

Cultures of remembrance, cultures of forgetting

The past in the post-LBK societies in Rhineland and Kuyavia

By Joanna Pyzel

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Introduction

In conventional archaeology prehistoric communities are perceived mainly from the perspective of their own time period, neglecting their historicity. The past in the past has become a more popular topic since the 1980s due to the “memory boom” (WINTER 2001) in the humanities and social sciences of recent decades. Most often, the concept of collective or social memory, and its relation to academic history, the functioning of various past images, as well as the mechanisms of remembering (or forgetting) them, is the object of reflection (e.g. HALBWACHS 1950; 1992; ASSMANN 1992; 2009; LE GOFF 1992; NORA 1997; RICOEUR 2000; LOWENTHAL 2015). However, the concept of memory is used mainly in relation to our present times, which are described as an “age of ardent, embattled, almost fetishistic ‘memorialism’” (NORA 2001/02, 18). Reflection on the past in the past, its material remains and references to them is much less frequent. In archaeology, this issue has been discussed so far mainly in the UK, within the framework of post-processual archaeology (cf. BRADLEY / WILLIAMS 1998; BRADLEY 2002; WILLIAMS 2003; CHADWICK / GIBSON 2013). Due to the strong international impact of the whole British discipline this specific discourse was also taken up by some scholars from other, not only English-speaking countries (e.g. HOLTORF 1998). The main research focus was put on temporal dimensions of space and place (see recent overview by SOUVATZI ET AL. 2018, further references therein), especially on different monuments and their re-use, afterlife or later stages of biography (recently DÍAZ-GUARDAMINO ET AL. 2016). Some of these features, especially in Britain, originated in the Early Neolithic, therefore this period attracted the attention of such studies from the very beginning. Monuments (for the definition see FURHOLT 2012) are themselves referential in their nature; they are often regarded as a prime example of so called places of memory (*lieu de mémoire*: NORA 1997) or an expression of inscribing practices of social memory transmission in non-literate societies, opposed to much more intangible, mobile and transient incorporating practices (CONNERTON 1989). Archaeology pays particular attention to relations between material culture and memory, discussing the archaeological visibility of different commemorative practices, either habituated or conscious (e.g. ROWLANDS 1993; VAN DYKE / ALCOCK 2003; JOYCE 2000; OLSEN 2010). I. Hodder recently named both of them “history making” (HODDER 2012) and argued

that it “is an early and key part of the Neolithic process” (HODDER 2016, 5). Many other scholars also stress the fundamentally different meaning of time among farmers and hunter-gatherers (e. g. BRADLEY 1993; WATKINS 2012), which does not imply that the latter can be regarded as people without history, irrespective of how much this issue is neglected in the memory discourse in archaeology. However, the past is important for foragers especially to designate different places in their landscape, whereas farmers need more temporal depth for task planning and to legitimate different rights and create a common identity of a much larger group.

The issue of memory or history making in the Neolithic has been discussed so far for the Near East, Britain and some other regions but there is a temporal and spatial gap between them covering the so called Danubian cultures in Central Europe. Few exceptions address the Linear Pottery Culture (further LBK) alone (BRADLEY 2001; JONES 2007; WHITTLE 2012; HOFMANN 2013). They are written mainly from the external perspective and stress the importance of two elements sometimes used in the commemorative practices of the first farmers: houses and graves. The lack of interest among most LBK and post-LBK specialists does not only reflect different methodological orientations; it can be also explained with the apparently more mundane and impermanent character of these settlement features as opposed to real megalithic monuments. However, the first farmers of the LBK built stable, long-lasting villages of, in terms of size, truly monumental longhouses. Their impact on the hitherto untransformed landscape was therefore immense and their traces must have been visible for a long time, introducing a completely new quality of landscape, regardless of the question of how inappropriate the modern culture-nature divide is for the interpretation of prehistory. These traces challenged following generations to make reference to them; however, it is difficult to estimate the real endurance of such abandoned settlements. During the Early Neolithic most of Central Europe was covered by natural forest of diverse types and local Danubian clearances did not cause very serious changes in these ecosystems. Therefore, we can assume subsequent forest regeneration at abandoned villages and fields although neither palynological data nor modern forest maturity models (MATUSZKIEWICZ ET AL. 2013) give us sufficient information to estimate the exact duration of this process. Nevertheless, we know that it is very long-lasting and that a secondary forest was different from a virgin one for many generations. Furthermore, people in the Neolithic were probably much more receptive to such deviations in the environment and could interpret them. Traces of abandoned villages could be visible in the form of different vegetation as well as unexpected roughness in terrain. There are very few examples of house overlappings in the LBK, it is assumed that most of them were not demolished but simply left to decay. Ruined Danubian longhouses are thus often reproduced in Neolithic literature as earthen long mounds and this image has always played an important role in the discussion of the transformation of houses of the living into houses of the dead (e. g. BRADLEY 1998, 39 fig. 13) and thus the genesis of long barrows of the Funnel Beaker Culture (further TRB; e. g. MIDGLEY 2005, further references therein).

Singular examples from different regions of the LBK world demonstrate that traces of longhouses could have indeed been visible for a long time. At Schwanfeld, Ldkr. Schweinfurt in Lower Franconia, which is also an interesting example of commemorative practices within the LBK, five buildings of the Middle Neolithic Großgartach Culture (further GG) were erected among 650-years-older houses of the early LBK, without cutting their layouts (LÜNING 2011; FRÖHLICH 2017). At Roztoky, okr. Praha-západ, Central Bohemia, a single construction of the Late Stroke Pottery Culture (further SBK) or Early Lengyel Culture was also built on a several hundred years older LBK village, perfectly overlapping an abandoned longhouse by referring to its plan and orientation (KUNA 1991). Another interesting

example comes from the same region, from Miskovice, okr. Kutná Hora, where a graveyard of the SBK was established at the older LBK village and the location of burials made reference to the position of Early Neolithic houses (ZÁPOTOCKÁ 1998, 47). At Wittmar, Ldkr. Wolfenbüttel, in Lower Saxony graves of the SBK and Rössen Culture (further RÖ) also concerned the location of 300-years-older LBK burials and astonishingly the reference can also be suggested even for the layout of the cemetery and the rules of the deposition of grave goods (RÖTTING 1983; 1985; RINNE / KRAUSE-KYORA 2014).

Singular other examples significantly exceed the limit of the 5th millennium and a few centuries' time difference. At Stary Zamek, Comm. Sobótka, in Lower Silesia three graves surrounding LBK longhouses, which had been regarded as contemporary, were recently radiocarbon dated to the Corded Ware Culture, known from frequently placing their dead in the vicinity of older monuments (JEUNESSE 2014). Other cases are even later; however, they refer to more extraordinary features than longhouses. At Nieder-Mörlen, Wetteraukreis, in Hesse a Celtic burial dated to LaBlä was found in the middle of a strange LBK structure, interpreted as a circular mound (LÜNING 2009, 135). At Frimmersdorf 141, Rhein-Kreis Neuss, in Rhineland elongated ruts interpreted as Roman cart tracks run through entrances in an LBK enclosure, presumably avoiding the rows (ZUR 2015).

These examples provoke the question of how the old settlements were regarded by communities of younger Danubian cultures following shortly after the LBK.

The interpretation of various traces of re-use of old structures is ambiguous as their intentionality, in the case of the palimpsest nature of most prehistoric sites, is not obvious at all – the mere fact of overlapping objects from different periods does not mean that it was a deliberate action, not to mention a commemorative practice. In this paper I will concentrate on the search of relative unequivocal stratigraphic relations of such distinct settlement structures as houses and graves, which will be a starting point for the interpretation of other cases of re-use.

Another important research question is whether, in the case of references to the past, the settlement, population, cultural and ideological continuity is necessary or if appropriation of the past may represent more disjunctive memories (MESKELL 2003) or even so called invented tradition (HOBBSAWM / RANGER 1983) and what group or groups made these references, whether we record traces of one or several, maybe even competing collective memories.

In order to avoid the accusation of simply listing spectacular singular examples of reference, which can be a pure coincidence, I decided to study this issue more systematically for two regions: Rhineland and Kuyavia¹. They are quite distant within the LBK ecumene, the development of Danubian communities followed different trajectories there. What they both have in common is a good state of research which enables comparison. I adopted both a synchronous (largely co-existing later Danubian cultures) and a diachronic perspective, analysing individual successive units of this cultural circle for each of these regions. I limited my studies to settlement remains, analysing them at two levels. At the macro-regional scale, covering all these regions, the subject of analyses were entire sites, known mainly from survey. Their location and settlement preferences of various units of the Danubian circle as well as the issue of the coexistence of settlement traces of different cultures on one site were analysed. The micro-regional analysis involved selected small study areas where large-scale rescue excavations were conducted in the recent past, largely unpublished yet.

¹ This paper presents a summary of a much more comprehensive study published recently in Polish by PYZEL 2018.

For this level of research much more detailed dependency analyses of the settlement of Danubian cultures could be conducted. Such a strategy was aimed at a more systematic examination whether the reference to the past was widespread, or whether it occurred only occasionally, or did not occur at all.

Rhineland

The name Rhineland refers to a loosely defined region on the banks of the middle Rhine. Its territory, determined administratively in the 19th century, is now divided into two German states: Rhineland-Palatinate in the South and North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) in the North. In this paper I will restrict my research only to the latter as the quite compact settlement area of the Danubian cultures there is naturally delineated. It is restricted mainly to the lowland parts of the North German Plain, especially to the Lower Rhine Bay, bordered to the west, east and south by the slopes of the Central Uplands. This region² is considered as one of the best studied in the whole LBK ecumene, not only due to the first unprecedentedly large-scaled excavated settlement at Köln-Lindenthal (MATZERATH ET AL. 2015, further references therein), but above all because of much more numerous other extensive rescue excavations in the Rhenish lignite-mining region.

Some associated special research programmes focused *particularly* on the Neolithic; however, the state of investigation of single chronological units is not comparable and lies clearly in favour of the LBK (see ZIMMERMANN ET AL. 2006 for the summary of research).

The first Neolithic farmers arrived in this region from the South, from the Rhine-Main Area at about 5300 BC, at the very beginning of the middle LBK (Flomborn) and remained there for about 15 phases of c. 25 years length, so called house generations (HG I–XV) until c. 4950–4925 BC. They established a stable settlement network consisting of clusters of larger, grounding central sites with associated satellite hamlets. The beginning of the 5th millennium marks a distinct typological and chronological hiatus of one to four generations between the LBK and succeeding Middle Neolithic (MN) cultures³. New settlers belonged already to the middle GG, which was subsequently followed by the RÖ. Both cultures continued the longhouse Danubian tradition, although their settlement structure was different from that of the LBK: instead of small settlement clusters single larger but shortly-lived villages appeared. It is assumed that the initial population density was lower than during the LBK and it was not until the middle RÖ when it reached comparable values. The end of the RÖ is dated to c. 4600 BC, followed by the Bischheim Culture, situated on the threshold of the Younger Neolithic and thus traditionally not included in studies on the MN (ZIMMERMANN ET AL. 2006). It will not be considered in this paper either.

Macroregional analysis and examples of re-use

Cataloguing of all known archaeological sites in NRW is the responsibility of the state cultural heritage protection office (LVR-Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland). Its computer database (BODEON), however, operates with a single activity (excavation, survey etc.) and not a site as a basic unit of description. For the LBK in NRW a new map was published in 2015 (HEINEN / MÜNCH 2015, 127 fig. 3; see *Fig. 1*). The accompanying

² In German publications traditionally referred to simply as Rhineland and I follow this tradition.

³ Recent Bayesian models for the Upper Rhine Valley

suggest even a much longer chronological hiatus between the LBK and its direct typological successor Hinkelstein (DENAIRE ET AL. 2017).

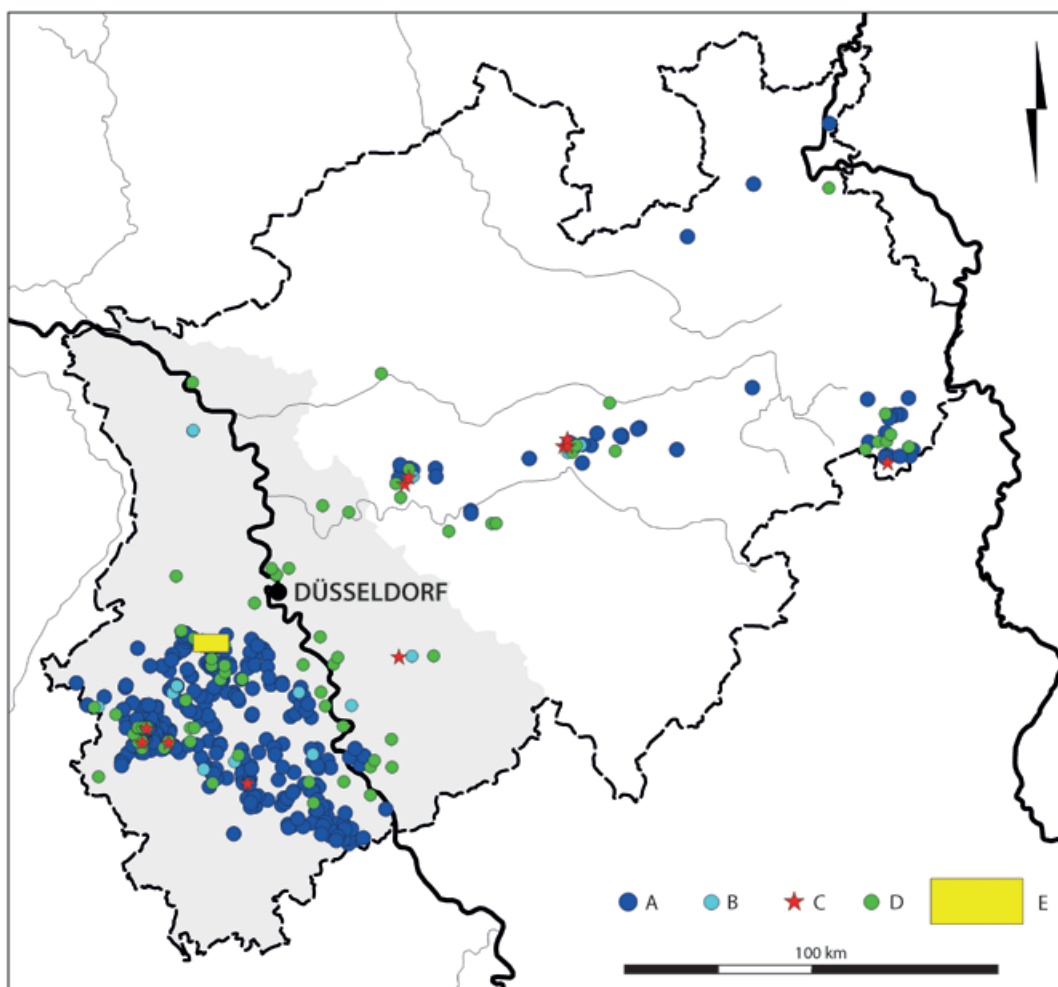


Fig. 1. Early and Middle Neolithic settlement in North Rhine-Westphalia (Rhineland marked in grey).
A – LBK sites; B – GG sites; C – GG and RÖ sites; D – RÖ sites; E – case study area.

list⁴ contains only in Rhineland 308 sites, four without exact location, with additional information on different activities conducted there for 243 sites. More than a half of them (145) were the focus of smaller or more extensive excavations.

A similar map for the MN in NRW was published in 2010 (ARORA ET AL. 2010, 67 fig. 1; see *Fig. 1*). It depicts twelve GG and 59 RÖ sites in Rhineland and some others with inventories dated only to the MN. The BODEON database contains 365 activities (ten GG, 87 RÖ, 25 Bischheim, 222 MN, 21 MN with other periods) which can be reduced to 300 sites but it is not complete. Most of the sites are known from the survey and the quite general chronological designation to the MN can be questioned as it relies mainly on the finds of Rullen flint artefact, usually but not exclusively used in this period.

⁴ I thank Ulla Münch for sharing it with me and for her help in using the BODEON database.

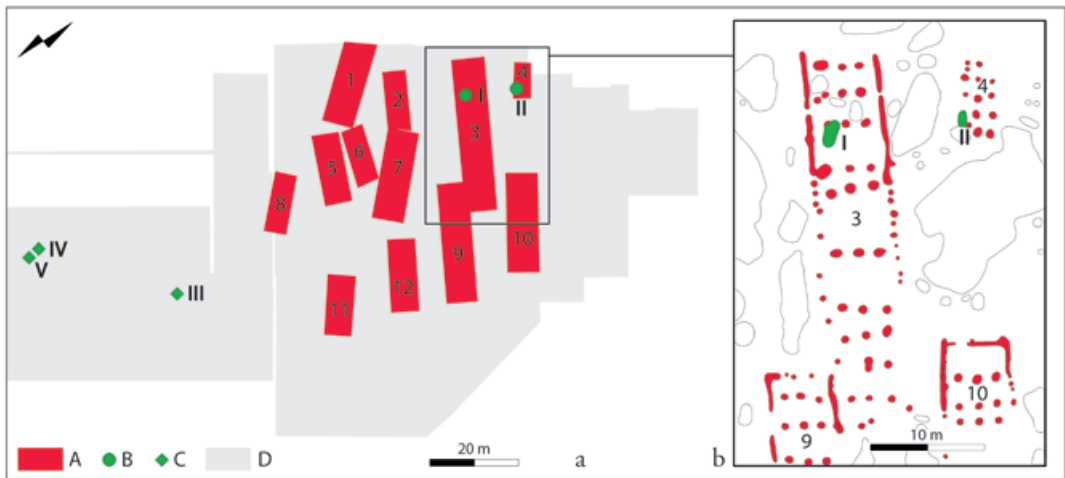


Fig. 2. Müddersheim, Kr. Düren. a Schematic plan of the settlement. b Section of the site. A – LBK houses; B – RÖ burials in extended position; C – RÖ burials in crouched position; D – excavated area.

Macro-regional analysis of the location of the sites revealed a high similarity of settlement preferences of all Danubian cultures, although for the RÖ it is possible to observe the gradual widening of the ecumene range to previously unused land, especially lowland and mountainous areas.

29 sites from the database were dated both to the LBK and the MN: three to the LBK and the GG, five to the LBK and the RÖ, all others to the MN in general. Most of them are known only from survey, only on seven some larger, smaller or just test excavations took place. If we consider only them in relation to all other excavated sites, the proportion of the LBK-MN coexistence is very low and the fact that some already known and published sites have not been so far considered in this database does not change a great deal.

For example the famous site at Müddersheim, Kr. Düren, excavated in the 1950s, was not mentioned in the database, although apart from twelve LBK longhouses at least two, probably five graves of the RÖ were found there (Fig. 2a). Furthermore, two of them seem to be intentionally placed within north-west parts of neighbouring LBK constructions (Fig. 2b; SCHIETZEL 1965). Apart from this exceptional discovery only a quite trivial, though very seldom re-use could be documented at Frimmersdorf 122 / Königshoven 4, Erftkreis, where a solitary RÖ pit was dug among LBK features belonging to a single household (CLASSEN 1999). Finds of both cultures were also found at Kaster 1, Rhein-Erft Kreis, an unusual site on the river Erft, where a huge amount of wood with dendro-chronological estimations covering the time span of almost a millennium (SCHMIDT / GRUHLE 2003) with some artefacts of the LBK and the RÖ could be recorded. According to primary reports the latter should be *in situ*, whereas the first transported and accumulated by water (KUPER ET AL. 1975). However, this interpretation needs to be revisited, considering some heavy grinding stones among the finds.

Although there is no hiatus between the GG and the RÖ, sites occupied by both cultures are rare. Important excavated examples of settlement continuity come from Hambach 260 (DOHRN-IHMIG 1983a) and Garzweiler FR 2007/003 (MÜNCH / FRANZEN 2007), where traces of regular inhabitation were registered.

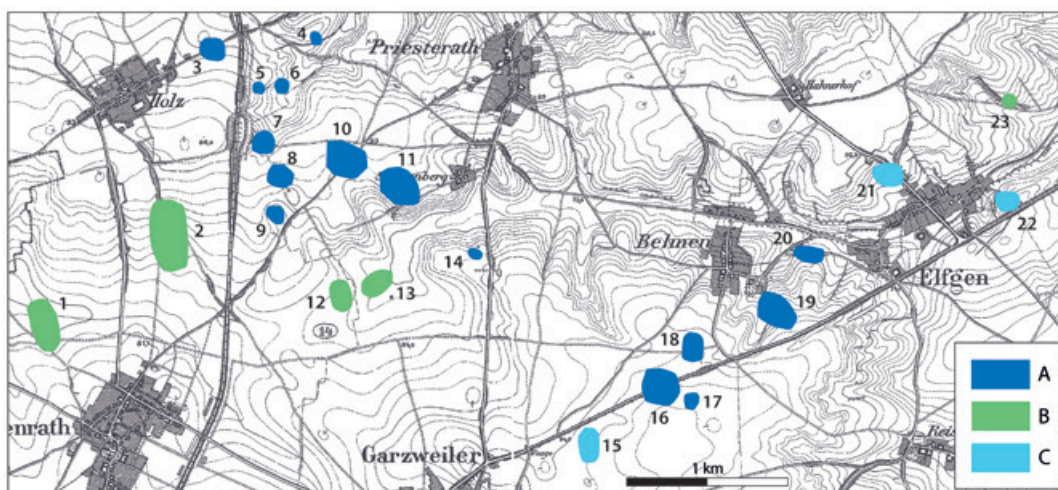


Fig. 3. Map of the case study area in Rhineland. A – LBK sites; B – MN sites; C – LBK and MN sites. Numbers according to *Table 1*.

Similar occupational remains of the GG could be recorded despite the assumed hiatus on three LBK sites: at neighbouring Hasselsweiler 1 and 2, Kr. Düren, and Erftstadt-Gymnich “Grisfeld”, Rhein-Erft-Kreis (KUPER ET AL. 1975; BOELICKE ET AL. 1977; 1979; 1980; 1981; WOLTERS 1977; 1979; ZIMMERMANN 2006b; BIERMANN 2008).

Microregional analysis – a case study

The issue of spatial relations between the LBK and the MN cultures was studied more systematically for a well-researched area of the Aldenhovener Platte within the Rhenish lignite-mining region, especially for the middle Merzbach valley. The map of the MN settlement with abandoned LBK sites depicted in the background (ZIMMERMANN ET AL. 2006, 181 fig. 12) perfectly illustrates how the post-LBK societies clearly avoided these places, locating their own villages also on the river banks, sometimes quite close (as in the case of Niedermerz 1B) but either above or below the LBK *Siedlungskammer*. The Merzbach valley project focused explicitly on the LBK and therefore I decided to take a closer look at a similar area of emergency excavations but without so clearly defined research objectives. The case study region lies c. 25 km to the north-east of the Aldenhovener Platte, at the northern border of the Jülich Börde loess landscape (*Fig. 1*). It is located within the Garzweiler surface mine, between Holz, Otzenrath, Priesterrath, and Garzweiler, Rhein-Kreis Neuss (*Fig. 3*). This 9.5 km² large area is transected from the west to the east by the upper valley of the small river Elsbach, which was as yet dry during the Atlantic Period (GERLACH / MEURERS-BALKE 2014). Due to intensive geological research other transformations such as the high rate of erosion that had taken place since that time could be estimated as well (BECKER 2005, further references therein).

The whole area has been now destroyed by the surface mine, which is why extensive archaeological research took place beforehand, mainly intensive, sometimes multi-stage surface survey. Some research was conducted within the common research project of the University of Cologne and RWTH Aachen University “Beiträge zur urgeschichtlichen

Site no.	activity	research			chronology			
		S	M	E	LBK	GG	RÖ	MN
1.	PR 1992/0514	v						v
2.	FR 2007/0113		v					v
3.	FR 2010/0037, FR 2010/0039, FR 2011/0007		v	v	v			
4.	OA 1979/0258	v			v			
5.	OA 1976/0145	v		v	v			
6.	OA 1976/0144	v			v			
7.	OA 0001/0763, OA 1977/0065, PR 1993/0116, FR 2009/0002	v		v	v			
8.	FR 2007/0114, FR 2008/0100		v	v	v			
9.	FR 2008/0107			v	v			
10.	FR 2003/0062 (FR141)			v	v			
11.	OA 1967/0392, OA 1989/0117, FR 1989/0002, FR 2002/0226, PR 2003/3017 (FR 139)	v	v	v	v			
12.	FR 1989/0038	v						v
13.	FR 2007/0003			v		v	v	
14.	OA 1967/0396	v			v			
15.	FR 1989/0026	v			v			v
16.	OA 0001/0408, OA 1986/0173, FR 1990/0272, FR 1995/0358	v			v			
17.	OA 0001/422	v		m	v			
18.	FR 1986/0138, FR 1986/0137, FR 1989/0159	v		m	v			
19.	FR 1986/0270, FR 1987/0049 (FR 85)	v		v	v			
20.	FR 1988/0107			m	v			
21.	FR 1986/0132, FR 1988/0039, FR 1988/0121 (FR 098)	v		v	v			v
22.	OA 1985/0095	v			v			v
23.	FR 1988/0145 (FR 099)			v				v

Tab. 1. LBK and MN sites in the case study area in Rhineland (numbers according to *Fig. 3*). S – fieldwalking; M – magnetic prospection; E – excavations (m – monitoring during preliminary stages of opencast mining).

Landschaftsnutzung im Braunkohlerevier (LANU)”, which lays the main focus on the survey, including magnetic prospecting and small test excavations of selected sites (cf. FISCHER ET AL. 2008).

According to the BODEON database altogether 32 activities dated to the LBK and ten connected with the MN are located within the case study area. Some of them took place at the same spot and could thereby be reduced to 23 sites (*Tab. 1; Fig. 3*), although the boundaries between them were not always distinct, as illustrated by the case of LBK survey sites no. 16, 17, and 18, situated a few hundred metres apart.

Eight sites are known only from fieldwalking. Four sites became places of magnetic survey, in three cases followed by subsequent excavations. Altogether at 14 sites diggings of different scale were conducted, whereby this number comprises also three events of monitoring performed already during preliminary stages of opencast mining activities. 18 sites were dated to the LBK and only one to both the GG and the RÖ, while seven were estimated more generally as the MN and three of them simultaneously also as the LBK. In one case (site no. 15) it is a loose find of a stone adze (BEYER / JÜRGENS 1992, 349), which is not very distinctive and thus multicultural but anyway not representing real traces of occupation of both chronological stages. In the case of site 22, known only from survey, eight pieces of pottery were registered: their preliminary classification to the LBK and the MN (BEYER ET AL. 1989, 427) is not confirmed in the BODEON database, which associates this site only with the LBK. Site no. 21 was excavated to a small extent only and few non-distinctive features estimated in general as the MN were discovered. Field walking conducted two years before had revealed some finds dated to the LBK, but traces of its occupation could not be confirmed either through succeeding intensive survey or excavations.

In this part of the case study area we can suppose a partially overlapping of spaces used by the LBK and the MN. Apart from the site no. 21 also no. 23 should be connected with the MN – the site was even excavated, although the MN finds came only from the previous survey and could not be confirmed by the digging.

LBK sites in this zone cluster to a group (sites nos 15–22) stretching over 2.5 km along the southern edge of the river valley. Apart from the above mentioned sites solely the site no. 19 (FR 85) was excavated in this group with only a small fragment of the settlement unearthed there, which consisted of four longhouses, dated to the younger LBK (HG XII and XIII). Analysis of flint artefacts indicates that it was a receivers' site, without any traces of a central site function (PRADE 2008). Site no. 16, known from multiple surveys, seems to be quite a large site, not only because of numerous finds, but also because of vast traces of disturbed pits visible on the surface (cf. BEYER / JÜRGENS 1992, 342).

The other cluster is located c. 1 km to the north-west, on the northern side of the river and consists of altogether eight sites situated not directly on the river bank but on an L-shaped ridge stretching also further towards the north. Five of these sites were excavated and are at least partially analysed, which enables a reconstruction of the internal structure and hierarchy within this group. However, it is difficult to estimate the relationship it maintained with the southern settlement cluster.

The settlement in this group started with the grounding site no. 11 (FR 139). It has not been completely excavated, although altogether 77 longhouses could be detected at the area of 12 360 m² (ARORA 2003). According to magnetic survey the whole settlement stretched over an area of 70 000 m² (WIPPERN 2003). Although the analysis of artefacts has not been completed yet, preliminary results⁵ indicate that the site was occupied continuously from HG II to HG XV and it was a central site for the whole group.

Site no. 10 (FR 141) located some hundred metres to the North was in contrast almost completely excavated. It was a large village consisting of 54 longhouses, arranged in some astonishingly regular rows, all surrounded by an external ditch. According to the results of pottery analysis it could be estimated that it was occupied from HG IX to XV, gaining more importance through time – at the end, when the enclosure was dug, it could have

⁵ I thank Christiane Krahn for this information.

functioned as a kind of refuge also for neighbouring villages. In general, it is interpreted as a so called second order centre in Rhineland LBK site hierarchy (ZUR 2015). Two other sites situated more to the west and north, no. 8 (FR 2008/100) and 7 (FR 2009/0002), were much smaller and consisted of few houses, representing so called *Nebensiedlungen*, dated to the middle and late LBK (FRANK 2010; DAMEN 2011). The furthest northern site no. 3 (FR 2010/0037), located at the northern slope of the L-shaped ridge was a cemetery consisting of 52 graves, among them 19 without any grave goods. Bones, as usual in this region, were not preserved (RICHTER 2010). The analysis of this site has not been finished yet, which makes any detailed chronological estimations within the internal chronology of this microregion not possible at the moment.

No traces of MN occupation were detected at the whole L-shaped ridge. Instead, they are suggested more to the west, at sites no. 1 and 2. However, the dating of the latter, despite the description in the database is questionable: this site is known only from magnetic survey and no anomalies observed there validate such estimations⁶.

Two other sites (nos 12–13) situated c. 500 metres to the south of the LBK settlement cluster are dated to the MN as well. Site no. 12 is known only from fieldwalking, whereas no. 13 (FR 2007/0003) solely from excavations, conducted quite rapidly after preliminary earthworks of the opencast mine destroyed the first archaeological features. Remains of a settlement consisting of altogether eleven longhouses of an irregular linear arrangement, dated preliminarily to both the GG and the RÖ, were registered before the final destruction. No traces of previous LBK occupation were discovered here (MÜNCH / FRANZEN 2007).

Hence, it may be concluded that the case study area was occupied much more intensively by the LBK communities, whose settlement traces remained in two distinct clusters. They were definitely avoided by following MN groups. It can be undoubtedly demonstrated especially for the much better investigated northern group. MN communities – the GG as well as the RÖ – settled in the close vicinity in the south, on a distinct landform. However, their settlement placement can be hardly interpreted by a different preference of location, expressed in selecting mainly higher places at watershed ridges as J. LÜNING (1982) once suggested. The avoidance of abandoned LBK villages thus seems to be much more determined by other factors influencing the choice of settlement location.

In the case of the southern cluster this disjunction is not so clear, although doubtless examples of a place's re-use are lacking as well. At most, we might be dealing here with a partial overlapping of LBK and MN settlement areas.

Notable in this context is that only two kilometres to the south of the case study area a settlement cluster of RÖ and Bischheim was found, located along a valley stretching from the north east towards the south west (ZIMMERMANN 2006a). It was occupied continuously from the late RÖ to Bischheim, but absolutely no traces of the LBK were found in this microregion – the nearest sites of this culture were recorded about 1.5 km to the east.

Therefore, it seems that the avoidance of old LBK villages by the MN communities in Rhineland was too prevalent and repetitive to be purely coincidental and must be interpreted as deliberate and intentional. It was by no means a general pattern of practices of the GG as well as the RÖ, which can be best demonstrated by the example of the recent discovery at Bad Sassendorf-Lohne, Kr. Soest, in Westfalia. Due to emergency excavations a large LBK village consisting of c. 30 houses was unearthed. It is partially superimposed by the MN settlement: both of the GG and the RÖ. 16 houses were assigned to this period,

⁶ I thank Franziska Schmidt for this information.

some of them overlapping LBK buildings, others placed between them, making reference to their orientation (KEMPKE / CIESIELSKI 2014; SCHÖNFELD / JÖNS 2015). This example clearly indicates that MN societies were very well aware of the existence of older structures at this spot and, interestingly, referred to them in various ways. In Rhineland abandoned villages must have been visible as well even if their reception was different.

Kuyavia

Kuyavia, a southern part of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, is a distinct historical and cultural region in mid-north Poland, on the left bank of the River Vistula, between Greater Poland, Mazovia, and Pomerania. Due to a favourable location at the crossroads of natural communication routes, fertile soils of a quality comparable to upland loess areas, and last but not least salt, both as rock outcrops and spring water, Kuyavia with adjacent Eastern Greater Poland has an outstanding position within the Polish Lowlands and attracted prehistoric settlement from the very beginning. Moreover, it can be regarded as one of the best studied regions in Polish archaeology, also of the Neolithic, especially thanks to the intensive research activity of two scientific centres: Łódź (particularly the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum) and Poznań (mainly Adam Mickiewicz University). These distinct study groups represent different research traditions, which is reflected among other things in the diverging denomination of typo-chronological units, also of the post-LBK (CZERNIAK 1994; GRYGIEL 2008; CZERNIAK 2012a).

Kuyavia was a part of the LBK diaspora between c. 5300–5000 BC. Due to the unusual lowland location it has been discussed for a long time how different the settlement and subsistence of the first farmers were in this region. Large scale rescue excavations of the recent decades confirmed the existence of stable, long-lasting villages, not substantially different from other parts of the LBK world. The Kuyavian LBK is traditionally divided into three very general phases, defined on the basis of pottery stylistics: early (I) – most controversial, with some elements of the älteste LBK –, middle, Music Note Phase (II), with separate subphases IIA, IIB, and late (III), most clearly standing out from other regions (PYZEL 2006; 2010).

The absolute duration and the demise of the Kuyavian LBK, however, remains an unresolved issue – especially the issue of a hiatus vs. continuity to subsequent cultures is being controversially debated (e.g. CZERNIAK 1994; GRYGIEL 2004, 631; CZERNIAK 2012a). According to models of development for the uplands the typological gap is evident: the first post-LBK communities correspond to the Late SBK, with some elements of other cultures (RÖ, Malice), making their exact classification difficult. In this paper they will be simply referred to as Early post-LBK (further EPL). Their remains in the form of small clusters of pits dispersed over vast areas of the Lowlands enhance the impression of radical social and economic changes that took place after the LBK. Similarly severe must have been transformations at the beginning of the second half of the 5th millennium, leading to the development of the Brześć Kujawski Culture (further BKC). The integration of hitherto small and mobile groups is visible in the outstanding settlement organisation of stable, long-lasting villages with very uniform, iconic longhouses (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2016). This system began to collapse about 4100 BC, although it has been discussed if the BKC survived even until 3900 BC, hence being partially contemporary with the TRB.

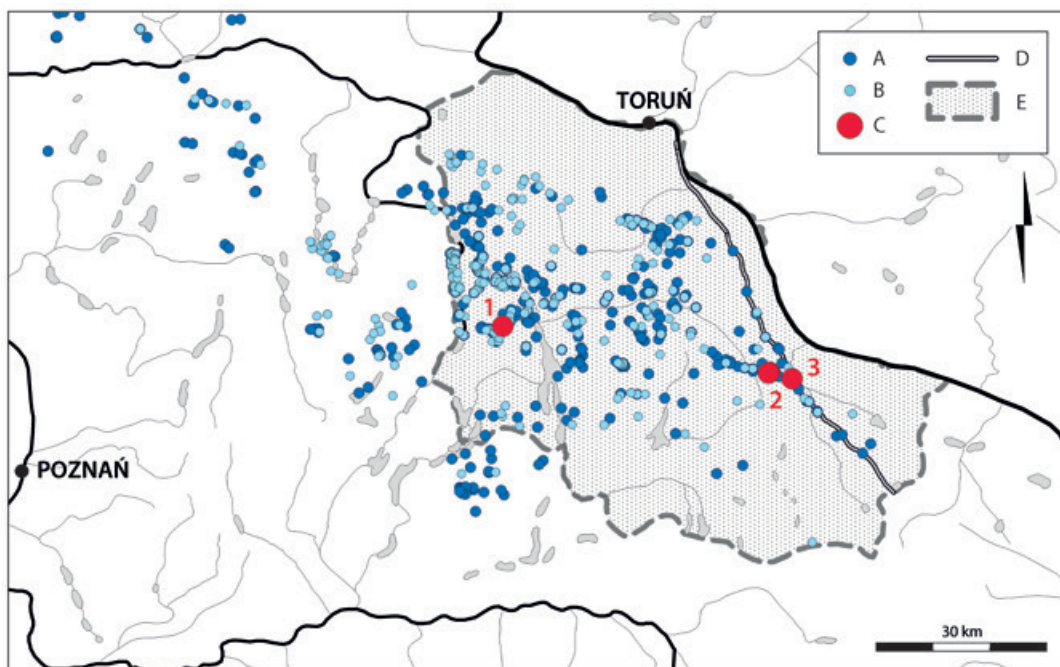


Fig. 4. LBK and post-LBK settlement in Kuyavia. A – LBK sites; B – post-LBK sites; C – sites of LBK and post-LBK mentioned in text (1 Bożejewice 22/23; 2 Brześć Kujawski 3 and 4; 3 Smólsk 4); D – A1 motorway route; E – Kuyavia.

Macroregional analysis and examples of re-use

Almost the whole area of Kuyavia and adjacent eastern Greater Poland has been systematically, partially repeatedly surveyed. Until 2005 (database published in PYZEL 2010) 388 sites dated to the LBK period have been discovered. 270 sites represent later Danubian cultures (*Fig. 4*); their exact classification, however, due to the above mentioned competitive and not really compatible chronological systems, remains difficult. Therefore, the number corresponds to the EPL as well as the BKC respectively. This obstacle was also demonstrated in a later case study for the central Kuyavian Plateau, where only a half of survey post-LBK sites could be dated more thoroughly within the 5th millennium (ŻURKIEWICZ 2011).

There is a great similarity in the settlement patterns of the LBK and later Danubian cultures in Kuyavia, including site locations and their environmental settings (PYZEL 2010).

80 sites represent both the LBK and these compound post-LBK groups, which amounts to c. 20% of all LBK and 30% of all younger Danubian sites. However, taking into account the fact that more than a half of these multi-temporal sites have been dug to a more or less extent (38 excavations, 6 test trenches), their ratio seems to be in fact much higher in proportion to a total of for example 90 points of this kind for the LBK (55%). This would mean that places occupied by older as well as younger Danubian cultures were quite frequent, although not totally common.

Publication of selected excavated sites provides examples of such re-use, as in any case traces of continuous occupation could have been detected so far. EPL groups in Kuyavia often settled in the vicinity of abandoned LBK villages. However, no spectacular cases of

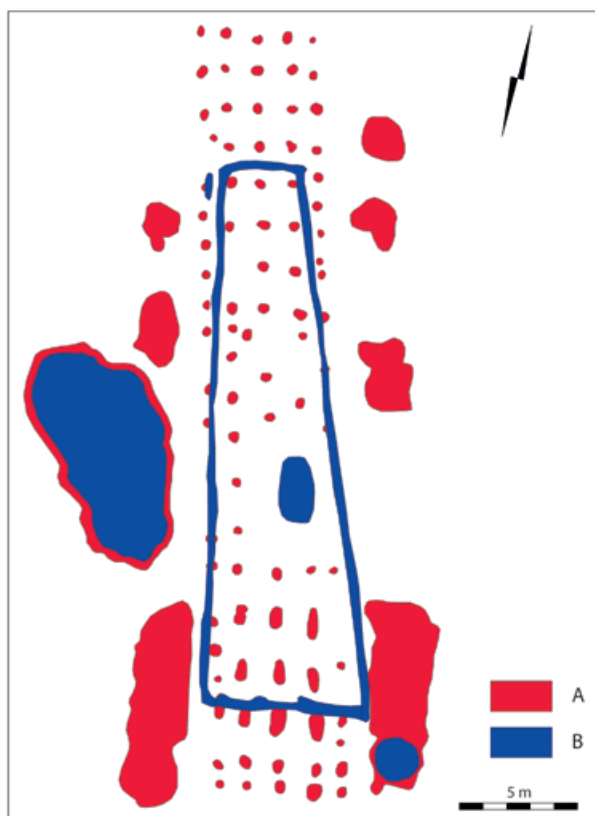


Fig. 5. Bożejewice, Comm. Strzelno, site. 22/23. Part of the site plan with features of Danubian cultures. A – LBK features; B – BKC features.

intentional memory practices could be distinguished in the case of this culture, in contrast to the following BKC. The best known example of such a deliberate reference comes from western Kuyavia, from Bożejewice 22/23, Comm. Strzelno, where a single trapezoidal BKC house perfectly overlaps an older, also solitary, large LBK dwelling (*Fig. 5*), recalling its size, orientation and the whole layout. In this case traces of the LBK building were quite well-preserved, supporting the impression of an intentional act of reference to a somehow still visible construction. Some similar examples come from the well-studied regions of Brześć Kujawski and Osłonki in eastern Kuyavia, although both at Smólsk 4 (GRYGIEL 2004, 263 fig. 181; 2008, 326 fig. 275) and Brześć Kujawski 3 (GRYGIEL 2004, 142 fig. 78; 2008, 219 fig. 178) LBK houses were not preserved, and they can be only suggested on the basis of a specific site arrangement, where elongated borrowing pits indicate the location of a house. At Brześć Kujawski 3 even two successive BKC dwellings were erected on the same spot.

Apart from these vertical references in house construction cases of horizontal relation could be observed at sites of the BKC as well, although their detection is not so straightforward. A prime example comes from a type site which gave its name to the whole culture: Brześć Kujawski 4, Comm. loco (*Fig. 6*). It is most of all a large village of the BKC, erected at a place occupied both by the LBK and post-LBK, although only very few traces of this

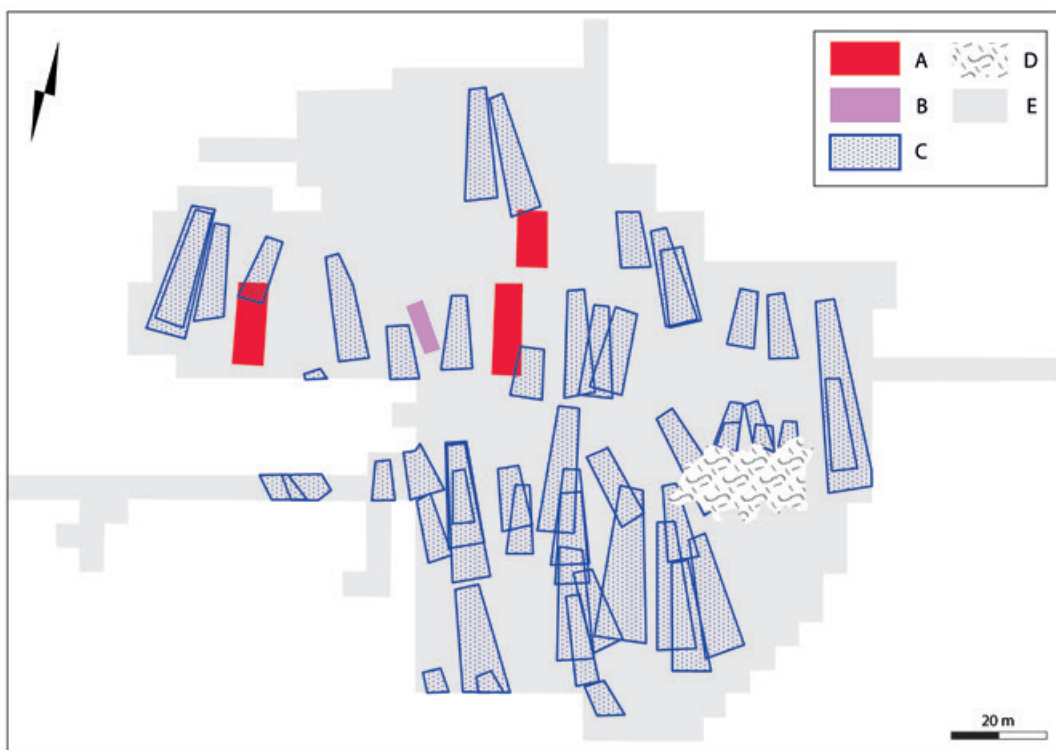


Fig. 6. Brześć Kujawski, Comm. loco, site 4. Schematic plan of the settlement of Danubian cultures. A – LBK houses; B – EPL / early BKC house; C – BKC houses; D – gravel pit; E – excavated area.

previous settlement could be detected, among others three houses of the LBK and one of the final EPL (at the threshold of the BKC). Although hardly visible during excavations, all these constructions were left unbuilt during the BKC time notwithstanding a very dense occupation with many house overlappings on other spots of this site. Moreover, the older houses seem to have been incorporated in a northernmost, quite irregular house row within this settlement.

Archaeological research in the Brześć Kujawski and Osłonki regions (GRYGIEL 2004; 2008) was oriented explicitly towards investigations of Danubian cultures, with the main focus on the BKC, reflected in intensive excavations of sites dated to this culture. The above mentioned cases of reference to the LBK could have been registered there, alongside other BKC sites, without such relations. For instance, the central village at Osłonki 1 was located at a spot neither settled nor visited by the LBK communities before. Generally, the insight into the settlement of the first farmers in these regions, however, was gained through the BKC perspective: for example no larger LBK site was excavated for itself and this specific context can influence not only our view of the whole settlement system in general, but also of mutual spatial relationships, selection of site location, etc. in particular. That is why for my research I have chosen rescue excavations conducted on the A1 motorway in eastern Kuyavia, where the selection of areas to study was free from any specific scientific objectives.

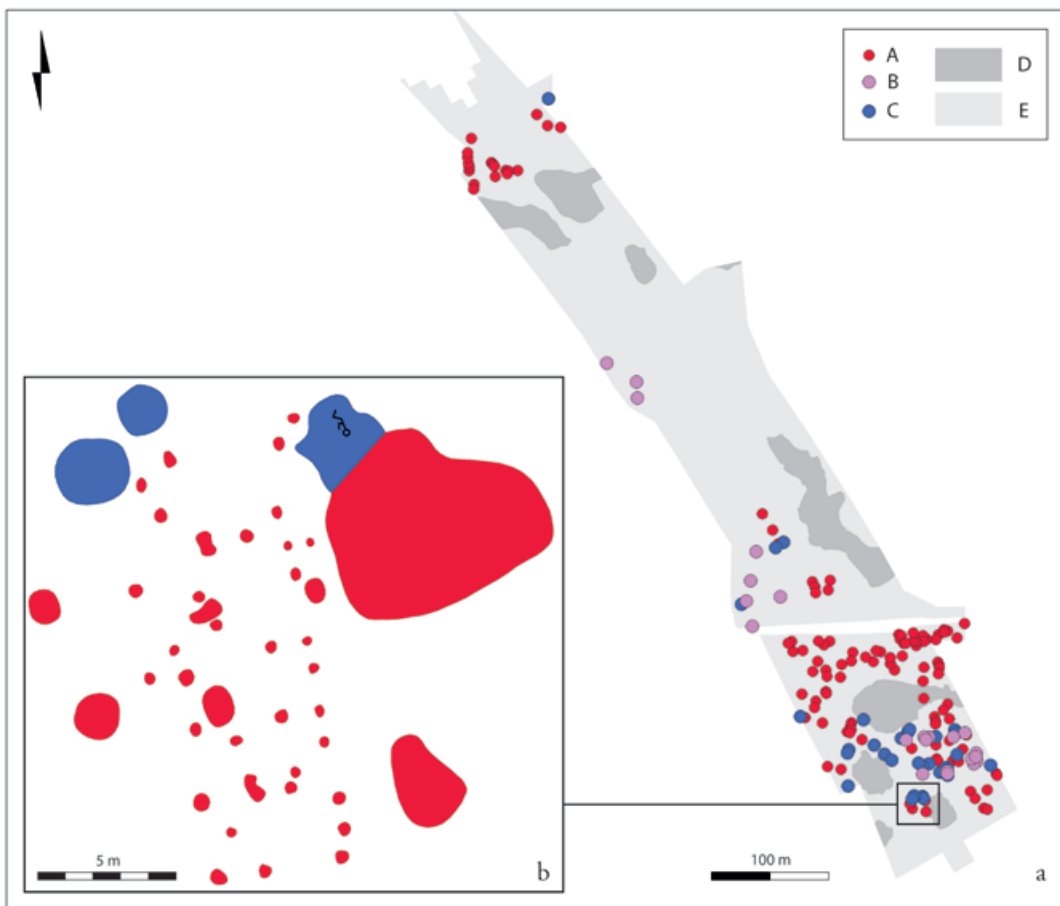


Fig. 8. Smółsk, Comm. Włocławek, site 2/10. a Schematic plan of the site with features of Danubian cultures. b Selected section with LBK house no. 18 and BKC grave. A – LBK; B – EPL; C – BKC; D – natural hollows; E – boundaries of excavated area.

On the contrary in some other cases the boundary of a single settlement exceeds one site, for example at neighbouring Pikutkowo 29 and 31. However, it is not always clear how to determine such boundaries, as in the case of Kruszyn 10, which has a clear core zone of dense occupation abutted to the north by an area of more dispersed features stretching over adjacent sites of Kruszyn 3 and Nowa Wieś 8. Do they represent one village or diverse autonomous households (cf. RZEPECKI 2014)?

LBK sites at the motorway route are indeed very diverse and can be classified into different categories: single households, one (Dubielewo 8) as well as multigenerational (Janowice 2, Nakonowo Stare 2), hamlets consisting of a few households (Bodzia 1, Nowa Wieś 4, 6, and 8), and last but not least large, long-lasting villages (Smółsk 2/10, Kruszyn 10, Ludwinowo 7). The latter were inhabited during the whole Kuyavian LBK, although the intensity of occupation varied through time: in the main, southern part of Smółsk 2/10 houses of early phases prevail, whereas at Kruszyn 10 and Ludwinowo 7 their number increased in later phases. However, we must bear in mind that no site was completely unearthed, which can influence our conclusions. On the basis of exposed parts we can perceive a slight shift of occupation within each of these sites: at Smółsk 2/10 a

A1 no.	site no.	LBK	EPL	stratigraphic relations	BKC	stratigraphic relations	references
Janowice microregion							
35.	Tadzin	7	1 cluster of pits	–	–	–	GOLAŃSKI / CZERNIAK 2010 CZERNIAK 2016
36.	Janowice	2	3–4 single households	1 cluster of pits	–	same area as LBK	–
Bodzia microregion							
44.	Bodzia	1	small village	2–3 clusters of pits	–	partially same area as LBK, deposits in LBK pits	–
43.	Bodzia	5	–	–	–	10 pits, part of Bodzia 1	–
45.	Bodzia	6	1 household cluster	scarsed pits	–	partially same area	–
46.	Witoldowo	1	1 pit	–	–	small village	–
Dubielewo microregion							
59.	Dubielewo	8	1 household cluster	graves (?)	–	no	–
61.	Wieniec	10	large village	1 pit (?) ¹⁴ C date	–	no	–
62.	Dubielewo	10	one or few household clusters	1 pit	–	no	–
63.	Dubielewo	11	1 household cluster (?)	2 clusters of pits	–	1 intersection of pits	–
Pikutkowo microregion							
87.	Pikutkowo	29	few clusters, loosely arranged	–	–	–	–

Tab. 2. LBK, EPL and BKC sites in the case study area in Kuyavia (numbers according to *Figure 7*).

AI no.	site no.	LBK	EPL	stratigraphic relations	BKC	stratigraphic relations	references
89.	Pikutkowo 31	edge of Pikutkowo 29	1 cluster of pits	no	–	–	RZEPECKI 2010b
Smólsk microregion							
91/93	Smólsk 2/10	2 separate villages	3 clusters of pits	partially same area, reference to LBK houses	26 pits	to LBK and EPL, e. g. grave to house	MUZOLF ET AL. 2012
95.	Nowa Wieś 4	few household clusters, loosely arranged	1 cluster of pits	partially same area	1 settlement cluster	1 intersection of LBK pit	RZEPECKI / MICHAŁOWICZ 2010b; RZEPECKI 2010a
97.	Nowa Wieś 6	few household clusters, loosely arranged	–	–	–	–	RZEPECKI / c MICHAŁOWICZ 2010
Kruszyn microregion							
99.	Nowa Wieś 8	few clusters, loosely arranged	–	–	–	–	RZEPECKI / MICHAŁOWICZ 2010d
100.	Kruszyn 3	few clusters, loosely arranged, part of Kruszyn 10	3 clusters of pits	partially same area, re-use of LBK well	–	–	RZEPECKI 2014
101.	Kruszyn 10	large village	traces of penetration? (¹⁴ C dates)	?	2 pits	same area as LBK	PŁAZA 2016
102.	Kruszyn 11	2 settlement clusters	–	–	traces of penetration? (pottery, loose finds)	?	WERRA 2010b
104.	Kruszyn 13	few household clusters	–	–	–	–	CZEKAJ-ZASTAWNY 2011a
Ludwinowo microregion							
106.	Kruszynek 6	–	few clusters of pits	–	village	same area as EPL	SIEWIARYN 2010
107.	Ludwinowo 4	2 household clusters	loose pottery finds	–	settlement cluster	same area, 1 inter-section of LBK pit	WERRA 2010a; KURZYK 2010

Tab.2. (continued).

A1 no.	site no.	LBK	EPL	stratigraphic relations	BKC	stratigraphic relations	references
108.	Ludwinowo 3	2 separate households	dispersed pits	?	village	to LBK houses	MARCHELAK 2017a; MARCHELAK 2017b; NOWAK 2017
110.	Ludwinowo 6	few households	1 cluster of pits	to LBK house	–	–	CZEKAJ-ZASTAWNY 2011c; CZERNIAK 2011b
111.	Ludwinowo 2	3 settlement clusters	–	–	1 house	same area as LBK	CZEKAJ-ZASTAWNY 2011b; CZERNIAK 2011a
112.	Ludwinowo 7	large village	3 clusters of pits	?	pits, traces of activity	to LBK; grave to house, deposits in LBK pits	PYZEL 2013b; CZERNIAK 2011d
113.	Ludwinowo 1	few households	1 pit?	same area as LBK	–	–	RETKOWSKA 2012
Nakonowo Stare microregion							
116.	Nakonowo Stare 1	1 household cluster, 1 campsite	–	–	few pits	to LBK house	GOLAŃSKI 2010
117.	Nakonowo Stare 2	2 single household clusters	–	–	–	–	WITCZAK 2011

Tab. 2. (continued).

new settlement, located 500 m apart was established in the phase IIB; at roughly the same time at Kruszyn 10 some households exceed the range of pioneer inhabitation whereas at Ludwinowo 7 the earliest traces of occupation are limited only to the south-east part of the site.

Such temporal and spatial transformations are visible on the microregional level as well: separate zones can be distinguished within the analysed part of the motorway route. In the north, around Bodzia, Pikutkowo, Smólsk, and Nowa Wieś, intensive occupation of early phases (I–IIA) could be traced, whereas in the south, in the vicinity of Kruszyn and Ludwinowo, remains dated to the later phases IIB and III prevail. This observation might be caused by the limited scale of excavation, but seems very interesting.

Traces of the EPL occupation were registered at 15–19 sites (*Tab. 2*) in seven microregions: only in the vicinity of Nakonowo were they absent. 15 of these sites comprised typical settlement remains of this culture in the form of small clusters of pits. At some sites (Smólsk 2/10, Bodzia 1, Kruszyn 3) more than one such cluster could be recorded. In several other cases (Bodzia 6, Pikutkowo 31, Ludwinowo 3) pits were much more dispersed. Unfortunately, reports of analysis conducted for them lack precise information which would enable us to estimate the exact temporal relationship between them.

Operating at the level of a complete site, a high rate of the LBK and the EPL coexistence can be determined: only at Tadzín 2 no traces of the LBK could be recorded. Therefore, it seems that the vicinity of abandoned LBK sites must have been somehow important for the location of EPL settlements in this part of Kuyavia, which is interesting taking into account that in general this period is characterised by a widening of the Danubian ecumene. Nevertheless, the reference to the past could have been relevant in old settled areas.

Cases of real, undoubted, stratigraphic reference are much more rare. Among the above mentioned sites of both cultures there are also cases of EPL features located in fact quite distant from the LBK (northern clusters at Smólsk 2/10 and Kruszyn 3, pits at Pikutkowo 31 or Dubielewo 10). Some others were found in the vicinity, but without any stratigraphic relations (southern cluster at Kruszyn 3, eastern at Dubielewo 11, pit at Nowa Wieś 4). Only in one case, at Dubielewo 11, do features of both cultures indeed overlap. At Kruszyn 3 these two communities used subsequently one common pit; furthermore, radiocarbon dates for animal bones obtained from an LBK well in its vicinity (Poz40683: 5950 ± 40 BP; Poz40989: 5920 ± 40 BP; RZEPECKI 2014) indicate that it could have also been somehow adopted by the EPL groups. A similar situation was suggested for Ludwinowo 7, where a radiocarbon dated burial (Poz31419: 5525 ± 35 BP; CZERNIAK 2011d) was found in a pit resembling LBK wells found in other parts of this site. This case, however, represents the end of the EPL, directly forerunning the BKC and its numerous memory practices. Similar late dating is suggested for the EPL settlement at Janowice 2, Kruszyn 10 (in this case represented also only by radiocarbon dates) and Ludwinowo 6 (cf. CZERNIAK ET AL. 2016). At the latter site a rare case of undoubtedly intentional reference to the LBK was detected: pits with very special EPL artefacts, interpreted as a kind of deposit, were dug around an LBK house, respecting the location of its borrowing features. Similar practices took probably place at Ludwinowo 6, where an EPL pit was placed as the elongation of a chain of LBK borrowing pits, as well as at Smólsk 2/10, where similarly dated pits surround the LBK house no. 14.

At Bodzia 1 an astonishing continuity of ritual acts performed around an LBK house was recorded: during the EPL deposits of zoo- and anthropomorphic vessels were placed in old LBK pits (*Fig. 9b*; PYZEL 2017), which had been distinguished even in the LBK because of numerous “special finds” buried there. Interestingly, probably similar ritual items were also accumulated at Bodzia 6, located at the other side of a small pond.

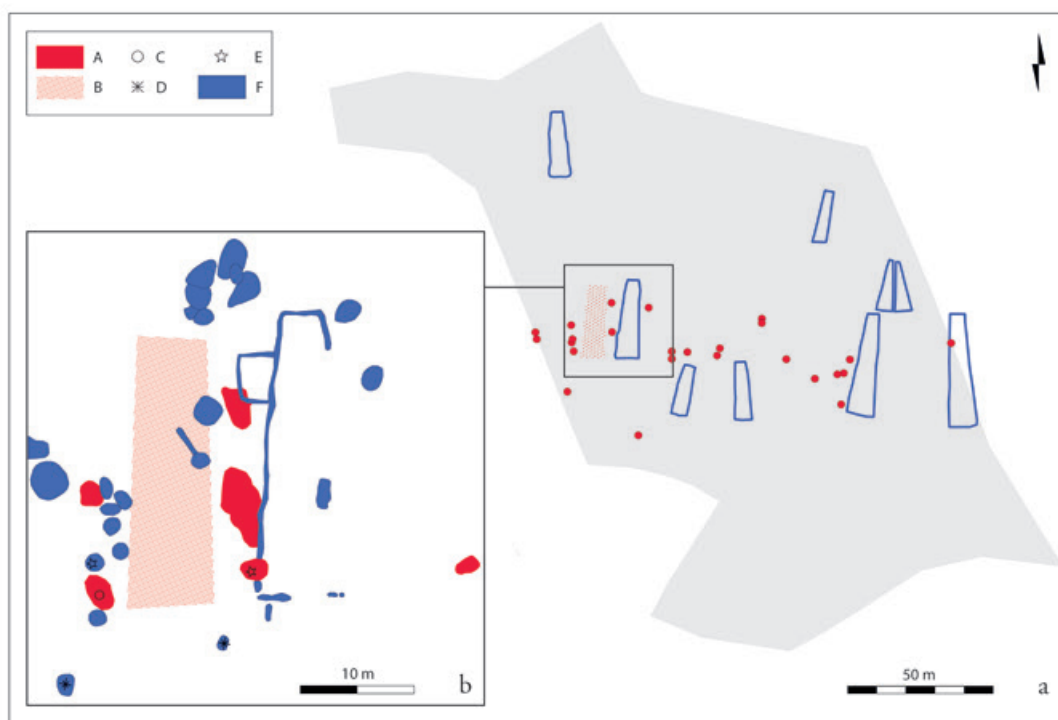


Fig. 9. Bodzia, Comm. Lubanie, site 1. a Schematic plan of the site with features of Danubian cultures. b Selected section of the site. A – LBK features; B – suggested LBK house; C – LBK pit with “special finds”; D – BKC graves; E – EPL and BKC deposits of zoo- and antropomorphic pottery; F – BKC houses and pits.

Basically, however, undoubtedly intentional references to the past in the EPL are quite rare, although it seems that the vicinity of LBK settlement traces itself was an important factor in the location of early young Danubian hamlets and camps at least in this part of Kuyavia.

As far as the BKC is concerned this spatial relationship is not so obvious any more. Settlement traces of this culture were registered in altogether six of eight analysed microregions. They are totally absent near Janowice and Pikutkowo, whereas around Smólsk, Kruszyn, and Nakonowo only sparse remains without any stable, regular BKC villages could be detected. All settlements were located at places occupied previously, although not necessarily by the LBK. Although at not less than 13 sites traces of the LBK and BKC indeed co-occurred (*Tab. 2*); however, the absence of any traces dated to the LBK at one of the largest BKC villages at Kruszynek 6 is striking and resembles a similar case at Osłonki 1. Kruszynek 6 stands out by its quite distinct layout: several clusters of houses are separated by an empty area (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2016, fig. 4). Interestingly in each cluster pits of the EPL have been registered; radiocarbon dates obtained for them indicate at least a 200-years hiatus between them and the BKC (CZERNIAK ET AL. 2016). The neighbouring Ludwinowo 3 has a similar internal organisation (*Fig. 9a*), probably these two sites actually belonged together, but in one of its clusters (unearthed to the greatest extent of all) interesting examples of reference to the past were registered: not only to quite dispersed EPL pits but also two LBK households, the only ones registered at this site. In one case a typical trapezoidal BKC house was erected exactly at the spot where an (unpreserved) LBK house can be suggested, between characteristic elongated pits (*Fig. 10a and c*); in the latter an

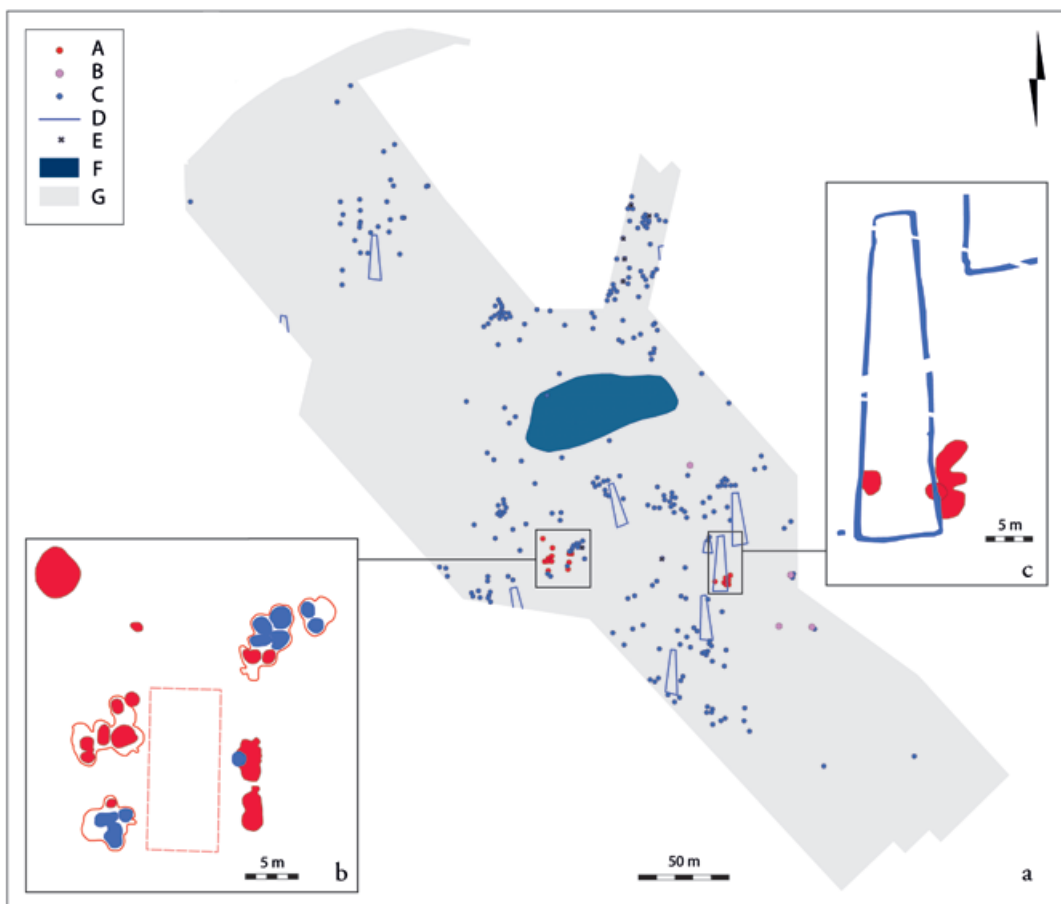


Fig. 10. Ludwinowo, Comm. Włocławek, site 3. a Schematic plan of the site with features of Danubian cultures. b and c Selected sections of the site. A – LBK features; B – EPL features; C – BKC features; D – BKC houses; E – BKC graves; F – pond; G – boundaries of excavated area.

LBK house implied exactly in the same way seems to be somehow incorporated in the row of BKC houses (Fig. 10a and b).

This vertical model of reference can be traced also on other sites, such as Dubielewo 8, which of all sites excavated on the motorway route resembles central BKC villages of Brześć Kujawski 4 and Osłonki 1 most. In spite of its dense housing structure, the place of an LBK household remained unsettled almost during the whole BKC occupation (CZER-
NIAK / PYZEL 2019, 71 fig. 5). Other references to the past are visible there as well: to the first, sepulchral phase of use (probably dated to the late EPL) as well as to the earliest BKC house. They concentrated especially in one part of this site, which can indicate an internal variation of practices, maintained over several generations (SIEWIARYN / MIKULSKI 2015).

A similar continuity of tradition can be observed at Bodzia 1. As already mentioned above, one house stands out of a relative small LBK hamlet here because of numerous “special finds”, interpreted as expression of ritual acts. They are continued at the same spot by the EPL communities, as manifested by deposits of zoo- and anthropomorphic pottery, and maintained through the whole BKC not only in form of similar deposits but also in the location of graves in front of the house. The first one is dated to the beginning,

the latter to the end of the BKC occupation. Additionally, this house was also included in the row of BKC houses, though not from the onset (*Fig. 9a*). Interestingly, the oldest BKC house is located close to pits of the EPL (CZERNIAK / PYZEL in print). It is difficult to assess if these memory practices were performed by all inhabitants of the BKC village or only a part of them.

Digging into borrowing pits of the LBK was not automatically associated with the construction of a new building. For example, at Nakonowo Stare 1 a single BKC pit was located among features surrounding a LBK house.

All the above mentioned examples clearly demonstrate that larger, stable BKC villages were never located at spots that had been intensely used by the LBK; however, these were places of diverse activities. For example, at Kruszyn 10 only two BKC pits were found on a densely arranged LBK village (PŁAZA 2016). Slightly more numerous were traces of the BKC at Smólsk 2/10 (*Fig. 8a*). B. Muzolf even interpreted them in terms of a regular settlement, arguing the lack of characteristic trapezoidal houses with the state of preservation. However, the fact that postholes, much more vulnerable to destruction, are present and typical cellar pits, usually associated with BKC houses, are absent is contradictory. BKC pits refer to the EPL as well as the LBK, which is indicated by a burial disposed in a LBK feature placed at the north-east side of house 18 (*Fig. 8b*; MUZOLF ET AL. 2012). Another grave with a very similar location, dated to the BKC only thanks to radiocarbon estimations, was found at Ludwinowo 7 (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2013). This site is also an excellent example of various referential, dedicatory practices in the form of different deposits placed in old LBK features (cf. CZERNIAK / CZEBRESZUK 2010).

Similar practices had probably taken place at other sites as well, but were not recognised as such and for example simply described as “mixed inventories” of both cultures. Therefore, they were presumably much more widespread than testified by sparse traces registered by a few researchers particularly sensitive to this problem.

Discussion

Rhineland and Kuyavia exemplify two extremely distinct models of memory practices among LBK successors. Interestingly, what these regions seem to have in common is the at least very questionable issue of possible continuity after the LBK. Nevertheless, these younger Danubian groups, distinct not only in terms of space and culture (at least according to the rules of culture-historical archaeology) but also to some extent time, developed completely different references to the past, in this case represented by remains of the LBK, since even the avoidance of places occupied by forerunners, which is characteristic for the GG and the RÖ in Rhineland, comprises a kind of reference to the past. They can be defined as negative (not as a means of valuing), it must have been expressed in the form of a ban or taboo. If this had not been the case, even by chance some kind of superposition of settlement traces would have occurred, especially considering general similar preferences of settlement location in the LBK and MN. Taking into account the short time span that divides these cultures, the visibility of older villages seems unquestionable. Thus, they were easy to avoid and this practice might have been caused by strictly pragmatic, practical reasons, such as the preference of undisturbed, virgin areas with a natural availability of all resources. A. Zimmermann suggested that the issues of descent and heritage could have been manifested by this avoidance as well – MN societies did not claim any rights to the LBK land and property (ZIMMERMANN ET AL. 2006, 181) and regarded their forerunners as aliens who were not only strange, but possibly also even frightening (BIERMANN 2016). These strong cultural norms (taboos, bans) regulating the choice of settlement location

were not universal within the whole range of GG and RÖ, as the example of Bad Sassendorf-Lohne clearly demonstrates, and this is also an argument against purely pragmatic reasons of this practice.

In comparison to the Rhineland, how different are the reference practices of younger Danubian cultures in Kuyavia. Most of them can be described as positive references, which include both the usual re-inhabiting of former settlements and their conversion into places of various rituals, where the boundaries of these categories were often not clear. All but one EPL sites in the case study area were located in the vicinity of abandoned LBK villages, although traces of unequivocal commemorative practices are hardly detectable. Towards the end of this culture, actions that can be interpreted as intentional references to the past intensify. They were manifested for example by pottery deposits near LBK houses at Bodzia 1 and Ludwinowo 6 or burials at Ludwinowo 7 and Dubielewo 8. They forerun an immense proliferation of such practices in the BKC. References to the past in this latter culture took mainly the form of house foundation practices and burials as well as hardly discernible depositions of various items in LBK features, which could have been (although not necessarily) a part of both above mentioned general rituals.

Negative references can be traced as well in the form of avoidance of large LBK villages: although some remains of the BKC are usually registered there, they never comprise traces of regular, stable occupation but only sporadic, maybe ritual visits. Larger BKC settlements were often established in the vicinity. Sometimes they made reference to the LBK but only to single households or very small hamlets such as at Brześć Kujawski 3, 4, Bodzia 1, Dubielewo 8, Ludwinowo 3, or Smólsk 4.

In the case of these both cultures, divided by a really long time span, the issue of the intent of such practices arises – if they were intended and not accidental, and how can we recognise that these were real memory practices. Although the above mentioned references to the past visible in some house foundations cannot be regarded as singular anymore and a kind of repetitive, albeit not common, pattern of practices may be recognised, it is sometimes difficult to prove that it is not only due to accidental overlapping, so frequent on multicultural sites. Fortunately, the case of Bożejewice 22/23 (*Fig. 5*) is much more evident: due to the good state of preservation of the LBK posthole layout it is indisputable that the builders of the BKC house made clear reference to it – the orientation, size, and general proportions are very similar and match each other perfectly. This site is also unique because both houses were singular; nevertheless, it is a key to understand other cases of succession, both vertical and horizontal. It testifies that traces of LBK houses could still have been clearly visible after several hundreds of years.

It does not necessarily mean that a real memory of houses and their inhabitants endured for such a long time although for example ethnographic studies of ‘house societies’ in Tana-Toraja (Indonesia) demonstrate that a memory of a long-time vanished house and its precise location can indeed survive over as many as 30 generations (WATERSON 2000). Nevertheless, so called disjunctive memories (MESKELL 2003) might also have led to diverse commemorative acts. References to a foreign past, invented traditions are known not only from history or early history (e.g. WILLIAMS 1998; THÄTE 2007; SEMPLE 2013; WENDLING 2014), but also prehistory. For example, recent results of DNA analyses for the Corded Ware Culture, indicating their non-local, eastern origin (ALLENTOFT ET AL. 2015; HAAK ET AL. 2015), imply also that quite often re-use of old monuments known from this culture (see the above mentioned case of Stary Zamek) was not practised by descendants but by foreign people who manipulated the past in order to enhance their present authority. Examples from the Late Neolithic demonstrate that such references to foretime were possible in societies without a highly developed social hierarchy and institutional frame-

work (ASSMANN 1992). However, U. Sommer recently interprets similar practices of the Bell Beaker culture as opposite attempts: not to appropriate but to erase and destroy the past, albeit properly recognised as such. She rightly stresses the enormous degree of ambiguity in explaining different cases of re-use (SOMMER 2017). Similarly, J. Whitley once criticised prompt and unfounded interpretations of all examples of monument re-use as ancestor veneration, very common in the discourse in prehistoric archaeology (WHITLEY 2002). However, it seems that BKC practices might really have been expressions of such a cult, because similar commemorative practices referred to their own culture as well. It may be best demonstrated by the example of house overlappings, so numerous for instance at the type-site of Brześć Kujawski 4 (cf. PYZEL 2013a). Horizontal references, albeit more difficult to detect without precise dating (e. g. CZERNIAK ET AL. 2016), are the second pattern of house succession practices in the BCK. However, such foundation practices were by no means the common pattern; large variations between as well as within sites are visible instead (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2016; 2019).

Rules of burial location were similarly differentiated: in spite of a widespread interpretation not only inhabitants themselves could have been interred in the vicinity of their house (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2013; 2016). However, the recognition of such complicated relationships requires very precise chronological estimations (e. g. CZERNIAK ET AL. 2016 for Racot). For example, radiocarbon dates obtained for Dubielewo 8 indicate that BKC graves found at this site are associated either with the earliest or latest phase of use, both lacking any kind of regular inhabitation (SIEWIARYN / MIKULSKI 2015). Nevertheless, the spatial, although not necessarily temporal relationship between many burials and houses is obvious. BKC graves in general follow the orientation of buildings and thus longhouses are the key to understand the referential character of the whole culture. Although different from the LBK in terms of their architecture: with foundation trenches carrying the roof and trapezoidal shape, constructions of the BKC refer not only to the general Danubian longhouse idea but also to the orientations of local LBK dwellings. This feature varies regionally: in Kuyavia buildings of both the LBK and the BKC were aligned to the north-south axis. This might implicate the general referential character of every single BKC house. They are extremely unique and widespread (CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2016) – even more iconic than in other Danubian cultures, and they were the focus of diverse rituals of memory and continuity. These houses as an expression of identity can be described as a peak of the development of the longhouse phenomenon, shortly before or even partially contemporary with its end in other regions. This sudden recovery of old traditions constitutes a reference to the past itself.

The common identity of the BKC society was thus based on the past, also an invented one. Its authenticity, however, was not significant at all. The distant LBK past, in spite of some alien elements such as different pottery found on old sites, could have been adopted as theirs by these communities due to the comprehensible, common symbol of an iconic longhouse. However, memory practices referring to the LBK were only a small part of much more common references, both to the EPL and the BKC itself (it does not imply that our typo-chronological divisions might have been at all significant in prehistory). Their purpose was by no means the historical reconstruction of past events but the identity maintenance and legitimacy of the existing order. These are two main goals of a social / collective memory. Numerous different, even competitive, collective memories may exist within one community, and this was also the case in the BKC. Apart from a memory that affected the whole culture, expressed by common symbols (such as a longhouse), social memories of smaller communities existed as well. They can be traced by the example of different house foundations or burial practices, visible also at the level of whole villages,

which implies the presence of a common local identity and social memory. Very often, however, variations are visible even within single sites, such as at Ludwinowo 3, where two diverse models of reference to LBK houses could be reconstructed: a vertical one, resembling a common LBK tradition, and a horizontal one, typical for tell like settlements further in the south (*Fig. 10b* and *c*). Unfortunately, the social structure of the BKC is not well studied and thus we do not know which group inhabited a standard trapezoidal house. Undeniably, however, such groups competed with each other and the past must have been an important argument.

The analysed example of two regionally distinct younger Danubian cultures clearly demonstrates that the past might have had very different meanings in these societies. These discrepancies may also be caused by different chronologies. The RÖ in Rhineland comes to an end even before the development of the BKC in Kuyavia. Maybe later in the course of the 5th millennium references to the past became slightly more important, as exemplified by cases from Roztoky, Miskovice or Wittmar. Perhaps even the hitherto singular but very meaningful memory act at Müddersheim can be regarded as a first forerunner of this trend? Was it caused by economic and social transformations connected with the onset of the Eneolithic? D. Bailey once suggested for this time in the Balkans the appearance of “chronotypic tensions” which consisted of increasing importance of linear time, which is basically more “history friendly” than cyclical time, which should characterise earlier Neolithic farmers (BAILEY 1993). However, memory practices in the BKC are still very Neolithic in their nature. The emphasis on continuity, duration, and ancestors’ legacy has been an important aspect of farmers’ life since their very beginning in the Near East (e.g. HODDER 2012; KUIJT 2001; 2008; WATKINS 2012) and even, according to I. HODDER (2016), triggered the whole neolithisation process in general.

In the 5th millennium BC the attitude towards time and past indeed began to change among Eneolithic communities in the south. While the BKC flourished in Kuyavia, in the Carpathian Basin tells came to an end and more dispersed settlements appeared instead. However, this process is associated with the development of large, external cemeteries which became structuring elements, fixing the ancestral presence in the landscape. BKC societies did not live in isolation and maintained diverse contacts also with the Eneolithic world (which was expressed among others by gender differentiation of BKC burials: cf. CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2013) and maybe exactly these transformations induced them to cling on to old traditions. References to the past often increase in turbulent times of change. Perhaps not only the temporal, but also spatial frontier of the BKC world might have strengthened these tendencies. More intensive interaction with local hunter-gatherers than during the LBK and their integration (e.g. LORKIEWICZ ET AL. 2015; CHYLEŃSKI ET AL. 2017) generated the need to legitimate different rights and emphasised the continuity of traditions. At the present state of research it is not clear if and how these processes were strengthened by the communities of the TRB, which, according to some scholars, are supposed to be at least partially contemporary to the BKC, inhabiting neighbouring locations in Kuyavia (CZERNIAK 1994; RZEPECKI 2004; 2011b; 2015). However, their assumed onset around 4300 BC is highly controversial (cf. NOWAK 2009, 261–265; RYBICKA 2011; KUKAWKA 2015; GRYGIEL 2016, 965–977). It has also been presumed that these societies transferred and adapted to Central Europe the megalithic idea, which is indicated by the occurrence of “domogenic palisade tombs” of the Niedźwiedz type (RZEPECKI 2011). Admittedly, on the basis of radiocarbon dates it was not until around 4000 BC when they appeared, at the time when BKC longhouses came to an end; however, their similarity has been intriguing scholars for a long time. According to the latest hypothesis their emergence is strictly connected with the beginning of the TRB, triggered by influences from Western,

megalithic Europe, which were transmitted through the Michelsberg culture (RZEPECKI 2004). However, taking into account the much earlier dating of the first monuments in France (SCHULZ PAULSSON 2017), distant inspirations from this direction even preceding the TRB time may be conceivable. If we consider some examples of reference to the past in the RÖ, which in general unquestionably influenced post-LBK communities in the Polish Lowlands (CZERNIAK 1979; SZNAJDROWSKA 2012; DZIEWANOWSKI 2015), the question of the role that this culture played in the transmission of these ideas arises as a consequence of this argument. These indirect and gentle inspirations might have hit extremely fertile ground in Kuyavia in the context of the formation of the BKC, leading to the development of hitherto unprecedented proliferation of diverse memory practices in this culture.

Conclusions and future research

This study has discussed the issue of the past in the past in 5th millennium Central Europe on the basis of later Danubian communities that seem to be aware of and refer to apparently mundane settlement remains of the first European farmers dating back to the LBK in two distinct regions: Rhineland and Kuyavia. The evidence from the first region, where avoidance of abandoned LBK villages can be identified clearly and even cases of accidental re-use are totally absent, provides a strong argument for the initial hypothesis that traces of LBK settlements were visible in the landscape for a long time. A wide range of examples of reference to LBK settlement sites can be registered in the Polish Lowlands. The intentionality of at least some of these, such as house overlapping, seems unequivocal and sheds a new light on other, less obvious cases of re-use. The example of Kuyavia serves also to indicate that such references can take place after a much longer time than is generally assumed for social memory (e.g. WHITTLE ET AL. 2011, 913). It furthermore shows that cultural and settlement continuity is by no means a prerequisite for such practices that can evidently occur after a hiatus as a form of appropriation of a foreign past. The case of the Brześć Kujawski Culture indicates a huge variability of such memory practices, highlighting its potential in studies of internal social differentiation of prehistoric communities. For future research, precise chronological estimations (e.g. WHITTLE 2017) but also a greater sensibility towards this subject not only during analysis, but already during fieldwork would be helpful. Careful on-site recording of infills of features can provide more robust datasets for re-use practices and their intentionality.

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Abstract: Cultures of remembrance, cultures of forgetting. The past in the post-LBK societies in Rhineland and Kuyavia

This paper discusses the role of the past in later Danubian cultures, exemplified by references to traces of LBK settlements, which were visible for a long time. Two regions, Rhineland and Kuyavia, are compared by conducting analyses of spatial relationships of the LBK and post-LBK at macro- and microregional levels. The post-LBK development followed different trajectories there and equally diverse was the role of the past. Whereas in the Rhineland Middle Neolithic cultures obviously avoided it, in Kuyavia they referred to it and this tendency grew through time, leading to an unprecedented proliferation of memory practices during the Brześć Kujawski Culture.

Zusammenfassung: Kulturen der Erinnerung, Kulturen des Vergessens. Die Vergangenheit in nach-LBK-zeitlichen Gesellschaften im Rheinland und in Kujawien

Dieser Beitrag diskutiert die Rolle, die die Vergangenheit in den jüngeren donauländischen Kulturen spielte. Dies wird verdeutlicht durch die Bezugnahme auf Spuren von linearbandkeramischen Siedlungen, die für eine lange Zeit sichtbar waren. Zwei Regionen, das Rheinland und Kujawien, werden verglichen anhand von Untersuchungen räumlicher Beziehungen von LBK- und Nach-LBK-Gesellschaften auf der Makro- und der Mikroebene. Die nach-LBK-zeitliche Entwicklung folgte hier unterschiedlichen Bahnen, und gleichermaßen divers war die Rolle, die die Vergangenheit spielte. Während im Rheinland die mittelnolithischen Kulturen einen Bezug zur Vergangenheit offenbar mieden, bezogen sie sich in Kujawien auf diese – eine Tendenz, die im Verlauf der Zeit stärker wurde, was zu einer beispiellosen Vermehrung von Gedächtnispraktiken während der Brześć Kujawski-Kultur führte.

Résumé: Cultures du souvenir, cultures de l'oubli. Le passé dans les sociétés post-rubanées de Rhénanie et de Cujavie

Cette contribution traite du rôle joué par le passé dans les cultures danubiennes plus récentes en se référant aux vestiges d'habitats rubanés visibles durant une longue période. On compare ici deux régions, la Rhénanie et la Cujavie, en se basant sur l'étude des rapports entre sociétés rubanées et post-rubanées aux niveaux macro et micro. L'évolution post-rubanée a pris différents chemins et varié fut ainsi le rôle joué par le passé. Alors que les cultures du Néolithique moyen n'affichent guère de rapports avec le passé en Rhénanie, ceux-ci sont manifestes en Cujavie – une tendance de plus en plus forte avec le temps, ce qui déboucha sur une multiplication jamais vue des pratiques du souvenir à l'époque de la culture de Brześć Kujawski.

Address of the author:

Joanna Pyzel
Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Bielańska 5
PL-80-851 Gdańsk
e-mail: joanna.pyzel@ug.edu.pl

References of figures:

Fig. 1: after ARORA ET AL. 2010, 67 fig. 1; HEINEN / MÜNCH 2015, 127 fig. 3. – *Fig. 2:* after SCHIETZEL 1965, plan 1 (modified). – *Figs 3–4:* author. – *Fig. 5:* after CZERNIAK 1998, 27 (modified). – *Fig. 6:* after GRYGIEL 2004, 184 fig. 114 and GRYGIEL 2008, fig. 7 (modified). – *Fig. 7:* after WIŚNIEWSKI / KOTLEWSKI 2013, 182–183 (modified). – *Fig. 8:* after MUZOLF ET AL. 2012, 46 fig. 4 (modified). – *Fig. 9:* after CZERNIAK / PYZEL 2019, 78 fig. 6. – *Fig. 10:* after MARCHELAK 2017a, 36–37 fig. 11; MARCHELAK 2017b, 34 fig. 10; NOWAK 2017, 28 fig. 9 (modified). – *Tabs 1–2:* author, graphics K. Ruppel (RGK).