CUCUTENIAN BODY ORNAMENTING ITEMS: FROM THE RAW MATERIALS PERSPECTIVE

BY

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Abstract

The paper provides a systematization of the types of the raw materials known and/or processed by the Cucutenian communities for obtaining the body ornamenting items. The main research directions that can be followed by the analysis of the body ornamenting items from the perspective of the raw materials they are also pointed out. In this regard, the paper tackles problems pertaining to the provision of raw materials and exchange relations, to paleotechnology and the level of technical knowledge as reflected by these artifacts. On the same line, the symbolic valences of these items are also pointed out (both as separate items and as assembled items), pointing out various aspects such as typology, intrinsic value of the artifacts, including the complex symbolism of colors and the usage of fruits and seeds of certain plants as body ornamenting items probably due to their medical or magical properties.

Keywords: *Chalcolithic, Cucuteni-Tripolye cultural complex, body ornamenting items, raw materials*.

I. INTRODUCTION

Sociologists, anthropologists and ethnologists have demonstrated since a long time by now the fact that body ornamenting items represent the most meaningful social symbols for humanity. Their functions are multiple: practical (covering, protecting), aesthetic, erotic, hygienic, medical and especially ceremonial, ritual and magical. In certain cases, they play an economic role, constituting trading instruments or exchange items in a symbolic system. Sometimes it represents the result of exchanges and of influences generated by the contact between several populations and can illustrate the existence of wide and extremely active exchange networks, many with areas which are hundreds of kilometers away.

Until now, the number of the writings focusing on the variety of the types of raw materials used to create Cucutenian body ornamenting items has been rather low. Throughout the entire dissemination area of the culture, there are tens of raw materials, of both mineral (several types of rocks: marble, limestone, quart, sandstones), and animal (bivalve shells, bone, antler, mammal teeth or even fish) origin or involving intensively processed materials resulting from the increase of the luggage of economic and technical practical knowledge of the human communities (ceramic ware, copper, gold, possibly silver). The analysis thereof involves an interdisciplinary approach.

Within our postdoctoral research project, *Cucutenian Body Ornamenting Items throughout the Carpathian – Dniestrean Space. Typological, Functional and Symbolic Aspects*[1], we aimed at achieving in the present paper a short presentation of the complex problematic which the analysis of the body ornamenting items from the perspective of the raw materials can bring about.

Our corpus of data is represented for about 85% of items discovered as such within hoards and special discoveries. To these we should add disparate items resulting from archeological researches.

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Typologically and functionally, Cucutenian jewels can be structured in the following main categories:

1. Ornamenting items for the head, hair and ears (diadems, earring, loop rings, hair ornamenting items)

2. Ornamenting items for arms and fingers (bracelets, rings)

3. Ornamenting items for the neck (beads that can for simple, double, triple or even quadruple necklaces sometimes accompanied by a central pendant, some other time having an extremely elaborate design[2], collars, pendants /amulets, *saltaleoni*)

4. Clothing accessories (sewn plates of various shapes and sizes, belt buckles, bone or copper pins, items that in general are integrated in the costume).

We should specify that the classification of an item in a certain typological or functional category is not always obvious. Thus, certain artifacts (such as circular pearls made of bivalves or the pendants made of deer canines) could be joined so to compose bracelets for the wrist or for the ankles. In certain cases they might have been even sewn on clothes or stripes, belts, straps or sashes.

We would like to point out that only a small number of the Cucutenian ornamenting items reached us. Undoubtedly, body ornamenting items made of fruits or seeds of certain plants existed (already documented through archeological discoveries) and so did items made of various other materials of vegetal origin (flowers, leaves, wood, tree bark) or of animal origin (down, feathers, skin, fur), possibly textiles (decorative tissues) or various threads, maybe a wider range of items made of bone, antler, snails and bivalves which, being organic or very friable, have not been preserved to the present times. The same is true also for the metal items. The number of metal items known nowadays does not truly reflect the historical reality also due to the unanimously accepted fact that the raw materials of which they were made could be reused[3].

II. RAW MATERIALS

Taking into account the raw materials they are made, their occurrence throughout the entire prehistory, based on the percentage within the archeological finds, we propose a systematization of the Cucutenian body ornamenting items, from the perspective of the raw materials, as follows: **items made of adapted natural shapes** such as: simple shells (be them bivalves or snails), perforated or transformed by processing, perforated teeth, fruits and seeds of plants, stone, bone and antler, and **items made of intensively processed materials**, obtained following the increase of the available practical economic and technical knowledge, of the human communities and we refer here to ceramic ware and metal (copper, gold and possibly silver).

The set of gastropod bivalves, most of the animal teeth, with the exception of the defenses of suidae and a small part of the bivalve shells were transformed through an elementary intervention which involved the perforation of the support.

II. 1. Body ornamenting items made of adapted natural shapes.

II. 1. 1. Body ornamenting items made of shells. Analyzing, in general lines, the problems raised by the body ornamenting items made of shells whose natural shape was only slightly transformed through perforation, we have to remember the fact that the shells (*Bivalves*) and the snails (*Gastropods*) were used as body ornamenting items already at the level of the Paleolithic[4]. The simplest body ornaments are made of perforated bivalves at the level of the posterior extremity of the shell (known under the name of *apex* or *umbo*) or at the level of the central zone of the cavity (Pl. 1/6, 9, 11, 15). Under the conditions in which the perforation was, in principle, positioned in the same points as before, the technical progress which the end of the Eneolithic acknowledges consists in the evolution of the shell perforation technology.

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[2] A systematization thereof in: S. Țurcanu, *Podoabe pentru gât reprezentate pe statuetele antropomorfe ale culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, in *Cercetări Istorice (CI)*, S.N., XXVII–XXIX/2008–2009, 2011, pp. 9–35.

[3] *Descoperiri arheologice din Germania*, selected and commented by Svend Hansen. Vademecum of photo exhibition, Berlin, 2011, p. 30 (hereinafter it shall be quoted as *Descoperiri arheologice din Germania*); S. Hansen, *Metal in South-Eastern and Central Europe between 4500 and 2900 BCE*, in *Anatolian Metal V*, (hrsg. Ü. Yalçin), Bochum, 2011, pp. 137–138.

[4] Y. Taborin, *La parure en coquillage au Paléolithique*, XXIX[e] supplément à *Gallia préhistoire* (*GalliaPrehist*), Paris, 1993; Z. A. Abramova, *L'art paléolithique d'Europe orientale et de Sibérie*, Grenoble, 1995. For the current territory of Romania see: V. Boroneanț, *Paléolithique superieur et Epipaléolithique dans la zone des Portes de Fer*, Bucureşti, 2000, p. 52, pl. 113; M. Cârciumaru, M. Anghelinu, G. Lucas, L. Niță, L. Steguweit, M. Mărgărint, L. Fontana, A. Brugère, V. Dumitraşcu, U. Hambach, M. Cosac, O. Cârstina, F. Dumitru, *Şantierul paleolitic de la Poiana Cireşului (Piatra-Neamț): o sinteză a rezultatelor recente (1998–2005)*, in *Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice (Materiale)*, S.N., II, 2000–2006, pp. 19–22 (hereinafter it shall be quoted as M. Cârciumaru *et alli*).

The perforated shells cover an important place within the Cucutenian body ornamenting items, as they were mostly discovered in isolated contexts in several settlements. The used spectrum of the species is not very wide. With a high frequency, mention should be made of the freshwater bivalves, those of the *Unionide* family, easy to gather from the riverbeds of running waters which were near all Cucutenian settlements (Pl. 1/6, 15). No determinations were done at the level of the species. We should also specify the usage, with a low frequency, of the species of sea mollusks, exogenous materials, among which mention should be made of *Glycimeris glycimeris/Pectunculus pilosus*[5] (Pl. 1/9, 11).

Such items were discovered at Hăbăşeşti[6], Frumuşica[7], Scânteia[8] (Pl. 1/15), Ruginoasa[9], Vorniceni[10] (Pl. 1/6), Varvarovka[11], Bilcze Złote[12] (Pl. 1/9, 11), Tzviklivtzi[13], Šebalat and Lukaši[14]. The number of settlements in which remains of bivalve or gastropod mollusks were found is much larger. Unfortunately, due to the very high friability of this type of raw materials, the traces of the human interventions thereupon, for other purposes than the usage as food, are not identifiable. We also need to take into consideration the destruction and, implicitly, their unavailability for posterity of many of them already during their usage.

Regarding the gastropods, body ornamenting items made of their shells are much less numerous. The raw material being much more friable, we can assume both that it was much less preferred due to the difficulties of perforating the shell without breaking it, and that being very fragile, many such items did not reach us. Within this category we also have to point out at least two series of items/collars (?) discovered at Bilcze Złote[15] (Pl. 1/3). The shells belong to a species of the genus *Cerithium*, sea gastropods, whose closest natural habitat is the Black Sea Basin[16]. Similar items discovered in the necropolis of Złota (Lublin-Volhynian Culture) were interpreted as documenting exchange relations with the Eneolithic steppe communities of the North-Pontic zone[17].

Regarding the intensively processed shells, within the Cucuteni culture very pearly shells of the *Unio* family were used as they were relatively easy to find for our region (Pl. 1/1–2), unlike neighboring cultural communities where the bivalve *Spondylus gaederopus* is, by far, the preferred support for the creation of intensively transformed items obtained from bivalves[18].

A complex technical treatment led to the drastic modification of the original shell morphology. Consequently, the obtained items are far from the natural shape of the support they are made of. Contrary to the items made of other materials, these body ornamenting items are, morphologically, less varied. The quasi-

[5] Cf. http://species-identification.org between the two names there is a perfect synonymy indicating the same species of sea mollusks.

[6] Vl. Dumitrescu, H. Dumitrescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, N. Gostar, *Hăbăşeşti. Monografie arheologică* (hereinafter it shall be quoted as Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*), vol. I, Bucureşti, 1954, p. 463, fig. 43/33.

[7] C. Matasă, *Frumuşica. Village préhistorique à céramique peinte dans la Moldavie du Nord Roumanie*, Bucureşti, 1946, p. 74, pl. LII/380.

[8] C.-M. Mantu, S. Ţurcanu, *Catalog*, in *Scânteia. Cercetare arheologică şi restaurare. Catalog de expoziţie*, (eds. V. Chirica, C.-M. Mantu, S. Ţurcanu), Iaşi, 1999, p. 144, cat. no. 364.

[9] S. Ţurcanu, *Freshwater Shells as Supports for Cucutenian Body Ornaments*¸ poster presentation at Second Arheoinvest Congress. Interdisciplinary Research in Archaeology, organised by "A. I. Cuza" University Iaşi, Iaşi, 7–9 iunie 2012.

[10] All items of Vorniceni referred to in this material are unpublished. The quoted data were obtained thanks to Mrs. M. Diaconescu of the County Museum of Botoşani, the author of the research, whom we thank also this way.

[11] V. I. Marchevici, *Pozdnetripol'skie plemena Severnoj Moldavii*, Kišinev, 1981, p. 168, fig. 105/37.

[12] M. Sochatskyi, *Archeologicini rozkopki v pečeri Verteba na Podilli*, in *Z archeologii Ukrainy i Jury Ojcowskiej*, (eds. J. Lecha, J. Partyki), Ojców, 2001, p. 220, fig. 9/k and unpublished items within the Archeology Museum of Krakow (information obtained within the documentation stage – undertaken within the Project– at the Archeology Museum of Krakow). We would like to thank also this way Jacek Górski, PhD, museum director, for facilitating the access to the materials resulted from Bilcze Złote. For an easy referencing, we specify that most items of Bilcze Złote mentioned in this paper are unpublished, reason why we shall indicate the quoted sources only in the case of exceptions.

[13] *Entziklopedia Tripolskoi Tzivilizatzii*, (eds. S. M. Liaşko, N. B. Burdo, M. Ju. Videiko), t. II, Kiev, 2004, p. 369 (hereinafter it shall be quoted as *Entziklopedia Tripolskoi Tzivilizatzii*).

[14] S. N. Bibikov, *Poselenie Luka-Vrublevetkaia*, in *Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR* (*MIA*), 38, 1953, p. 200.

[15] Cf. *Ancient Trypillia. Seven Thousand Years of Spiritual Art*, Fund for Research of Ancient Civilizations, New York, 2010, p. 30 and the information obtained following the documentation at Archeology Museum of Krakow.

[16] S. H. Mohammad, *Vertical Zonation and Biometric Parameter of the Gastropod Cerithium scabridum in Suez Canal*, in *Research Journal of Environmental Sciences* (*RJESc*), 2, 2008, pp. 100–107.

[17] B. Sałacińska, A. Zakościelna, *Pierwsze groby kultur ceramik wstęgowych w Polsce. Groby kultury lubelsko-wołyńskiej ze stanowiska Złota „Grodzisko I" i „Grodzisko II". First Linear Band Pottery Graves in Poland. Graves of Lublin-Volhynian Culture at Złota, sites „Grodzisko I" and „Grodzisko II"*, in *Wiadomości Archeologiczne (WiadA)*, LIX, 2007, pp. 77–114.

[18] C. Schuster, *Zu den Spondylus – funden in Rumänien*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, XXIII, 1–2, 2002, pp. 37–83 and the bibliography; new finds: C. Lazăr, R. Andreescu, T. Ignat, M. Florea, C. Astaloş, *The Eneolithic Cemetery from Sultana-Malu Roşu (Călăraşi County, Romania)*, in *Studii de Preistorie (SP*), 5, 2008, pp. 133, 137–138; C. Lazăr, R. Andreescu, T. Ignat, M. Mărgărit, M. Florea, A. Bălăşescu, *New Data on the Eneolithic Cemetery from Sultana-Malu Roşu (Călăraşi County, Romania)*, in *SP*, 6, 2009, pp. 166–167, 174–177.

totality of the items is represented by circular pearls and quasi-rectangular sewn plates with rounded corners with two perforations. More rarely, proper beads were discovered. Functionally most such items were probably plates or composite structures sewn to clothes.

The existence of technical items abandoned in various phases of elaboration allowed us to recreate the *chaîne operatoire* for the circular pearls[19]. Through the microscopic analysis of the items of Scânteia and Ruginoasa we could conclude that the uniformity of their dimensions, the regularity of the degree and the amplitude of the shaping can reflect modalities of serial making. The obtained items could be hung on a thread or placed flatly on a support, with the role of presenting the pearly side. According to the discoveries made in the tombs of the neighboring cultural areas, we can say they were frequently worn also as body ornaments or as clothing accessories both by men and by women[20].

Unfortunately, it is only extremely rare that this type of artifacts reached us. Sets of items (probably collars) are documented at Ariuşd both as part of the hoard[21] and in a ritual pit near some human bone remains[22]. Separate items indicating different degrees of processing were discovered at Frumuşica[23] (Pl. 1/2), Izvoare[24] (Pl. 1/1), Scânteia[25], Ruginoasa[26] and Fulgeriş[27]. We do not exclude the possibility the presence thereof would represent, together with other items (the ceramic ware of the type Cucuteni C, the stone scepters of the schematic or realist type, the quadrilobate stone maces, the bones harness elements) a fine indicator of the relations between the Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolye communities and those of steppe origin.

To a smaller extent, also in the area of the cultural complex Cucuteni-Tripolye there were discovered body ornamenting items made of the shell of *Spondylus gaederopus*. Most such items are part of the hoard of Ariuşd[28]. The body ornamenting items made of the same raw material can be specified as isolated finds, at Scânteia (Pl. 1/10) and, possibly, at Dumeşti[29]. They have analogies in the finds of the hoard of Cărbuna (dated to Precucuteni III/Tripolye A)[30].

Regarding the origin of these raw materials, for the freshwater shells of the *Unionide* family, it is clear the result from the hinterland of the settlements.

The closest area of origin for marine species, such as *Glycimeris*, is represented by the Baltic Sea[31].

Items of *Spondylus* shells probably have their origin in a further region, eastern Mediterranean, the Adriatic or the Aegean Sea[32]. Taking into account the debate in the specialized literature, under the conditions

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[19] S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 9).

[20] Şt. Kovacs, *Cimitirul eneolitic dela Decia Mureşului*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice (AISC)*, I/1928–1932, 1933, pp. 89–101; T. G. Movša, G. F. Cebotarenko, *Eneolitičeskoe kurgannoe pogrebenie u st. Kajnary v Moldavii*, in *Kratkie soobščenija o dokladach i polevych issledovanijach Instituta archeologii (KSIA)*, 115, 1969, pp. 45–49; V. A. Dergaciov, *Marile civilizații de vechi agricultori şi nomazi. Eneoliticul. Începuturile descompunerii orânduirii gentilico-tribale*, in *Istoria Moldovei: Epoca preistorică şi antică: (până în sec. V)*, (ed. V. A. Dergaciov), Chişinău, 2010, pp. 259–263.

[21] F. László, *Háromszék vármegyei praemykenaei jellegű telepek*, in *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából (Dolgozatok)*, 1911, p. 258, fig. 75; Cf. S. J. Sztáncsuj, *The Early Cooper Age Hoard from Ariuşd (Erősd)*, in *Cucuteni 120 ans des recherches. Le temps du bilan/120 Years of Research. Time to Sum Up* (hereinafter it shall be quoted as *Cucuteni 120 ans des recherché*), (eds. G. Dumitroaia, J. Chapman, O. Weller, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola, D. Monah), Piatra-Neamț, 2005, p. 95, the hoard included 41 such items made of *Unio* shell. Unfortunately, nowadays only 5 are still preserved, some of them in fragmentary condition (fig. 7/1–5).

[22] E. Zaharia, Z. Székely, *Raport asupra săpăturilor noi de la Ariuşd (jud. Covasna). 1968–1986*, in *Aluta*, XVII–XVIII, 1985–1986, 1988, pp. 101–114; the collar contains 256 items acc. to D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, *Artefacte din materii dure animale aparținând culturii Ariuşd-Cucuteni în colecția Muzeului Național Secuiesc*, in *Acta Siculica*, 2011, pp. 127–167.

[23] C. Matasă, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 74, pl. LII/378.

[24] R. Vulpe, *Izvoare. Săpăturile din 1936–1948*, Bucureşti, 1957, p. 263; fig. 272/4; 274/1–2.

[25] C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 144, cat. no. 368–369.

[26] S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 9).

[27] L. Istina, Catalog de expoziție: *Mirajul aşezărilor cucuteniene din județul Bacău: Lichitişeni, Țigăneşti, Fulgeriş*, Bacău, 2009, p. 26, cat. no. 70.

[28] S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), pp. 95–96, fig. 7/16–24; 8/19–21; D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, op. cit. (n. 22), pp. 132–133.

[29] C. Schuster, op. cit. (n. 18), p. 54.

[30] V. A. Dergacev, *Karbunskij klad. Carbuna Deposit*, Chişinău, 1998, p. 45, fig. 26–28.

[31] S. Haimovici, *Transgresiunea uriaşă şi vijelioasă a apelor Mării Negre din neoliticul timpuriu dobrogean, având ca urmare apariția a două specii acvatice mediteraneene: Spondylus gaederopus şi sparus aurata la litoralul românesc al acestei mări*, in *Pontica*, XLI, 2008, pp. 421–441.

[32] The most recent approaches of these topic and the bibliography in: M. L. Séfèriadès, *Spondylus and Long-Distance Trade in Prehistoric Europe*, in *The Lost World of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000–3500 BC*, (eds. D. W. Anthony, J. Y. Chi), New York, 2010, pp. 179–189; F. Ifantidis, M. Nikolaidou, *Spondylus in Prehistory. New Data an Approaches. Contributions to the Archaeology of Shell Technologies*, *British Archaeological Reports. International Series* (BAR) 2216, Oxford, 2011.

in which the area of origin of these raw materials would be represented by the littoral of the Black Sea[33], we wonder whether the area of diffusion of these artifacts should not have included also the territory neighboring the one inhabited by the Cucuteni-Tripolye communities. The possibility that in a geographic zone close to the world of Cucuteni-Tripolye such a raw material might have been exploited (gathered, processed, exchanged/ given/eventual "exported" over long distances) such a raw material would have integrated, according to us – in those extremely active exchange networks – also the east-Carpathian and north-Pontic areal, fact that did not occur.

Bivalves were gathered (and initially processed) from the Aegean and Adriatic coasts, mainly Greece, Albania, Montenegro and nowadays Croatia. From there they were disseminated towards France, Germany, the Balkans and the Carpathian basin, where they appear in the archeological discoveries both in settlements and in necropolises, both in funerals and isolated finds[34].

The dissemination model of the artifacts made of *Spondylus* shells involves the existence of exchange routes organized in an integrated network within a social framework and an elaborated exchange system including the exchange in kind, the exchange of gifts, reciprocity. It was appreciated that the presence of the items made of *Spondylus* shells is connected on one side to the accumulation and prestige and, on the other side, it has special valences within the Neo-Eneolithic beliefs and myths[35]. Their symbolic load was compared to the one of the kauri shells (in the Asian and African civilizations) or of the *dentalium* (on Amerindian world)[36]. Within the specified societies, the shells of these mollusks are used in all passage rituals, they have an important role in magic and also in the great myths.

II. 1. 2. Body ornamenting items made of perforated teeth. The most numerous body ornamenting items of the Cucutenian communities are at this phase of knowledge, represented by the perforated teeth (Pl. 1/4; 2/13). We refer to teeth (canines and molars) of wild animals – the most frequently encountered species being the cervidae, suidae and, more rarely, bovines, canidae (fox, wolf) and the ursidae or small undetermined mammals, or, in exceptional situations, fish teeth and even teeth of *homo sapiens sapiens* – which were, in general, prepared for the purpose of being turned body ornamenting items, at the level of the root, by perforation, and in exceptional cases by incision.

Deer canines are found in pairs on the upper maxillary of the animal, male or female. Their shape is the one of a water drop. As for dimensions and morphology, there are certain differences according to their sex. Canines coming from male deer are thicker, globular and slightly asymmetric to the flattened root. Canines coming from female deer are smaller, narrow and somehow rounded[37]. The technology of transformation of these items into body ornamenting items involves at least two aspects: perforation and transformation of the exterior aspect.

A first technique consisted in the arrangement of the apical surface through a slight polishing meant to assure the preparation of the perforation. The uni- or bifacial perforation was achieved in all cases by fast rotation[38].

Mention should be made of the fact that most of the items of this type show a shiny aspect as if they were covered with a varnish, with brown hues which in very successful cases has the effect of glazing. In the specialized literature of Romania it was appreciated that this patina was due on one side to the elapse of time and on the other to a contact since millennia with copper items within hoards. According to very recent experimental researches, these attributes may be due to a specific thermal treatment, an adequate heating which colored the raw material without altering it[39]. The purpose of such treatment is enigmatic. They might have been aesthetic but they might also hide certain customs or even certain functionality[40].

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[33] E. Comşa, *Parures néolithiques en coquillages marins découvertes en territoire roumain*, in *Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle série* (*Dacia,* N.S.), XVII, 1973, pp. 75–76; H. Todorova, *Die Spondylus-Problematik heute*, in *Karanovo III*, *Beiträge zum Neolithikum in Südosteuropa*, (hrsg. S. Hiller, V. Nikolov), Wien, 2000, pp. 415–422; S. Haimovici, op. cit. (n. 31).

[34] M. L. Séfèriadès, *Note sur l'origine et la signification des objets en Spondyle de Hongrie dans le cadre du Néolithique et de l'Énéolithique européens*, in *Morgenrot der Kulturen. Frühe Etappen der Menschheitsgeschichte in Mittel-und Südosteuropa. Festscrift für Nándor Kalicz zum 75. Geburtstag*, (hrsg. E Jerem, P. Raczky), Budapest, 2003, pp. 353–373.

[35] M. Nikolaidou, *Lives and Journeys, of Spondylus and People: A Story to Conclude*, in F. Ifantidis, M. Nikolaidou, op. cit. (n. 32), pp. 223–231.

[36] M. L. Séfèriadès, op. cit. (n. 34), pp. 365–367.

[37] F. d'Errico, M. Vanhaeren, *Criteria for Identifying Red Deer (Cervus elaphus) Age and Sex from Their Canines. Application to the Study of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Ornaments*, in *Journal of Archaeological Science (JASc)*, 29, 2002, pp. 213–215.

[38] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, *Matière, artefact, symbole. Dents percées et imitations en os dans le dépôts d'objets de prestige de la culture Cucuteni*, in *SP*, 5, 2008, p. 93.

[39] I. Sidéra, *Feu et industrie osseuse. Un marqueur d'identité culturelle*, in *Paléorient*, 26, 2, 2000, pp. 51–58.

[40] A. Polloni, M. Sohn, I. Sidéra, *Structure du mobilier funéraire en os, bois de cerf, dents et coquillages à la fin du 4e et au 3e millénaire en Bassin parisien*, in *Anthropologica et Praehistorica*, 115, 2004, p. 186.

Referring to the evolution of this type of item, we should mention first of all the fact that they have a much higher frequency than during the previous millennia[41]. When making the perforations, the level of technical knowledge the Cucutenian Eneolithic communities had reached, which was much more advanced in comparison to prior epochs, was not exploited in a spectacular manner. We do appreciate though that the mastership deployed in the making of the perforations must have been much higher and the inherent refuses of such a procedure, much smaller. The technical acquisition specific to the Eneolithic, which makes the difference compared to the items of the previous epoch, is given by the shiny patina, the brown-yellowish varnish which, due to the millennia – long contact to the copper, thus acquiring green hues. This is not an invention of the Cucutenian communities. The procedure was known and applied at the level of Eneolithic in other zones of Europe and throughout the world, too[42].

Among the six hoards with prestige items known so far within the area of the Cucuteni culture, throughout the current territory of Romania (Ariuşd, Hăbăşeşti, Brad), of the Republic of Moldova (Cărbuna, Chetroşica) and of Ukraine (Horodnica II) five of them (with the exception of Horodnica II) contain pearls/ pendants made of molars from deer and other mammals, as well as bone imitations thereof[43]. We should also mention the discovery of collars made of such items in Ukraine as well, at Maidanets'ke[44] and Tzviklivtzi[45].

Pearls made of perforated animal teeth, as individual items, were found at Bod[46], Cucuteni[47], Frumuşica[48], Poieneşti[49] (Pl. 1/4), Mărgineni[50], Scânteia[51] Costeşti IV, Brânzeni III and IV[52].

An exceptional situation is represented by the discovery of a perforated human molar within the hoard of Cărbuna[53]. In this case, like in many other situations, the tooth was broken during the usage, at the level of the perforation. Frequently, after such accidents, items would be repaired without removing the trace of the prior perforation. This practice encountered also on other types of items (pendants made of boar tusks, perforated plates) makes us assume this incident in the "life" of the item and its permanent remembering by keeping the trace of the old perforation would not decrease at all its value and it involved a special symbolism which is not very obvious at present.

We should also point out the recent identification within the hoard of Ariuşd of items made of perforated pharyngeal carp teeth[54]. The unusual presence of such raw materials finds its analogies both on the Danube bank in the Mesolithic sites in the area of the Iron Gates[55] and in the Neo-Eneolithic environment of the tombs within the necropolis of Sacarovca belonging to the Sacarovca-Mariupol cultural complex[56].

Regarding pendants made of boar canine teeth, within Cucuteni, their morphology becomes much more varied (Pl. 1/13–14). If during the Paleolithic the boar defenses were perforated in their raw condition, for the Eneolithic (and we consider here both the discoveries of the Cucuteni culture and the similar ones of the Gumelnița culture) the board defenses were frequently processed by splitting, trimming, shaping and polishing, being adapted for obtaining items with specific morphology, not always standardized.

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[41] For the territory of Romania: Al. Păunescu, *Paleoliticul din peştera Gura Cheii – Rîşnov şi unele consideraţii privind cronologia locuirilor paleolitice din sud-estul Transilvaniei*, in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie* (*SCIVA*), 1–2, 42, 1991, p. 14; V. Boroneanț, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 52; M. Cârciumaru *et alli*., op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 16–17.

[42] I. Sidéra, op. cit. (n. 39); A. Polloni, M. Sohn, I. Sidéra, op. cit. (n. 40).

[43] D. Monah, *Quelques réflexions sur les trésors de la culture Cucuteni*, in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* (*SAA*), IX, 2003, p. 132; C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, op. cit. (n. 38), pp. 139–151.

[44] *Entziklopedia Tripolskoi Tzivilizatzii* (n. 13), p. 316.

[45] T. G. Movša, *Skarb prikras z piznjotripol'skogo poselenija v s. Tzviklivtzi*, in *Arheologhja*, XVIII, 1965, pp. 161–170, fig. 4/3; fig. 6.

[46] Cf. Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 448, among the bone pearls published by Teutsch there could also be a deer canine as well as perforated items made of deer teeth.

[47] H. Schmidt, *Cucuteni, in der oberen Moldau, Romänien. Die befestigte siedlung mit bemalter keramik von der steinkupferzeit bis in die vollentwickelte bronzezeit*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1932, pp. 68–69, pl. 35/1–3.

[48] C. Matasă, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 74, pl. LII/381.

[49] All items of Poieneşti referred to in this material are unpublished. The specified data were obtained through the kindness of C-M. Lazarovici PhD, the author of the research, whom we thank also this way.

[50] D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, *L'industrie des matières dures animales dans le site appartenant à la Culture Cucuteni de Mărgineni, dép. de Bacău*, in *Cucuteni 120 ans des recherché* (n. 21), pp. 287–289, fig. 6/70–71.

[51] C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 144, cat. no. 365–366.

[52] V. I. Marchevici, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 168; fig. 105/14, 16, 20–30.

[53] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 44, fig. 23/450.

[54] D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, op. cit. (n. 22), p. 132, 134, pl. 16.

[55] *Ibidem*, p. 134.

[56] O. Larina, *Începuturile economiei productive. Neoliticul. Orânduirea gentilico-tribală*, in *Istoria Moldovei: Epoca preistorică şi antică: (până în sec. V)*, (ed. V. A. Dergaciov), Chişinău, 2010, pp. 212–215.

The boar canines specified in the archeological literature also as tusks or defenses are found in pairs on both maxillaries. In the case of females they are short and with dark color root when reaching maturity, while in the case of males they are much longer, with the widely opened root towards its base, due to the continuous growing of the tooth[57].

Prehistoric communities used especially lower canines resulting from males. Without entering typological details, we should mention that there are items which were only perforated. This is the case of the upper canines, which, when in raw condition, like during the Paleolithic, received one perforation. Such items are pretty rare. We refer here to the finds of Târpeşti[58], Drăguşeni[59] and Ripiceni[60].

Secondly, we should mention the bi-perforated half-moon plates. Of large dimensions, reaching even 20–25cm of length, they are made of fragments of lower canines resulting from mature individuals. Such items were identified at Izvoare[61], Drăguşeni[62] and Bilcze Złote.

The most numerous such artifacts are those showing at the distal extremity a sharp point which probably had a functional value (Pl. 1/14). Others, rarer, have the distal end rounded and could have been used as spatulas or even polishers (Pl. 1/13). We consider the use-wear studies focused on this items extremely interesting, as they could provide another light on this aspect.

Although encountered in many Cucutenian settlements these items are not part of the category of frequently discovered artifacts. We should mention the discovery of such items at Cucuteni[63], Frumuşica[64], Hăbăşeşti[65], Mărgineni[66], Târpeşti[67], Fulgeriş[68], Ruginoasa[69], Vorniceni and Scânteia[70].

These spatulas/ scraping knives/ borers were not common, daily use items. The certainly had both a functional and a symbolic role. We consider they could be connected to a certain social statute. Apart from the bull and the deer, the board was in prehistoric religions, a symbol of the virile warrior force. For prehistoric hunters, like for those of later periods, killing a boar was a test that one had to pass. Ethnographic sources show that, sometimes, the number of boars killed by a hunter was certified by the number of tusks the hunter wore on his necklace[71]. Some funeral discoveries certify the association of the items made of boar defenses to the costume elements of the masculine tombs[72].

Representing a raw material at hand in almost all Cucutenian settlements, the boar defenses were also used for imitating items made of exotic raw materials. In this regard, we refer to the hoard of Ariuşd where the bi-perforated plates made of *Spondylus* shells have replicas made of both *Unio* shells and of boar defenses[73]. The similarity in terms of aspect of the artifacts made of these three types of raw materials makes us consider that for reasons pertaining probably to prestige at the moment of the destruction/ breakage following the usage of the items made of *Spondylus* shells (which for sure were integrated in a costume) they were imitated, at the local level, using locally available raw materials (with the purpose of preserving the general aesthetic aspect).

We remark the fact that in the case of such items, like in the case of the perforated teeth of cervidae, the broken perforations were repaired without removing the "stigmata" of the accident from the life of the artifact.

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[57] N. Ursulescu, L. Bejenaru, V. Cotiugă, *Prelucrarea caninilor de mistreț în cultura Precucuteni, în lumina descoperirilor de la Târgu Frumos, jud. Iaşi*, in *Acta Musei Tutovensis* (*ActaMT*), I, 2006, p. 65.

[58] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Tîrpeşti. From Prehistory to History in Eastern Romania*, BAR 107, Oxford, 1981, p. 69, fig. 138/3; 200/2.

[59] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, A. Bolomey, *Drăguşeni. A Cucutenian Community*, Bucureşti-Tubingen, 2000, p. 76, fig. 52/13.

[60] Personal information received from A. Melniciuc PhD of the County Museum of Botoşani, the author of the research, whom we thank using also this way.

[61] R. Vulpe, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 110, fig. 85.

[62] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, A. Bolomey, op. cit. (n. 59), p. 76, fig. 52/12.

[63] H. Schmidt, op. cit. (n. 47), pp. 68–69, pl. 35/15; M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, M.-C. Văleanu, *Cucuteni-Cetăţuie. Monografie arheologică*, in col. *Bibliotheca Musei Antiquitatis* (BMA) XIV, Piatra-Neamţ, 2004, p. 147, fig. 74/15.

[64] C. Matasă, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 74, pl. LII/383.

[65] Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 463–464, fig. 26/3.

[66] D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, op. cit. (n. 50), pp. 287–289, fig. 6/69.

[67] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 69, fig. 200/3.

[68] http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/PCN/Clasate/detaliu.asp?k=72312B88-7B23-4B4F-86E0-8BB91D6AB58

[69] Unpublished.

[70] C.-M. Mantu, S. Ţurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 145, cat. no. 370–373.

[71] N. Ursulescu, L. Bejenaru, V. Cotiugă, op. cit. (n. 57).

[72] Z. Siklósi, *Prestige Goods in the Neolithic of the Carpathian Basin*, in *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (*AAH*), LV, 2004, pp. 34–35; I. Zalai-Gaál, E. Gál, K. Köhler, A. Osztás, *Eberhauerschmuck und Schweinekiefer-Beigaben in den neolithischen und kupferzeitlichen Bestattungssitten des Karpatenbeckens*, in *AAH*, LX, 2009, pp. 303–355.

[73] F. László, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 258; S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 95, fig. 8/16–18; D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, op. cit. (n. 22), p. 134.

The observation makes us suppose a usage and transmission of these items from generation to generation, with a special symbolism, pertaining, why not, to the shamanic practices. Such items were discovered starting with Precucuteni III and are specific, especially to phase A of the Cucuteni culture.

II. 1. 3. Body ornamenting items made of bone and antler. The repertory of the bone and antler items is more varied than the one of the items shown so far. They are, first of all, more or less faithful replicas of the deer canines (Pl. 1/5, 8). The two hard animal materials were processed in the form of beads/pearls of various forms and dimensions (discoid, tubular (Pl. 2/2) or spherical) and also with pendants (Pl. 2/9) or hair ornamenting items.

Most such items were, in general, made starting from a large animal bone (cattle, deer) which was entirely modified. Metapodals, the tibia, radius, femur and humerus have a diaphysis thickness which allows processing for obtaining these types of final products[74]. Regarding the tubular pearls they were made on much more gracious bones resulted from small mammals or birds (Pl. 2/2). As rather rare items mention should be made of the pendants achieved through the perforation of certain short bones such as the vertebrae (the finds of Păuleni[75] and Costeşti IV, Rep. of Moldova[76]), astragals (the finds of Vorniceni and Bilcze Złote) or even a skull fragment resulted from a small mammal (at Izvoare)[77].

In order to exemplify the collars achieved entirely from imitations of the perforated deed canines we can refer to the collar of Izvoare. Imitations intercalated within collars made mostly of original items were found in the hoards of Cărbuna, Hăbăşeşti and Brad[78]. Individual items were found at Poduri[79], Cucuteni[80], Poieneşti, Scânteia[81] and Păuleni[82].

Mostly tubular beads are present in the hoard of Ariuşd[83] and also at Izvoare[84], Târpeşti[85], Scânteia[86] and Vorniceni.

En violon and circular bone pendants were found at Izvoare, Poduri, Floreşti I and III (Rep. of Moldova), Igeşti, Ştefăneşti and Koszylowce (Ukraine)[87]. An *unicum* within the area of the Cucuteni culture is represented by the antler pendant *en violon* discovered in the settlement of Păuleni[88]. Items with atypical forms made of the same raw material were found at Ariuşd[89], Târpeşti[90], Poduri[91] and Mărgineni[92].

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[74] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, *Les objects de parure en matières dures animales de la culture Cucuteni: le dépôt de Hăbăşeşti, dép de Iaşi*, in *Cucuteni 120 ans de recherche* (n. 21), p. 108.

[75] Idem, *Şoimeni (Ciomortan), com. Păuleni-Ciuc, jud. Harghita. Punct: Dâmbu Cetății. Industria materiilor dure animale şi podoabe litice aparținând culturilor Cucuteni-Ariuşd şi Wietenberg*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România (CCAR). Campania 2011*, Bucureşti, 2012, on line: http://cimec.ro/arheologie/cronicaca2012/rapoarte/077.htm, fig. 5–7.

[76] V. I. Marchevici, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 168, fig. 105/31–32.

[77] R. Vulpe, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 259, fig. 267/1.

[78] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, *Matière, artefact, symbole. Dents percées et imitations dans les dèpôts d'objets de prestige de la culture Cucuteni*, in *Itinera in Praehistoria. Studia in honorem magistri Nicolae Ursulescu quinto et sexagesimo anno*, (eds. V. Cotiugă, F.-A. Tencariu, G. Bodi), Iaşi, 2009, *passim*.

[79] D. Monah, Şt. Cucoş, D. Popovici, S. Antonescu, *Săpăturile arheologice din tell-ul cucutenian „Dealul Ghindaru", com. Poduri, jud. Bacău*, in *Cercetări Arheologice* (*CA*), V, 1982, pl. V/9.

[80] Unpublished item belonging to the collections of Moldavia's History Museum in Iaşi.

[81] C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 144, cat. no. 366.

[82] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, *Şoimeni (Ciomortan), com. Păuleni-Ciuc, jud. Harghita. Punct: Dâmbu Cetății. Industria materiilor dure animale aparținând culturilor Cucuteni-Ariuşd şi Wietemberg*, in *CCAR. Campania 2010*, Bucureşti, 2011, on line: http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2011/cd/index.htm, fig. 2/2.

[83] S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 96, fig. 12.

[84] R. Vulpe, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 260, fig. 263/2.

[85] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, op. cit. (n. 58), fig. 200/4.

[86] C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 143–144, cat. no. 363; 367.

[87] A catalogue of these items is available in C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, D.-L. Buzea, *Date recente privind plastica antropomorfă eneolitică din materii dure animale aparținând culturii Cucuteni-Ariuşd*, in *L'art anthropomorphe feminine dans la Préhistoire de l'espace Carpato-Dniestreen. Volum dédié à la mémoire du prof. dr. Ilie Borziac*, (eds. V. Chirica, G. Bodi), in col. *Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis* (BAI), XXIII, Iaşi, 2010, pp. 233–237.

[88] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, op. cit. (n. 82), fig. 2/1.

[89] F. László, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 258.

[90] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 69, fig. 200/12, 14.

[91] D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, F. Monah, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola, *Poduri – Dealul Ghindaru. O Troie în Subcarpații Moldovei* (hereinafter it shall be quoted as D. Monah *et alli*), BMA XIII, Piatra-Neamț, 2003, p. 172, cat. no. 151; p. 205, cat. no. 251–253.

[92] D.-M. Sztancs, C. Beldiman, op. cit. (n. 50), pp. 287–289, fig. 6/68.

Antler items, whose frequency is much lower, are made of the *compacta* probably extracted from the basal or median part of the ramification of the antlers. The technology for obtaining it involved phases such as cutting, shaping, perforating. To obtain the intended support, the relief of the surface and the spongious tissue were removed.

II. 1. 4. Body ornamenting items made of fruits/seeds of plants. The exceptional discovery of Izvoare[93] of a vessel broken *in situ* containing approximately 8000 burnt nutlets of *Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum,* together with 40 ceramic pearls/beads and 12 bone imitations of perforated deer canines, allows us to assume the existence of collars made mostly of fruits or seeds of certain plants. The at least 4000 nutlets were perforated and put on a fiber to form one or several necklaces. The find also has analogies in the Gumelnița culture at Ulmeni[94] and Vlădiceasa[95].

The nutlet perforation technique consists in the trimming of one of the vitreous ends and the detachment/ removal of the other (with a less tough natural consistency) in order to empty its interior. The procedure required small cutting tools, sharp and resistant, that would not deteriorate the tough vitreous walls of the seeds of *Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum.* The discovery of Ulmeni, belonging to the Gumelnița culture, provided a veritable artisan set in which together with nutlets there were found approximately 200 flakes without a standardized morphology but all cutting and sharp, sometimes veritable needles, which could have been used as such or mounted on bone or wooden handles in order to perforate the fruit[96].

The existence of this type of items can be supposed at a wider scale. Unfortunately, due to the organic material they were made of, they could not reach us. The areal of origin of these raw materials was the hinterland of the settlements. *Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum* is an Eurasian herbaceous species common in bushes and forests, frequently encountered both in the plain areas and in the hilly ones. The plant has medical properties, being helpful in the treatment of bronchitis.

The discovery at Poduri of an important deposit (approximately 22400 nutlets) of *Lithospermum officinale*, plant of the same species, in a ritual pit dating from the phase Cucuteni A_2[97], consolidates the hypothesis that apart the decorative value such items were charged with certain magical, apotropaic or even medical valences. The discovery of Frumuşica is on the same line[98].

II. 1. 5. Body ornamenting items made of lithic raw materials are mentioned within several discoveries. The problematic aspect, when we speak of these items, resides in the fact that, in most cases, they were not subjected to analyses a petrographic determination of the raw material[99]. This type of analysis can provide important data on the geological sources exploited for creating the items and in the case of the determination of exogenous raw materials, it can document the existence of exchanges at large distances.

The processing techniques of the lithic raw materials for being transformed into body ornamenting items are the technical acquisitions specific to the Neo-Eneolithic, and we refer here to polishing and perforation.

Without being able to tell precisely the types of mineral raw materials transformed into body ornamenting items we can state they were sedimentary and metamorphic rocks.

I. Teutsch recalled the discovery of marble pearls at Bod, already at the beginning of the previous century[100]. Items made of this raw material are also part of the hoards of Cărbuna[101], Ariuşd[102], Hăbăşeşti[103] and Brad[104]. Within the inventory of the hoard of Chetroşica stone beads are also mentioned[105]. Among these,

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[93] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, M. Cârciumaru, *Colliers de Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum et de „perles" de cerf dans l'éneolithique de Roumanie dans le contexte central et sud-est europeen*, in *Préhistoire Européenne* (*PE*), 2, 1992, pp. 70–88.

[94] M. Cârciumaru, *Le collier de semences d'Ulmeni (culture de Gumelnița)*, in *Dacia,* N.S., XXIX, 1–2, 1985, pp. 125–127.

[95] D. Şerbănescu, *Depozitul de mărgele descoperit în tell-ul neolitic de la Vlădiceasa, județul Călăraşi*, in *Cultură şi civilizație la Dunărea de Jos* (*CCDJ*), III–IV, 1987, pp. 35–38.

[96] M. Cârciumaru, op. cit. (n. 94), pp. 126–127.

[97] F. Monah, D. Monah, *Les données archéobotaniques du tell chalcolithique de Poduri „Dealul Ghindaru"*, in *SP*, 2, 2005, p. 138.

[98] M. Cârciumaru, F. Monah, *Reconsiderări asupra determinărilor de semințe carbonizate de la Frumuşica şi Valea Lupului*, in *SCIVA*, 36, 4, 1986, pp. 351–352.

[99] The only exception: Hăbăşeşti.

[100] Apud Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 447.

[101] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), pp. 47–48, fig. 33/846, 847.

[102] F. László, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 258, S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 96.

[103] Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 440, 447.

[104] V. Ursachi, *Le dépôt d'objets de parure énéolithique de Brad, com. Negri, dép. de Bacău*, in *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, (eds. V. Chirica, D. Monah), BAI IV, Iaşi, 1990, p. 341.

[105] V. I. Marchevici, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 168, fig. 105/1–7.

only the items of Hăbăşeşti were the subject of petrographic determinations which indicated with certitude the fact that they are made of marble. Their presence in the Cucutenian inventories was considered as documenting links to the southern world[106].

Among the isolated items found in settlements mention should be made of those of Frumuşica (greenish stone)[107], Târpeşti[108], Cucuteni[109], Poduri (lydian)[110] and Păuleni (reddish stone, considered to be "imported")[111].

According to our analysis, an item made of a red mineral with fine lines of creamy white found at Poieneşti (Pl. 1/7) proved to be made of a locally available raw material, a red microsparite[112].

The hoard of Cărbuna also includes several items made of a "greenish, possibly turquoise mineral" (marble with serpentine or malachite?)[113], items made of "transparent quartz"[114] and also of an "unknown pink mineral"[115].

The usage of the glauconitic sandstone also for creating body ornamenting items can be documented based on our analyses of the pendant *en violon* of Murgeni, made of a greenish-black rock[116] (Pl. 2/11). The raw material is of local origin, the flysch of the Oriental Carpathians. Taking into account the high degree of during of hardness of such a raw material, its perforation involved the mastering of special technical knowledge.

Another raw material whose existence must be better documented but whose presence is specified within the archeological finds is a glassy paste, possible a mineral, which was used at least for 15 items of the hoard of Brad[117].

II. 2. Body ornamenting items made of intensively processed materials

II. 2. 1. Body ornamenting items made of fired clay. Ceramics represents one of the main technical acquisitions of the Neolithic. Clay, prepared according to special recipes, was shaped and then fired for preparing pendants (Pl. 2/7, 10, 12) and pearls /beads of various shapes and sizes (Pl. 2/3–6) and, possibly, more rarely, bracelets. Their making did not involve, with certitude, a high degree of complexity but probably it was the subject of certain cannons. The analysis and classification of the ceramic pearls /beads impose a special complexity taking into account their typological variety. Unfortunately, most of them were found individual, spread among other archeological materials.

Without entering typological details, we mention the discovery of such items at Cucuteni-*Cetăţuie*[118], Frumuşica[119], Izvoare[120], Hăbăşeşti[121], Truşeşti[122], Drăguşeni[123], Târpeşti[124], Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*[125], Poduri[126], Scânteia[127], Hoiseşti[128] and Ruginoasa[129], Vărvăreuca VIII and Şoldăneşti[130].

Among the ceramic items we can notice the existence of some showing replicas of artifacts made of other materials, more difficult to work or procure (copper, hard animal materials) (Pl. 1/12; 2/10).

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[106] D. Monah, op. cit. (n. 43), p. 134.
[107] C. Matasă, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 74, pl. LII/377.
[108] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 70.
[109] H. Schmidt, op. cit. (n. 47), pp. 68–69, fig. 17–18.
[110] D. Monah *at alli*, op. cit. (n. 91), p. 241, cat. no. 371.
[111] C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, op. cit. (n. 74), fig. 8–9.
[112] The analysis was made by prof. N. Buzgar PhD of the Chair of Mineralogy – Geochemistry of the Faculty of Geography and Geology within "A. I. Cuza" University in Iaşi, whom we thank this way too.
[113] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 48, fig. 33/848–850.
[114] *Ibidem*, p. 48, fig. 33/852–853.
[115] *Ibidem*, p. 48, fig. 33/851.
[116] The analysis was made within the previously specified collaboration.
[117] V. Ursachi, op. cit. (n. 104), p. 340.
[118] H. Schmidt, op. cit. (n. 47), pp. 68–69, fig. 17–18.
[119] C. Matasă, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 74, pl. LII/376.
[120] R. Vulpe, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 235–236, fig. 240/6–8.
[121] Vl. Dumitrescu *et alii*, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 456; fig. 43/10, 15–17, 22–23.
[122] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, *Truşeşti – monografie arheologică*, Bucureşti-Iaşi, 1999, p. 540, fig. 381/10.
[123] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, A. Bolomey, op. cit. (n. 59), p. 151; fig. 178/29–37; 179/1–12, 15.
[124] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 70; fig. 198/21–30; 200/6–7.
[125] C. Bem, *Traian-Dealul Fântânilor. Fenomenul Cucuteni A–B*, Târgovişte, 2007, pp. 179–180.
[126] D. Monah, Şt. Cucoş, D. Popovici, S. Antonescu, op. cit. (n. 79), pl. V/6; D. Monah *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 91), p. 171; cat. no. 150.
[127] C.-M. Mantu, S. Ţurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 146–148, cat. no. 375–385.
[128] G. Bodi, *Hoiseşti – La Pod. O aşezare cucuteniană pe valea Bahluiului*, in col. *Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae* (BAM) XIII, Iaşi, 2010, p. 215, pl. 65/1–8.
[129] C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, *Ruginoasa – Dealul Drăghici. Monografie arheologică*, BAM XX, Suceava, 2012, pp. 336–337.
[130] V. I. Marchevici, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 168, fig. 105/12–13.

Among these, mention should be made of a ceramic pendant found at Hăbăşeşti which imitates the pendants made of deer canines[131]. The carefully modeled shape for rendering precisely the characteristics of these teeth, rounded at one end and flat at the other, the dimensions and place of perforation leave no doubt that this is a good imitation of such an item. From the same series, of the imitations, we should point out also a ceramic replica – discovered in the settlement of Hoiseşti[132] – of a copper plate with rolled borders probably made according to the model of metal items discovered within the hoard of Cărbuna[133] or of Scânteia[134].

Clay variants of metal, bone and even antler items seem to be, at least in part, the ceramic pieces *en violon* (Pl. 2/7, 12) and circular pendants. Without insisting on the chronology of these items in relation to the raw material they are made of, we should point out the fact that the ceramic artifacts are the most numerous. They were discovered at Cucuteni-*Cetăţuia*, Hăbăşeşti, Truşeşti, Ruginoasa, Cucuteni-*Dâmbu Morii*, Drăguşeni, Scânteia, Brad, Poduri, Hoiseşti, Făcuţi, Costişa and Tăcuta[135].

The collars made of ceramic beads/pearls, known as sets, within the hoards or exceptional finds were rather rare (they are known only in the discovery of Izvoare, already specified above). Aware of the fact that the fired clay was the most available material of the epoch, this remark allows us to point out the fact that the body ornamenting items made of this material did not have a large enough intrinsic value that would determine their hoarding.

II. 2. 2. Body ornamenting items made of copper. Regarding the copper body ornamenting items, although the first items appear, within the territory considered by us, already at the level of Starčevo-Criş[136], they are the attribute of the Eneolithic epoch, known, in fact, also under the name of Chalcolithic. The penetration of copper in the economy of the Neo-Eneolithic communities was gradual.

From the very beginning copper had a symbolic social value being perceived as a means of exchange. It was appreciated that the "secrecy of the career" of this metal does not reside only in what was specified[137]. It has several advantages, absolutely practical, which people knew how to appreciate right from the start. We refer to the capacity of being reused by melting or hammering while heated. These two qualities, which do not characterize either stone or other types of raw material, the reuse and the possibility of changing the purpose of the item are essential in explaining the "success" of this metal. The awareness as for this process had important consequences both economic and social: he who controlled access to metal had a control lever on society[138].

The analysis of the metal involves approaching several aspects. A first problem refers to the metal obtaining procedures: was native copper used or a metallurgical technique for the reduction of the ore? Which is its area of origin? Was it exploited regionally or through a complex network for the procurement of raw material? The technological process of obtaining the items, the paleotechnology, needs to be reconstructed. Last but not least, the typology of the artifacts and (in close connection with it) their symbolic value, are themes of analysis and reflection which can provide extremely important information about this complex civilization.

Regarding the sources of raw materials, there have not been undertaken, so far analyses that would establish the local exploitation of the copper sources. The technical data indicate the fact that the metal used within the Cucuteni-Tripolye area is chemically similar to the one of Transylvania and the north of the Balkans, being used as sources of native copper.

The typological, spectroanalytical and metallographic data allowed the statement that within the areal Cucuteni-Tripolye there existed a metallurgic independent center focused on processing the metal coming from the so-called "Copper-Age Carpathian-Balkan Metallurgical Province"[139]. Studies focusing especially on these items demonstrated a progressive evolution of copper metallurgy within the areal considered in our study. Thus, for the early evolution period of the culture (Precucuteni III/Tripolye A), the centers in northern Balkans has a decisive influence. Still, already at this level, one can notice the existence of items that include

[131] Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 449, 459; fig. 43/11.
[132] G. Bodi, op. cit. (n. 128), p. 216; pl. 65/9, 66/9.
[133] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 41, fig. 14/49–56.
[134] C.-M. Mantu, S. Ţurcanu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 186, cat. no. 281.
[135] A catalogue of these items can be found at C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, D.-L. Buzea, op. cit. (n. 87), pp. 233–237; new finds: C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici op. cit. (n. 129), pp. 336–337, fig. VIII.33/8, VIII.34/4.
[136] I. Mareş, *Metalurgia aramei în neo-eneoliticul României*, Suceava, 2002, p. 65.
[137] *Descoperiri arheologice din Germania* (n. 3), pp. 30, 40.
[138] S. Hansen, op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 137–138.
[139] E. N. Chernykh, *Ancient metallurgy in the URSS. The Early Metal Age*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 35–53; Idem, *Eurasian Steppe Belt: Radiocarbon Chronology and Metallurgical Provinces*, in *Anatolian Metal V*, (hrsg. Ü. Yalçin), Bochum, 2011, pp. 152–153.

raw material coming from the area of Transylvania. Their number is growing continuously during phases Cucuteni A/Tripolye BI and Cucuteni A–B/Tripolye BII[140].

If for the early period we can invoke in this direction the contacts with the Gumelnița-Karanovo VI communities, for the evolved periods they suppose the existence of exchange relations with the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr communities.

Studies elaborated especially by professionals of the ex-Soviet territory document mainly the existence of raw material exchange networks in the form of copper ingots to the detriment of finished products. To support this theory there were invoked both typological data (the unique typology of some of the creations of the Cucutenian craftsmen) and statistic data (the different typological percentage within the set of copper items in Cucuteni-Tripolye and in the surrounding cultures), and also technical data (the use of forging technology and of cold hammering, of punching to the detriment of casting/using molds). Noticing the existence of numerous repairs and modifications of certain items made by "professionals"[141] comes to consolidate this hypothesis.

The regional exploitation and processing are also suggested by the analyses made on artifacts of several Tripolyan sites of Ukraine which allow the supposition regarding the exploitation of relatively local sources of native copper, more precisely those of Volhynia, in the Upper Dniester basin[142].

Regarding the paleotechnology of their making, it was considered that it involved a veritable craftsmanship, extremely evolved. Studies undertaken in specialized laboratories mention certain specific traits ("archaic" features) of the products of the Cucutenian craftsmen[143].

Last but not least, the typology of the discovered items and the possible meanings of their existence and percentage in certain series are elements which bring a new perspective on the Cucuteni-Tripolye civilization.

The most numerous items made of copper are the beads/pearls[144] (Pl. 2/1). Like in the case of ceramics, we specify that their morphology is very varied and that it is necessary to achieve a special study focused on this type of items. The most numerous artifacts of this type are part of the hoards of Ariuşd, Cărbuna, Brad (Pl. 2/13), Hăbăşeşti and Horodnica II[145]. Individual finds were identified at Cucuteni, Târpeşti, Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*, Poduri, Scânteia, Bilcze Złote and Koszylowce[146].

In the order of the frequency, copper beads/pearls are followed by pendants /amulets, in a wide series of forms. Discoid shapes (round, oval, convex (Pl. 2/13) and those *en violon* occupy the first places. We should also mention the presence of certain atypical shapes. They probably had an apotropaic role, they were sewn on clothing items or worn at the neck, being part of collars, as one can understand from the presence of orifices and from the few representations preserved on the anthropomorphic plastic art[147].

Pendants were discovered in deposits, together with other valuable items (Cărbuna[148], Brad, Hăbăşeşti) and also in settlements (Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*, Târpeşti, Truşeşti, Poduri). The existence of replicas made of other raw materials with a smaller intrinsic value (ceramic, stone, bone, antler) makes us assume the existence of a differentiated usage probably imposed by a certain social stratification.

The fact that the different subtypes of *en violon* pendants do not have identical analogies in other neighboring contemporary cultures, being discovered only within the area Ariuşd-Precucuteni/ Cucuteni-Tripolye, was interpreted as being an indicator of their local occurrence[149].

More rare, but including larger quantities of raw material and involving a complex problematic, we should mention the bracelets (Pl. 2/8[150]). These may have been simple, with spiral shapes, with overlapped

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[140] E. N. Chernykh, op. cit. (n. 139), p. 40.

[141] N. V. Ryndina, *Drevneishee metaloobrabatyvayushchee proizvodstvo Vostochnoi Evropy*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 47, 58–60; 136–137; E. N. Chernykh, op. cit. (n. 139), pp. 40–41.

[142] V. I. Klochko, V. I. Manichev, V. N. Kvanitsa, S. A. Kozak, L. V. Demchenko, M. P. Sokhatskiy, *Issues Concerning Tripolye Metallurgy and the Virgin Copper of Volhynia*, in *The Western Border Area of the Tripolye Culture*, in *Baltic-Pontic Studies* (*BPS*), 9, 2000, pp. 168–186.

[143] N. V. Ryndina, op. cit. (n. 141), pp. 58–60.

[144] For an easier referencing, we mention that a catalogue of the copper items of the Cucuteni culture on the territory of Romania was created by I. Mareş in 2002 (op. cit. [n. 136]); completions hereof with the latest finds can be found in S. Enea, *Some Observations on the Neolithic and Aeneolithic Ornaments in the Romanian Area*, in *SAA*, XIII–XIV, 2007–2008, 2008, pp. 25–60.

[145] T. Sulimirski, *Copper Hoard from Horodnica on the Dniester*, in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen gesellschaft in Wien*, XCL, 1961, pp. 92, 96.

[146] *Ibidem*, pp. 92, 96.

[147] S. Țurcanu, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 16–19.

[148] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 31–39, fig. 4–12. The pendants of Cărbuna are the earliest presences of this type of items.

[149] *Ibidem*, p. 24.

[150] *Neolithische Kunst in Rumänien*, (eds. M. Wullschleger, J. Chamay, F. van der Wielen-van Ommeren), Arte'm, Napoli, 2008, p. 186, cat. no. 142 (hereinafter it shall be quoted as *Neolithische Kunst in Rumänien*).

ends, opened or closed, or composite / mountable. In most cases made of copper wire and more rarely of copper sheet, bracelets either are part of the composition of certain deposits (Cărbuna, Ariuşd, Hăbăşeşti, Brad) or were discovered in settlements (Ariuşd, Bod (Pl. 2/8), Cucuteni, Izvoare, Târpeşti, Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*, Poduri, Scânteia). It was remarked that their proportion in the archeological inventories evolves diachronically if compared to the one of the axes[151]. In this direction, we can assume that their symbolism, at a certain chronological level, represented an indicator of the social prestige equivalent to the one which, later on, the axes would contain.

Other items which have a low frequency were also made of copper, mainly small items, such as links/rings, *saltaleoni* and certain artifacts which seem to have fulfilled a decorative role as clothing accessories (decorative buttons or plates). The first types of items may have been rings, earrings, lock rings or connecting loops between various items. They were discovered at Ariuşd, Brad, Hăbăşeşti, Izvoare, Malnaş, Ruginoasa, Truşeşti, Târpeşti and Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*. Items of the second category were found at Cărbuna[152], Hăbăşeşti[153] and Poduri[154].

Without insisting, we specify the complex symbolism which might have been involved by the existence of certain items, the percentage and context of their discovery within the archeological sites. Last but not least, in tight correlation with the emergency of metal in prehistoric societies, the studies of the last years quote the symbolism of colors which fascinated the human communities[155].

II. 2. 3. The body ornamenting items made of gold are extremely rare within the cultural complex Cucuteni-Tripolye**.** A catalogue of these items includes two circular pendants, in the hoard of Brad (Pl. 2/13) (phase A), an item of the *saltaleoni* type in the composition of the hoard of Ariuşd, several beads and a ring discovered in the same settlement[156]. To these we should add the ring-shaped pendant of Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor* (phase A–B)[157].

Due to its rarity, aspect and qualities, already since its discovery in nature, in native condition, gold has been used at creating jewels and prestige items[158]. It started being known and processed already during the early Eneolithic; it was considered that if we accepted that it was possible to speak of a gold metallurgy also for the Romanian space, then it developed during Eneolithic, together with the copper metallurgy, and following the progresses registered by the latter[159]. This relatively general statement is sustained by the recent discovery of Cheile Turzii – *Peştera Caprelor*/*Peştera Ungurească*, of the Transylvanian intra-Carpathian area, which documents the existence of a local workshop for processing (mainly) gold and (secondarily) copper jewels belonging to the early and developed horizons with button-ears of the Bodrogkerestúr culture[160].

Mention should also be made of the fact, also noticed by other researchers[161] that within the Romanian space all finds of gold items belong exclusively to the jewelry category. Typologically pendants discovered in

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[151] I. Manzura, *Copper Axes and Bracelets in the Cultural Context of Prehistoric Europe*, in *Early Simbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, (ed. L. Nikolova), BAR 1139, t. 2, Oxford, 2003, pp. 371–418.

[152] V. A. Dergacev, op. cit. (n. 30), p. 40, fig. 13/43–44.

[153] Vl. Dumitrescu *et alli*, op. cit. (n. 6), fig. 29/12.

[154] D. Monah, Şt. Cucoş, D. Popovici, S. Antonescu, Gh. Dumitroaia, *Cercetările arheologice de la Poduri-„Dealul Ghindaru"*, in *CA*, VI, 1983, pl. V/4.

[155] J. Chapman, *Colour in Balkan Prehistory (Alternatives to the Berlin & Kay Colour Paradigm)*, in *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, (ed. L. Nikolova), BAR 1139, t. 2, 2003, pp. 31–56; B. Gaydarska, J. Chapman, *The Aesthetics of Colour and Brilliance – Or Why Were Prehistoric Persons Interested in Rocks*, *Minerals, Clays and Pigments?*, in *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy*. *Proceedings of the International Conference, Sofia, 29–30 October 2008*, (eds. R. I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska, M. Gurova), Sofia, 2008, pp. 63–66.

[156] H. Dumitrescu, *Connections Between the Cucuteni-Tripolye Cultural Complex and the Neighbouring Eneolithic Cultures in the Light of the Utilization of Golden Pendants*, in *Dacia* N. S., V, 1961, p. 70; E. Comşa, *L'utilisation de l'or pendant le Néolithique dans le territoire de la Roumanie*, in *Découverte du metal*, (eds. J.-P. Mohen, C. Éluère), Paris, 1991, p. 88, fig. 4/3; V. Ursachi, op. cit. (n. 104), p. 339, pl. II–III; S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 91, fig. 9/11; 11.

[157] H. Dumitrescu, op. cit. (n. 156).

[158] *Prehistoric Gold in Europe*, (eds. G. Morteani, J. P. Northover), Dordrecht/Boston/London, NATO Advanced Science Institutes Series, 1995 (hereinafter it shall be quoted as *Prehistoric Gold in Europe*).

[159] C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, *Arhitectura neoliticului şi epocii cuprului din România*, II, *Epoca Cuprului*, BAM VI, Iaşi, 2007, pp. 24–26; S. Enea, op. cit. (n. 144), pp. 26–28.

[160] C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, op. cit. (n. 159), pp. 269–282; Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, B. Constantinescu, *Despre analizele pieselor de aur din atelierul de bijuterii de la Cheile Turzii – Peştera Caprelor/Peştera Ungurească*, in *Apulum*, XLIX, 2012, pp. 1–11.

[161] H. Dumitrescu, op. cit. (n. 156); E. Comşa, *Date despre folosirea aurului în cursul epocii neolitice pe teritoriul României*, in *Apulum*, XII, 1974, p. 21.

the Cucuteni areal have their origin in southern prototypes, from the Balkans and from Anatolia[162]. Both the items of Brad and the one of Traian can be correlated to items found in the two areals: one in the south, in the area of Gumelnița-Karanovo VI cultures and the other to the north, in the area of cultures Tiszpolgár-Bodrogkerestúr. Chronologically, pendants of the southern area are earlier. They were found and used in phases Gulmelnița A-Gumelnița B1. It was appreciated that the occurrence and development of the gold metallurgy in the northern areal, Tiszpolgár-Bodrogkerestúr, can be correlated to the technological metallurgic acquisitions of the Gumelnița-Kodžadjermen culture, and they are subsequent thereto[163].

Taking into account the above, we consider that the items of the hoard of Brad can be connected to the Balkan cultural area, while the item of Traian, slightly later, could come from the Transylvanian area, allowing for correlations with the Tiszpolgár-Bodrogkerestúr materials, opinions shared by other specialists too[164].

According to the general aspect as resulting from the illustration of the item of the *saltaleoni* type in the hoard of Ariuşd, nowadays lost[165], we consider it is typologically close[166] to those of Bucşani and Sultana, in the Gumelnițean area[167]. The recent discovery of such an item in the jewelry workshop of Cheile Turzii[168] provides indications as for the presence of items of the *saltaleoni* type in the Bodrogkerestúr areal, pointing, in this case, towards a relatively local origin. The publication of the item from Cheile Turzii and the elimination of the incertitude which still persists in regard to the dating of the hoard of Ariuşd[169] are elements which can clarify this aspect.

Another important problem raised by these items is represented by the area of origin of the raw material. Unfortunately, we cannot specify such origin in the case of the Cucutenian items as no physical-chemical analyses have been carried out for them while some of the Ariuşd items were lost, as already mentioned above. Physical-chemical investigations undertaken for some items in the Gumelnițean areal indicate as most probable a source located south the Danube[170]. For the Transylvanian area, a set of analyses recently undertaken for the items of Cheile Turzii indicate the usage of native gold of local origin from the sources of Roşia Montană and the Apuseni Mountains[171].

To conclude, taking into account the low frequency of the items made of this raw material within the area of Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolye cultural complex, it is natural to endorse the opinion according to which these items were imported from one of the two neighboring cultural areas (Gumelnița-Karanovo VI or Bodrogkerestúr) rather than of local achievements[172]. Physical-chemical analyses can contribute to the elucidation of this aspect.

II. 2. 4. The body ornamenting items made of silver. Within the analyzed cultural area there are also mentioned several body ornamenting items which would have been made of silver. One of these items belongs to the Cucuteni areal, being discovered at Truşeşti. The item, a pendant *en violon*, was initially described by the discoverer as being made of a "white metal"[173] with the following completion included in the monographic study of the settlement of 1999: "possibly silvered copper or silver with dots of copper oxide"[174]. Typologically it belongs to phase A of the culture. H. Dumitrescu is the first researcher who refers to the material this item is made of as being silver[175]. The item was not subjected to any physical-chemical analysis.

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[162] E. Comşa, op. cit. (n. 161), p. 21–22; C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, op. cit. (n. 159), p. 270–271; D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Ediția a doua revăzută şi adăugită, Piatra-Neamț, 2012, pp. 157–165.

[163] J. Makkai, *The Rise and Fall of Gold Metallurgy in the Copper Age of the Carpathian Basin: The Background of the Change*, in *Prehistoric Gold in Europe* (n. 158), pp. 65–76 and bibliography; C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, op. cit. (n. 159), pp. 270–271 and bibliography.

[164] H. Dumitrescu, op. cit. (n. 156), *passim*; V. Ursachi, op. cit. (n. 104), pp. 348–350; D. Monah, op. cit. (n. 162), pp. 157–165.

[165] S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 86; fig. 9/11, fig. 11.

[166] We take into account the fact that in both cases the general aspect if the item indicates the achievement out of a thin sheet of gold rather than of a thread. To support this supposition, we can also invoke M. Roska's statement, at the time of publishing the item, according to whom the item had "a reddish color" "probably not from Transylvanian gold" (cf. S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. [n. 21], p. 91).

[167] C. Hălcescu, *Tezaurul de la Sultana*, in *CCDJ*, XIII–XIV, 1995, p. 13, fig. 3; C. Bem, *A Special Type of Aeneolithic Dwelling. Unicum or Deficiency of Conservation*, in *SP*, 1, 2001, p. 165, fig. 17.

[168] Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, B. Constantinescu, op. cit. (n. 160), pp. 3–4.

[169] S. J. Sztáncsuj, op. cit. (n. 21), pp. 99–100.

[170] V. Cojocaru, D. Şerbănescu, *Nuclear Analyses of Some Eneolithic Gold Artifacts Discovered in the Călăraşi District, Romania*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, XXIII, 1–2, 2002, pp. 85–91.

[171] Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, B. Constantinescu, op. cit. (n. 160), pp. 5–8.

[172] H. Dumitrescu, op. cit. (n. 156); E. Comşa, op. cit. (n. 156), pp. 90–91; C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, *Despre unele reprezentări antropomorfe masculine din cultura Cucuteni*, in *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis* (*ActaMM*), XXX/1, 2009, pp. 39–40; D. Monah, op. cit. (n. 162), pp. 160–162.

[173] M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Les principaux résultats de fouilles de Truşeşti (Moldavie septentrionale)*, in *Analele Ştiințifice ale Universității „A. I. Cuza" din Iaşi*, Secțiunea II (Ştiințe sociale) (*AŞUI*), III, 1–2, 1957, p. 11.

[174] M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, op. cit. (n. 122), p. 521, fig. 370/5.

[175] H. Dumitrescu, op. cit. (n. 156), p. 85, fig. 6/10.

The second artifact, a needle, was found in the Tripolye BII settlement of Nezvisko[176]. A chemical analysis of the metal this item is composed of is available.

Silver was obtained by means of a developed metallurgic technique (called cupellation) which got spread and became really known and mastered during the 3rd millennium BC[177]. Still, several isolated items considered as being the earliest items made of silver throughout Europe are documented in the caverns in the south of Greece and in Crete, during the 4th millennium BC[178]. The most important identified sources for prehistoric silver are located in Greece and Anatolia[179]. The item of Truşeşti, nowadays apparently lost, and therefore impossible to analyze, would represent one of the earliest silver items throughout the European territory, fact that determined the specialists' reticence in accepting the presence of this metal within the analyzed cultural environment[180], opinion which we endorse too.

III. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In general lines, these are the main raw materials documented as being used for obtaining the body ornamenting items within Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolye cultural complex. Apart from their review, our paper, without having any claim of exhaustiveness, has intended to point out several general directions which an analysis made from this perspective can achieve.

Initially, our presentation pointed out that in spite of the technically spectacular evolution undertaken by human communities, in general lines, until the level of the Eneolithic, Cucutenian communities continued to show a special preference for the natural materials which they had been using since the Paleolithic. We refer to the fact that among the raw materials they used the largest percentage is the one of items made of perforated teeth, bone, antler, bivalve and gastropod shells and, to a much smaller extent, of ceramic and copper. This observation allows us to remark the fact that although we deal with a millenary evolution, the preference of the human communities continued to be directed towards raw materials obtained directly from nature, practically ignoring a multitude of technical accumulations which allowed the opening of new perspectives. The communities of land laborers and animal breeders undoubtedly had completely different beliefs (many of which cyphered / encoded in the symbolism of body ornamenting items) than those of the hunters – gatherers. Still, our remark pertaining to the type of raw materials allows us to state that although at the level of the collective imagination transformations were drastic, the primary code of symbols remained to a great extent the same.

We should point out that in many cases the belonging to the Eneolithic is noticed from the evolution of the cutting, shaping, perforation and finishing technique of the unprocessed raw material.

An analysis from the perspective of the raw materials allows us to appreciate the knowledge the Cucutenian communities had on the exploitable raw materials in the hinterland of their settlements and indicate the existence of wide exchange networks with the neighboring communities and also with areas which are at hundreds kilometers' distance.

Such an approach can provide interesting data on the technical knowledge and the technological level reached by these communities both in processing the various raw materials and in obtaining them (we think inclusively at the cynegetic skills which would allow the hunting of an impressive number of deer or boars, large animals).

In terms of body ornamenting items of the contemporary society, even when they contain encoded messages, they derive from specific symbols (the cross for instance) and not from the manner in which they are achieved or the used type of raw material. In our world, only few people can distinguish between amber, ivory, gems or even precious stones, and their glass, resin or plastic imitations. And this results from the fact that people do not use any more the magical, symbolic or ritual features of these materials. On the contrary, all body ornamenting items worn in the Cucutenian communities, like in all prehistoric societies, had a symbolic meaning, be it social or ritual[181]. Consequently, the manner of execution and the type of raw material were implicitly or explicitly prescribed, having standardized shapes and colors. For the documented periods with written sources there are cases when technology and even the moment of creating the body ornamenting items are regulated and in certain cases only certain persons were allowed to create trade and wear certain types of jewels.

[176] N. V. Ryndina, op. cit. (n. 141).

[177] M. Primas, *Gold and Silver during the 3rd Mill. CAL. BC*, in *Prehistoric Gold in Europe* (n. 158), pp. 77–93.

[178] A.-D. Popescu, *Silver Artefacts of the Third and Second Millennia BC at the Lower and Middle Danube*, in *Transylvanian Review*, XIX, suppl. 5:1, 2010, p. 163–164.

[179] *Ibidem.*

[180] D. Monah, op. cit. (n. 162), p. 77.

[181] Y. Taborin, *Langage sans parole. La parure aux temps préhistoriques*, Paris, 2004.

The recognition of these processes strictly defined within a society reveals the importance and meaning of the specific raw material, of the technology of execution and, last but not least, of the context of usage of certain items.

In general, items made of materials precious in that epoch were worn as body ornamenting items for ritual or symbolic reasons. They were meant to protect, to communicate information on a person's identity, social or economic statute or even a manner of wealth storage. In tight correlation with these messages, their wearers were recognized and appreciated by the members of a community. What needs to be pointed out is the fact that materials used to create them had completely different powers than what we can estimate nowadays.

In this regard, mention should be made that our analysis has suffered from the lack of discoveries from tombs and cemeteries which can provide interesting data which are understood by the analysis of funeral behaviors (association of the body ornamenting items according to the age and sex of the deceased). Even in the absence thereof, the elaboration of the same type of item from various materials (ceramic, copper, gold) indicates the existence of a clear social stratification. Pearls, *en violon* pendants or the ornamental disks made both from ceramic and from metal, bone, antler and even stone, with the same shape, could have communicated, from a distance, the same message about their wearers. Practically the same symbol was accessible to all members of a society according to the possibilities of each and every one. This fact consolidated the system of beliefs and the one of the social order and can be assigned to an increasing need for more exterior symbols of a population in continuous augmentation and social stratification. It is only after a careful examination of the nature of an ornament that we can appreciate its socio-economical and socio-ritual role of the one wearing it.

The same perspective should be applied to the craftsmen's statute too. Those processing metal did not have, for sure, the same social statue as those processing bone, antler or making similar ceramic ornaments.

On the other side, it was considered that the existence of hoards reveals to us the presence of leaders with a dominant social statute[182]. Still, we do not exclude the possibility that these sets of items represent accumulations of a community, illustrating a differentiation between communities belonging to the same cultural complex.

The fact that we analyze artifacts belonging to communities undergoing a process of social change, characterized also by the emergence of the warrior spirit is significantly illustrated by the trophies (Pl. 1/13–14; 2/13) (or their imitations only (Pl. 1/5, 7–8, 12), whose existence is as important through the prism of our analysis) composed of cervidae canines or boar tusk of exceptional sizes. They are a direct or indirect evocation of hunting and of masculinity.

The frequency of certain types of body ornamenting items allows us to suppose that they did not have a utilitarian purpose but were essential for the good functioning of a social group. They protected, identified and kept the place of an individual in society and in the surrounding environment. Similar attitudes regarding the body ornamenting items were identified in the case of other prehistoric societies and we can assume that they were treated the same way by the Cucutenian communities. In tight connection to this aspect, we should point out the fact that studies published during the last decade reveal the complex symbolism of colors of prehistoric body ornamenting items[183].

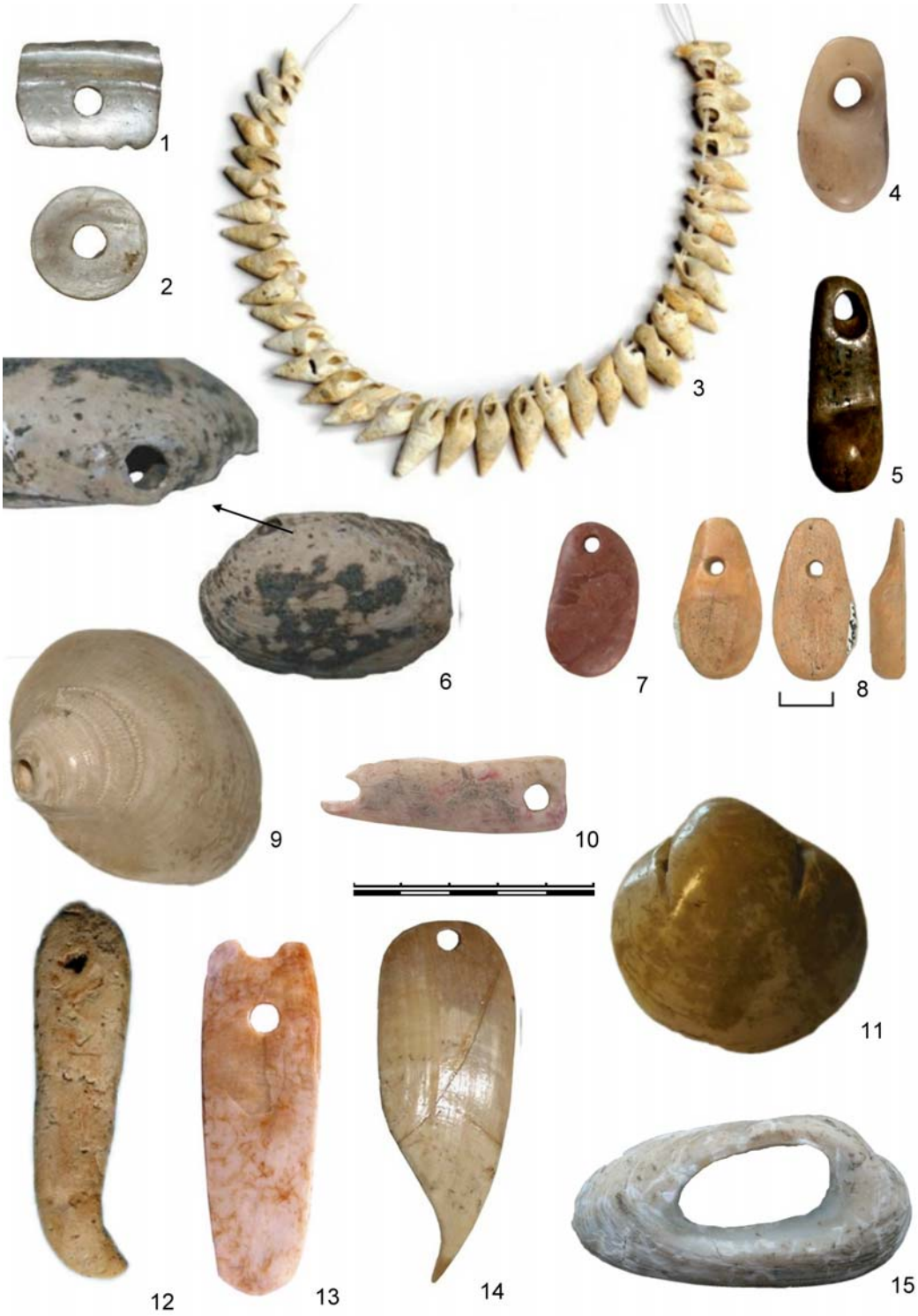
To conclude, we also mention the possibilities of identifying certain aspects pertaining to the Cucutenians' beliefs in the apotropaic or even healing powers of certain resources transformed in body ornamenting items resulted from the natural environment (we refer to the nutlets of *Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum*).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. 1. Cucutenian body-ornamenting items. 1, 2. circular pearls of *Unio* shells (1. under processing); 3. collar made of perforated *Cerithium* shells; 4. pendant made of mammal tooth; 5, 8. bone pendants; 6, 15. perforated *Unio* shells; 7. microsparite pendant; 9, 11. perforated *Glycymeris glycymeris* shells; 10. sewn plate made of *Spondylus gaederopus*; 12. ceramic pendant; 13–14. boar-tusk pendants. 1. Izvoare; 2. Frumușica; 3, 9, 11. Bilcze Złote; 4, 7. Poienești; 5. Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor*; 6. Vorniceni; 8. Păuleni; 10, 12–13, 15. Scânteia; 14. Târpești. 1–2, 4–7, 9–15. photo by S. Țurcanu; 3. *apud Entziklopedia Tripolskoi Tzivilizatzii* 2004; 8. *apud* C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu 1999.

Pl. 2. Cucutenian body-ornamenting items. 1, 2. tubular pearls/beads (1. copper; 2. bone); 3–6. ceramic pearls/beads; 7, 11–12. *en violon* pendants (7, 12. ceramic ware; 11. silica sandstone); 8. copper bracelet; 9–10. pendants (9. bone; 10. ceramicware); 13. hoard of Brad. 1, 6. Târpești; 2, 9. Vorniceni; 3–5. Scânteia; 7. Trușești; 8. Bod; 10. Costești; 11. Murgeni; 12. Hoisești; 13. Brad. 1–6; 9–11. photo by S. Țurcanu; 7, 12–13. *apud* C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu 1999; 8. *apud Neolithische Kunst in Rumänien* 2008.

[182] D. Monah, op. cit. (n. 43), p. 135.
[183] J. Chapman, op. cit. (n. 155), pp. 31–56; B. Gaydarska, J. Chapman, op. cit. (n. 155).



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