

# RED OCHRE – FOR SPECIAL DEAD AND DANGEROUS DEAD (USE OF RED OCHRE IN THE BURIAL PRACTICES DURING THE LATE ENEOLITHIC BY DATA FROM THE TERRITORY OF BULGARIA)

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *ocru roșu, eneolitic, necropolă, practici de înmormântare, Bulgaria, cultura Kodjadermen – Gumelnitsa – Karanovo VI, Varna.*

**Keywords:** *red ochre, eneolithic, necropolis, burial practices, Bulgaria, Kodjadermen – Gumelnitsa – Karanovo VI culture, Varna.*

**Rezumat:** *În acest articol autoarea prezintă utilizarea ocrului roșu în ritualurile funerare din Eneoliticul târziu în Bulgaria. Au fost analizate aproximativ 1200 de morminte descoperite în necropole, așezări și în locuri neobișnuite, în care ocrul roșu a fost folosit selectiv și relativ rar, ceea ce subliniază o practică funerară neobișnuită. În același timp, prezența sa a fost documentată în aria cercetată în 70% dintre morminte, ceea ce o îndeamnă pe autoare să creadă că această practică este parte constitutivă a unui ritual funerar standard utilizat în cazuri speciale pentru indivizi „deosebiți” sau „periculoși”. Interesantă este și prezența acestor practici în unele dintre cele mai bogate morminte. Autoarea sugerează posibile interpretări pentru motivele folosirii ocrului.*

**Abstract:** *In this article the author presents the use of red ochre in the burial rituals during the Late Eneolithic on the territory of Bulgaria. Approximately 1,200 graves have been analyzed in necropolises, settlement mounds and in unusual places, where ochre was found to be selectively and relatively rarely used, and this outlines it an unusual burial practice. At the same time, its presence in graves was documented throughout the surveyed area - it occurs in 70% of the necropolis, which gives the author reason to believe that this practice is part of the standard burial ritual applied in special cases for „special” dead or for „dangerous” dead. What is interesting is that these practices are present in some of the richest graves. The author suggests possible interpretations of the*

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*reasons for ochre use.*

### **Archaeological background and cultural framework**

Currently more than 1,200 graves of the Late Eneolithic, located in 31 archaeological complexes, are known on the territory of Bulgaria. Most of them are in necropolises, but about 150 are found in a settlement environment. Chronologically, culturally and historically they refer to the culture of Varna and the archaeological cultural complexes Kodjadermen-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI and Krivodol-Salcutsa. Henrieta Todorova determined their development approximately within 4450/4400 to 4200/4150 BC<sup>1</sup>.

Already studied and currently being studied, are 20 Late Eneolithic necropolises – Bereketska settlement mound<sup>2</sup>, Varna I<sup>3</sup>, Varna III<sup>4</sup>, Vinitsa<sup>5</sup>, Devnya<sup>6</sup>, Demir Baba Teke<sup>7</sup>, Durankulak<sup>8</sup>, Golyamo Delchevo<sup>9</sup>, Kamenovo<sup>10</sup>, Kosharna<sup>11</sup>, Kozareva mogila<sup>12</sup>, Lilyak<sup>13</sup>, Lovec-Zmiyskiya ostrov<sup>14</sup>, Ovcharovo<sup>15</sup>, Omurtag<sup>16</sup>, Provadia-Solnitsata<sup>17</sup>, Radingrad<sup>18</sup>, Smyadovo<sup>19</sup>, Sushina<sup>20</sup>, Targovishte<sup>21</sup>.

Single graves outside settlements were also found - near the village of Pomoshitica<sup>22</sup> and near the village of Rupkite<sup>23</sup>, which are believed to have been part of necropolises. Human remains are also deposited in unusual places - the Devetashka Cave<sup>24</sup>, the Haramiiska Dupka cave<sup>25</sup>, the cave near Harman kaya<sup>26</sup>, abandoned ore works in Aibunar<sup>27</sup>. Although the burial ritual seems to have required burial outside the settlements, there are exceptions to this rule. For ritual reasons or because of extraordinary circumstances burials were also carried out

<sup>1</sup> TODOROVA 2003, p. 276-290.

<sup>2</sup> KALCHEV 2002.

<sup>3</sup> IVANOV 1974, 1975, 1978, 1988, 1991, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> SLAVCHEV *et al.* 2018.

<sup>5</sup> RADUNCHEVA 1976.

<sup>6</sup> TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA 1971.

<sup>7</sup> MATEVA 1997.

<sup>8</sup> DIMOV *et al.* 1984; TODOROVA 2002; TODOROVA *et al.* 2002.

<sup>9</sup> TODOROVA *et al.* 1975.

<sup>10</sup> BOYADZHIEV, CHERNAKOV & DILOV 2016, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> CHERNAKOV 2011b.

<sup>12</sup> GEORGIEVA 2012; GEORGIEVA & DANOV in print; GEORGIEVA *et al.* 2018.

<sup>13</sup> OVCHAROV 1963.

<sup>14</sup> CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2008b.

<sup>15</sup> TODOROVA *et al.* 1983.

<sup>16</sup> ANGELOVA 1989, 1990, 1991a.

<sup>17</sup> NIKOLOV 2010, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> IVANOV T. 1984a, 1984b; IVANOV & DILOV 2012.

<sup>19</sup> CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014.

<sup>20</sup> CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2008a, 2009, 2014.

<sup>21</sup> ANGELOVA 1986, 1991b.

<sup>22</sup> BACVAROV 2004.

<sup>23</sup> KALCHEV 2011.

<sup>24</sup> MIKOV & DZHAMBASOV 1960; BOEV 1972.

<sup>25</sup> BORISLAVOV & VALCHANOVA 2017.

<sup>26</sup> IVANOVA *et al.* 2013.

<sup>27</sup> CHERNIH 2013.

on the territory of some settlement mounds: Rousse<sup>28</sup>, Kubrat<sup>29</sup>, Nova Nadezhda<sup>30</sup>, Kosharna<sup>31</sup>, Azmashka<sup>32</sup>, Provadia-Solnitsata<sup>33</sup>. Human skulls and bones were found in the Kodjadermen mound<sup>34</sup>. Some of the found skeletal remains cannot be considered burials - Hotnitsa Mound<sup>35</sup> and most of the skeletons found in the Yunatsite settlement mound, but there is also a group of graves in spaces between residential housing with a partially performed burial ritual<sup>36</sup>.

### **The red ochre in the burial ritual during the Late Eneolithic in Bulgaria**

The analysis of graves shows that most likely the standard burial ritual that applied to the majority of the dead in the second half of the fifth millennium BC required them to be buried in necropolises outside the settlements in individual burial pits by bone placement in an anatomical order, stretched or collapsed, oriented to the east or north (with deviations). They were accompanied by a standard set of burial inventory.

In addition to the standard burial ritual for the „ordinary“ community members, there was also a system of other burial practices that were used exceptionally, knowing which cases should be used for which dead. They usually resorted to them because of the irrational fear of „dangerous dead“, but special treatment was also given to individuals who were a high social status in their lives. The special circumstances of death also led to „special“ burials because of the different perception of the dead in these circumstances.

Such a rare burial practice is the use of red ochre, which is documented in 14 necropolises: Varna I, Vinitsa, Devnya, Durankulak, Golyamo Delchevo, Kosharna, Kozareva mogila, Lilyak, Omurtag, Provadia-Solnitsata, Radingrad, Smyadovo, Targovishte, Sushina and two settlement mounds - Azmashka and Rousse. The publications describe about 110 graves found with skeletal remains and the presence of red ochre, one third of them being in the Varna I necropolis. Although ochre use in the late Eneolithic is an unusual practice because of its selective and limited application (found in about 10% of the graves) the fact that it is observed throughout the studied territory and found in 70% of the necropolises, gives reason to believe that it is part of the standard burial ritual but applied in special cases.

Frequency of use is not uniform. In some necropolises it is exceptionally rare, and in others it is a majority part of the local burial ritual. Red ochre, for example, is found in almost all the graves explored from the necropolis in Sushina and Kosharna, which could be considered a regional feature of the ritual. Traces of ochre sprinkling are found on skeletons in 10 of 31 graves (32.2%) in the necropolis in the area of Pchelina near Omurtag.

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<sup>28</sup> GEORGIEV & ANGELOV 1952, 1957; CHERNAKOV 2010.

<sup>29</sup> MIKOV 1927.

<sup>30</sup> BACVAROV *et al.* 2014; BACVAROV *et al.* 2015.

<sup>31</sup> CHERNAKOV 2011a.

<sup>32</sup> GEORGIEV 1962.

<sup>33</sup> NIKOLOV 2012.

<sup>34</sup> POPOV 1916-1918.

<sup>35</sup> ANGELOV 1958.

<sup>36</sup> MAZANOVA 2000.

In the necropolis of Varna I a large percentage of graves have traces of red ochre. Due to the lack of a full publication, it is not possible to clearly define the frequency of its use. It is not always clear whether there is a red coloration of fabrics and pavements, sprinkling with ochre or whole lumps. According to Y. Boyadzhiev, the presence of dark matter and ochre is part of the local burial practices<sup>37</sup>. Lichter points out that in one-fifth of the graves red ochre is found<sup>38</sup>. The literature mentions the presence of ochre in 45 graves with skeletal remains<sup>39</sup>, but yellow ochre graves are also included in this literature, as well as those for which the red staining could be assumed from bedding or a fabric, rather than a ritual use. Red ochre was found in the cenotaphs № 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 36, and others, in the Necropolis of Varna, at the bottom of which, except for ochre, there was dark material, containing a huge amount of golden ornaments. At the same time, there are less than 3% of the 440 Late Eneolithic graves in the Durankulak necropolis that contain red ochre.

The catalog of this study includes 93 of the red ochre graves for which there is published information. Their analysis showed that there is no sex differentiation when used, and it occurs in 26 females, 30 males, and the genders of the other buried individuals were not defined. The exception is the Durankulak necropolis, where the ochre is „reserved” for women - from 440 graves of the Late Eneolithic it is documented in 14, 12 are women and only two is a male. In the necropolis of Varna I the tendency is the opposite - the male graves prevail in the usage of ochre.

It is noteworthy that ochre was found in some of the richest graves of the Late Eneolithic. Such is the emblematic „golden” grave № 43 in the necropolis of Varna I, which contains royal insignia and belonged to a man, who occupied an extremely high place in society. Traces of red ochre, along with fragments of a ceramic pot, were found in the grave pit next to its eastern wall.

A thick layer of red ochre is located beneath the pots placed above the head of the dead man in the richest grave № 18 in the Devnya necropolis, which contains a lot of inventory, golden ornaments and copper tool, and which is interpreted as the burial of a chief.

Only in grave № 9 in the necropolis in Targovishte red ochre was used to cover the whole skeleton, and a clay amulet was found among the inventory. The necropolis is relatively poor in grave inventory, while this particular grave is distinguished by a large number of ornaments - 45 Spondylus beads, a Spondylus bracelet, a bone ring, and a pendant of the Glycemic shell. The buried woman was placed in a position with strongly limp-up limbs, which distinguished it from all other graves in the necropolis.

Among the ten graves with ochre of the Late Eneolithic in Durankulak is the emblematic female grave № 514, which is one of the richest. The only two tombs in Smyadovo's necropolis, containing copper tools - № 6 and № 15, also have ochre.

These examples show that ochre use in the Late Eneolithic burial rituals is

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<sup>37</sup> BOYADZHIEV 2006, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup> LICHTER 2001, p. 91.

<sup>39</sup> KRAUß *et al.* 2016.

not necessarily a deviation with a negative connotation. It presents special care and attitude to certain individuals - important to the collective, occupying a high social position, and may be associated with the perception of the red colour as a symbol of life.

Red ochre also appears in graves where various protective practices are observed, such as the ritual use of fire, positioning the body with the eyes facing down, manipulation of the body or skeleton (crushed and shuffled bones), punching a sharp object at the bottom of the grave. While the above-mentioned measures were taken to protect the lives of the „dangerous dead“, and to prevent the dead person from turning into a vampire, red ochre may also be interpreted, to a certain extent, as a precaution. It was perceived as a means of facilitating the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead, and from this point of view, perhaps the prehistoric people wanted to support this process in order to assist the dangerous dead with their transition to the „other“ world so they would lower the risk of the individual coming back to the world of the living.

This could be the explanation for the red ochre clumps found the shuffled and broken bones of the individual from grave № 63 from the necropolis Varna I. Thus society wanted to protect itself from this sick person, who probably was socially marginalized while alive because of his illness. Red ochre is also found in some of the other graves where the researchers suggest that ritual crushing and shuffling of the bones has taken place - № 27, 28, 71. Traces of red ochre were also found in grave № 142, in which the left leg of the buried man has been rotated 180° along its longitudinal axis, probably before it was cut or secondary, but before the soft tissues had decayed.

More unusual burial practices were applied in more than half of the ochre graves listed in the catalog. The most common combination was the ritual use of fire - at 11 graves. A combination of ochre with a body positioned with the eyes towards the ground was found in graves № 18 in Golyamo Delchevo and № 6 in Kosharna. In grave № 1183 in Durankulak a buried woman had a copper needle stuck in front of her chest and elbows, and red ochre around the right elbow.

Placement of the ochre into the grave was done in several ways: in a pot from the burial inventory (Rousse, Golyamo Delchevo, Durankulak, Smyadovo); directly into the grave (Varna I, Vinitsa, Kozareva mogila, Durankulak, Devnya, Radingrad, Smyadovo, etc.), under the stone cover (Durankulak) or on a wooden structure above the dead (Devnya); sprinkling the skeleton and / or inventory or parts thereof (Devnya, Golyamo Delchevo, Kosharna, Durankulak, Lilyak, Smyadovo, Radingrad, Targovishte, Azmashka settlement mound).

### **Interpretation of the use of red ochre in the funeral ceremony**

Fire and crafting tools played an undeniable role in human evolution, but researchers determine the collection and use of red ochre as one of the indicators for the development of symbolic and abstract thinking. This is one of the first pigments known and used by humans. The name comes from the Greek word *ὀχρῶς* - pale yellowish. In natural state, the mineral has a yellow or orange to

reddish colour, which is dehydrated at high temperature and becomes red<sup>40</sup>.

Ochre was used by prehistoric people for utilitarian and ritual purposes. Its use in Paleolithic cave art is an indication of the development of mental abilities and of social and cultural development. In Mesolithic, in the Natufian culture, it was used to treat skin - to absorb fat and as a preservative<sup>41</sup>. Since the Neolithic, ochre was used for painting and drawing on ceramics, as well as for colouring fabrics and clothing, for painting or drawing on the floor or the walls of buildings. Red paint was found in almost all buildings at Neolithic Çatalhöyük East, especially in buildings, labelled 'shrines' by Mellaart.

„It wards off evil spirits and protects the object so decorated, be it the body of the dead, the wall of the house or shrine near which he slept, the bench or platform on which he sat or slept, the posts which support his roof and with baskets in which his food was stored“<sup>42</sup>.

An antiseptic effect was probably even known in antiquity, suggesting that it was also used for healing purposes.

Its use with ritual purposes in the burial rituals relates to the symbolic meaning of colours. Red is one of the first colours, along with white and black, which were used by humans<sup>43</sup>. The importance of this colour triad and its symbolism in the burial rituals is conditioned by the cosmological, mythical and religious ideas of the bearers of ancient archaeological cultures. The practice of sprinkling red ochre on the body, colouring individual parts of it, or burying red ochre with the dead, occurs in different cultures of varying frequency, and incidental staining should be ruled out<sup>44</sup>.

Researchers emphasize the deeply symbolic and varied meanings of the red colour in a burial context. For prehistoric people, death is a transformation to another reality, and the use of red ochre is interpreted as an aid to its realization. The presence of red ochre in the graves is associated with the concept of preserving life by passing the soul into the world of the afterlife, while red provides a magical power for crossing the road between the two worlds<sup>45</sup>.

In many primitive societies the colour red and red objects are considered a powerful tool against disease and death. The healing properties of iron compounds in ochre and their use as a medicine by Australian aborigines suggest that other applications that are more closely related to the immediate survival of humans should be considered<sup>46</sup>. It is acceptable to assume that the early humans have learned through their experience the healing properties of red ochre and if it has been used as a medicine, its appearance in burial practices can be a continuation of the efforts to save the life of the person after death and in opposition to death. Perhaps it was taken as a tool to help resurrect the dead, probably because of its association with blood. Hence the belief that its red colour,

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<sup>40</sup> DARWILL 2002, p. 295.

<sup>41</sup> DUBREUIL & GROSMAN 2009, p. 949.

<sup>42</sup> MELLAART 1967, p. 149-150.

<sup>43</sup> GAVRILOV 1990, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> WRESCHNER 1980, p. 631-633.

<sup>45</sup> BOWER 2003, p. 277.

<sup>46</sup> VELO 1984, p. 674.



like blood, would help people to start a new life faster in the afterlife<sup>47</sup>. According to M. Eliade, its use is proof of belief in the afterlife, and ancient people perceived it as „a ritual substitute for blood, therefore a symbol of life“<sup>48</sup>.

Çatalhöyük's inhabitants, sometimes after cleaning the soft tissues from the bones, mainly the skulls, sprinkled them with ochre. Extremely similar practice is even found in modern days. One of the southern Australian tribe, for example, partially dried the bodies of the dead on a slow fire, then skinned them, smeared them with red ochre and placed them on a platform<sup>49</sup>. This is probably related to the antiseptic action of the ochre. According to F. Mey, the mineral was used to eliminate the smell of the decaying body and placing red ochre in the graves did not only perform ritual functions, but also had purely pragmatic and hygienic practices<sup>50</sup>. These qualities seem to be known to the inhabitants of the area around Devnya, and perhaps that's why they sprinkled red ochre when making temporary buildings over the graves - well documented in Grave № 7. The same can be assumed for Durankulak, especially for the graves in which ochre was found under the stone coverings.

In the Neolithic and Eneolithic, the use of red ochre in burial rituals continued to bear the previous semantic meaning, but a new level of deification was added as a result of the development of the mythological and religious consciousness of man<sup>51</sup>. The red colour is a symbol of the Goddess Mother, who dominates the cycle of life and death<sup>52</sup>.

There are a number of ethnographic examples of the use of red ochre as a precaution for people who have been in contact with death and the dead and have been involved in their burial. Frazer told about the use of red ochre in maori, where anyone who touched a corpse helped with carrying the body to the grave or touched the bones of a dead man, was put in isolation and was not even allowed to touch food with his hands as they were considered contaminated. In some cases, someone else fed him using a stick, but others were subject to very strict restrictions and were „spattered from head to toe with red ochre“. When the period of isolation ended, and the person who lost a relative was preparing to join back with his fellows, he carefully broke all the pots used during the seclusion and discarded all the clothes he wore so that he would not spread his infection among others<sup>53</sup>.

Another explanation for the use of red ochre in burials is by analogy with the belief that it protects the most vulnerable members of society, such as young women and children. That is why red ochre was placed on the dead who need protection to reach the world of souls<sup>54</sup>. This finds confirmation in the traditional

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<sup>47</sup> GAVRILOV 1990, p. 13; WRESCHNER 1980, p. 631-633.

<sup>48</sup> ELIADE 1997, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> FRAZER 1989, p. 408.

<sup>50</sup> BACVAROV 2003, p. 146.

<sup>51</sup> GAVRILOV 1990, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> AVRAMOVA 2008, p. 221-223.

<sup>53</sup> FRAZER 1984, p. 264-265.

<sup>54</sup> BACVAROV 2003, p. 146.

Bulgarian burial customs. Describing the remarkable practices of Panagyurishte, Hristo Vakarelski cited the use of a red thread with which the tomb is circled and measured, and as the informants said, „we put this thread together and leave it next to the cross to protect the dead”<sup>55</sup>.

### Conclusions

Putting red ochre into the grave was regulated in the burial ritual for „special” dead and „dangerous” dead. On the one hand, these were people of high social status, buried in the richest graves in some of the necropolis. Red ochre blocks were placed in the „golden” royal tomb №43 in the necropolis of Varna I, in grave №18 in Devnya, interpreted by the researcher Henrieta Todorova as the funeral of the chief, in the richest grave №9 in Targovishte, in one of the emblematic graves from the necropolis in Durankulak - №514, to a woman buried with a significant amount of copper and Spondylus decorations. Only in two graves in the Smyadovo necropolis there were copper tools - №6 and №15, and lumps of red ochre were found in both, and there were traces of artificial linear deformation on the skulls of the buried.

In these cases it is an expression of care for the deceased and can be interpreted as perceiving it as a symbol of life. An additional justification for the thesis that red ochre was used as an expression of care for special dead was also due to the fact that it was placed in all cenotaphs from the necropolis of Varna I, including the richest, as well as some cenotaphs in other necropolises. As many authors point out that symbolic funerals are carried out as a care for members of the collective who have passed away from home. The hypothesis of Henrieta Todorova that in part of the cenotaphs in Varna burials of deities were actually carried out would also be a confirmation of the positive ochre connotation in the burial context<sup>56</sup>.

Another category is the sick, socially marginalized and considered by the community as „dangerous” dead, and in these graves the use of red ochre is often combined with another unusual practice - special manipulations on the skeleton, fire-cleaning, laying the body in an eyes towards ground position, grain or stone placement in the grave, etc. In these graves, the ritual use of red ochre can be interpreted as a means of facilitating the passage into the afterlife, which can be regarded as both a care for the dead and as an additional precaution against the „dangerous” dead returning to the living. The possible combination of the symbolic meaning of red ochre and its purely pragmatic use for health and hygiene reasons - as an antiseptic and against the smell of decaying flesh - should be considered as highly likely.

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<sup>55</sup> VAKARELSKI 1990, p. 143.

<sup>56</sup> TODOROVA 1992.



Catalog of graves with red ochre<sup>57</sup>

№	Location	Grave №	Sex	Position	Unusual practices	Literature
1	Varna I	6	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre left of the body, between the hip and the left elbow	IVANOV & AVRAMOVA 2000, p.37
2	Varna I	11	f	flexed on the right side	lumps of red ochre	HIGHAM <i>et al.</i> 2007, p.644
3	Varna I	23	m	stretched position on the back	on the left chest a patch of red ochre	IVANOV 1991, p.140
4	Varna I	27	f	disarticulated skeletal elements	a patch of red ochre, secondary burial, unusual depth of the grave	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.276, Tab.1; LICHTER 2001, p.94; MARINOV 2010, p. 54
5	Varna I	28	m inf.	- stretched position on the back - disarticulated skeletal elements	double grave, in the pit filling red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.276, Tab.1; LICHTER 2001, p.91; MARINOV 2010, p. 43, 45, 54
6	Varna I	43	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre	IVANOV 1991, p.143
7	Varna I	61	inf.	flexed on the right side	red ochre in the chest area	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.276, Tab.1
8	Varna I	63	-	broken and mixed bones	secondary burial, red ochre	MARINOV 2010, p.55
9	Varna I	66	f	flexed on the right side	a patch of red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
10	Varna I	68	f	flexed position on the right side	red ochre around and over the chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1

<sup>57</sup> Without ochre graves in Sushina, Omurtag, Provadiya-Solitsata and Kozareva mogila, which have not been published.

11	Varna I	71	f	disarticulated skeletal elements	red ochre around the bones, secondary burial	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1; LICHTER 2001, p.434
12	Varna I	82	m	flexed position on the right side	red ochre around the head, position	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1; MARINOV 2010, p.51
13	Varna I	83	-	stretched on the back	red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
14	Varna I	85	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre on the upper chest and around the face	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
15	Varna I	92	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre around the face and chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
16	Varna I	103	m	disturbed	red ochre over some of the ceramic	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
17	Varna I	108	inf.	stretched on the back	red ochre on the chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
18	Varna I	109	-	-	red ochre around the devices	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
19	Varna I	110	inf.	-	ceramic vessel with red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
20	Varna I	112	m	stretched on the back	red ochre on the chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
21	Varna I	115	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre around the head and the vessels	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
22	Varna I	128	m	stretched on the back	red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
23	Varna I	133	m	-	red ochre around the head	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
24	Varna I	134	f	flexed on the right side by the eyes	position, red ochre, animal tooth	IVANOV & AVRAMOVA 2000, p.53
25	Varna I	142	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre around and on the head,	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1;

					corpse dismemberment	MARINOV 2010, p.48
26	Varna I	143	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre	HIGHAM <i>et al.</i> 2007, p. 645
27	Varna I	150	m	flexed position on the right side	red ochre around the breast and ceramic vessel	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1; MARINOV 2010, p.41
28	Varna I	164	inf.	disturbed	red ochre in the area of the bones	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
29	Varna I	166	-	disturbed	red ochre on the bones	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
30	Varna I	167	-	-	ochre and traces of a dark substance	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
31	Varna I	172	-	disturbed	red ochre in the entire grave and in the filling	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
32	Varna I	179	inf.	flexed position on the right side	red ochre on and behind the head and on the chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
33	Varna I	187	f	stretched position on the back	red ochre around and on the head and the chest with a concentration at the bottom of the pit	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
34	Varna I	204	-	disturbed	red ochre	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
35	Varna I	220	-	flexed position on the back	red ochre around the skull and on grave filling	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
36	Varna I	228	-	stretched position on the back, disturbed	red ochre on the bones and gifts	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1

37	Varna I	253	-	stretched position on the back	red ochre in the area of the chest and the head	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
38	Varna I	261	m	stretched position on the back	red ochre around the head and the hips	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
39	Varna I	279	-	-	red ochre under the bones	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
40	Varna I	288	m		red ochre around the right shoulder, the chest and in a ceramic owl	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
41	Varna I	289	-	stretched position on the back	red ochre around the right elbow and chest	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.277, Tab.1
42	Varna I	294	-	stretched position on the back	red ochre on the chest and the left shoulder	KRAUß <i>et al.</i> 2016, p.278, Tab.1
43	Vinitsa	27	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	RADUNCHEVA 1976, p.81
44	Golyamo Delchevo	1	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.58
45	Golyamo Delchevo	8	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.58
46	Golyamo Delchevo	14	f	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.58
47	Golyamo Delchevo	18	f	flexed position on the left side on the face	position, traces of fire, red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.62
48	Golyamo Delchevo	24	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.58
49	Golyamo Delchevo	31	-	-	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 1975, p.58
50	Devnya	3	-	stretched position on the back	red ochre	TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA 1971, p.5
51	Devnya	7	m	stretched position on	layer of red ochre	TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA

				the back		1971, p.8
52	Devnya	10	f	crouched position on the right side	red ochre on the inventory, under the jaws and in the soil	TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA 1971, p.9
53	Devnya	12	-	-	red ochre on the skull and gifts	TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA 1971, p.10
54	Devnya	18	m	stretched on the back	red ochre	TODOROVA-SIMEONOVA 1971, p.12
55	Durankulak	251	m	stretched on the back	red ochre on the skull	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.96
56	Durankulak	267	f	flexed position on the right side	red ochre under the stone cover, animal bones	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.96
57	Durankulak	305	f	flexed position on the right side	red ochre under the stone cover	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.98
58	Durankulak	373	f	flexed position on the right side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.100
59	Durankulak	427	f	flexed position on the right side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.102
60	Durankulak	495	f	flexed on the right side	lump of red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.104
61	Durankulak	514	f	flexed on the right side	lump of red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.105
62	Durankulak	542	f	flexed position on the right side	red coloring on the wrists	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.106
63	Durankulak	574	f	flexed on the right side	red coloring on the hands	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.107
64	Durankulak	656	f	flexed on the right side	lump of red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.110
65	Durankulak	699	m	flexed on the right side	position, red ochre under the skeleton	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.112
66	Durankulak	1000	f	flexed on the right side	red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.120
67	Durankulak	1182	f	flexed on the right side	ash layer, red ochre	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.125
68	Durankulak	1183	f	flexed position on the right	red ochre, a vertically	TODOROVA <i>et al.</i> 2002, p.125

				side	punching needle	
69	Kosharna	1	f	flexed position on the left side	red ochre on the legs, coals	CHERNAKOV 2011b, p.118
70	Kosharna	2	-	flexed position on the left side	red ochre on the skeleton, a shell of a small snail inside the mouth cavity	CHERNAKOV 2011b, p.118
71	Kosharna	3	inf.	flexed position on the left side	red ochre on the skeleton, coals	CHERNAKOV 2011b, p.118
72	Kosharna	4	-	flexed position on the left side	red ochre next to the skull and on the shins, coals	CHERNAKOV 2011b, p.118
73	Kosharna	6	m	flexed on the left side on the face	position, red ochre	CHERNAKOV 2011b, p.119
74	Lilyak	2	-	flexed position on the left side	trepanation, red ochre	OVCHAROV 1963, p.54
75	Radingrad	3	-	flexed position on the left side	coals and red ochre under the skeleton	IVANOV & DILOV 2012, p. 134
76	Radingrad	13	-	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, coals	IVANOV & DILOV 2012, p. 135
77	Radingrad	16	-	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, secondary burial	IVANOV & DILOV 2012, p. 136
78	Smyadovo	01	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, coals	CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014, p.29
79	Smyadovo	3	inf.	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, stone bead in the oral cavity, grains in the pit	CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014, p.31
80	Smyadovo	6	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2007, p.66
81	Smyadovo	10	-	-	red ochre	CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA



						2007, p.66
82	Smyadovo	11	f	flexed position on the back	position, red ochre, grains in the pit	CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2007, p.66
83	Smyadovo	14	inf.	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, grains in the pit	CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014, p.36
84	Smyadovo	15	inf.	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, coals	CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2007, p.66
85	Smyadovo	16	m	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, grains in the pit	CHOHADZHIEV & VENELINOVA 2007, p.70
86	Smyadovo	18	m 20	stretched position on the back	red ochre, manipulations on the skull	CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014, p.39
87	Smyadovo	32	f	flexed position on the left side	red ochre, coals, grains in the burial pit	CHOHADZHIEV & MIHAYLOVA 2014, p.46
88	Targovishte	9	f	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	ANGELOVA 1986
89	Azmashka	-	-		red ochre on the skeleton	GEORGIEV 1962, p.65
90	Rousse	depth 2.50 gr. 1	-	flexed position on the left side	red ochre	GEORGIEV & ANGELOV 1952, p.184
91	Rousse	depth 3.10 gr. 6	-	flexed position on the right	red ochre	GEORGIEV & ANGELOV 1952, p.185
92	Rousse	depth 2.45 gr. 3	-	flexed position on the right	red ochre	GEORGIEV & ANGELOV 1957, p.120
93	Rousse	depth 2.90 gr. 3	-	-	red ochre	GEORGIEV & ANGELOV 1952, p.184

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