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NEW DATA ABOUT THE "WHITE PAINTED POTTERY" CULTURAL HORIZON IN TRANSYLVANIA

Abstract: The knowledge of the earliest Neolithic cultural horizon in Transylvania (Starčevo-Criș I-II phases, or Precriș culture) took shape in the last 50 years, gradually, with the discovery of traces of habitation in various researched sites. Thus, to the already *classical sites* from Baciú-Gura Baciului and Ocna Sibiului-Triguri, researched in the 70-80s, are added those from Șeușa-La Cărarea Morii, Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș and Limba-Bordane, researched at the end of the 90s, and more recently, those from Cristian I, Miercurea Sibiului II-Valea Gârbovei. A common element of these first settlements is represented by the so called "white-painted pottery", present in a reduced proportions in the large mass of "red-ware" ceramics. The present study brings to the attention of specialists new materials - discovered in the recent rescue researches (2016-2017) - carried out within the archaeological site of Limba-Oarda de Jos (*Site no. 6*), which led to the identification of several inhabited complexes belonging to this cultural horizon. The typological analysis of the motifs painted in white, but also in black (!), come to outline more clearly the particularities of the community that lived on the banks of the Mureș, approx. 7500 years ago.

Keywords: Mureș valley, Early Neolithic, Limba-Oarda de Jos site, white painted pottery analysis, typology, technology, statistics.

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In a reference study appeared in the Romanian prehistory literature, in which for the very first time where presented archaeological materials belonging to the first Neolithic habitation discovered in the archaeological site of Baciú – Gura Baciului (Cluj county), Nicolae Vlása states - following referrals compared to similar discoveries made south of the Danube¹ - with a remarkable intuition: "*the number of settlements (...) is minimal, (...) but once the specific characters of a cultural group are established or of a culture in a certain geographical area, even if only in one or two points, subsequent research manages to detect, over several decades, dozens of similar settlements in that area*"². Moreover, regarding the content and significance of the above-mentioned discoveries, the same author attributed them to: "*a very old Neolithic culture, which is situated stratigraphically and (...) chronologically, before the Starčevo culture*"³.

If in 1996⁴ only three sites with discoveries similar to those at Gura Baciului were known, later their number increased⁵, so that in 2005, the

¹ VLÁSSA 1972, 22-27; VLÁSSA 1972a, 174-197.

² VLÁSSA 1972, 25.

³ VLÁSSA 1980, 694.

⁴ The year in which the first author of the study started his work on the doctoral thesis (CIUTĂ 2005).

⁵ CIUTĂ 2001, 9-32.

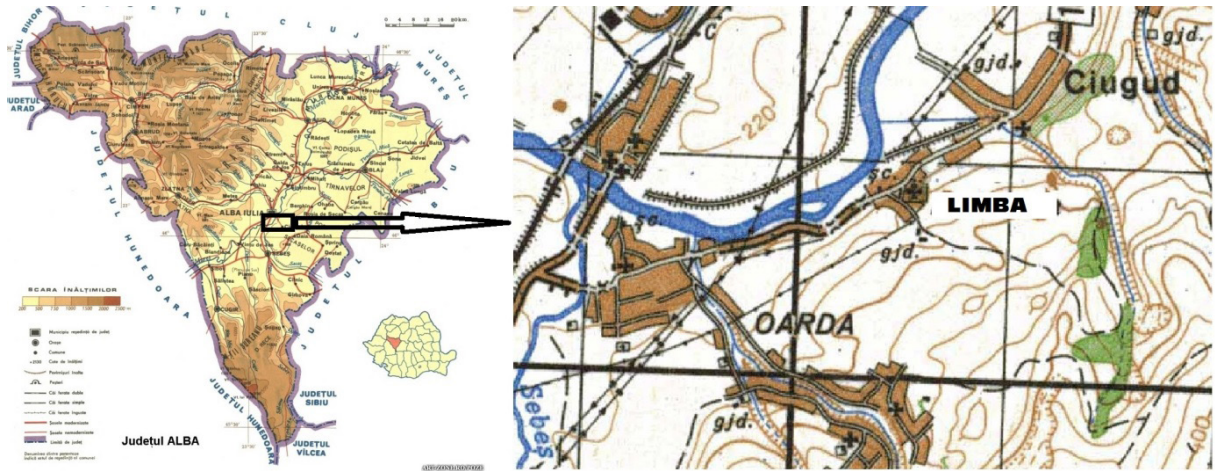


Fig. 1. Location of the archaeological site from Limba-Oarda de Jos.

repertory presented was apart from the 15 places with findings belonging to the "white painted pottery horizon", there are 9 more "uncertain" recordings⁶ in Transylvania and on the connection routes from south (Olt River Corridor) and from west (Mureș Valley). Now, the repertory is updated with several new discoveries⁷.

Because recently we had the pleasure of discussing about the archaeological site of Limba-Oarda de Jos, respectively about the sequence of Neolithic habitations from this site, right in the pages of this magazine⁸, we will not particularly insist on these aspects. We only mention his location in the southwest corner of Transylvanian Depression Plateau, on a high terrace on the left side of Mureș River, intensively used by all prehistoric communities involved in migratory movements, and also excellent area for farming life. The position of the site is extremely advantageous

for human settlements, due to the geo-morphological characteristics, the easy access to the water of three courses: Mureș River, Sebeș River and Ampoi River (actually an important crossroad of the main communication routes! - Fig.1), and the presence of useful mineral resources (salt, wood, fertile soils, lithics etc.).

The *Bordane* sector is located at the northern limit of the site, being placed exactly on the edge of the terrace that dominates the course of the Mureș, being delimited, to the east side, by an access ramp to the river (Fig. 2). In this sector, the 6 older research units opened before the rescue excavations (S.I. – S II/1995, S.VIII – SIX 1997, S.X/1998, S. XII/1999 - Fig. 3), captured several stratigraphic profile segments, giving rise to an analysis of the morphological evolution of the appearance of this sector of the site, whose appearance has been modified over time, by flattening,



Fig. 2. Aerial photo of the investigated area in 2016-2017. The white ring indicates the *Bordane* sector (a). Aerial photo with detail of the *Bordane* sector (b) (photos by C. Șuteu).

⁶ CIUTĂ 2005, 150-15.
⁷ TUDORIE 2013; BĂRBAT 2013; CIUTĂ et alii 2016, 9-22; LUCA 2020; LUCA et alii 2021,103-117.
⁸ CIUTĂ/TUDORIE 2021; CIUTĂ 2022.

as a result of anthropic interventions in the modern and contemporary era. In the lower part of the archaeological layer (column) where discovered ceramic fragments with

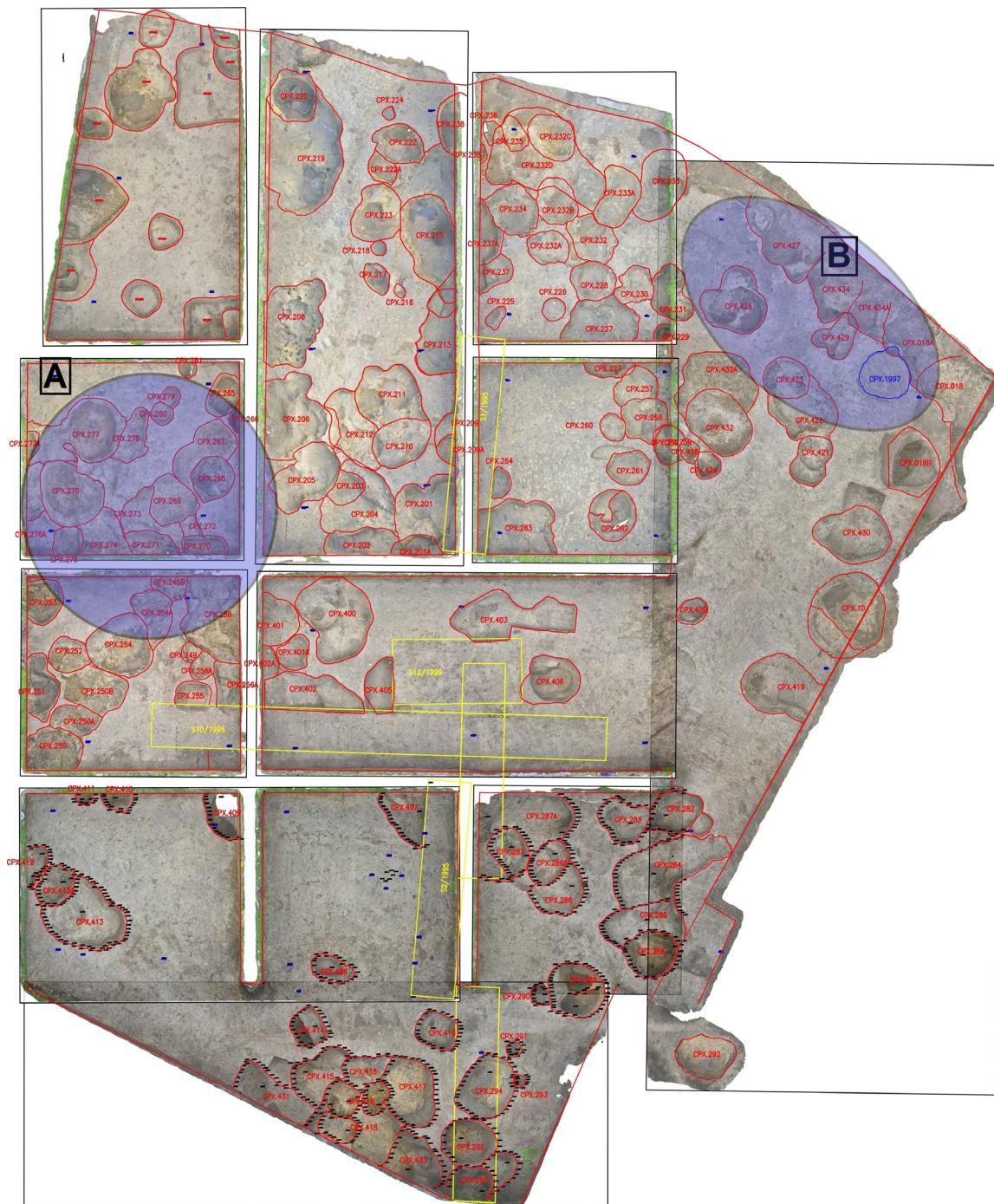


Fig. 3. Photogrammetry of the *Bordane* sector with the investigated complexes. Older research units from 1995-1999 are indicated in yellow (SI-II, SVII, SX, SXII). The blue spots indicated the concentrations of *white painted pottery* habitations.

red slip, well-polished, and decor made with white painting associated with other specific lithic tools. This level had been documented as strongly affected by subsequent habitation (Starčevo-Criș IIIB, Vinča A2, Vinča A3, Gáva and others, more recent), so it was quite difficult to be distinguished and documented.

The first habitation level, placed directly on the archaeological bedrock, it has also a yellowish color, very close to that of the geologic one, which is why in the first campaigns it was extremely difficult to distinguish it⁹.

⁹ CIUTĂ 2005, 150-151.

The after processing (2001-2010) of the materials from some Vinča complexes in the adjacent sectors, such as the one from *Vărăria* - a sector located upstream, to the east, in the same position, separated from *Bordane* by an old torrent, which we previously stated facilitated access to the river - led to the identification of some materials that undoubtedly belong to the earliest Neolithic habitation in Transylvania, but which were moved for various reasons, in secondary positions from later features.

Between 2016-2017, an important segment of the site was investigated preventively, the footprint of the major infrastructure project overlapping a substantial area of the



Fig. 4. Aerial photography of the western boundary of the *Bordane* sector, with the four square surfaces of UC 27, in the distant plane. The black arrows indicate the features 274 (left) and 277 (right).

site, which completely crosses its surface, for a length of approx. 300 meters in the north-south direction and about 80-130 meters in the east-west axis (Fig. 2). On this occasion, sufficient elements of vertical and horizontal stratigraphy were captured and documented, which contributed decisively to the understanding of the evolution of successive dwellings of prehistoric communities (Neolithic, Bronze Age and the first Iron Age) in the terrace area located between the Limba (to the east) and Oarda de Jos (to the west). The *Bordane* sector was sub-sectored into distinct research units (U.C. = research unit), in turn divided into square surfaces of 10x10 m, following the topographic grid. The western limit of the sector was occupied by UC 27, in turn divided into four distinct squares (Fig. 2, 3, 4). In the second square (Fig. 4), following the count from north to south, several complexes were discovered which, from the primary analysis of the contained materials, proved to belong to the first phases of *Starčevo-Criș cultural complex* or *Precriș culture*.

At the current stage of processing and documenting the materials from the researched complexes, an intermediary one¹⁰, we can say that only on the *Bordane* sector, we have at least 4-5 *Precriș* habitation features (pit-houses). To this reality, we add another, revealed by the processing of the complexes belonging to the later dwellings (*Starčevo-Criș* IIIB, *Vinča* A2 and *Vinča* A3), which, almost

entirely, contain red-ware ceramic materials, and white painted pottery in a secondary position. The visual analysis of the fully researched surface of the *Bordane* sector proves that in the case of many early *Vinča* indented features it is likely that they intersected or overlapped *Precriș* indented features.

The most important sites with Early Neolithic pottery decorated with painting, (either with "the white painted decoration" type, that we shall see in the following that is being the most numerous, or "the dark painted decoration" type), from Transylvania, are:

- *Gura Baciului (Cluj County)*¹¹: the decoration of the pottery from this site is quite poor, excepting for the painted one¹² which is quite abundant and characteristic, both white painted decoration and dark painted decoration are present here. The painted pottery was identified in the following features: B2, B2B, B1, B8, B8a, B9b, G11, B20, B22, B23, G24, G26, P5¹³.

- *Ocna Sibiu-Triguri (Sibiu County)*: white painted pottery was discovered into Sections VIII/1979 (a pot painted with white dots on a red surface), XII/1979 (painted fragments with quadrangular motives, displayed in the form of interconnected triangles)¹⁴. Later, other painted fragments from this site were published¹⁵.

- *Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș (Sibiu County)*¹⁶; the white painted fragment from dwelling B₁₀¹⁷: elongated dots organized in diagonal rows, and

¹¹ LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, PC I-X.

¹² LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, 378.

¹³ LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, 144.

¹⁴ PAUL 1989, 5.

¹⁵ PAUL 1989, Pl. I, II, III; PAUL 1995, Taf. I-III; CIUȚĂ 2005, Pl. XXIX-XXXII.

¹⁶ LUCA *et alii* 2008, Foto 1-2.

¹⁷ LUCA *et alii*, 2008, Foto 1.

¹⁰ We specify the fact that the primary processing of the materials collected from the researched features is ongoing, only 45% of the features being processed, so we do not appreciate that after their complete documentation, other complexes with materials belonging to the early Neolithic dwellings in these sector (*Bordane*), but also in the others (*Vărăria* and *Șesul Orzii*).

the painted fragments from pit Gr₂₈¹⁸: 2 horizontal rows of dots displayed under the rim.

- *Șeușa-La cărarea Morii (Alba County)*¹⁹: the white painted décor is quite rare in this site. The painted fragments discovered here are: a small size shard of a shoulder decorated with a register of dots on a reddish-brick-like font, a rim painted with a white stripe on a cherry-like base. There are a few other fragments that present remains of white painting, but the author isn't certain if it was intentional or a secondary effect²⁰.

- *Cristian I (Sibiu County)*: two fragments of rim presenting white painting on a brownish-cherry-like font, with dots motif ornamentation were discovered here in in feature C023²¹. In 2020 a new study regarding the painted pottery from this site was published, this time after analyzing some pots and fragments through "micro-photography", so they were added by the coordinator of this excavation as being painted either with black²², or white²³.

- *Miercurea Sibiului II-Valea Gârbovei (Sibiu County)*: five painted fragments from C25 feature were published. A ceramic fragment decorated with large-sized dots (the approximate diameter is of 1,5-2 cm), a fragment decorated with horizontal displayed zig-zag lines²⁴ and three fragments decorated with stripes organized in different registers²⁵.

Catalogues and descriptions for painted ornaments of the Early Neolithic pottery were published first in 1995, both in the monography dedicated to the site from Gura Baciului²⁶ and a short article regarding data bases for Starčevo-Criș pottery, then, without any additions, in a volume dedicated to mathematical interpretations regarding the Neolithic and Aeneolithic pottery²⁷. A new catalogue was published in 2005, in a study dedicated to the Early Neolithic from Transylvania²⁸.

For this paper we are presenting 15 fragments of Early Neolithic pottery decorated with painting, 13 of them with "white painted decoration" and 2 of them with "dark painted decoration", all from *Bordane* and *Vărărie* sectors (Fig. 5-7). The materials were quite fragmented, some of them being small sized. In what concerns the morphology of these shards, 4 of them are rims (due to the fragmentations only for one of them it was possible to recreate by drawing the entire profile of the pot: Fig. 6/4 a-b), 2 shoulders (the superior part of the pot) and 9 bodies.

The fragmentation of some of the painted materials is also connected with their conservation, and the preservation of the painting, which wasn't a good one. We can refer here to the case of the following fragments, where the exact motive of the painting had to be suggested by drawing or it was impossible to do so: Fig. 6/4 a-b (motive of vertical lines starting from the bottom of the rim), Fig. 6/3 a-b (possible zig-zag motives), Fig. 7/2 a-b (meandric motive) and Fig. 5/4 a-b (a register of lines displayed on the shoulder of the pot).

But there is a totally different situation in what concerns the conservation of the painting in the case of the

fragment from Fig. 5/5 a. Here, it is quite amazing how the white painting was preserved, in order for us to "see" the pattern used by the person that made it.

In what concerns the fragments painted with white painting, except for one fragment (Fig. 7/4 a-b), one can notice the unitary character of the pottery, in what concerns the colour of the pot (cherry-like and reddish-brown), the temper used (chaff in all cases), the presence of a well-polished slip, the good oxidating firing and the similar dimensions of the pot's wall.

The **white painted fragments** are similar with others already discovered in the Early Neolithic sites from Transylvania of Gura Baciului, Ocna Sibiului-*Triguri* or Miercurea Sibiului II-*Valea Gârbovei*, but also with the ones from southern Romania: Cârcea (Dolj County), Grădinile (Dolj County)²⁹, Măgura Buduiască (Teleorman County)³⁰, Buduiasca-*Boldul lui Moș Ivănuș*³¹, or some sites from the Iron Gates region³² as: Schela Cladovei (Mehedinți County), Cuina Turcului (Mehedinți County), but also analogies can be found in Serbia at Donja Branjevina, in Bulgaria at Ilindentsi and Džuljunica or in Turkey at Hoca Çeşme II. The motives represented on the discussed ceramic fragments can be framed in the following categories:

1. LINEAR MOTIVES

1.a *Horizontal displayed linear motives*: Fig. 7/1 a-b. The fragment is quite small but, considering the colour of the fond and type of decoration, similar with the ones from Hoca Çeşme II (Turkey)³³.

1.b *Oblique displayed linear motives*: Fig. 5/3 a-b (on the exterior of the pot). Analogies at Ilindentsi (Bulgaria)³⁴.

1.c *Linear motives displayed in networks forming triangles*: Fig. 7/5 a-b, 6 a-b, with analogies at Măgura³⁵, Donja Branjevina (Serbia)³⁶.

1.d *Linear motives displayed in zig-zag*: Fig. 6/3 a-b, with analogues at: Ocna Sibiului³⁷ and Donja Branjevina (Serbia)³⁸.

2.e *Linear motives with intercalated elements*: Fig. 7/3 a-b.

2. MEANDRIC MOTIVES

2.a *Meandric motives displayed horizontally*: Fig. 7/4a-b, with analogies at Donja Branjevina (Serbia)³⁹.

2.b *Meandric motives displayed diagonally*: Fig. 7/2a-b, with analogies: Gura Baciului⁴⁰, Măgura⁴¹, Donja Branjevina (Serbia)⁴².

3. "SOLID STYLE"

3.a *"Solid style" in geometric shapes*: Fig. 6/1 a-b, Fig. 6/2 a-b with analogies at: Măgura⁴³.

¹⁸ LUCA *et alii*, 2008, Foto 2.

¹⁹ CIUTĂ 2009, Pl. XX, XXV.

²⁰ CIUTĂ 2009, 70.

²¹ TUDORIE 2013, foto nr. 7.

²² LUCA 2020, Fig. 6-9.

²³ LUCA 2020, Fig. 12-14.

²⁴ LUCA *et alii* 2013, Fig. 7.

²⁵ SUCIU 2015, Fig. 11-13.

²⁶ LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, Fig. 53-57.

²⁷ KALMAR-MAXIM 1999, Fig. 35-38.

²⁸ CIUTĂ 2005, 88-90, Pl.XLIX.

²⁹ NICA 1995.

³⁰ MIREA 2005; ANDREESCU-MIREA 2008.

³¹ THISEN 2015.

³² BORONEANȚ 2012; BORONEANȚ 2021.

³³ KRAUß 2009, Fig. 5/28, 34, after ÖZDOĞAN 1999, Fig. 39.

³⁴ GREBSKA-KUKOV/ZIDAR 2021, Fig. 6/2 a, 9a.

³⁵ ANDEESCU/MIREA 2008, Fig. 9/4, 10/2.

³⁶ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. LXXXVIII/5.

³⁷ PAUL 1995, Taft 1/16; CIUTĂ 2005 Pl. XXXI/3.

³⁸ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. LXXXVIII/8, Pl. LXXXIX/1.

³⁹ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. LXXXV/7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

⁴⁰ LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, PC III/2.

⁴¹ ANDEESCU/MIREA 2008, Fig. 9/7.

⁴² KARMANSKI 2005, Pate LXXXV/10.

⁴³ ANDEESCU/MIREA 2008, Fig. 10/14.

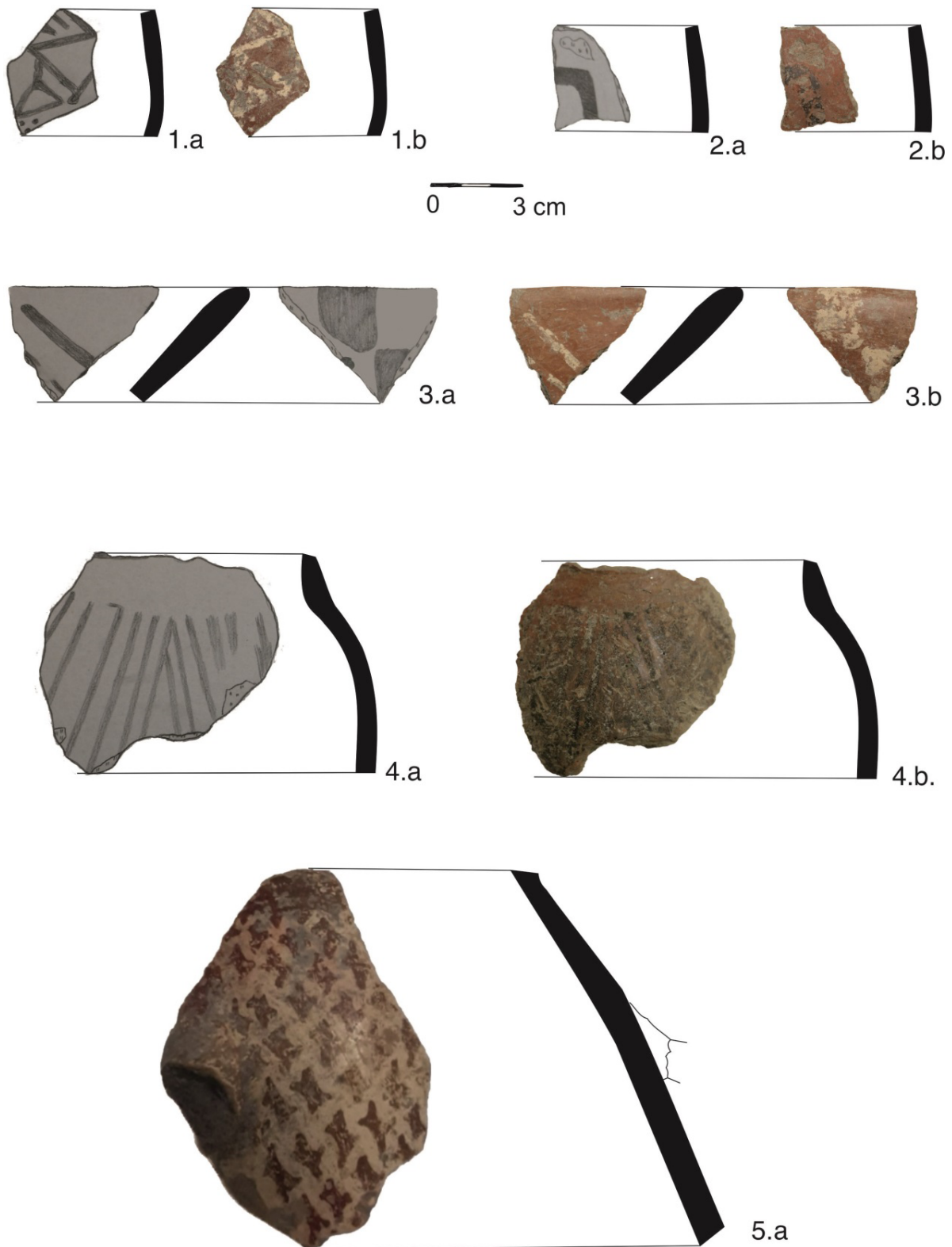


Fig. 5. 1.a, 1.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: reddish, interior colour: reddish, temper: fine sand and chaff, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 271 (1.a. drawn shard, 1.b. photographed shard); 2.a, 2.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: reddish, interior colour: brown-reddish, temper: chaff and silt, polished, ornamented with black painting, site: Limba-Bordane, SX/1998, □6-7, ∇2,20 m (2.a. drawn shard, 2.b. photographed shard); 3.a, 3.b: Fragment of a rim, category: fine, exterior colour: coffee-like, interior colour: coffee-like, temper: chaff, sand and gravel, slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting both on the exterior and the interior of the rim, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 271 (3.a. drawn shard, 3.b. photographed shard); 4.a, 4.b: Fragment of a shoulder, category: fine, exterior colour: coffee-like, interior colour: whitish-coffee-like, tempered with chaff and silt, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with black painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 025a (3.a. drawn shard, 3.b. photographed shard); 5: Fragment of a shoulder, category: fine, exterior colour: cherry-like, interior colour: brick-like, temper: chaff, polished, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, Limba-Vărăria, SXIII/2011, feature 1/2013.

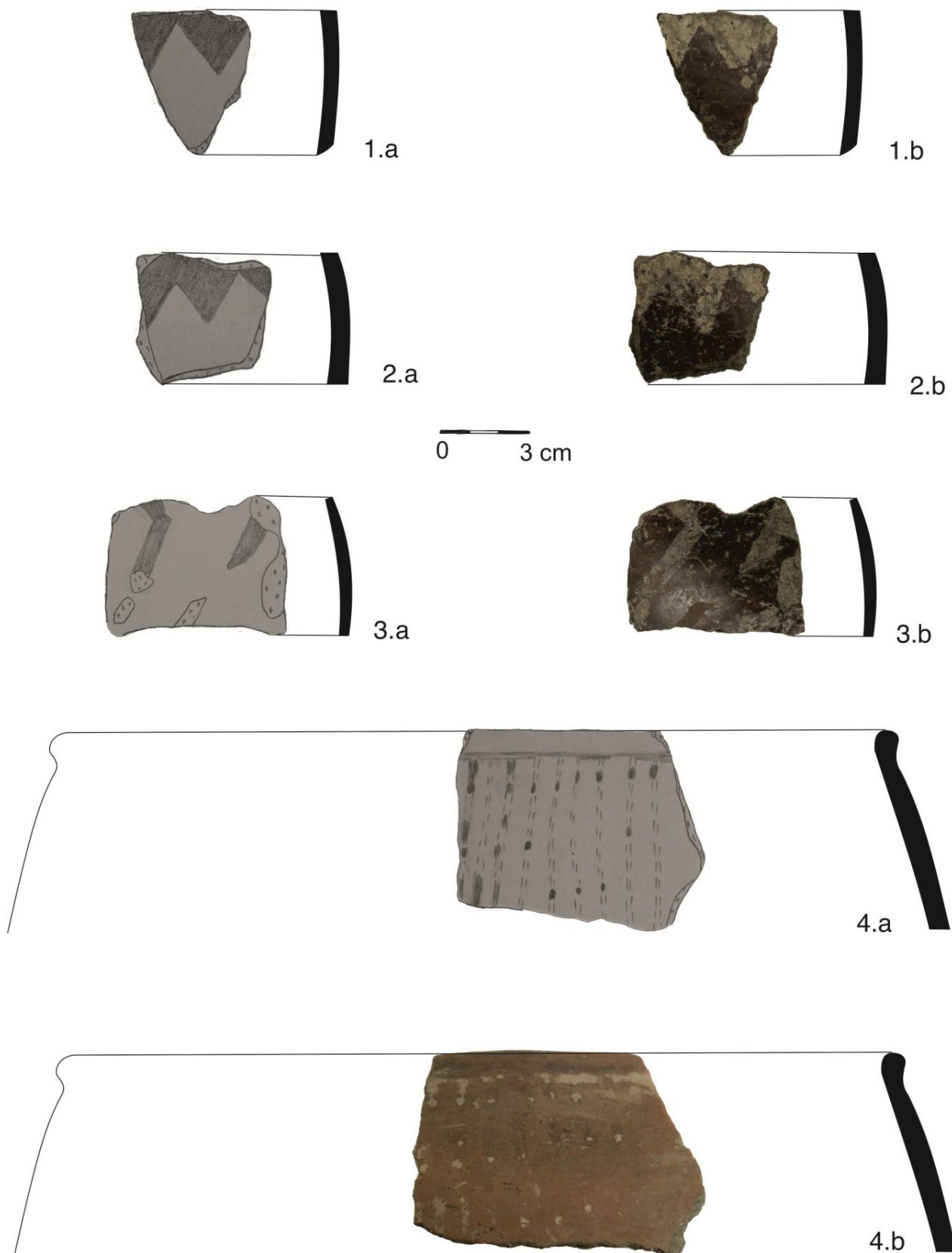


Fig. 6. 1.a, 1.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: cherry-like, interior colour: brown, temper: sand and chaff, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 271 (1.a. drawn shard, 1.b. photographed shard); 2.a, 2.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: cherry-like, interior colour: light brown, temper: sand and chaff, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 271 (1.a. drawn shard, 1.b. photographed shard); 3.a, 3.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: cherry-like, interior colour: cherry-like, temper: fine sand and chaff, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 271 (1.a. drawn shard, 1.b. photographed shard); 4.a, 4.b: Fragment of a rim, category: fine, exterior colour: light-brown, interior colour: reddish-brown, temper: chaff, polished, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, feature 601 (1.a. drawn shard, 1.b. photographed shard).

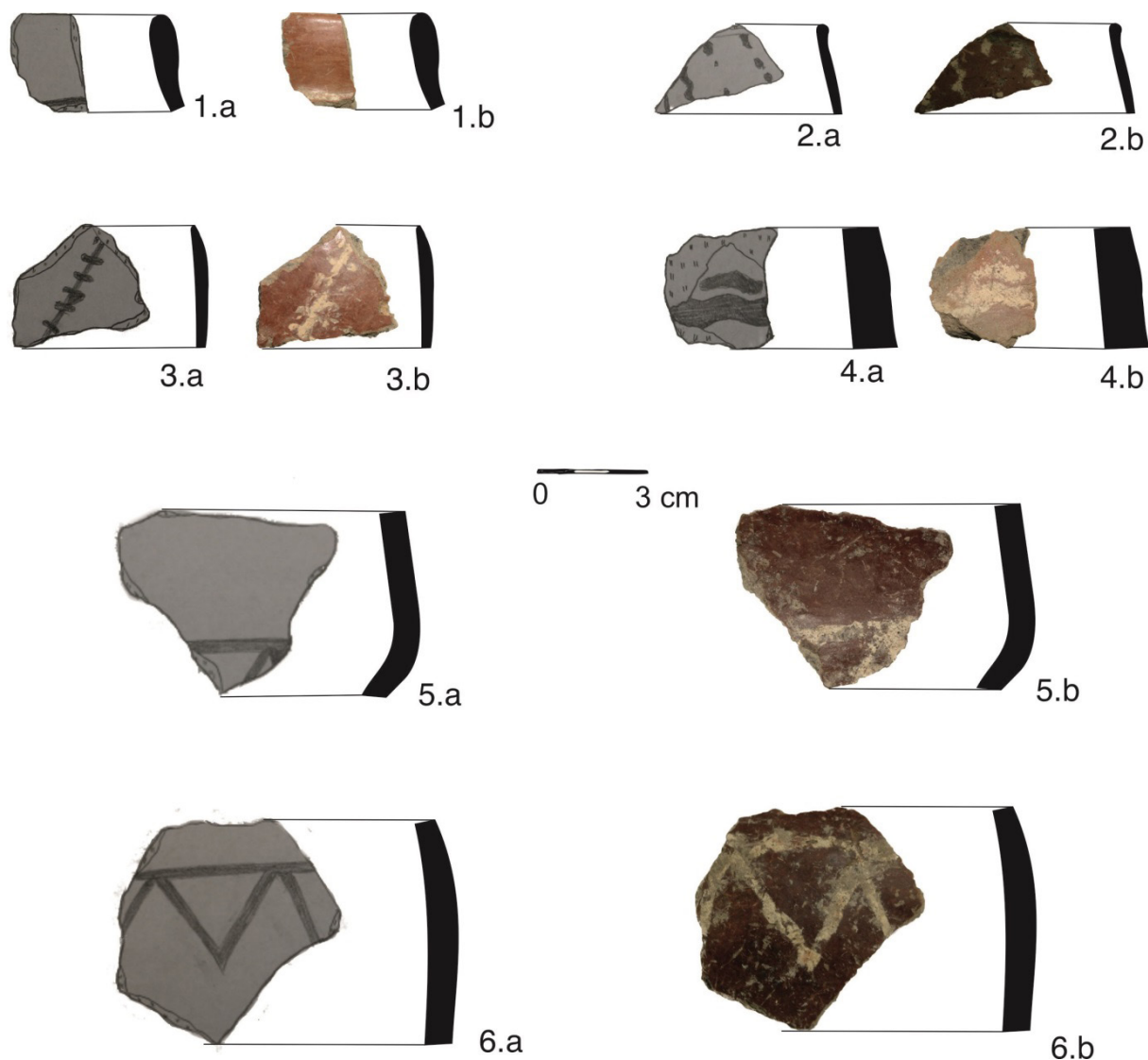


Fig. 7. 1.a, 1.b: Fragment of a rim, category: fine, exterior colour: reddish, interior colour: reddish, temper: chaff and silt, polished, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, SX/1998, □6-7, ∇2,60 m (2.a. drawn shard, 2.b. photographed shard); 2.a, 2.b: Fragment of a rim, category: fine, exterior colour: brown, interior colour: brown, temper: chaff, polished, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, SX/1998, □6-7, ∇2,20 m (2.a. drawn shard, 2.b. photographed shard); 3.a, 3.b: Fragment of body, category: fine, exterior colour: reddish, interior colour: light-brown, temper: chaff, polished slip, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, SX/1998, □8-9, ∇2,40 m (2.a. drawn shard, 2.b. photographed shard); 4.a, 4.b: Fragment of body, category: semi-fine, exterior colour: brown, interior colour: reddish-brown, temper: chaff and large-grained sand, polished, good oxidating firing, ornamented with white painting, site: Limba-Bordane, SX/1998, □6-7, ∇2,20 m (2.a. drawn shard, 2.b. photographed shard);

3.b. *Wide stipes displayed vertically*: Fig. 5/3a-b (the interior of the pot) with analogies at: Măgura⁴⁴, Donja Branjevina (Serbia)⁴⁵.

4. COMPOSED MOTIVES

4.a. *Dots displayed in vertical rows, combined with linear motives*: Fig. 6/ 4 a-b. In this case we have a series of 10 vertical rows (poorly preserved), starting above the rim, under a horizontal line that surrounded the rim. This fragment has an analogy at Gura Baciului⁴⁶.

4.b. *Linear motives forming triangles, diagonal stripes, and dots*: Fig. 5/1 a-b.

5. **"NET" PATTERN MOTIVE**: Fig. 5/5 a-b, with analogies at Donja Branjevina (Serbia)⁴⁷ and Ilindentsi (Bulgaria)⁴⁸.

Regarding the two fragments with **dark painting** the decoration motive is quite different. For the fragment presented in Fig. 5/2 a-b we have the remain of what it seems to be a curved-linear stripe and for the second shard, Fig. 5/5a, the decoration pattern is more complex (possibly due also to the larger size of the fragment), presenting a motive of lines starting from the shoulder of the pot, organized in rows displayed vertically.

⁴⁴ ANDEESCU/MIREA 2008, Fig. 10/1.

⁴⁵ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. LXXXVII/11.

⁴⁶ LAZAROVICI/MAXIM 1995, PC II/ 11 a, b, c.

⁴⁷ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. LXXXIV/4.

⁴⁸ GREBSKA-KUKOV/ZIDAR 2021, Fig. 5/5.

The analogies of fragment identified in Fig. 5/2 a-b can be found at Schela Cladovei⁴⁹, Džuljunica (Bulgaria)⁵⁰ and for the second one (Fig. 5/5a-b), there is an analogy at Donja Branjevina (Serbia)⁵¹.

CONCLUSIONS

From the intermediary data we have so far, it follows that an early Neolithic community, belonging to the first wave of Neolithic that passed north of the Danube, lived on the bank of Mureş, on the edge of the terrace, in the immediate vicinity of the confluence with the Sebeş River and the Ampoi River. Traces of their habitation are represented by a series (4-5) of pit-type complexes, in which materials characteristic of this chronological cultural horizon were identified. We are talking about *red-ware* ceramics, white-on-red painted pottery, lithic artifacts that betray very old technologies, female anthropomorphic plastic with analogues in contemporary sites in the Balkan Peninsula and in Anatolia⁵².

The connections between the Balkans and Western Anatolia, in the Early Neolithic, relying on the white painted pottery traditions has been already pointed out⁵³. The fragments presented in this study confirms, once again⁵⁴, the fact that during first stages of the Early Neolithic, also in the region of Transylvania, the technology of fabrication of this type of pottery was the same (including here composition of paste, surface treatment, firing, morphology, decoration) and the communities that arrived here continued to produce it in the same manner as it was discovered in sites from Turkey or in the Balkans. It is also to be noted the fact that some of the pottery from this study was discovered in Vinča contexts, this being a topic that needs a more ample discussion. From the 13 fragments decorated with white paint, one of them: Fig. 5/5a, has a type of decoration that distinguish itself from all the fragments discovered on territory of Romania, with analogies in Serbia and Bulgaria. It is also important that fact that it was preserved in such good conditions. At this moment, an important question that needs to be addressed is either this fragment was produced locally, with the natural resources from the vicinity of the site of Limba, or it was produced somewhere else and brought here by the community, or by someone that encountered the community (exchange, marriage...).

Regarding the dark painted pottery as it was already pointed out in above, the discoveries of pottery decorated in this manner, in the first stages of the Early Neolithic, on the territory of Romania, are quite reduced. Once again, the discovery of type of pottery confirms the unity between Transylvania and the Balkan region, where black painted pottery is more frequent in the first phases of neolithization.

For the time being, the main way of incoming of this Neolithic community, in Transylvania, seems to be the one

via the Olt Valley, because there are multiple analogies with the materials discovered in Oltenia (Cârcea, Grădinile, Valea Răii etc.), which, in turn, has strong links with contemporary manifestations in the area of the Struma Valley and Isker Valley, in the center of the Balkan Peninsula.

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⁴⁹ SPATARO *et alii* 2019, Fig. 2, SCL 5, SCL 6, SCL 9.

⁵⁰ KRAUß *et alii* 2014, Fig. 6/3.

⁵¹ KARMANSKI 2005, Pl. XCIII, 11, Pl. XCV/1, Pl. XCVII/8, 9.

⁵² CIUTĂ 2022.

⁵³ ALPAGUT 2021.

⁵⁴ For more interpretations on the so-called "Monochrome" in the south-eastern Europe see KRAUß 2009, Fig. 4, for the analogies with Gura Baciului site.

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