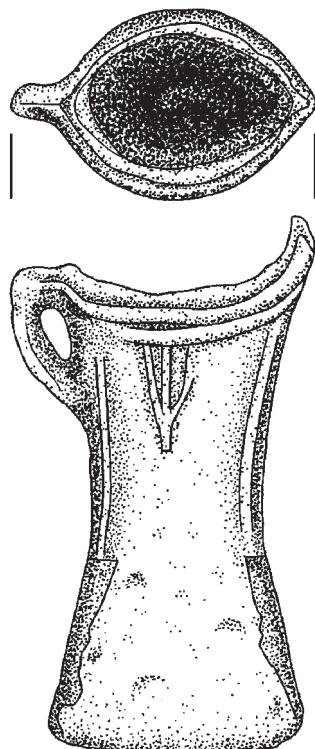


# MATERIAŁY I SPRAWOZDANIA

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RZESZOWSKIEGO  
OŚRODKA  
ARCHEOLOGICZNEGO



Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie  
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# MATERIAŁY I SPRAWOZDANIA

## RZESZOWSKIEGO OŚRODKA ARCHEOLOGICZNEGO

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A bronze socketed axe from Falejowka. Drawing by P. Kotowicz, P. Skowroński (vide p. 84)

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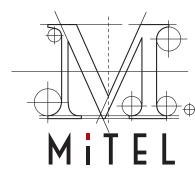
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*Małgorzata Rybicka\*, Andryi Hawinskyj\*\*, Dariusz Król\*\*\**

**Lightweight dwellings of the Funnel Beaker Culture from Vynnyky-Lysivka  
 (Western Ukraine) and the phase CII of the Tripolye Culture  
 from Gordineşti II-Stînca goală (Northern Moldova) as examples  
 of houses from the late 4<sup>th</sup> Millennium BC**

The paper presents the issue of house constructions from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC in western Ukraine and northern Moldova. While numerous reports concerning the dwellings of the Funnel Beaker Culture from the area east of the Bug River has been published, these accounts did not provide enough information to precisely assess their construction details. The first such structure whose features can be described in detail is the house from the site Lysivka in Vynnyky. The construction of the dwelling was lightweight, analogous to residential structures from the eastern group of the Funnel Beaker Culture. Another debatable topic was the characteristics of houses of the Gordineşti group of the Tripolye Culture. Archaeological research at the site of Gordineşti II-Stînca goală proved that communities of the late stage of this culture lived in lightweight houses that were built using clay. Neither the residential structures from the Vynnyky-Lysivka site, nor those from the site of Gordineşti II-Stînca goală, should be regarded as analogy to the classical "ploshchadkas" of the Tripolye Culture.

KEY WORDS: dwellings, Funnel Beaker Culture, Gordineşti group, western Ukraine, northern Moldova

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## INTRODUCTION

Despite numerous reports of discoveries of postholes or clusters of construction clay, interpreted as remains of dwellings, until recently it has been difficult to unequivocally describe the features of residential structures of the Funnel Beaker Culture (FBC) from the area of western Ukraine (Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz, Rybicka 2013; Rybicka 2017; Rybicka, Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz 2019). Archaeological excavations carried out between 2016 and 2019 at the site Lysivka in Vynnyky (Fig. 1) provide the basis for describing the construction details of houses and allow to verify previous assessments published in the archaeological literature (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021).

Another debatable issue was the identification of the characteristic traits of dwellings of the Gordineşti group of the stage CII Tripolye Culture from northern Moldova (Fig. 1). In his monograph of the late stage of this culture, Valentin Dergachev (Dergachev 1980, 120) only broadly wrote that in the discussed period there were two main types of houses: sunken dwellings and structures with no foundations. The remains of the latter form of residential structure are very characteristic collapsed layers of burnt daub. According to G. Sirbu and D. Król (2021, 103), until recently, the knowledge of distinctive features of dwellings of the Horodiştea-Gordineşti group was quite limited and insufficient. For example, on the basis

of published data it was not possible to assess the construction details of houses and the ways in which they were used (e.g. Dergachev 1980; Pozikhovskyj 2019; Verteletskyi 2020). It would be interesting to determine whether they were built and utilized in the same way as dwellings of the earlier Brînzeni group from northern Moldova (Markevich 1981).

In this paper, residential structures from the site Vynnyky-Lysivka and Gordineşti II-Stînca goală (Fig. 1), alongside their genetical context, will be presented as examples of houses from the late 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC in the area between the Bug and Prut River.

## FUNNEL BEAKER CULTURE: VYNNYKY-LYSIVKA

In the archaeological literature, we can find information on clusters of burnt daub from the Bug River zone and western Ukraine, which were interpreted as remains of houses. Sadly, the way these structures were explored and published did not provide an adequate basis for an unambiguous assessment of their characteristics (Cynkałowski 1961; Gumiński 1989; Peleshchyshyn 2004; Konopla, Gavins'kij 2013; Rybicka,

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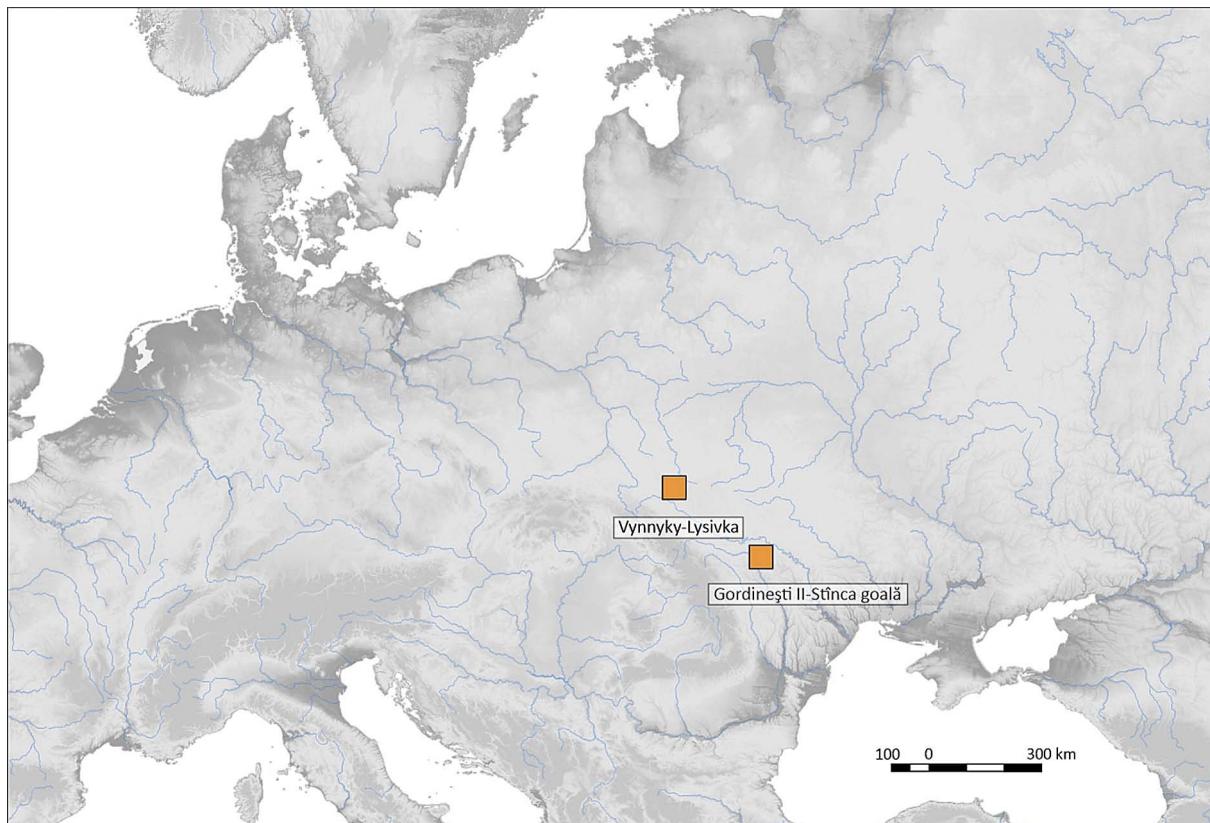


Fig. 1. Location of Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region (Ukraine) and Gordinești II-Stînca goală, Edinet region (Moldova) on the map of Europe

Ryc. 1. Lokalizacja stanowisk Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski (Ukraina) i Gordinești II-Stînca goală (Mołdawia) na mapie Europy

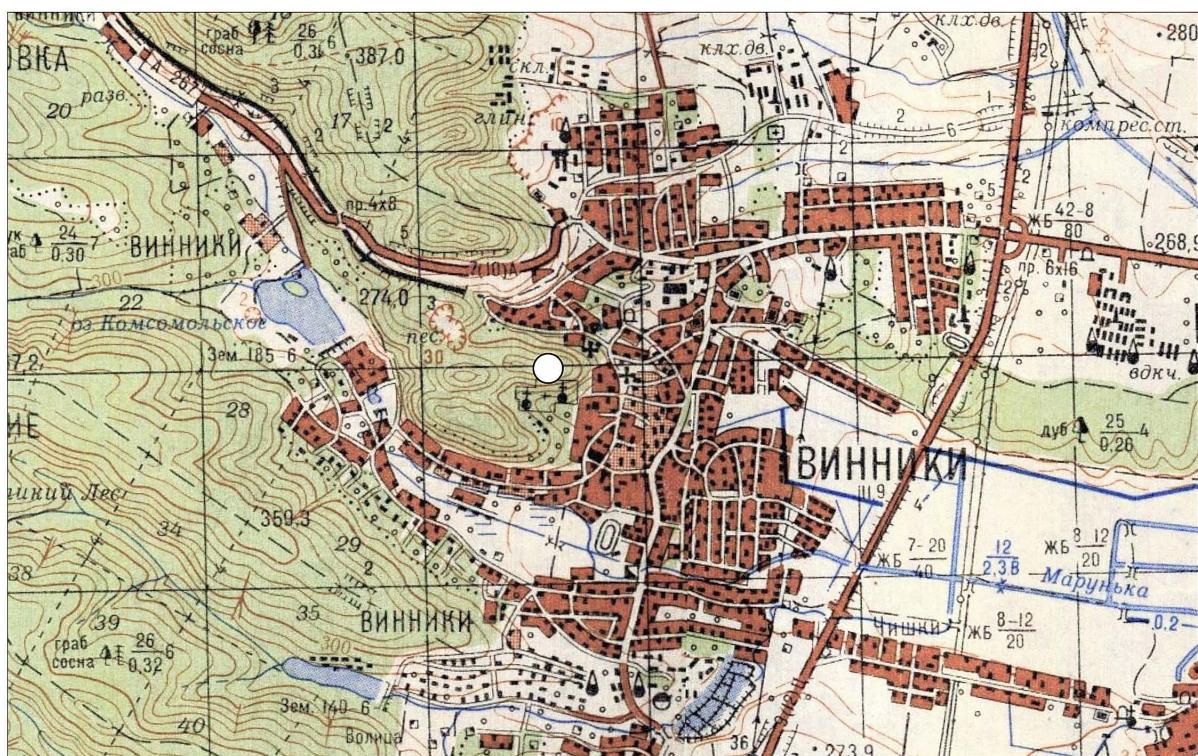
Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz 2019; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021). Mykola Peleshchysyn (Peleshchysyn 1998a; 1998b; 1998c) described features of this type identified at the Vynnyky-Lysivka site. However, the nature of documented remains was difficult to interpret. Hence, the site was selected for verification research, aiming to obtain more detailed data on these structures. In 2016, a cluster of burnt daub was discovered in the central part of the site. The feature was initially interpreted as remains of an above-ground structure with no foundation (Diachenko et al. 2019). In the pottery assemblage discovered at that time, fragments of Tripolye Culture tableware were distinguished (Rybicka et al. 2018). Taking into account the latter fact, as well as remarks on the similarities of FBC dwellings, for example from Gródek, to the very characteristic houses of the Tripolye Culture (e.g. Gumiński 1989, 22–25), the Vynnyky-Lysivka site has become very important in the context of research concerning relationships between the FBC and the Tripolye Culture (Koško 1981; Rybicka 2017). Considering the comments mentioned above, the main aim of the archaeological research conducted at the Vynnyky-Lysivka site was to determine whether the types of house construction and the spatial organisation of the settlement resembled the principles typical for the Tripolye Culture groups in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Markevich 1981; Sîrbu, Król, Heghea 2020).

The Vynnyky-Lysivka site was located on a *plateau* of an exposed stone elevation (Fig. 2). The FBC settlement can be dated to the period of 3500–3360 BC (Havinskij, Rybicka, Król 2021, 20).

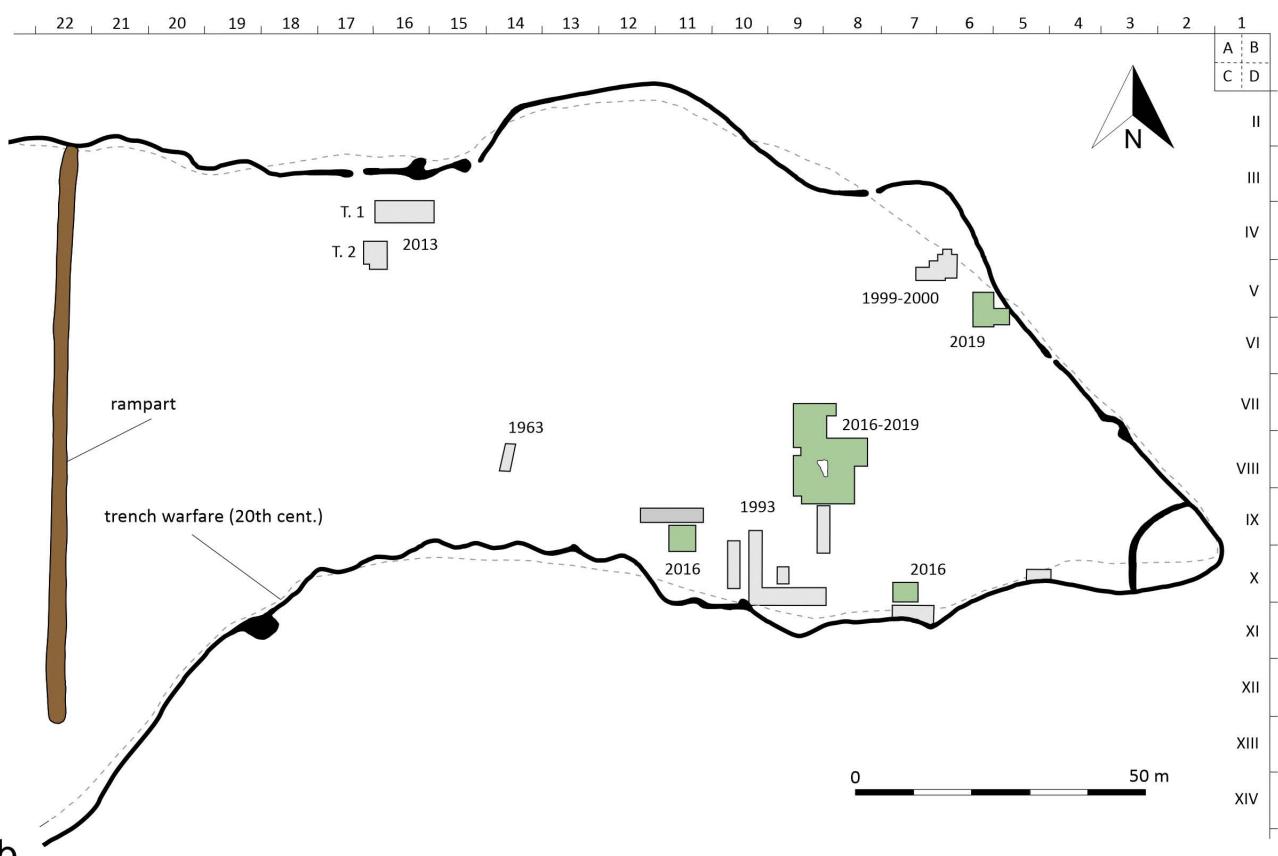
The excavation of the identified layer of burnt daub and its surroundings was carried out at the Vynnyky-Lysivka in 2016–2019. The area of the established archaeological trench was 2.68 ares (Fig. 2; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 16). The research marks the first time when the method of 3D recording of archaeological finds was used in exploration of such structures in western Ukraine.

During the excavation, researchers revealed two clear clusters of daub (southern and northern), located approximately 7 m apart (Fig. 3). Between the two structures, on their eastern side, archaeologists recorded postholes, which marked the eastern and north-eastern extent of the distribution of the construction clay (Fig. 3). The imprints of wattle and twigs were identified on lumps of burnt daub from the both clusters (Fig. 4). The unearthed heaps of daub could be identified as remains of collapsed walls, the framework of which was formed by posts situated every 1–2 metres (Fig. 3). The posts supported wattle panels covered with clay. On the basis of these observations, it was concluded that the unearthed structure represented the remains of a dwelling (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 20–24), the original length of which was about 7 m, and the width about 4–5 m (Fig. 3). To the north of the described feature, researchers identified a small post construction (Fig. 3), whose exact function is difficult to determine (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 18–19).

The distribution of portable archaeological finds in the surroundings of the described features is very interesting (Figs. 5–6). The zone situated east of the clusters of daub was



a



b

Fig. 2. Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region: a – location of the site; b – location of trenches. After Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 1; 3; modified Ryc. 2. Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski: a – lokalizacja stanowiska; b – lokalizacja wykopów. Wg Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 1; 3; ze zmianami

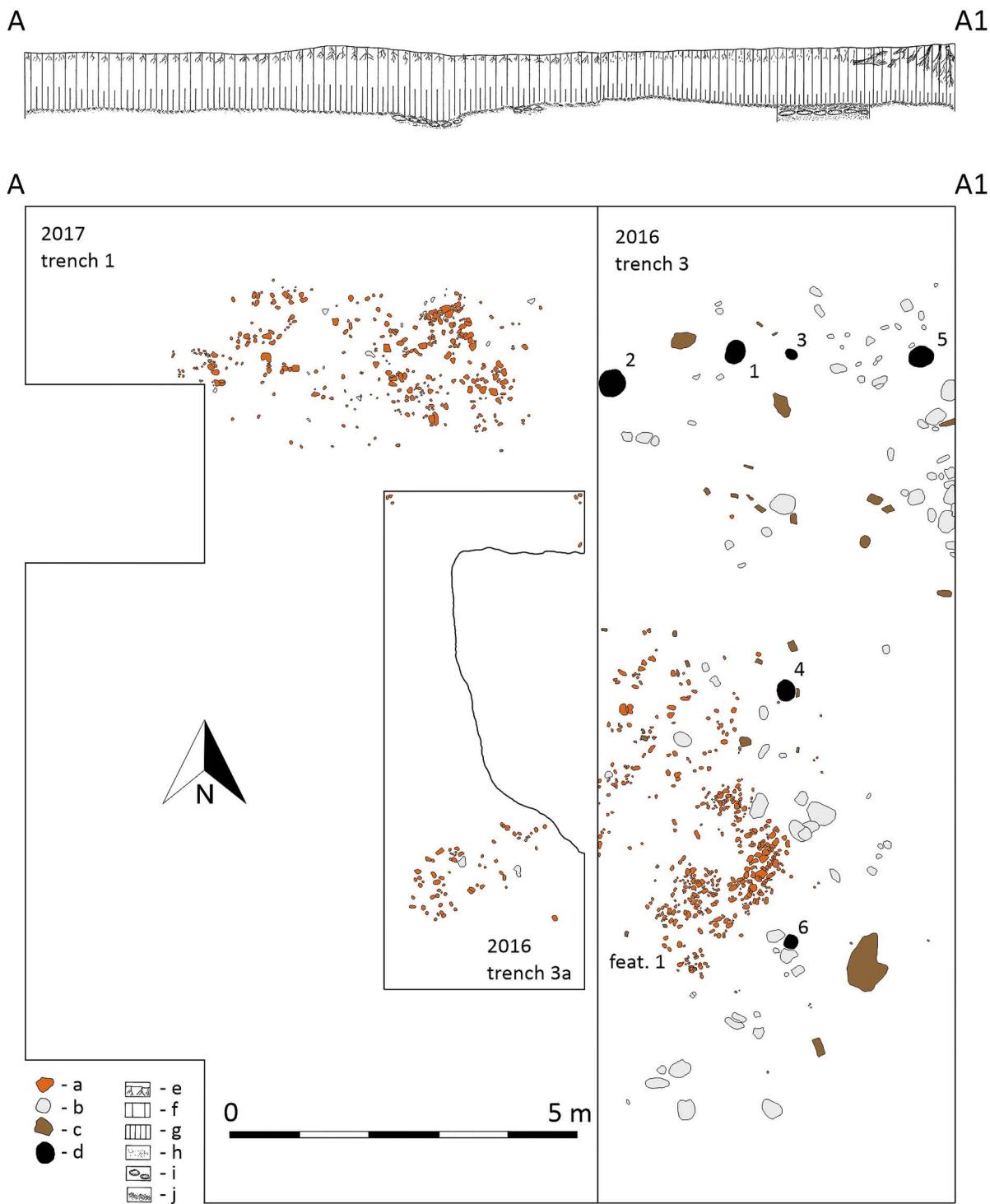


Fig. 3. Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region. Distribution of burnt daub in the trenches from 2016–2019: a – burnt daub; b – sandstone; c – petrified wood; d – post-holes; e – humus; f – grey sediment; g – dark grey sediment; h – sand; i – level of sandstone; j – bedrock. After Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 5; modified

Ryc. 3. Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski. Rozmieszczenie polepy w wykopach z lat 2016–2019: a – polepa; b – piaskowiec; c – skałkamienna drewno; d – dolki posłupowe; e – humus; f – szary sedymet; g – ciemnoszary sedymet; h – piasek; i – poziom piaskowca; j – calec. Wg Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 5; ze zmianami



Fig. 4. Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region.

An example of burnt daub. After Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, fot. 7

Ryc. 4. Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski.

Przykład spalonej polepy. Wg Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, fot. 7

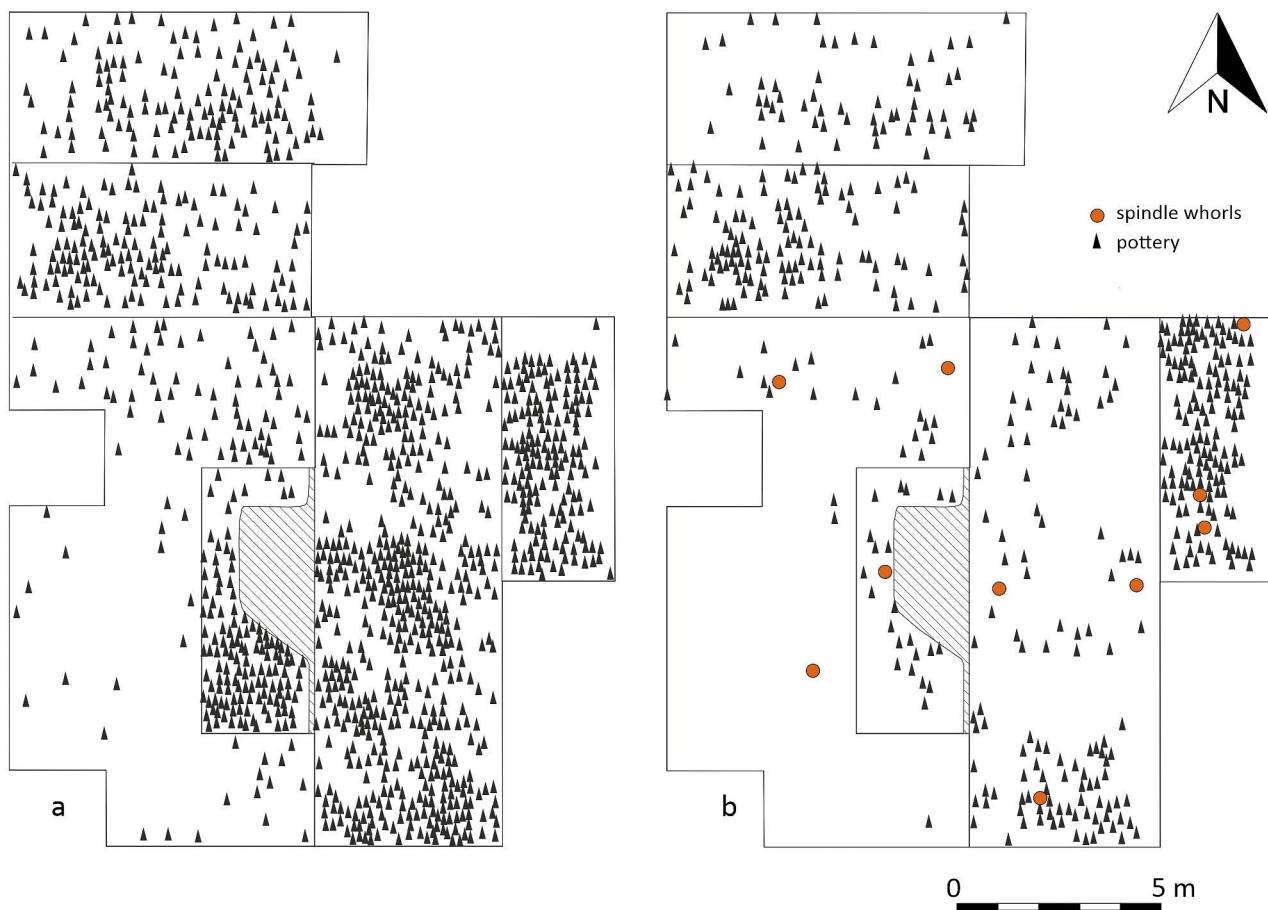


Fig. 5. Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region. Distribution of pottery around burnt daub in the trenches from 2016–2019: a – 20–60 cm depth; b – 40–60 cm depth. After Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 14; 16

Ryc. 5. Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski. Rozmieszczenie ceramiki wokół przepalonej polepy w wykopach z lat 2016–2019: a – głębokość 20–60 cm; b – głębokość 40–60 cm. Wg Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 14; 16

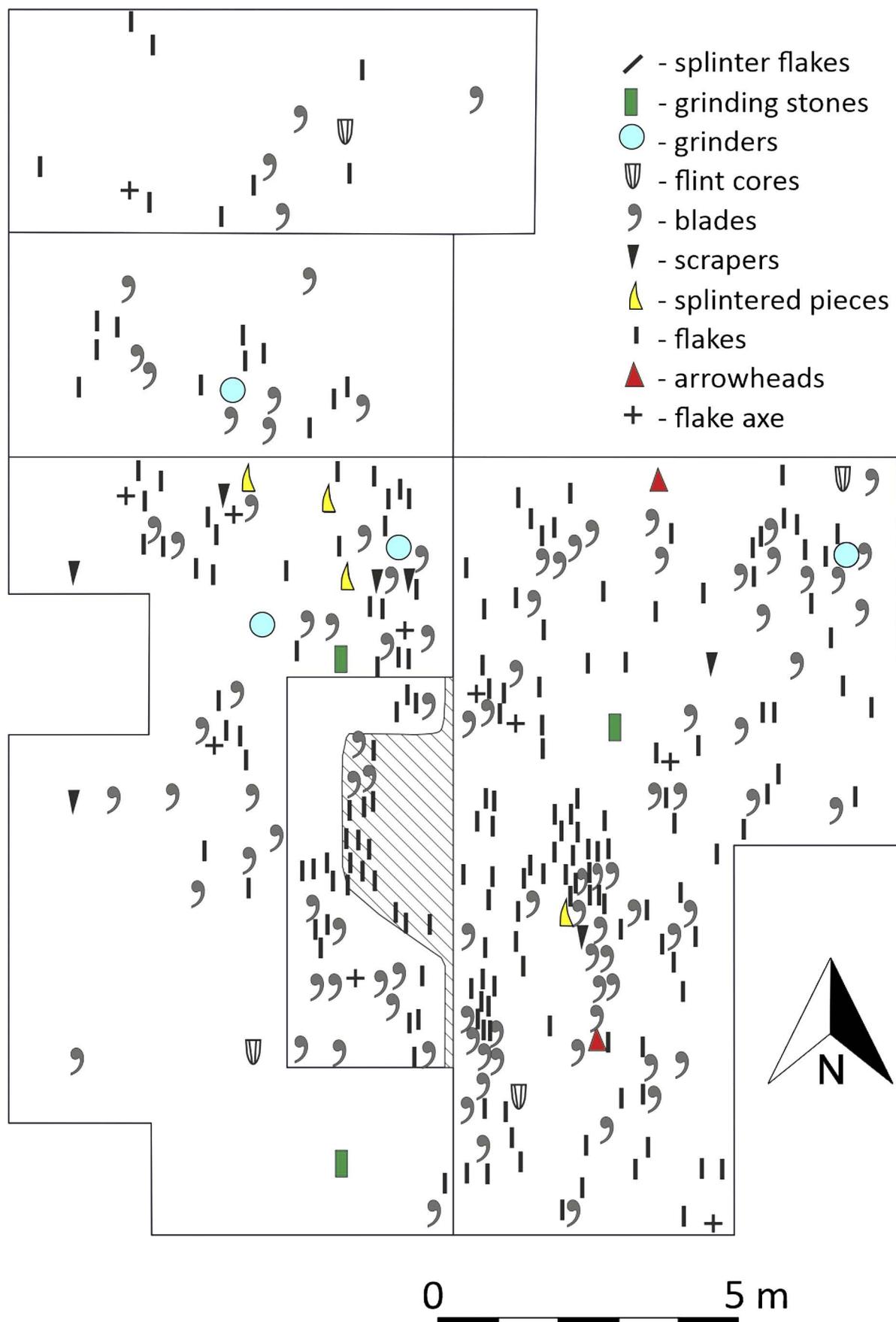


Fig. 6. Vynnyky-Lysivka, Lviv region. Distribution of flint artifacts around burnt daub in the trenches from 2016–2019. After Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 15

Ryc. 6. Winniki-Lisiwka, rejon lwowski. Rozmieszczenie zabytków krzemiennych wokół przepalonej polepy w wykopach z lat 2016–2019. Wg Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, ryc. 15

particularly intensely littered with fragments of small and medium-sized potsherds (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021). Within the scope of the residential structure, archaeological finds were quite sparse. More importantly, the interior of the dwelling and the area just outside its range lacked fragments of large storage vessels or complete vessels (Fig. 5; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 42–46). Analysis of the distribution of flint production waste shows that there was no specifically designated space for processing of this raw material near the described residential structure (Fig. 6). The distribution of spindle whorls can also be interpreted in the similar manner (Fig. 5:b). In conclusion, the discussed features of the distribution of portable archaeological finds in the area of the dwelling suggest that the house likely did not have any special economic and social functions (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 47–50). It seems that a small post construction, situated to the north of the described structure, was a part of a yard that surrounded it (Grygiel 1986). It was utilized for economic purposes that are difficult to define precisely (Fig. 3).

#### PHASE CII OF THE TRIPOLYE CULTURE: GORDINEŞTI II-STÎNCA GOALĂ

As a result of the 2016–2021 archaeological excavations in Gordineşti II-Stînca goală in northern Moldova, three houses of the Tripolye Culture were unearthed (Fig. 7; Sîrbu, Król 2021), dated to the period around 3300/3250–3000/2900 BC (Król, Rybicka 2022, 21). All the structures represent the Gordineşti group of this culture.

The site of Gordineşti II-Stînca goală is located in the Moldavian Plateau. It is situated on a very exposed limestone terrain hump, surrounded on three sides by the Racovăt River valley. At present, the relative height between the culmination and the bottom of the valley reaches a few tens of metres (Fig. 7).

The first of the identified dwellings was located near the earlier archaeological trenches by V. Dergachev (Dergachev 1973; 1980). The house was unearthed near the southern edge

of the stone headland (Fig. 7). The discovery was inspired by the recording of pottery sherds and lumps of daub on the surface. In the archaeological trench, researchers identified numerous vessel fragments, flint artefacts, and clusters of daub (Sîrbu et al. 2019; Sîrbu, Król 2021). As noted by G. Sîrbu and D. Król (2021, 102), in most cases it is difficult to reconstruct the form and/or function of prehistoric buildings due to their partial state of preservation. However, analysing the distribution of archaeological finds, it was concluded that the residential structure probably had a rectangular shape, and was oriented along the NE-SW axis. The dwelling consisted of two functionally different rooms (Fig. 8). One of the chambers, measuring about 5.6×5.8 m, was probably a residential space with numerous faunal remains. The other room, measuring 5.6×5.4 m, had a residential and economic function. Within the second room and in its surroundings most of the daily household activities were performed (Fig. 9; numerous spindle whorls and loom weights, axes and chisels, flint production waste). In the south-eastern corner of this part of the house and in the area east to the dwelling, researchers uncovered a concentration of tableware fragments (Fig. 8; Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 2; 3b). The distribution of archaeological finds outside this room marks the economic zone. The area situated east and north of the dwelling was particularly intensively utilised. The vicinity of the house lacks additional sunken features of economic nature only (Przybyła et al. 2017; Sîrbu, Król 2021). Nevertheless, the described residential structure and its surroundings meet the definition of a household cluster (Grygiel 1986; Pelisiak 2003).

On the other hand, the state of preservation of the described structure makes it difficult to unequivocally assess the type of its construction. Taking into account the discovery of postholes and pieces of daub with wattle imprints (Figs. 8–9; Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 2; 4), we can suspect that the construction of the house was lightweight. The framework of the structure was formed by posts, while walls were constructed of wattle daubed with clay. Similar features characterise also the remaining two dwellings (Fig. 7).

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the scope of the research, we identified remnants of houses of lightweight constructions, regarding the FBC, represented Vynnyky-Lysivka in eastern Roztocze region, as well as the stage CII Tripolye culture, as exhibited by Gordineşti II-Stînca goală in northern Moldova.

Dwellings, whose remnants consist of clusters of daub, are typical for FBC not only in the area of western Ukraine (Rybicka, Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz 2019; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021), but also its eastern (Papiernik, Rybicka 2002; Pelisiak 2003; Rzepecki 2014) and south-eastern (Gumiński 1989) groups. However, in the case of the residential structures from Gródek (Gumiński 1989), Rudnyky (Konopla, Gavins'kij 2013), and Lezhnytsya (Rybicka, Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz 2019), the exact type of construction cannot be unequivocally assessed. The house from the Vynnyky-Lysivka site is currently the only published such feature whose exact construction method can be described in detail. Based on the features of the un-

earthed structure, we can conclude that the identified clusters of daub are remains of a building of a lightweight construction, analogous to those recorded in the eastern group of the FBC (Papiernik, Rybicka 2002). At the same time, the residential structure from the site of Vynnyky-Lysivka clearly differs from dwellings typical for the Tripolye Culture (Videjko 2013; Chernovol 2021, 49–51), such as, for example, houses of the Nebelevska (Videjko, Burdo 2015) and Brînzeni groups (Markevich 1981). Dwellings of the latter culture were made using a different technology, with large amounts of clay, and had a solid, permanent character (Chernovol 2021, Figs. 2–5). In addition, the internal layout of houses was carefully planned, and different parts of the interior had specific utilitarian functions (Markevich 1981; Chernovol 2021, 63–65). No such strict rules were identified when it comes to residential structures of the FBC (Papiernik, Rybicka 2002, Ryc. 14; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 58–61).

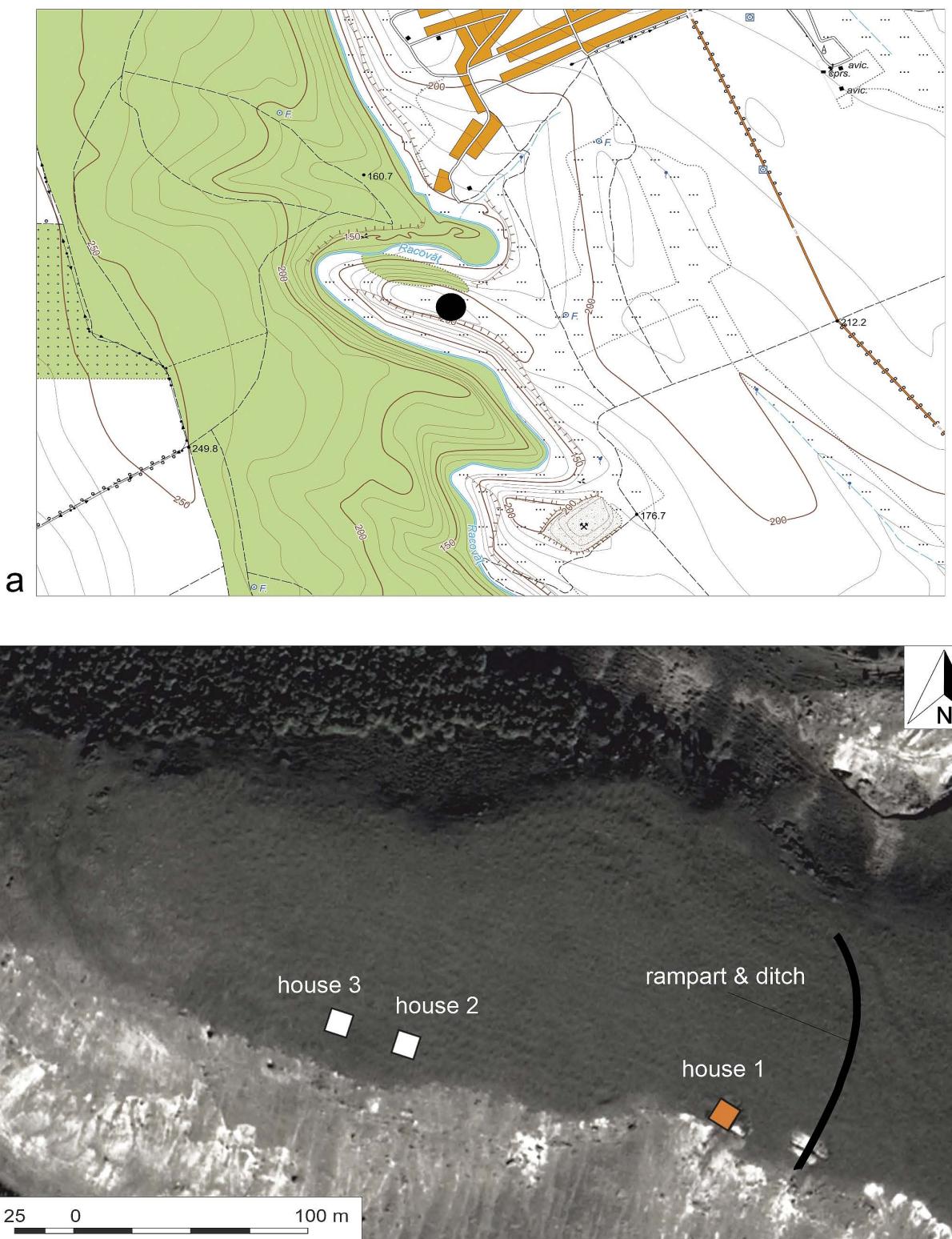


Fig. 7. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, Edinet region: a – location of the site; b – location of trenches with the remains of houses. After Król, Rybicka 2022, Figs. 2c; 3

Ryc. 7. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, rejon jedyniecki: a – lokalizacja stanowiska; b – lokalizacja wykopów z pozostałościami domostw. Wg Król, Rybicka 2022, ryc. 2c; 3

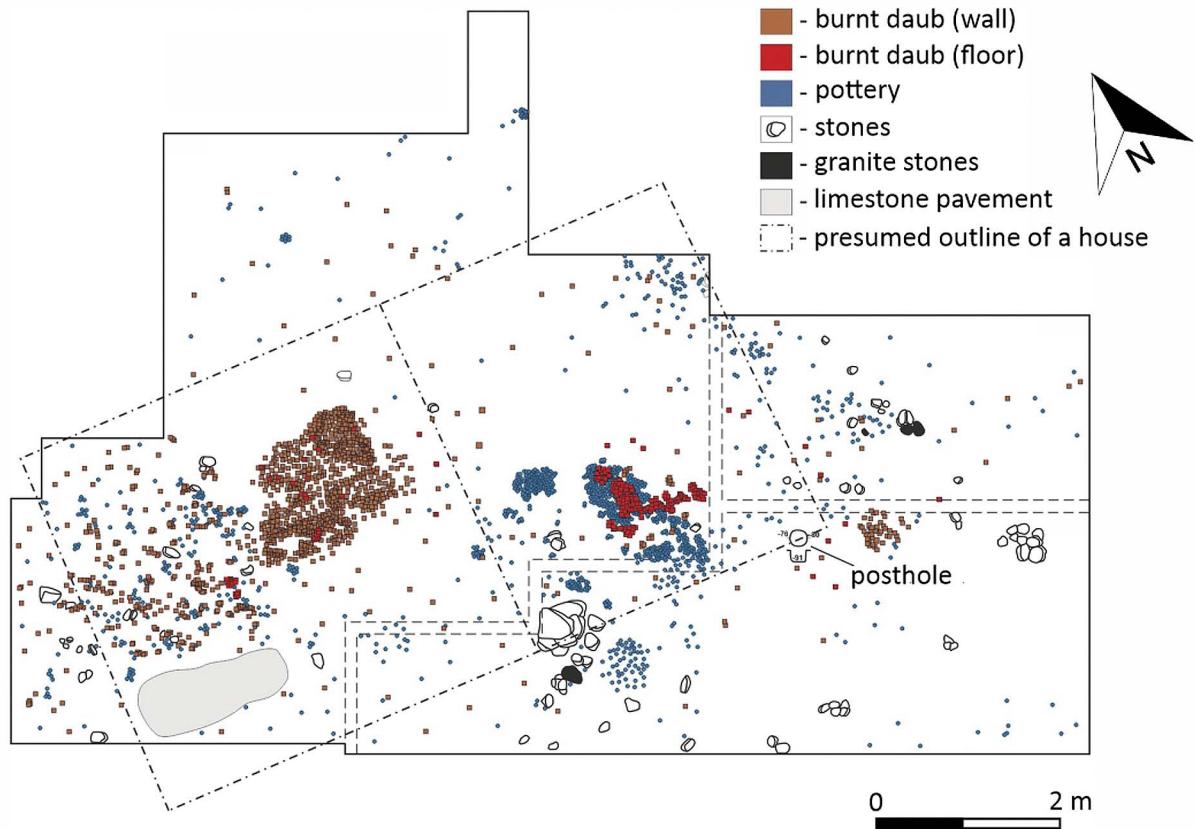


Fig. 8. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, Edinet region. Plan of a house 1. After Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 2; modified  
Ryc. 8. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, rejon jedyniecki. Plan domostwa 1. Wg Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 2; ze zmianami

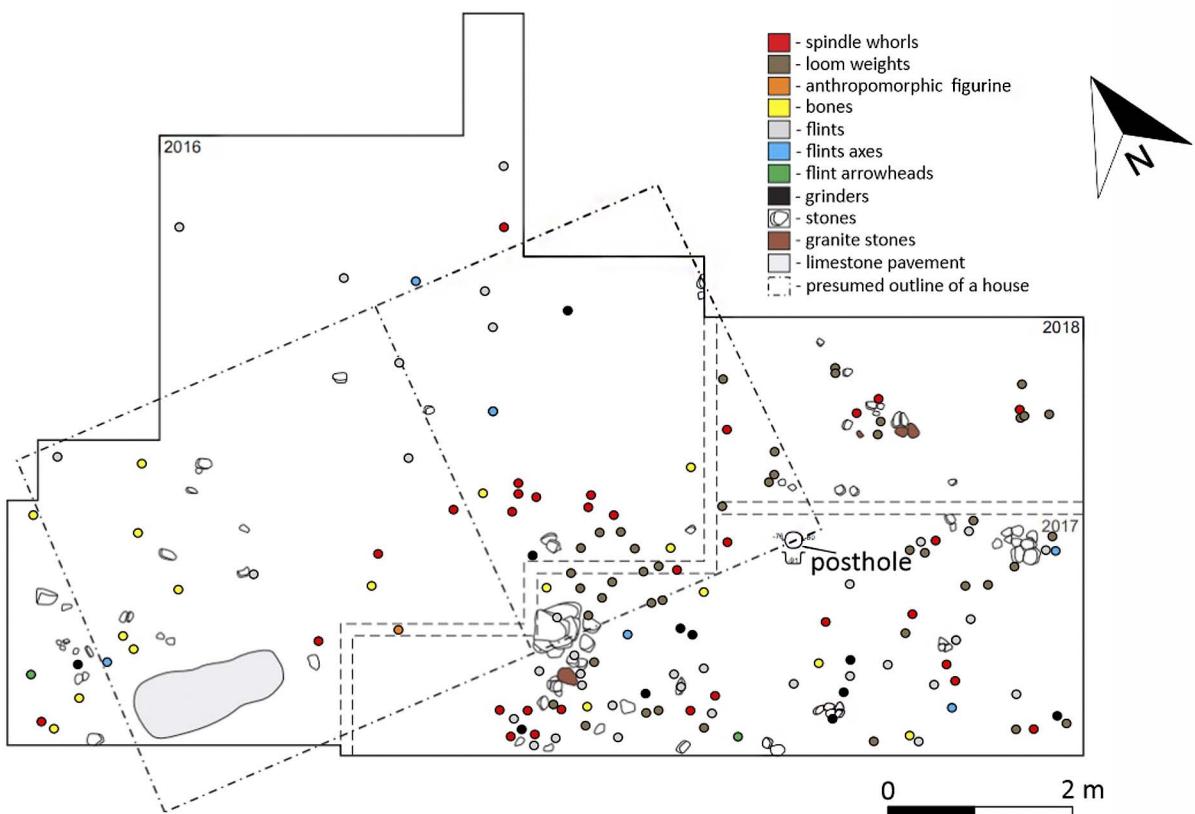


Fig. 9. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, Edinet region. Distribution of the inventoried pieces. After Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 6, modified  
Ryc. 9. Gordinești II-Stinca goală, rejon jedyniecki. Rozmieszczenie zabytków. Wg Sîrbu, Król 2021, Fig. 6, ze zmianami

As observed by Dmytro Chernovol (2021, 63–65), the Tripolye Culture residential structures often were accompanied by smaller buildings of different economic functions, which were located in their vicinity. Near the described dwelling from the site of Vynnyky-Lysivka, there was a smaller post construction whose exact function is difficult to determine. Since it seems that the structure did not serve a residential function, we can assume that it served rather economic purposes.

The observations discussed above show the FBC dwelling from the Vynnyky-Lysivka site was not an imitation of the form and internal layout of dwellings of the Tripolye Culture. In the book “Tripolye Culture – Funnel Beaker Culture. The intensity of contacts and their chronology”, M. Rybicka asked a question whether the presence of numerous imports of Tripolye pottery in the FBC milieu could be associated with adaptation of other foreign features by the latter communities (Rybicka 2017). Due to the location of the FBC settlement at Vynnyky-Lysivka site in relatively close proximity to ecumene of the Tripolye Culture, as well as the presence of numerous pottery sherds of the latter cultural phenomenon in the ceramic collection from the site (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, 34–35), it seemed that the settlement should have been treated as a good marker for tracing the processes of adaptation of further eastern elements. However, the close contacts between the two communities did not result in changes in the manner of construction and interior organisation of houses.

The Gordineşti II-Stînca goală settlement, dated to the period around 3300/3250–3000/2900 BC (Król, Rybicka 2022, 21), is located in the zone previously occupied by communities of the Brînzeni group of the Tripolye Culture (Sîrbu, Król, Heghea 2020). The people associated with the latter cultural group built stable houses of the so-called “ploshchadka” type (Markevich 1981, 33; Sîrbu, Król, Heghea 2020; Figs. 2–5). According to research conducted at the Gordineşti II-Stînca goală site, dwellings of the Gordineşti group were of different construction. Regarding the residential structures, it can now be suggested that there is no direct continuation of the rules used by the communities of the Brînzeni group in the Gordineşti

group. A common element of houses of these two different communities is the division of the interior into parts used in various ways G. Sîrbu and D. Król (2021, 104) described the character of remains of residential structures from the site of Gordineşti as reduced “ploshchadkas”. Considering, among other things, the hypotheses of V. Dergachev (Dergachev 1980), the researchers concluded that the “degradation” of the form of the house typical for the earlier stages of the Tripolye Culture was likely the result of broader processes taking place in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the area of the Eastern Carpathians. This observation is consistent with the writings of Y. Rassamakin (2013) about the gradual decline of agrarian societies. These processes may have arisen from socio-economic changes influenced by climatic or cultural-political factors. As noted by G. Sîrbu and D. Król (2021, 104), in the discussed period we could be dealing with depletion of agricultural land which may have forced frequent relocation of settlements. There may also have been a change in the farming system to one in which larger areas needed to be exploited. The communities of the eastern and south-eastern groups of the FBC practiced the slash-and-burn agriculture (Kruk 1980; Kruk, Milisauskas 1999; Rybicka 2004), well documented by the analysis of the laminated sediments of Lake Gościąż (Pelisiak, Rybicka 2021). This type of agricultural system requires relatively short-lived settlements (e.g. Papiernik, Rybicka 2002; Pelisiak 2003; Rybicka 2004; Rzepiecki 2014) with houses of lightweight constructions, analogous to those discovered at the site Vynnyky-Lysivka (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021, Fig. 5). Sadly, no conclusive data (e.g. palynological) has been published so far regarding the economy of the FBC communities from western Ukraine and the people of the Gordineşti group of the Tripolye Culture. For that reason, we are not able to describe in detail the features of the natural environment in these regions. What is more, it is not possible to assess the extent to which these changes were influenced by anthropogenic impact – the activity of populations of the earlier Brînzeni group in the case of northern Moldova, and the settlement of the FBC in the eastern Roztocze region.

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2018/29/B/HS3/01166, “Gordineşti II-Stînca goală as a model example of development and decline of fortified settlements of the Tripolye Culture at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> mill. BC” on examples of settlements of the FBC – Vynnyky – Lysivka, and the Tripolye Culture – Gordineşti II-Stînca goală.

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## **Lekkie budowle mieszkalne kultury pucharów lejkowatych z Winnik-Lisiwki (Ukraina Zachodnia) i kultury trypolskiej etapu CII z Gordinești II-Stînca goală (Mołdawia Północna) jako przykłady domów z końca IV tys. BC**

### *Streszczenie*

W latach 2015–2021 prowadzone były na zachodniej Ukrainie i w północnej Mołdawii studia nad obiekta miastami mieszkalnymi datowanymi na drugą połowę IV tys. BC. Rezultatem tych badań było zidentyfikowanie pozostałości lekkiej konstrukcji domostw, do których budowy wykorzystano glinę. Obiekty tego rodzaju zarejestrowano w środowiskach kultury pucharów lejkowatych w Winnikach-Lisiwce (wschodnie Roztocze; zachodnia Ukraina), jak i kultury trypolskiej etapu CII w Gordinești II-Stînca goală (północna Mołdawia). Wprawdzie już wcześniej identyfikowano na obszarze zachodniej Ukrainy rumowiska polepy w kontekście osiedli kultury pucharów lejkowatych (np. Konopla, Gavins'kij 2013; Rybicka, Hawinskyj, Pasterkiewicz 2019), jednak niemożliwe było wówczas określenie technologii i konstrukcji chat. Domostwo z Winnik, stanowisko Lisiwka stanowi obecnie jedyny publikowany obiekt, którego sposób budowy można określić. Jego cechy dają podstawę do stwierdzenia, że odkryte tam skupiska polepy stanowią pozostałość budynku lekkiej konstrukcji, analogicznego do rejestrowanych w grupie wschodniej kultury pucharów lejkowatych (Papiernik, Rybicka 2002). Obiekt mieszkalny z Winnik-Lisiwki wyraźnie się różni od budowli charakteryzujących etap CI i początki CII kultury trypolskiej (Markevich 1981; Videjko 2013; Chernovol 2021). Domostwa tej kultury były bowiem wykonywane w innej technologii z wykorzystaniem dużej ilości gliny i miały solidny trwały charakter (Chernovol 2021). Były one ponadto w sposób planowy zagospodarowane i poszczególne ich części pełniły określone funkcje użytkowe (Markevich 1981; Chernovol 2021). W kulturze pucharów lejkowatych takich reguł nie stwierdzono (Papiernik, Rybicka 2002; Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021). Czasami w kulturze trypolskiej obiektom mieszkalnym towarzyszyły mniejsze budynki o funkcji gospodarczej (Chernovol 2021). Nadmienić tu trzeba, że w pobliżu chaty z Winnik, stanowisko Lisiwka znajdowała się mniejsza budowla słupowa. Zapewne nie pełniła ona funkcji mieszkalnej. Można przypuszczać, że był to obiekt o przeznaczeniu gospodarczym.

Mimo licznych importów ceramiki stołowej kultury trypolskiej obecnych także w otoczeniu budynku mieszkalnego z Winnik-Lisiwki, nie doszło tam do adaptacji innych cech tej kultury, takich jak sposób budowy i zagospodarowanie wnętrz domostw.

W Gordinești II-Stînca goală zidentyfikowano domostwa lekkiej konstrukcji, wybudowane z wykorzystaniem gliny; odmienne od stabilnych płoszczadek grupy Brînzeni (Markevich 1981; Sîrbu, Król, Heghea 2020). Można obecnie sugerować, że w tym zakresie w grupie Gordinești nie ma bezpośredniej kontynuacji reguł stosowanych przez wcześniejsze w tym regionie ugrupowania kultury trypolskiej. Elementem wspólnym dla mieszkańców grup Brînzeni i Gordinești był podział domostwa na części w różny sposób użytkowane. G. Sîrbu i D. Król (2021) zwrócili uwagę, uwzględniając m.in. hipotezy V. Dergacheva (Dergachev 1980), że degradacja typowego dla wcześniejszych etapów domu kultury trypolskiej jest efektem szerszych procesów zachodzących pod koniec IV tys. BC na obszarze Karpat Wschodnich. Ta obserwacja zgadza się z hipotezami Y. Rassamakina (2013) o stopniowej degradacji społeczeństw agrarnych. Proces ten mógł być efektem zmian społeczno-gospodarczych pod wpływem czynników klimatycznych lub kulturowo-politycznych. Mogło wówczas dochodzić do wyczerpywania się terenów rolnych co wymuszało częstą zmianę lokalizacji osad (Sîrbu, Król 2021). Mogło mieć to związek z systemem gospodarki rolnej, w którym konieczne było eksplotowanie większych przestrzeni. W przypadku grup wschodniej i południowo-wschodniej kultury pucharów lejkowatych jej społeczności stosowały ekstensywną gospodarkę wypaleniskową (Kruk 1980; Kruk, Milisauskas 1999; Rybicka 2004), dobrze udokumentowaną w laminowanych osadach jeziora Gościąż (Pelisiak, Rybicka 2021). Taki typ rolnej działalności przekładał się na funkcjonowanie stosunkowo krótko zasiedlanych osiedli (np. Papiernik, Rybicka 2002; Pelisiak 2003; Rybicka 2004; Rzepecki 2014), których zabudowę stanowiły lekkiej konstrukcji domostwa analogiczne do odkrytych w Winnikach-Lisiwce (Hawinskyj, Rybicka 2021). Brak obecnie publikowanych jednoznacznych danych (np. palinologicznych) odnośnie gospodarki społeczności kultury pucharów lejkowatych z zachodniej Ukrainy i grupy Gordinești kultury trypolskiej z północnej Mołdawii. Trudno jest szczegółowo opisać cechy środowiska przyrodniczego w tych regionach. Nie można ocenić, w jakim stopniu wpływ na jego zmiany miała antropopresja w przypadku północnej Mołdawii będąca efektem działalności wcześniejszych ugrupowań grupy Brînzeni, a na wschodnim Roztoczu kultury pucharów lejkowatych.

