Between History and Archaeology: Papers in honour of Jacek Lech is a collection of forty-six papers papers in honour of Professor Jacek Lech, compiled in recognition of his research and academic career as well as his inquiry into the study of prehistoric flint mining, Neolithic flint tools (and beyond), and the history of archaeology.

The papers explore topics on archaeology and history, and are organised into three sections. The first contains texts on flint mining dealing with well-known mining sites as well as previously unpublished new material. The reader will find here a wide spectrum of approaches to flint mining, ways of identifying raw materials used by prehistoric communities, and an impressive overview of the history of research, methodology and approaches to flint mining in Europe, North America and Asia.

The following group of papers deals with the use of flint by Neolithic and younger communities, including typological studies on trace evidence analyses as well as theoretical papers on prehistoric periods in Europe and the New World.

The final section consists of papers on the history of archaeology in the 19th and 20th centuries. Some deal with the beginnings of archaeology as a scholarly discipline, while others present significant research from different countries. Readers will also find papers on the development of archaeology in the second half of the 20th century, both in political and institutional contexts. The book ends with the memories, which bring the Jubilarian closer to the reader by viewing him through the eyes of his co-workers and friends.

Dr Dagmara H. Werra is an archaeologist and an ethnologist. She works at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences as an adjunct at the Autonomous Research Laboratory for Prehistoric Flint Mining. In her professional career Dr Werra deals with prehistoric flint mining, the use of flint in Metal Ages and in modern times (gunflints) and with the identification and use of siliceous rocks by prehistoric communities.

She obtained a BA in ethnology as well as MA and PhD (2013) in archaeology at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun. She is a project manager on the characteristics of ‘chocolate’ flint, and is a participant of research on obsidian artefacts. Since 2017 Dr Werra is Editor-In-Chief of the Archaeologia Polonia journal. She participated and conducted archaeological research at numerous archaeological sites, including those associated with flint mining.

Dr Marzena Woźny is a historian and an archaeologist. Her research deals with the history of Central European archaeology, including studies on the relationships between scholars, the history of the institutions and the archaeological thought. Dr Woźny authored almost forty articles on these issues as well as two books – Between generations. An interview with Professor Jan Machnik concluded by Marzena Woźny and Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937). A prehistorian from the turn of the eras.

She graduated with a history and then studies in museology degrees at the Jagellonian University in Krakow. In 2015 she obtained a PhD in archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. She was a trainee at the National Museum of Archaeology in Malta. She is currently working on a dissertation devoted to the history of archaeology in Lesser Poland in the 19th century. She is also interested in the history of gunflint mining. Marzena is head of the Archives at the Archaeological Museum in Krakow.
Between History and Archaeology

Papers in honour of Jacek Lech

edited by

Dagmara H. Werra and Marzena Woźny
## Contents

**Editorial Preface**  ......................................................................................................................... iv
Dagmara H. Werra and Marzena Woźny

**Early Prehistoric Flint Mining in Europe: a Critical Review of the Radiocarbon Evidence**  .......... 1
Susana Consuegra and Pedro Díaz-del-Río

**Twenty-five Years Excavating Flint Mines in France and Belgium: an Assessment** ......................... 9
Françoise Bostyn, Hélène Collet, Emmanuel Ghesquière, Anne Hauzeur, Pierre-Arnaud de Labriffe, Cyril Marcigny in collaboration with Philippe Lavachery

**Flint Mining in Northern France and Belgium: a Review** .............................................................. 25
Françoise Bostyn, Hélène Collet, Jean-Philippe Collin and François Giligny

**Flint Mining and the Beginning of Farming in Southern England** ..................................................... 37
Robin Holgate

**Women’s Work? Findings from the Neolithic Chert Mines in the ‘Krumlovský les’, South Moravia** ........ 43
Martin Oliva

**New research at Tata-Kálváriadomb, Hungary** .............................................................................. 49
Katalin T. Biró, Erzsébet Harman-Tóth and Krisztina Dúzs

**News from the Eastern Fringe – The Baunzen Site near Vienna, Austria** ........................................ 59
Michael Brandl, Oliver Schimitsberger and Gerhard Trnka

**Siliceous Raw Materials from the Eastern Part of the Polish Carpathians and Their Use in Stone and Bronze Ages** .................................................................................................................. 69
Andrzej Pelisiak

**Ongar: a Source of Chert in Lower Sindh (Pakistan) and Its Bronze Age Exploitation** ....................... 79
Paolo Biagi and Elisabetta Starnini

**The Chocolate Flint Mines in the Udorka Valley (Częstochowa Upland) – a Preliminary Report on the Field and Lidar Surveys** .............................................................................................................................. 89
Magdalena Sudol-Procyk, Janusz Budziszewski, Maciej T. Krajcarz, Michał Jakubczak and Michał Szubski

**Exploitation and Processing of Cretaceous Erratic Flint on the Polish Lowland. A Case Study of Sites in the Vicinity of Gorzów Wielkopolski** ................................................................................................................. 103
Przemysław Bobrowski and Iwona Sobkowiak-Tabaka

**The Latest Knowledge on Use of Primary Sources of Radiolarites in the Central Váh Region (the Microregion of Nemšová – Červený Kameň)** .............................................................................................................. 115
Ivan Cheben, Michal Cheben, Adrián Nemergut and Marián Soják

**The Prehistoric Bedrock Quarries Occurring within the Chert Bearing Carbonates of the Cambrian-Ordovician Kittatinny Supergroup, Wallkill River Valley, Northwestern New Jersey-Southeastern New York, U.S.A.** ................................................................. 133
Philip C. LaPorta, Scott A. Minchak and Margaret C. Brewer-LaPorta

**Methodical Concepts and Assumptions Underlying Research Methods for Studies on the Erratic Raw Material of the Polish Lowland. Geology versus Archaeology** ................................................................. 147
Piotr Chachlikowski
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why Foragers Become Farmers: Development and Dispersal of Food Producing Economies in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andreas Zimmermann</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition and Circulation of Flint Materials in the Linear Pottery Culture of the Seine Basin</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Allard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Organisation of Flint Working in the Dutch Bandkeramik: a Second Approach</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie E.Th. de Grooth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurassic-Cracow Flint in the Linear Pottery Culture in Kuyavia, Chełmno Land and the Lower Vistula Region</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanna Pyzel and Marcin Wąs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphological and Functional Differentiation of the Early Neolithic Perforators and Borers – a Case Study from Tominy, South-Central Poland</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcin Szeliga and Katarzyna Pyżewicz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Danubian Raw Material Exchange Network: a Case Study from Chełmno Land, Poland</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagmara H. Werra, Rafal Siuda and Jolanta Malecka-Kukawka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithic Workshops and Depots/Hoards in the Early/Middle Neolithic of the Middle Danube Basin and of the Northern Balkans</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Małgorzata Kaczanowska and Janusz K. Kozłowski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerations on the Topic of Exceptionally Large Cores of Chocolate Flint</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Zakościeni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romancing the Stones: a Study of Chipped Stone Tools from the Tisza Culture Site of Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, Hungary</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Voytek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint Knapping as a Family Tradition at Bronocice, Poland</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie-Lorraine Pipes, Janusz Kruk and Sarunas Milisauskas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cucuteni – Trypillia ‘Big Other’ – Reflections on the Making of Millennial Cultural Traditions</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Chapman and Bisserka Gaydarska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Neolithic Child Burial from Ciemna Cave in Ojców National Park, Poland</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawel Valde-Nowak, Damian Stefański and Anita Szczepanek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Settlement of Bodaki – a Tripolian-Culture Centre of Flint Exploitation in Volhynia</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natalia N. Skakun, Vera V. Terekhina and Boryana Mateva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Bronze Age Flint Assemblage from Open-pit Mine Reichwalde in Saxony, Germany</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miroslaw Masojć</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshops in the Immediate Vicinity of a Mining Field of Flint Sickle-Shaped Knives from the Foreland of the Outcrops of Świeciechów Flint</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerzy Libera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining for Salt in European Prehistory</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Harding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Pre-Hispanic Stone-tool Workshops at Cayash Ragaj, Central Andes, Peru</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrzej Krzanowski and Krzysztof Tunia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the History of Polish Archaeology. In the Search for the Beginnings of Polish Nation and Country</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrianna Szczerska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Towards a Common Language: the Plan to Standardise Symbols on Archaeological Maps in 19th-century Europe .......................................................... 363
Marzena Woźny

Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891) and Czech Archaeology .......................................................... 373
Karel Sklenář

From Poetry to Prehistory: Mary Boyle and the Abbé Breuil .......................................................... 381
Alan Saville

The Life and Work of Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930) in the Context of the Intellectual Environment of the Galicia Region .......................................................... 403
Natalia Bulyk

Albin Jura (1873–1958): Social Activist, Teacher and Stone Age Researcher .......................................................... 419
Elżbieta Trela-Kieferling

Striped Flint and the Krzemionki Opatowskie Mine, Poland. The Beginnings .......................................................... 427
Danuta Piotrowska

Archaeological Research at the Lvov University: Interwar Period .......................................................... 435
Natalia Bilas

Archaeology and Art: the Relationship of Karel Absolon (1877–1960) and Czechoslovak Artists in the Period Between the World Wars .......................................................... 455
Petr Kostrhun

The Basket Workshop Warehouse Manager: Memory by Alfred Wielopolski on Józef Kostrzewski’s Fate During the German Nazi Occupation Time (1941–1943) .......................................................... 471
Andrzej Prinke

Konrad Jażdżewski (1908–1985) – Pupil and Friend of Professor Dr Józef Kostrzewski .................. 477
Maria Magdalena Blombergowa

Polish Archaeology Under Communism. The Trial of Massive Corruption of Clever Minds ........ 487
Andrzej Boguszewski

Forgotten History of Zespół do Badań Dziejów Szkła w Wielkopolsce (the Group for the Study of History of Glass in Greater Poland) .......................................................... 491
Jarmila E. Kaczmarek

Professor Jacek Lech’s Archaeological Interest in Ojców and the Sąspowska Valley ...................... 503
Józef Partyka

Do you remember? .............................................................................................................................................. 509
Franciszek M. Stępniowski
Reading the biographies of famous people, we once again become convinced that in order to be remembered by posterity it is not necessarily obligatory to have a high-school education, professorship, or a brilliant academic career. Sometimes it is enough fanatically to pursue one's interests, to work a lot self-reliantly and just love one's own country and history. All these traits were characteristic of the historian, archaeologist, art historian, protector of historical monuments, and simply an all-round talented and self-educated man, Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930), in scientific circles known also under the pseudonym 'Vasyl Karpovych' (Fig. 1).1 Janusz compensated for his lack of education by hard work and self-sacrifice during his studies of the ancient history of Lvov and the whole Eastern Galician region.2 Moreover, Janusz was well known not only to the scientific community of Lvov: his activities as a conservator have ensured that that part of the researcher's scientific heritage is still preserved in Warsaw, where his name also ranks highly among archaeologists.

Born in Lvov, all his short life he lived and worked in his home town, however, the largest part of Bohdan Janusz's manuscript heritage is held in the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, while his correspondence (several letters) with the eminent

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1 Bohdan Janusz used this pseudonym for his works published in Ukrainian after breaking ties with the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1908). Opinion still exists in scientific literature, however, that 'Bohdan Janusz' is the pseudonym and that 'Vasyl Karpovych' is the real name (Bandrivskyj 1992: 5–7). However all the available sources now show that the real name of the researcher is indeed Bohdan Janusz.

2 Galicia – part of former Polish territories, at this time was under Austro-Hungarian authority. Eastern Galicia – today western Ukraine.
Cracow archaeologist, professor Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz (1859–1937) is stored in the Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow. Probably, this is one of the reasons why the scientific biography of the researcher still has so many lacunae for Ukrainian historians and archaeologists. Striking evidence of the lack of data, for example, is the fact that until recently Janusz’s year of birth has been given alternatively as 1887, 1888 and 1890 (Dashkevych 1996: 18; Stefanovych and Yanyczkyj 1998: 82). A small headstone in the Lychakiv cemetery and a certificate of baptism ceremony (Adamczyk 2013) allow us to insert final dates instead of question marks.

The Lvov archives contain only brief information about Bohdan Janusz. The volume of articles, which appeared immediately after the tragic death of the researcher, and was written by his contemporaries, extends to barely a few pages and their content far from a complete reflection of the major stages of the life and works of this interesting and complex figure. In modern historiography there are publications referring to Janusz as an Armenian expert (Fig. 2; Dashkevych 1996: 18), conservator (Svarnyk 1996: 110–115), ethnographer (Berest and Berest 2005: 204–212), and archaeologist (Stefanovych and Yanyczkyj 1998: 82). However, despite his undeniable contribution to the development of archaeology, anthropology, and the architecture of modern western Ukraine, obscure episodes in the life and scientific work of the researcher still remain.

This was probably caused by the fact that Bohdan Janusz had neither a university education nor high position, and was classified as being among those historians with no secondary education (Toczek 2013: 47). Archaeology was also his self-taught field of interest, but in the best sense of this term.

Available sources give a reason for dividing the career of this researcher into two stages. The first one includes his activities until World War I, and is connected primarily with archaeology and local history. The second stage (in the restored Poland – from 1918 until his death) is represented by heritage-preserving activities, although also closely related with archaeological studies.

However, we should not detach his scientific publications from the present. ‘Vasil Karpovych’ dedicated his short life to writing them and they kept his name in the memory of future generations. The self-taught explorer wrote his scientific works in Ukrainian and Polish, and he signed his publications in Ukrainian under his pseudonym Vasil Karpovych.

**Biography and close relatives**

From the fragmentary biographical data remaining, we know that Bohdan Janusz was born in Lvov on 23rd January 1887 and baptized on 18th April, of the same year, in a church ceremony of the faith of his father, who was a Greek Catholic (Fig. 3).

Little is known about the family of the researcher. He was half Ukrainian and half Polish. We find information that he belonged to a large family of Mychajlo, a
Natalia Bulyk: The Life and Work of Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930)

gymnasium teacher, who lived very poorly. His mother, Angelina, together with her older sisters, brought him up after his father’s death. Several places where he lived are mentioned in the literature. In particular, it is known that in 1911 he and his mother moved to 8 Leszczyńskiego Street (now Brativ Mikhnovskykh Street); in March 1912 he lived at 17 Kordeckiego Street (now Oleny Stepanivny Street). In letters written to Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, dated 1913, Dzieduszyckich Street is referenced. His family did not own a house and was forced to rent cheaper apartments. For this reason Janusz had to earn money at a very young age. His first employment was with Lvov’s daily newspapers, primarily Kurjer Lwowski.

The difficult financial situation clearly interfered with the possibility of obtaining a ‘proper’ education and pursuing a ‘successful’ career.

From the historian’s personal life, it is only known that he was married. His wife, Jadwiga, came from an Armenian family of Rudominovychi; she clearly understood his work and patiently endured all the hardships of life (Svarnyk 1996: 111). In one of his last letters, Janusz wrote that it was his wife who had helped him in the long run to overcome all their difficulties and he acknowledged his indebtedness to her (see Kozłowski 2012: 255).

The education of Bohdan Janusz was limited to a seven-year course at a Ukrainian gymnasium located in the building of the Community Hall (Fig. 4). It was probably the only Ukrainian gymnasium at that time. His study continued with some interruptions, and a part of his exams was taken extramurally. In this way he hoped also to sit for abitur in 1908, but he failed and had to give up his dreams of studying at the university (Kozłowski 2012: 152).

The lack of university education did not prevent this talented and curious young man from establishing contacts with historians and archaeologists and integrating into Lvov’s intellectual environment of that period. This is evidenced by a large number of invitations to events taking place in Lvov, which are preserved among the researcher’s private documents. However, the lack of a diploma caused him some psychological discomfort and he was often referred to as an autodidact. On the other hand, as Mykola Holubets wrote in an obituary: ‘I know, I’ve seen how university Chairs and professorial berets were grown on the foundations of the work of this self-taught man’ (Holubets 1930: 4). Opinion exists that Janusz wrote doctorates for payment for some historians from Lvov.

From the fragmentary references of his contemporaries it is known that Janusz later attended university lectures, including those of the archaeologist Karol

Fig. 3. Bohdan Janusz’s baptismal certificate. 1898. From the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Fig. 4. Community Hall of the Academic Gymnasium. From the collection of the Internet portal: ‘Photos of old Lvov’.

1 Today the beginning of Virmenska Street, from Svobody Avenue to the crossing with Teatralna Street.
2 B. Janusz to W. Demetrykiewicz, Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Cracow, No SP8/36.
Between History and Archaeology

Bohdan Janusz made his entrée into the scientific community of Lvov via the Shevchenko Scientific Society and without doubt his contributions may be considered as a great success. As a student of 7th class of the gymnasium, he presented to Mykhailo Hrushevsky12 (1866–1934; Fig. 5) and the best historians in Lvov. It was a good opportunity and stimulus for further work. In December 1907, at a meeting of the historical and philosophical section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the 20-year-old Janusz reported on a ‘Stone with a mysterious sign from the village of Zazdrist, Terebovlia district’, which was very well received. The Society’s principal, Mychajlo Hrushevsky, offered to publish the report in the Notes of Shevchenko Scientific Society (Janusz 1907: 125). The same year the young researcher published other short archaeological works in the Dilo, Lvov’s newspaper. For a short period he worked at the museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, where, first of all, he compiled an inventory (Fig. 6). As mentioned by Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Bohdan Janusz had a talent for organizing archaeological collections. However, this ‘Ukrainian’ period was quite short. In the autumn of 1908 Janusz had to leave his position at the Shevchenko Scientific Society and without doubt his contributions may be considered as a great success.

Bohdan Janusz’s regional research began during his studies at the gymnasium. We know about his first scientific exploration of a Karaim cemetery in the village of Kukeziv, Kamianka-Buzka district (Burchard 1962: 588; Berest and Berest 2005: 205). His interest in Karaims developed into a long-term search for the sources of their history and resulted in the publication of his work Karaici w Polsce [Karaims in Poland] (1927). As Ivan Krypiakievych emphasized: ‘He was so interested in the mysterious tribe of Karaims, that he began to study them and after years of work published a monograph on them’ (Krypiakievych 1930: 4).

The research interests of Bohdan Janusz were not limited only to archaeological surveys – he collected data on local customs, rituals, and the legends of Galicia-region populations (Burchard 1962: 587–588). Janusz directed his talent into several fields: archaeology, ethnology, history of arts, museology, and conservation activity (Charewiczowa 1938: 160).

Bohdan Janusz’s scientific activities

In their publications his colleagues preserved for later generations a description of his appearance and personality. In particular, his contemporary, Łucja Charewiczowa (1897–1943), noted that he had bright blond hair ‘with pale-grey skin; he spoke quietly, generally half-hearted, as if he was always chastened by the ‘lack of certification’ of his extensive knowledge, and perhaps by the national separation, duality of his feeling of spiritual identity’ (Charewiczowa 1938: 160).

Fig. 5. Mychajlo Hrushevsky. 1907. From the collection of the Mychajlo Hrushevsky State Memorial Museum in Lvov.
Society and he began working on the editorial staff of another of Lvov’s daily newspapers – *Kurjer Lwowski*. Then ‘Polish’ period started. This change was caused by an unrecorded conflict with certain members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in which the fiery temperament of Janusz played a not insignificant role. After breaking off relations with the Shevchenko Scientific Society most of the researcher’s publications were written in Polish. However, this did not mean that he never returned to form contacts with Ukrainian scientists (Antoniewicz 1931–1932: 167).

At that difficult time Janusz tried to alleviate various emotional and financial problems through hard work. He absorbed knowledge, collected materials and practised self-improvement, as he noted later, without any rest: ‘from 1914 I had not one month of rest and no vacations’ (quote in: Kozłowski 2012: 255). Memories about that period of Janusz’s life were left by Stanisław Lam13 (1891–1965): ‘a self-taught man, a fantastic fancier of knowledge, he wanted to obtain its treasures by sitting in hunger and cold with his books, absorbing greedily... He lacks the talent of a writer, but compensates for it with a lot of details, dates and facts collected with ascetic patience and hard work’ (quote in: Jarowiecki 2003: 108). The method was effective. By becoming a contributor to *Kurjer Lwowski*, Janusz led a readership dedicated to the latest discoveries, the prehistory of Galicia, museology, and related interests. In the pages of the daily newspaper Janusz published many articles on archaeology.

His series of short publications *Badania archeologiczne w latach 1900–1908, dokonane w Galicji wschodniej* [Archaeological research conducted in Eastern Galicia from 1900 to 1908] (1909b) should also be mentioned here. In these the author presents the stories of archaeological discoveries that took place in Eastern Galicia from the middle of the 19th century. He also raised the issue of archaeology more widely, as is evidenced by articles such as *Extraordinary archaeological discoveries in Rome and Masterpieces of Greek art, found on the seabed*. From these texts we can see that Janusz was fairly well acquainted with the discoveries and studies of archaeologists beyond Lvov, and this was actually the format of publications that a newspaper needs. Some of his popular-scientific publications on archaeological issues were in the form of reviews of works of his contemporaries, including Karol Hadaczek and Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz. He also mentioned excavations carried out in the territory of present western Ukraine (Janusz 1909b), in particular Czechy (today: Chekh, Brody district), Wysocko (today: Vysotsko, Brody district), Niesłuchów (today: Neslukhiv, Kamionka Strumiłowa district), and Koszyłowce (today: Koshylivtsi, Zaleszczyki district). In the same year that Karol Hadaczek’s work on research in Gać (near Przeworsk) was printed, Janusz published in the pages of *Wszechświat* (Warsaw’s popular weekly magazine) a review of this monograph. It includes very positive comments on professor Hadaczek and his field research in Eastern Galicia. *Wszechświat* also published several of Janusz’s short reports dedicated to anthropological themes. These show us that the self-taught ethnographer from Lvov was well aware of the scientific discoveries made in the middle of 19th century in the valley of Neanderthal, and also the results of research in Croatia and France.

The extended article *Pochodzenie i zastosowanie ornamentu geometrycznego w ceramicz przedhistorycznej* [Origin and use of geometric ornamentation on prehistoric ceramics] was published in four volumes of *Ziemia*, the Warsaw journal (Janusz 1910). The author analyzed pottery found during archaeological research in Galicia and traced wide analogies with materials from Europe and Africa (Janusz 1910: 418).

Among the researcher’s first most important books was *Z paleoantropologii Galicyi Wschodniej* [From the paleoanthropology of Eastern Galicia] (1911a). In this work he emphasized the significance of paleoanthropological studies, writing that only with the help of anthropology can we fully explore the most ancient past of Eastern Galicia, including peculiarities of funeral rites and ethnic interpretation (Janusz 1911a: 7–8).

The researcher made many journeys to Eastern Galicia on foot to collect archaeological material. Janusz accumulated information about various types of monuments, recording their locations in detail. Later these data were presented in his catalogue of monuments, which still remains a valuable reference.

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13 Polish philosopher, publisher, publicist, critic and historian of literature.
Between History and Archaeology

 resource. As was recalled by one of his close friends, Janusz might well be described as something of a curiosity: ‘Few people knew their regions as well as B. Janusz knew his own... sometimes he carried out his journeys without a penny in his pocket, of which only those fellows who travelled together with him knew’ (Antoniewicz 1931–1932: 166–167). Subsequently, the collected materials became the basis for his work *Z pradziejów ziemi Lwowskiej* [From the prehistoric land of Lvov], which was published in 1913 by the Society of Supporters of Lvov’s Past (Fig. 7). The author popularized a large number of archaeological finds, which were preserved in the museums of Lvov from the beginning of the 19th century. Simultaneously, he approved the results of his own scientific research. For example, his information on the Rokytne hill-fort took a significant place in publications. This complex dated back to the early Middle Ages, but the author also assumed an earlier period for its existence. In addition, the researcher identified the hill-fort near Rokytne with the chronicled site of ‘Borok’ (Janusz 1913: 43–45, 63–64). In 1911 he personally drew a plan of the settlement at Rokytne and presented it in the monograph. Recent studies have confirmed Janusz’s hypothesis: modern scientists have determined the era of the hill-fort’s construction as being in the 10th century (Berest 1997: 22–28; Shyshak et al. 2012: 327). Results of other studies were also interesting. In particular, the researcher proposed that Lvov was a successor of nearby Zvenyhorod, Pustomyty district (Janusz 1913: 82–86). This part of the publication was translated into Ukrainian and published ten years later in the journal *Stara Ukraina* (Petegryych and Pavliv 1991: 418).

In his publications Bohdan Janusz occasionally emphasized the necessity to preserve the heritage of past generations, stressing the importance of historic museums as the main centres for the protection of ancient history. He wrote several articles on the Ukrainian museums of Lvov: in particular on the formation of archaeological collections at the museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Community Hall, and the National Museum (Janusz 1909a, 1911b). It was actually that necessary point, which is often overlooked by modern researchers, the promotion and use of cultural heritage. Articles in the pages of daily newspapers provided such ‘life support’ for Janusz and for citizens of Lvov, i.e. knowledge about the history and archaeology of Eastern Galicia. They served to confirm the growing authority of Janusz, as indicated by his colleague Roman Jakimowicz14 (1889–1951) from Warsaw: ‘He was the last ‘researcher of ancientries’ from the mid 19th century who was interested in the past in all its manifestations, and it was mostly the past of a narrow region with restricted geographical outlines’ (Jakimowicz 1935: 312).

Colleagues and friends

Based on the remaining correspondence of Bohdan Janusz, we can reconstruct the circle of people with whom he interacted closely for professional purposes. Among the letter recipients we find the names of prominent Polish archaeologists: Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, Roman Jakimowicz, and Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969). Janusz had especially friendly relations with Antoniewicz, augmented by communication and friendship at Lvov University. In addition, some part of Demetrykiewicz’s correspondence with colleagues also includes mentions of Janusz. This is important evidence of the fact that Janusz was part of the archaeological community.

Correspondence with Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz covers the period between 1911–1914. Eight letters are preserved (Fig. 8), and although after that time we do not know of any correspondence between these researchers, W. Demetrykiewicz did not cease

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14 Polish archaeologist, protector of monuments, director of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.
to be interested in Janusz’s life. The correspondence between the archaeologists is of a professional nature and personal matters are practically never mentioned. The letters reveal that quite a close and mutually beneficial cooperation took place between them. If Demetrykiewicz asked Janusz to clarify something in the literature or take photographs of monuments or archaeological finds near Lvov, then Janusz used the authority of the professor and received consultations from him, sent manuscripts of his archaeological research and requested reviews. Janusz mentions in his letters different issues of archaeology, including recent publications. In one of his letters he writes about Karol Hadachek’s works, opining that classical archaeology dominates his publications. The letter fragment to Lopushany Svyatovyd, written in Ukrainian, is also interesting. The author of the letter presented a drawing of finds, stressing that its photograph was taken by Vydym Shcherbakivskyi (1876–1957).

And yet Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz did not always support the initiatives of his younger colleague. In particular, while discussing the idea of creating synthetic scientific works on the archaeology of Galicia, the professor never resorts to the argument that Bohdan Janusz ‘was not qualified enough’ for this job, but just focused on the fact that he did not have enough material, and that it was necessary to conduct more research before it would be possible to carry on a dialogue on this subject.

At the same time we can witness the exchange of publications between the scholars. Among the material of Demetrykiewicz in the Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow is a collection of articles by Janusz. We can also find here a manifestation of Demetrykiewicz’s conflict with Karol Hadaczek: in one of his letters he writes angrily that Hadaczek did not pass on to Janusz one of his publications.

The correspondence between Bohdan Janusz and his friend Włodzimierz Antoniewicz has a different character. It shows that they were quite close friends. In his letters, for example, Antoniewicz complained that he was not too comfortable in Cracow, he felt lonely and missed Lvov. For several years, these contacts between Lvov and Cracow promoted the scientific work of both researchers. In particular, material on the history of the Armenians from the Cracow libraries were sent to Janusz by Antoniewicz. An interesting fact demonstrating the authority of the local historian from Lvov can be found in a letter dated December 1913, where the young Antoniewicz requests Janusz’s assistance in making contact with Demetrykiewicz.

Generally speaking, however, it seems that Janusz had few close colleagues and friends. When he was faced with problems no one came to help, and when he ultimately committed suicide, no one wrote words of compassion: ‘as if he was only a shadow, or someone who should be ashamed’ (Łempicki 1930: 4). Perhaps if he had had someone to support him then things could have followed a different path. In fact, he noted that at the time of his greatest difficulties: ‘nobody (literally!) even asked me, if only out of politeness, do I have means to buy lunch or dinner! And I am talking now of people who have been close for many years and always used me’ (quote by: Kozłowski 2012: 255).

**During the times of political and military unrest**

The events of 1914 found Bohdan Janusz in his home town. He never had good health and so, accordingly, was

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\[\text{Fig. 8. Bohdan Janusz’s letter to Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz. From the collection of the Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Cracow.}\]

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\[\text{15 Near 1850 from Lypytsia river (now Narivka river) in Lopushnia near Rogatyn stone idol with four heads and four legs were found. Local parokh (priest) command to forge it into the cross. In nowadays lower part of sculpture is presented in expositon of National Museum in Lvov (B. Janusz to W. Demetrykiewicz, 22 May 1911, Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Cracow, No SP8/36).}\]

\[\text{16 B. Janusz to W. Demetrykiewicz, 22 May 1911, Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Cracow, No SP8/36.}\]

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\[\text{17 W. Demetrykiewicz to B. Janusz, 15 January 1911, Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, File 27, sygn. III–166.}\]

\[\text{18 W. Antoniewicz to B. Janusz, 4 December 1913, Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, File 27, sygn. III–166.}\]

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not mobilized. He was forced of course to adapt to new conditions. It is clear that during the war the popularity of newspapers, the source of his livelihood, decreased. Significant changes took place in the circumstances of Lvov’s historians and archaeologists: one left the city, another was taken into the army, another died. In those difficult times Janusz did what he could and was able to continue to write, however, the subject matter was to change. During this period he published two works: 293 dni rządów rosyjskich we Lwowie [293 days of Russian rule in Lvov] (1915) and Dokumenty urzędowe okupacji rosyjskiej Lwowa [Official documents of the Russian occupation of Lvov] (1916), which still remains an interesting source for the study of these events. One of his articles, however, was on the tragic suicide of his unofficial teacher, Karol Hadaczek. Janusz mourns that ‘in winter he finished his still young life and on 19th of December 1914 has faded away to eternity’ (Janusz 1915: 185). The reader will be unaware, of course, that the writer will go on to share the same fate and at the same age.

Archaeological themes were reflected in the work Zabytki przedhistoryczne Galicyi Wschodniej [Prehistoric culture of Eastern Galicia] (1918) – the first catalogue of monuments to cover the entire area. This work remains a valuable resource for modern archaeologists, although it also has certain drawbacks. In particular, the author did not use the unpublished material from the Lvov museums that were close to him. In the review of the book Józef Kostrzewski, along with positive remarks, noted that ‘the addition of unpublished materials to this work would significantly increase its scientific value; this would certainly require longer travels, which, probably, were too difficult for the author to realize’ (Kostrzewski 1919: 67).

Another equally important publication was Kultura przedhistoryczna Podola Galicyjskiego [Prehistoric culture of Galician Podolia] (1919). This work, in fact, was written several years earlier, as witnessed by a letter reference, written at the end of 1915 by Antoniewicz to Demetrykiewicz. Antoniewicz was highly impressed by this work: ‘it will be close to the works of Kostrzewski – an interesting achievement in our prehistory, made this year’ (quote by: Kozłowski 2009: 258). This work also faced some criticism: Antoniewicz comments on its lack of figures ‘so necessary in archaeological works’ (Antoniewicz 1919: 153). As with his other work, there were adverse comments to do with the archaeological monuments – the new material from excavations in Eastern Galicia were absent; archaeological collections from museums in Lvov were not taken into account; interpretation and critical approaches were not presented sufficiently. However, all this does not overshadow the importance of Janusz’s contribution to the development of archaeological science.

At the time of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in 1918–1921, Bohdan Janusz (half Ukrainian, half Pole) felt very uncomfortable and depressed. As a researcher he tried to suppress these feelings by hard work in the libraries in complete solitude. The ‘dual-culture identity’ of Janusz-Karpovych played an important role in this situation. In many regards, neither the Poles nor the Ukrainians considered him part of their circle, although he tried to work with colleagues from both historical environments who were actively investigating the monuments of Lvov during this period.

In 1919 the Kółko Starożytników Lwowskich was organized in Lvov. Janusz became the secretary of this organization (Kółko 1919: 157–158). Its meetings took place at the ‘Szkocka’ coffee-house. At the second meeting it was decided to focus on the private collections of Lvov.
Janusz at that time had considerable experience in such work and once again could engage in the study of Lvov’s past. It must also be noted that the preservation of historical monuments during the time of the Russian occupation of Lvov (1914–1915) was entrusted to a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and director of the Russian College in Rome, Eugene Shmurla (1853–1934), who made use of Janusz’s knowledge in questions of scientific, museum and monument-preservation activity in Lvov (Karpovych 1919: 173).

At this time the ‘dual identity’ of the researcher manifested itself again. While cooperating with the Polish historical environment, Janusz again drew close to Ukrainian historians. He approached Stepan Shakh with the idea of creating in post-war Lvov a Ukrainian regional group, opposed to the Polish Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Lwowa [Association of Friends of Lvov], which emerged in the autumn of 1921 under the direction of professor Fryderyk Papée (1856–1940; Shakh 1955: 40). In Lvov in 1921, on the initiative of the society ‘Prosvita’, the ‘Group of Supporters of the History of Lvov’ was called into being, chaired by Ivan Krypiakevych (Fig. 9). The secretary of this group was to be Stepan Shakh, and among its members we find the name of Bohdan Janusz. The secretary pointed out that research into Lvov’s past was continuing well, primarily because all the members had known each other for a long time (Shakh 1955: 41–42). The meetings of the group took place in the rooms of the ‘Prosvita’ society at 10 Rynek Square. Because of the fact that the local authorities interfered in the foundation of some Ukrainian societies, the organizers immediately decided that it would be constituted as a ‘group’, since its creation did required no special permissions. Being an active participant of the group, Janusz communicated closely with many Ukrainian historians, writers and artists. Among these Bohdan Barvinskyi (1880–1958), Ilarion Swencicki (1876–1956), Olena Stepaniv-Dashkevych (1892–1963), Olga Basarab (1889–1924) and Ivan Trush (1869–1941) deserve special attention (Kozyczkyj 1999: 154).

Members of the group shared duties and organized excursions around Lvov, and began to write a guide. Janusz was selected to lead research into the most ancient churches of Lvov, including St. Nicholas, St. Onuphry, and also the Armenian church – the history of which had interested him earlier. Another focus of the researcher’s activity were the old abandoned cemeteries in Lvov. He conducted a detailed examination of them and the results of his work were subsequently published (1924a, 1925) in Ukrainian and Polish magazines (Stari Lvivski czvyntari [Ancient cemetery of Lvov] and Zniszczone cmentarze lwowskie [The ruined Lvov cemeteries]). In a short time the network of the group noticeably expanded and in almost every part of Lvov and its surroundings there was someone who was able to organize an excursion. Moreover, members of the group, which included teachers from gymnasiums, encouraged school students to explore the territory of former Eastern Galicia. For example, S. Shakh, together with gymnasium students, undertook surveys on the slopes of Zamkowa Góra in Lvov, and in the summer of 1923 he organized a two-day trip to Halych to look for the former capital in Krylos and Zalukva (Kozyczkyj 1999: 154). Unfortunately, this group was to function for only two years before being disbanded on the orders of the police at the end of 1923.

The interest of Bohdan Janusz in historical and cultural monuments of Lvov, and his activities among the local groups of historians, resulted in the publication of his work Przewodnik po Lwowie (z planem miasta) [Lvov Guide (with city plan)] in 1922.

Preserving the historical heritage

From the summer of 1923 Janusz began duties as a Lvov district conservator in the newly founded (in Warsaw) State Group of Conservators of Prehistoric Remains (PGKZP). One of Janusz’s friends – Włodzimierz Antoniewicz – became a deputy of professor Erazm

Fig. 9. Ivan Krypiakevych (1886–1967). From the collection of the National Library, Kiev.
The protection and research of historical monuments accidentally discovered during earthworks; the securing of such finds at the place of their discovery, followed by rescue works.

• Survey explorations of the region with the aim of securing any monuments previously unknown from scientific publications.
• Archaeological excavations for scientific purposes (however, the shortage of funds for such activities was noted).
• Making inventories (which were to be undertaken only during the winter, when the conservator was not active on fieldwork).
• Press/publicity and other public relations duties.
• Office duties: correspondence, liaison with government officials, maintaining the archive, supplying the materials and literature (Janusz 1924c: 11–13).

In addition, Bohdan Janusz, as a long-term contributor of various articles to many magazines and newspapers, was required to inform the community of the special achievements of the State Group of Conservators of Prehistoric Remains (Sprawozdanie 1929: 185). A summary of the conservator’s work was published in 1924 in a booklet entitled Z działalności Lwowskiego Urzędu Konserwatorskiego dla zabytków przedhistorycznych [On the activity of the Lvov Preservation Office for prehistoric monuments] and distributed within the region, especially among police officers, senior officials, journalists, and various institutions (Janusz 1924b).

Considering the size of the Lvov Area, and that the conservation function was never intended to operate with more than one member of staff – Janusz had a considerable workload. Despite the fact that the position of conservator was a state post, and provided certain benefits, the Lvov keeper faced several difficulties, including the ‘lack of a free rail card which should be given to conservators in their districts. Thus far, the conservator is forced to cover the costs of travel from his own pocket and then send in receipts’ (Janusz 1929: 256).

The report on his first year in office shows that after each report of a new discovery, Janusz went to the find place, established links with various interested parties – local ethnographers, teachers, specialist and amateur antiquarians – with the purpose of preserving the finds and exchanging information with the conservator; these individuals were called correspondents and belonged to different professions and social groups. Janusz kept their names for his records, including Łukasz Garmatiy – senior teacher from Mołdzyntsa, Terebovlya district; Józef Nikorowicz – landowner from Ulvivok, Sokal district; J. Witkowski – forester from Bazhnikovtsi, Berezhany district; J. Stolar – commandant of the police post in Szczepean, Pidgaiits district (Sytnyk 2012: 155). In the middle of August the conservator received a report on the discovery of mammoth bones near Lityatyn, Berezhany district: fragments of vertebrae and one tusk...
were found during works in a clay quarry (Janusz 1924b: 7).

In the same year a similar discovery was recorded by the conservator in the Lvov region. During the construction of sewers along Kościusko and Kadecka Streets the osteological remains of a mammoth were found. The information was spread in the press. Kurjer Lwowski reported that during the earthworks ‘at a depth of four meters a skeleton of a mammoth was found, its teeth were carefully collected and transferred to the city museum’ (Szkielety 1923: 5). The conservator was forced to deny this information published by the newspaper to stop the false information. He emphasized that such a discovery was completely impossible, since in the Pleistocene sediments of the suburbs of Lvov only small fragments, mostly of mammoth teeth, were found (Pogulyanka, Lysynychi, Znesinnya, Golosko, Lychakiv) – never complete skeletons. In fact, only teeth were discovered on this occasion (Janusz 1924b: 10).

In 1923 the conservator lead the excavations of a burial in Ulvivok, near Sokal. From 1913, Józef Nikorowicz, the local landowner, had begun to gather a collection of finds from his fields. During the works were found inhumations and cremations with various ceramic wares and bronze artefacts. Nikorowicz gathered a large number of finds and even carried out rescue excavations (during which 18 burials were discovered in the southeastern part of the burial complex) and made detailed description of burials and accompanying material (Pavliv 2006: 155). This collection was destroyed during the war. However, the gathering of a new one began soon, because during earthworks ceramic ware, bones and other items were discovered. Nikorowicz very carefully recorded these finds and kept them. Therefore it was possible to register all the artefacts for the benefit of science (Janusz 1924b: 11). In the period between the 18th and 23rd of September 1923, further excavations were carried out with the participation of the conservator and significant support from Nikorowicz (Janusz 1924–1925: 350).

Osteological remains from these excavations in Ulvivok were conveyed, under the direction of the Conservator Office, to the anthropological-ethnological institute of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov, headed by professor Jan Czekanowski (1882–1965). The collection includes five skulls and other bones. As a result of analyses undertaken by Czekanowski, it was found that the anthropological type of this population was influenced by the northern European, Mediterranean and Proto-Slavic types (Janusz 1929: 259).

Each conservator annually obtained a certain funding for field researches. From the documents, we see that the Lvov Area received the smallest amount. Barbara Stolpiak has presented some interesting data on this: Bohdan Janusz obtained 1437 PLN for official travel and 87 (!) PLN for excavations, while Michał Drewko (1887–1964) received 5666 PLN for travel and 6550 PLN for excavations, and Ludwik Sawicki (1893–1872) 7467 PLN for travelling and 9181 PLN for excavations (Stolpiak 1984: 118). However, despite this, some fieldwork was conducted. For example, we can mention studies carried out in Holyn near Kalush, the results of which were published immediately (Fig. 10). In the summer of 1924 a pottery oven was accidentally discovered, and the conservator was notified accordingly. Janusz arrived there and conducted ‘between 24th and 30th July, excavations that resulted in the opening of a perfectly preserved pottery oven from Roman times with lots of ceramics with wavy ornamentation’ (Sprawozdanie 1929: 256). Among the documents, a photograph from the researches in Holyn was preserved, in which Janusz probably features (Fig. 11). The conservator visited this area several times to ensure the proper preservation of the oven. Its later care and the responsibility for its maintenance were assigned to local authorities and the police. Janusz ordered scale replicas of it and its contents to be made for Dzieduszycki’s Museum in Lvov.

From 1924, Janusz published, at his own expense, Wiadomosci Konserwatorskie in order to promote...
local prehistoric monuments; his thinking was that newspaper articles are not long-lasting and that the amount of space allowed by editors was insufficient to present features adequately. A source of pride and consolation for Janusz was the significant number of subscribers in Lvov district, which gradually increased, in his periodical (Sprawozdanie 1929: 264).

His work as conservator was interesting for Janusz and he invested all his energy into it. For example, between July and October 1925 the conservator travelled through almost the whole territory of Podolia: Zbarazh, Kopychynetsi, Terebovlya, Mykulyntsi, Kryvche, Bilche-Zolote, Chortkiv, Zolochiv, Pidgirtsi, Ternopil (Sprawozdanie 1929: 264). He took part in the reconstruction of the Podolian museum in Ternopil, which was destroyed during the war. At this time Janusz, together with Aleksander Czołowski22 (1865–1944), prepared for publication a scientific work on the past and historical monuments of the Ternopil region, which appeared in 1926.

The preparation of this work took much time and required effort and material. In this regard the correspondence between Janusz and professor Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz became more regular.23 In his letters to Demetrykiewicz, Janusz repeatedly asked for help in providing photographs, because, as it turned out, in Lvov it was difficult to find a good image of even a stone statue of the Slavic deity Svetovid (Fig. 12). Ultimately, the monograph Przeszłość i zabytki województwa Tarnopolskiego was profusely illustrated.

It seemed that everything was going well. However, at the beginning of 1926 the Ministry of Religion and Education in Warsaw cancelled their agreement with Janusz. This event was also influenced by a personal conflict between Janusz and Józef Piotrowski (1873–1939).24 It is known that in October 1925 Piotrowski prohibited the Lvov conservator from conducting research and making an inventory of historical monuments without his permission (Sprawozdanie 1929: 269). As mentioned previously, research into the funding of conservators has shown that Janusz received the smallest amount of funding. It is hard to understand the cause of this, but one of the reasons was the issue of the protection of wooden churches destroyed during the war (Sytnyk 2012: 155). This resulted in a long-standing conflict which the Lvov conservator made little attempt to hide, but rather spread ‘at the meetings, in the press and in conversations, but above all Wiadomosci Konserwatorskie, published at his own expense (Jakimowicz 1935: 314). As Danuta Piotrowska mentions, ‘basically, he was right, but the Ministry of Religion and Education politely drew his attention to the fact that his behaviour violated the rules of civil service and ruined public confidence in the actions of certain officials’ (Piotrowska 2006: 74).

In this particular conflict Bohdan Janusz won the battle but lost the war—he succeeded in initiating the dismissal of Józef Piotrowski, sending him into retirement, however he lost his own position as well. As Roman

22 Polish historian, antiquarian, archivist, director of the Historical Museum of the City of Lvov and the National Museum in Lvov, professor.
24 Art historian, began scientific work as assistant of the Chair of History of Arts of Lvov University. From 1912 his activities were connected with the preservation of historical monuments; in 1920 he obtained the position of Conservator of Monuments for the whole of so-called Eastern Lesser Poland (the former Eastern Galicia and Volhynia).
Jakimowicz observes, Janusz ‘won, but fell in the battle’ (Jakimowicz 1935: 314). Janusz received an abrupt and official reason for his dismissal: ‘This year, as a result of new laws on monument protection and reconstruction projects, as well as the actions against some individuals, two positions of prehistoric monument conservators were eliminated; at the end of November, the Ministry cancelled contracts with conservators Ludwik Sawicki and Bohdan Janusz’ (Sprawozdanie 1935: 216).

**From job loss to final tragedy**

After his dismissal from the post of conservator, Bohdan Janusz desperately tried to return to jobs offered by the state. Perhaps he hoped to take over the position of Józef Piotrowski, which would be his greatest triumph. Moreover, this issue could have been resolved by Janusz’s long-standing colleague – Roman Jakimowicz. However this conservator did not support him. In the correspondence between Bohdan Janusz, Ludwik Sawicki and Józef Kostrzewski, the name of Roman Jakimowicz appears in a negative light. Kostrzewski informed Janusz that the job of ‘overseeing monuments in your district will be given to doctor Żurowski. This is more than a personal loss and grief for you, but also irreparable loss for prehistory in general, because rational overseeing of the monuments of the whole of Galicia from Cracow is impossible’ (quote by: Kozłowski 2012: 237).

Janusz lost his work and had to look for other means of making a living. In 1928 he briefly headed the Pokuckie museum and its library in Stanislawov, developing a programme for this institution. However, he left this position for some reason and after a few months returned to Lvov and continued scientific work (Burchard 1962: 587).

Failing to establish a new position in life, in the middle of 1929, indebtedness resulted in Janusz losing his prestigious apartment (Fig. 13) at 24 Zyblikiewicza Street, where latterly he had been living in the neighborhood of the famous historian Oswald Balzer (1858–1933), and professor of the Polytechnic Institute, Ignacy Mościcki (1867–1946).25 His furniture and library had to be auctioned off too. As he wrote in one of his last letters, the ‘despicable Armenian claw26 took even my library, without sparing even the ten skulls from the basements of Lvov Cathedral, which I kept at home for carrying out measurements and anthropological research’ (quote by: Kozłowski 2012: 254–255).

Even under such difficult conditions the scientist did not stop to exchange information with his colleagues and continued to write. In the summer of 1930 Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz celebrated his 70th birthday. Janusz participated in the celebrations and spoke for a long time with the professor. Among other things they discussed the problem of personal relationships between archaeologists. In particular, Janusz could not accept the state of affairs among scientists, where each prehistorian ‘does not respect anyone except himself, and considers that prehistory as a science begins with him, and all the written works are witness to the ignorance of the subject. The mutual intolerance between prehistorians records conflicts that are seemingly impossible in the scientific world’ (Janusz 1930). These words demonstrate how upset Janusz was with his colleagues, perhaps because he received no support from them when it was most needed.

Left alone with his problems, Janusz tried to find the strength to solve the difficult situation. He applied to various organizations for help. Shortly before his death he wrote a long, reasoned letter to the director of the largest bank in Lvov with a request for financial aid. However this letter was never sent and Janusz could make no other decision than to die.

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25 Polish chemist, politician, between 1926–1939 the president of Poland.
26 Here, probably, is implied the owner of apartments where B. Janusz’s family lived during his last years.
He traced the steps of his teacher Karol Hadaczek. On Tuesday morning, 4th November 1930, in a hotel room in Lvov, the desperate Bohdan Janusz committed suicide by shooting himself (Samogubstvo 1930). ‘This news was terrible in its self-evident and inevitable consequence of the tragic life of a man in whose chest two souls existed, and who wore two masks, each covering the other’ – emphasized Mykola Holubets in a farewell speech (Holubets 1930: 4). Janusz was buried in Lychakiv cemetery in Lvov (Fig. 14). A mournful mention of him was published in almost every newspaper in Lvov, followed later by fuller obituaries. Professor of Lvov University, Stanisław Łempicki, wrote: ‘Let these few words of fair evaluation of this activist and writer, and these few words of memories about this strange, poor man, fall to his lonely grave as a bouquet of white chrysanthemums’ (Łempicki 1930: 4).

Fig. 14. The burial of Bohdan Janusz in the Lychakiv cemetery, Lvov. From the collection of the author.

Summing up the short life and the wider activities of Bohdan Janusz, we have to mention that during his entire, albeit brief, earthly path, he maintained close contacts with the Ukrainian and Polish scientific communities of Lvov. He tried to be part of both scientific circles. According to one of his friends, this was the real cause of his tragedy. ‘Bohdan Janusz and Vasyl Karpovych – was one great and complete man, made of a single block of granite, and his tragedy amounted to those fatal circumstances which forced him to live a dual life and to hide his true face under a mask. Here, not elsewhere, was the main reason why we stand now at the fresh grave’ (Holubets 1930: 4). Janusz began his scientific research under the tutelage of the famous Mychajlo Hrushevsky of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which gave him a good chance for a career. Very soon he broke off relations with Ukrainian scientists and associated his life with Polish historians and archaeologists. It would seem that all was well. Janusz attended Karol Hadaczek’s lectures, communicated with Aleksander Czołowski and Jan Czekeanowski, was befriended by Roman Jakimowicz and Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, and had the support of Włodzimierz Demetrykiewicz. During this entire period Bohdan Janusz worked extensively. He collected data on history, archaeology, the arts; investigated the history of the Armenian community in Lvov; followed the developments in historical heritage protection; created a library. All this he did under his difficult financial circumstances. Later, he again liaised closely with Ukrainian scientists. Among these we find Mykola Holubets – the most talented student of Mychajlo Hrushevsky and Ivan Krypiakevych, a well-known historian, art historian and publicist. Janusz searched, studied and published everything related to the history and culture of Lvov and its environs. It seems that he was trying to compensate for his lack of diplomas by hard, daily work.

All his life Bohdan Janusz was well known among the intellectuals of Lvov. This is confirmed by the circle of his correspondents, his places of work, and perhaps most importantly – by his publications. Despite criticisms of its lack of scientific methodology and fragmentation, the catalogue of historical and archaeological monuments compiled by Bohdan Janusz-Karpovych remained an important source of knowledge for several generations of historians and archaeologists.

Janusz is the author of almost a hundred scientific and popular-science publications, including monographs, catalogues, articles in scientific journals, and a large number of short, popular reports appearing in newspapers and magazines. In general, his known bibliography includes about a hundred entries. However, it is probably incomplete. Part of his scientific work, written, but unpublished for various reasons, remains in Warsaw. It is also difficult to find his articles in the newspapers of Lvov, Cracow, Warsaw, and some works, obviously, remain lost.

Perhaps the best thing that can be done to honour the memory of this famous resident of Lvov is to analyze his archival heritage, stored in Ukraine and Poland, and...
to publish his scientific achievements as a monograph. This talented, hard-working, modest, self-taught scientist from Lwów undoubtedly deserves it.

Translated by Ruslan Koropetskyi

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