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В № 20 «Записок ИИМК РАН» публикуются научные исследования, представленные на российско-финляндском симпозиуме «Торговля, обмен и взаимовлияния в доисторическое время и средневековье/историческое время». В разделах «Новейшие открытия и разработки ИИМК РАН» и «Из истории науки» представлены статьи Н. Ф. Соловьёвой и А. В. Полякова, посвященные полевым открытиям на Ыылгыны-депе в Южном Туркменистане и анализу данных радиоуглеродного датирования фёдоровской культуры на Енисее, а также работа С. О. Ремизова, обобщающая информацию об изучении памятников каменного века Волгоградской обл.

Издание адресовано археологам, культурологам, историкам, музейоведам, студентам исторических факультетов вузов.

The 20th issue of the “Transactions of IHMC RAS” contains the Proceedings of the Russian-Finnish Symposium “Trade, Exchange and Contacts in Prehistory and in the Medieval/post-Medieval Times”. The sections “Newest discoveries and developments” and “From the history of science” present the papers by N. F. Solovyova and A. V. Polyakov devoted to field discoveries at Ilgynly-depe in South Turkmenistan and to the analysis of radiocarbon dates obtained for the Fyodorovo culture on the Yenisei river, respectively, as well as the work by S. O. Remizov who summarizes the information about the Stone Age sites of the Volgograd oblast.

The volume is intended for archaeologists, culturologists, historians, museum workers, and students of historical faculties.

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CREMATION BURIALS IN INHUMATION CEMETERIES IN LATE IRON AGE FINLAND AND THE KARELIAN ISTHMUS

H.-L. PUOLAKKA¹

Keywords: *Late Iron Age, Christianisation, cremation, inhumation, burial, Finland, the Karelian Isthmus.*

All known Late Iron Age cemeteries with both inhumations and a certain type of singular cremation burials located in modern day Finland and the Karelian Isthmus are examined in this study (Fig. 1). These eight cemeteries date approximately from 10th to 15th centuries, from the Late Iron Age to the beginning of the medieval period.

Most of the burials in these cemeteries are inhumation burials, but there are also singular cremation burials among the inhumations. The most common explanation for these different types of burials has been the fast process of Christianization and the burial grounds have been considered clearly Christian cemeteries. This is a gross simplification of the complex material that is found from these sites and does not explain the fact that the cremation burials are usually directly adjacent or on top of the inhumations, and therefore these burials are stratigraphically either of the same age or younger. Most of the discussed cemeteries have both inhumation and cremation graves with and without grave goods. The numbers of burials in these cemeteries is presented in Table 1.

The relevant dating results from cremations and their respective inhumations are presented in Table 2. The radiocarbon dates show that interestingly the cremated remains can be even hundreds of years older than the inhumated remains they were buried with. Unfortunately, not many cremations and inhumations from the same burial have been dated. Typology and coin finds, however, support the possibility that cremated remains can be both older than the adjacent inhumations, and contemporaneous to other inhumations in these cemeteries. Thus, cremation was practiced simultaneously with inhumation. Sometimes cremated remains and inhumations were buried together. Therefore, cremation is not simply an older, pre-Christian burial custom. My interpretation is that in these cemeteries we can see a period of synchronicity or co-existence between two religious systems: pre-Christian beliefs and Christianity.

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Introduction

In this study, I have examined all the known Late Iron Age cemeteries with both inhumations and a certain type of singular cremation burials located in modern day Finland and the Karelian Isthmus (Fig. 1). These eight cemeteries date approximately from 10th to 15th centuries, from the Late Iron Age to the beginning of the medieval period.

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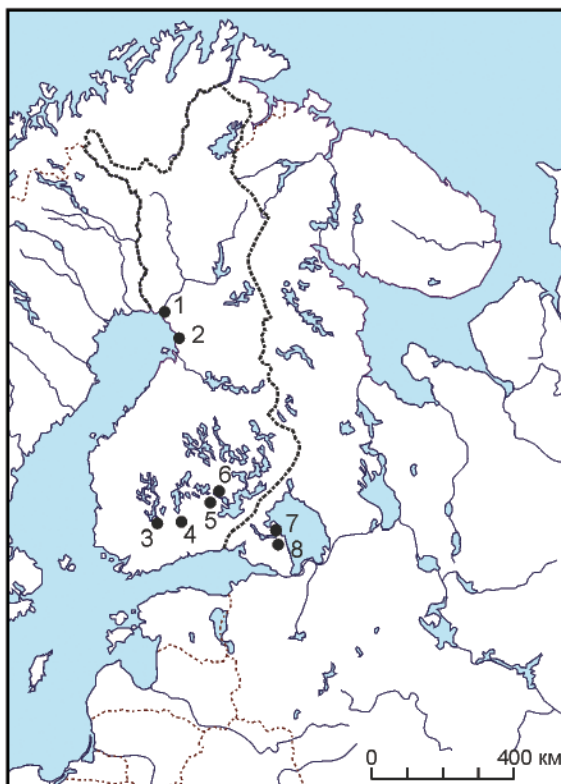


Fig 1. Distribution of Late Iron Age cemeteries with both cremation and inhumation burials in Finland and the Karelian Isthmus: 1 — Valmarinniemi (Keminmaa); 2 — Suutarinniemi (Ii); 3 — Toppolanmäki (Valkeakoski); 4 — Kirkailanmäki (Hollola); 5 — Visulahti (Mikkeli); 6 — Tuukkala (Mikkeli); 7 — Suotniemi (Käkisalmi / Priozersk, Yarkoe); 8 — Hovinsaari Tontinmäki (Räisälä / Mel'nikovo, Bol'shoj Poluostrov). Base map: Wikimedia commons; illustration: H.-L. Puolakka

Рис. 1. Распространение на территории Финляндии и Карельского перешейка могильников позднего железного века, на которых наряду с труположением встречаются отдельные погребения с трупосожжением: 1 — Валмаринниемеи (Кеминмаа); 2 — Сууеаринниемеи (Ий); 3 — Топполанмяки (Валкеакоски); 4 — Киркаиланмяки (Холлола); 5 — Висулахти (Миккели); 6 — Тууккала (Миккели); 7 — Приозерск, Яркое; 8 — Мельниково, Большой Полуостров. Топографическая основа: Wikimedia commons; иллюстрирование: Х.-Л. Пуолакка

Most of the burials in these cemeteries are inhumation burials, but there are also singular cremation burials among the inhumations. In the archaeological literature, the most common explanation for these different types of burials has been the fast process of Christianization: the pre-Christian burial traditions turning neatly into Christian inhumations (Purhonen 1998; Taavitsainen et al. 2009). This explanation, however, does not take into account the diversity in types of burial, including the presence of grave goods, the inclusion of additional bones, and cremation burials. It also does not explain the fact that the cremation burials are usually situated directly on top of the inhumation graves, and thus, are stratigraphically either same age or younger than the inhumations.

This research aims to study the connection between the cremation burials and inhumation burials. Furthermore, my research aims to see if there was a change in the burial customs during the era that the cemeteries were being used and, if so, what might be the reasons behind this change. I have excluded from my study the cremation cemeteries

under level ground (Fi. polttokenttäkalmisto), since I am particularly interested in the relationship between the inhumation burials and singular cremations within the same cemeteries. I will address the earlier interpretations of this phenomenon in light of the results of my research, as well as consider whether these sites and burial customs are connected, or only similar, individually occurring phenomena. I believe that by comparing these sites, scholars can find more clues to the mystery that has been puzzling researchers for more than a century than if they were researching only one cemetery.

History of research

The eight sites included in this research were excavated during a long time span, from 1880 to 2014: there were 35 excavations, 22 excavation leaders and over 120 years of research in total. This amounts to a large amount of material of varying quality. The methods used in the late 19th century and early 20th century are not comparable to modern ones, and some older reports are lacking information. Many of the sites had been disturbed by, for example, agriculture and construction before research was undertaken (Schwindt 1893[2012]; Mikkola 2009). In some of the sites, only a small number of graves were studied or preserved.

The cremations within these sites have often been regarded as anomalies in what has been otherwise thought of as “clearly Christian cemeteries” (Taavitsainen et al. 2009: 210). The phenomenon has not been thoroughly researched, and the cremations have only been studied as a part of their respective cemeteries. Some cursory explanations have been given. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander (1988: 198) regards this phenomenon as a “panic reaction”, where population became Christian and hastily dug up and reburied the cremated remains of their relatives in consecrated ground. J. Ikäheimo et al. (2017: 102–104) partially agree with this interpretation in the case of the Valmarinniemi cemetery. They root their interpretation in the small number of graves compared to the long occupation of Valmarinniemi cemetery, and argue that there must be more undocumented Late Iron Age burial places in this area. E. Kivikoski (1955: 66) suggests the opposite, that the cremations were a “pagan reaction” whereby the locals began to go back to their old burial customs after an attempt at Christianization. She later presents an alternate theory: the cremations were the remains of people who had died away from their homes, and whose remains were then cremated and brought back to be buried (Kivikoski 1961: 231–233). This theory disregards the fact that cremation has never been approved by the church. J.-P. Taavitsainen et al. (2009: 210) do not try to give a universal, but instead a range of explanations, from the reburial of ancestors’ bones to the possibility of an older cremation cemetery located at the sites discussed in this article.

Comparison between the sites

Different types of burials. The numbers of different types of burials are presented in Table 1. Most of the cemeteries have both inhumation and cremation graves with and without grave goods. Only the Suotniemi site stands out, having no inhumations nor cremations without any grave goods. On the other hand, only five graves were excavated from Suotniemi, and, according to T. Schwindt (1893[2012]: 1), parts of the cemetery had been destroyed by workers extracting sand for the nearby faience factory. Kirkailanmäki is also a unique site with 29 cremations, of which only one contained any grave goods, in this case glass beads. The cremations and depositions of burnt bone in Kirkailanmäki are in other ways similar to the other sites (Hirviluoto, Vuoristo 2010).

Table 1

The amount of different grave types at each studied site

Site	Inhumations with grave goods	Inhumations without grave goods	Cremations with grave goods	Cremations without grave goods
Suotniemi	4	0	1	0
Hovinsaari	23	8	2	0
Kirkailanmäki	24	98	1	28
Tuukkala	31	27	7	2
Visulahti	27	3	2	3
Toppolanmäki	6	4	0	1
Valmarinniemi	17	71	2	10
Suutarinniemi	2	5	1	1

The inhumations are usually, but not always, oriented from east to west, or north-east to south-west. The body was most often laid out supine, with one or both arms crossed over the body. The bodies were buried in shrouds, wrapped in birch bark, blankets or capes, in coffins, wooden chambers, or in dugout canoes (see e. g. Schwindt 1893[2012]: 76–77). Burial chambers made out of logs are most common on sites on the Karelian Isthmus. In most cases, poor preservation inhibits the reconstruction of the details of the burials; for example, cloth has been found usually only in conjunction to bronze decorations which have helped preserve the cloth adjacent to them. In many cases, the wooden structures have rotten so completely that the original form is not distinguishable.

The cremations are often quite regular in shape, indicating that they were buried in some kind of a bag or a vessel. The remains of one birch bark vessel and one wooden vessel are known from different sites (Schwindt 1893[2012]; Pälsi 1938). There is also one unique cremation burial at Tontinmäki, Hovinsaari where several cremated individuals were placed inside a wooden chamber (Schwindt 1893[2012]). A burial with possibly more than one individual was located also at the Suotniemi cemetery: the cremation contained two sets of oval brooches, which could indicate two different persons (Schwindt 1893[2012]). This is unusual, since cremations usually contain bones of only one individual.

The most notable feature in the cremations is that they are most often situated inside the inhumation burials (Leppäaho 1937; Kuusela 2015). When located in an inhumation burial, the cremations are usually right on top of the body, but sometimes underneath or next to the body. This indicates that the burials were made at the same time, since there are no mentions of disturbances in the soil stratigraphy above the inhumations. In Tuukkala, one grave contained one foot of the inhumed body separated and comingled with the cremation, with the bones still articulated. This indicates that the cremation was put in the inhumation either at the same time or not long after the inhumation was made (Mikkola 2009).

There are also inhumations with more than one (unburned) individual. Most of these are double burials, but there is also a case with four individuals from Toppolanmäki (Leppäaho 1936; Kivikoski 1955). The presence of additional disarticulated bones is another interesting detail that is present in at least three cemeteries: Suutarinniemi,

Valmarinniemi, and Kirkailanmäki (Leppäaho 1937; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1988; Kuusela 2015; Koponen, Pelttari 2016). These additional bones do not belong to the main individual interred, but they do not form a second, intact body either. For example, in Suutarinniemi an additional skull was found inside two different inhumation burials. These burials also included other additional bones, likely long bones, that were unrecognizable due to the almost complete stage of decomposition (the preservation of bones is poor in most of the cemeteries discussed in this paper). The inhumation burials did not have any other grave goods, and there were no signs of a possible earlier grave (Kuusela 2015). Due to other similarities between these cemeteries, I would not describe the additional bones as anomalous, although the meaning of the custom of adding extra body parts within the inhumations remains unclear.

From the above data, we can see that all of the cemeteries displayed variation between burial customs. Thus, we can say that these cemeteries cannot be called “clearly Christian” based on the burial customs shown. The burials with grave goods and cremations cannot be considered anomalies, as the cremations alone make 5–22 % of all the burials in these cemeteries. This fact has been overlooked in the previous studies.

Grave goods. All burial sites in this study have graves with some kind of grave goods. All of the sites have artefacts of the Karelian type, such as oval brooches and other jewellery. Weapons were found from five sites: Suotniemi, Hovinsaari Tontinmäki, Tuukkala, Visulahti, and Toppolanmäki (Schwindt 1893[2012]; Leppäaho 1936; 1955; Pälsi 1937; Mikkola 2009). Valmarinniemi marks an exception, with no weapons or traditional women’s Iron Age jewellery such as oval brooches in any of the graves. There are, however, some knives, simple horseshoe brooches, and one headband with tin studs that resemble the Karelian finds, as well as the remains of a purse with parallels to artefacts found from Novgorod (Koponen, Pelttari 2016; Ikäheimo et al. 2017). Notable amounts of coins were found also in the graves at Valmarinniemi (Koponen, Pelttari 2016).

Dating. All the sites have been dated between the 10th and the 15th century, either through radiocarbon dating, typology, or both (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1988; Uino 1997; Saksa 1998; Mikkola 2009; Taavitsainen et al. 2009; Kuusela 2015; Ikäheimo et al. 2017; Koponen, Pelttari 2017). Most sites were utilized for between 200–300 years. Here I will present only the relevant dating results from cremations and their relative inhumations, when available (Table 2). Cremations have been radiocarbon dated from only two sites, Valmarinniemi and Suutarinniemi.

In the Suutarinniemi site, Inhumation Grave No. 3 contained one unburned individual, two different cremations (Cremations No. 1 and No. 2) as well as additional bones, including an extra skull. All of the different bone elements were adjacent to the inhumated body and separately radiocarbon dated. The inhumation burial and the additional skull was given a similar time frame, 1295–1416 cal. AD. The dating results for the cremations were more interesting: both were dated to the 11th–12th century (Kuusela 2015: 10). According to the radiocarbon dating, the cremations are at least hundred years older than the inhumation within the same burial, while the inhumed individual and the additional human bones seem to be of the same age.

The radiocarbon results from eight different cremations from Valmarinniemi land between 1020–1390 cal. AD (Taavitsainen et al. 2009; Koponen, Pelttari 2017). Cremation E at Valmarinniemi was apparently not found intact, but as smaller depositions of burnt bone within the inhumation and scattered among the filling of the grave; eight bracteates

Table 2

Radiocarbon dates from some of the graves discussed in this article*

Site	Grave	Lab-index	BP	Cal AD (2σ)	Reference
Suutarinniemi	Inhumation No. 3	Beta-382691	610 ± 30	1295–1404	Kuusela 2015
Suutarinniemi	Inhumation No. 3, additional skull	UA-50696	588 ± 36	1297–1416	Kuusela 2015
Suutarinniemi	Cremation No. 1	UA-50693	926 ± 40	1023–1203	Kuusela 2015
Suutarinniemi	Cremation No. 2	Beta-382690	940 ± 30	1025–1160	Kuusela 2015
Valmarinniemi	Cremation E	Beta-451057	740 ± 45	1206–1386	Koponen, Peltari 2017
Valmarinniemi	Cremation F	Hela-2009	719 ± 30	1246–1384	Taavitsainen et al. 2009
Valmarinniemi	Cremation M	Hela-2011	924 ± 30	1026–1183	Taavitsainen et al. 2009
Tuukkala	Inhumation No. 3	Hela-2652	698 ± 32	1261–1388	Mikkola 2012

* All dates were calibrated using the OxCal calibration program version 4.3 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) with the calibration curve IntCal 13 (Reimer et al. 2013)

were found from the filling as well. All of the bracteates were not identifiable due to poor preservation, but at least one dates to 1353–1466 AD. Unfortunately, the exact context of the coins and the burnt bone, and their connection to each other in this inhumation is unclear. Later, it was noted that the coins were not burned, and thus, were unlikely to belong into the cremation (Ikäheimo et al. 2017: 91–92). Cremation E may have been disturbed during the inhumation. Another explanation is that the cremated remains were scattered intentionally and carefully into the filling layer, as J.-M. Kuusela (2015: 21–22) suggests happened in Suutarinniemi.

One of the dated burials (Cremation F) had six identical bracteates, which date to 1340–1350 AD. This sits close to the later part of the given radiocarbon dating. The bracteates are slightly burned, which indicates that they were on the funeral pyre (Ikäheimo et al. 2017). In Cremation M, the purse frame typologically dates close to the radiocarbon result, both around the 12th century (Ikäheimo et al. 2017: 101). There is evidence that the reservoir effect influences radiocarbon dates in Northern Ostrobothnia and that they should be recalibrated (Ikäheimo 2018). While the exact timing of these burials might be inconclusive, the reservoir effect will be unlikely to change the *relative* age of these burials.

Due to issues with (as well as the lack of) radiocarbon dating on most sites, typology is of great help giving the relative age between the sites and the burials. The Karelian types of oval brooches, mainly Ailio's types C, F and H appear in all of the cemeteries with the exception of Valmarinniemi. These types of oval brooches date approximately from the 11th to 13th century (Ailio 1922; Linturi 1980; Saksa 1998).

The Hovinsaari Tontinmäki Cremation (13/1888) has been dated to the 13th century based on jewellery, while the other graves date from the 12th to 14th century. As such, the cremation seems to typologically sit in the middle of the time of use of the cemetery (Uino 1997: 291–296; Saksa 1998: 60–61, 98–101). The cremation from Suotniemi (Grave No. 3)

has been dated from the 12th to early 13th century based on jewellery, while the other graves are dated from the 13th to early 14th century, which would make the cremation the oldest grave in this cemetery (Uino 1997: 258–261; Saksa 1998: 61, 125–126).

In Tuukkala, at least two inhumation graves contained a cremation. Unfortunately, none of the cremations have been radiocarbon dated, but one inhumation that included a cremation was dated to 1261–1388 cal. AD (Mikkola 2012). Overall, the Tuukkala cemetery has been dated from the 12th to 14th century, but some of the graves may be younger (Mikkola 2009). One inhumation with two cremations in Kirkailanmäki had a bracteate from around 1363–1383 (Salmo 1937).

Unfortunately, dating only the inhumations is insufficient to explain the relationship between them and the adjoining cremations. The dating results reveal that the cremations buried within the inhumations might be even hundreds of years older than the non-cremated individual. On the other hand, some of the individually dated cremations seem to be the same age as inhumations in their respective cemeteries (Uino 1997; Saksa 1998; Koponen, Pelttari 2017). This would indicate that cremation as a burial custom was in use simultaneously with inhumation. The amount of cremations shows that making such singular depositions was a wide spread but not the prevailing custom, since all of the studied cemeteries have less cremations than inhumations.

Interestingly, the lack of grave goods cannot be considered as an indicator for the age of the cremations, as the dating results from Suutarinniemi suggest: Cremation No. 1 included molten metal and a disfigured oval brooch, while Cremation No. 2 did not include any artefacts, even when both cremations date to same period. This is an indication of a custom where grave goods were given only to some and not all of the deceased. It also may bring into question the Christianity of the inhumations without any grave goods.

Problems with earlier interpretations and possible explanations

The theory that the cremations were of people who died far away and were brought back home to be buried (Kivikoski 1961) can be discarded in the light of the dating results. “Pagan reaction” and the reapplication of the old ways (Kivikoski 1955) does not seem applicable either. The burials appear to have been made at the same time. Therefore, I do not think that there has been a conflict between the old and the new customs. More likely, there was a period of transitional and mixed traditions.

Given the evidence, I do not believe that the introduction of Christianity caused a panic reaction among the locals as P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander (1988) assumed. The handling of the cremated and additional bone material shows a careful process. While I believe that the burial of cremated bones may be related to the slow Christianization of these areas, it is still unclear where the burnt bones come from. Apart from the pyre site excavated in Illinsaari, near Suutarinniemi (Kuusela 2016), no other cremation sites are known in the vicinity of these cemeteries. In Karelia, there are plenty of other kinds of burial grounds, mostly cremation cemeteries under level ground (Uino 1997). I do not, however, believe that it would have been possible to pick up the bones and offerings of an individual from a cremation cemetery under level ground, since human remains on these sites are usually scattered. It is possible that these cremated remains may have travelled among settlers moving in from other areas, as J. Ikäheimo et al. (2017) suggest.

The main problem with the earlier interpretations is the presumption of total Christianity in these burial grounds. This is a gross simplification of the complex material that is found

from the sites. Along cremations there are graves with additional bones and grave goods, ranging from small jewellery to weapons and ceramics. We must also be careful when assigning phenomena to Christian belief: east-west oriented inhumation is not necessarily Christian, while a burial with grave goods might be (Lane 2001). The only site that can be proven to be Christian (at least at some point in its use) is the Valmarinniemi cemetery, which has the evidence of a church (Koivunen 1982). My interpretation is that we can see a slow process of Christianization at these burial sites, as some of them show more pre-Christian customs (Suotniemi) and some more Christian customs (Valmarinniemi) with others falling in between. These sites are by no means entirely Christian cemeteries. If we think of them as such, we easily lose the nuances connected to the time of change in the religious views of the community.

Conclusions

The sites discussed in this article form an interesting picture of the Late Iron Age and early medieval connections. Not only the cremations, but also the wooden structures and dugout canoes in the graves, along with the artefacts of the Karelian type, tell a story of a wide net of connections from Karelia all the way to northern Finland, as has been noted before (Kuusela et al. 2016; 2018).

The fact that most of the cremation burials have been found from inside and on top of the inhumation graves proves that their placement had some purpose — the cremations did not end up in the same grave by accident. They may have been part of the same burial ritual, which would also contradict the theory that cremations were an older custom or buried secretly among the inhumations. In light of this, my interpretation is that in these cemeteries we can see a period of synchronicity or co-existence between two systems of religion: pre-Christian beliefs and Christianity. At this stage, pure Christian doctrine was possibly not of importance or not yet practiced. Building a better picture of these pre-Christian beliefs, customs, and rituals, as well as how they adapted to the arrival of Christianity, requires further research.

The dating results of the cremations raise the question of the origins of the cremated remains. They paint a picture where even remains hundreds of years older were treated with respect — enough so that they were buried alongside a new burial tradition and an individual, and not discarded non-ceremonially. This indicates that these older remains still held some significance to the community performing the burial, even hundreds of years after their cremation in the 14th century. I would question whether we can consider reburial in the case of these cremations at all. Another possibility is that the cremated remains had been kept by and near the living, unburied.

More radiocarbon datings on both inhumations and cremations would be valuable for further interpretation of these customs. Isotope studies on the burials already suggested by J.-P. Taavitsainen et al. (2009) would also give a more comprehensive answer to the question of the origin of the cremated bones and their relation to the inhumations. Future studies should also concentrate on comparing different kinds of sites; there have been many singular cremations of a similar age found, for example, from Suomussalmi (Hakamäki 2016) and the Karelian Isthmus (Belskiy, Laakso 2016). Future studies should take on a larger geographical scale to further our understanding of this wide network of similar customs and connections between northern and eastern Finland and Karelia.

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КРЕМАЦИОННЫЕ ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ НА ИНГУМАЦИОННЫХ МОГИЛЬНИКАХ В ПОЗДНЕМ ЖЕЛЕЗНОМ ВЕКЕ ФИНЛЯНДИИ И КАРЕЛЬСКОГО ПЕРЕШЕЙКА

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Ключевые слова: поздний железный век, христианизация, кремация, ингумация, погребение, Финляндия, Карельский перешеек.

В работе рассматриваются все известные на территории Финляндии и Карельского перешейка могильники позднего железного века, на которых наряду с труположением

встречаются отдельные погребения с трупосожжением (рис. 1). Таких могильников восемь, они относятся к периоду приблизительно от X до XV в., то есть от позднего железного века до начала эпохи средневековья.

Большинство погребений в этих могильниках совершено по обряду трупоположения, но среди них встречаются отдельные кремационные захоронения. Согласно наиболее распространенному объяснению, сосуществование разных типов погребений было следствием быстрого процесса христианизации, а сами могильники считались чисто христианскими. Это чрезмерное упрощение сложного материала, которое не объясняет тот факт, что трупосожжения обычно впрямую примыкают или находятся выше трупоположений и, таким образом, стратиграфически имеют либо тот же самый, либо более поздний возраст. На большинстве из рассматриваемых кладбищ могилы обоих типов (с ингумацией и кремацией) могут как содержать, так и не содержать погребальный инвентарь. Количество погребений показано в таблице 1.

Результаты датирования погребений с трупосожжением и связанных с ними погребений с трупоположением приведены в таблице 2. Радиоуглеродные даты показывают, что трупосожжения могут быть на сотни лет древнее тех трупоположений, с которыми они захоронены. К сожалению, датировано лишь небольшое число трупосожжений и трупоположений из одного и того же погребения. Однако типология и монеты подтверждают возможность того, что трупосожжения могут быть древнее непосредственно связанных с ними трупоположений, но при этом не отличаться по возрасту от других трупоположений того же могильника. Следовательно, кремационные погребения практиковались одновременно с ингумационными. По моему мнению, в рассматриваемых могильниках мы можем видеть отражение периода синхронности или сосуществования двух религиозных систем: дохристианских верований и христианства.