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STUDY

Burials without bodies

The symbolic burials of the Carpathian Basin and the Lower Danube region during the Late Neolithic and Copper Age

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ABSZTRAKT

A szimbolikus temetkezések az európai neolitikum és rézkor jellegzetes objektumai. Annak ellenére, hogy a kutatás hagyományosan úgy értelmezi őket, mint azon emberek jelképes sírjait, akik az otthonuktól távol lelték halálukat, más értelemzési módok is lehetségesek. Célszerűbb talán úgy tekinteni rájuk, mint a temetkezési szokásrendszerekben létező, komplex üzeneteket hordozó jelenségekre. Összetett szerepük jobb megértésének céljából a cikk 139 szimbolikus temetkezést elemez részletesen.

KULCSSZAVAK

szimbolikus temetkezés, a temetkezés régészete, késő neolitikum, rézkor, Kárpát-medence

ABSTRACT

Symbolic burials are well-known features of the European Neolithic and Copper Age. Contrary to the original interpretation as being the graves of those dying far from home, they are rather means of carrying complex messages within the funerary customs. By analysing 139 features in detail, it proved to be possible to better understand this complexity.

KEYWORDS

symbolic burial, funerary archaeology, Late Neolithic, Copper Age, Carpathian Basin

INTRODUCTION

Symbolic burials are rare, but reoccurring features of Late Neolithic and Copper Age excavations in the Carpathian Basin and the Lower Danube region. The word itself usually labels archaeological features that are "although deliberately gravelike in form and/or contents, (…) do not contain human remains".[1] So far there had been no attempt to examine these features in great detail, except for a short study on the Bulgarian Late Copper Age.[2] Similarly to other works, this did not stray far from the 'traditional' interpretation of symbolic burials as graves for the deceased whose bodies could not have been retrieved and given a proper burial.[3] In my opinion, the picture is much more complex, and the meaning and usage of symbolic burials highly exceed the boundaries of the traditional interpretation. Besides being necessary, since the aforementioned interpretation does not seem to stand its ground in every case upon closer inspection, studying symbolic burials can give us precious data on the characteristics of complex prehistoric funerary customs.

A few aspects of the vast study of funerary practices need to be taken into account when it comes to interpreting symbolic burials. It seems trivial to state that the proper treatment of

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[1] Shaw–Jameson 1999a, 142.
[2] Рачев 2018.
[3] E.g. Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 368–369; Price 1997, 154; Chapman et al. 2006, 172; Fahlander–Oestigaard 2008, 2; Bondár 2009, 242; Slavchev 2010, 200.

the dead varies highly in space and time,[4] and we should examine everything in its own context, but it highly influences the process of evaluating symbolic burials. The norm of body treatment is highly variable, each and every social group can have their own repertoire of customs. The oddities, such as symbolic burials are completely dependent upon these norms.[5] Another important thing I want to point out is that we should avoid the classification of data gathered on excavations before a detailed analysis is carried out.[6] This is especially important when it comes to symbolic burials, as the lack of human remains can have several explanations.

In the course of the article, after re-defining the term *symbolic burial* and giving a general overview of the collected data, I present a detailed list of criteria designed for sorting out, and a system for categorising the supposed symbolic burials. Three possible groups are outlined: one for the symbolic burials assigned to an individual, one for those that represent entities, and one for memorials. The examples and the evaluation of data shows how these features appear in different places and times, and how they adapt to each community's needs of communicating different messages. Overall, as the main goal of the paper, I do not simply summarize what we already know of symbolic burials, but provide new perspectives for their interpretation.

Defining symbolic burial

As previously stated, traditionally the term is used for a feature displaying all the characteristics of a grave, with no human remains inside.[7] This definition suggests a kind of equality between symbolic burials and the 'ordinary' ones they supposedly replace – but it is not what the data shows. Clearly there can be huge differences between symbolic burials, even the ones coming from the same site. For this reason, the term's definition should be adjusted, as follows.

The term *symbolism* refers to a complex phenomenon, widely studied in archaeology – hereby, I only state a few crucial thoughts. Symbols not only represent and in cases, replace something, giving proxies in the course of interactions,[8] but also alter their meaning depending on the context.[9] The context and the connection between the symbol and what it symbolizes is highly changeable depending on the social behaviour.[10] At the same time, symbols, as crucial tools for expression, highly influence said behaviour.[11] In the case of symbolic burials, it can be said that their meaning was given to them in the context of a community's burial rites, with the use of its toolkit, which contained several other symbolic acts in itself. And even then, the same feature could have had several meanings, depending on the observers' relations to it.

I also find it necessary to explain why I prefer to use the term *symbolic burial* over *symbolic grave*. The original *raison d'être* of a grave is to house a body,[12] and even though its creation is a highly complex act,[13] the term *burial* stands for more.[14] It colligates the whole process of creating a suitable locus – the grave itself –, the act of placing the dead into it, with all the connected forms of behaviour and rites. The term *cenotaph* is sometimes also used as a synonym for symbolic burial – however, because of its more Antiquity-related implications,[15] I would avoid using it in prehistory.

Based on the above-mentioned, a more fitting definition of symbolic burial can be drawn up. It can be defined as a feature that despite lacking human remains, fits into the context of a community's burial customs, uses its toolkit in a way that makes the carrying of a highly structured meaning possible. This creates a feature, which is in a few aspects identical to, but still, due to its wide scale of functions, much more complex than an 'ordinary' burial. Thus, the symbolic burial's ability to communicate intended messages exceeds that of other burials. The community's system of funerary customs is required to be flexible enough to enable a highly manipulative behaviour that can build extra layers of meaning on an empty grave pit. It is also important to note that this requires a strong bond within the community, as its coherence is crucial to the effectiveness of rites.[16]

The function and the form of the symbolic burials are highly influenced by the needs of the community. As each community had its own funerary customs, we can expect a high variation of symbolic burials, thus it is necessary to examine each feature in its own, original sociocultural context. However, if we accept that there are universal tendencies, it is possible that, amidst the right circumstances, human needs generally create similar phenomena. For example, several communities created symbolic burials fulfilling their purpose as a proxy in the course of the funeral when the body is absent, giving a focal point for the rituals, thus making the social death possible.[17] This means that even though each and every symbolic burial was unique, they are still universally used means of expression. Overall, I based my study on examining each symbolic burial in the context of the site that yielded it, and only then attempted to find the meaning by what it can be fitted into a greater picture, based on the common grounds of interpretation.

[4] Pérez–Weiss-Krejci 2011, 107.
[5] Hodgson 2013; Murphy 2008.
[6] Weiss-Krejci 2011, 92.
[7] E.g. Mollett 1966, 63; Shaw–Jameson 1999a, 142–143; Kipfer 2000a; Capelle–Sawyer 2010.
[8] Lewis 1977, 17; Kobyliński 1989, 126–127; Morris 1993, 102.
[9] Robb 1998, 332.
[10] Shaw–Jameson 1999b, 527; Kipfer 2000b.
[11] Hodder 1987, 11–12.
[12] Duday et al. 2014, 236.
[13] Weiss-Krejci 2013, 282.
[14] Kipfer 2000c.
[15] Mollett 1966, 63; Kipfer 2000a; Novotnik 2020.
[16] Bailey–Walter 2016, 151.
[17] Weiss-Krejci 2011, 76.

Geographical and time frame

The Late Neolithic and Copper Age of the Carpathian Basin and Southeastern Europe provides several examples and a wide variety of symbolic burials. My goal by no means was to compare the data from different territories and timeframes, but rather to point out how widely the custom of creating symbolic burials spread, and how complex it was.

In the Carpathian Basin, the Copper Age custom of creating symbolic burials supposedly has its roots in the Late Neolithic.[18] This period (5000–4500/4450 calBC) can be defined by the increased connectivity of people, which left its distinctive mark on the landscape, in the form of the tells on the Great Hungarian Plain and the circular enclosures of Transdanubia. Both structures symbolize how the community members worked together in creating locations serving as the scenes of rituals, assemblies. This was also part of the era's new approach towards the land itself, leading to a more conscious behaviour than that of the pioneer cultivators.[19] The complex thinking founded a belief system that did not disappear at the rise of the Copper Age (4500/4450–2800 calBC), even though the life on the tells mostly ceased, as the lifestyle shifted towards a more mobile one. Partially due to the biased research, the Copper Age is defined by the grandiose burial grounds, where the previous era's burial customs continue, combined with the new ways of expressing status and prestige, namely placing copper and golden objects into the graves. Even still, these scenes served as the tool of bonding people together, and presumably as the place of community rituals.[20] Towards the end of the Copper Age era, with the supposedly growing mobility of the communities, mostly connected to cattle herding, the cemeteries became ever so important in forming group identities. With the new, mobile lifestyle came the new ways of expressing social importance, which materialised through cattle, wagons and wagon models being placed into the graves.[21]

Similar tendencies can be observed at the other studied territory, the Lower Danube region. Here, even though we can pinpoint a few remnant characteristics, from the Late Neolithic (5000–4850calBC) we can see a huge upswing in the complexity of lifestyle, as the emergence of tells shows. Since the people favoured the closeness of water and used its resources like their predecessors, we can find the sites mostly along the Black Sea coast.[22] From the Copper Age onward (4850–4250 calBC), communities started using and trading valuable materials such as copper, gold and *Spondylus*. This formed intense networks, which later catalysed the formation of great cultural complexes. During the Late Copper Age (4600–4250 calBC), more tells with complex inner structures emerged, and the cemeteries became a place of representation and the carrier of complex social messages with the splendidly rich burial assemblages. The metallurgy flourished and its products spread all across the Balkans and Central Europe. By this time, all the means were granted for the communities to express the more complex beliefs, the products of the highly connected and structured world of theirs.[23]

I collected 36 sites (overall yielding 2970 burials) and studied their features that, based on the literature, were considered to be symbolic burials *(Fig. 1)*. This means 139 features in total.[24] In the course of the examination, I used statistical analytical methods, mainly principal component and correspondence analysis to compare the symbolic burials to the other burials yielded by the same site. To do this, first I had to clean the pool of data of disturbed features and graves of different ages to create a sufficient database. For the sake of thoroughness, I only included sites that were published fully and in detail, or at least their general characteristics were made clear and the interpretation of symbolic burials was well-established. As my aim was to introduce a new point of view, it was crucial to be able to examine the data first-hand and not be biased by previous interpretations and opinions. Thus, Varna (No. 33), one of the most iconic sites yielding symbolic burials, was not examined, because it is not yet published in great detail and there are contradicting ideas connected to the features in question. For example, Ivan Ivanov's morphological classification[25] proved to be rather problematic – in connection with the rich, gold-furnished 'A' type, Javor Bojadžiev and Vladimir Slavčev came to the conclusion that the features belonging here do not actually have common characteristics.[26] I also had to exclude Hajdúböszörmény-Ficsori tó-dűlő (No. 10)[27] and Provadia (No. 26)[28] as they are not yet fully published. There were only mentions of symbolic burials in the case of Komjatice (No. 14)[29] and Pekliuk (No. 20)[30] so they were also excluded. However, there were huge and well-documented sites with a great number of symbolic burials even after sorting out the data, which gave me the chance of a more detailed statistical analysis.

THE EXAMINATION OF SYMBOLIC BURIALS

In the following, I discuss the criteria system for the recognition of symbolic burials, which is crucial before a detailed analysis. Later, three main groups are drawn up, through which the different roles of symbolic burials can be understood.

[18] Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 369.
[19] Raczky 2018, 24–26; Raczky 2019, 272–279.
[20] Parkinson et al. 2010; Raczky et al. 2014.
[21] Raczky 2009; Bondár 2015, 281–290.
[22] Todorova 1995.
[23] Reingruber 2007; Stratton–Borić 2012; Honch et al. 2013; Reingruber 2015.
[24] For the catalogue of analysed features, see *Table 3*. In the article, the sites are numbered accordingly.
[25] Ivanov 1978.
[26] Bojadžiev–Slavčev 2011, 15– 19.
[27] Kovács–Váczi 2007.
[28] Николов et al. 2014; Рачев 2018, 50.
[29] Novotný 1958, 37; Noovotný 1962, 156.
[30] Lichter 2001, 418–419.

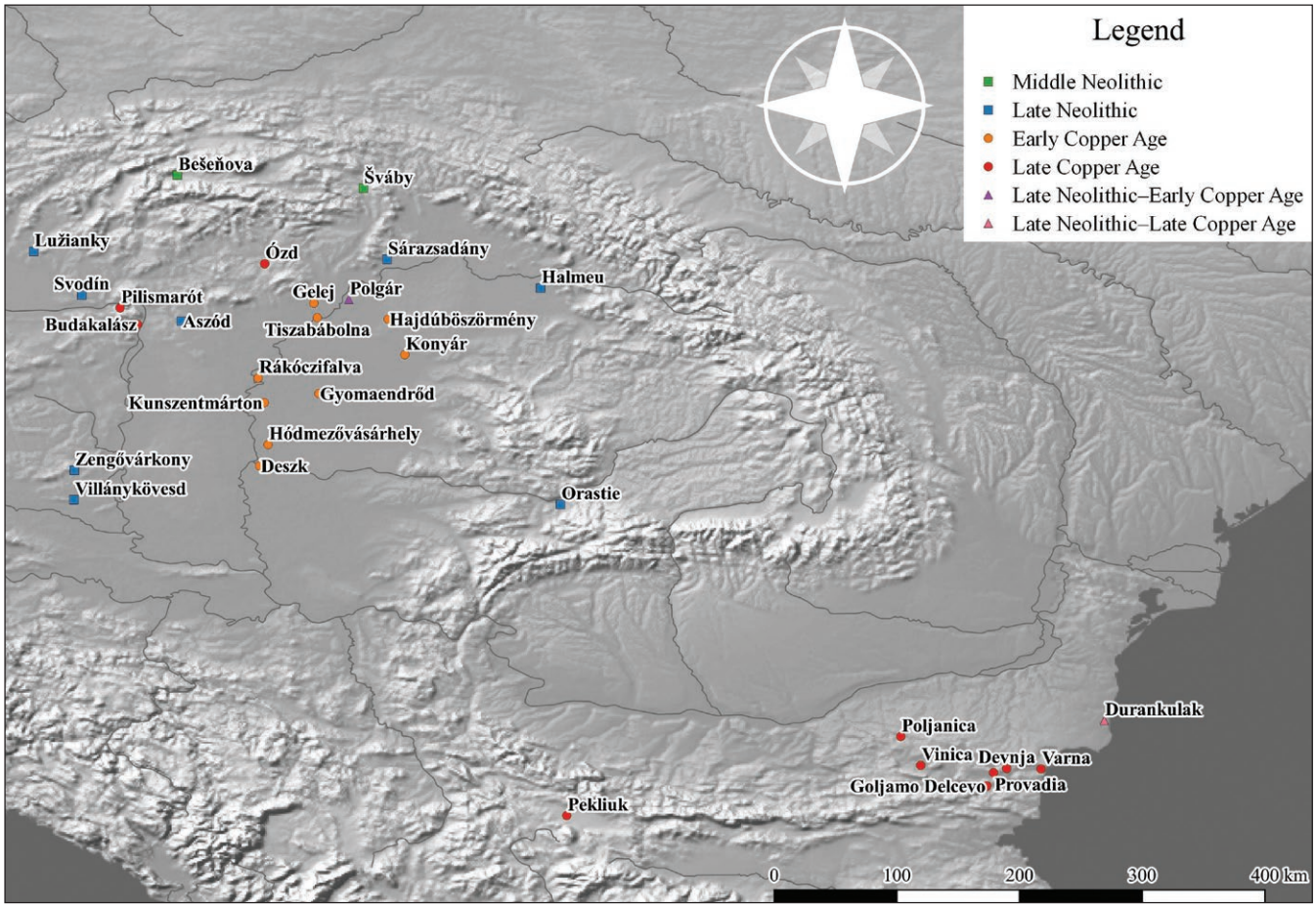

Fig. 1. Map of sites mentioned in the article

1. kép. A cikkben megjelenő lelőhelyek

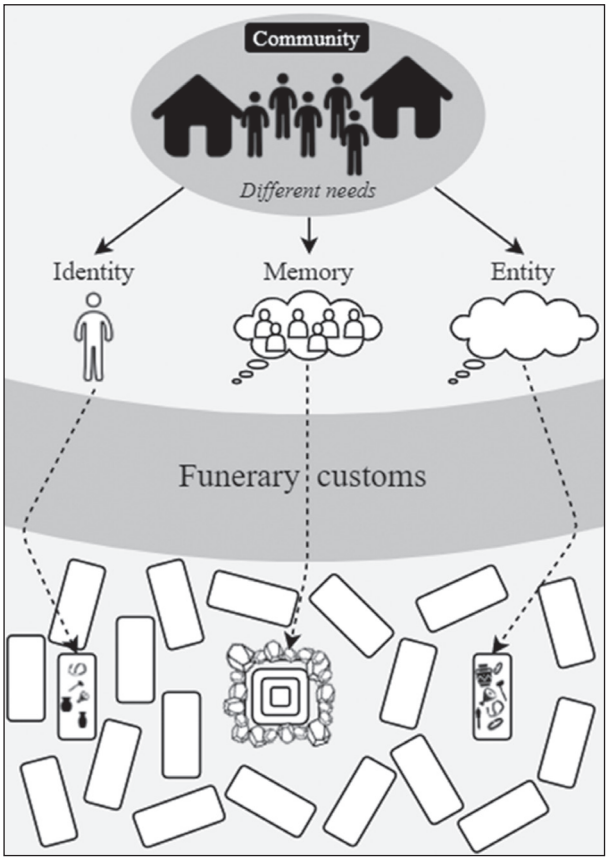

Fig. 2. Different types of symbolic burials. Symbolic burials assigned to a person contained finds directly linked to a given identity, similarly to "normal" burials. In the cases when the community wanted to create a memorial, the space was arranged as to place the more structured feature in question to the focal point. When the symbolic burial's goal was to pay respect to an abstract entity, objects of higher quantity and/or quality were placed into it

2. kép. A szimbolikus temetkezések különböző típusai. Az egyéneknek szánt szimbolikus temetkezések olyan leleteket tartalmaztak, melyeket egy „normális" sírban is elhelyeztek volna. Az emlékhelyek készítésekor a térrendezéssel adtak hangsúlyt a jobban strukturált szimbolikus sír különleges funkciójának. Az entitások felé irányuló tiszteletet kimutató szimbolikus sírokban a leletanyag összetétele vagy mennyisége az, ami kiemelkedő

Criteria for the recognition of symbolic burials

As the first step, I found it necessary to build a system of criteria capable of sorting the data. To accept that a feature is indeed a symbolic burial, the following characteristics must be true:

1. The feature in question comes from a well-documented excavation with valid and precise observations. This point is crucial, as there is no chance of revision once a site is fully excavated. In some cases – mostly when the excavation happened long ago – the documentation and the published details can be insufficient, or the observations misinterpreted.
2. The grave pit does not contain any traces of human remains whatsoever. It is possible for the bones to completely decompose due to several factors, like the effect of the flora and the fauna, the work of groundwater, but mostly due to the chemical characteristics of the soil.[31] However, even in highly acidic soils where this phenomenon occurs, a faint trace, the "shadow" of the body can still be observed on the ground.[32] The phosphate analysis of the soil is capable of detecting the chemical remnants of decomposed organic materials of greater quantity.[33] The success of such examinations is highly dependent on the characteristics of the soil, and they are also unable to determine the source of the organic residue.[34] This is important, as it cannot be ruled out that dummies made of organic material were used to replace the body in certain cases, as it was customary for the Romans[35] and also supposedly happened at Varna.[36] Nonetheless, the state of preservation of the anthropological material coming from the site can still give a general idea concerning the possible disappearance of bones. For example, cremated remains can vanish or go unnoticed easily.
3. The feature is not disturbed at all. Strictness is necessary when it comes to this point, no matter how small the disturbance is, if the feature cannot be considered untouched, we should not accept the interpretation.
4. The symbolic one fits into the context of other burials. This is important for providing a base for examination, but also because it is almost impossible to interpret lonely features.

Types of symbolic burials

During the examination, I took a bottom-up approach. As the funerary data is very complex,[37] this examination based on each feature and building up towards general tendencies can prove to be very difficult. An artefact can have several meanings, depending on, for example, whose grave it was put into – however, if grasping tendencies is possible, it can be used as a basis of comparison. Theoretically, if a symbolic burial contains a similar assemblage as the burials of an identity group (e.g. adult males of a certain status that was expressed via placing boar mandibles and copper axes into the grave), a parallel can be drawn between them and we might assume the feature in question was assigned that certain identity. After examining each feature in its own context, it is possible to group them by the meaning they held, and to find universally shared motifs. For this, it shall be accepted that there are universal structures in human thinking and behaviour, thus the same conditions trigger similar res–ponses.[38]

Based on the possible interpretations and ideas appearing in archaeological and ethnographical literature in connection with symbolic burials, they can be divided into three groups and interpreted in different ways. The main axis along which they can be divided and grouped is the purpose they were created to fulfil. All of them was used as a form of expression in a given community, with a certain agenda and given characteristics. The intention of creation, which passed through the filter of funerary customs, determined what kind of structure was made and what kind of assemblage was put into it *(Fig. 2)*.

Symbolic burials assigned to a person

This group is in accordance with the traditional definition of symbolic burials: the purpose of the feature assigned to a person is to replace the missing body,[39] when it comes to finding a focal point for the grief[40] and the funerary rites.[41] In the case of a death that prevents the community's interaction with the body, a rather critical situation unfolds,[42] which makes the grief work[43] and social death more difficult, if not impossible.[44] In such cases, the proper rituals must be performed to bring forward the emotions and processes linked to mourning, as these can give some sort of solace to the community and also to the soul of the dead. The urge of providing a proper burial to the dead is so great, that in the belief system of several communities we can see examples of the dead coming back and haunting the living because they did not receive the funeral they should have.[45]

There can be several reasons why a body cannot be retrieved – a tragic death caused by an accident, or one far from home connected to warfare are just a few of them.[46]

[31] Forbes 2008, 213–214.
[32] Junkins–Carter 2017, 148; Tibbett–Carter 2008, 42.
[33] Ernée–Majer 2009, 502–503.
[34] Barker et al. 1975, 552–555.
[35] Novotnik 2019, 30.
[36] Тодорова 1992, 76.
[37] Härke 1997.
[38] Kobylinski 1989, 123.
[39] Fahlander–Oestigaard 2008, 2.
[40] Stewart 2011, 154.
[41] Faro 2014, 29.
[42] Eyre 2007, 446.
[43] Stroebe–Schut 1999, 199.
[44] Weiss-Krejci 2011, 76.
[45] Weiss-Krejci 2013, 283–289.
[46] Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 368–369.

Whatever the reason was, taking into consideration that in prehistoric times there were accidents and violent conflicts, such as today, we should not find it strange that some people's remains were never returned to their community.[47] However, not everyone who died far from home was given a symbolic burial, but the possibility of rite-based selection and body treatments with no archaeological evidence should be taken into account.[48] We might accept that the way the symbolic burial was created refers to the one how the person would have been treated if their death had happened in the community.

A symbolic burial belongs to this group if the identity of the dead is reflected through it,[49] since the community could link the feature to a specific person.[50] This means that the identity was expressed in the same, or in a similar, highly structured way as it would have been if the body had been present.[51] From this, we can try to reconstruct the identity given to a symbolic burial – to a certain degree, at least. Putting the belongings of the dead into an empty grave pit is a highly symbolical, but through disposing of the material mementoes of the person, also practical act.[52] In this aspect, symbolic burials can be looked at from the perspective of the *pars pro toto* principle, meaning that the furnishing of the grave was able to carry the same meaning as the 'complete' burial would have.[53]

In almost every case, it was possible to connect an identity with the suggested reconstruction of represented sex to the features. As previously stated, it was done by comparing the symbolic burials' assemblage to the others of its surrounding, using statistical analysis. This method is, of course, not perfect, as the complexity of identities stays hidden,[54] but it still can be used for approximation. I intentionally avoided describing each culture's 'typical' male or female burials, as sex might not have been the most important aspect of the identity represented in the burial.[55] A method that creates looser groups based on the correlation between the finds of the grave and the biological sex of the dead might be more sensitive to the nuanced nature of identity representation. In cases, when the individual was too young for the biological sex to be determined, I used the *child* category. I deliberately refrain from using the term *gender,* as it is rather a performance and not a 'measurable' trait,[56] and it was way too complexly structured, experienced and represented than what can be grasped by such a simple analysis of grave goods.[57] Instead, I used the term *sexed identity,* where sex is a biologically determined characteristic, and plays a role in forming one's identity.[58] It was possible to connect the symbolic burials in question to tendencies of sexed identity representation without being misguided by outstanding assemblages. Of course, focusing on general tendencies carries a certain risk, as it is not sensitive towards the ever changing representation of one's identity. However, as there are no other frames of reference that can be defined when it comes to assigning any type of identities to symbolic burials, this approach is still fruitful.

Symbolic burials representing an entity

This interpretation can be connected to richly furnished, almost hoard-like features.[59] In the case of symbolic burials that represent an entity, the assemblage was not meant to belong to a specific person. Instead, the intent was to give a material form to an abstract identity, entity, idea,[60] being in the focal point of a community ritual. The finds in the grave, which are mostly rare and valuable items, have a meaning and message of their own,[61] detached from their natural scene of funerary display, the human body.[62] We can assume that the deposition of artefacts and the creation of the feature is connected to the social interaction of community members.[63] It is a metaphorical gesture that this materialisation of an entity and the rites connected to it happened in the context of a space as important in a community's life as a burial ground.[64] The whole act bonds together the members of the community, both in space and time.[65]

Symbolic burials belonging to this group must contain an outstanding assemblage. In some cases, the finds are gender-neutral, in others, they represent a strongly sexed identity.[66] This identity however does not belong to a person, but is a form of representing an entity. These symbolic burials can have a central position in the cemetery, signifying their domination of the space, which also hints at a special purpose.[67]

Symbolic burials acting as memorials

The main purpose of symbolic burials acting as memorials is to form and manipulate the collective memory of the group.[68] In the majority of cases, such features belong to a group of individuals having something in common – mainly the cause

[47] Weiss-Krejci 2013, 288–289.
[48] Price 1997, 114; Weiss-Krejci 2013, 285; Király 2016, 297–299.
[49] Stratton 2016a, 82.
[50] Chapman 2000, 122.
[51] Stratton–Borić 2012, 77–78; Stratton 2016a, 211.
[52] Zur 1998, 217.
[53] Chapman 2000, 6.
[54] Stratton 2016b.
[55] Stratton 2016b, 862.
[56] Riley–Evans 2017, 427.
[57] Bickle 2019, 209–214.
[58] Golse 2016.
[59] Chapman 2000, 127; Рачев 2018, 51.
[60] Stratton 2016a, 201.
[61] Jones 2007, 43.
[62] Chapman 2000, 182.
[63] Рачев 2018, 52.
[64] Price 1997, 154–156.
[65] Price 1997, 210.
[66] Chapman 2000, 122.
[67] Csányi et al. 2010, 261.
[68] Jones 2007, 41.

of their death. Through receiving a symbolic burial of this type, they are connected to a certain idea or ideology, thus becoming a symbol themselves.[69] The function of these memorials is highly subjective. On the one hand, for the relatives of the dead associated with them, the purpose of the structure is to have something to focus their grief on.[70] On the other hand, for the wider community, they symbolise the idea reflected through the dead and the message it comes with.[71] Even in the case of actual grief, these features have a way of manipulating and changing the attitudes towards the dead. For example grief and sorrow can turn into a positive feeling, such as pride.[72] The memorials could have also served as a tool for the manipulation of power, since they are highly capable of bonding people together and focusing their attention on a preferred message.[73] Oftentimes these symbolic burials or their surroundings are structured in a specific way, to put a strong emphasis on the features themselves. They might lie in the middle of a vast open space, which could have served as an important location of communal activities.[74]

DISCUSSION

After describing the different possible forms of symbolic burials, the 139 collected features can be examined in detail. This involves determining whether they are truly symbolic burials, and if so, which group they fit into the most. After this, a greater picture can be drawn, concerning their various usage during the Late Neolithic and Copper Age.

Many, overall 49 features appearing in the literature as symbolic burials, cannot be interpreted as such. Table 1. shows why certain features were excluded from the analysis *(Tab. 1.)*. In some cases, the reason of the exclusion is that the documentation is not detailed enough, or some crucial details were overlooked during the examination. For example, it was not possible to examine Grave 37 and 262 from Zengővárkony-Igaz-dűlő (No. 36),[75] because the cemetery's find material is mixed up and the determination of the biological sex of the uncovered individuals was also problematic.[76] In other cases, there were traces of human remains in the gravepit. For example, the faint traces of a fully decomposed body was observed at Poljanica (No. 25),[77] and the cremated remains possibly went unnoticed in the case of Grave 4 from Ózd-Center (No. 19).[78] Other features, like Grave 11 from Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (No. 32), cut in half by a pit,[79] were not fit for examination, as they were disturbed. Similarly, it was impossible to analyse features with no known context, such as the supposed symbolic burial from the settlement at Gyomaendrőd-Ugari-dűlő (No. 9).[80]

The remaining 90 features, that are truly symbolic burials, were fit for the analysis. Overall 78 of them were created to represent actual individuals, whose sexed identity could be reconstructed in the majority of cases, as Table 2. shows *(Tab. 2)*. This was done by the previously discussed comparative method. For example, at Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (No. 32), the lone Tiszapolgár culture symbolic burial was most likely made for a child. Here, the principal component analysis and correspondence analysis shows that although the sexed identities do not form entirely clear groups (meaning that there were no clear and strict rules of its representation in grave assemblages), there are still tendencies that can be seen. The symbolic burial, yielding copper ornaments, a boar mandible and limestone beads, relates the closest to burials of children. This interpretation might also be supported by the fact that the gravepit is rather small[81] *(Fig. 3)*. Most of the individuals assigned a symbolic burial could have been male – here in 33 cases. This aligns with the – somewhat stereotypical – concept that links the possible causes of dying far from home to traditionally male activities.[82] Female identities could be reconstructed in the case of 17 burials, and children were given symbolic burials in four cases. The fact that even children got symbolic burials shows a type of democratization, clearly contradicting the traditional picture of the 'fine fisherman or huntsman dying far from home'[83] topos. Instead, it shows that despite the stereotypes, the custom of paying tribute to a dead community member by creating symbolic burials was rather inclusive. The identification was not possible in the case of 24 burials. Since the human remains had been cremated at Pilismarót-Basaharc (No. 21) the vast majority of the graves (21 of them) could not have been assigned a sexed identity.[84]

The studied sites yielded a couple of symbolic burials designed to pay tribute to an abstract entity, nine of them in total. We know of two gender-neutral burials, Graves 69 and 86 from Aszód-Papi-földek (No. 1).[85] One feature from Budakalász-Luppa csárda (No. 3), Grave 177,[86] carries a supposedly special meaning thanks to the clay wagon model it yielded and the rich and emphasised child burials it was surrounded by. Wagons allowed auto-mobility and elevated their user above the 'common folk', thus served as a widely used tool of expressing importance for the community elite.[87]

[69]Danilova 2015, 11–14.
[70]Carroll 2011, 68; Weiss-Krejci 2013, 290.
[71]Low 2011, 17.
[72]Low 2011, 3–8.
[73]Danilova 2015, 1–6.
[74]Low 2011, 16.
[75]Dombay 1939, 17–18; Dombay 1960a, 130.
[76]Zoffmann 1974, 54.
[77]Lichter 2001, 420; Todorova 1982, 161–165.
[78]Kalicz 1963, 10.
[79]Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 49–50.
[80]Gyucha 2015, 94, 200; Zalai-Gaál 1994, 13.
[81]Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 77–79.
[82]Todorova 1978, 75.
[83]Hillebrand 1927, 28.
[84]Bondár 2015, 32–98; Köhler 2015, 322.
[85]Siklósi 2013, 113–122.
[86]Bondár 2009, 98–99.
[87]Burmeister 2017, 74–75.

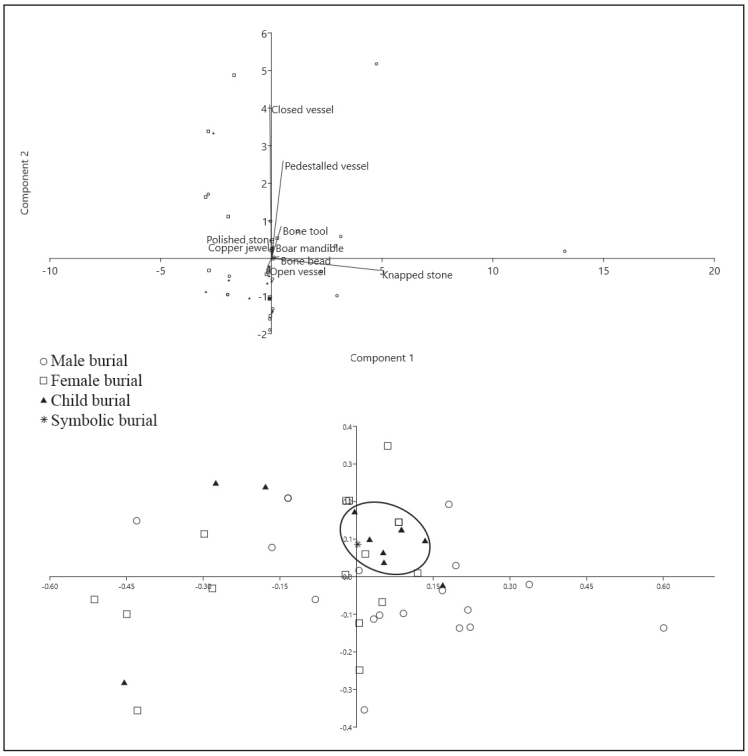

Fig. 3. Principal component and correspondence analysis of Tiszapolgár culture burials from Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (No. 32) (ECA, Carpathian Basin). The symbolic burial is marked with a black star (data after Bognár-Kutzián 1963)

3. kép. Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (32.) (kora rézkor, Kárpát-medence) Tiszapolgár-kultúrába sorolható temetkezéseinek főkomponens és korrespondencia analízise. A szimbolikus temetkezés fekete csillaggal van jelölve (adatok Bognár-Kutzián 1963 alapján)

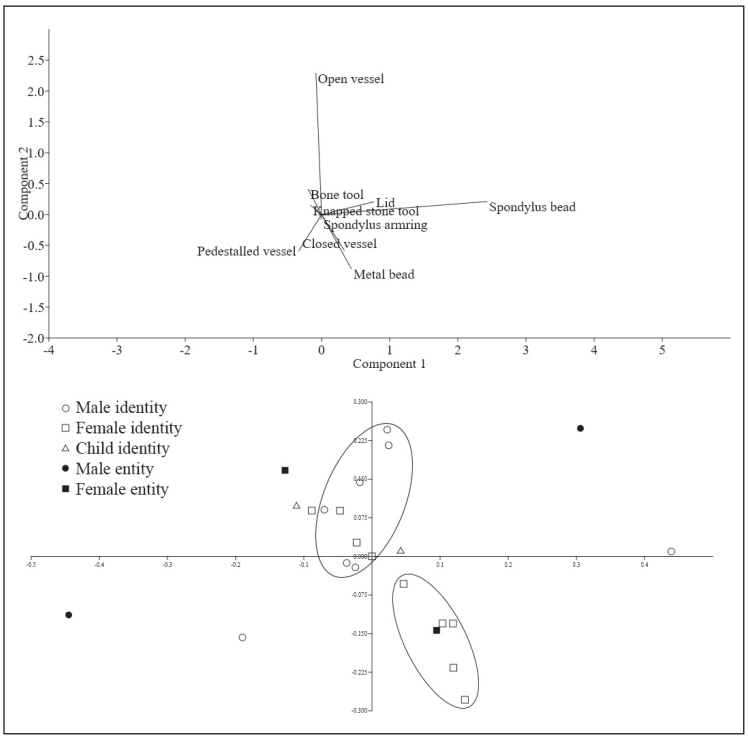

Fig. 4. Principal component and correspondence analysis of Copper Age symbolic burials from Durankulak (No. 6) (LN and LCA, Lower Danube region). Identities are marked with white, entities with black (data after Todorova et al. 2002)

4. kép. Durankulak (6.) (késő neolitikum és késő rézkor, Al-Duna vidék) rézkori szimbolikus temetkezéseinek főkomponens és korrespondencia analízise. Az egyéneknek szánt objektumok fehérrel, az entitásoknak szántak feketével vannak jelölve (adatok Todorova et al. 2002 alapján)

Besides being a unique find, the clay wagon model also signified a great social importance – undoubtedly marking this symbolic grave as outstanding. In connection with Grave 218 of Rákóczifalva-Bivaly-tó 1/c (No. 27) the publishers pointed out that its lavishly rich assemblage carries strongly emphasised male characteristics, which makes it less likely that it could have belonged to a real person. Instead, they interpreted it as 'the expression of admiration towards a divine male character'.[88] Grave 351 at Pilismarót-Basaharc (No. 21) yielded a breast pot,[89] which supposedly had strong associations with important female members of the community.[90] Thus the feature can be connected to a female entity. From the Copper Age burials at Durankulak (No. 6) four symbolic burials containing anthropomorphic figurines are known, Graves 258 and 453 connected to female and Graves 452 and 653 to male identity.[91] With the change of burial customs at Durankulak, during the Copper Age such figurines only appear in symbolic burials and carry a more important meaning than their counterparts from the Neolithic, where they appeared as the part of 'ordinary' grave furnishing.[92] Based on this, these four Varna culture symbolic burials could have been created with the purpose of representing entities. Durankulak also provides a unique chance of examining a huge quantity of symbolic burials together. As the statistical analysis of Copper Age burials shows, features connected to different sexed identities were distinguished by their furnishing, and the ones representing entities were emphasised by their rich assemblage *(Fig. 4)*.

Symbolic burials acting as memorials display a form of structurization, like Grave 186A from Durankulak (No. 6)[93] and Graves 31 and 205 from Budakalász-Luppa csárda (No. 3).[94] Here, the other burials in the vicinity of the symbolic ones form a circle, putting emphasis on them. A higher level of structurization can be observed in the whole arrangement of the Copper Age symbolic burials at Durankulak (No. 6). This includes Graves 33A, 232, 255, 258, 382, 398, 452, 453, 518, 535, 539, 540, 556, 560, 577, 653, 1050, 1069, 1070, 1100, 1103, 1114 and 1122.[95] Here, all 23 symbolic burials frame the whole uncovered site. On the northern side of the cemetery, we mostly find symbolic burials assigned a female, on the southern side ones assigned a male identity. It is also interesting to note that the earlier examples of symbolic burials appear on the southern, the later ones at the norther part of the burial ground *(Fig. 5)*. Meanwhile, the spread of other burials from different time periods is somewhat even. The fact that the communities had a clear strategy in placing the graves to certain places in order to structurize the whole cemetery and put effort into creating a meaningful location, makes it clear that symbolic burials and the ideas they were linked to had great importance, which was resistant to the passing of time. The spatial arrangement signifies that with giving the individuals symbolic burials, the community also gave them a place in the collective memory. The placement of the symbolic burials made it possible to connect these individuals to a common message, which was at utmost importance for the community – and which cannot be reconstructed.

Overall, it is possible to draft up a greater picture shown by the use of symbolic burials. Despite the fact that the funerary customs are highly variable, this comparison is possible because of the universal nature of symbolic burials. In the following, I will show how the use of symbolic burials varied in time and space. For a better understanding, my analytical clusters were based on different periods (Middle Neolithic to Late Copper Age) and geological territories (Carpathian Basin and Lower Danube region). A finer geological grouping would not have been possible, as the majority of data congregates on two main territories, namely the Great Hungarian Plain and the Black Sea Coast, and the uneven spread of data could have biased the analysis. It would have also caused problems if the data was grouped by archaeological cultures, as it has become clear recently that the Copper Age chronology and cultural groups of the Carpathian Basin need to be re-evaluated.[96] Also, archaeological cultures rather serve as analytical clusters for archaeologists, and do not show real social differences and do not define real social groups.[97]

As the following diagram shows, in every cluster, there is a rather great amount of features that cannot be considered as symbolic burials, as they failed at the pre-examination stage. This tendency highly affects sites known from smaller and old excavations, such as the ones from the Early Copper Age of the Carpathian Basin. However, if a community indeed had the practice of making symbolic burials, it was sure they paid tribute this way to their members whose bodies could not have been buried properly. The growing complexity of the use of symbolic burials towards the Late Copper Age should be noted *(Fig. 6)*.

[88]Csányi et al. 2010, 261–266.
[89]Bondár 2015, 37–39.
[90]Bondár 2002, 84–86.
[91]Todorova et al. 2002, 42–64.
[92]Vajsov 2002, 364–365.
[93]Todorova et al. 2002, 38.
[94]Bondár 2009, 44–110.
[95]Todorova et al. 2002, 32–83.
[96]Raczky–Siklósi 2013; Raczky et al. 2014; Siklósi–Szilágyi 2021.
[97]Siklósi 2006; Roberts–Vander Linden 2011.

Table. 1. Features that cannot be interpreted as symbolic burials

1. táblázat. Objektumok, melyek nem tekinthetőek szimbolikus temetkezéseknek

		ID of the excluded feature				
No.	Site	Not well-documented or *misinterpreted*	Suspected traces of human remains	Disturbed	Without valid context	Reference
2	Bešeňova	Feature 2				Novotný 1962, 156; Szőke–Nemeskéri 1954, 106–107.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda		Graves 243 and 246			Bondár 2009, 124–125.
4	Deszk B	Grave 9				Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 420–421; Bognár-Kutzián 1972, 31–32.
5	Devnja	*Grave 24*		Grave 23 and 25		Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 14–15.
6	Durankulak			Grave 103 and 1093		Todorova et al. 2002, 35; 82.
7	Gelej-Kanális-dűlő				Grave 196	Hegedűs *in press;* Kemenczei 1979, 43.
8	Goljamo Delčevo	*Grave 12 and 30*				Todorova 1982, 106–111; Тодорова 1975, 59–64.
9	Gyomaendrőd-Ugari-dűlő				One feature with unknown ID	Gyucha 2015, 94; 200; Zalai-Gaál 1994, 13.
11	Halmeu-Vamă		Grave M2	Grave M1		Astaloş–Virag 2007, 76–77.
12	Hódmezővásárhely-Bodzáspart-Bangatanya	Grave 3				Bognár-Kutzián 1972, 37–38.
13	Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok-Lenin TSZ	Grave 12				Bondár–Korek 1995, 26–28.
15	Konyár-Kálló ér	*Grave 5*	Grave 8			Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 425; Sőregi 1933, 90–106.
17	Lužianky	Graves 3/1956 and 4/1956				Novotný 1962, 155.
19	Ózd-Center		Grave 4			Kalicz 1963, 10.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	Grave 365, 384/a, 401, 405, 415 and 428	Grave 402, 424 and 448	Grave 339, 353, 406, 419, 445 and 447		Bondár 2015, 31–91.
22	Polgár-Bacsókert			Grave 8		Patay 1958, 142–148; Patay 1961, 68–69.
24	Polgár-Csőszhalom (the tell)			Grave 7		Bánffy 2007, 50.
25	Poljanica		One feature with unknown ID			Lichter 2001, 420; Todorova 1982,161–165.
28	Sárazsadány-Akasztószer	One feature with unknown ID				Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 415; Bognár-Kutzián 1970, 129.
29	Švaby	Feature 1				Budinský-Krička 1959, 465; Novotný 1962, 156.
31	Tiszabábolna-Szilpuszta			Grave 3		Hellebrandt–Patay 1977, 43–46.
32	Tiszapolgár-Basatanya			Grave 11		Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 49–50.

		ID of the excluded feature				
No.	Site	Not well-documented or *misinterpreted*	Suspected traces of human remains	Disturbed	Without valid context	Reference
34	Villánykövesd		Grave 4			Dombay 1960b, 62.
35	Vinica	*Grave 43*		Grave 26		Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 81.
36	Zengővárkony–Igaz-dűlő	Grave 37 and 262				Dombay 1939, 17–18; Dombay 1960a, 130; Zoffmann 1974, 54.

Table. 2. Symbolic burials assigned to a person with the proposed reconstruction of the sexed identity

2. táblázat. Egyéneknek szánt szimbolikus temetkezések, a nemekhez köthető identitás lehetséges rekonstrukciójával

		ID of the symbolic burial assigned to a person				
No.	Site	Male identity	Female identity	Child identity	Unknown identity	Reference
1	Aszód-Papi földek	Grave 120				Siklósi 2013, 113–122.
3	Budakalász-Luppa-csárda		Grave 349	Grave 160	Grave 311	Bondár 2009, 92–159.
5	Devnja	Grave 9				Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 9.
6	Durankulak	Grave 18A, 33A, 232, 253, 379, 382, 398, 438, 440, 535, 539, 556, 580, 601A, 609A, 663, 698, 729, 908, 947, 1042 and 1100	Grave 239, 255, 361, 518, 534, 560, 577, 901, 1050, 1070, 1103, 1114 and 1122	Grave 606A, 540 and 1069		Todorova et al. 2002, 32–83.
8	Goljamo Delčevo				Grave 15	Todorova 1982, 106–111; Тодорова 1975, 61.
16	Kunszentmárton-Pusztaistvánháza	Grave 6				Hillebrand 1927, 24–28.
18	Orastie-Dealul Pomilor-Punct X2/Platoul Rompos	Grave M4 and M5				Luca 2006, 17–19.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc				Grave 341, 344, 360, 386, 389, 397, 421, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 444, 449, 452, 457, 458 and 459	Bondár 2015, 32–98.
23	Polgár-Csőszhalom (the horizontal settlement)	One feature with unknown ID				Raczky–Anders 2009, 84.
30	Svodín	Graves 94/79 and 177/82				Nemejcová-Pavuková 1986, 148; Zalai-Gaál 1988, 68.
32	Tiszapolgár-Basatanya			Grave 29		Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 77–79.
35	Vinica	Grave 14 and 25	Grave 24 and 48		Grave 13	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 75.

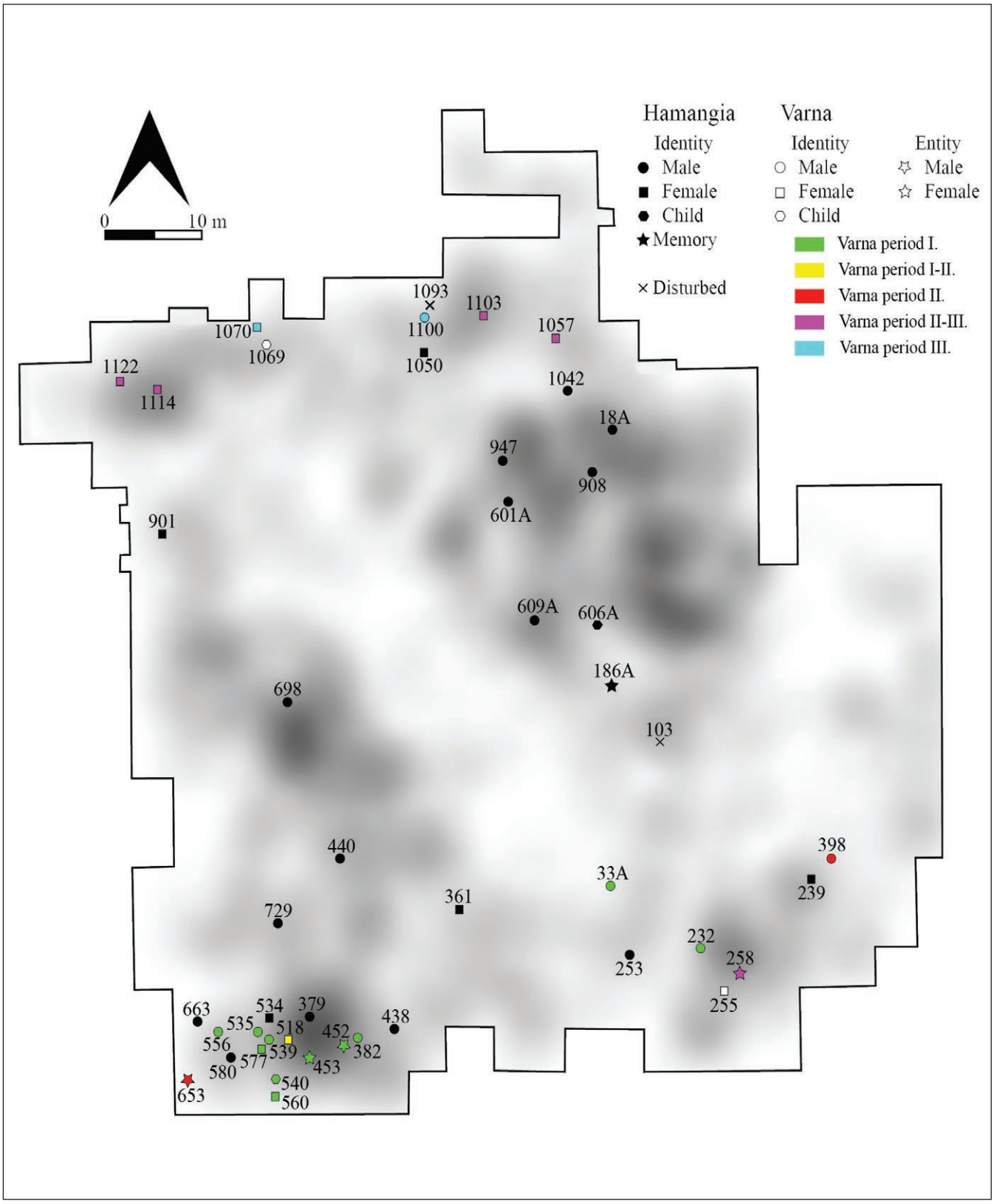

Fig. 5. The symbolic burials of Durankulak (No. 6) (LN and LCA, Lower Danube region) and the spatial distribution and density of all burials. Features of the Varna culture are marked with colourful (or in cases white, when they were not connected to exact time periods) symbols (data after Todorova et al. 2002)

5. kép. Durankulak (6.) (késő neolitikum és késő rézkor, Al-Duna vidék) szimbolikus temetkezései, az összes sír térbeli elrendeződésével és sűrűségével együtt ábrázolva. A Várna-kultúra objektumai színessel (vagy mikor nem volt lehetséges a pontosabb korszakolás, fehérrel) vannak jelölve (adatok Todorova et al. 2002 alapján)

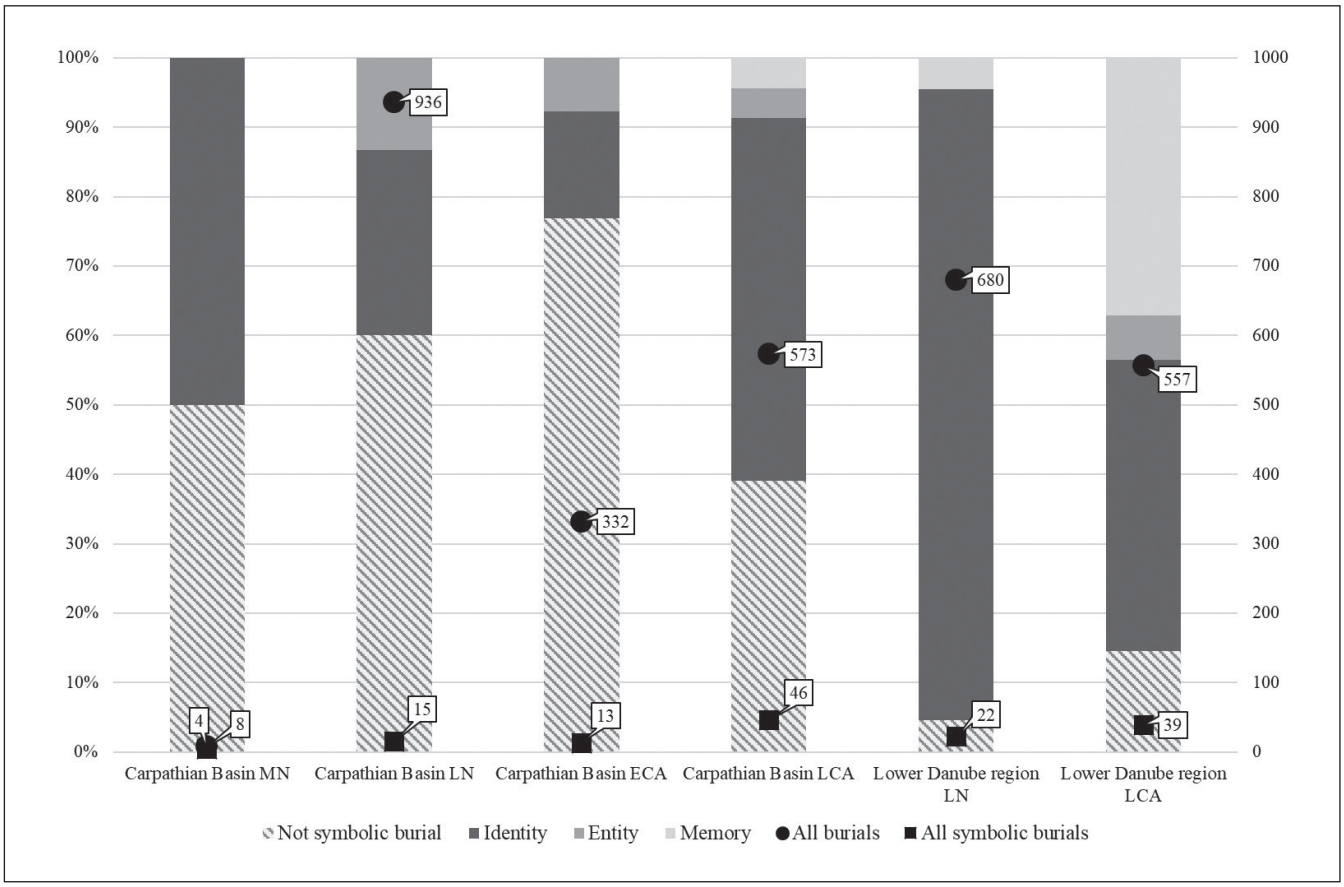

Fig. 6. Different types of symbolic burials of the examined sites within the analysed geographical and time frame. The diagram shows the frequency of different types, in the relation to all examined burials, marked with black circles, and all supposed symbolic burials, marked with black squares

6. kép. A vizsgált terület és időszak különböző típusú szimbolikus temetkezései. A diagram az egyes típusok gyakoriságát jelöli, az összes vizsgált temetkezés és az összes esetlegesen szimbolikus sírként értelmezhető objektum relációjában

It needs to be kept in mind that the sheer comparison of numbers cannot signify any type of tendencies, as there are a lot of missing factors, for example the actual size of burial grounds, the population size of communities using them, or the frequency of creating symbolic burials. Thus, this comparison has its limits, but a few crucial observations can be made. The symbolic burials assigned to a certain person appear in the case of almost every community with the custom of creating symbolic burials. Here, based on its representation in burials, it was possible to reconstruct one factor of social differentiation, the sexed identity. This proved to be male in the majority of cases, but the fact that women and children were also assigned symbolic burials shows a kind of universal meaning connected to the feature. Belonging to the second type of symbolic burials, we can see several examples with outstanding assemblages used for giving a form of material expression to an entity. This shows that burial grounds were important locations in the life of communities, and freely manipulating one of their elements was a widely used form of expression. There are only a few examples of symbolic burials that can be considered memorials, which is not surprising, as the structuration might go unnoticed in smaller-scale excavations. When a community consciously placed the burials in a way to emphasize a symbolic burial or a group of them, we can suspect the existence of a long-term strategy. This strategy was likely supported by a solid belief system, along with a well-organised social structure.

Symbolic burials assigned to a person appear with various frequency in the examined time and geographical frame. The other two categories seemingly got more wide-used during the Copper Age, which might be related to the greater degree of social structuralisation in the period. Also, the number of symbolic burials compared to others increased in this period. It might be argued that this difference is due to the fact that from the Copper Age we know of larger cemeteries. However, as the case of the Late Neolithic burial ground of Aszód-Papi-földek (No. 1) shows, when we have a bigger pool of data, it is possible to pinpoint more complex structures.[98] On the other hand, at Durankulak (No. 6), the use of symbolic burials was more diverse in the Copper Age than in the Neolithic period.

[98] We will hopefully have more information on the Late Neolithic use of symbolic burials – and funerary customs in general – after the detailed publication of the 2300 burials of Alsónyék-Bátaszék (Osztás et al. 2013).

CONCLUSION

In this article, I drafted up a criterion and clustering system that can be used to interpret symbolic burials from the Carpathian Basin and the Lower Danube region, dating to the Late Neolithic and Copper Age. The new approach was necessary, as the traditional definition (i.e. they were made to replace burials of the dead whose body could not have been retrieved), does not stand its ground in every case. Rather, these features lacking human remains were also used for carrying highly structured meanings, with the use of a community's funerary toolkit and a highly manipulative, mental and physical behaviour. The study of the aforementioned features with the help of this new methodology is successful, as a lot of falsely interpreted burials were excluded from the cluster of data and the remaining were categorized. In the course of outlining the categories I focused on the possible meanings and usages, rather than carrying out a typological classification. The comprehension of meanings was made possible by the universal nature of symbolic burials, because as we could see, similar structures – and possibly intentions – appeared within a wider time period and geographical frame. Before being linked to greater tendencies, the reconstruction of each symbolic burial's role was done in the context of the cemetery it came from, serving as the valid source of information of a given community's burial customs. With all of this, it can be proved that the custom of creating symbolic burials thrived through the examined eras and territories, with the constant change of emphasis on its different forms and the growing complexity of their usage.

When it comes to grasping tendencies, it is also possible to make a few statements. Generally, cultures with smaller sites and earlier excavations yielded fewer features that can truly be considered symbolic burials. It is not because of the absence of the custom, but is rather due to the fact that there were no sufficient grounds for interpretation. If the custom was truly present, it meant the community elected symbolic burials for their members whose bodies could not have been retrieved. In these cases, it was almost always possible to reconstruct the sexed identity represented by the symbolic burials. From this first form of usage, it was seemingly easy to take the next step, with starting to use the features for communicating more structured messages. This is how the features representing entities and ones used as memorials emerged, with rather great frequency during the Copper Age, compared to the Neolithic era, at least. This difference can signify that in the Copper Age, communities took more freedom with the usage of mortuary practices and elements as a form of expression. However, for this, the Neolithic leap of giving meaning to burials without bodies was necessary.

Overall, the analysis of symbolic burials proved to be possible and fruitful, but only after utilising a strict system of provisos to exclude the falsely interpreted features. It was necessary, because as we could see, a big deal of the collected data failed at the pre-examination stage. Concentrating on their possible roles and meanings, it is possible to fit symbolic burials into the rich and colourful spectrum of burial customs of the past. Hopefully, in the future this system will be able to help with the evaluation of supposed symbolic burials. As they are universally present, with the sufficient care and adjustments, the method can also be used to analyse features from other ages, and not just from the Late Neolithic and Copper Age. It would be also important to subject empty graves to soil analysis, further solidifying their interpretation as symbolic burials.[99]

[99]This work was supported by the ÚNKP-19-2 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology (grant number: ÚNKP-19-2-I-ELTE-577).

Table 3. Catalogue of examined features

3. táblázat. A vizsgált objektumok katalógusa

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
1	Aszód-Papi földek	224	3	69	Neolithic	Lengyel					No description available.	According to the analysis of Siklósi 2013 the feature contains grave goods associated with both males and females and also ochre, linked to rich graves. Thus, it most likely belongs to an entity.	Entity: gender-neutral	Siklósi 2013, 113–122.
1	Aszód-Papi földek	224	3	86	Neolithic	Lengyel					No description available.	According to the analysis of Siklósi 2013, the feature contains grave goods associated with both males and females and also ochre, linked to rich graves. Thus, it most likely belongs to an entity.	Entity: gender-neutral	Siklósi 2013, 113–122.
1	Aszód-Papi földek	224	3	120	Neolithic	Lengyel					No description available.	According to the analysis of Siklósi 2013, the feature contains grave goods associated primarily with males.	Identity: male	Siklósi 2013, 113–122.
2	Bešeòova	2	1	2	Neolithic	Zseliz					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 Zseliz-type bomb-shaped vessels, a bowl, and a pedestalled goblet.	Due to the bad conditions of the excavation (the majority of the site was destroyed) and the fact that the finds were greatly damaged in the bombings of 1945, the feature's interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted.	Not a symbolic burial.	Novotný 1962, 156; Szőke–Nemeskéri 1954, 106–107.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	31	Copper Age	Baden	45	50	60		No skeletal remains or finds other than stones were found in the pit.	The surrounding graves form a circle around the feature, putting emphasis on it, possibly making it a place of remembrance.	Memory: simple structure	Bondár 2009, 44.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	160	Copper Age	Baden	65	55	65		No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained a scooping vessel, 39 limestone beads and 10 shell plaques.		Identity: child	Bondár 2009, 92.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	177	Copper Age	Baden	80	125	154		No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained a bowl, a goblet, a wagon model, a stone tool and a pebble.	Supposedly has a special meaning thanks to the wagon model found in it and the richly furnished graves of children around it. Thus, it can be connected to an entity.	Entity: gender-neutral	Bondár 2009, 98–99.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	205	Copper Age	Baden	55	56	78		No skeletal remains or finds other than stones were found in the pit.	The surrounding graves form a circle around the feature, putting emphasis on it, possibly making it a place of remembrance.	Memory: simple structure	Bondár 2009, 110.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	243	Copper Age	Baden					No skeletal remains or finds other than stones were found in the pit. The human remains have most likely vanished.	The (supposedly cremated) human remains might have vanished, as in the neighbouring Grave 244.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2009, 124.
3	Buda kalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	246	Copper Age	Baden					No skeletal remains or finds other than stones were found in the pit. The human remains have most likely vanished.	The (supposedly cremated) human remains might have vanished, as in the neighbouring Grave 244.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2009, 125.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	311	Copper Age	Baden	95	68	96		No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained a pot fragment, a mug and a fragment of a pitcher.		Identity: cannot be determined (child or female)	Bondár 2009, 145–146.
3	Budakalász-Luppa csárda	439 (381 fit for analysis)	8	349	Copper Age	Baden	68	105	140	SW-NE	No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained animal bones.		Identity: female	Bondár 2009, 159.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
4	Deszk B	15	1	9	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a stone axe, 6 beads, 3 pedestalled jars, 2 bone plaques, 2 jars, 2 cups.	The excavator, Ferenc Móra considered Grave 9 to be a symbolic one, but according to Bognár-Kutzián 1963 and 1972 it was destroyed. Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 420–421; Bognár-Kutzián 1972, 31–32.
5	Devnja	26 (14 fit for analysis)	4	9	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI	195				No skeletal remains were found in the narrow pit. Contained an animal bone, a lid, a cup, 2 vessels, a plate.		Identity: male	Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 9.
5	Devnja	26 (14 fit for analysis)	4	23	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 vessels and a copper axe.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 14–15.
5	Devnja	26 (14 fit for analysis)	4	24	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI	178	30	30		No skeletal remains were found in the small circular pit. Contained 4 miniature vessels and a copper axe.	Not a symbolic burial, but rather an other form of structured deposition.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 14–15.
5	Devnja	26 (14 fit for analysis)	4	25	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 vessels, 2 knapped stone tools, a copper axe.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 401; Рачев 2018, 48–50; Тодорова-Симеонова 1971, 14–15.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	18A	Neolithic	Hamangia	60				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a jug and a stone axe.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 32.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	33A	Copper Age	Varna	70				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a Spondylus armring, a stone axe, a smoothing stone, a retouched knapped stonetool.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 32.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	103	Neolithic	Hamangia	100			N	Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a jug, a bowl, 2 knapped stone tools.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Todorova et al. 2002, 35.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	186A	Neolithic	Hamangia	90				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 Spondylus armrings, a knapped stonetool.	The surrounding graves form a circle around the feature, putting emphasis on it, possibly making it a place of remembrance.	Memory: simple structure	Todorova et al. 2002, 38.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	232	Copper Age	Varna	80			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a copper armring, a pedestalled vessel, an antler axe, 2 jars, 2 miniature vessels, a knapped stonetool, a Spondylus plaque, a Dentalium bead.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 40.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	239	Neolithic	Hamangia	75				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a jug, a lid, a vessel fragment, a knapped stonetool, a stone.		Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 40.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	253	Neolithic	Hamangia	105			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, 3 jars, 2 copper armrings, a chalcedone bead, an antler axe.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 41.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	255	Copper Age	Vama	60				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained the fragments of 5 vessels, 2 copper armrings, 2 smoothing stones.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 41.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	258	Copper Age	Vama	100			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained an antrophomorphic figurine with a copper ring on its arm, 3 Ezerovo-type bowls.	The feature can be assigned a special meaning. It can be connected to an entity thanks to the antrophomorphic figurine found in it. It is also part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Entity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 42.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	361	Neolithic	Hamangia	138			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained 2 copper armrings, a copper bead, a fragment of a vessel.		Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 47.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	379	Neolithic	Hamangia	165			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a bowl, a jar.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 48.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	382	Copper Age	Vama	190			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a pedestalled vessel, 2 bowls, a lid, a jar, an antler axe, 2 copper armrings, 2 Spondylus armrings.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 48.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	398	Copper Age	Varna	70				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a pot-stand, 2 pedestalled vessels, 3 jars, a lid, a knapped stone-tool, 2 Spondylus armrings.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 49.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	438	Neolithic	Hamangia	197			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a pedestalled vessel, 2 jugs, a knapped stonetool, 2 bowls, 2 jars, 2 lids.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 51.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	440	Neolithic	Hamangia	150			N/NE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a pedestalled vessel, a jar, a lid, a knapped stonetool, an antler axe, a jug.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 51.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	452	Copper Age	Varna	260			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained an anthrophomorphic figurine in the middle of the pit, with its head oriented to the North, a potstand, 2 pedestalled vessels, 3 lids, an antler axe, 9 Spondylus beads, fragments of 2 vessels, 2 jugs, a retouched knapped stonetool, a bone awl, 3 Spondylus plaques, 3 bone beads.	The feature can be assigned a special meaning. It can be connected to an entity thanks to the antrophomorphic figurine found in it. It is also part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Entity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 52.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	453	Copper Age	Vama	240			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained an antrophomorphic figurine with a copper ring on its arm, with its head oriented to the North, a bowl, 3 jars, 2 lids, a knapped stonetool, a smoothing stone, a bone awl, 6 malachit beads.	The feature can be assigned a special meaning. It can be connected to an entity thanks to the antrophomorphic figurine found in it. It is also part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Entity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 52.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	518	Copper Age	Vama	233			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a pedestalled vessel, 2 smoothing stones, 2 bone awls, 2 jars, 2 lids, 2 bowls.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 56.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	534	Neolithic	Hamangia	223			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a pedestalled vessel, a lid, a knapped stone tool, a smoothing stone, a shell, a small pot.		Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 57.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	535	Copper Age	Vama	230			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, 2 bowls, 2 lids, fragments of 2 vessels, an antler axe, 3 malachit beads, 2 lignit beads, 7 Dentalium beads.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 57.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	539	Copper Age	Vama	202			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained 2 potstands, 2 jars, 2 knapped stone tools, a smoothing stone, an antler axe, a malachit bead, a Dentalium bead.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 57.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	540	Copper Age	Varna	194			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a bowl, 3 jars, 2 lids, a bone awl.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: child	Todorova et al. 2002, 57.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	556	Copper Age	Varna	230			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, 2 pedestalled vessels, a bowl, 4 jars, an antler axe, a knapped stone tool.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 58.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	560	Copper Age	Varna	204			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained 4 jars, animal bones, 2 lids, a knapped stone tool.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 58.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	577	Copper Age	Varna	230			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a jar, a lid, a retouched knapped stone tool, a smoothing stone, a bone awl, a shell, a bowl.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 59.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	580	Neolithic	Hamangia	235				No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a bowl, fragments of a vessel, a lid, an antler axe.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 59.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	601A	Neolithic	Hamangia	60				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained an antrophomorphic figurine and a Spondylus bead.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 61.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	606A	Neolithic	Hamangia	80				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 Spondylus armrings, a Spondylus bead.		Identity: child	Todorova et al. 2002, 61.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	609A	Neolithic	Hamangia	40				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained an anthropomorphic figurine, a Spondylus armring.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 61.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	653	Copper Age	Varna	180			NE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained an antrophomorphic figurine with its head oriented to the North-West, a bowl, 2 jugs, a lid, a knapped stonetool, 2 bone awls, a shell, a Spondylus bead.	The feature can be assigned a special meaning. It can be connected to an entity thanks to the antrophomorphic figurine found in it. It is also part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (southern group).	Entity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 64.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	663	Neolithic	Hamangia	168			NE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a pedestalled vessel, a jug, an antler axe.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 64.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	698	Neolithic	Hamangia	100				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 pithoi, 2 bowls, a smoothing stone, an Equus hydruntinus tooth, an Ovis/Capra bone.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 66.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	729	Neolithic	Hamangia	160			NE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a potstand, a pedestalled vessel, 3 jugs, a jar, a lid, an antler axe.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 67.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	901	Neolithic	Hamangia	65				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 pithoi, 3 bowls, a jug, a tooth of a ruminant.		Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 75.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	908	Neolithic	Hamangia	35				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a bowl, a jug, bones of two Equus germanicus transilvanicus, skulls and teeth of 2 Ovis/ Capra, skull of a Bos taurus, teeth of 4 Equus hydruntinus, skull of a Capreolus capreolus, skull of a Cervus elaphus.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 75.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	947	Neolithic	Hamangia	20				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a bowl, a pithos, teeth of a Bos taurus and an Equus hydruntinus.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 76.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1042	Neolithic	Hamangia	70				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a Sava-type lid, a lid, a pithos, fragments of a vessel, bones of a Bos primigenius, a tooth of an Equus hydruntinus.		Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 80.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1050	Neolithic	Hamangia	88			E	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a bowl, a jug, fragments of a vessel, a tooth of a ruminant.		Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 81.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1057	Copper Age	Varna	70				No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained 2 lids, a miniature pithos, a knapped stonetool, 4 bowls, a jar.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 81.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1069	Copper Age	Varna	65			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained 2 knapped stone-tools, a Copper awl.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: child	Todorova et al. 2002, 81.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1070	Copper Age	Varna	41				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a lid, a bowl, a miniature pithos, a smoothing stone.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 81.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1093	Copper Age	Varna					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, a miniature pithos, a jug, a bone tool.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Todorova et al. 2002, 82.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1100	Copper Age	Varna	93				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained 2 miniature pithoi, a bowl.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: male	Todorova et al. 2002, 83.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1103	Copper Age	Varna	132			N	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained an Ezerovo-type vessel, a bone awl, fragments of a vessel, a lid.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 83.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1114	Copper Age	Varna	105				No skeletal remains were found in the pit without stone packing. Contained a lid, 2 bowls, a miniature pithos, a knapped stone tool.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 83.
6	Durankulak	1270 (937 fit for analysis)	46	1122	Copper Age	Varna	140			NE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a lid, 2 bowls, a miniature pithos.	Part of a greater memorial structure of the Varna-culture (northern group).	Identity: female	Todorova et al. 2002, 83.
7	Gelej-Kanális-dûlõ	1	1	196	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár	60			W/NW-E/SE	No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 6 jars, 3 pedestalled vessels.	As a lonely feature, it cannot be interpreted as a symbolic burial, due to lacking any type of context.	Not a symbolic burial.	Hegedűs in press; Kemenczei 1979, 43.
8	Goljamo Delcevo	30 (22 fit for analysis)	3	12	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniþa-Karanovo VI		70	80		No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 cups, fragments of a vessel, 2 bowls, a lid.	Not a symbolic burial, but rather an other form of structured deposition.	Not a symbolic burial.	Todorova 1982, 106–111; Тодорова 1975, 59–64.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
8	Goljamo Delcevo	30 (22 fit for analysis)	3	15	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniþa-Karanovo VI					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 bowls and a lid.	The identity cannot be determined, due to lack of sufficient finds.	Identity: cannot be determined	Todorova 1982, 106–111; Тодорова 1975, 59–64.
8	Goljamo Delcevo	30	3	30	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniþa-Karanovo VI					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained only a huge vessel, an antler and a stone axe. The whole deposition was sprinkled with ochre.	Not a symbolic burial, but rather an other form of structured deposition.	Not a symbolic burial.	Todorova 1982, 106–111; Тодорова 1975, 59–64.
9	Gyomaendrõd-Ugari-dûlõ	1	1		Copper Age	Tiszapolgár					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 vessels.	As a lonely grave on a settlement site, it cannot be interpreted as a symbolic burial, due to lacking any context.	Not a symbolic burial.	Gyucha 2015, 94; 200; Zalai-Gaál 1994, 13.
10	Hajdú-böszörmény-Ficsori tó-dûlõ	The site was not analysed as it has not yet been fully published.												Kovács–Váczi 2007.
11	Halmeu-Vamã	2	2	M1	Neolithic	Tisza-Herpály-Csõszhalom		96	237	S/SE-N/NW	Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a piece of burnt wood, animal bone fragments and teeth, 2 stone axes, 16 knapped stone tools, 2 grinding stones, 2 smoothing stones, a vessel, 2 wild boar mandible pendants.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Astaloş–Virag 2007, 76–77.
11	Halmeu-Vamã	2	2	M2	Neolithic	Tisza-Herpály-Csõszhalom		65	140	SE-NW	The feature contained cremated bones of unknown origin (maybe they belonged to an animal), 3 pots, a stone axe, 9 knapped stone tools, lumps of ochre.	The presence of cremated remains (even though its origins are unknown) excludes the feature from the group of symbolic burials.	Not a symbolic burial.	Astaloş–Virag 2007, 76–77.
12	Hódmezõ-vásárhely-Bodzáspart-Bangatanya	3	1	3	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár					The skeletal remains might have gone unnoticed. Contained a bowl, a pedestalled vessel, 2 jugs.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1972, 37–38.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
13	Hódmezõ-vásárhely-Kishomok-Lenin TSZ	13	1	12	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr				N-S	Most likely disturbed. Contained a vessel and several animal bones.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted. The feature most likely have been disturbed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár–Korek 1995, 26–28.
14	Komjatice	We only know of this site from mentions in the literature. Due to the lack of inromation, it was not analysed.												Novotný 1958, 37; Novotný 1962, 156.
15	Konyár-Kálló ér	17	2	5	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr	50	80	80		Circular pit. Contained animal bones.	Not a symbolic burial, but rather an other form of structured deposition.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 425; Sőregi 1933, 90.
15	Konyár-Kálló ér	17	2	8	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr					Contained human remains and a vessel.	The feature contained human remains, thus is not a symbolic burial.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 425; Sőregi 1933, 105–106.
16	Kunszent-márton-Pusztaistván-háza	15 (12 fit for analysis)	1	6	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr				E-W	No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 6 aligned vessels, a knapped stone tool, a copper awl.		Identity: male	Hillebrand 1927, 24–28.
17	Lužianky	16	2	3/ 1956	Neolithic	Lengyel					No description available.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted. The two symbolic burials of the site seemed to be one feature on the surface layer.	Not a symbolic burial.	Novotný 1962, 155.
17	Lužianky	16	2	4/ 1956	Neolithic	Lengyel					No description available.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted. The two symbolic burials of the site seemed to be one feature on the surface layer.	Not a symbolic burial.	Novotný 1962, 155.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
18	Orastie-Dealul Pomilor-Punct X2/Platoul Rompos	5	2	M4	Neolithic	Turda°				N-S	No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained fragments of a vessel, animal bones, charcoal and ochre lumps. The feature is oriented perpendicularly to the others.		Identity: male	Luca 2006, 17–19.
18	Orastie-Dealul Pomilor-Punct X2/Platoul Rompos	5	2	M5	Neolithic	Turdaş				E-W	No skeletal remains were found in the oval pit. Contained fragments of a vessel, animal bones, charcoal and ochre lumps.		Identity: male	Luca 2006, 17–19.
19	Ózd-Center	7 (4 fit for analysis)	1	4	Copper Age	Baden		90	200		No skeletal remains were found in the feature. Contained a broken vessel scattered amongst stones.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted. It is likely that the human remains were placed in an urn, which shattered later and the scattered human remains were not observed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Kalicz 1963, 10.
20	Pekliuk	We only know of this site from mentions in the literature. Due to the lack of inromation, it was not analysed.												Lichter 2001, 418–419.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	339	Copper Age	Boleráz	160				Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 4 bowls, a mug, a pot.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 31–32.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	341	Copper Age	Boleráz	105	80	80		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, a cup, a fragment of a vessel.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 32–33; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	344	Copper Age	Boleráz	140	100	80		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a bowl, a mug, a pot.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 34; Köhler 2015, 322.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	351	Copper Age	Boleráz	125	200	250		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained an amphora, 13 bowls, a breast pot, a jug, a pot.	Due to being one of the cemetery's the richest funerals, it belongs to an entity. The breast pot gives this entity a strong female identity. The feature might have been the form of materialising a female entity.	Entity: female	Bondár 2015, 37–39.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	353	Copper Age	Boleráz	130	300	350		Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 3 bowls, 2 mugs, 2 pots, a jug, a vessel fragment.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 39–40.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	360	Copper Age	Boleráz	140	150	150		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a bowl, 2 pots, a mug, a mussel.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 34; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	365	Copper Age	Boleráz	145		400		Uncovered in two instances. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 3 bowls, 2 pots, a cup, a mug, a jug.	The feature was uncovered in two instances, thus the observations are not trustwothy.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 37–42.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	384/a	Copper Age	Boleráz					It cannot be determined if the feature is a separate one or belongs to Grave 384. Contained a jug and a pot.	The statigraphic relations of the feature are not clear, thus it cannot be subjected to analysis.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 52.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	386	Copper Age	Boleráz	147	100	100		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a mug, 4 bowls, 2 jugs, a knapped stone tool.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 53; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	389	Copper Age	Boleráz	200	70	60		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a mug, a jug, a pot.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 55; Köhler 2015, 322.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	397	Copper Age	Boleráz					No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a bowl.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 61; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	401	Copper Age	Boleráz	139	250	200		Uncovered in two instances. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, a jug, a pot, 5 rollers.	The feature was uncovered in two instances, thus the observations are not trustwothy.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 63–64.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	402	Copper Age	Boleráz	130	100	50		No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained a jug, 3 pots, a mug, 2 bowls, a vessel fragment.	There was no stone packing on the grave, thus the cremated human remains could have easily disappeared, making the interpretation as a symbolic burial not possible.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 64–65.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	405	Copper Age	Boleráz	104				Uncovered in two instances. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, 2 pots, a rhyton.	The feature was uncovered in two instances, thus the observations are not trustwothy.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 66–67.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	406	Copper Age	Boleráz					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a mug, a jug, 2 bowls.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 67.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	415	Copper Age	Boleráz		200			Uncovered in two instances. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, a jug, a jar.	The feature was uncovered in two instances, thus the observations are not trustwothy.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 72.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	419	Copper Age	Boleráz					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a cup, 2 bowls, a pot, a jug.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 74–75.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	421	Copper Age	Boleráz	165				No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained an amphora and a bowl.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 76; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	424	Copper Age	Boleráz	182				No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained an amphora, 3 bowls, a jug.	There was no stone packing on the grave, thus the cremated human remains could have easily disappeared, making the interpretation as a symbolic burial not possible.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 77–78.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	428	Copper Age	Boleráz	230				Not fully excavated. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, an amphora, 2 jugs.	The feature was not fully excavated, thus the observations are not trusthworthy.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 79.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	431	Copper Age	Boleráz	103	100	200		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a mug.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 80; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	432	Copper Age	Boleráz	105	50	60		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a pot, 3 bowls.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 81; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	433	Copper Age	Boleráz	205	300	200		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 amphorae, 2 jugs, a cup, 2 bowls, a pot.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 81–82; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for a nalysis)	37	436	Copper Age	Boleráz	200	200	250		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a pot, a bowl, a jug.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 84; Köhler 2015, 322.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	437	Copper Age	Boleráz	175				No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained an amphora.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 84; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	438	Copper Age	Boleráz	220	170	200		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained pot fragments.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 84–85; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	439	Copper Age	Boleráz	213	150	200		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 3 bowls, a mug, a jug, 4 rollers, antler fragments.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 85; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	440	Copper Age	Boleráz	220	200	200		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained a jug.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 85–86; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	444	Copper Age	Boleráz	110	250	250		No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 2 bowls, a jug, 2 mugs, an amphora, a knapped stone tool fragment.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 88; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	445	Copper Age	Boleráz	220	300	350		Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 3 bowls, a wagon model, 4 amphorae, a pot, a jug.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 88–89.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	447	Copper Age	Boleráz	150	300	300		Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found under the stone packing. Contained 4 bowls, a pot, a jug, a suspension vessel.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 90.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	448	Copper Age	Boleráz	155				No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained a mug, 4 bowls, a pot, a jug.	There was no stone packing on the grave, thus the cremated human remains could have easily disappeared, making the interpretation as a symbolic burial not possible.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bondár 2015, 90–91.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	449	Copper Age	Boleráz	55				No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained 5 bowls, an amphora.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 91–92; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	452	Copper Age	Boleráz	95	150	150		No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained a bowl, a pot, a jug, charcoal fragments.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 93–94; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	457	Copper Age	Boleráz	85	150	200		No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained 2 bowls, 2 jugs, 2 miniature pots, a miniature lid, an amphora, a pot.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 96–97; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	458	Copper Age	Boleráz	260	150	150		No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained a jug, vessel fragments, an amphora.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 97–98; Köhler 2015, 322.
21	Pilismarót-Basaharc	127 (106 fit for analysis)	37	459	Copper Age	Boleráz	137	150	150		No skeletal remains or stone packing was found. Contained 2 bowls, 2 jugs.	The identity cannot be determined, as the dead of the community were cremated, making the determination of biological sex impossible in most cases.	Identity: cannot be determined	Bondár 2015, 98; Köhler 2015, 322.
22	Polgár-Bacsókert	14	1	8	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a pot, a jug, a knapped stone tool.	Every grave of the cemetery was disturbed to a certain degree, most likely Grave 8 too.	Not a symbolic burial.	Patay 1958, 142–148; Patay 1961, 68–69.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
23	Polgár-Csõszhalom (horizontal settlement)	124	1	?	Neolithic	Tisza-Herpály-Csõszhalom					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a stone axe and a wild boar mandibula.	Even though the site is not yet fully published, the reports are to be trusted and according to Raczky-Anders 2009, the burial belonged to a male.	Identity: male	Raczky–Anders 2009, 84.
24	Polgár-Csõszhalom (tell)	7	1	7	Neolithic	Tisza-Herpály-Csõszhalom	380	50			Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a boar mandible, a stone axe.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bánffy 2007, 50.
25	Poljanica	25	1	?	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniþa-Karanovo VI					No description available.	According to Lichter 2001 there was a symbolic burial found on the site, but Todorova 1982 claims that in some cases, the skeletons completely disappeared, only leaving behind faint traces on the ground. Thus, Lichter's interpretation must be dismissed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 420; Todorova 1982, 161–165.
26	Provadia	The site was not analysed as it has not yet been fully published.												Николов et al. 2014; Рачев 2018, 50.
27	Rákóczifalva-Bivaly-tó 1/c.	79	1	218	Copper Age	Bodrog-keresztúr					No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 3 vessels, animal bones, a copper axe, a copper awl, 11 knapped stone tools.	Even though the site is not yet published in detail, the observations and primal analysis of the finds are trustworthy. According to Csányi et al. 2010, this feature belongs to an entity, bearing a strong male identity. The feature was located in the middle of an empty area between two grave rows, further implying that it belonged to an entity.	Entity: male	Csányi et al. 2010, 261.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
28	Sárazsadány-Akasztószer	6	1	?	Neolithic	Tisza-Herpály-Csõszhalom					No description available.	The feature appears in the literature as a disturbed grave and as a symbolic burial too. These contradictions make its interpretation as a symbolic grave impossible.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 415; Bognár-Kutzián 1970, 129.
29	Švábы	1	1	1	Neolithic	Bükk	30				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained vessel fragments, a bowl, 2 amphorae, a jug, a knapped stone tool.	Due to the insufficient observations and documentation, the interpretation as a symbolic burial cannot be accepted. The feature could have been disturbed, and even though the literature refers to it as a symbolic burial, also as to one where the human remains disappeared. It was unearthed on a settlement site with 3 other features, which also contradicts its interpretation as a symbolic grave.	Not a symbolic burial.	Budinský-Krička 1959, 465; Novotný 1962, 156.
30	Svodín	161	2	177/82	Neolithic	Lengyel					Only a brief description is available. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained vessels, lumps of ochre.	Based on the brief description of Nemejcová-Pavuková 1986, the feature is richly furnished with finds suggesting male identity.	Identity: male	Nemejcová-Pavuková 1986, 148; Zalai-Gaál 1988, 68.
30	Svodín	161	2	94/79	Neolithic	Lengyel					Only a brief description is available. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 10 vessels, lumps of ochre.	Based on the brief description of Nemejcová-Pavuková 1986, the feature is richly furnished with finds suggesting male identity.	Identity: male	Nemejcová-Pavuková 1986, 148; Zalai-Gaál 1988, 68.
31	Tisza-bábolna-Szilpuszta	7	1	3	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár	64				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a pedestalled vessel, 2 pots, 3 jugs, a vessel fragment.	The feature cannot be considered a a symbolic burial, as the human remains most likely fell victim to the site's disturbance.	Not a symbolic burial.	Hellebrandt–Patay 1977, 43–46.
32	Tiszapolgár-Basatanya	167 (122 fit for analysis)	2	11	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár	60	55		W-E	Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained stone beads, a pot, a cup, a pebble, animal teeth.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 49–50.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
32	Tiszapolgár-Basatanya	167 (122 fit for analysis)	2	29	Copper Age	Tiszapolgár	70	45	200	W-E	No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained stone beads, 2 copper rings, a pedestalled vessel, Ovis aries bones, 3 jars, 2 cups, domestic boar mandible and wild boar tusk, bones of Bos taurus and Bos primigenius, antler fragments, animal teeth.		Identity: child	Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 77–79.
33	Varna	The site was excluded from the analysis, as it has not yet been fully published and there are contradicting ideas in connection with its symbolic burials.												Bojadžiev–Slavčev 2011; Ivanov 1978.
34	Villánykövesd	28	1	4	Neolithic	Lengyel	73			NW-DE	Contained 3 pedestalled vessels, a vessel, animal bones, a pot, 2 vertebrae of a child.	According to Dombay 1960b the vertebrae found in the pit belonged to another burial, but there is no evidence to back this assumption up. The interpretation of the feature as a symbolic burial must be dismissed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Dombay 1960b, 62.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	13	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI	50				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 3 vessels and 3 knapped stone tools.		Identity: cannot be determined (child or male)	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 75.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	14	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI	40				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 4 vessels.		Identity: male	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 75.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	24	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI	30	115	115		No skeletal remains were found in the pit with stone packing. Contained a vessel and a shell.		Identity: female	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 80.

No.	Site	Graves in total	Supposedly symbolic burials	No. of feature	Age	Culture	Depth (cm)	Width (cm)	Length (cm)	Orientation	Description of the feature	Comment	Classification	Reference
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	25	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI	65				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 4 vessels.		Identity: male	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 80.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	26	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI					Disturbed. No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained fragments of 5 vessels.	Due to being disturbed, it cannot be analysed.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 81.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	43	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI	30				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained a huge vessel, animal bones, a knapped stone tool.	Not a symbolic burial, but rather an other form of structured deposition.	Not a symbolic burial.	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 90.
35	Vinica	53 (42 fit for analysis)	7	48	Copper Age	Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI	40				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained animal bones, a vessel, a knapped stone tool, a bone awl.		Identity: female	Lichter 2001, 437; Радунчева–Венедиков 1976, 91.
36	Zengő-várkony-Igaz-dűlő	368	2	37	Neolithic	Lengyel	25				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 4 vessels, a stone axe, a wild boar mandible, a bone awl.	The site's analysis is impossible because the cemetery's find-material is mixed up and the determination of the biological sex of the uncovered individuals was also problematic. Thus there is no context in which the symbolic burials can be examined.	Not a symbolic burial.	Dombay 1939, 17–18; Zoffmann 1974, 54.
36	Zengő-várkony-Igaz-dűlő	368	2	262	Neolithic	Lengyel	40				No skeletal remains were found in the pit. Contained 2 vessels, a bone awl.	The site's analysis is impossible because the cemetery's find-material is mixed up and the determination of the biological sex of the uncovered individuals was also problematic. Thus there is no context in which the symbolic burials can be examined.	Not a symbolic burial.	Dombay 1960a, 130; Zoffmann 1974, 54.

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Testek nélküli temetkezések. A Kárpát-medence és az Al-Duna vidék szimbolikus temetkezései a késő neolitikum és a rézkor idején

Hegedűs Zsuzsa

A cikk a Kárpát-medence és az Al-Duna vidék rézkorának, és ezzel szoros összefüggésben késő neolitikumának szimbolikus temetkezésként meghatározott objektumait tekinti át. Mivel ezen a területen még nem született részletes, összefoglaló munka, így fontos volt az adatok összegyűjtése mellett egy olyan módszertani rendszer kialakítása, mely alkalmas az ilyen típusú objektumok szűrésére és értelmezésére. A kialakított kritériumrendszer elősegítette azt, hogy a felgyűjtött adatokból csak a hiteles elemek kerüljenek részletes, elsősorban statisztikai módszereken alapuló elemzés alá. Alapvetően három értelmezési kategória jelenik meg: az egyénekhez köthető szimbolikus temetkezések, az entitásokhoz köthető szimbolikus temetkezések és az emlékhelyként szolgáló szimbolikus temetkezések. Ezek nem élesen elváló tipológiai egységek, hanem inkább az értelmezést megkönnyítő gondolati keretrendszerek, melyek mentén feltárható, hogy milyen szerepet tölthettek be a szimbolikus temetkezések az egykori közösségek szokásrendszerében.