

STUDIES OF LOCAL LORE AS A FORM OF ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS: THE KARELIANS OF OLONETS PROVINCE IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

ALEXANDR M. PASHKOV

Docent, Cand. of History

Head of the Department

Department of the pre-1917 Russian History

Faculty of History, University of Petrozavodsk

Lenin Prospect, 33, 185910 Petrozavodsk, Russia

e-mail: pashkov@psu.karelia.ru

ABSTRACT

Author* deals with 19th century intellectuals of Olonets Karelian origin who started to be interested in local language, culture and ways of life. They started to compile and publish corresponding texts and it meant the beginning of ethnic mobilization of Karelians. Author starts with a brief overview of local historical background and continues with activities of three intellectuals of Karelian origin (I. V. Kondratyev, M. N. Smirnov, N. F. Leskov).

KEYWORDS: Russian Karelia • Karelians • local lore • ethnic consciousness • ethnic mobilization

At the end of the nineteenth century a large group of Karelians lived in the Olonets province (*guberniya*), part of the present-day Republic of Karelia at the north-western Russia. According to the 1897 census the Karelian population comprised 16.3 per cent of the entire province (Pokrovskaya 1974: 103). The proximity of the capital, St. Petersburg, the Russian Empire's largest economic and cultural centre, as well as the close presence of Finland, then a part of Russia, had a major influence on the ethnic development of Karelians. This paper seeks to demonstrate the preconditions, conditions and outcomes of the development of what may be called "historical oral tradition": an approach combining history, ethnography, folklore, culture and lifestyle of a certain area, which was carried out by local people themselves amongst the Karelians of Olonets province at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By the mid-nineteenth century, Karelians constituted a large ethnic group inhabiting the northern provinces of European Russia. Primary and relatively reliable data about the population of the Karelians was collected and published by the prominent scholar (later a member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences) Peter von Köppen. Ac-

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According to his data, based on the tax revision of 1835, the total population of Karelians in Russia comprised 171,695 persons. The largest groups of Karelians were found in both Tver and Olonets provinces. At the time of the first Russia-wide census of 1897, Karelians had consolidated their numbers in the two provinces and the total number had increased to 208,101 (see Table 1).

Table 1. Pre-revolutionary Karelian Population by province.

Sources: Köppen 1853: 29; *Vseobshchaya perepis* 1899: 104–107; 1900: 86–89.

Province (<i>guberniya</i>)	Karelian Population	
	1835	1897
Arkhangelsk	11,228	19,517
Novgorod	27,076	9,980
Olonets	43,380	59,414
Tver	84,638	117,679
St. Petersburg	3,660	835
Yaroslavl	1,283	n/a

From the population data in the table, one can conclude that the Karelian ethnic group was influenced by two tendencies in the middle and second half of the nineteenth century. The first can be defined as an increase in the population of the Karelians, and the second as assimilation, which, at that time, was weak. However, in none of the province were Karelians a majority. In the northern provinces the majority of the population comprised *velikorossy* (“Great” Russians), including 294,721 in Arkhangelsk and 284,902 in the Olonets province (*Vseobshchaya perepis* 1900). In terms of social status, the majority of Karelians were illiterate peasants. According to the 1897 census of the Olonets province, only 877 Karelians lived in towns, while the remaining 58,537 persons were rural dwellers. Literate Karelians in the province numbered only 6,182, or 10.4 per cent of the total Karelian population (Pokrovskaya 1974: 103, 111).

As a result – not surprisingly – it was the representatives of other ethnic groups who undertook the academic study of Karelians in the Olonets province from the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example, the founder of Finno-Ugrian studies in Russia, Anders Johan Sjögren, was a frequent visitor to the Olonets province during his 1824–1829 expedition, making an important contribution to the study of Karelians.¹ The history, ethnography, culture and lifestyle of Karelians was also studied by officials, schoolteachers, representatives of the Orthodox Church and Russian travellers. Their articles, essays, and notes on the Karelians were published in the local newspaper, *Olonetskie gubernskie vedomosti* (Olonets Province Gazette), published in Petrozavodsk from 1838. The Olonets statistical committee, established in Petrozavodsk in 1835, was another contributor towards the study of the lore of the Karelians.² Thus, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, travellers and academics from other ethnic groups, mainly Russians and Finns, also studied the Karelian ethnic group. The vast majority of peasant Karelians, cut off from even primary education, simply attempted to survive under severe climatic conditions. Those Karelians who were able to enter the ranks of the gentry or clergy, also changed their ethnic identification, declaring themselves to be Russian. Consequently, for several centuries the only means of retaining historical

data and its transmission had been through various oral activities amongst the ethnic Karelians was including oral folklore, traditional *runo*-singing, legend and story-telling and other related activities.

THE BEGINNINGS OF KARELIAN MOBILIZATION: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The situation began to change in the nineteenth century, influenced by the development of education. In particular, a network of church-run schools began to turn out increasing numbers of literate Karelians, primarily amongst urban citizens. The development of market relationships promoted the migration of Karelians mainly to St. Petersburg and Finland. Life in large multi-ethnic cities, such as St. Petersburg and Vyborg, developed a wider perception of the world around them, stimulated education, and focussed ethnic self-identification amongst Karelians. The success and development of historical science in Russia also influenced the development of Karelians. From 1818–1829, Nikolay Karamzin published his 12-volume *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo* (The History of the Russian State). This work of historical fiction covered Russian history to the seventeenth century. These and other factors in the first half of the nineteenth century encouraged the establishment of local studies and research amongst the Karelians. The first students of Karelian lore represented urban citizens and merchants, who were the most educated and active Karelians. Ivan Vasilyevich Kondratyev was one of the first such individuals. There is little biographical information about Kondratyev.³ His father was a wealthy merchant in Olonets. Ivan Kondratyev had a curious nature and taught himself how to read and write. He was an ethnic Karelian and spoke Russian, Karelian and Finnish.

After 1815 Kondratyev worked as an assistant in a timber factory in Olonets. In 1825, after witnessing irresponsible logging practices, he made a report to the Ministry of Finance on the abuse of power and presented his own draft management plan. After an investigation took up Kondratyev's report, the offenders were brought to justice. Kondratyev, "for his report and diligence for the state was honoured with the Monarch's financial reward of 1,000 roubles".⁴ However, as a result of this investigation, Kondratyev's relationship with Olonets officials went bad. He was not issued a passport for five years and was not permitted to leave Olonets until 1829. However, this did not impede his public and scientific activities, which included research into marsh and lake drainage to improve agriculture, the organisational reform of sawmills, the construction of a navigable canal between the rivers Olonka and Svir, and measures to limit smuggling from Finland.⁵ In April 1836 Kondratyev wrote a long report entitled "On the improvement of life conditions of state peasants of Olonets province", which he sent to the Minister of Finance, Egor Frantsevich Kankrin.⁶ Soon afterwards, Olonets police began investigations into Kondratyev's activities and following these, there was little record of him until his death was registered in 1850.

This list of activities and written works suggest that here was an extremely energetic, enterprising, compassionate, and education-orientated individual and, not surprisingly, Ivan Kondratyev was to be the first student of traditional lore amongst the Olonets Karelians. The formation of his lore interests was encouraged by, above all else, his love

for his “little motherland” – the ancient town of Olonets, established in 1649 – with its large population of Livvik Karelians and high level of the urban culture, a result of the proximity of the capital St. Petersburg.

In June 1836 Kondratyev sent Ignatii Semenov, the Olonets Archbishop, three of his works: “Memorandum on oral stories of the Olonets *Koreliaks-raskolniks* and on their sect, which has not yet been recorded” (along with an enclosed “Memorandum on *Koreliaks-raskolniks*”), “Memorandum on the population and foundation of Olonets and an explanation of the origin of some Karelian words and names of some places” (with an enclosed “Memorandum on Olonets”), and “Memorandum on curious events which happened during Imperial visits through Olonets” (with enclosed “Memorandum on high visits”). These latter two items were found in the archive of the Synod and later published by Evgeni Mikhailovich Prilezhaev in the *Olonetskie gubernskie vedomosti* (1891; reprinted 1894: 227–237).

It is important to note that some of Kondratyev’s publications were cut by the censors. In the “Memorandum on *Koreliaks-raskolniks*”,⁸ Kondratyev gave a description of twelve religious ceremonies and regulations of the Karelian Old Believers. This was the first and practically only work which described the philosophy of the Olonets Karelian Old Believers in the first half of the nineteenth century and suggests that Old Believer religious traditions were widely practised by the Olonets Karelians and specifically adapted in this area. However, the later book of Orthodox historian Sergei Artobolevskii (1904: 177) contains only summaries of eight of these, while numbers two, seven, eleven and twelve are missing altogether.

Another work by Ivan Kondratyev, “Memorandum on the population and foundation of Olonets and an explanation of the origin of some Karelian words and names of some places”⁹ addressed the history and toponymy of Olonets Karelia. It contained twenty-seven short chapters. One of the chapters under the heading “Real settlement of the Karelians” has population figures and distribution analysis. The concluding part of Kondratyev’s work provided an explanation of more than twenty Karelian toponyms. The majority of the names in their origin are related to physical and geographical realities of the region, its flora and fauna. Kondratyev gave two Karelian names for the river Olonka: it was called *Allavoine* (Lower) below the town of Olonets and *Iiulelgoine* (Upper) above the town. The place to the north of the town was called *Tagavoine* (Back Districts). On the basis of these toponyms one can make valuable conclusions about Olonets Karelians’ ethnocentric worldview.¹⁰ The centre of Olonets Karelia is the town of Olonets, which divides the Olonka River into two parts and separates the Back Parishes (*volost*) from the rest Karelian territory. The toponym “Back Parishes” is remarkable in itself, demonstrating that the settlement of Olonets and the Karelians of Olonets were oriented to the south, to Russia. This is a reflection of the long history of the Karelians: life under the power and protection of the Russian state, trade with central Russia, Russian cities, etc.

The philosophy and academic activity of Ivan Kondratyev cannot be fully understood without taking into account socio-cultural and ethno-cultural aspects in Olonets. Nineteenth-century Olonets was a town in Olonets province. There were many Karelians among the population of Olonets. In 1847 there were 1,011 inhabitants in Olonets, including 500 male and 511 female residents. In his report of 7 April 1846 an official of the Olonets police reported that 513 local Karelians (209 men and 304 women), includ-

ing 74 merchants, 366 town citizens and 73 peasants (together with the members of their families), as well as 25 Lutheran Finns (10 men and 15 women) and 20 Orthodox Finnish Karelians (8 men and 12 women) were resident in Olonets.¹¹ Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, when Kondratyev started his studies into folklore and oral tradition, half of the population of Olonets was Karelian and, linguistically related to them, Finns.

It was specifically in the Karelian community of Olonets where Kondratyev's interests in the history of the local area were formed. Another factor which contributed to Kondratyev's studies was the Russian influence on the life and culture of the Olonets Karelians. This influence was demonstrated in the adherence of the Olonets Karelians to Orthodoxy. Therefore, it was not accidental that Kondratyev passed his written manuscripts on to Archbishop Ignatii. The proximity of St. Petersburg had a significant economic and cultural influence on Olonets. Because of this factor in the first half of the nineteenth century the Olonets Karelians, unlike other ethnic groups, were the most prepared for collecting and preserving historical data about the past of their area and their ethnic group, not in oral forms but in semi-academic manuscripts. Because of the the above-mentioned factors the study of Karelian oral tradition could emerge only among the Karelian population of Olonets.

DEVELOPING ETHNIC SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS: THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the second half of the nineteenth century the conditions for the formation of ethnic self-consciousness among the Karelians, and other Finno-Ugrian peoples of the Russian North, were more favourable than before. The major reforms of Alexander II gave several thousand Karelian peasants the freedom to manage their own economic activity. Many Karelians and Vepsians began to migrate to St. Petersburg and Finland in search of cash earnings. This economic migration had great significance. It gave the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Karelia the opportunity to enrich themselves due to a corresponding entrepreneurial nature and diligence. Many of them became rich well-to-do business people. On the other hand, life in the big cities, city culture, contacts with the well educated and representatives of other ethnic groups increased the ethnic self-consciousness of the Karelians. The most significant group of Karelian migrants were those who went to Finland and who were able, thanks to their bilingual skills, to achieve success in business as economic mediators between Russia and Finland. Moreover, those Olonets Karelians who spent many years in Finland were influenced by West European culture, a factor in the development of Karelian ethnic self-consciousness and lore-studies.

It is not accidental that in the post-reform period the most famous and active student of Karelian lore was the businessman Miron Nikolaevich Smirnov. Born in 1815 in the village of Kārgila of Syamozero-Kungozero (Sāāmājārvi-Kungojārvi [Kongojārvi]) community (*obshchestvo*) Petrozavodsk district (*yezđ*) Olonets province at the family of a Karelian peasant, Smirnov was sent as a small boy "to serve" the rich bread merchant Filimon Metlinskii in Olonets. This work involved much travel and the young Smirnov was able to visit Petrozavodsk, Povenets, Lodeynoye Pole, and many other settlements along the Svir River. He was also sent on errands across Lake Ladoga to Finland. On one occasion Metlinskii sent the fifteen-year-old boy deliver 60,000 roubles across Vyte-

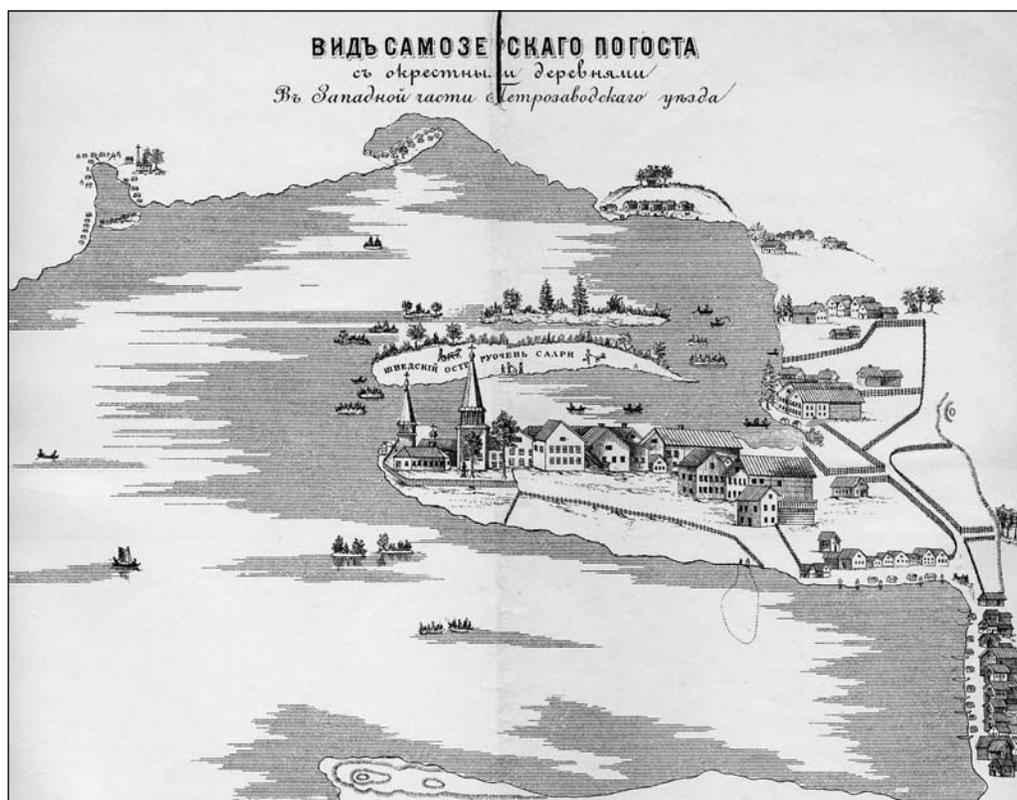


Figure 1. View of Karelian village Syamozero (Säämäjärvi), the native village of Miron Smirnov. Drawing of M. Smirnov.

gra to Rybinsk on the Volga River. These trips, undoubtedly, helped to extend the young boy's views experience.

A few years later Smirnov met two local Olonetsians who, at a young age, had moved to Finland, built timber factories there and exported their produce to Western Europe and "thus faced the civilisation of Western Europe" (Smirnov 1890: vi). Smirnov was offered a job by one of the men and together with his new employer left "Korel-Oloniia for remote Finland" (ibid.). According to his autobiography, three years after moving to Finland, Smirnov became manager of the Vuokala "first-class" factory; four years later he was already supervising two, and then later four factories. In total, Smirnov worked for twenty-two years as manager of various timber factories. In September 1853 Miron Smirnov and his family were excluded from the peasant register of Petrozavodsk district and re-registered as merchants in the Finnish town of Joensuu.¹² Gradually Smirnov built up his own business in Finland.

The period from the beginning of the 1860s until the mid-1880s was a very active time in Smirnov's life in terms of business, the study of local and historical tradition, and indeed, in charitable acts. From the end of the 1860s in his native land, Syamozero Smirnov was renowned for his charity. When *zemstvo*¹³ schools were opening in the Olonets province, Smirnov took the most active participation in the opening of the *zemstvo* school in Syamozero at the beginning of 1874, and later covered all its expenses, do-

nated books to its library and became one of its trustees.¹⁴ In 1881 Smirnov initiated a transformation of the school into a one-class “exemplary” school under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, donating 200 roubles for this venture which was initiated in March 1883.¹⁵ However, Smirnov’s benevolent activities were cut short by bankruptcy later that decade. He lived out his remaining years in obscurity until his death, the exact date and place of which are not known.

Miron Smirnov’s studies of local tradition and lore started only in 1868, when he visited his native Syamozero after twenty-five years of absence. The impressions of this visit were published as “Syamozero: From the Letters of a Self-educated Karelian”,¹⁶ to be followed by Smirnov’s historical treatise in “Karelians, their history, folk lifestyle and Karelian-Russian literacy”¹⁷ and a depiction of local folklore in “Ruochin-saari – the Swedish island in Lake Syamozero”.¹⁸ This latter article describes the legend, according to which “in time immemorial” a Swedish legion landed on this island in order to invade nearby settlements. However, they were discovered by the local people and murdered.

Smirnov considered the Russian people as being the closest to Karelians in socio-cultural aspects. Yet, a well-expressed ethnic Karelian identity and self-recognition of language and ethnic relations to other Finno-Ugrian peoples was also characteristic of Miron Smirnov. A very important activity for Smirnov was the active promotion of the development of his own ethnicity and to disseminate knowledge about it amongst the educated part of society at large, thus entitling Smirnov the credit of being one of the first activists of the Karelian national movement.

Nikolay Feofilaktovich Leskov (1871–1915), a talented Karelian writer, ethnographer, folklorist and publicist, was one of the first individuals to raise the issues of social, national and cultural development of the Karelians of Olonets province.¹⁹ Born in Svyatozero (Pyhäjärvi) on 29 October 1871 to a local Karelian psalm-reader (or according to another source, to a priest), he graduated from an Orthodox seminary in Petrozavodsk, and later entered a Orthodox academy in St. Petersburg, from which he graduated in 1895 with a degree in theology. In St. Petersburg Leskov established contacts with the

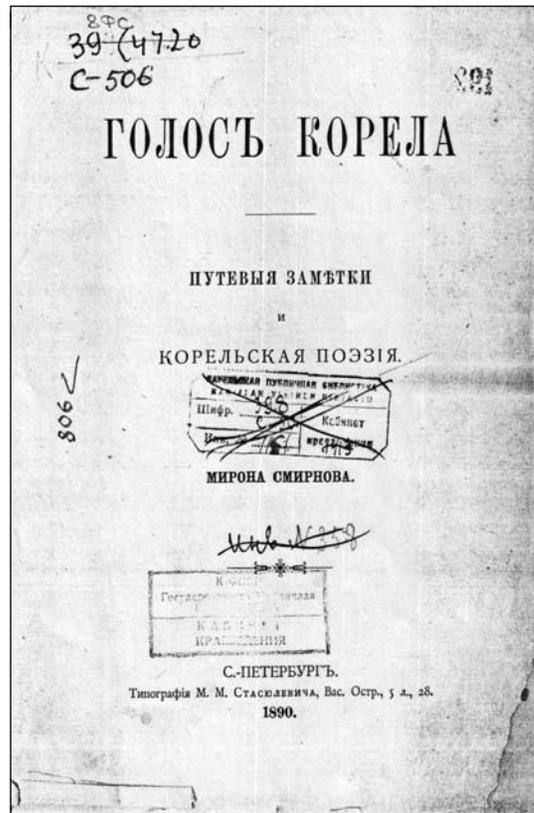


Figure 2. The cover page of Miron Smirnov’s book *Golos Korela* (*The Karelian Voice*) (St. Petersburg, 1890).

Department of Ethnography of the Russian Geographical Society. During 1892–1894 the Society sent him on three trips “for ethnographic observations” of the Karelians of Olonets. These tasks fulfilled Leskov’s own desire to do something useful for his Karelian homeland and its people.

In 1892 Leskov’s first travel report was published in the Society’s journal *Zhivaya starina* (The Living Past), within which he concludes that despite the influence of Russians, Karelians maintain a separate tradition through their rites and rituals (Leskov 1893b: 432–436). Soon other publications followed,²⁰ proving Leskov to be a talented ethno-linguist in his analysis of language borrowings and the strong mutual influence of Russians and Karelians in the region. By the end of 1893, further publications dealt with oral riddles, puzzles, proverbs and songs, demonstrating Leskov’s versatility as a folklorist (Leskov 1893a: 532–540; 1893b: 540; 1893c: 541–553). Leskov published many *runos* and songs sung by Ekaterina Turu, a Karelian peasant woman from the village of Borodin-Navolok in Petrozavodsk district, some of which were later reprinted in the well-known Finnish publication *Suomen kansan vanhat runot* (Ancient Poems of the Finnish People) (Niemi 1927: 68–76). The following year Leskov wrote about the Karelian festival “Viändüöid”, the sacred period between the Days of St. John (23 June) and St. Peter (29 June), the article for which included much detailed information about folk medicine, spells and rituals.²¹ Another article by Leskov was devoted to Karelian funeral customs (Leskov 1894b: 514–517).

In the summer of 1893 Leskov, upon the request of the Russian Geographical Society, carried out a survey amongst the population in Serdobol (Sortavala) district of Vyborg province and Petrozavodsk and Olonetsk districts of the Olonets province (Leskov



Photo 1. Nikolai Leskov with his family, dated early 20th century.

1894a: 19–31). The material gathered included a comparative study of the Olonets Karelians and the Karelians of the Finnish Lake Ladoga area, the results of which indicated the numerous differences between the two groups:

The Finnish Karelian is far ahead of his Olonets native brother. Here, you do not see the ignorance that is still quite common in the forest settlements of Olonets Karelia. The Finnish Karelian has seen much and heard much in his life. He freely handles reading and writing Finnish. His *tupa* (house) is placed on a high stone foundation and the roof is covered with strong wooden planks [...] of which our Olonets Karelian could not *not even* dream. (Leskov 1894a: 19)

Several additional ethnographic essays and Karelian fairy-tales in Russian translation appeared by the end of 1894. That same year, Leskov was commissioned to carry out research on the closely-related Vepsians of the Ojat' valley, the results of which also found their way into *Zhivaya starina* (Leskov 1895a: 1–13). The following summer Leskov was sent to study the Karelians of Povenets district, after which he attempted to give comparative ethnographic characteristics of the Karelians and the Russians living in the North: "These peoples historically have been living next to each other, shoulder to shoulder, have always been neighbours and have adopted much from each other" (Leskov 1895b: 279).

The academic activity of Nikolay Leskov was based on a deep sympathy for the difficult situation of the Karelians and he suggested an entire detailed programme for improving their conditions. The ethnographer thought that the Karelians, apart from land cultivation, had to be given permanent sources of income and for trade, highlighting the Finnish experience of forestry and factory work. Leskov underlined the need for improved communications, schools and religious education in the native tongue, and improved medical services – and, he identified the main obstacle to this as the attitude of local authorities, which he summarised as: "Why do Karelians need all this? [...] The purpose of Russian schooling and Slavonic religious services [...] is to teach a Karelian to speak Russian, not much else really." (Leskov 1895b: 286) In publishing these thoughts, Leskov gradually went beyond academic boundaries, and became an ideologist for the Karelian national movement. His article, "A trip to Karelia" (Leskov 1895b: 279–297) can be considered the climax of Leskov's academic creativity, emphasizing the qualities of the author – his knowledge of the Karelian language, folklore and customs, and sincere love of his people – enriched by his experiences from expeditions and readings.

Despite a very productive partnership with the journal *Zhivaya starina*, in which he published sixteen articles, Leskov also published a popular short story "Couple of turnips" in a *belles-lettres* style on the conditions of the Karelian peasants in the *Istoricheskii vestnik* (The Historical Gazette) (Leskov 1893d: 690–699). The author was influenced by the traditions of Russian literature – democratisation and critical realism. The short story is examined with deep sympathy for the life of the Karelian peasantry and represents a hidden protest against their harsh conditions. This story caused a scandal and elicited a response in the same journal, an article entitled "Outrageous Poverty" by Alexander Sobornov (1893: 844–848). This retired member of the local *apparat* had previously published several essays on the nature of Karelians (e.g. Sobornov 1876), and would do so later (1895: No. 41 5–6), in which he arrogantly dismisses the problems of the Karelians. This was typical of the environment surrounding Leskov and his work.

However the success of the first short story inspired Leskov to publish two more in *Istorichechii vestnik* – one entitled “Died of Natural Causes” (1894d: 330–342) and the second “Katti and Matti” (1895c: 712–722), the latter signed “N. F. Leskov-Korelskii”, an expression of his ethnic self-consciousness and demonstrative pride in belonging to this ethnic group. Despite some literary weaknesses, these short stories are the first works of a national Karelian literature.

In 1895 Leskov entered the Orthodox academy in St. Petersburg. In the summer of 1896, he returned to Petrozavodsk and in June became an assistant inspector in an Orthodox college. However, a year later he was transferred to Kargopol as a lecturer at the town’s Orthodox college. This demotion and exile to a remote district can be explained as an attempt by the authorities to prevent the ethnographer’s further research and writing activities – there was no Karelian population in Kargopol district – and as a punishment for his refusal to take a religious title. From this point forward, Leskov did not publish a single article on the Karelian people. After a successful and popular stay in Kargopol, Leskov returned to Petrozavodsk in 1908 and became a lecturer at the Orthodox college. He died on 5 November 1915 of a heart attack due to stress. The works left behind by Leskov are of great academic significance. They are full of the ideas of the social and cultural development of the Karelian people and are of great interest even today. Moreover, Leskov represents one of the first members of the Karelian national intelligentsia, who tried to serve his people as a specialist in traditional folk culture, and denounced those who abused their power over the people. The ban on further research on the Karelians forced on Leskov, which became a general policy of the Tsarist authorities, drove the few representatives of the Karelian intelligentsia to rebel or join the Soviets after 1917.

CONCLUSIONS

The activities of the three above-mentioned Karelian scholars demonstrate the main stages in the specific peculiarities of formation and development of Karelian ethnic self-consciousness shaped through the study of one’s own ethnic group and settlement. In common, these three individuals had a shared birthplace (the city of Olonets and surrounding villages), similar early education (Kondratyev and Smirnov were literate, but they did not graduate secondary school (gymnasium) actually, so both of them have only primary education, formal or unformal), a shared urban experience and influence of St. Petersburg, and significantly, all three felt the influence of nearby Finland. Naturally, differences between these men did play a role in their work – Kondratyev was a Russified Karelian and felt more distant from the Karelian masses than did either Smirnov or Leskov – yet all acknowledged the close relationship between Finns and Karelians, and the proximity of Finland stimulated the formation of early ideas of a common Finno-Ugrian kinship amongst the Karelian students of their own lore and traditions by the second half of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries.

The significance of Karelian ethnic lore-studies in the formation of ethnic consciousness amongst the Karelians of Olonets province should not be overestimated. The Karelian lore students were few, and their works had a limited audience. Yet this brief glimpse at the ideas expressed by these first academics of Karelian lore is of great inter-

est and topical today amongst a new generation of Karelian activists, requiring a second look and republishing.

Acknowledgement

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NOTES

1 For more details about A. J. Sjögren and his academic activities, see Branch 1973; also Pashkov 2000: 22–32. This paper does not include the active study of other Finno-Ugrian peoples of the region by Finnish academics.

2 The contribution of Russian research to the study of the Karelians of Olonets province is outlined in Pashkov 1997: 205–211.

3 For biographical information about Kondratyev, see Prilezhaev 1894: 227–228 (a reprint of Prilezhaev 1891); Elenevskii 1961: 61–63, 66–67.

4 NARK, f. 1, op. 36, d. 67/26, l. 4–4ob.

5 Kondratyev published most of these ideas through an active, but short-term period of cooperation with the St. Petersburg newspaper *Zemledelcheskaya gazeta* (The Agricultural Gazette) (see Kondratyev 1835; 1836).

6 For detailed analysis of Kondratyev's report, see Elenevskii 1961: 60–67.

7 For more about Olonets lore-study, see Pashkov 1989: 59–63.

8 The full text is in the RGIA, f. 834, op. 2, d. 1666, l. 3–4.

9 For the text, see RGIA, f. 834, op. 2, d. 1666, l. 4ob.-13.

10 For more detail about the ethno-centric model of the world, using the comparative example of the nearby Pomor region, see Terebikhin 1993: 8–11.

11 Statistics from Zimmerman 1855: 112 and NARK, f. 1, op. 36, d. 67/26, l. 5.

12 NARK, f. 4, op. 18, d. 83/812, l. 23ob.-24.

13 *Zemstvo* – elective district council in pre-1917 Russia.

14 NARK, f. 78, op. 1, d. 16/247, l. 86ob.

15 NARK, f. 78, op. 1, d. 16/247, l. 113-113ob., 116, 128-128ob.

16 Smirnov 1868. Reprinted in Smirnov 1890: 3–18.

17 See Smirnov 1872. Reprinted in Smirnov 1890: 79–95.

18 See Smirnov 1875. Reprinted in both Smirnov 1875–1876: 5–11; and Smirnov 1890: 23–33.

19 For biographical information on Leskov, see Krylov 1915: 121–126; Superanskii 1915a: 614; 1915b; Gordeev 1992: 42.

20 For example, Leskov 1893, 415–419; Leskov 1892c: 97–103.

21 Leskov 1894b: 514–517. For a modern ethnographer's view of this Karelian celebration, see Konkka 1992: 28–45.

SOURCES

- NARK – National Archive of the Republic of Karelia (*Национальный архив Республики Карелия*).
- RGIA – Russian State Historical Archive (*Российский государственный исторический архив*).

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