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ARCHAEOLOGICA RESSOVIENSIA

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Taras Tkačuk

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Ceramic "Imports" and Imitation of the Culture of Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr at the Sites of Trypillia-Cucuteni Culture

Abstract

Tkačuk T. 2023. Ceramic "Imports" and Imitation of the Culture of Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr at the Sites of Trypillia–Cucuteni Culture. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 18, 67–81

The article examines the influence of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr ceramic traditions on the ceramics of the Trypillia–Cucuteni culture. The dynamics of these influences are monitored in the paper, where it was found that there were not many "imports" from the Tiszapolgár culture and their influence on the formation of ceramic complexes of the Trypillia–Cucuteni culture was not significant. The impact of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture on the ceramic complexes of the Shypyntsi local group of the Trypillia culture was somewhat greater.

Keywords: Trypillia-Cucuteni culture, ceramics, "import", Tiszapolgár culture, Bodrogkeresztúr culture, cultural influences.

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Introduction

The population of the cultures that occupied the territory of the Tisza River Basin was quite mobile. According to traditional phasing, the Tisza culture around 4500 BC was replaced by the Tiszapolgár culture and later (around 4000 BC) the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (Raczky et al. 2014, 326). The peoples of the Tiszapolgár culture founded the Wężerów, Kraków district settlement in the Odra River Basin, while later, in the Vistula River Basin, the Bodrogkeresztúr culture population founded the settlement of the Wyciąże-Złotniki group (Kozłowski 2006, 53, 57). We know that they often traveled quite considerable distances when looking for sources of copper, gold, and flint (Kadrow 1996a). Evidence of this is, for example, a burial in Veľký Raškovci (Slovakia), where copper tools, copper and gold jewelry, and Volhyn flint were found in the graves (Vizdal 1977). Influences of the Tiszapolgár culture are found on the ceramics of the Malicka culture (Kadrow 1996b, 68). At the beginning of the formation of the Tiszapolgár culture, the Lublin-Volhynian culture began to form under the influence of the Tiszapolgár–Csőszalom–Oborin group (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2000, 208).

In addition to the northern and northeastern directions, they also moved to the slope, to the environment of the Trypillia–Cucuteni culture between 4500–3800 BC.

Ceramic "imports" from the Carpathian Basin have been discovered at the Trypillia-Cucuteni sites for quite some time. In the article by V. I. Markevič and V. S. Titov, such "imports" in the settlements of the Brînzeni stage/group of the beginning of the C II stage in Moldova were attributed to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. One of them had the appearance of a large vessel with a high cylindrical neck, a ball-shaped body, and a spout-shaped handle at its largest expansion (Titov and Markevič 1974; Markevič 1981, 177-178, fig. 106: 1). O. V. Cvek discovered "imports" and imitations of the Tiszapolgár culture among the pottery of settlements of the B I-B II stage at the confluence of the Southern Bug and Dnieper Rivers, in particular at Veselij Kut. They include a jug, an open-type jug, a quadrangular dish, a large bowl with two rows of handles, and a krater ornamented with incised nets (Cvek 1989, fig. 5: 2). In 1977 an article was published by V. O. Kruc and S. M. Rižov, which collected ceramic "imports" and imitations of the "Polgar" culture (Tyszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr) known at the time in the sites of Trypillia culture. According to the relative chronology, their appearance in Trypillia settlements is limited to the B I–B II and the beginning of C II stage (Kruc and Rižov 1997, 26). "Polgár" pottery and their fragments are presented in the article mixed with "Lengyel" pottery. However, according to new studies, "Lengyel" pottery belong to the Malice or Lublin-Volhynian cultures.

In 2000, the next volume of Baltic-Pontic Studies was published, which included articles by Ukrainian researchers, which considered the connections of Trypillia with the cultures of Central Europe, including the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. Part of T. G. Movša's article is devoted to the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr ceramic "imports" and their imitation in the Trypillia milieu. She included among them large cylinder-conical and cylinder-spherical bowls with handles with vertical holes located under the rims outward; truncated conical bowl with rows of protrusions; a cup-shaped vessel with handles with horizontal holes located under the crowns, a spheroconical large bowl with beak-like hanging adhesions on the outside; large bowls and pithos-shaped vessels with rows of handles arranged in a checkerboard pattern on the outside; square bowls; bowls with protrusions above crowns; a cup-shaped vessel and an amphora with cup-shaped adhesions located below the extensions of the trunks; dishes with "horned" handles; large pear-shaped vessels with handles located above and below the extensions of the bodies (Movsha 2000, 136, 140, 142, 148, 153, 157, 160, fig. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9–11).

The article by M. I. Videjko in this volume is dedicated to the connections of the Trypillian culture with the Eneolithic cultures of Central Europe. According to the researcher, the influence of Tiszapolgár culture was so strong that for the period 4200–3800 BC that he proposed term "polgárization" of the Trypillia culture (Videiko 2000, 13). We have listed the most well-argued works devoted to the topic of connections between the Eneolithic cultures of the Tisza Basin and Trypilla–Cucuteni, although researchers of the Upper Dniester and Volhynia have mentioned them in passing before (Peleŝišin 1997, 47; Konoplâ 2005, 71; Ohrìmenko 2007, 281).

Discussion

In our opinion, the influences of the Tiszapolgár, and then Bodrogkeresztúr, while not as intense, were still somewhat vivid and can be delineated relatively early on in the Upper Dniester. In the site of Kozina, in a pit belonging to the Trypillia culture of stage A (Tkačuk *et al.* 2010), fragments of three tableware on which the remains of white paint were preserved were found among 170 tableware and 79 kitchen vessels (Fig. 1). White paint is characteristic of the ornamentation of the Csőszalom cultural group (proto Tiszapolgár) (Raczky *et al.* 2007, 63–64) and cultures that are contemporaneous or related to it (Zakościelna 1996, 102).

The "imports" include a fragment of the upper part of the pot with a tall cylindrical neck. Under its



Fig. 1. Kozina. Fragments of dishes covered with white paint.

base, four groups of incised shot lines were printed. They formed four hanging triangles (Fig. 2). Similar ornamentation occurs on dishes of the Tiszapolgár culture (Iercoşan 2002, 330, fig. 104: 3). Proto-Tiszapolgár and early Tiszapolgár date from 4500 to 4400 BC (Raczky *et al.* 2007, 65). Based on this dating, we can assume the appearance of representatives of Tisza Basin cultures in the Upper Dniester in the middle of the 5th millennium BC.

At the stage of Trypillia B I–Cucuteni A, 4350–4050 BC (Mantu 1998, 132) the influence of the Tiszapolgár culture has been traced on the ceramic complexes of the settlements of the local group of the Trypillian culture Drăgușeni-Jura, located in the Prut and Dniester basins and identified by V. Sorokin (2002).



Thus, among the ceramics from the five objects of the Trypollia culture at the site of Cuconeşti Vechi (Sorokin 2002, 263) in the Prut River Basin, we can single out ten vessels that belong to "imports" or imitations of the traditions of the Tiszapolgár culture. These include a pot with paired protrusion under the crown and a large round protrusions with a rounded depression on the body (Sorokin 2002, 316, fig. 62: 6), a tall bowl of the closed type with oblique protrusions under the crown and rounded protrusions arranged in a checkerboard pattern on body (Sorokin 2002, 317, fig. 63: 5), a tall cup-shaped vessel with handles with vertical holes at the maximum expansion of body and a horizontal row of rounded protrusions under the crown (Sorokin 2002, 318, fig. 64: 14), a tall bowl with round protrusions arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Sorokin 2002, 319, fig. 65: 4), cup-shaped vessels with protrusions under the crowns (Sorokin 2002, 326, 327, fig. 72: 3; 73: 6), bowl-shaped vessels with rounded protrusions arranged in a checkerboard pattern on the body (Sorokin 2002, 327, 329, fig. 73: 3; 75: 3), closed cupshaped vessels on pallets. The body of one vessel is covered with many round protrusions, and the body of the second had single adhesions at the maximum expansion (Sorokin 2002, 328, 329, fig. 74: 2; 75: 2; cf. Fig. 3).

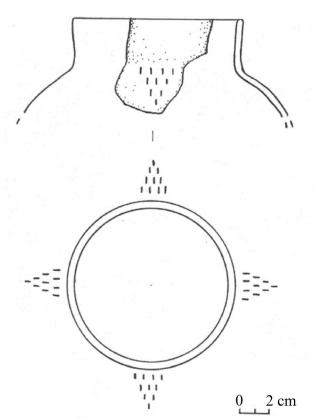


Fig. 2. Kozina. A fragment of a vessel ornamented with hanging triangles.

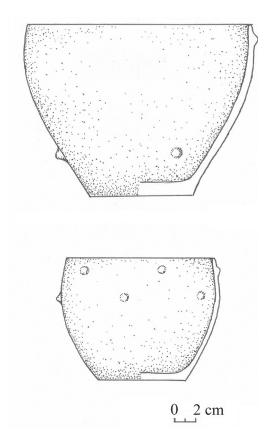


Fig. 3. Cuconeşti Vechi. Spherical vessels with adhesions from the outside (according to V. Sorokin 2002).

Ceramic "imports" and imitations of the Tiszapolgár culture can be seen among the dishes of a particularly well-researched and published site of this time, Truşeşti. A total of 98 dwellings were excavated at the settlement, of which 93 belonged to the Cucuteni A stage (Trypillia B I), and five to the Cucuteni B stage (Trypillia C I) (Dîmboviţa *et al.* 1999, 23). Only one ceramic "import" (or imitation) of the Tiszapolgár culture was found in each of four dwellings.

A tall open-type cup-shaped vessel with small rounded protrusions on the outside was found in building XI (Dîmbovița et al. 1999, 428, fig. 314: 1), a large bowl-shaped closed-type vessel with rounded and hanging protrusions arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Dîmbovița et al. 1999, 428, fig. 314: 6); another large open-type bowl with small rounded protrusions located on the outside comes from construction LXXVI (Dîmbovița et al. 1999, 428, fig. 314: 10); a large open-type bowl-shaped vessel with two rows of handles located outside in a checkerboard pattern come from the building LXIII (Dîmboviţa et al. 1999, 429, fig. 315: 5). In the 196 pits discovered at the settlement (Dîmbovița et al. 1999, 198-213), six pots were found that can be attributed as "imports" or imitations of the traditions of the Tiszapolgár culture (Dîmboviţa et al. 1999, 428-431, 433, 447, fig. 314: 3; 315: 6; 316: 1; 317: 1; 318: 1-2; 331: 10).

Thus, the "imports" or imitations of the Tiszapolgár culture include large bowls of open or closed forms with handles or protrusions located on the outside in a checkerboard pattern, cup-like tall vessels of open or closed forms with bosses under the crowns or on the bodies, large pithos-shaped vessels of closed forms with handles located on the outside in a checkerboard pattern. Small bowls with paired inlays under the crowns, cup-shaped vessels on pallets, and pearshaped vessels with inlays and tall cylindrical necks are rare. These potteries are often referred to as "kitchen" ware but it is important to note that there are a few exemplars of these potteries and that they do not form typological ranks among the ceramics of the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture. They are clearly foreign, brought from another ceramic tradition.

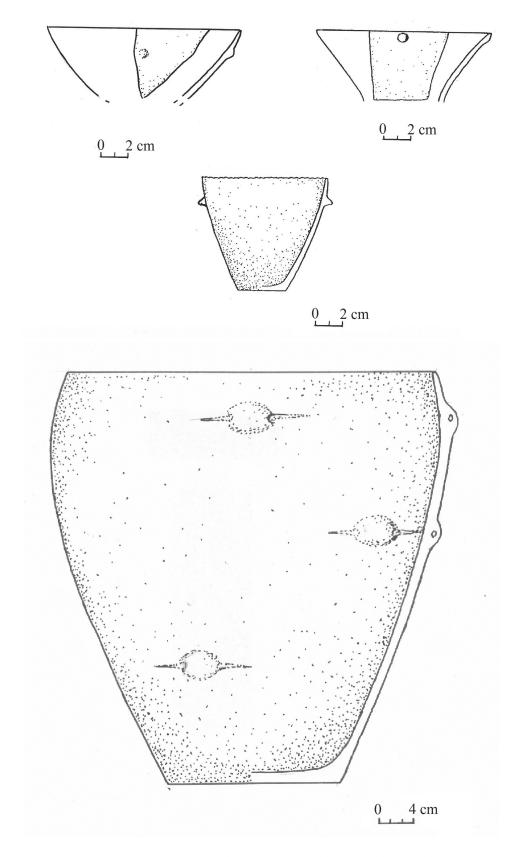
Among the ceramics from the settlement of the Cucuteni A stage (Trypillia B I) of Dumeşti, there is a vessel on which the lower parts are without ornament with adhered or hanging handles, and the upper parts have a painted ornament typical for that time (Alaiba 2007, 75, 114, fig. 20; 47: 1). This is vivid evidence of the combination of two ceramic traditions, namely the Tiszapolgár and Cucuteni–Trypillia cultures. In the Middle Dniester, during the research of

the Oževe-Ostrìv site of this time, a large pithos-like vessel with handles located on the outside in a checkerboard pattern was found (Čornovol 2022, 109).

At the later sites of the Cucuteni A-B - Trypillia B I-B II, 4250 BC (Mantu 1998, 132) dishes made according to the Tiszapolgár traditions were discovered. These are large pithos-shaped vessels of closed forms with handles located on the outside, often in a checkerboard pattern, large truncated-spherical bowls with adhesions or bundles located on the outside, tall cup-shaped vessels with adhesions under the crowns, small truncated-spherical bowls with paired protrusions under the crowns and (not often) square vessels. Single finds of such dishes are known from various parts of the Trypillia-Cucuteni culture. A large pithos-like and quadrangular vessel with highly raised crowns on the corners was found at the site of Traian-Dealul Fântânilor of this time (Lazarovici 2010, 97, 98, fig. 31, 33).

Among the ceramics from the sites of the Zalìŝiki group of the Trypillia culture of the B–B II stage of Middle and Upper Dniester, dishes made according to the Tiszapolgár traditions were found in the sites of Bučač (Fedìr Gora), Vìktorìv (Pušikova Gora), Bìl'šìvcì (Kut) and Zalìŝiki. In Bučač, at the site on Mount Fedìr, during the study of the Trypillian site, a large pithos-like vessel with rows of handles located on the outside in a checkerboard pattern was discovered. Researchers of this site have highlighted that a similar vessel was found in Zalìŝiki (Sitnik and Âgodins'ka 2012, 189, 196, fig. 4: 12).

A large pithos-like vessel with rows of handles located on the outside and a cup-like vessel with protrusions under a perforated crown were found in the site of Bìl'sìvcì (Kut) (Tkačuk et al. 2017, 18, fig. 6). During the excavations of the pits of the Zalìŝiki group of the Trypillia culture of this site, several more vessels made under the influence of Tiszapolgár traditions were found. In one pit, a truncated spherical bowl made of silted dough was found. Under its crown there were three paired protrusions. Fragments of polychrome (red on a white background) painting have been preserved on the outer surface of the bowl. On the outer surface of the bottom of the bowl, there was a drawing of an H - a similar sign (Tkačuk et al. 2020, 96, fig. 76; cf. Fig. 4, 5) to those of the "Danube script" we have a similar shape with analogies (Winn 1981, 24, fig. 41, 48). Bowls of this shape and with such adhesions are known among the ceramics of the Tiszapolgár culture (Iercoşan 2002, 268, 278, 284, fig. 42: 1; 50: 1; 58: 1). This bowl is a vivid example of the synthesis of the ceramic traditions of the Tiszapolgár



 $\textbf{Fig. 4.} \ \textbf{Bil'\~s\'ivc\`i}. \ \textbf{Dishes with handles and stickers located on the outside}.$

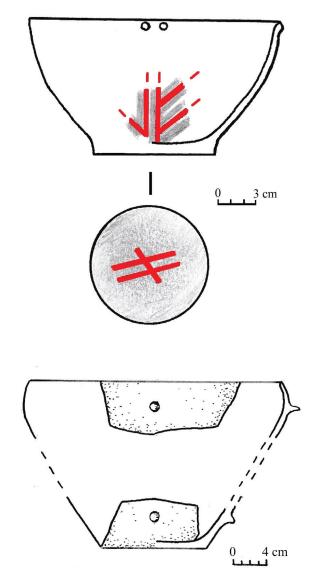


Fig. 5. Bil'šivcì. Spherical bowl with stickers under the crown and painting on the body.

culture (its shape and signs on the bottom) and the Trypillia culture (painted bichrome ornament).

Among the relatively well-researched ceramic complexes of the Trypillia sites of the Upper Dniester, there are not many dishes made according to Tiszapolgár samples, or "imports". For example, among the 136 table and kitchen bowls in the cultural layer and objects of the Zalìŝiki group of the Bìl´šìvcì site (Kut), we only have eight bowls that can be attributed to this category. Ceramic "imports" and imitations of the traditions of the Tiszapolgár culture are found among the dishes of the Trypillia culture of the B I–B II stage of the South Bug River Basin. For example, at the site of Rusanìvcì I, a large pithos-like vessel with rows of external handles founded buried among the Trypillian construction (Ovčinnikov and Šiânova 2012, 131–

136). A small number of spherical bowls with external protrusions under the crowns and a pear-shaped vessel with two rows of handles were found among the ceramics from the Klìŝìv site of the same time. One row is located almost on the rounded edge of the vessel, and the second is slightly above the bottom (Zaec and Ryžov 1992, 115, 118, fig. 50: 3, 4; 51: 16).

In the sites situated between the Southern Bug and Dnieper Rivers, a small amount of pottery has also been found which can be attributed to the "imports" of the Tiszapolgár culture. For example, in the Veselij Kut site, a krater ornamented with a wide stripe on the crown and areas on the trunk filled with a thick incised mesh was found (Cvek 2006, 26, fig. 10: 11). The researcher of this site attributed this krater to the early stage of Bordogkeresztúr culture (Tsvek 2000, 122). It should be noted that Hungarian researchers have recently indicated the coexistence of Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr ceramic styles on some monuments of the Carpathian Basin from 4300 to 4000 BC (Raczky et al. 2014, 326, 337). This is the time of the existence of the local groups of the Trypillia B I-B II-Cucuteni A-B culture. Therefore, in our case, it is difficult to confidently attribute this krater and other vessels with "Tiszapolgár" features to any of these cultures.

In addition to the krater among the tableware from Veselij Kut, O. V. Cvek includes a large conical bowl with handles on the outside, a cup-shaped vessel with a hanging protrusions under the edge, and two amphorae with protrusions as "Polgár" influences and "imports" (Tsvek 2000, 122, 123, fig. 6). The influence of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr ceramic traditions also reached the sites located in the Dnieper Basin. Thus, in the site of Verem'â (Dovžok), V. V. Hvojka found a large pear-shaped vessel with incised ornamentation and two rows of handles. One row was located under the crown, and the second below the edge of the vessel (Hvojka 2016, 60, fig. 90).

During the Trypillia B II–Cucuteni B phase, 3950/3850 BC (Mantu 1998, 132), pottery with features of the ceramics of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrog-keresztúr culture is also found in the ceramic complexes of the sites. For example, in the Bodaki site, which was located in the upper Horyn River, we have the largest number of such dishes. This is be caused by the presence of deposits of high-quality Volhynian flint near this site, which attracted the bearers of the traditions of various local groups of Trypillia culture namely Šipinec´ka, Merešovska as well as Malice and Lublin-Volhynia, Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr cultures. This was reflected in the ceramic complex of the Bodaki site.

Spherical bowls with protrusions on the outside (Skakun and Starkova 2003, 155, fig. 4, 5, 9), tall cupshaped vessels with hanging short protrusions under the crowns (Cynkałowski 1969, 223, fig. 2: b, d; Skakun and Starkova 2003, 155, fig. 5: 5; Skakun *et al.* 2005, 58, fig. 43) were found here (Fig. 6). Two pithosshaped vessels with handles located on the outside and a tall cup with short hanging protrusions under the crown were discovered in the site of Zalukva (Sad) of this time, which was on the Upper Dniester. It is possible that the people of the Tiszapolgár–Bodroghkeresz-

túr ceramic traditions were attracted by deposits of Upper Dniester flint, which is not inferior in quality to Volhynian flint.

In Middle Dniester area, the influence of the Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkerestúr ceramic traditions was found at the Trypillia site of stage B II, Bil'če Zolote Park II. These are three quadrangular vessels with rounded edges but with monochrome paintings (Fig. 7). At the sites of Trypillia C I–Cucuteni B, 3850/3650–3500 BC (Mantu 1998, 132) we find dishes made under the influence of the traditions of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, which re-

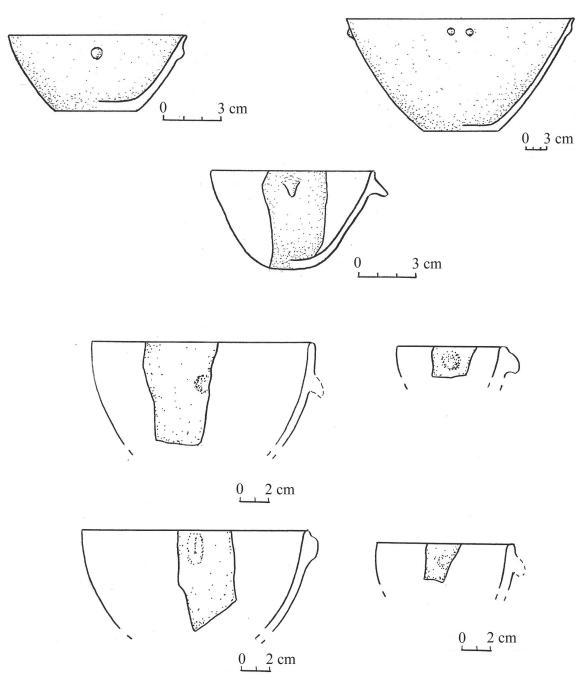


Fig. 6. Bodaki. Dishes with stickers on the outside.

placed the Tiszapolgár culture in the Carpathian Basin around 4000 BC and existed until 3750 BC (Raczky *et al.* 2014, 326, fig. 6). The morphology of these vessels did not differ from vessels made under the influence of Tiszapolgár traditions.

Among the ceramics from the eponymous site of the Šipincì group, there are two large spherical bowls with handles located below the ribs, two quadrangular vessels with rounded corners and handles located on the outside, four tall cup-shaped vessels with hanging short protrusions under the crowns, three tall cup-shaped vessels with rounded protrusions under the crowns, a large pithos-like vessel with a high cylindrical crown and rows of handles arranged on the outside in a checkerboard pattern (Kandiba 2004, 139, fig. 107, 109, 119, 128; cf. Fig. 8, 9).

In the Upper Dniester, a tall cup-shaped vessel with short hanging protrusions under the crowns was found at the site of the Šipinec'ka group of Baleluâ (Tkačuk 2003, 63, fig. 4). From the Middle Dniester, we have ceramics of the Šipinec'ka group from the Bil'če Zolote Verteba Cave I, which is deposited in the Museum of Archeology in Kraków. Among the collection of materials from the first layer of Verteba Cave,

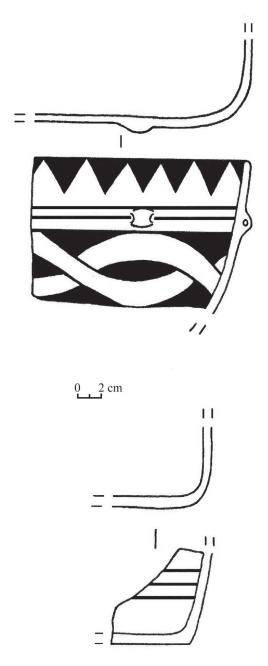


Fig. 7. Bilče Zolote Park II. Fragments of quadrangular vessels.

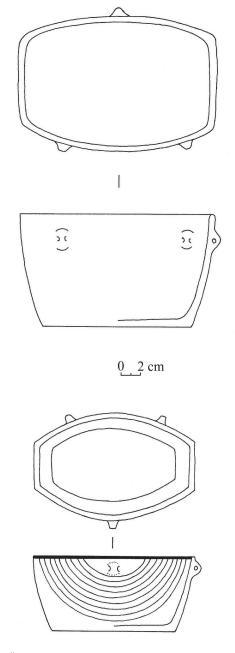


Fig. 8. Šipincì. Dishes with handles and stickers located on the outside.

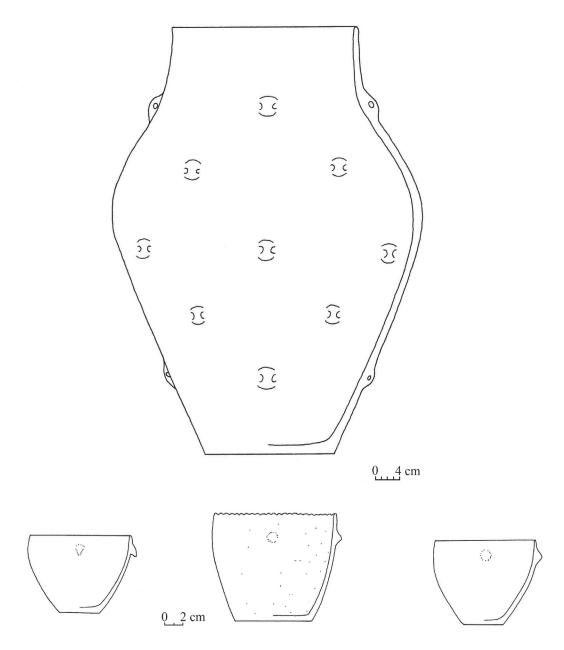


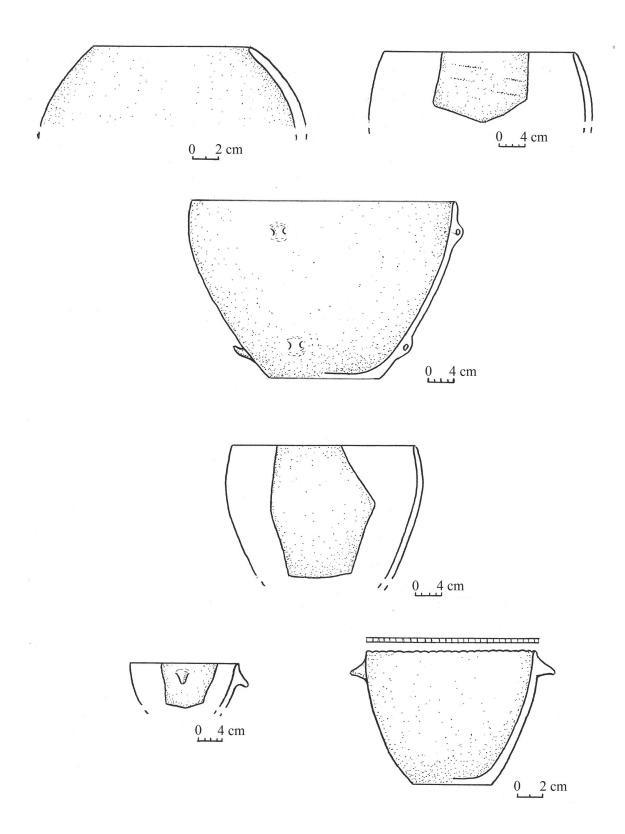
Fig. 9. Šipincì. Dishes with handles and stickers located on the outside.

there are about 98 vessels that can be attributed to the influence of the ceramic traditions of the Bodrog-keresztúr culture. The vast majority of them are highly fragmented but several forms have been preserved intact. Among the "table" dishes, there is a large spherical bowl with external handles and (Sohac'kij 2003, 56, fig. 4: 2), a large spherical bowl with rows of handles arranged in a checkerboard pattern, a pithos-like oval vessel with handles on the outside, a large pithos-like vessel with handles located on the outside in a checkerboard pattern (Tkačuk 2013, 225, fig. 113: 2, 7, 9).

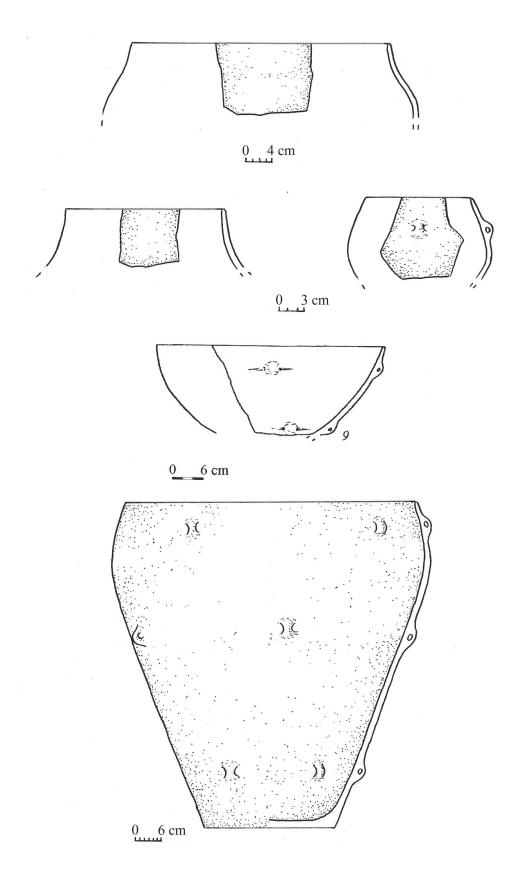
Among the 50 "kitchen" bowls from Bil'če Zolote Verteba I, eight have a single protrusion under the

crowns, two have horizontal rows of protrusions under the crowns, two – have protrusions on the trunks (Tkachuk 2013, 218, 219, fig. 106: 3, 7, 12; 107: 5, 6, 12, 26). Two tall cup-shaped vessels with hanging short protrusions located under the crowns also come from this collection (Tkachuk 2013, 211, fig. 99: 24, 32; cf. Fig. 10, 11).

At the sites of the Petreni group of the Trypillia culture of the C I stage, little is known about pottery made under the influence of the ceramic traditions of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. For example, one large pithos-like vessel with rows of handles arranged in a checkerboard pattern on the outside was found at the



 $\textbf{Fig. 10.} \ \ \textbf{Bil'\'ce Zolote Verteba I.} \ \ \textbf{Dishes with handles and stickers located on the outside.}$



 $\textbf{Fig.\,11.} \ \textbf{Bil'\'ce Zolote Verteba I.} \ \textbf{Dishes with handles and stickers located on the outside.}$

Petreni settlement (Markevič 1981, 21, fig. 17: 10), but no such vessel was found at the Bernašìvka site of the Petrini group. Spherical bowls with bosses located under the crowns were found in the Cucuteni sites of Moldova (Ghelăești-Nedeia, Văleni-Piatra Neamţ, Hlăpești, Poduri) (Cucoş 1999, 254, 281, fig. 28; 60: 2, 4, 5).

At the sites of the Brînzeni group, several vessels were found which were considered "imports" and influences of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (Markevič 1981, 178, fig. 108: 1–5). According to the new chronology based on radiocarbon dating, the Brînzeni group of the Trypillia culture of the beginning of stage C II, 3700/3600–3400/3300 BC (Rybicka *et al.* 2019, 93) did not coexist with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture but rather replaced by the Hunyadihalom cul-

ture in the Carpathian Basin (Raczky *et al.* 2014, 326). The same applies to the Šarin III settlement of the Kosenìvka group, 3620–3200 BC (Kuštan 2015, 438). Large bowls with rows of handles located on the outside were found here (Kuštan 2015, 433, fig. 3: 8, 10).

Conclusion

Contacts between the Eneolithic cultures of Tiszapolgár and Trypillia–Cucuteni have been determined as starting from 4500 BC. They are manifested in the form of ceramic "imports", influences and imitations at the Trypillia–Cucuteni sites. The origins of such forms of dishes and ideas (for example, the arrangement of handles on the outside in a checkerboard pat-

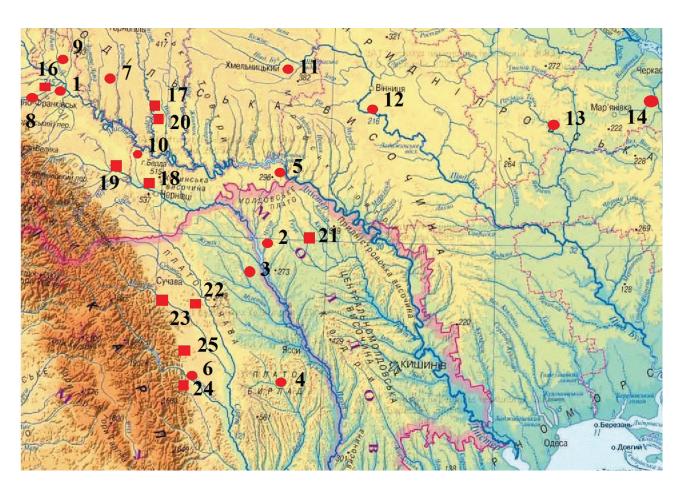


Fig. 12. Location of settlements mentioned in the text.

1. Kozina, Ivano-Frankivs'k district (Ukraine). 2. Cuconeşti Vechi, Edineţ district (Moldova). 3. Truşeşti, Botoşani district (Romania). 4. Dumeşti, Iaşi district (Romania). 5. Oževe-Ostriv, Dnistrovs'kij district (Ukraine). 6. Traian-Dealul Fântânilor, Neamţ district (Romania). 7. Bučač (Fedir Gora), Čortkiv district (Ukraine). 8. Viktoriv (Pušikova Gora), Ivano-Frankivs'k district (Ukraine). 9. Bìl'šivcì (Kut), Ivano-Frankivs'k district (Ukraine). 10. Zaliŝiki, Čortkiv district (Ukraine). 11. Rusanivcì I, Hmel'niskij district (Ukraine). 12. Klŝv, Vinnicâ district (Ukraine). 13. Veselij Kut, Zvenigorod district (Ukraine). 14. Verem'à (Dovžok), Obuhiv district (Ukraine). 15. Bodaki, Kremenec' district (Ukraine). 16. Zalukva (Sad), Ivano-Frankivs'k district (Ukraine). 17. Bil'če Zolote Park II, Čortkiv district (Ukraine). 18. Šipincì, Černivcï district (Ukraine). 19. Baleluâ, Kolomiâ district (Ukraine). 20. Bil'če Zolote Verteba Cave I, Čortkiv district (Ukraine). 21. Petreni, Drochia district (Moldova). 22. Ghelăeşti-Nedeia, Neamţ district (Romania). 23. Văleni-Piatra Neamţ. 24. Poduri, Bacău district (Romania). 25. Hlăpeşti, Neamţ district (Romania).

tern) cannot be found among the Trypillia–Cucuteni ceramics. In the Trypillia–Cucuteni ceramic complexes, they do not form a typological series. Instead, such forms of dishes and ideas of their design are found among the dishes of the Tiszapolgár (and, later, Bodrogkereksztúr) culture. The uneven distribution of Tiszapolgár "imports" and influences is currently being studied and there are more of them at the sites of the Prut–Dniester confluence. This can be explained by their territorial proximity to the area of the Tiszapolgár culture (Fig. 12).

The number of "imports" and the intensity of influences from the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (which replaced the Tiszapolgár culture) slightly increases during the Trypillia C I-Cucuteni B stage. This is observed only in the ceramic complexes of the Šipinec'ka group of the Trypillia culture. These "imports" and ideas reached the sites of the Bug-Dnieper interfluve, perhaps through the mediation of the population of the Dniester settlements. The question arises of why did the people of the Trypillia-Cucuteni culture, having a large number of high-quality ceramics, adopt the dishes of the cultures of the Carpathian basin and imitate them? Perhaps the representatives of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, who brought copper (and gold) products for exchange, enjoyed a high status among the Trypillians and, accordingly, their things as well.

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