

2. CREATIVITY IN PREHISTORY: THE PAINTED POTTERY FROM CUCUTENI B

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Abstract: *The present study has in view an ancient time from the History of Art on the territory of Romania, that is the Eneolithic period. It is difficult (or maybe not?) to prove the borders of utilitarianism for those times, art having also a purpose (utilitarian, magical-religious) and the beginning of artistic quality for some objects that are considered nowadays works of art. The peak of the Eneolithic art in our country is a proof of the development of aesthetic taste in the case of the primitive man who created the Cucuteni art. This paper will not have in view the entire Cucuteni ceramics, which is considered the most interesting Neolithic pottery from the Balkans, but only its last phase, phase B and its unusual elements brought by it. There are special shapes (the vase as a bag from Miorcani); the bichrome chromatics which complements the previous polychromy; new motifs: crosses, the zoomorphic and ornithologic background, the suggestion of time and perspective.*

Key words: *Rhamenstil, Laufenstil, barbotine, horroi vacui, crater*

The culture²⁰⁷ of Cucuteni (in fact, the culture Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolie, named after eponym places from the counties of Covasna and Iaşi, and also after a city from Ukraine), is one of the most well-known neolitical cultures, specific to the 4th – the 3rd millennia B.C. Together with the culture of Petreşti, it is part of one of the pottery groups of the developed Eneolithic (4 600 – 3 700 B.C.) (to be more precise, the one with polychrome painted pottery, thus, the essential feature of this culture is polychromy). The creative element has been the basis of the evolution of human beings in time. The developed Eneolithic is the period in which the creative activity of people reached impressive dimensions. But creativity is not reduced to searching for and finding as many formal or ornamental solutions as possible.

Regarding technique, mankind proved to be innovative when finding answers. Pottery has known a qualitative step forward regarding technical aspects: it is in Neolithic the moment when the burning oven was introduced, compared to simple ovens – mere wholes for burning objects made of clay – from the early times, in the superior Neolithic, ovens with a reverberating plaque were used, with a pierced plaque which separated the burning room from the focus²⁰⁸. The developed Eneolithic brings forward – to the process of creating pottery made up to that point from the spinning of clay rolls – a process of rotation (disque, rolling plaque or wheel); still, during the entire Neolithic, ceramics will be handmade, the horizontal wheel will be used only later, during

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²⁰⁷ In general, cultures are named according to the areas which are full of characteristic discoveries. In this case, we can speak about the biggest Neolithic area in the entire Moldavia: 80x100m – the Neolithic resorts from Cetătuia and Dâmbul Morii (the village of Cucuteni, the area of Băiceni), situated at about 60 km away from the city of Iaşi. Regarding the date, the Cucuteni culture started in the first half of the 4th millennium B.C, its end was after the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. Cf. Paul MacKendrick, *Pietrele dacilor vorbesc*, Bucureşti, Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1978, p.14; Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, Bucureşti, Ed. Meridiane, 1979, p.8-9; M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, *Cucuteni*, Bucureşti, Ed. Meridiane, 1966, p.5

²⁰⁸ Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *Preistoria Daciei*, Bucureşti, Ed. Meridiane, 1980, p.29

the time of the Geto-Dacians²⁰⁹. But the topic of the present paper refers less to the technical aspect of this field. Of course it is important the specific preoccupation of Cucuteni people for a perfect technique of creating pots. The process itself of burning the pot after being painted and not before represents an entire process of revolution compared to the pre-Cucuteni period; now, the perfectly pure clay²¹⁰ and the high burning temperature (900 degrees)²¹¹ offer homogeneity, slenderness and it resonates with the walls of the pot²¹², thus obtaining some pieces of such a high quality that they cannot be equaled by other Neolithical cultures on the territory of Romania²¹³.

From an artistic point of view, it is more interesting the artistic intelligence of the primitive creator who knew how to combine the useful and the beautiful in a field which is mostly utilitarian. Because, irrespective of their domestic usage or of their role as cult objects in magical-religious practices, those vases were not created only for the pleasure of seeing them²¹⁴. Thus, it is more visible and striking the interest for the elegance of forms and for the coherence of the background which goes beyond the purpose of these objects' creation, but especially for the creativity of the painter who adapted the harmony of drawing and of the colour to the elegance of the vases' shape.

Anyway, this type of ceramics²¹⁵ which is very well developed from an ornamental and formal point of view is the most interesting Neolithic pottery from the Balkans²¹⁶, being the most complex manifestation of this culture²¹⁷. Its main novelty is the spreading of painting as a method of decoration²¹⁸. The two Neolithic styles – the style of frames (*Rhamenstil*) and the flowing style (*Laufenstil*)²¹⁹ – continue to exist, but, irrespective of the decor's location (taking into account different segments of the pot or not, it covers, like a

²⁰⁹D. Monah, *Organizarea socială, religia și arta în epoca neo-eneolitică*, in Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Alexandru Vulpe (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, vol.I, *Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, București, Academia Română, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2010, p.146-147; Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, vol.I, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1974, p.23

²¹⁰ Mixed with very fine sand, necessary to degreasing in order for the vase not to crack. Moreover, the vase was engulfed in a bath of coloured clay before being painted. Moreover, many of the Cucuteni vases were polished after burning. Cf. Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.15, 18

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, p.14

²¹² Paul MacKendrick, *op. cit.*, p.16

²¹³ Maybe only regarding some aspects, the cultures of Petrești and Gumelnița are linked, but Cucuteni vases can stay beside Attic pieces from the archaic period, regarding quality. *Ibidem*, p.16

²¹⁴ Through we will meet pots having an obvious decorative intention in the Cucuteni ceramics (soup ladles, cymbals), their ornaments suggest an aesthetic side which is beyond the basic level of a simple object for daily usage.

²¹⁵ Pottery is the one which defines this old culture... For Neolithic, the epoch in which people learn to appreciate beauty, in general, ceramics underlines progress, the separation from utilitarianism and the manifestation of artistic preoccupations for the pot's ornamentation, but also for the harmony and elegance of the shape which is more and more imaginatively crafted regarding the zoomorphic and antropomorphic dimensions.

²¹⁶ Paul MacKendrick, *op. cit.*, p.15

²¹⁷ Of course, beside fine pottery, in the culture of Cucuteni, there has been a rough pottery of the vases for storage, made through barbotine. Cf. Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *op. cit.*, p.77

²¹⁸ Through the painted background is not characteristic to all areas. There is also incised background which is very deep sometimes and in some cases, real quillings are used in different combinations. Cf. Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, p.25

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p.25

beautiful carpet whose starting point cannot be guessed, the surface of the vase. The spiral (continuous or interrupted) is the dominant motif (used in combination with some geometrical shapes: egg-shaped forms, rhombus, zig-zags, hatched shapes). The spiral gives a specific dynamic to the entire ensemble, just like an explosion of nature in movement, like an Art Nouveau *avant la lettre*. This happens despite symmetry and a reduced number of motifs, the Cucuteni creator is less preoccupied by drawing, by building. The chromatic effect was that who caught the creator.

Thus, it is a real revolution²²⁰ concerning colour. The innovation of the Cucuteni is polychomy. Combined with the *horroi vacui* that we mentioned above, the chromatic ensemble red-white-black, in different combinations of nuances, is focused more on the organic side of a true virtual explosion without a starting point and without an ending. The ornamental Cucuteni system is definitely coherent and unitary. A general characterization would be limited to the diversity of expressive forms (bitronconical vases, fruit vases, pots of all kinds, soup ladles), together with different decoration techniques (painting, but also incision and pointing), motifs, but not very many, but interestingly combined and also a chromatic composed of three colours, but also having many nuances in general (on a single pot, only three nuances can be seen).

Still, this ornamental system cannot be regarded as an organic whole. The last eperiod of the Cucuteni ceramics, phase B²²¹, is the one which we are going to refer to in the following lines, for it brings many innovations both formal and related to decoration. The formal elegance which is specific to the entire Cucuteni ceramics is to be found in its last phase, when bitronconical vases prevail – those which are big, with some sort of turban (just like a Cucuteni vase), those which are small, having a higher inferior half –; all these are complemented by the craters (having a maximum diameter which is equal to their height); there are also fruit vases which are elegant, having a leg with a splayed basis; slender amphorae, long-necked, with a specific falling lip (compared to the previous period, when the lip was not present); perfectly plane plates; different profiles of pots; the ingeniousness of the craftsmen from Cucuteni brought to light special forms, just like the bag-shaped pot from Miorcani, having a cambered base which becomes thinner towards the neck and having a slanted mouth²²².

Regarding the chromatics, except for the two polichrome groups, there is another bichrome group whose white which was the exclusive background of polychrome groups, becomes yellowish, the motifs being black (thus, the black of phase B is mostly like chocolate). In contrast with the *horror vacui* met especially in one of the polychrome groups, in the bichrome group, colour bands form a refined and sober background. In the Cucuteni phase B, the background

²²⁰D. Monah, *Organizarea socială, religia și arta în epoca neo-eneolitică*, in Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Alexandru Vulpe (coord.), *op. cit.*, p.180

²²¹Phase B (with three subphases: Cucuteni B1-B3) dated at the end of the 4th millennium – the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. Cf. Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.58; D. Monah, *Organizarea socială, religia și arta în epoca neo-eneolitică*, in Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Alexandru Vulpe (coord.), *op. cit.*, p.157

²²²Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.55-56

suffers serious changes. In the geometric background, motifs are now only suggested. Classical motifs are taken forward, but they have a hybrid character. The frequency of the spiral decreases, its character is simplified, having a snake aspect, just like on the tall bitronconic vase with a top from Ghelăiești, of 58,5cm, with 6 waterfinders and a trichromatic spiral background on a striped background²²³, like there are now vertical spirals (between the metopes of the central register) (just like we can see on a bichromatic vase from Cucuteni). The meander disappears. The tangent to the circle decorates the lip of the pot.

In the geometric background, new motifs are created, such as the crosses which come from the tresses of the spirals²²⁴, present on circular motifs or as a shelter (the diverse motifs which embellish a bitronconic vase which belongs to the bichrome group from Cucuteni have a circle with a cross inside as a reference point. In comparison, previous crosses, which belong to phase A, were bands which crossed on the buttons of the vases. As location, the background generally ornaments the exterior of vases, while flat pots have an inner ornament which covers them entirely, as a unitary and relatively symmetric field.

What is specific is a pot from Ghelăiești, of 29,5cm, polychrome, in which the motifs (spirals and egg-shaped forms) are placed on a striped background²²⁵. The inner ornaments of two pots from Valea Lupului are totally unusual regarding spreading in this last phase of Cucuteni culture. One of them, by its liberty and compositional symmetry; the other, by the absence of the classical composite background: the originality of geometry with a vegetal aspect of a trefoil leaf with four parts (in this case, the symmetry is not perfect: on one of the leaves, there are only three arches, while on the other three leaves, there are 4 arches formed out of 3 parallel small lines)²²⁶.

The exterior background ornaments the tronconic pots (specific to phase B). The high and straight lip is decorated with bands which are tangent to the circle (the circle is transformed in phase B into a shelter with two concave sides, transversally sectioned with lines). Moreover, the exterior background is specific to high vases organized in horizontal registers. It continues the existence of metopes in pairs (from the previous phase, having identical motifs (on the superior registers); sometimes, the register on the long neck has 3 main metopes, horizontally placed and 3 which are thin and vertical. In general, small bitronconic vases have the middle register decorated with metopes which are 4, two of them are bigger (they are not decorated or decorated only with a few parallel lines, for example on a bitronconic vase from Frumușica) and two which are thinner (sometimes having a spiral-shaped background, on a bitronconic vase with bichromatic painting from Cucuteni). The biggest are called amphorae and they have the register from the tall neck decorated with metopes, just like the bitronconic vase with a high neck from Ghelăiești, with a bichromatic background showing arched metopes interrupted by triglyphs. On larger

²²³ Manuela Wullschleger (ed.), *L'art néolithique en Roumanie*, Napoli, Arte'm, 2008, p.92

²²⁴ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.56

²²⁵ Manuela Wullschleger (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.97

²²⁶ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, p.150-151

dimension amphorae, there are motifs in different original combinations, the creativity and the inventiveness of the primitive artist fully manifest themselves (despite the stylistic decadence which brings mixtures of motif fragments). (In this respect, an example which is eloquent regarding lack of organization could be an amphora from Valea Lupului, having the inferior half not decorated, while in the superior half, there are two metopes, but the rest is composed of small arches and semiarches, and also egg-shaped forms with tangent bands.)

Still, as we have just mentioned, there are pieces having inspired ornamental effects. An example of a vase in which the creativity and inventiveness of the primitive artist are manifested is a bichromatic amphora well-known for its beauty, it is from Cucuteni, where the ornaments prove that the artist was really ingenious when he adapted motifs to the form of the vase: 3 registers decorate each segment of the vase: a garland on the neck, on the inferior part, circle segments, on the middle register: zig-zags in bands which have circles containing crosses with pill-ended forms. Moreover, the ornaments of the vases from Târgu Ocna-Podei are unitary, the spiral bands decorate the central register and they have a thick contour form, while inside them, the bands are extremely delicate; sometimes, a spiral²²⁷ is represented on the neck, surrounding it, in other cases, there are different motifs, a double chain, zig-zags. Moreover, the autonomy of the background is specific to phase B of the Cucuteni culture²²⁸.

The only South-Eastern culture with painted ceramics which also has an anthropomorphic and zoomorphic background left for us a few stylized silhouettes on the territory of Romania (Traian, Ghelăiești, Poduri²²⁹). Phase B is the one in which the geometry of feminine representations has a naive character: two triangles with convergent angles represent the dress which underlines the woman's waist and which is large at its bottom, one spot suggests the head and two vertical lines – the legs (such a representation comes from a pot from Cârniceni, the county of Iași).

There is also geometry in zoomorphic creations, but in this phase (which is the only phase containing representations of animals²³⁰), it mixes with realism in a very successful way. The result is a syncretic style, ornamented, in which suggestions from the environment are clear (unlike the case of the trefoil from the pot described above, where the background had no connection with the vegetal!); but the zoomorphic background is second in importance compared to the geometric style. This geometry is perceived in the arched bodies where spirals are present²³¹ and also in the placement of elements which contains repeated decorative principles – the motifs appear or surround the vase, together with the entire register or, in a less free style, in metopes (never do we see the animal alone, represented as a motif). Another principle is the fact that the register with

²²⁷ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.56

²²⁸ Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., *Cucuteni*, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1966, p.29

²²⁹ D. Monah, *Organizarea socială, religia și arta în epoca neo-eneolitică*, in Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Alexandru Vulpe (coord.), *op. cit.*, p.181

²³⁰ Anton Nițu, *Decorul zoomorf pictat pe ceramica Cucuteni-Tripolie*, in *Arheologia Moldovei*, VIII, 1975, București, p.56

²³¹ *Ibidem*, p.57

zoomorphic figures is the main one (being integrated in the geometric-abstract background), but there are never two animal registers on the same vase²³².

The building of forms is stylized, reduced to a few lines, but movement is well-represented, even the moment of preparation before the animal's jump²³³. But the gift of the artist is to be seen in the representation of individual features of these animals, always represented as profiles: they have their front and back legs linked, the animal seems to have only two legs (those having four are extremely rare), but they have both their ears (horns), a head with a long frontal area of the mouth, and also details regarding the masculine sex, a fluffy tail or ended in just a few flocks of hair, claws, fur on the spine (just like it is on the glass with a rounded bottom from Valea Lupului, about which we are on the point of discussing).

Regarding colours in bichromatic painting, animals are painted in black-chocolate on a yellowish background, while in trichromatic paintings, the body is either red or having a black-chocolate frame (black are also the details: the claws, the tails, the horns), or they are white on a black background. In the case of the zoomorphic painting, these representations cannot be related to other artistic fields in which animals are represented. But, instead, one can create a connection with cosmological myths²³⁴ (which cannot be stated about the geometric background!). In fact, all these animals appear on vases²³⁵ which are not for home usage, but for magical practices, thus explaining the presence of cattle and even of hunting animals, but also of those from the family of cats, snakes (having here an apotropaic role). A very frequently met motif is that of horns which are a symbol of virility. In the main register of a pot from Tg. Ocna-Podei, the pair of antagonistic horns is surrounded by other geometric motifs (rhombs, triangles), while on a crater from the same place, this ornamental motif is accompanied by a bump having the shape of a cow's head (this feature has been seen only here)²³⁶.

Just like in the case of geometric background, two styles are typical in this case. In the free style, animals are represented in an uninterrupted row surrounding the pot, just like snakes are represented on a pot from Valea Lupului, one in the middle and 4 surrounding it, the form (having a sharp tail and a big head) and their snakish movement clearly indicates that they are not simple spirals (there is one among them which has a forked head, just like the mouth of a snake). In general, animals are accompanied by other motifs (geometrical) (the fresco on a Trușești pot). In the style with metopes, the animal runs around the pot just like in a fresco and other motifs are here alternative: sometimes snakes which are stylized, but also the vegetal background appears in frames with animals (from a few sketched line forming a

²³² Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.62

²³³ Idem, *Arta preistorică în România*, p.155

²³⁴ Even if myths remain anonymous, the existence of a system of cosmic, divine and human order, based on the structure and symbolism of the zoomorphic style, is obviously in accordance with the systems of the Mediterranean systems. Cf. Anton Nițu, *Decorul zoomorf pictat...*, p.71

²³⁵ Only pots are preferred for this background (and also plates) and high vases (bitronconic, craters and amphorae). Cf. Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, p.56

²³⁶ Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *op. cit.*, p.82

pine, a blade of grass, fragments of pots from Valea Lupului). Sometimes, animals are represented from the front, both in the free style and in the one with metopes, for example, on a bitronconic pot from Valea Lupului (where animals represented from the front have half moons with thorns among them), or on a big amphora with a rounded shoulder from the same location²³⁷ (with a spiral register and another one with animals stylized around a circular motif)²³⁸.

We will continue our presentation with a few unusual examples – more special or more complex –, created by the inventivity of the artist in order to amplify the artistic effect or to make steps forward regarding the unity of composition. In order to enrich the visual effect, a multitude of black small spots surround the frame of the metope and also the contour of the animal, represented with 4 (!) legs, on a ceramic fragment from Văleni (Piatra Neamț); sometimes, anatomy respects no rules not only regarding the number of feet, but by representing the back leg as being thicker, just like in the case of the vase with an animal fresco from Trușești.

On a beautiful (and well-known) glass with a globular bottom, from Valea Lupului, among the animals from the metopes, there are small fascicular lines with curved motifs which visually enrich the composition and underline the suggestion of landscape where characters are placed. A piriform pot with neck from Sărata-Monteoru (the county of Buzău) is another example of inventivity of the Neolithic artist, bringing unusual elements regarding the originality of the style of these 4 animals with horns which have 4 legs, a short tail and horns; it is remarkable the harmony of combining the geometric and naturalist environment with the 4 animals in the fresco with the representation of S at the neck, with the representation of 4 circular areas of the body, containing horns, moreover, they have a zig-zag ended with deer. The complexity of the ensemble is balanced by a sober chromatics: non-shining white-grey on a black-shining background, specific to the last period of phase B.

Very well-created from a compositional point of view is the interior of a pot from Valea Lupului, with a zoomorphic background also divided in 4 sectors, circular and triangular, in which animals are represented in detail through their horns (ears?) oriented upwards, also having their tails represented through parallel lines, just like flocks of hair. On the territory of Romania, there were discovered ornitomorph representations belonging to phase B, the oldest representations of birds on the territory of our country²³⁹. The two examples belong to the metopic style and to the free style and are also conditioned by the geometric decor, just like in the case of the antropomorphic and animal background.

The first example belongs to the interior of a small tronconic pot from Buznea (Tg. Frumos), geometricall structured, in cross, through two bands of

²³⁷ Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *op. cit*

²³⁸ For more details and interpretations regarding the zoomorphic background of the Cucuteni ceramics and of its correlation with the geometric background, see the relevant study mentioned above, that of Anton Nițu, *Decorul zoomorf pictat...*, p.15-119

²³⁹ Idem, *Reprezentarea păsării în decorul pictat al ceramicii cucuteniene din Moldova*, in *Cercetări istorice*, VI, 1975, Iași, p.45

fine lines! the triangular metopes thus obtained have an egg-shape inside, which also contains a bird. It seems to be a water bird, because of the position of the legs which suggest swimming, not flight (the wings are not painted). Anyway, it is remarkable the observation spirit of the artist, which knew how to underline and individualize movement so well, and also the typology of a pray bird (the long neck seems to hold an object inside, probably a fish). Everything is synthetic, but created with great precision, by having just a few lines. The second example comes from two ceramic fragments on a bitronconic amphora with its mouth like a funnel from Stâncă-Stefănești (the county of Botoșani), on which one can admire swimming birds that are not represented very stylish, probably due to one's desire of going towards naturalism: the position of the legs is more clumsily represented, while the bifurcation of the body indicates the raise of wings, which offers them the lack of safety for interpreting movement (swimming? flying?).

Totally unexpected is a weird background on a piriform pot from Valea Lupului, of 13cm height, which is the representation of a landscape, in metopes, by using geometry, being a section in a hillock of clay, represented as being red on a light background, the place where an animal probably lives. This suggestion of space, of perspective, without being a reproduction of reality, but an imagined drawing, is the specificity of phase B²⁴⁰. Anyway, in general, in the figurative background, the motifs can be easily identified, but stylization does not always allow for an easy recognition of images.

Therefore, big steps have been made, from the heavy forms of phase A, to those which are more subtle for the middle phase, so that we can see forms similar to those of the pots in the last phase. From abstract ornaments, geometric and in spiral from phase A, complemented by the zoomorphic representation of the middle phase, phase B is a real peak of the Eneolithic art regarding ornaments, when the spiralo-meandric motif is replaced by recurrent spirals, hook-shaped or having the form of circles reunited through tangents; the zoomorphic silhouette is introduced. Of course, schematization continues to exist in figurative representations. The chromatic area is also richer: from the open background on a dark colour from phase A, in the final phase, it is reached trichromism – the bichromatic painting, what really becomes spread all over is the painting having a red background with black and white-yellowish²⁴¹. Moreover, regarding the technique of creating motifs, if in the first two phases, the motive is reserved, it is not painted, but surrounded by black frames and the space in the neighbourhood is also painted (negative ornaments²⁴²), in the last phase, the motif is painted.

Thus, the representations of the really long Cucuteni culture²⁴³ – which have reached a remarkable development phase (the number²⁴⁴ and the dimension of

²⁴⁰ Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *op. cit.*, p.82

²⁴¹ D. Monah, *Organizarea socială, religia și arta în epoca neo-eneolitică*, in Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Alexandru Vulpe (coord.), *op. cit.*, p.181

²⁴² Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Hăbășești. Situl neolitic de pe Holm*, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1967, p.30

²⁴³ Met in the entire Moldavia and in the Western-Pontic side until the Niper, and also in the South-East of Transylvania. Cf. Ion Miclea, Radu Florescu, *op. cit.*, p.75

inhabited places prove it!, but also the size of houses, about 80sqm²⁴⁵, and also the discoveries that are a proof of the process of development regarding tools and agricultural techniques) – left us an undeniable artistic inheritance. Pottery is a typical example of artistic field in which human intelligence joins utilitarianism and last, but not least, the aesthetic dimension.

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²⁴⁴ Dan Monah, *Cîteva observații asupra cauzelor și efectelor exploziei demografice cucuteniene*, in *Carpica*, XIV, 1982, Bacău, p.33

²⁴⁵ Approximately 428 Cucuteni inhabited areas were known in Moldova only in 1970, with inhabitants of 500-4000 individuals. *Ibidem*, p.34