In the current installment of the *Ethnographic Atlas*, we present formalized data (following Murdock's scheme) on seventeen peoples of the European part of the former Russian Empire and the Soviet Union not covered by any of the previous installments of the *Ethnographic Atlas*. Different peoples of the sample were integrated into Russia in different historical periods, from medieval (the Ingrians, Karelians, Veps, Votes) to early modern (the Besermyan, Bashkir, Chuvash, Kazan Tatar, Mordva, Udmut) to modern (the Gagauz, Estonians, Lithuanian Karaim and Tatar, Latvians, Livs, Moldovans). Some of them have always remained within Russia's borders (the Besermyan, Bashkir, Chuvash, Ingrians, Karelians, Kazan Tatar, Mordva, Udmut, Veps, Votes), while others departed after the fall of the Russian Empire, during the 1920s and 1930s, and live outside of Russia today. After the break up of the USSR, there arose the independent republics of Estonia (the Estonians), Latvia (the Latvians and Livs), Lithuania (the Lithuanian Karaim and Tatar), and Moldova (the Gagauz and Moldovans) (Kizilov 1984; Tishkov 1998).

**OVERVIEW**

The reviewed peoples belong to the following cultural blocks: Finno-Ugrian: Permic (the Udmurt and Besermyan) and Finn (the Erzia Mordva, Veps, Livvik Karelians, Ingrians, Estonians, Livs, Votes); Turkic (the Kazan Tatar, Lithuanian Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Gagauz, Lithuanian Karaim); Indoeuropean: Baltic (the Latvians), and Romanic (the Moldovans). The Besermyan speak a dialect of the Udmut language. The Erzia Mordva as Volga Finns are linguistically closer to the Baltic Finns than to the Permans (the Udmurt and Besermyan).

Among Baltic Finns two groups are represented: Northern and Southern. The Karelians and Ingrians belong to the former and are linguistically very close to the Finns proper. In fact, Finnish linguists consider Ingrian to be a dialect of Finnish (see Shlygina 2003:593). The Veps also belong to the Northern group. The Votes and Livs together with the Estonians represent the Southern group of the Baltic Finns.
The Udmurt belong to the Permian group of the Finno-Ugrian linguistic family together with the Komi-Zyryan and Komi-Permiak. They are ethnographic heirs of the local Anan'ino and Pjanobor archaeological cultures of the eighth to the third century BCE (Vladykin 2000:433). By their origin, the Besermyans are a small group of southern Udmurts, having taken refuge among the northern Udmurts in the wake of political turmoil caused by the Tatar-Mongol destruction of the Volga Bulgarian state, the defeat of the Golden Horde state by the armies of Tamerlan, and other violent political events. Having settled outside the former territory of Volga Bulgaria, they retained a clearly defined cultural identity and their own self-name, which ultimately stems from the Arabic muslimūn (via Persian mosālmān and corrupted Turkic büsürmen). Although pagans originally, they had never actually been Muslims (Russians superficially Christianized them starting from the mid-eighteenth century CE) (Napolskikh 1997:52–3; Goldina 1996:19).

Much more numerous than the Besermyan, the Chuvash are also descendants of the refugee population that fled to the outskirts of the Volga Bulgaria and mixed there with the Mari. Their language, being the only survivor of the early Bolgar (Proto-Bolgar), has won over the local Finno-Ugrian languages and dialects, and their culture in general being a blend of early Turkic and Finno-Ugrian traditions. To the beginning of the twentieth century, they retained a considerable portion of the Proto-Bolgar paganism (Vorobjev 1956:30–5; Salmin 1994:162–4, 186, 272). Like the Besermyan and Udmurt, they were more or less Christianized beginning with the mid-eighteenth century. Together with the Gagauz, they are among the very few Christianized Turkic peoples. Also apart from the Chuvash and Gagauz, all the other Turkic peoples of the present installment speak the languages of the Kypchak group, being thus the descendants of the populations linguistically assimilated by the main population of the Golden Horde.

From physical anthropological and cultural evidence, the Kazan Tatars (as well as the Chuvash) are the heirs to the Volga Bulgarian legacy. They are the descendants of the population that stayed in the core of the Volga Bulgaria territory and, contrary to the Chuvash, they were linguistically assimilated by the dominant Kypchak ethnic groups (Vasil'ev and Matveeva 1986). Also unlike the Chuvash, the Kazan Tatar had a tradition of their own multinational empire—the Kazan Khanate state (1438–1552), the heir of the Golden Horde state (Hudjakov 1991). The elements of the nomadic Turkic tradition of the former Kypchak are much more evident in the Kazan Tatar culture compared to the culture of the Chuvash. The same may be said about the Kazan Tatar’s closest language relatives, the Bashkir. The main difference in the ethnic history of these peoples lies in the substrate of the non-Turkic cultural texture that is present from early
times in their respective territories (Rudenko 1955:25–30). The present territory of the Republic of Tatarstan generally coincides with the territory of Volga Bulgaria, the latter, interestingly enough, lying within the area of the Imenkovskaja archaeological culture (Goldina 1996:15). The point of interest lies in the fact that Imenkovskaja culture was created (partially) by the later descendants of the Zarubinetskaja culture, which ethnically is Baltic. In the Middle Volga region, the former Dnieper Balts mixing with the local Finno-Ugric population created a stable tradition of productive agriculture, which was inherited by the Proto-Bolgar conquerors from the seventh to the thirteenth century (Vasil'ev and Matveeva 1986:140–9; Matveeva 1981), and through them by the Kazan Tatar. The blend of various cultural traditions had created the background for the state civilization with numerous rich cities (Bolgar, Bilar, and Suvar being the largest), all of which were ruthlessly burned by the nomadic Tatar-Mongol invaders in the mid-thirteenth century. Naturally enough, the Kazan Tatar generally show more evident signs of Central Mongoloid phenotypic admixture than do the Chuvash, Besermyan, and Udmurt. This is even more true for the Bashkir. They, unlike the Kazan Tatar, did not acquire the ancient tradition of developed agriculture from their substratum ethnic groups, the Permian Finno-Ugrians and Ugors proper. The southern part of Bashkiria is a steppe, so up to the nineteenth century a considerable portion of the Bashkir population remained nomadic and were so-called tarkhans: free guardians of the Russian Empire's southern borders (Rudenko 1955:31–40).

In the second half of the second and the beginning of the first millennium BCE, some territories of the present Russian Federation (Novgorod, Pskov, and Leningrad regions), Eastern Latvia and the whole of Estonia were the zone of the Imitated Textile-impressed Pottery archaeological culture. This culture was a close relative of the Upper Volga variants of the Imitated Textile Ceramics culture (antecedents to the present-day Mordva and Mari peoples). That is why the closest linguistic relatives of the Baltic Finns (including the Finns proper) are the Mordva (Napolskih 1993:16).

The subsequent history of the Baltic and Volga Finns, however, was quite different. Having migrated, via Upper Volga and its tributaries, far to the west to the shores of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the present Baltic Finns came into close cultural interaction with ethnic groups quite different from those operating in the first century BCE in the Volga region. Among these groups, apart from the linguistically assimilated ancestors of the present day Lapps, were settlers from the eastern parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula (i.e., peoples who spoke languages preceding the First Consonant Shift of the Proto-Germanic people) and the Balts proper. The above-mentioned shift is usually dated by linguists at about the fifth century BCE, whereas the culture of the Stone Kurgans with box coffins
(Steinkistengräber)—unmistakably Scandinavian in origin—began to appear in mass on the shores of Estonia starting from the first century of the first millennium BCE. Gradually, the people who had spread the Stone Kurgans culture merged with the Baltic Finns, the result of this merging being cultures of the Encircled Stone Graves (Tarandergräber) spreading from the shores of the Baltic Sea into the inner regions, on the one hand, and reaching southern Finland, on the other. The peoples who spread these cultures sprang from Finns and Scandinavians of unknown linguistic attribution, with admixture of the local Balts. Supposed Proto-Germans or Pre-Germans were culturally and linguistically assimilated, adding to present-day Finns and Estonians a considerable element of the lightly pigmented North Atlantic phenotype (Napolskii 1997:6–7).

Migration from Estonia to Finland and Karelia put an end to the short period of existence of the common Volga–Baltic Finn proto-language and began the formation of the Northern and Southern linguistic groups of the Baltic Finn language sub-sub-family. The Karelians, Veps, and Ingrians, unlike the Lutheran Estonians, Livs, and the majority of the Latvians, belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church for their entire Christian history, as Northern Russian (Novgorod) missionaries were the first to baptize them. The Estonians, Livs, and Votes belong to the Southern group. Vepsian is a distinct language within the Northern group. Historically, the Veps split from the Northern group in the beginning of the first millennium CE and occupied territories to the southwest of the Karelians. A part of their population contributed to the formation of the local groups of Karelians, those of Ludiks (Lüüdkid) and (to a lesser degree) Livviks (Livvikid) (Pimenov 1994:124). The Ingrians (one of their self-names is Karjalain, the same as among the Karelians) split from the rest of the Karelians in the late first to early second millennium CE. After settling in the Karelian Isthmus and the Neva and Izhora river basins, they started their southwestward movement in the eleventh century, reaching the Luga and Narova rivers in the twelfth century.

During that movement and later, the Ingrians assimilated a considerable number of the aboriginal Vote population (Shlygina 1994:159). The modern dialects of the Ingrian language had formed by the seventeenth century (Shlygina 2003:592–3). By the beginning of the twentieth century CE, all the Baltic Finns described here, apart from the Estonians and some groups of Karelians, had been heavily assimilated by the Russians while the Livs were almost totally assimilated by the Latvians. The ancestors of the Latvians came to the Baltic Sea shores from the south at the end of the third and beginning of the second millennium BCE. By the beginning of the first millennium BCE the major tribal groups of the future Latvians had formed: the Kurshes, Latgals, Zemgals, and
Sels. Though most of the Latvians are Lutherans, those of Latgalia (eastern Latvia) are predominantly Catholic. Historically, the Latvians of Latgalia were more influenced by the Russians than their brethren of the western part of the country. As well as the majority of other peoples of the Baltic Sea region, all the Latvians have been influenced by the Germans from the Middle Ages on.

The Moldovans are culturally Rumanians, although politically they have been separated from each other for the major part of their history (Vinokurov 1987; Lucht and Narumov 2001:575). The Moldovans speak Rumanian. All attempts of the Soviet authorities to create separate Moldovan norms of literacy failed (Lucht and Narumov 2001:575).

The Gagauz are descendants of various Turkic peoples including the Proto-Bolgars, Pechenegs, and Kypchaks (Kumans), with the evident admixture of the Bolgar Slavs, Moldovans, and Rumanians. Their language is of the Oguz group of Turkic languages, the faith being that of the Orthodox Christianity. They predominantly live in the south of Moldova, where they resettled from the Balkans in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century (Shabashov 1999).

The Karaim are descendants of the Turkicized ancient aborigines of the Crimea. They practice a variety of Judaism which was and is treated with contempt by Orthodox Talmudic Jews. The Karaim speak the Crimean Tatar language, which is a blend of Kypchak and Oguz Turkic dialects with a predominance of Kypchak. Some Karaim were resettled to the Trokaj (Troki) region of Lithuania by Duke Vitautas in 1392, after his raid in the Crimea (Hafuz 1994). The Lithuanian Tatars settled in Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century. They originated from the Golden and, later, Big and Nogai Hordes. In the course of their centuries of settlement in non-Muslim surroundings, they have lost many typically Muslim cultural traits and acquired non-Muslim ones.

The codes for the tables are defined in *Ethnology* 6:154–69.

**TABLE A**

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Ch27  1293: Veps       11127  Do  M  V  .  O  O  K  N  D
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TABLE D

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<td>UrF W O O E Pe Pe P REWGG</td>
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SOURCES


Comment. Columns 12 and 13: though the bride-wealth (B) was considered more important, in economic terms the amount of dowry (D) was so close to that of the bride-wealth that the overall situation approached G ("Gift exchange, i.e., reciprocal exchange of gifts of substantial value . . .") (Maksimov 1997a/1902:137, referring to data collected in 1771 and 1892). As van Gennep noticed in direct connection with the Bashkir marriage, "if a detailed study is made of the amount of the kalym [bride-wealth] . . . of the Ural-Altaic, and it is compared to the purchase price of an animal, and then deductions are made for gifts and wedding expenses . . . , and when finally it is noted to whom kalym legally belongs, either as a whole or in a part, it becomes clear that the terms 'bride price' and 'dowry' are inaccurate. It is a system of 'compensation,' which constitutes special institutions that, for an economist, are equivalent to the system of potlatches . . ." (van Gennep 1960:120, n.1); in addition, rare cases of the "abduction marriage" are also reported (Tolstov 1964:727). Column 14: E variant ("Large extended families") is also reported. Column 16: o ("Non-establishment of a common household") refers to the fact that, before the conclusion of all the marriage rituals, the bridegroom performed all the husband functions for a
substantial time visiting the bride's house (and observing meanwhile a number of ritual prohibitions) (Maksimov 1997b/1908:176, referring to data collected in 1890). Columns 25 and 26: all the cousin marriages were prohibited notwithstanding the Islamic norms, but in accordance with pre-Islamic Bashkir lore (Kozlova 1964:109). Column 27: O (Omaha kinship terminology) is also reported for some Bashkir groups (Bikbulatov 1964:5, 1981). Column 28: E type ("Extensive agriculture . . .") was still present in the nineteenth century, but by the beginning of the twentieth century was pressed out by I ("Intensive agriculture . . .") (Kozlova 1964:28). Column 30: by the beginning of the twentieth century only a minority of the Bashkir remained unsedentarized. Column 37: "in different circumstances" the circumcision was performed from between five or six months to ten years of age (Bikbulatov, Fatyhova 1991:109). Column 42: the Bashkir had a rather developed iron metallurgy before the sixteenth to seventeenth century, when the Tsar government prohibited its practice for the Bashkir and many other ethnic groups of the Ural–Volga region (Tolstov 1964:703). Column 73: the community headman should be elected (E); in reality, however, he was frequently appointed (A) by the Russian administration (Janguzin 1987:76). Columns 74–77: inheritance distribution corresponded to pre-Islamic rather than Islamic norms that were not dominant in this sphere even in the early twentieth century (Bikbulatov and Fatyhova 1991). Column 87: A is also reported. Column 88: C is also reported.


Comment. Column 12: the combination of bride-wealth and dowry is reported, the amount of bride-wealth was determined first, with negotiations on the dowry amount only starting afterwards. Column 13: abduction marriages—normally with the consent of both bride and her parents; however, for the early twentieth century, marriages involving a real coercive abduction are also reported (Popova 1998:91). Column 14: small extended families (F) were also attested, but rather rarely (Shtejnfeld 1894:7–8).


Popova, E. V. 1992. Prazdnichnoe obshchenie molodezhi: igry i razvlechenija (po kalendarnym obrjadam besermyan) (Celebratory Communication of the Youth: Games and Entertainments [On Calendar Rituals of the Besermyan]). Traditsionnoe povedenie i...
Comment. Column 12: combination of bride-wealth and dowry, whereas the amount of dowry should have been roughly equivalent to the one of bride-wealth (Maksimov 1997/1902:137 based on data collected from the eighteenth century up to 1890); Column 13: abduction marriages that in the early twentieth century were rather rarely attested, and could be performed both with a bride’s consent (though secretly from her parents), or without it, thus involving an actual abduction (Tolstov 1964:621–2); Column 14: small extended families are also reported; the polygyny was not unknown among the Chuvash prior to their Christianization; however, notwithstanding the generally superfluous character of the latter, the polygyny was not reported at all for the Chuvash by the time of the observation (1908); Columns 17 and 18: v for nuclear families, P for extended ones; u and M were also attested, but extremely rarely; Column 19: however, if a man lived in his father’s village, it was forbidden to him to marry a woman from his mother’s village (but not his father’s [Maksimov 1997/1908:176, reporting data collected in 1868]); Column 30: variant H is also reported; Column 34: C refers to the Christian God; the Chuvash were considered to be Christianized, but their Christianization was always rather superfluous (though it still affected family relations, see above note to Column 14), and various pre-Christian religious beliefs remained rather strong, including the ones concerning the polytheistic pantheon, within which the high god, Syuldi-Tora, should be rather coded as A; “it goes without saying that the Chuvash are bad Christians and have a rather vague idea of Christ” (Semenov 1901:174); Column 39: however, sheep (s) were even a bit more important than cattle (B); horses (E) were also very important; Column 42: the iron metallurgy disappeared among the Chuvash in the seventeenth century after the prohibition imposed by the imperial government on its practice by the native peoples of the Volga-Urals region; Column 47: actually, one observes a combination of a few villages specializing in leather working with unspecialized one in the rest of the villages;
Column 73: a community headman was supposed to be elected (E), however, frequently he was appointed (A) by the Russian administration.


Fuks, A. 1840. Zapiski o chuvashah i cheremisah Kazanskoj gubernii (Notes on the Chuvash and Mari of the Kazanskaja Gubernia). Kazan’.


Comment. Columns 12 and 13: combination of dowry and bride-wealth, with the amount of dowry exceeding that of bride-wealth (Kozlova 1964:114), abduction marriages (with the bride’s consent, but in secret from her parents) were very rare by the time of the observation; although, according to Mel’nikov (1981/1867 [1851]):109, they were more widespread before the Christianization of the Mordva in the seventeenth century; however, their number appears to have declined by the second half of that century (Jurchenkov 1995:162–3, based on data ascending to 1664); note that in the late nineteenth century, the ritual abduction of the bride was an integral part of the marriage ceremony; Columns 14 and 15: however, extended families (E and F) were also frequently attested; a strict monogamy was only established among the Mordva after the Christianization; a few cases of polygyny (including sororal polygyny) are reported for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, it is clear that it was not widespread (Mel’nikov 1981/1867 [1851]:110; Jurchenkov 1995:162, 216, reporting data ascending to 1664, 1769, and 1770); Column 18: note, however, that a week or two after the wedding, the newly-wed woman’s brothers came to her new home and took her to her parents’ home for a month or so; Column 34: note the co-presence of “B” version, due to the fact that Christianity among the Erzia co-existed with polytheistic beliefs, within which the high god (Shkaj) would be coded as B, rather than C (Mel’nikov 1981/1867:44–59; Petruhin and Helimskij 1982:566); Column 42: the iron metallurgy disappeared among the Mordva in the seventeenth century after the prohibition imposed by the imperial government on its practice by the native peoples of the Volga-Urals region (Mel’nikov 1981/1867:42); Column 49: however, a partial specialization is attested for some villages; Column 75: this pattern is suggested to have developed in the nineteenth century in connection with the progressive splits of extended families involving the distribution of the divided property (Serkina 2002:17–18).


Tumajkin, V. P. 1974. Sosedskaja obschchina zavolzhskoj mordvy v poreformennyj period (po materialam Samarskoj gubernii) (Neighbor Community of the Mordva in the

Comment. Column 18: uxorilocal residence was practiced when a farmer had no sons, thus the farm went to his daughter, whose husband moved to her house so that the farm could be run (due to a very high level of relative male contribution to subsistence attested at the given time); Columns 43–50: by the early twentieth century, industrial production had been rapidly developing in many spheres (especially in metal working, weaving, and boat building), though it had not entirely pressed out the traditional home production. Commercial agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing were also developing; in particular, Di in Columns 44 and 45 refers to the combination of female home weaving and male employment at industrial weaving mills.


Comment. Column 13: abduction marriages were performed when the parents did not give their consent, or when a groom had not enough wealth for a standard marriage, and, according to Moshkov (1901, 48:125–6), "they are not rare"; Columns 25 and 26: cousin marriages were not possible, the marriage was not allowed even if a link between two cousins resulted in a child (Moshkov 1901, 48:100); Column 29: cultivation of vegetables (v) and fruit trees was also very important; Column 31: "the Gagauz live in enormous villages, 2 to 5 thousand inhabitants each. Small villages are totally absent . . .", whereas the largest Gagauz settlement (denoted by Moshkov as "a large commercial village") had about 10 thousand inhabitants (Moshkov 1900:6–7); Column 36: the only reported postpartum sex taboo was the prohibition of sex between husband and wife on the 40th night after childbirth, as on the 40th day the wife was supposed to go to church "to take a prayer" (Moshkov 1900:25); Column 40: sheep breeding was also very important; Column 61: professional shepherds (Moshkov 1902, 55:83–85).


Comment. Column 13: however, there are indications of the presence of abduction marriages in the past (Kiuru 1993); Columns 25 and 26: cousin marriages were effectively prohibited by the Orthodox Church; Column 28: however, extensive agriculture (E) was not unknown; Column 61: however, the presence of professional shepherds is also reported.


Comment. Column 13: however, there are indications of the presence of abduction marriages in the past (Kiuru 1993); Column 14: however, the move from extended to nuclear family as the dominant form of domestic organization was observed just in the period surveyed (Semenov 1900; Cheremin 1909); Column 28: however, intensive agriculture (I) was also practiced; Column 30: dispersed family homesteads (N) are also reported; Column 40: reindeer breeding is attested among northernmost Karelians.
——— 1985. Semejnye obrjadi i verovaniya karel, konets XIX–nachalo XX v. (Family Rituals and Beliefs of Karelians, Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century). Leningrad.


Comment. Columns 12 and 13: though the bride-wealth (B) was considered more important culturally, in economic terms the amount of dowry (D) was so close to the bride-wealth that the overall situation approached G ("Gift exchange,
i.e., reciprocal exchange of gifts of substantial value . . ."); in general, the overall pattern was rather close to the one described above for the Bashkir in comments to Columns 12 and 13; Column 14: the presence of a number of extended families (F and E) is also reported; Columns 25 and 26: however, cousin marriages were rare and disapproved; Column 28: E type ("Extensive agriculture . . .") was still present in the early twentieth century, but was not important economically; Column 37: though circumcision was usually performed between 6 and 10 years of age, it was sometimes done before this age (but, anyway, after two months); Column 40: cattle breeding was also very important; Column 42: the iron metallurgy disappeared among the Kazan Tatar in the seventeenth century after the imperial government on its practice by the native peoples of the Volga-Urals region (Vorob'ev 1953:77–8); Columns 74–77: elites (descendants of murza s and tarkhan s) practiced the Islamic inheritance norms ("inheritance by children, but with daughters receiving less than sons," De).

Ahmarov, G. N. 1907. Svadebnye obrjady kazanskikh tatar (Wedding Rituals of the Kazan Tatars). Kazan'.


Ch21: Latvians (Latvieshi, Latyshi), with special reference to the Vidzeme group. L: 57N, 24E. T: 1881. P. c. 1,312,000 in 1897 (all). Cluster 125. New. Comment. Columns 43–51: at the time of observation, industrial production was developing in some spheres (especially, in metal working and boat building), yet, it had not pressed out completely the traditional home production.


Novoselov, Ju. 1911. Latyshi. Ocherki po etnografii i sovremennoj kul'ture latyshej (The Latvians. Essays on Ethnography and Modern Culture of the Latvians). Riga.


Comment. Column 13: however, there are indications of the presence of abduction marriages in the past; Column 19: however, one may consider as a "dem" (D) the whole relatively small community of the Lithuanian Karaims that was explicitly endogamous due to the prohibition of marriages with members of the other confessions (and, consequently, the other ethnic groups); Columns 20 and 21: community members in general tried to avoid marrying women from the same patrilineal descent group, but such marriages were not strictly prohibited; Columns 28–31: after their deportation from Crimea to Trakaj, the Karaim were allotted a plot of land in the southwest part of the town, near the castle. In Trakaj, the Karaim constituted two groups, one of which specialized in guarding the bridges and serving as the personal guards of the monarch; the other group made their living with horticulture, crafts and trade, and also worked as translators and secretaries; the Lithuanian Karaim were known as very good horticulturalists, the cucumbers produced by them were especially famous; up to the nineteenth century, the Lithuanian Karaim constituted one autonomous community occupying a particular quarter within Trakaj (officially, it was considered a separate town with its own town seal), in the nineteenth century a considerable number of the Karaim settled outside this quarter; Column 36: sexual relations between the spouses were prohibited for the whole period of breast feeding (as well as during pregnancy).


Comment. Column 14: no instances of polygynous marriages were reported for the Lithuanian Tatar since the mid-sixteenth century; Columns 25 and 26: though marriages with second cousins were not prohibited, they were not approved either—it was said that such marriages "did not have God's blessing on them" (Shimelevich 1905:10); Columns 28 and 29: in addition to intensive, predominantly commercial horticultural production of vegetables (which was predominant), the Lithuanian Karaims practiced intensive agriculture as regards the cereals production (note that the modern commercial horticulture should eventually be distinguished in the Atlas from the archaic subsistence); Columns 73–77: note that Shimelevich (1905:12) makes the following observation at the very beginning of the section describing the respective characteristics: "The long-term life of the Lithuanian Tatar within the environment of the population that was alien to them as regards their ancestral language, beliefs and customs, led to the total disappearance of their original legal customs"; Columns 64–66: though the Lithuanian Tatars spoke originally a Turkic language, in the early Modern period they switched to Byelorussian, whereas by the mid-nineteenth century a part of them started using Polish and Russian (Shimelevich 1905:4, 7; Grishin 1995:73; Iskhakov et al. 1998:515).


Comment: Columns 25 and 26: cousin marriages were prohibited; Column 30: however, since the mid-nineteenth century, separate detached farmsteads started to appear beside multifarm settlements; Column 40: however, sheep-breeding and pig-breeding were also immensely important; Column 74: by the time of the observation, all the inhabitants of all the 14 Liv villages were serfs of ethnically German landowners; Livs were considered to be their nonhereditary tenants and did not have any legal ownership rights with respect to the land they cultivated.
Hillner, W. 1847. Die Liven an der Nordküste von Kurland. Bulletin de la Classe historico-
Sjögren, A. J. 1847. Reise nach Livland und Kurland zur Genauen Untersuchung der Reste der 
Liwen und Krewingen. Weimar.

l'Académie Impériale de sciences de Saint Pétersbourg 7:1–26, 33–45, 49–70.
___ 1855. Rapport de M. Sjögren sur son voyage. Bulletin de la Classe historicophi-
Tolstov, S. P. (ed.). 1964. Narody evropejskoj chasti SSSR (Peoples of the European Part of the 
Videman, F. I. 1870. Obzor prezheej sud'by i nyneshнего sostojanija livov (Review of the Past 
and the Present of the Livs). St. Petersburg.

Ch25: Moldovans (Moldoven, Moldavans, Moldavane), with special reference 
to the Beletskij Uezd. L: 47N, 29E. T: 1900. P. 921,000 in 1897 (within 

Comment. Column 13: abduction marriages with a bride's consent (but 
secretly from her parents); Column 14: however, the presence of a significant 
number of extended families (G, F and E) is also reported; Column 28: extensive 
agriculture, however, was also practiced; Column 29: cultivation of vegetables 
and fruit trees was also very important, and the importance of non-food crop 
cultivation was increasing; Column 30: in the meantime, the number of 
independent homesteads was growing in the southern areas; Column 40: sheep 
and goats were more important than cattle; Column 75: with "e" becoming more 
and more important at the end of the nineteenth century; Column 78: however, 
insistence on virginity was reported for the earlier period (Kantemir 1973:156, 
written between 1714 and 1716); Columns 85–89: this type of dwelling became 
more and more widespread since the last decades of the nineteenth century 
gradually pressing out the one described in Columns 80–84.

Moldovans [Rumanians]). Moscow.
Karlov, V. V. 1990. Vvedenie v etnografiju narodov SSSR (Introduction to the Ethnography of 
Kozlova, K. I. 1982. Neslavianskie narody evropejskoj chasti SSSR (Non-Slavic Peoples of the 
European Part of the USSR). Etnografija (Ethnography), eds. Ju. V. Bromlej and G. E. 


Comment. Columns 12 and 13: though the bride wealth (B) was considered more important culturally, in economic terms the amount of dowry (D) was so close to the one of the bride wealth, that the overall situation approached G ("Gift exchange, i.e., reciprocal exchange of gifts of substantial value . . ."); in general, the overall pattern was rather close to the one described above for the Bashkir in comments to Columns 12 and 13; abduction marriages were reported even for the first years after the 1917 Revolution, they were more widespread in the nineteenth century (Rittih 1870:212; Kozlova 1964:114; Tolstov 1964:501) and, thus, Columns 12 and 13 could be coded alternatively as "Go"; Column 14: extended families (F and E) existed in the previous period; Column 18: matri/uxorilocal residence was practiced extremely rare, mostly when a daughter was the only child in a family; in such cases a groom could move to his bride's house so that his father-in-law could pass his farm (that needed a man to be run) to his son-in-law; Column 20: the patrilineal exogamy is accounted for by the presence of actual exogamous patrilineal groups in the previous period, for some Udmurt communities the presence of exogamous patrilineal groups is reported up to the early twentieth century (Vladykin and Hristoljubova 1985:84); Column 28: extensive agriculture (E) was also practiced rather widely, and it was even dominant among some northern groups of the Udmurt; Column 30: variant H is also reported; Column 31: settlements with 101–200 inhabitants constituted 29% of the total number, 30.7% was constituted by settlements with 201–500 people, whereas the percentage of small villages (<100) was also significant (32%; see Hristoljubova 1981:33). In 1916 the overall mean settlement size in Udmurtag
was 225 (Hristoljubova 1981:23), whereas within the focal Sarapul'skij Uezd it was 290 (Hristoljubova 1981:20); Column 34: C refers to the Christian God; with regard to the pagan beliefs, which survived up to a certain extent among the Udmurt up to the observation time, their high god, Inmar, should be rather coded as B; Column 41: note that milk and dairy products played a minor role in the traditional Udmurt diet (Tolstov 1964:495); Column 42: the iron metallurgy disappeared among the Udmurt in the seventeenth century after the prohibition imposed by the imperial government on its practice by the native peoples of the Volga-Urals region; Columns 75 and 77: the Udmurt inheritance distribution norms can be also characterized as a combination of ultimo- and primogeniture; Columns 85–89 refer to the dwellings of richer families (who could also live in two-story buildings with brick basement).

Maksimov, A. N. 1997a. Iz istorii sem'i u russkih inorod'tsev (From the History of Family of the Non-Russian Peoples of Russia). Izbrannye trudy (Selected Works), pp. 113–40. Moscow.

Comment. Column 13: abduction marriage; however, it was rarely attested before the 1917 Revolution, and much more frequently in the 1920s (Morev 1924:50–51; Borisova 1924:63–65); Column 14: a number of small (F) and large (E) extended families was also reported; Column 16: three to four weeks after marriage, a newlywed wife would return to her parents’ house and stay about two weeks; Column 19: it was considered that a "good man" should find his wife within his own village or neighboring ones, whereas "bad men" find their wives "over the hills", i.e. in distant places. A wife was normally found within 3 – 6 km from the place where one lived, whereas a woman married to one who lived 15 km from her native village was considered to be married to a "faraway man" (Malinovskaya 1930:196–8); however, a strict endogamy within a village (or a cluster of neighboring villages) did not exist; Columns 25 and 26: cousin marriages were effectively prohibited by the Orthodox Church; Column 28:
intensive agriculture (I) was dominant, but extensive agriculture (E) was also practiced; Column 36: post-partum sex taboos seem to have disappeared under the Russian influence; Columns 51 and 59: however, nonspecialized boat building and fishing were also known; Column 72: former presence of slavery is tentatively suggested by archaeological data (Sedov 1987:57); Column 78: “it is a rare 16-year-old girl who has no sex with her boyfriend” (Semenov 1900:120); quite curiously the author attributes this to the influence of "the serfdom that existed here in the past" (Semenov 1900:120).


Vinokurova, I. Ju. 1994. Kalendarnye obyachi, obrjady i prazdniki vepsov (konets XIX– nachalo XX v.) (Calendar Customs, Rituals, and Holidays of the Veps [Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century]). St. Petersburg.

1996. Traditionnye prazdniki vepsov Prionezhja (konets XIX– nachalo XX v.) (Traditional Holidays of the Veps of Prionezhje [Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century]). Petrozavodsk.


Comment. Columns 25 and 26: cousin marriages were effectively prohibited by the Orthodox Church—when a bride and groom came to a church for their wedding, the priest always asked them before the ceremony if they were related, if the couple turned out to be cousins, their marriage was refused (Uspenskij 1845:9–10); Column 28: extensive agriculture was also practiced; Column 34: however, as Uspenskij (1845:8) notes, though "all the Votes are orthodox Christians, as they do not know Russian, let alone Church Slavonic, they do not understand at all the dogmas of the Orthodox Church, and most of them believe in pagan superstitions," whereas Vote pagans do not appear to have had a notion of the supreme god; Columns 85–89: the secondary type of dwelling existed, but it differed from the primary one by characteristics not reflected in these columns.


Kon'kova, O. 1996. Vod': «Zemlja i derev'ja budut, a nas ne budet?» (The Votes: Land and Trees Will Be and We Will Not?). Rossijskaja provintsija 2:164–7.


1. This work was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (Project #03-06-80277).

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