a broader picture of central Europe. Much of this travel involved museum visits, but a chance stop at the Jagiellonian University Institute of Archaeology on ul. Gołębia in Kraków led to meeting Jan Chochorowski, an assistant in the Institute. He was traveling the following day to Kietrz in Silesia, where Marek Gedl was excavating the immense Urnfield cremation cemetery, and suggested that I come along. The next morning, I showed up at the Institute. After an eventful ride in a Nysa van which broke down twice, we arrived in Kietrz. Gedl was very welcoming, and he indicated that if I were to be in Poland in the future and wanted to take part in excavations, I should contact him.

My swing through Hungary and Austria was also illuminating, both to experience the contrast between adjacent and historically linked countries on either side of the Iron Curtain and to see the finds from Hallstatt in the Natural History Museum in Vienna. Returning to Poland, a visit to family in Łeczyca enabled me to explore the medieval stronghold at Tum (Figure 2), excavated by Ryszard Grygiel three decades later (R. Grygiel and T. Jurek 2014). My mother's cousin Waclaw Kulpiński in Łódź also took me on a one-day tour to visit excavations at Łęg Piekarski and Zadowice, whose significance I failed to appreciate at the time but which marked my first con-



Figure 2. View of the collegiate church at Tum from the ramparts of the early medieval stronghold taken by Peter Bogucki in 1975.

tact with fieldwork carried out by the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography. I also visited Biskupin and bought a stack of archaeology books at the Polish Academy of Science bookstore in the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw before returning to the United States.

That fall, I began studies at Harvard. Ruth Tringham was on sabbatical in 1975 – 76, so I took foundational graduate courses and spent a lot of time reading the books I'd bought in Warsaw. One of them stood out: Janusz Kruk's 1973 *Studia Osadnicze nad Neolitem Wyżyn Lessowych*, which I read concurrently with taking a course in settlement pattern analysis. My reading knowledge of Polish was not good, so I laboriously worked through the text with a dictionary. In doing so, I realized that I had encountered something different from the culture-history found in other Polish publications. Here was a problem-oriented regional analysis in the American style which opened my eyes to possibilities that could be found in Poland.

Help from Ewa Niesiołowska

In spring 1976, I determined that I needed to get fieldwork experience in Europe, and Poland was the obvious choice. My language skills, while still rudimentary, were improved by reading Kruk's text. I drafted a letter, had it corrected by my mother, and sent it to several Polish scholars whose names I found in the literature. My letter asked for the opportunity to work on any ongoing project planned for that summer, indicating that I would be financially self-sufficient. I was agnostic about what period interested me. Anything from the Palaeolithic to the Middle Ages would have been fine.

I sent one of my letters to my cousin, Ewa Niesiołowska, who worked at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź. Our grandparents came from the Łabędzki family of Łęczyca, and my mother had happy memories of summers at the Łabędzki country home in Mroga Dolna when she lived in Poland in the 1920s. After my mother's family returned to the United States in 1926, the family remained in contact, so that when I first visited Poland as a child in 1962, the ties were already strong.

In 1967, Ewa visited the United States. My aunt had arranged for her to take part in excavations at the Sheep Rock Shelter in central Pennsylvania conducted by Pennsylvania State University (J. W. Michels, J. S. Dutt, and I. F. Smith 1968). Sheep Rock remains one of the most important sites for understanding the Archaic period in Eastern North America. Its significance was recognized in 1958 by John Witthoft, then the Pennsylvania State Anthropologist before teaching at Penn. Today Sheep Rock lies deep under Raystown Lake, created by a dam on the Juniata River. Ewa's time at Sheep Rock was a formative episode for her personal and professional development. Perhaps this led her to help me find a similar experience in Poland.

Ewa wrote back quickly to say that the Museum would be starting excavations at Brześć Kujawski that summer. Would I like to join the expedition? My answer was immediate: of course! The opportunity to take part in excavations at such a remarkable site was not to be passed up. Ewa must have consulted with the museum director, Konrad Jażdżewski, to obtain his approval for such an offer, since he would need to issue an official invitation. It is important to understand that this arrangement did

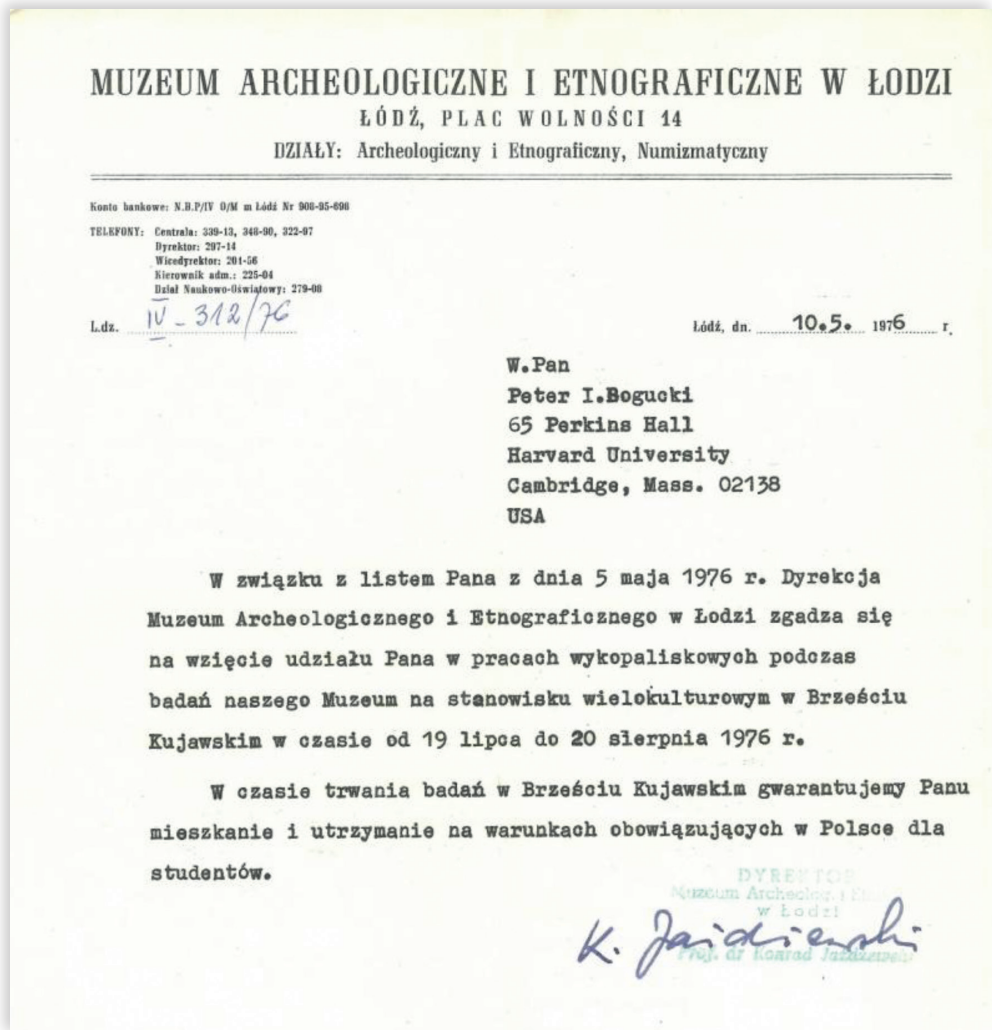


Figure 3. Letter from Konrad Jażdżewski of May 10, 1976, inviting me to participate in the excavations at Brześć Kujawski

not take place within any official program or exchange. It was simply *po znajomości* through Ewa. In retrospect, I realize that Jażdżewski needed to be confident and secure in his position as director in order to extend such an invitation under the official radar to an American.

In May 1976, I received a letter from Jażdżewski dated May 10, inviting me to participate in the excavations at Brześć Kujawski (Figure 3). This letter was essential for obtaining my visa to Poland, and more importantly, for being excused from the mandatory currency exchange (*obowiązkowa wymiana dewiz*). Visitors to the Polish Peoples' Republic (PRL) from hard-currency countries (i.e. outside the communist bloc) had to exchange a fixed amount of money at the official rate, far below the more favorable unofficial ("black market") rate. It was simply a cost of doing business in communist Poland, so being excused from it was crucial. I immediately completed an



Figure 4. Visas for my stay in the Polish Peoples' Republic in 1976. Left: original visa issued by the Polish Consulate in New York with stamp showing entry to Poland on June 23; right: extension of visa issued by the Milicja Obywatelska in Łódź.

application for a visa and sent my passport to the Polish consulate in New York City, and on May 18, a visa for 45 days was issued (Figure 3, left).

The excavations at Brześć Kujawski were scheduled to last from July 19 to August 20. For some reason, I miscalculated and scheduled flights on PanAm from New York (JFK) via Copenhagen to Warsaw departing in June 22, which would mean that 45 days would take me to about August 7, before the scheduled end of the excavations (Figure 3). The previous year I had made in-country changes to my visa by visiting local *Milicja Obywatelska* headquarters, so I anticipated that I would need to do it again.

Concurrently with making the arrangements to work at Brześć Kujawski, I also contacted Gedl to participate in the excavations at Kietrz for three weeks between June 28 and July 16. The idea was that I would end work there on a Friday and head for Brześć Kujawski in time for the scheduled start of excavations on July 19. Complications arose, however.

First Arrival in Łódź

After I arrived in Poland on the morning of June 23, I made plans to travel to Łódź to introduce myself to the principal investigators, Dr. Henryk Wiklak, and his young assistant, Mgr. Ryszard Grygiel. After recovering from jet lag, I called Ewa to let her know I was coming and bought a ticket to Łódź for the morning of June 24. She met me at Łódź Fabryczna and brought me to the Museum. We spent some time talking in Ewa's office, room 307. She told me that Wiklak and Grygiel were at Brześć Kujawski that day making measurements (*pomiary*) to decide where to locate that year's excavations.

Wiklak and Grygiel returned from Brześć Kujawski around mid-afternoon. My first impression was seeing them wash dirt of Site 4 from their feet in the deep sink along the third-floor hallway in the Museum. We then went to Ewa's office to get acquainted. Neither knew how much I already knew about Brześć Kujawski and probably assumed that I was a total beginner in archaeology. We discussed the plans, and I believe it was then that I learned that the scheduled departure for Brześć Kujawski had been pushed back to August 2.

A bit of consternation had arisen since a letter had arrived from Bernard Wailes, my professor from Penn. I had told Bernard that I expected the excavations to begin on July 19, and he had written to Wiklak from Ireland to say that he would be in Poland in mid-July to visit the Smithsonian-funded excavations at Bronocice near Kraków and would welcome an opportunity to visit Brześć Kujawski beforehand. I wrote back to Bernard's address in Dún Laoghaire to let him know that the work had been postponed to the beginning of August and suggested we get together in Warsaw.

It was lucky that I had chosen to come to Łódź on June 24. On Friday, June 25, the workers at the tractor factory at Ursus went on strike to protest price increases on

staple foods and blocked the rail lines outside the factory. Until the strikers dispersed, and the remainder brutally cleared by the authorities that evening, trains could not pass. Even some of the tracks were pulled up. Although I would have made it past Ursus to Łódź in the morning before the workers marched from the factory to the tracks, the blockage would have prevented my return that evening from Łódź to Warsaw. Thus I missed my brush with history, for the 1976 Ursus strike was one of the major events in the buildup to August 1980. Safely back in Warsaw I was completely unaware of what was going on, so I rearranged my homeward travel via France to attend the ninth congress of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (UISPP) in Nice in September.

Kietrz Interlude

By Saturday, June 26, the Ursus tracks had been unblocked, and I took the train from Warsaw to Katowice (without a problem, and there was no indication the tracks had been blocked only hours before) and from there a bus to Kietrz. The bus was packed, and I stood most of the way. I arrived where the Kraków expedition was staying in the evening and after dinner was shown to a bed between those of two students, Jacek Rydlewski and Paweł Valde-Nowak, while the other male and female students were in other rooms. Paweł and Jacek immediately struck me as more serious than the other students, and we hit it off. We were working in the midst of the European heat wave of 1976, so work started at the site at dawn (in late June, around 4 AM) and excavated cremation burials until noon. After *obiad*, while other students relaxed, Paweł, Jacek, and I roamed over the Upper Silesian countryside, examining loess escarpments for Palaeolithic flints. Paweł is now a professor at the Jagiellonian University and remains a good friend today.

I left Kietrz and returned to Warsaw via Wrocław on July 17 – 18. Later that week, I welcomed Bernard Wailes and Kathleen Ryan. My letter to Bernard telling of the delay in the Brześć Kujawski excavations had reached him in Ireland, but he was not expected at Bronocice until the next week, so he had several days to spend in Warsaw. I was happy to show Bernard and Kathleen the city. Bernard had been forced to exchange money at the official rate, but since he wasn't a tourist, he was happy to spend it on beer, and we had several long discussions about the state of archaeology and current trends, after which I staggered home to my cousins' apartment.

Return to Łódź

Returning to Łódź for the week of July 26 – 30, I stayed with my uncle, Kazimierz Łabędzki, my mother's cousin and thus also Ewa Niesiołowska's uncle. Uncle

Kazik was born in Philadelphia but was crippled by polio before being carried back to Poland when the family returned in 1919. He survived World War II and its aftermath. By the mid-1970s he was living in a ground-floor apartment in a courtyard off ul. Nowotki (now Pomorska), not far from the Museum. Despite having no use of his legs, he had tremendous upper-body strength and got around in a wagon propelled by a hand-crank that drove the front wheels. Uncle Kazik was a kind and sympathetic man who wrote to us often in the U.S., even though he never returned to the land of his birth I'm immensely grateful to him for his kindness. Let me keep his memory alive by mentioning him here.

Since my visa was due to expire on August 7, I visited the *Milicja Obywatelska* on Thursday, July 29, to extend it. They only would extend it to August 22, since August 20 was the date on the letter from Jażdżewski, which meant that I needed make another visit to the MO headquarters in Włocławek if I wanted to stay for the full duration of the project (Figure 4 above, right). My ticket to Nice wasn't until September 10. My main recollection of this visit to the MO was a conversation in the corridor with a Nigerian student waiting to resolve a residency matter. His broken Polish matched my bad Polish. Only afterward did it occur to me that he was probably fluent in English.

Arrival in Stary Brześć

On Monday morning, August 2, I presented myself at the Museum. The Museum's Nysa was packed full, so Ryszard and I squeezed in back among the equipment, while Museum driver Stanisław Siander drove very carefully. The trip north on route 1 (today's DK91) through Łęczycza and Krosniewice took several hours. Flat Mazovian plains gave way to the gently rolling Kuyavian landscape. Ryszard and I conversed, and for the first time, he realized how bad my Polish was. I tried to explain to him my background, which was his introduction to archaeology as taught and practiced in America. He found my work at Franklin Court in Philadelphia curious, since in Poland the 18th century was hardly worthy of archaeological investigation. Finally, we turned off at Kowal onto the road to Brześć Kujawski. We eventually arrived at our base at the *Państwowe Technikum Rolnicze* (PTR, now *Zespół Szkół Centrum Kształcenia Rolniczego im. Jadwigi Dziubińskiej*) in Stary Brześć and unloaded our equipment and luggage. Our quarters were unusually comfortable for an archaeological expedition, in a small building with several large rooms. I was given a bed, table, and chair for my use (Figure 5). That evening, we walked across the Włocławek-Brześć road, down to the bottomland of drying Lake Smętowo, and up the slope on the other side. There I had my first glimpse of the famous Site 4, covered with ripening grain.



Figure 5. Accommodations in 1976 at the Państwowe Technikum Rolnicze in Stary Brześć (photo by Leon Dezwol).

Starting work: August 3, 1976

August 3 dawned dry and bright, and we gathered our equipment and headed out to Site 4. Workers lined up earlier by Ryszard met us there, and a patch of grain was being cut with scythes by pupils from the PTR (Figure 6). Before starting, Ryszard insisted that we each dig ceremonial first shovelfuls of soil from Site 4 to commemorate the beginning of our work. He clearly had a sense of the historic moment, for at that point it was not clear whether this would be a single season or whether my



Figure 6. Clearing the grain from the area to be excavated on Site 4 at start of 1976 excavations.

continued involvement would be welcomed. These photos have been preserved for posterity and can be seen in multiple publications (R. Grygiel 2011; 2020). I had been in Poland for over a month, so my silhouette in the photo is unusually trim.

Work proceeded apace, beginning with removal of the plow zone to the depth of a spade and then stripping the underlying layers in 10 cm. levels. Coming from the American tradition of hyper-cautious treatment of any context containing artifacts, I was initially horrified by this approach to excavation. On a North American site, each centimeter of soil would be carefully troweled and sifted, resulting in a tiny excavated area at the end of the season. It finally dawned on me that given the scale of the site and the fact that the primary archaeological data lay in the underlying features and not in the disturbed overburden, such a coarser approach was necessary. Today, of course, these layers on European Neolithic sites are often removed with diggers and backhoes, a practice that was starting at the time in western Europe. Doing it by hand enabled at least some archaeological information to be recovered, even if it had been out of its primary context after millennia of plowing.

Finally we got down to the boundary between the *warstwa kulturowa* and the sterile subsoil, and the features began to reveal themselves. We would excavate two 5 × 5 meter units at a time. Pits stood out clearly, as did the southern part of the bed-



Figure 7. Southwest corner of House 44, my first glimpse of a trapezoidal longhouse at Brześć Kujawski 4. Also visible is the southern portion of Pit 743, an early Lengyel feature.

ding trench of House 44 whose northern end had been excavated earlier (Figure 7). Here was one of the celebrated longhouses! It was cause for great celebration. Indeed there was more to find on Site 4.

Staying connected with home was a challenge in communist Poland. Mail from abroad, particularly from the United States, needed to be claimed at the post office and could not be delivered to the PTR. Since I was unable to leave the site during working hours when the post office was open, someone needed to pick it up for me. Zbigniew Czapiński was an 11-year-old who lived nearby on ul. Kilińskiego and had attached himself to the expedition (Figure 8). He was not able to do any digging, so he became a general factotum, helping hold the end of a tape measure, fetching tools from the storage shed, and bantering with the older teenagers on the crew. In order to allow Zbyszek to pick up my mail, I composed a document authorizing him to do so. It would only be accepted if the appropriate amount of treasury stamps (*znaczki skarbowe*) was attached to it. After completion of this formality, Zbyszek could call daily for my mail and telegrams at the post office. Then he would pick up two bottles of Pepsi, one for me and one for himself, before returning to Site 4. I would give him some money for his help, but unfortunately he spent it on cigarettes, a habit in which he had indulged already for several years.



Figure 8. Exploring features using putty knives as excavation tools and kraft paper envelopes for collecting artifacts. Zbyszek Czapiński at right, Jerzy Gmurski "supervises".

The exploration of the features provided the next revelations for me. In Pit 643, for the first time I saw incised Linear Pottery ware in its original context, along with flakes and blades of chocolate flint. We also found fragments of ceramic sieves that would become so important for us years later (P. Bogucki 1984; M. Salque et al. 2013), although at the time I did not appreciate their significance. In other features, we found characteristic mica-tempered pottery of the Brześć Kujawski Group along with tools made from Baltic erratic flint.

We also found our first graves. The most memorable was the burial of a child with extremely fragile bones. Cleaning and preparing this burial required extremely delicate work, and I was pleased to be asked to take it on. I lay on my stomach as I worked on each crumbling bone to expose it, yet leave it *in situ*. To shield myself from the wind, I set up a screen from some plastic sheets we found. After exposing the tiny contracted skeleton, I made a grid using nails and string over the burial that enabled me to draw it at a scale of 1:1 on a sheet of graph paper (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Drawing an infant burial at 1:1 using an improvised drawing frame.

One sunny day, Henryk Wiklak organized an excursion to visit the Kuyavian long barrows at Sarnowo and Wietrzychowice (Figure 10). He imprompted Zdisław Sikora, director of the PTR, to drive, since Sikora had a comfortable Volga sedan. We first visited the Sarnowo barrows that Wiklak and Lidia Gabałówna excavated in the late

1960s (H. Wiklak 1980, 1986), and whose flint artifacts had been studied by Ewa Niesiołowska (1982). Then we visited an acquaintance of Wiklak's near Sarnowo who was celebrated for the excellent honey his hives produced. He also had just cooked some fresh pork loin, which he shared with us. From there, we proceeded to Wietrzychowice, where I met Eugeniusz Paliwoda, the unofficial keeper of the reconstructed barrows.

On August 18, I visited the *Milicja Obywatelska* in Włocławek at their headquarters opposite the cathedral (currently the Diocesan Museum, *Włocławskie Muzeum Diecezjalne*). This visit proceeded smoothly since I was able to show my plane ticket out of Warsaw for September 10. I gave them my address at the PTR and explained what I was doing in Brześć Kujawski, and another visa was stamped in my passport. After this operation was done, I probably visited the International Press and Book Club (*Klub Międzynarodowej Prasy i Książki* or *MPiK*) located on ul. Warszawska, currently the Włocławek Public Library (*Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna*). There I could read a recent edition of the "International Herald Tribune" with news from America while drinking a cold Pepsi.



Figure 10. Visiting Wietrzychowice, August 1976 (photo by Henryk Wiklak).

It became clear that I could provide several items for future excavation campaigns to make our work easier. I had only one Marshalltown trowel with me, but it was superior to the putty knives that were the standard Polish excavation tool. More trowels would have been helpful as features, especially burials, were excavated. Polish-made millimeter graph paper was clearly made for people who did not make mistakes, since erasing a pencil line also wiped out the underlying grid. Graph paper made by the American firm of Keuffel and Esser, easily obtained at Harvard, could sustain multiple erasures. We needed aluminum foil for collecting uncontaminated charcoal samples for radiocarbon dating, as was the practice in the United States. A pocket calculator would have been very helpful. Plastic bags for food storage had been available in the U.S. since the 1960s, and it was clear that these would also be useful.

The outstanding preservation of bone on Site 4, whether it was the animal bones found in Pit 643 and the house bedding trenches or the human skeletons in graves, made a huge impression on me. This probably would not have been so obvious had I not participated in the Kietrz excavations. Even though the Kietrz burials were cremations in urns, it was clear that loess was a terrible environment for bone. Here at Site 4, in Kuyavian clay and gravel, bones were intact and solid, and there were enough to provide meaningful samples for understanding the Neolithic subsistence economy.

A visit from the secret police

Extending my visa in Włocławek set off alarms at the *Milicja Obywatelska*. Several days later, on a Sunday afternoon, I was alone on Site 4 preparing a burial (probably Grave LV) for photography. While I was working, two men in their 30s happened along. I had never seen them before. The two were clearly not farmers or manual workers, so they stood out. They asked what I was doing and about our work. I replied as best I could within the limits of my Polish, and they went away after about 5 – 10 minutes. Later, we learned that they were secret police (*Służba Bezpieczeństwa*,



Figure 11. Grygiel and Bogucki consult about excavation strategy (photo by Leon Dezwol).

or SB) who tracked me down and had been asking questions about me in town. They were particularly curious whether I had any interactions with local young women. Disappointed that the only dirt on me was the soil from Site 4, they went away and never came back. There was one problem, however. I had not registered in Brześć Kujawski (*zameldowanie na pobyt czasowy*), so I was quickly sent to the town hall on Plac Wandy Wasilewskiej (today Plac Władysława Łokietka) to take care of that formality.

Towards the end of the excavations, Ryszard and I made a field trip by bus to western Kuyavia to visit his colleagues from Poznań at Krusza Zamkowa. After a stop in Kruszwica, where I met Lech Czerniak for the first time, we continued on to the southern suburb of Inowrocław called Tupadły. It was lunchtime, so we crossed the Notec and were served a surprisingly tasty *obiad* at a nondescript pub, which is today a kayak-rental center (*Przystań Kajakowo-Żeglarska ZHR*). Leaving there, we encountered Aleksander Koško walking in our direction. He took us to see Krusza Zamkowa and then back to the expedition's base in Tupadły for conversation, after which we caught the bus back to Stary Brześć.

Summing up our intensive month of work, I think we demonstrated the remarkable potential remaining on Site 4 to produce information relevant to both the Linear Pottery occupation and the Brześć Kujawski Group settlement. Ryszard and I formed a cordial working relationship and became close friends (Figure 11). He could see that I was serious about archaeology and not just a young American dilettante, while I appreciated his passion for the Neolithic and his desire to do world-class research. The richness of the materials at Site 4 recovered during just four weeks told me this was something that I hoped could continue and that it could possibly lead to a dissertation project, although I had no idea yet what scope that could take.

Departure from Brześć Kujawski

The story does not end here, however. After we returned to Łódź, I said goodbye to Ryszard and took a slow train (*pociąg osobowy*) back to Warsaw, where I stayed with my relatives before departing for Nice on September 10. The UISPP conference had an important impact on my future involvement with research at Brześć Kujawski. It was my first professional conference, and it was a revelation, particularly the Neolithic papers. One morning, I heard a talk by Rudolph Kuper about the ongoing research on the Aldenhovener Platte in the Rhineland (R. Kuper 1976). His images of Linear Pottery settlements excavated across wide areas were amazing. Despite the chronological difference between them and our trapezoidal Lengyel houses (although he also showed the Rössen longhouse at Inden), they seized my imagination about the interpretive potential for what we found at Brześć Kujawski.

As part of the Nice conference, excursions were organized to sites in the surrounding Alpes- Maritimes. I signed up for one that visited Neolithic sites, including

a megalithic dolmen, where I boldly introduced myself to Glyn Daniel and Marija Gimbutas, and Fontbrégoua cave being excavated by Jean Courtin. During a lunch break on a mountain roadside, I sat down on the grass with James B. Griffin of the University of Michigan, a distinguished senior scholar in North American archaeology, and Richard Meadow, an advanced graduate student at Harvard who specialized in zooarchaeology. I had not met Richard before, although I had seen him in the Peabody Museum. He told me about the new Center for Materials Research in Archaeology and Ethnography, a consortium of Boston-area institutions based at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and that the coming year's course was going to be on archaeozoology and archaeobotany. I remembered the outstanding preservation of animal bones at Site 4 and saw an opportunity to develop an analytical specialty, so I made plans to enroll in the course.

Return to Boston

The Congress ended on Friday evening with a party given by Jacques Médecin, the French Secretary of State for Tourism and the Mayor of Nice, in the Jardin des Arènes de Cimiez. Folksingers and costumed dancers mingled with the archaeologists, and kiosks dispensed baguettes with *salade niçoise*. At that moment, Brześć Kujawski seemed a long way away. On Saturday, September 18, I boarded an Air France 707 for a flight back to Zürich, and from there flew on a Swissair DC-10 back to Boston, where the young woman I had invited to visit the Archaeological Museum in Kraków three years earlier met me at the airport.

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