

## Research Article

# The Influence of Gender in the Formation of Livvi Karelians in the Ladoga Region in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century

Aleksey Zhukov\*

Institute of Linguistics, Literature, and History of the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences

## ORCID

Aleksey Zhukov: 0000-0002-0647-5686

**Abstract.** The Livvi Karelian sub-ethnic group started forming in the 17th century in Olonets land (Olonets Pogost), and from the 18th century, Livvi ethnogenesis expanded to the Serdobol Ladoga region (Sortavala, Imbilaksha, Suistamo, Salmi, and Suojarvi pogosts), which originally was populated by the Karelian proper subgroup. This article reveals how this ethnogenesis was influenced by the family and marital relationships among Olonets Livvi and with Ladogan Karelians. These factors are analyzed in detail over a century-long period (late 17th – late 18th century) through the example of the Tulmozero Volost of the Olonets Governorate, which bordered the Ladoga region. The study is based on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th tax censuses, and the findings are verified using the present-day ethno-linguistic characteristics of Karelian supradialects and dialects.

**Keywords:** Livvi Karelians, local ethnic group, marital relationships, gender factor, volost, village, Olonets Governorate, Serdovol Uyezd, tax census

Corresponding Author: Aleksey Zhukov; email: zhukov\_a@sampo.ru

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The formation history of the Livvi Karelian ethnicity and the role of marital relationships in this process have been poorly studied. Marital relationships in peasant communities have mainly been approached by ethnologists relying on 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> cc. sources. Their studies show that marital relationships in the peasant population of Russia and Karelia were consistently attached to their respective areas [1; 2].

Such marital preferences spotted by ethnologists were probably the factor due to which ethnically homogenous local groups were forming, within which local patois or even dialects emerged. One specific task, therefore, is to study how much these marital preferences of local peasant communities contributed to notable ethnocultural transformations.

In this paper, the gender factor is investigated for the case of a separate ethnocultural group of Livvi Karelians living in the Tulmozero Volost (an administrative unit in the governorate – uyezd – pogost – volost hierarchy). This volost was situated in the North-west of the vast Olonets Pogost in a transitional position: bordering the lands

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of Serdobol Karelians on the west and not far from another area populated by Karelians (Lop' pogosts) lying in the north. Originally, in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cc., Tulmozero area was populated by Karelians from Salmi. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and in the 18<sup>th</sup> cc. however, Russian-Swedish wars triggered rapid formation of a new ethnic entity in the Olonets land – *Livvi Karelians* – made up of Karelians from the Ladoga region escaping Swedish invasion and the local Veps population. Livvi have developed a new supradialect of Karelian – Livvi Karelian. As part of this overall intensive ethnocultural process, Tulmozero residents (*Tulmozers*) also produced their own dialect of the Livvi supradialect, and science has generally recognized them as an ethnic subgroup of Livvi Karelians. Furthermore, even the Karelians Proper who stayed in the Northern Ladoga region evolved over time into Livvi Karelians with their own dialects [3].

The sources for analyzing the marriages of Tulmozers in the late 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> cc. are records on Tulmozero Volost from the Third (1763), Fourth (1782), and Fifth (1795) tax censuses (*revizii*). We have elaborated the methodology for processing them in a previous article based on the 3<sup>rd</sup> tax census, where the female population and marriages were fully inventoried for the first time [4]. To reveal how consistent people in the volost were in their marital preferences, however, a comparison is needed against subsequent censuses, in which marriage records are available for the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century [5; 6; 7; 8; 9]

The results of our computations in absolute numbers and percentage shares are given in the Table, with the analysis and conclusions reported below.

The 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> tax censuses have records of 1489 marriages of Tulmozers covering a century-long period – from the late 17<sup>th</sup> c. until 1795, including marital bonds with the Northern Ladoga region annexed to Russia only in 1710. The 3<sup>rd</sup> census recorded 592 marriages of Tulmozers as of 1763, the 4<sup>th</sup> census – 700 marriages, the 5<sup>th</sup> census – 196 new marriages.

The percentage shares of marriages made by Tulmozers inside their village, volost, or pogost, as well as in other pogosts, uyezds (or governorates) were found to vary little among the censuses. This invariability proves Tulmozers were consistent in their marital preferences throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Data from the 5<sup>th</sup> census are partially incomplete: the place of marriage is missing for some women. We had to place these cases in the within-village marriage group (row 1), so the share of marriages inside the village was overestimated and the shares of marriages with remote areas somewhat underestimated. This skew for 1795, however, has no significant effect on the overall map for the 18<sup>th</sup> century in general: the share of marriages inside the village did not exceed 10 % (as the religion prohibited marriages

TABLE 1: Tulmozero Volost marital relationships according to the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> tax censuses

##	Administrative division	Marriages of Tulmozers			Marriages from late 17 <sup>th</sup> c. until 1795: abs. number and % of $\Sigma$ total
		3 <sup>rd</sup> census, as of 1763: abs. number & %	4 <sup>th</sup> census, as of 1782: abs. number & %	5 <sup>th</sup> census, as of 1795: abs. number & %	
Marriages within Tulmozero Volost, incl.:					
1	within own village	52 (8.8%)	62 (8.9%)	34 (17.3%)	148 (9.9%)
2	with other villages of the volost	223 (37.7%)	250 (35.7%)	69 (35.2%)	542 (36.4%)
Marital relationships of Tulmozers with neighboring and remote volosts of the Olonets Pogost:					
3	Vedlozero Volost	72	76	29	177 (11.9%)
4	Nyalmozero Volost	37	42	4	83 (5.6%)
5	Gory Volost	29	37	8	74 (5%)
6	Total with residents of neighboring Olonets Pogost volosts	138 (23.3%)	155 (22.1%)	41 (20.8%)	334 (22.5%)
7	Marriages with residents of remote Olonets Pogost volosts	52 (8.8%)	83 (11.9%)	12 (6.1%)	147 (9.9%)
8	Total marriages of Tulmozero residents in the Olonets Pogost [ $\Sigma$ 8 = $\Sigma$ 1–2 + $\Sigma$ 6–7]	465 (78.6%)	550 (78.6%)	156 (79.4%)	1171 (78.7%)
Marital relationships with other pogosts, volosts, and towns of the Olonets Governorate:					
9	Under Petrozavodsk Chancery's authority, volosts: Veshkalitsy, Pryazha, Salmenizhki, Syamozero, Svyatozero	21 (3.5%)	37 (5.3%)	5 (2.6%)	63 (4.2%)
10	in other Zaonezhye pogosts	3			3 (0.2%)
11	In Lop' pogosts	9 (1.5%)	13 (1.9%)		22 (1.5%)
12	towns Olonets, Povenets	1		2 (1%)	3 (0.2%)
13	Total marriages with residents of other settlements in the Olonets Governorate [ $\Sigma$ 13 = $\Sigma$ 9–12]	34 (5.7%)	50 (7.2%)	7 (3.6%)	91 (6.1%)
14	Total marriages of Tulmozers in the Olonets Governorate [ $\Sigma$ 14 = $\Sigma$ 8 + $\Sigma$ 13]	499 (84.3%)	600 (85.7%)	163 (83.2%)	1262 (84.7%)
15	Marital relationships of Tulmozers with residents of Keksholm/Sortavala Uyezd, pogosts: Impilahti, Salmi, Serdobol, Suistamo, Suojarvi, etc.	89 (15%)	97 (13.9%)	31 (15.8%)	217 (14.6%)
16	Marital relationships between Tulmozers and residents of other governorates	4 (0.7%)	3 (0.4%)	2 (1%)	10 (0.7%)
17	Total marital relationships of the Tulmozero Volost [ $\Sigma$ 17 = $\Sigma$ 14–16]	$\Sigma$ 1763 = 592 = 100% (or 39.8% of $\Sigma$ total)	$\Sigma$ 1782 = 700 = 100% (or 47% of $\Sigma$ total)	$\Sigma$ 1795 = 196 = 100% (or 13.2% of $\Sigma$ total)	$\Sigma$ total = 1489 = 100%

between descendants down to 7<sup>th</sup> generation on the male lineage, which applies to almost all residents of any given village).

In other villages of the Tulmozero Volost, however, such relatives were much fewer. As a result, 542 women in the Tulmozero Volost (ca. 36 % or 1/3 of all marriages) bonded to men from the same volost (row 2). The numerous within-village or within-volost marriages (46 % marriages) certainly consolidated the Tulmozero Volost community, including its ethnocultural and linguistic cohesion. This area is now the distribution range of the Tulmozero dialect of the Livvi Karelian supradialect.

Marital bonds between the Tulmozero Volost and other Livvi volosts of the Olonets Pogost prove there existed a closer connection to the neighboring Vedlozero, Nyalmozero, and Gory volosts: 334 marriages, or almost a quarter of all marriages (rows 3-6). These volosts spoke the Vedlozero dialect of Livvi Karelian, the one most similar to the Tulmozero dialect. Linguists observed the absence of major differences between these two dialects in morphology and, partly, phonetics: in the nominal inflection system [10], the verb inflection system [11], in consonantism [12].

Livvi Karelians from Tulmozero area married also to Livvi from other Olonets volosts: 147 marriages i.e., up to 10 % (row 7). We can add the 4% of marriages with residents of the Petrozavodsk-subordinated Livvi-populated Veshkelitsa, Salmenizhki, and Syamozero Volosts and partly Pryazha Volost (row 9). This gives us 1214 marriages i.e., 83 %, or more than 4/5 of all marriages. Conversely, marriages with Karelians Proper from Lop' pogosts, or with Ludic Karelians, Veps, and Russians from Zaonezhnye pogosts over this century-long period happened singularly for each of these pogosts of the Olonets Governorate (rows 10–12). Our calculations convincingly demonstrate the intensity of the general process of Olonets Livvi ethnic consolidation into a separate sub-ethnic group of the Karelian people.

Apart from Olonets volosts, Karelians lived also in the Northern Ladoga region – in the Keksholm (Serdobol) Uyezd of the Vyborg Governorate. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they still belonged to the Karelian Proper group. By the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> cc. already, these Serdobol Karelians have become Livvi Karelians. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in fact only one of the many Livvi volosts, Tulmozero, had a record of 217 marriages with residents of the said volosts – 14.6 % or 1/7 of all marriages for the Tulmozero Volost (row 15).

To elucidate the mechanism of ethnicity transfer, let us calculate (not included in the Table) the ratios of women married into Tulmozero Volost from outside to women marrying out to other volosts. The Serdobol Ladoga region provided 76 wives for the Tulmozero Volost (5.7 % of all marriages), and 141 women from Tulmozero married out to that region (10.5 %). Twice more Karelian girls left the Tulmozero Volost to be married in

the Ladoga region than there were wives taken from that region. No wonder Karelians in the Ladoga region nicknamed the border with Olonets volosts *the brides' border*.

Tulmorezo men took 322 wives (24 % of marriages) from other volosts in the Olonets Pogost, while 159 girls (11.9 %) married out to those volosts. In other words, marriages into Tulmozero Volost from other Olonets Pogost volosts were twice more frequent than vice versa. That said, 226 girls (16.9 %) were taken as wives from the nearby Vedlozero, Nyalmozero, and Gory volosts, while the number of women taken as wives from Tulmozero to these volosts was 88 (6.6 %). Thus, speaking of the neighboring volosts, the number of women marrying into the volost was 2.5 times that of women marrying out.

In addition to dowry, every girl brought over from the native village the language and other ethnocultural traits and characteristics of her native volost community, and then transmitted them to the children she raised. Thus, marriages mediated a gradual east-to-west spread of ethnocultural and linguistic characteristics and traits of Livvi people: from volosts in the east to those bordering the Ladoga region, including the Tulmozero Volost, and from there to the Serdobol Ladoga region, which was turning into a Livvi territory.

## 1. Conclusions

We used the example of the 18th c. Tulmozero Volost to study the gender factor – the mechanism of marital relationships, which proved to be quite significant in the multifaceted process of building the new Livvi ethnicity. Marital preferences of Tulmozers proved to have remained steady over the entire 18th century. Since the 1710th, the Serdobol Ladoga region was included in this system.

Marital bonds inside the Tulmozero Volost certainly consolidated the Tulmozero peasant community, promoting the formation of ethnocultural and other features of Tulmozers, including the Tulmozero dialect of Livvi Karelian.

The second position among marital preferences in the Tulmozero Volost was given to bonding with other Livvi volosts, especially the neighboring Vedlozero, Nyalmozero, and Gory volosts, whose population spoke the Vedlozero Livvi dialect, which was still in the process of formation. Marriages of girls from other Olonets volosts into the Tulmozero Volost were 2-2.5 times more frequent than marriages of Tulmozero girls out to those volosts. Quite expectedly, similarities between the Tulmozero and the Vedlozero dialects of Livvi Karelian are numerous.

One-seventh of all marriages was bonding to the Serdobol Ladoga region, revived after 1710, where dialects of the Livvi supradialect also started forming. To specify, twice more girls from Tulmozero married out to this region than vice versa. Considering the administrative disintegration between the areas, the gender factor appears to be the main driver of the long process of transformation of Karelians Proper in the Serdobol Ladoga region into Livvi Karelians. In the 18th century in general, marriages mediated the bonding between Tulmozero people and other ethnic Livvi groups, thus decisively promoting the making of the Livvi sub-ethnicity.

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