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ON NORTH-WESTERN CONTACTS OF PERM FINNS IN VII–VIII CENTURIES

In the Middle Ages Perm Finns lived in the territory of the north and middle piedmont of the western Urals. Komi-Zyrians: Vanvzdino (IV–X c.) and Vym (XI–XIV c.) cultures. Komi-Permyaks: Lomovatovo, Nevolino and Polom (late IV–IX c.) as well as Rodanovo (X–XV c.) and Cheptsa (X–XIII c.) archaeological cultures. North-western contacts with Fennoscandian tribes and particularly Baltic Finns played a significant role in the history of Permians. One of the ways to trace the history of their contacts is Nevolino-type belt sets manufactured by Perm craftsmen. Their finding in Finland is a result of Perm merchants' travelling. They dealt not only in furs but in goods of their own production as well. Long-term previous trade contacts between the Perm population and Central and South-Eastern Asia and well-developed economy laid the groundwork for contacts with western Finns: high-level crafts, hunting, trade skills and qualified people.

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Settlement areas of Perm Finns

The modern state of archaeological sources makes it possible to localize ancestors of Perm Finns in the Middle Ages in the vast territory of the north and middle piedmont of the western Urals. Komi-Zyrians of that period are known by materials of the Vanvzdino and Vym cultures. They lived in the territory of the modern Komi Republic. The area of the Vanvzdino culture (late IV–X c.) includes basins of the Vychegda and Mezen Rivers. There are single sites in the Pechora and Severnaya Dvina Rivers (Fig. 1). There are more than 50 ancient settlements, 7 burial grounds, 2 sanctuaries, 6 stray finds and wealth deposits in this territory (Archaeology of Komi Republic 1997, 400 ff.). Monuments of the succeeding Vym culture (Perm Vychegodskaya) (XI–XIV c.) are concentrated on

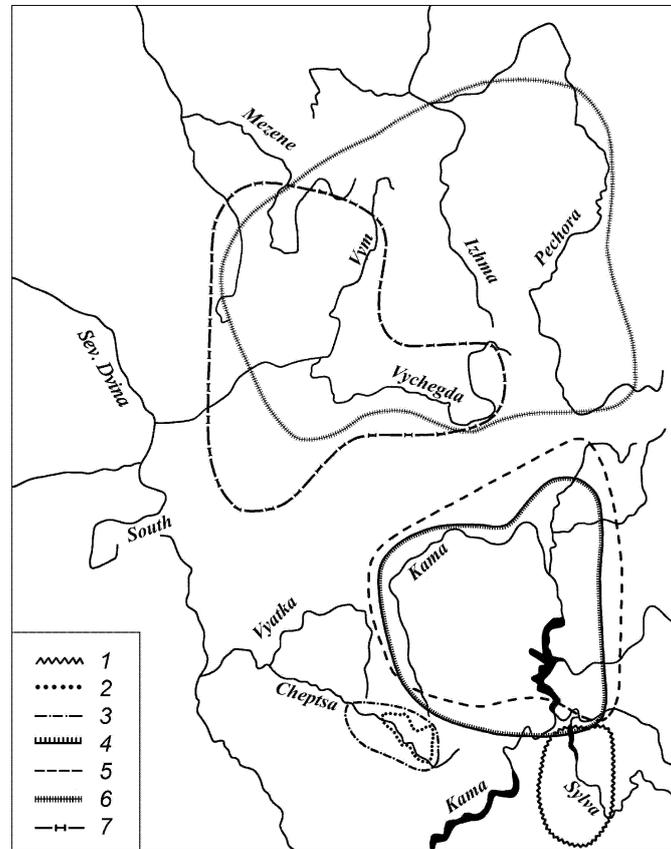


Fig. 1. Distribution map of archaeological cultures of the Perm Finns in the Middle Ages. 1 – Nevolino, 2 – Polom, 3 – Chepisa, 4 – Lomovatovo, 5 – Rodanovo, 6 – Vanvizardino, 7 – Vym.

banks of the Vym, Middle and Lower Vychehda, Vashka, and Luza Rivers. Over 30 burial grounds, 8 fortified settlements, 2 settlements and 1 sanctuary are known there (ib., 561–650).

In the late IV–IX centuries the Upper and Middle Prikamye (Kama River Region) comprised three cultures directly relevant to ancestors of the Komi-Permyaks: Lomovatovo, Nevolino, and Polom (Fig. 1). **The Lomovatovo culture** (late IV–IX c.) occupied the Kama basin from the latitude of the modern city of Perm up to its upper reaches. There are about 450 sites of this culture: over 70 fortified settlements, over 200 settlements, the same number of wealth deposits, and over 60 burial grounds. The Chusovaya, Kosva, Yayva, almost all the Kama, Inva, Kosa rivers, and Kama-Kolva Interfluvium were densely populated. A large group was formed in the upper reaches of the Kama (Zyuzdino Permyaks). The occupancy rating of the region at that period was comparatively high.

In the X–XV centuries, the **Rodanovo culture** was formed on the basis of the Lomovatovo (Fig. 1). It includes more than 400 sites, 80 of them were studied. At that period the Komi-Permyaks lived on both banks of the Kama, Chusovaya and all big right-bank tributaries of the Kama-Obva, Inva, Kosa as well as Kolva and Vishera. The Permyak population also settled the Kama smaller tributaries – Lupya, Berezovka, Yuzhnaya Keltma, and Vishera tributary – Yazva. The density of the Permyak population was rather high in the X–XV centuries. For example, there are over 80 sites in the vicinity of the town Cherdyn, and over 50 sites between villages Gayny and Pyatigory (about 30 km). The large number of the Permyaks probably made the Russian chronicles to call the region Perm Velikaya (Great) as distinct from Perm Vychegodskaya. Many Rodanovo sites, Kudymkar fortified settlement and the burial ground in the Inva River for example, were used even in the XVI century when the Russians started to settle here. A lot of monuments of the Rodanovo culture kept their names in the Permyak language (Anyushkar, Kudymkar, Iskor, etc.).

The **Polom culture** (late IV–IX c.) locating in the right bank of the Cheptsa upper reaches also belongs to the Komi-Permyaks. Its sites are situated close to the Kama upper reaches where at that period a large Zyuzdino (Verkhokamskaya) group of the Lomovatovo culture lived. The Cheptsa bank was probably occupied by the Lomovatovo population from this region. The Polom culture is close to the Lomovatovo in general. Nowadays, there are about 100 known sites of the Polom culture: over 40 settlements, 33 fortified settlements, over 20 burial grounds and several wealth deposits. Polom monuments were mostly located from village Debesy in the east to village Adam in the west. The length of the territory is 120 km from the east to the west and about 80 km from the south to the north. The Polom was the basis for the **Cheptsa culture** (late X–XIII c.) which comprises 120 monuments of the X–XIII c.: 13 fortified settlements, over 30 settlements, over 30 burial grounds, wealth deposits and stray finds (Ivanova 1979, 115–149).

The **Nevolino culture** (late IV–IX c.) is one of the well-studied Prikamye cultures. It occupied the Sylva basin from its start till the Tis inflow including its tributaries Babka, Iren, Irgina, Shakva, and Barda (the Sylva is a left-bank tributary of the Chusovaya which is the Kama tributary). The length of the territory is over 150 km from the north to the south and over 100 km from the west to the east. At present, there are over 270 sites. They are traditional for Prikamye: fortified settlements (about 40), settlements (about 200), barrow and non-barrow burial grounds (9), and wealth deposits (over 20). Burial grounds and numerous settlements form groups, as well as a large central fortified settlement where approaches were protected by several sentries. The total area of the Nevolino culture is about 15 000 sq. km (almost half of modern Belgium). Its key geographical location between the forests and the steppe, a branched river system that connected the region with the south (by the Belaya River), north, west, south-west (by the Kama) and with the east to the Trans-Urals (by the Sylva and Chusovaya) helped the population to develop in a successful and dynamic way. Constant contacts with close neighbours and remote regions – Central Asia,

Sasanian Iran, Byzantine, Baltic Sea region and others, from which the human greatest achievements came, allow the Prikamye population to establish its own expressive, distinctive and original culture.

North-western contacts of Perm Finns: study with Nevolino belts

North-western contacts with Fennoscandia and adjoining territories played an important role in the medieval history of the Permians. Researchers paid most attention to the eastern trade routes to find furs (Machinskij & Kuleshov 2004; Kazanskij 2007; 2010). Hunting fur animals had been well developed among the Prikamye Permians since the Ananyino time (I mil. BC). In the Middle Ages they hunted beaver, bear, hare, fox, mustelids, otter, squirrel, lynx, and wolverine. Fur animals made 50–70% of all killed wild animals (Goldina 1985, 148 ff.) Beaver was especially frequently hunted. For example, beaver bones at the Idnakar fortified settlement on the Cheptsya River made 44.6% of the number of animals and 54.6% of all collected bones of wild animals. It should be taken into account that since carcasses of many fur animals are not suitable for food, they were skinned in a hunting site and hunters brought home only furs. Besides, it should be skinned as soon as possible to render fur marketable (Goldina 1999, 384). There are pictures of mustelids, probably a sable, on cult goods (Oborin & Chagin 1988, 36, fig. 57).

The interest of western neighbours in the forest Prikamye was quite understandable. However, the Permians were also interested in contacts with the remote Baltic Sea region and could trade not only natural resources (furs) but their own “high tech” goods. Research of S. V. Kuz'minykh prove that Prikamye trade contacts with its north-western neighbours were established already in the middle of the 1st mil. BC. The Ananyino metallurgical centre was so active and its products were so numerous and of such excellent quality that they were exported as far as lands of Finland and Sweden (Kuz'minykh 1983, fig. 91). Materials from different sites prove activity of the Prikamye Finns in the western direction: for the I–II c. AD – monuments like Andreevsky barrow in the middle Volga (Grishakov & Zubov 2009); for the III–IV c. – burial grounds Razhki, Ust-Uza, Seliksa-Trofimovo and other sites in the Sura and Moksha rivers (Grishakov 2008); for the III–VI c. – Ryazan-Oka sites (Akhmedov & Belotserkovskaya 2007); for the VI–IX c. – sites near village Popovo in the Unzha River (Kostroma oblast) (Leont'ev 1989; Ryabinin 1989), etc.

Contacts between Permians and the Baltic Sea region peoples during the 2nd half of the 1st mil. AD are indisputably proved by finds of the Nevolino-type belt sets (Figs 2, 3, 4). It was a leather belt 2–2.5 cm wide and up to 70 cm long, decorated with bronze buckle and tip and numerous cover plates. Besides, there were 12–16 additional leather pendants (3.5–4 × 10 cm) fixed to the main part of the belt. Three back pendants were decorated with 3 ternary cover plates (Figs 3: 1, 4, 5; 4: 3, 5, 6), the rest – with 2 rows of round or rectangular cover plates

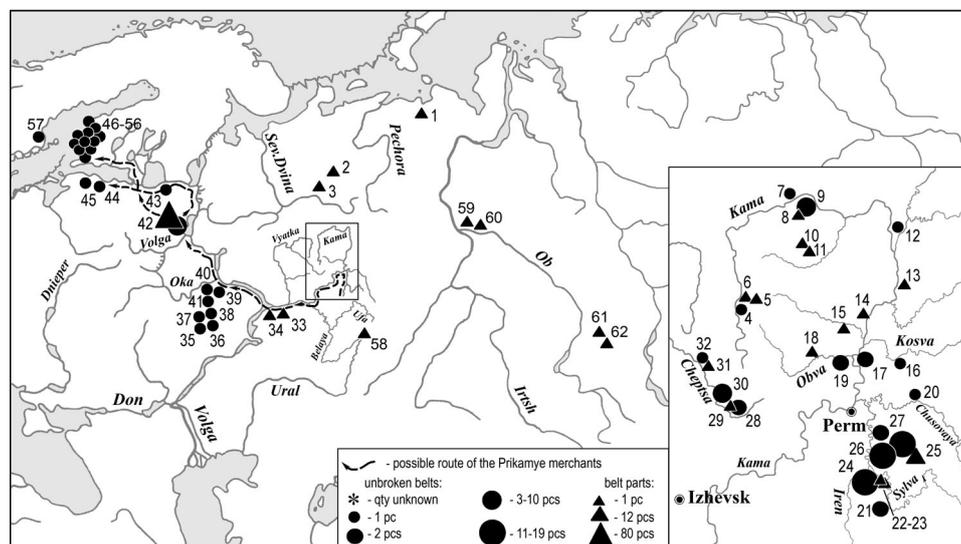


Fig. 2. Distribution map of the Nevolino-type belt sets. 1 – Kheibidya-Pedar (1 pc)*, 2 – Usogorsk III, 3 – Tokhta, 4 – Averino II, 5 – Noskovo, 6 – Rusinovo, 7 – Ples, 8 – Mikhaleva, 9 – Agafonovo I (3 pcs), 10 – Utya, 11 – B. Kocha, 12 – Redikor, 13 – Zaposelye, 14 – Stepanovo plotbische, 15 – Zagarye, 16 – Bayanovo, 17 – Visim (2 pcs), 18 – Rozhdestvenskoye, 19 – Demenki (2 pcs), 20 – Telyachy Brod, 21 – Ust-Irgino (2 pcs), 22 – Morozkovo IV settlement, 23 – Ust-Kishert hoard, 24 – Nevolino (18 pcs), 25 – Verkh-Saya (13 pcs + 12 parts), 26 – Brody (15 pcs), 27 – Gorbunyata (2 pcs), 28 – Varni (2 pcs), 29 – Tolyen, 30 – Polom I (4 pcs), 31 – Vesyakar, 32 – Chemshay, 33 – Tankeevka, 34 – Tatarstan, 35 – St. Badikovo II, 36 – Zhuravkino, 37 – Shoksha, 38 – Morshansk, 39 – Chulkovo, 40 – Murom, 41 – Khotiml, 42 – Chyorny Ruchey (5 pcs + 80 parts), 43 – Pobedische, 44 – Ojaveski, 45 – Proosa, 46–56 – Kaavontönnkä, Pitkäsmäki, Ylipää, Mynänummi, Kirmukarmu, Pappilanmäki and others, 57 – Uppsala, 58 – Bairamgulovo, 59 – Barsov gorodok I, 60 – Saygatino I, 61 – Arkhiereyskaya Zaimka, 62 – Mogilnitsky. * – 1 pc hereinafter not specified.

at the top and oblong rectangular cover plates at the bottom (Figs 3: 1, 4, 5; 4: 3, 5). The belt set features one or two threads of beads made of hollow figurines, beads and pendants. These belt sets were found only in female graves. Male belts were far plainer (Figs 3: 2; 4: 2, 4). Some one hundred metal parts were necessary to manufacture one female belt set. Nowadays, we know of more than 80 intact Nevolino belt sets and their components found in Priuralye. To produce them, one had to use over 8000 cover plates and other objects. These belts were found in burial grounds of Nevolino, Brody, Gorbunyata, Ust-Irgino, and Verkh-Saya. Judging by the large number of the belts and diversity of their variants, as well as by the finds of intact belts including all pendants, they were manufactured exactly here – in the Sylva River region. There are such belts in the neighbouring territories also, in the Chusovaya River region in particular. Quite a few belts are present in the kindred Lomovatovo culture: Agafonovo I burial ground, Averino II, Demenkovsky, Pleso, Visim, Bayanovo, and Telyachy Brod burial grounds and were also found as stray finds in villages Rozhdestvenskoye, Bolshaya Kocha,

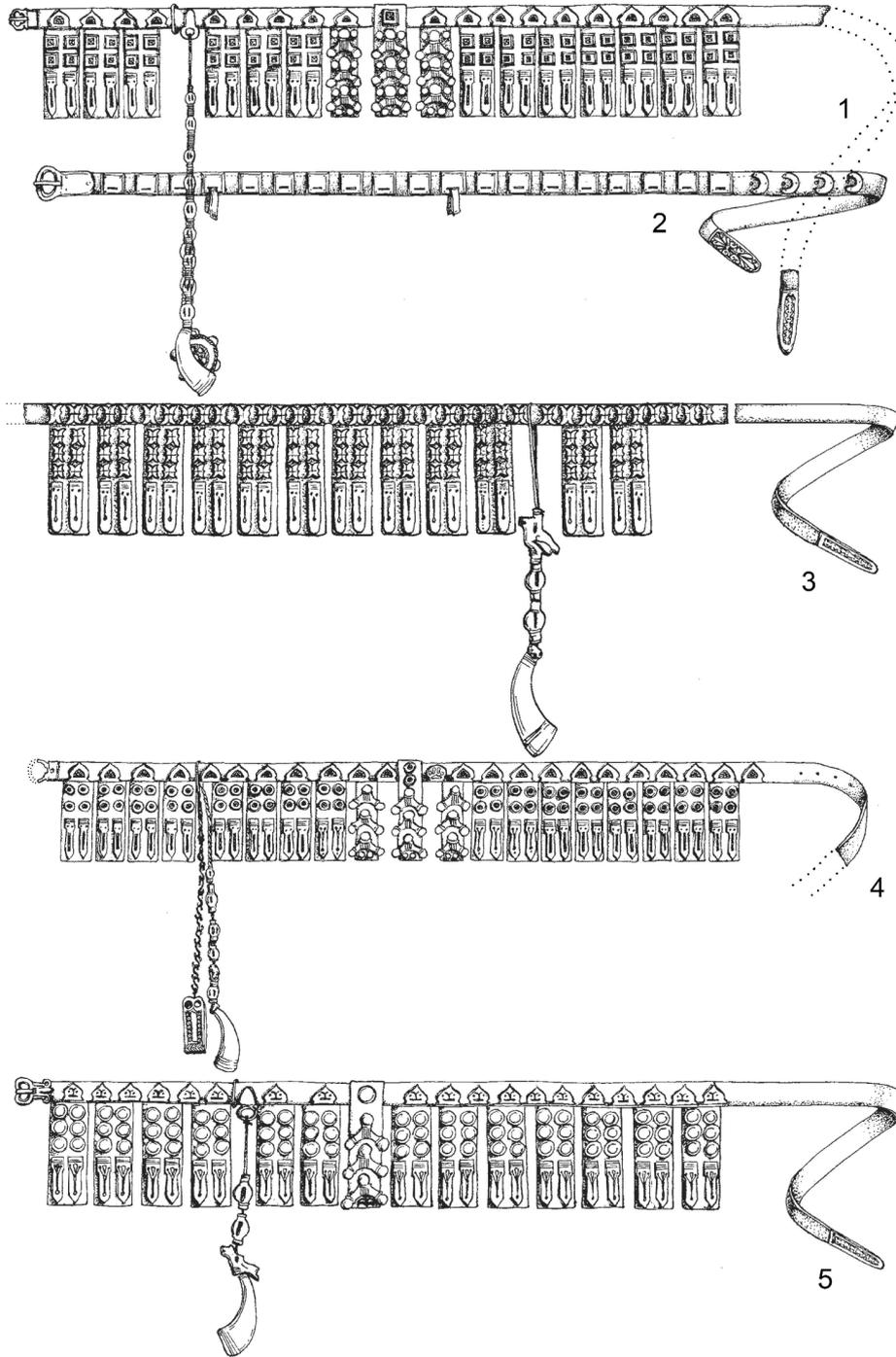


Fig. 3. Nevolino belt sets. Nevolino burial ground. 1 – grave 155, 2 – grave 191, 3 – grave 140, 4 – grave 132, 5 – grave 129.

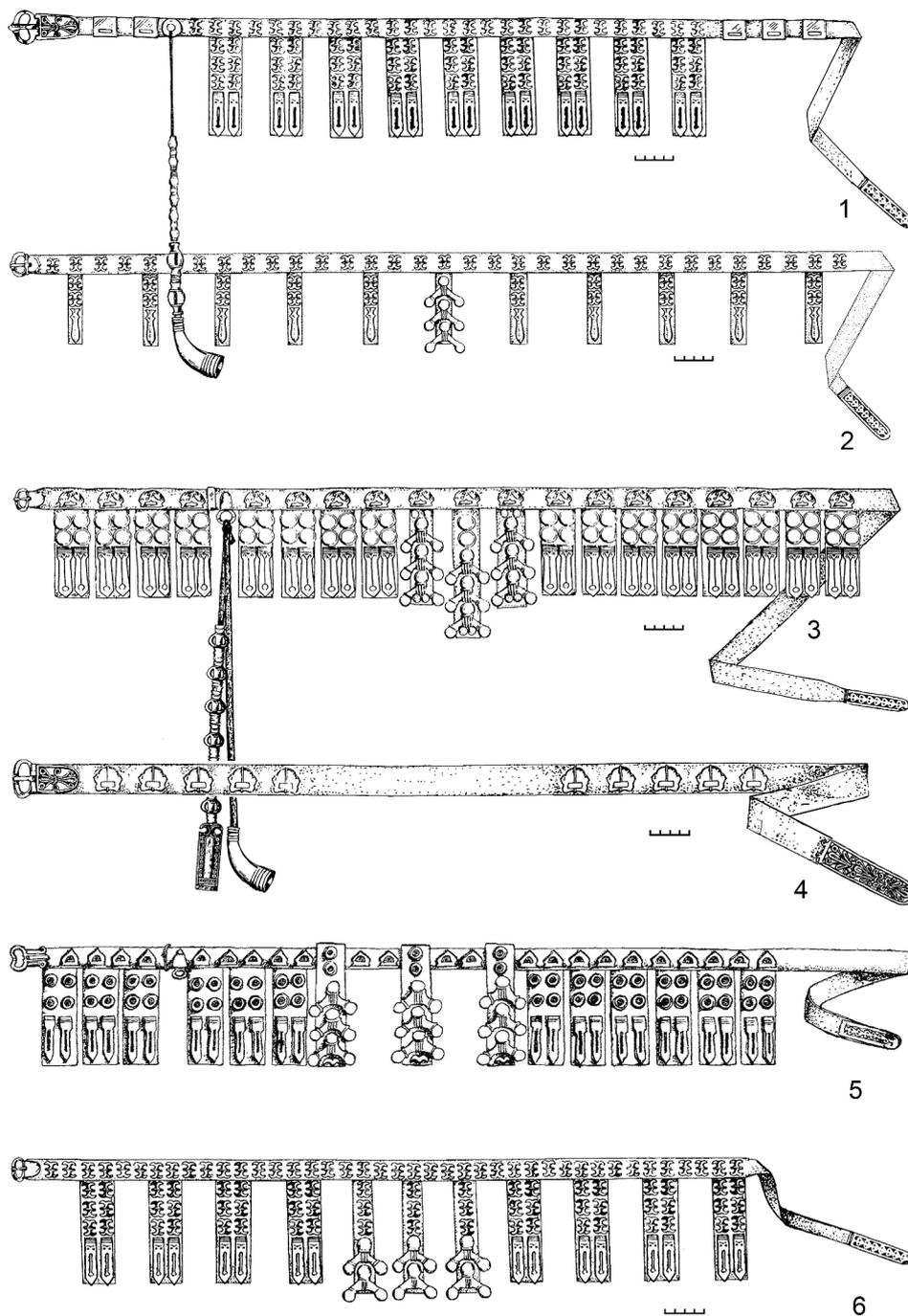


Fig. 4. Nevolino belt sets. Verkh-Saya burial ground. 1 – grave 81, 2 – grave 92, 3 – grave 77, 4 – grave 65, 6 – grave 70. Nevolino burial ground: 5 – grave 94.

Mihalevo, Rusinovo, Noskovo, Urye, Zagarye, Zaposelye, Stepanovo plotbische, etc. Parts of the similar belt sets are well-known in the Polom monuments located in the upper reaches of the Cheptsa River: Polom I, Varni, Chemshay, Vesyakar, and Tolyen burial grounds as well as in the Vychehda River (Tokhtino ancient settlement, Usogorsk III – Vanvizdino culture) and in the Heybidya-Pedar sacrificial site at Bolshezemelskaya Tundra. In Siberia, there are only few such finds in the Mogilniki burial ground and near Arkhiereyskaya Zaimka close to Tomsk, as well as Barsovaya Gora I and Saygatino located in the middle Ob River.

A considerable number of the Nevolino belt sets was found on the Finnish coast of the Baltic Sea (Fig. 2) where components of 19 belt sets were registered in several monuments (Kaavontönkkä, Pitkäsmäki, Ylipää, Mynänummi, Kirmukarmu, Pappilanmäki and others). To the opinion of C. Carpelan, they were undoubtedly owned by warriors. The belts were used to demonstrate their wealth and high status (Carpelan 2004, 22 f.). There is a similar belt set found in one of the mounds of Uppsala, Sweden (Mejnander 1979; Callmer 1989, 22). Finds of belts in Baltic male graves prove that they were valuable and high-prestige things in this region. They were relished not only because of their singularity and fineness but also because they were brought from far away. The change in their sex identity (they are female belts in Prikamye) does not surprise much. It is a common thing in history; elements of a male dress were sometimes borrowed by women (Yatsenko 2001, 21).

Belts of this type appeared in Finland in ca 700 AD (Mejnander 1979, 36) or ca 775 AD (Callmer 1989, 34 f.). Prikamye Nevolino belts are dated back to the end of the VII–VIII centuries (Goldina 2012a, 215 ff.). Thus, they are simultaneous both in Prikamye and Finland and their arrival to the Baltic Sea Region occurred exactly in that period.

The issue who brought the belts from the piedmont of Urals to Fennoscandia has been discussed for a long time. C. F. Meinander suggested that the providers of such long journeys were probably not Finns but groups of merchants from the East. With this opinion in mind, it becomes possible to understand why the Finnish language has a special word ‘permi’ denoting peddlers or wandering merchants. Under the East, Meinander understood the Volga Yaroslavl region (Mejnander 1979, 36 ff.). However, this region does not comprise any finds of the Nevolino belts. Having analysed Scandinavian beads of the IX–X centuries, J. Callmer also claimed that the early contacts of the Volga-Oka interfluvium and Kama basin with the Baltic Sea region took place in ca 775 AD upon the initiative of the eastern tradespeople (Callmer 1989, 25, 34 f.). The Finnish researcher A. Erä-Esko wrote that “journeys of the Kama fur suppliers and tradespeople covered a large territory of northern Russia and, if to take into account archaeological findings, reached Finland” (Érya-Esko 1986, 170). M. M. Kazansky points out that the first goods from the Kama region, namely buckles with a long elongated and slightly narrowed shield appeared in Finland during the Migration Period but he does not manage to find their direct analogies (Kazanskij 2010, figs 33: 3, 6, 57). Nowadays, there are numerous finds of such buckles from

the V century Nevolino graves (Goldina 2012a, table 2). According to the same author, parts of heraldic belts are also known in Finland (Kazanskij 2007, fig. 3: 8), which are called Agafonovo or Bartym belts in the Kama region and dated back to the end of the VI–VII c. (Goldina 2012a, 210 ff.). Kazansky also confirms that there is an archaeologically-proved movement of antiquities from the east to west and not vice versa and that at that period Baltic-Finnish goods do not reach the piedmont of Urals. He doubts that the Ural Finns had professional traders (Kazanskij 2010, 58). However, the current archaeology of the Perm Finns allows to claim that the Kama region had necessary background to develop trade and traders (more on this below).

The Permian route to the Baltic Sea region is indirectly outlined by finds in the Oka lower reaches (Khotiml, Murom, Chulkovo) and in the Moksha lower reaches (St. Badikovo II, Zhuravkino II, Shoksha, Morshansk). They could travel by the Kama, Volga, Sheksna rivers, along the bank of Lake Beloye, by the Kovzha, Vytegra and Svir rivers up to Lake Onega and Lake Ladoga and then to the Gulf of Finland (Mariinsky Waterway – Volga-Baltic Waterway) (Dubov 1989, fig. 11). In recent years, this route was confirmed by finds of Nevolino belt fragments in the Mologa-Sheksna interfluvium. There, in the complex of monuments “Chyorny Ruchey” (Black spring) on the Andoga River (the Sheksna basin) over 80 parts from not less than 5 Nevolino belts were found, as well as decorations from the Kama region including bronze bracelets, hollow tubes, arc pendants depicting bear’s head, etc. (Kudryashov 2008, 240 ff.). They prove once again the active trade route from the Sylva to the Baltic Sea region during the late VII–VIII centuries. Due to the rite of cremation burials, most belt parts are deformed and are not to be identified. Locals buried the Permians according to their own funeral traditions, which are different from Nevolino ones. The Nevolino decorations were registered not only in the two burial grounds but also in the ancient settlement. It is of interest that among the ceramics typical of the Ves’ people from Lake Beloye, there is a small group of pottery from the Kama region. A. V. Kudryashov believes that ancient Permians who were bearers of the Nevolino material culture and were engaged in trading between the Kama and the Baltic Sea regions were present in this region themselves (*ibid.*, 241). The number of such finds is likely to increase in the future.

The issue of how Scandinavian merchants dealt in furs with the Roman Empire and Byzantine has been discussed for a long time (E. G. Schramm 1997, 93; Machinskij & Kuleshov 2004; Kazanskij 2007). No doubt they were looking for fur providers within the forest zone of East Europe. However, they were hardly Scandinavians who arranged expeditions deep into the East-European forests. Anyway, Scandinavian influence did not reach as far as to the east of Estonia and east Finland at the Roman time and Migration Period. At the same time, archaeological data prove that by the V c. the Kama-Ural influence had reached the territory of the west Finland (Kazanskij 2007, 112). Scandinavian goods did not appear in the Kama region before the IX–X centuries. They were Finns inhabiting the western coast of the Gulf of Finland who looked for and sold furs

to the Scandinavians. This is the reason why there are so many sites with the Nevolino belts sets in this region. It is certain that Perm Finns which are close to the Baltic Finns by culture and language delivered not only furs but also their belts to the Baltic Sea region. It should be noted that commercial trips to the Baltic Sea region were undertaken not by mythical Ugrics (Belavin & Krylasova 2001; Kazanskij 2007, 137) but Perm Finns (Goldina 2016a).

One more issue is connected with Jordanes's list of tribes (VI c.) conquered by Ermanaric. V. P. Budanova refers to G. Schramm's paper of 1974 where he "translated 'Gelthethiudes' as the golden nation and allocated it in the Urals, between the Chusovaya and Belaya Rivers" (Budanova 1990, 125). The Nevolino culture locates exactly between the Belaya and Chusovaya rivers. In his other paper Schramm pays attention again to the waterway from the piedmont of Urals by the Belaya and Kama to deliver furs, gold and precious metals to the south (Schramm 1997, 77 f.). D. A. Machinsky and V. S. Kuleshov were even stronger and well-argued for the presence of the trading route from the Baltic Sea region through Ladoga and Volga to the Kama region during the II–IX centuries (2004). Nowadays, this hypothesis is being proved by new sources.

Trade background of Perm Finns

Successful producing economy of the V–IX centuries Perm Finns and high density of their population resulted in considerable surplus products in their society. Well-developed metalworking, iron-making and bronze-casting productions also helped to that. Thus, manufacturing centres were established. For example, in the 18,000 m² area of the Oputyata fortified settlement at the Perm district they excavated iron-making and metalworking workshops as well as dwelling and household structures of craftsmen. Local workers started to produce unique goods, which were spread nearby and remote regions. The governing elite group was established in the Kama region. At least four social layers were found out: elite, ordinary people of middle welfare, low-income and poor. There was a cult of the leader, the deceased were buried according to their sex identity, a small-size monogamous family had an independent household, the size of the community (80–100 people) and of small families (5–10 persons) as well as their composition were documented (Goldina 2012b, 72 ff.).

It is of common knowledge that a large number of 'long-distance import' goods (Central Asian, Byzantine and Iranian) is a major feature characterizing the culture of the Perm Finns. It was believed for a long time that they came to the Kama region not before the IX century (Darkevich 1976, 147 f.). We succeeded to disprove this opinion. Most import goods arrived to the Kama region in the V–IX centuries (Goldina & Goldina, 2010; Goldina et. al. 2013). Evidence of trade exchange with Kama population and Central and South-Eastern Asia are dated back already to the III–IV centuries. At that period the Kama region got acquainted with crucible iron long swords (Europe was not aware of this steel as yet)

decorated with chalcedony pommels (Goldina 2017, figs 10–18) as well as semi-finished bars of high-quality non-ferrous and ferrous metals. There are over 170 shell discs found on 20 burial grounds of the Middle Kama region, they were made of *Turbinella pyrum* gastropods that live in the littoral zone of the Indian Ocean (Goldina 2017, figs 9–30, 31). Metal parts prove that they were local craftsmen who made belt sets with these shell discs.

At present, about 180 imported silver vessels of the V–IX centuries have been found in 75 sites (mostly hoards) in the territory of the Perm Finns. 15% of them are Byzantine vessels, 16% – Sasanian, and 70% – Central Asian. Besides, there are 408 Byzantine, Sasanian and Central Asian coins found in 13 sites of the Nevolino culture, and 82 coins from 15 sites of the Lomovatovo culture. Khwarezmian import consists of coins from 11 sites and 7 silver vessels. The Kama region also has got 9 excavated golden and silver open-work intertwined chains produced by Byzantine workshops at the turn of the VI–VII centuries (Goldina et al. 2013, figs 31, 32, 33).

A collection of wealth deposits found near village Bartym, Perm district, is especially distinctive. There, 3 Byzantine vessels (one of them contained 272 Byzantine silver coins), a Sasanian vessel as well as a fastener of a Byzantine chain were found at different times in the vicinity of the Nevolino settlement. These finds had been hidden in the second quarter of the VII century due to the attack to the Bartym site. The settlement area became a cemetery for its 60 inhabitants: 27 children, 15 men, 13 women, and 5 unidentified persons. Besides, near the settlement, which had re-emerged in the VIII century, there were found 3 Khwarezmian vessels hidden also because of some attack at the end of the VIII century or the beginning of the IX century (Goldina et al. 2013).

In connection with the discussed issue, it is important to mention the hypothesis of Erä-Esko that Huittinen camel-depicting goods were imported to Finland by eastern merchants (Érya-Ésko 1986, 170).

Long-distance import goods came to the Kama region from Central Asia by the northern branch of the Silk Road: from Sogd, Bukhara, Khwarezm, through the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Dzhety-Asar culture), then by the Ural, Belaya, Iren rivers to the Sylva and further to the Kama (Goldina et al. 2013, 918 ff.).

Eastern import accelerated socio-economic development of the Kama region. During the V and especially the VI–VIII centuries high-prestige goods arrived from remote regions in large quantities and on a regular basis. Kama population was involved in this large-scale international trade exchange and that caused the enrichment of elite and social stratification of the whole society. The elite accumulated expensive household goods, coins and decorations. To support trade exchange at the necessary level they demanded more surplus products, more than it was enough to satisfy their own needs. Therefore, complex potestary structures – communal elite – were established, the role of chiefs who kept most valuables increased. A main trade equivalent was furs, local metal goods, honey, wax and

salt that the Kama region was always rich in (Goldina 2016b, 18). The main thing is that the constant well-arranged trade exchange with the south helped to improve trade skills and abilities and to develop initiative. The interest of the Permians in the short- and long-distance trade activities including kindred environment in the north-west was based on facts.

North-western contacts of Perm Finns: study with beads

Beads are very important in throwing light upon the Ural-Baltic contacts. Eurasia enjoyed products of glass-making workshops from the Near East – Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt during many thousands years. J. Callmer's monograph of beads of 800–1000 AD (Callmer 1977) presents a catalogue of beads from over 200 Scandinavian locations – Sweden, Norway and north Denmark; he made their detailed classification by materials, production techniques, shapes, proportions, dimensions, colour, transparency, and decoration. From the point of a formal-and-typological classification, the work of Callmer is a classical research, a model to inspire all scholars who are engaged in studying beads in any territory. Callmer examined the origin of not only Scandinavian but also West-European, Byzantine and Near East beads. He paid close attention to the trade contacts of North Europe during the VIII–X centuries and to how these processes were reflected in the beads of the Scandinavian regions.

While analysing Scandinavian beads of the VIII–X centuries, Callmer was the first who compared the Nevolino beads and several variants of the eastern beads (1989, 22). He singled out the beads which were typical mostly for Eastern Europe and Scandinavia and concluded that they came to the Baltic Sea countries through East but not West Europe. Among these types, one holds a specific place, i.e. millefiori (“thousand flowers”) with a yellow-red eye and dark- or light-green beams. To the opinion of Callmer (1989, 27 f.), these beads are among the earliest eastern beads in the Baltic Sea region. This particular type was well-known in Scandinavia as well as Eastern Europe – in the regions of the Don, Volga, Kama rivers and the Caucasus (Fig. 5). The similar area of distribution is also typical for the round amethyst-colour (violet) beads made from a rod followed by piercing; though, in East Europe they were sometimes blue or orange (Fig. 6). The “amethyst” beads came to Scandinavia during the same period as the millefiori (Callmer 1989, 29) but existed a bit longer having mixed with the beads of other origin. The time period of the cornelian spherical (Fig. 7) and cylindrical beads with protruding white-blue eyes almost comply with the time period of the “amethyst” and millefiori beads. Callmer singled out 26 regions of their distribution and defined most distinctive sets of beads. This analysis again confirmed that there are whole series of the eastern beads which were well-known in the Near East, Caucasus, Volga, Kama and Scandinavian countries. Their absence in the West European countries made abundantly clear their arrival through Eastern Europe (Callmer 1991, fig. 4).

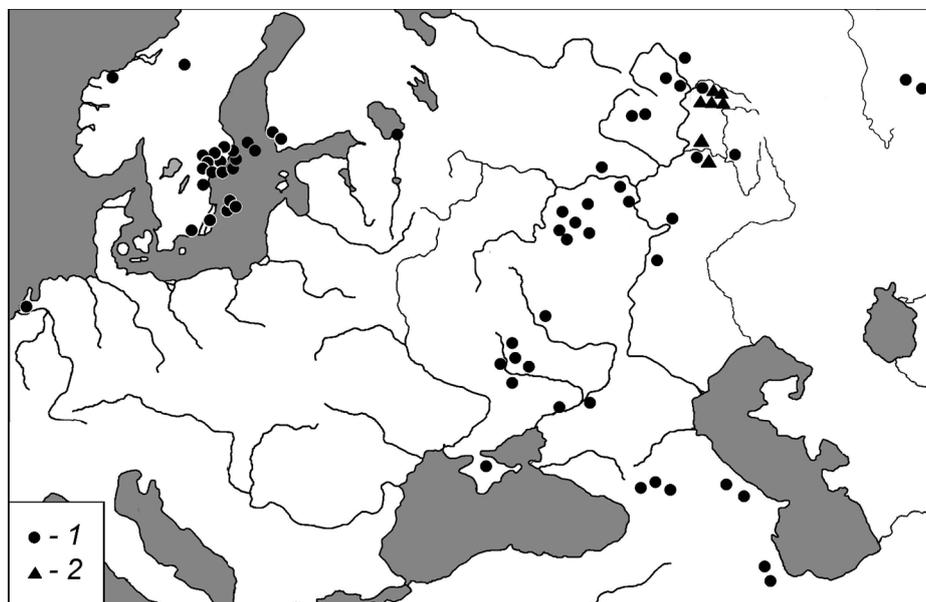


Fig. 5. Distribution map of millefiori yellow-red-green beads. 1 – according to J. Callmer, 2 – added by E. V. Goldina.

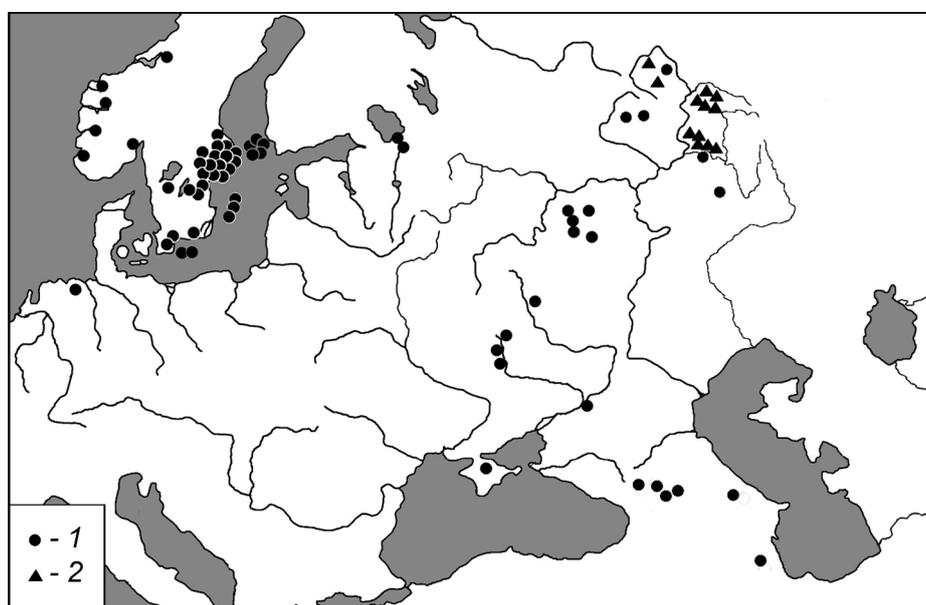


Fig. 6. Distribution map of round amethyst-colour glass beads from a rod. 1 – according to J. Callmer, 2 – added by E. V. Goldina.

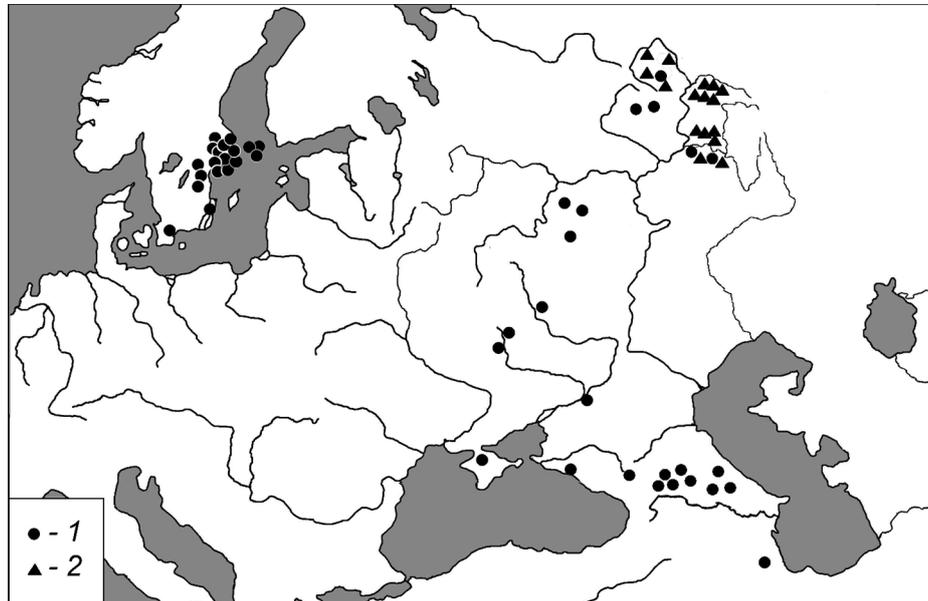


Fig. 7. Distribution map of round cornelian beads. 1 – according to J. Callmer, 2 – added by E. V. Goldina.

Analysis of the Nevolino beads showed that the aforesaid types of the beads are present in the Nevolino culture as well (Goldina 2010). To be specific, the millefiori yellow-red-green beads were found in 20 graves of the VI – early IX centuries located in the Verkh-Saya, Nevolino and Sukhoy Log burial grounds (44 beads). 357 spherical beads (mostly blue) made from a rod originate from 71 graves dating back to the VI–VIII centuries. There are 105 cornelian spherical beads found in the Nevolino burial grounds. They were excavated from the graves of the VI – early IX centuries AD. The cylindrical beads with protruding eyes (70 pcs) were found in graves of the end of the VII – beginning of the IX centuries. So, all the types of the early eastern beads found in Scandinavia are not only very well known in the burial grounds of the Nevolino culture, but even appeared here earlier than in the Baltic Sea region.

During the later time period connections of the Kama and Baltic peoples went on developing. It is proved by the appearance of numerous metal decorations among the Finnic peoples of the European forest zone, which are most probably Perm by origin – horse pendants, hollow rattle bird pendants, fire strikers with bronze handles, 'Glazov-type' torcs, and typical cult decorations – a female or male rider on a snake. The finds of the Kama typical dishware in the regions of Lake Beloye, Lake Ladoga, Severnaya Dvina, Upper and Middle Volga also prove the distribution of the above-mentioned decorations from the Kama-Volga region further to the west; researchers are inclined to explain that not by the cultural contacts but rather by the penetration of small Permian groups into the kindred Finnic environment (Makarov 1982; Leont'ev 1989; Ryabinin 1989).

Thus, the current archaeological sources confirm the hypothesis that in the VII–VIII centuries the Perm Finns (Nevolino culture) took journeys most likely for the purpose of fur trade to the western regions of the East-European forest zone and as far as to the Baltic Sea region. Their penetration is proved by findings of Nevolino belts, several types of eastern beads and other decorations. At the same time, there were all conditions to establish traders as a separate phenomenon in the Kama region, such as well-developed producing economy (agriculture and livestock breeding supplemented with fur hunting), high level of metalworking workshops, significant population density, stratified society, and well-formed community elite with skills and experience of organized marketing with the population of Central and South-Eastern Asia (numerous finds of eastern silver). Probably, they were the Perm Finns who mastered the Volga-Baltic trade route in the VII–VIII centuries, which by the late VIII–IX centuries turned into a full-flowing trans-European thoroughfare that supplied Scandinavia with eastern silver.

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SOOMEUGRILASTE PERMI RÜHMA LOODESUUNALISED VÄLISSUHTED 7.–8. SAJANDIL

Resümee

Soomeugrilaste Permi rühma rahvad elasid keskajal Uurali mäestiku põhja- ja keskosa läänejalamil. Vanvizardino arheoloogiline kultuur (4.–10. sajand) ja Võmi kultuur (11.–14. sajand) omistatakse sürjakomide eellastele. Arvatakse, et varajastele permikomidele kuuluvad Lomovatovo, Nevolino ja Polomi kultuur (4. sajandi lõpp kuni 9. sajand) ning Rodanovo (10.–15. sajand) ja Tšepetski (10.–13. sajand) kultuur.

Kontaktid Fennoskandia rahvastega, eelkõige läänemeresoomlastega, on Permi rahvastele ajaloos olulised. Uurijate suuremat tähelepanu on pälvinud karusnaha-kaubandusega seotud kaubateed. Karusloomade jaht oli Kama jõe äärsel Permi rahvastel kõrgelt arenenud juba Ananijno kultuuri perioodil (I aastatuhat eKr).

Kama-äärsete rahvaste kaubasademed oma loodepoolsete naabritega tekkisid juba I aastatuhande keskel eKr. Ananijno metallitöökeskuse toodang oli sedavõrd suur ja tooted niivõrd kvaliteetsed, et seal toodetud esemed jõudsid isegi Soome ning Rootsi alale.

Permi ja Läänemere piirkonna rahvaste kontaktid meie ajaarvamise I aastatuhande teisel poolel avalduvad Nevolino tüüpi vööde levikus (jn 2–4). Permi aladel on selliseid võid leitud üksnes naiste haudadest. Praeguseks on Uurali-lähedastelt aladelt teada üle 80 terviklikult või osaliselt säilinud Nevolino tüüpi vööd, mille leviku põhjal otsustades valmistati neid Sõlvenski jõe äärsetel aladel.

Märkimisväärne hulk Nevolino võid on leitud Soome rannikult (jn 2), kust on eri leiukohtadest saadud 19 vööosa. Soomes kandsid neid sõdalased, näitamaks oma jõukust ja mainet. Sama tüüpi vöö on leitud ka Rootsist ühest Uppsala hauakääpast. Skandinaavia päritolu esemed jõudsid Permi aladele alles 9.–10. sajandil, millest järeldub, et Soome jõudsid Nevolino vööd karusnahkade ja ka käsitöötoodetega kaubelnud kaupmeeste retkede käigus.

Uurali ja Läänemere maade vaheliste sidemete asitõendiks on ka helmed, mida valmistati tuhandeid aastaid Lähis-Ida klaasikodades. Johan Callmer on oma monograafias käsitlenud üle 200 leiukohast Skandinaavias saadud klaashelmeid perioodist 800–1000 pKr. Nende hulgas on arvukalt helmeid, mis on laialt levinud Lähis-Idas, Kaukasusel, Volga ja Kama aladel ning Skandinaavias. Lääne-Euroopas selliseid helmeid ei leita, seega on need Skandinaaviasse jõudnud Ida-Euroopa kaudu. Kõiki Skandinaavia maadest leitud idamaise päritoluga helmetüüpe tuntakse ka Nevolino kultuuri kalmistutest, kusjuures need ilmusid seal varem kui Läänemere maades.

Arheoloogiliste leidude põhjal joonistub välja kaubatee Permi aladelt Läänemere piirkonda. See algas Oka ja Mokša jõe alamjooksult, kulges Kama, Volga ja Šeksna jõe mööda Valgejärvele, edasi mööda Kovža, Võtegra ja Süvari jõe mööda ning Äänisjärve ja Laadoga järve kaudu Soome lahele.

5.–9. sajandil tekkis Permi rahvastel arenenud tootmise ja suure rahvastikutiheduse tulemusel märkimisväärne kaupade ülejääk. Kõrgetasemeline käsitöö, jahipidamine, kauplemisoskused, oskuslikud inimesed ja varasemad pikaajalised kaubanduskontaktid Permi rahvastiku ning Kesk-Aasia ja Lähis-Ida aladega panid aluse suhetele läänepoolsete soomeugri rahvastega.