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The Saami, 1200–1700 (Source Materials and Commentary)

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13 November 1681 — 26 April 1682: Notebooks of Father Aleksei Simonov, priest at the Kola Fortress*¹ cathedral, with an account of his visit by royal command to the townlands of the Loparites* in order to stamp out paganism among the people, and convert them to the Orthodox faith.² 15 ff.

(Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (RGADA) fond 137, ‘Boyarskie i gorodovye knigi’, opis 1, delo 114, ll. 1–15. Original document.)

f. 1

on the twenty-sixth d[ay]³ of April 190 copy extracts from these notebooks for use in the report⁴

¹ Terms marked with* are explained in the Glossary below. Insertions made in the translation for the purpose of clarity are contained in curly brackets {}[Editor].

² Title assigned by an archivist.

³ The text inside square brackets restore omissions made in the scribe’s cursive [*skoropis*].

⁴ Written by a secretary {in the chancellery in Moscow} on the reverse side of the sheet — the comment refers to the preparation {of the notebooks} for a report to tsar Fedor Alekseevich. [The gap before the word ‘report’ reproduces a gap in the Russian original.] [Editor].

- f. 2¹ ...em asked about the beliefs and customs of the Loparites, were they baptised, the Loparites, in the name of the Father and the S[o]n and the H[o]ly Gh[o]st, and do they know the h[o]ly Gospels, and do they follow any unholy customs, and do they do honour to the waters and make sacrifices to and idolatrously worship fire, bushes, rocks, and trees, and perform other acts of sorcery hostile {to religion} do they eat dead flesh and drink the blood of those {creatures} they throttle in their snares, or killed by beasts and birds, and other foul and unclean things, and those sacrificed to idols.
- And having heard the command of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n, the Voronesk townland
- f. 3 Loparites, the headman // Aleshka Kozmin,² Ignashko and Pashko Petrov, Kozemka Grigoryev, Demitko Afonasyev, Iyashko Vasilyev, Vaska Shchokin, Loginko Kondratyev, Kondrashka Fedorov, with their wives and children each apart, each one al[o]ne, said, with all due obedience, according to the rites of clergy,³ they had been christened long since, but they did not know any of the customs of the Orthodox Chr[i]st[i]an faith, and they had heard {nothing} of the teaching of the Gospels, nor had any instruction about v[i]rtue, and some had till advanced years never visited a sp[i]ritual father nor been in churches, and the mystery
- f. 3 rev. of h[o]ly con//fession was unknown to them, and they had not eaten the body and blood of our L[o]rd Jes[us] Chr[i]st in Holy Communion, nor knew they any other h[o]ly mysteries of Christian Orthodoxy. They have no ch[u]rch since they live remote from Kola Fortress, one and a half hundred versts away,⁴ and priests come but once a year from Kola Fortress to them in their Loparite townlands⁵ for the christening of their infants, at the time when their tribute to the great S[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n is due, and there is much business, they say, at that time. And from the priests, they say, has till now come no teaching of Christian customs since

¹ The first sheet of the MS [i.e. of the notebooks themselves. Editor.] is lost. Evidently, the tsar's order was set out there and there was also a description of the beginning of the voyage of Father Aleksei Simonov to the Loparites of Voronesky townland.

² Kozmin, Grigoryev, Petrov are not surnames here, as would be the case in modern Russian, but patronymics (in full Kozminykh, Grigoryevich, Petrovich, etc.); the omission of the final suffix is a familiarity, indicating that those so named are of plebeian status. The same goes for the use of familiar first-name diminutives ('Alyoshka', rather than Aleksei, for instance). By contrast, Father Aleksei Simonov's name consists of a truncated patronymic, but preceded by the full form of his first name, indicating a higher social rank.

³ I.e. under ecclesiastical oath.

⁴ I.e., the centre of the townland was 150 km from Kolsk ostrog. [Editor].

⁵ I.e. the Saami areas of Kolsk district, not to be confused with the 'Loparite townlands' of Karelia, which until 1649 were administratively in Novgorod district, and from then on formed part of a remodelled Olonets district. [On this terminological problem, see also the Commentary below — Editor].

f. 4 they, the priests, live in their townlands¹ // little time, a d[a]y, or at most two, if they cannot avoid it. And the customs they, the Loparites, keep to are, they say, those of their own forefathers. When it is the season for them to follow some of their trades, hunting beasts, the deer or the fish, at that time they are bound to make sacrifice, some to trees, some to rocks, some to bushes, of the first animal brought down in the pursuit of their trade, a deer or whatever else it should be. And having flayed the skin of it, and bled off the blood into a dish,² they carve up the meat, and that blood they pour over that tree, or that rock, or that bush, and cover it with the skin, and having carved up the meat,

f. 4 rev. they cast this on the earth as a sacrifice. And having thus cast it on the earth, // they depart from that place, and make praise unto the birds and the beasts. And in praise they say, 'ye birds and ye beasts, eat the meat that has come from our trade, and do us no wrong when we carry out this trade.' And having covered the tree, or the rock, or the bush with the skin, and departed a little way, they bow down and utter praise, and say, 'Give us o Lord wherewith we may survive this c[u]rr[e]nt year.' But some leave {only part} of the meats there and eat {the rest} themselves. And without this their custom hateful to God they, the Loparites, have never yet gone about their trades. And during h[o]ly fasts they eat meat according to need and

f. 5 the meat of creatures throttled in their snares and the blood // and the meats sacrificed to their idols they do also eat.

And n[o]w on the seventeenth d[ay] of the m[o]nth of November by command of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign they, the Loparites, cast down and destroyed their sacrificial places hateful to God, the trees and the bushes to which they had formerly made sacrifice they chopped down, and broke the stones to pieces. And before the h[o]ly Gospels they made provision to cast away their former customs hateful to God and not to teach their children in such wicked ways hateful to God.

And for pr[a]y[e]r, and for the honour and glory of the h[o]ly icons

f. 5 rev. they raised, the Loparites, a chapel in the name of the N[a]t[i]vity of Jesus Christ.

On the 25 d[ay] of November of the year 190 the Semiostrovsky townland Loparites, the headman Ivashko Pavlov, Evdokimko Fedorov, Timoshka, Evtyushka, and Elizarko, the children of Pavel,³ Ivashko and Avvakumko Arkhipov, Vaska Grigoryev, Savka and

¹ I.e. in the centre of the townland, where tribute-collectors received dues from the Saami.

² Literally 'let drip' (*vytochivshi*: the MS has *vytochishi*).

³ Alternatively, Pavlov. [Editor].

Fetka Yakovlev, Meleshka and Yushko Ivanov, Marchko Yakovlev, Sozonko Maksimov, Mishka and Petrushka and Ivashko children of Fefil, Ignashka Fedorov, Mishka and Ivashka Alekseev, Fetka Yakovlev and all the Loparites with their wives and children, having heard

f. 6 the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn about the sum//mons of those of other {Christian} faiths and the idolaters and the apostates to our virtuous Orthodox Christian faith, with all due obedience, each apart, each one all[o]ne, said: they had been christened, they said, long since, but they did not know the Orthodox faith the Christian faith or customs or teaching, and unto this time knew nothing, and had had nothing of instruction about v[i]rtue, since they live remote from Kola Fortress, two and a half hundred versts away.¹ And they keep to their own customs, and make sacrifices and praise to those same vicious customs,

f. 6rev. as is written ab//ove on the Loparites of Voronesky townland.

And on the 27 d[a]y of th[i]s m[o]nth by order of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn they, the Loparites, did cast down and destroy their places of sacrifice hateful to God and promised before the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls no m[o]re to make any sacrifices to creatures.

And for pr[a]y[e]r they, the Loparites, raised a chapel in the name of the M[o]st H[o]ly M[o]th[e]r of God her v[i]rtuous Cathedral.

f. 7 On the 11th d[a]y of September, having heard the order // of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, with all due obedience the Lovozersky townland Loparites, their headman Maksimko Sozonov, Spirka Mikhailov, Maksimko Ivanov, Ilyushka Ivanov, Grishka and Ignoshka Ivanov, Ivashko Mikhailov, Yushko Ivanov, Petrushka Yuryev, Matyushka and Vaska Ivanov, Sozonko Ekimov, Maksimko Sozonov, Grishka Selivestrov, Marchko Semenov, Artyushka Ivanov, Artyushka Ivanov,² Afonka Grigoyev, Eleska Mikhailov and all the Loparites with their wives and children each apart, each one all al[o]ne, according to the rites of clergy, said, we have been christened, they said, long since,

f. 7 rev. but we do not know the vir//tuous Christian faith or customs or teaching, and have had nothing of instruction about v[i]rtue, since they³ live from Kola Fortress two and a half hundred versts away. And they keep to the customs of their forefathers, and make sacrifices to trees and bushes and rocks according to that same custom as is written above about the Loparites of Voronesky town-

¹ I.e. the distance from the centre of the townland to Kola Fortress was 250 versts.

² Sic.

³ Sic. [Editor].

land. And they also make sacrifice unto the water: they cast into the water silver, copper, tin and grain and implare¹ to the waters that they may profit in their trades and have health for themselves. And they also give

- f. 8 their household deer² // in sacrifice to the hills and the trees, and pray that their deer may live long and be fruitful and multiply. And they eat meat of creatures they throttle in their snares and drink blood and on h[o]ly fasts they do eat meat.

And n[o]w this 22 d[ay] of December they, the Loparites, have destroyed all their places of sacrifice hateful to God, and promised henceforth not to do these hateful things.

And for prayer they have raised a chapel in the name of the Epiphany [bogoyavleniya] of the L[o]rd.

- f. 8 rev. On the 27 d[ay] of December, having heard the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign, the Maselsky townland Loparites, their headman Romashka Elfimov,³ Petrushka Romanov, Fomka Petrov, Zakharko Yakovlev, Mishko Yuryev, Yakunka and Vaska Grigoryev, Petrushka Gavrilov, Panko Volodimerov, Grishka Grigoryev, and all the Loparites, with their wives and children, according to rite of clergy did say: we have been christened, they say, long since, but we do not know the Orthodox Christian faith or the teaching of the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls, and we have had no instruction in v[i]rtue from anyone, for we live, they say, from Kola

- f. 9 ostrog above one hundred versts. And they do not make sacrifices to creatures. But they do drink blood and eat the meat of creatures they throttle in their snares.

And now on the third d[ay] of January, by order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign they have raised, the Loparites, a chapel in the name of the Resurrection of our L[o]rd.

On the tenth d[ay] of January, having heard the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign, the Ekoostrovsky townland Loparites, their headman Gerasimko Savelyev, Arkhipko Petrov, Oska and Pavlik Arkhipov, Ivashka Matfeev,

- f. 9 rev Ivashko Ivanov, // Ondryushka Kondratyev, Luchka Alekseev, Kirilko Efremov, Ivashko Mikhailov, Oska Dmitreev, Fedotko Yakovlev, Sergushka Ivanov, Ivashko Nikitin, Ivashko Markov, Vaska Grigoryev, Ivashko Yuryev and all the Loparites with their wives and children according to rite of clergy did say: we have been

¹ Sic. Implore (*prisyat* for *prosyat*).

² I.e. domesticated deer, reindeer.

³ Sic. 'Efimov' is probably meant.

christened, they said, long since, but we do not know the Orthodox faith or the teaching of the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls. And they do not make sacrifices or gifts to creatures. But they do drink blood and eat the meat of creatures they throttle in their snares.

- f. 10 And today, on the 18 d[a]y of January, by the order of the gr[ea]t//s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, in their townland they have raised, the Loparites, a chapel in the name of the Annunciation of the M[o]st Bl[e]ss[e]d M[o]th[e]r of God.

On the fourth d[a]y of February, having heard the order of the gr[ea]t s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, the Babensky townland Loparites, their headman Yakunka Matveev, Fomka Nikulin, Sergushka Savelyev, Tereshka Fefilov, Yushka Larionov, Petrushka Mikhailov, Vaska Dmitreev, Ivashko Averkeev, Mishka Fedorov, Meleshka Ondreev, Vaska Nikulin, Ivashko Savin, Gerasimko Fedorov, Matyushka Grigoryev, Marchko Nikulin and all

- f. 10 rev. the Lopa//rites with their wives and with their children according to rite of clergy did say: they have been christened, they said, long since, but they do not know Christian customs or the teaching of the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls. And they do not make sacrifices or gifts to creatures. But they do drink blood and eat the meat of creatures they throttle in their snares.

And now according to the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, on the tenth d[a]y of February they have raised, the Loparites, a chapel in the name of St John the B[a]pt[i]st.

On the twelfth d[a]y of Febru[ary], having heard the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn,

- f. 11 the Notozersky townland head//man Ondryushka Ivanov, Ondryushko Fedorov, Yakunka Ivanov, Yakunka Semenov, Ivashko Vasilyev, Ivashko Semenov, Potanka Fedorov, Ivashko Osipov, Grishka Fefilov, Andryushka and Petrushka Efremov, Stepanko Grigoryev, Grishka Fedorov, Fetka Vasilyev, Fetka Ivanov, Ivashko Efremov, Nesterko Isakov, Afonka Grigoryev and all the Loparites with their wives and children according to rite of clergy did say: we have been christened, they said, long since, but we know nothing of the Orthodox Chr[i]st[ia]n faith or the mysteries of the ch[u]rch, and have heard of the teaching of the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls from no-one. And
- f. 11 rev. they do not make sac//rifices to creatures.

And n[o]w according to the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, they have raised, the Loparites, a chapel in the name of St Nicholas the Miracle-Worker.

On the 15 d[a]y of February, having heard the order of the gr[ea]t s[o]v[e]r[ei]gn, the Soelsky townland Loparites, the headman Mitka

Tikhonov, Kozemka Petrov, Ivashko Dmitreev, Afonka and Ivashko Kozmin, Vaska Osipov, Senka Vasilyev, Fomka Semenov, Petrushka Kondratyev, Aleshka Timofeev, Ilyushka Larionov, Mitka, Senka, and Ivashko Alekseev,

f. 12 //Stepanko, Kozemka, and Petrushka Ilyin, Afonka Larionov, Oska Yakovlev, Afonka Ivanov, Afonka, Vaska, Yakunka, and Maksimko Osipov, Fetka Grigoryev, Fofanko Ivanov, Petrushka and Fetka Vlasov, Vaska Ignatyev, Ivashka Andreev, Danilko Dmitreev, Antoshko Afonasyev and all the Loparites with their wives and children according to rite of clergy did say: we have been christened, they say, long since, but we do not know the Orthodox Chr[i]stian faith, or the mysteries of the ch[u]rch, or the teaching of the h[o]ly Gosp[e]ls. And they do not make sacrifices to creatures. But they do eat the meat of creatures they throttle in their snares...¹

f. 13 rev// And our ch[u]rch has been c[o]nsecrated in the name of the h[o]ly martyrs Boris and Gleb — c[o]nsecrated in the reign of the ts[a]r and grand pr[i]nce Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia by blessing of the Archb[i]shop Pimin {i.e. Pimen} of Great Novograd {Novgorod}.² But there is no pr[ie]st in that ch[u]rch, for no food grows in our parts, no corn grows and none is to be bought, and priests have nothing to live on. And leaving aside the priest we live very badly in the marches here³ because we trade closely with the foreigners and together

f. 14 we eat and drink [with]⁴ our wives, the mothers {of our children} also, // drink and eat the year {round}. And our want is such that we cannot go to the h[o]ly church and kiss the holy icons nor bring candles nor do honour {to them} with incense. And to meet among ourselves is hateful to us. And we make no sacrifices to animals. But we drink blood and eat the meat of creatures we throttle in our snares.

On the 24 d[a]y of February, having heard the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign, the Nyavdemsky townland headman Ivashko Vasilyev, Ivashko Ermolin, Grishka, Ievko, and Mishka Vasilyev, Danilko and Makarko Afonasyev,

f. 14 rev. // Andryushka Ivanov, Petrushka and Timoshka Alekseev, Troshko

¹ Fs 12 rev. and 13 (the beginning of a description of the Tazretsky townland) are omitted from the text.

² Ivan IV Vasilyevich 'the Terrible', b. 1530, Grand Prince from 1533, tsar from 1547, d. 1584. The most reverend Pimen, a clerk of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery, became archbishop of Great Novgorod in November 1553; he was stripped of his office and defrocked after the oprichnina sacked Novgorod in 1570, and exiled to the Venevsky Monastery, where he died not long afterwards.

³ I.e. the border zone.

⁴ Inserted for reasons of sense.

Mikhailov, Timoshka and Senka Vasilyev, Stepanko and Mishka Grigoryev, Grishka Vasilyev, Pashko Fedorov and all the Loparites with their wives and children did say: we all bear Chr[i]stian names, but we know nothing of the mysteries of the ch[u]rch but for baptism, because we live from Kola Fortress four and half hundred versts away¹ in the marches² and we trade

f. 15 with the forriners,³ with the Swedes and the Danes together. And in all things // as is written above of the Pazretsky Loparites. And they, the Nyadvemsky Loparites, have as their parish that same Pazretsky ch[u]rch of the h[o]ly martyrs Boris and Gleb.

And these books were written by Aleksei the pr[ie]st with his own hand.

2

January 1700, Book of the Kola Chancellery Post* {of the Novgorod Chancellery*} about the collection of military taxes from the population of Kola province⁴**

(Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, f. 137, ‘Boyarskie i gorodovye knigi’, Totma, delo 60, ll. 577–85 rev. Original document.)

f. 577 In the year of 7208, on the... d[a]y⁵ of January, by the order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n ts[a]r and grand prince Petr Alekseevich⁶ of all Great and Little and White Russia the autocrat and by a document from the Novgorod Chancellery signed by the state secretary* Vasily Posnikov, which was sent in th[i]s year 208 on the 24 d[a]y of January to Kola Fortress to the voevoda Grigory Nikitich Kozlov: And in that document of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n

it is written: it is commanded from the Kola Fortress Chancellery Post* to the Kola Province *burmistrs* {mayors}* , who have been chosen to collect the dues of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n, to record in writing what income

f. 577 rev. in military and other taxes has been received. And in obedience to that// order of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n, in the Kola Fortress Chancellery Post* it has been noted from the receipt books what moneys

¹ I.e. the distance from Kola Fortress to the centre of the townland was 450 versts.

² Border regions.

³ Forriners: *ynozemtsy* (for *inozemtsy*).

⁴ Title assigned by me [A. Zh.] In the margins, the ‘Book’ bears an authorisation in the hand of the voevoda of Kolsk, G. N. Kozlov: ‘Voevoda Grigory Kozlov’.

⁵ Omitted in the original text.

⁶ I.e. Peter I. [Editor].

have been received and from whom, according to the census books of households, and in the Loparite townlands {what moneys have been received} from what Loparites. And this is written below item by item.

In Kola Fortress, there are twenty-nine townsmen's households, six cannoneers' households,

and ninety-three households of musketeers [*strel'tsy**] on land held in fee from the state [*tyaglaya zemlya*]

In Kandalashkaya district* there are fifty-nine households,

f. 578 in Kandalashky m[o]n[a]st[e]ry three households of craftsmen, in Kovskaya¹ district fourteen p[ea]sant households.

In Poryegubskaya district five p[ea]sant households.

In the Rebolsky district the following peasant households:

In Rebolsky and Lendersky and Kalvasozersky townlands one hundred and eighty-three households;

In Rovkulsky townland thirty-eight households;

In Kimasozersky townland twenty-three households;

In Luvosersky townland eight households;

In Manozersky² townland seventeen households;

f. 578 rev. in Babygubsky townland ten households;

in Kondoksky townland three households;

in Kostomozersky townland twelve households;

in Voknavolotsky townland twenty-three households;

in Voinitsky townland four households;

in Munomolakhsky townland eight households;

in Rogozersky townland four households;

in Eletyozersky townland ten households;

and in all in the Rebolskie districts three hundred and forty-three peasant households.

And both in Kola Fortress and its district {this information comes} from the household census books,

¹ The modern spelling would be Kovdskaya.

² Now Munozersky.

f. 579 always excepting the demesnes* of the Voskresensky M[o]n[a]st[e]ry of Ponoiskaya district, and the demesnes of the Solovki M[o]n[a]st[e]ry of Keret district, [which hold] five hundred and fifty-two households.

And by the orders of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]ign and according to the documents, they, the residents of Kola district, the townspeople, and the Kanda[lak]sha elders and district peasants and the musketeers and cannoneers, paid twenty six altyns* four dengas* a household.

From the Loparite townlands, the moneys paid by the Loparites {used to be} — from the Konchanskaya Lop*:

The Upper Inandra¹ townland: bow tributes* from the unchristened Loparites for nine bows² {amounting to} twenty-nine efimoks,³ and {in settlement of tax on}reindeer meat, one efimok and two boars.⁴

f. 579 rev. Songelskoi⁵ townland: bow tributes and in the gift tax* four roubles ten altyns two dengas and marten furs and eight roubles twenty-seven altyns two dengas general tax.

Notozerskoi townland: bow tributes and in gift tax six roubles ten altyns, and eight roubles fifteen altyns two dengas general tax.

Babenitsy townland: bow tributes and for funeral feasts two roubles four dengas, and six roubles sixteen altyns general tax.

f. 580 Ekostrovskoi townland: bow tributes and in gift tax one rouble four altyns one denga, and six roubles sixteen altyns general tax.

Maselskoi townland: bow tributes two roubles twenty altyns, and three roubles twenty altyns general tax.

Nyavdemskoi townland: bow tributes eighteen roubles four dengas, and seven roubles

f. 580 rev. twenty//two altyns two dengas general tax.

Pazretskoi townland: bow tributes and in gift tax, one rouble twenty six altyns four dengas two red fox furs and one efimok, and seven roubles general tax.

Munomashskoi townland: bow tributes, one rouble three altyns two dengas, and three roubles general tax.

¹ Properly Imandra.

² 'Bows' here refers simultaneously to hunting rights, to the holders of such hunting rights, and to the unit of taxation on such rights. See further in the Commentary and in the Glossary. [Editor].

³ Gold coin used as payment in international trade.

⁴ Evidently a mistake for 'beavers'.

⁵ Songelskoi: here and below the 'skoi' suffix is reproduced from the original text, though consistently these place-names should be spelled 'sky' (as in 'Rogozersky' etc. above). [Editor].

From Terskaya Lop*, two townlands, but always excepting the three townlands Ponoisky

f. 581 and Ekonsky and Semiostrovsky:

Voronetskoi townland: bow tributes, sixteen altyns four dengas, and five roubles twenty altyns two dengas general tax.

Lovozerskoi townland: bow tributes, and in gift tax five roubles eleven altyns four dengas, and ten roubles twenty-three altyns four dengas general tax.

From Leshaya {Forest} Lop*, from the christened and unchristened Loparites:

f. 581 rev. Pyaozersky townland: bow tributes, // four roubles eighteen altyns two dengas.

Maselskoi townland: bow tributes three roubles thirty altyns.

Kilkozerskoi townland: bow tributes, four roubles eighteen altyns two dengas.

Kolozerskoi townland: bow tributes, nine roubles

Kemskoi townland: bow tributes, three roubles.

Shombei townland: bow tributes, four roubles sixteen altyns

f. 582 four dengas, // and in place of these moneys, two beavers¹

Oryzerskoi townland: bow tributes two roubles twenty altyns.

And in the year 188 {7188}² in the Census books according to the general survey*, the

Kola residents, the townsmen and the parish clergy paid in tribute

¹ This does not of course mean that a beaver was worth this money — over 4.5 roubles — in real terms. What we have here is an example of fiscal convention. During one of the many wars with Sweden, in 1590-1, the area round the river Shomba and Kuitozero lake became deserted: the thirty-three families of Saami were for the most part exterminated or taken captive by the Swedes, with the survivors taking flight. A few years later, the area was once again settled, this time by five families of Saami. During the government survey [*dozor*] of the Loparite townlands of 1597 (such surveys were carried out by the Russian government after natural disasters, epidemics, and wartime ravages, at the request of locals, who had the aim of getting their tax payments lowered), the government census officers determined that these new Saami settlers were to pay 'the state tribute and fees to the amount of one and a half bows' [DK 1597: 215]. (On 'bows', see also Commentary, Glossary, and note 33 above). Nearly a century later (in the 1680s), the population had increased and the sum of assigned taxes had also risen significantly (to more than 4.5 roubles), but in reality the favourable terms for Saami and the border zones had been preserved: the dues exacted were now purely nominal: 'two beavers' etc. This was more a symbolic than an economic procedure, standing for subordination to the Russian sovereign (the Russian word *poddanyi*, subject, means literally 'to be under tribute', i.e. to be liable for paying it). No real benefits accrued to the Russian treasury from such tax-collection — as opposed to the interests of the state more generally, which were, clearly, served by consolidating power over subjects in border areas.

² I.e. 1679/80.

money on fishing according to the apportioned rate¹ six roubles twenty

f. 582 rev. altyns // two dengas. And they, the townspeople paid {for the year 7187} on their fishing

nine roubles thirty altyns. The elder monks of Pechenga m[o]n[a]st[e]ry paid on their fishing in tribute eight altyns two dengas. The archimandrite of Solovki m[o]n[a]st[e]ry and the brother monks paid on their fishing fifteen altyns four dengas. In all seventeen roubles seven altyns four dengas were paid {for 7187}.

And in the year gone by 188 {7188: 1 Sept. 1679 — 31 Aug. 1680}, to Kola Fortress was sent a document from the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n ts[a]r and grand prince Fedor Alekseevich of all Great and Little and White Russia

f. 583 {and} autocrat from the Musketeers* Chancellery* signed by // State Secretary Leonty Kondratov, and in the document it was written: in this year gone by, 188, on the fifth d[a]y of September {5 Sept. 1679} the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n of blessed memory {now in the bosom of} the H[o]ly Ghost with his father, and the pi[o]us Ioakim patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia took counsel, and the boyars ordered,² because of the great burden of taxes required from all inland towns and coastal towns, and all districts, in payment of {royal} incomes, to ease this burden, and to strike out the former rates for the above incomes, as set down in the general land survey* and which {according to this survey} were paid in various chanceries before the general census* took place, and instead to raise these incomes for the year

f. 583 188 // and in future to take them from all towns and settlements and districts, from pre-existing and newly profitable households according to the c[u]rrent census books, at a lower rate as compared with the past; and from Kola Fortress and its settlement and from the district it was commanded to take, from the settlement and the district, instead of {land} tribute and trade tax* and prisoner ransom moneys,* {a sum} according to the foreign merchant benefit tax* {of} six altyns and four dengas a household.

And in the year gone by 190³ a document was sent from the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i[g]n from the Great Treasury signed by hand of the state

¹ *Oklad*, a centrally determined, but locally negotiated, level of taxation. The term *okladyvat* means both to assign taxes, and to record them (in *okladnye knigi*). Here — as opposed to the early passages of the document, dealing with what the Saami and other Kola inhabitants ‘used to pay’ — we have a description of what the locals paid in conformity with the new census of 7187 (1678, or more accurately 1 September 1678 to 31 August 1679, the dates of the Old Russian tax year, and indeed of the calendar year more generally).

² I.e. a decision of the boyar parliament [*duma*] was passed to order as follows.

³ I.e. 1681–2.

secretary Nikita Polunin. And in that document of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i]gn was written: by

f. 584 the Crown Appointments* and the Musketeers* Chancelleries it is commanded to render from Kola Fortress//from the settlements and from the district tribute and trade tax and prisoner ransom moneys* two hundred and seventy-six roubles seventeen altyns three dengas and thirty-five efimoks, six beavers, two foxes, and a marten, as specified in the general census* and to allow this in payment of the foreign merchant benefit tax.* And in accordance with what was said in this document of the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i]gn seventeen roubles seven altyns and four dengas has not been taken from the Pechenga elder monks¹ and the Solovki m[o]n[a]st[e]ry for the archimandrite and his brother monks and instead they pay moneys

f. 584 rev. according to the per household rate, musketeer* tribute of twenty-//six altyns and four dengas a household.

And from Krivnetsky Pudas trade tax* from the Notozersky and Songelsky Loparites of three roubles five altyns {has been received}.

And from the Kola musketeers*, from Ysachka Kuklin and his comrades, from {their} three hayfields thirty altyns and two dengas {has been received}.

For the Tulomsky ferry, trade tax* paid by musketeer* Vlasek Kaidalov of seven altyns two dengas {has been received}.

f. 585 And from the Kola musketeers*, fifty men in all // from fifty barns one rouble sixteen altyns and four dengas {has been received}.

And from the Kola musketeers,* five hundred men in all, prisoner ransom moneys of five roubles {has been received}.

And from the Kola townsmen, and from the Pechenga and Kandalashka m[o]n[a]st[e]ries, from the elder monks and from the cannons, and from the district peasants, in prisoner ransom moneys, and from the two under-secretaries* — {has been received} three roubles fifteen altyns in all; yet for the above fishing from

f. 585 rev. Krivetsky Pudas, and for the hayfields, // and for the Tulomsk ferry, and from the Kola musketeers* on account of their barns, and from the Pechenga and Kandalashka m[o]n[a]st[e]ries, the elders thereof, {those dues} in trade tax* and prisoner ransom moneys*, {which were to be levelled} according to the documents issued by the great s[o]v[e]r[e]i]gn, and sent to Kola Fortress about the payment taxes in the years 188 and in 190 — these dues have not been paid by the above settlers or the elder monks or the musketeers*.

Written by Vaska Pridanikov.

¹ *Startsy*: hermit monks. [Editor].

COMMENTARY

The above materials, held in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (RGADA) are published here for the first time. In addition, the first document has not previously been brought to scholarly attention at all. The second was cited in part by me in my monograph *Government and Local Government in Seventeenth-Century Karelia*, in a section dealing with the fiscal policy of the Kremlin in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, though without reference to the history of the Kola Saami as a specific ethnic group [Zhukov 2003: 194–5]. The two sources significantly extend the small pool of available information about the Saami in the late middle ages and at the start of the early modern era. They allow us to form more reliable and definite judgements about the history of this ancient people, and are also uniquely valuable from the ethnographical and ethnological point of view.

The originals of both documents are written in a shorthand cursive [*skoropis*] typical of the late seventeenth century. This circumstance has made it difficult for ethnographers to access the material in them. In addition, ethnographers customarily work with field records of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (recordings taken down from informants, scholarly observations, photographs, sketches, etc), i.e., materials that generally contain information relevant to the time when they were acquired. Of course, such materials — especially when they relate to customs and traditions — can allow one to extrapolate the likely condition of things in earlier epochs as well, but there is always the danger of misinterpretation.

Hence, it is not just desirable, but also essential, that ethnographers should cite materials actually dating from earlier historical periods. The first person to undertake a historico-ethnographical study of the Russian Saami as such was Nikolai Nikolaevich Volkov (1904–1953), who defended his doctoral dissertation on the subject of ‘The Saami of the USSR’ in 1947,

only to be arrested and sent to the camps that same year. He died while still held in a prison camp on 7 March 1953.¹ His manuscript, 'The Russian Saami: Historical and Ethnographical Studies' was published only in 1996 [Volkov 1996]. A few pages of this monograph give information about the Saami in the late medieval and early modern eras (1200–1700). More recently, N. I. Ukhanov's article on the pearl trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Russian North (incidentally, Saami were involved in this trade as well) [Ukhanov 1966: 45–54] provides a good example of how historical and ethnographical materials can be combined. And for historians, reference to ethnographical materials and studies is also important: such sources allow historians to understand the processes under study more clearly, more fully, and above all more persuasively. An authoritative example of such inter-disciplinary work on the Saami is I. F. Ushakov's monograph on the history of the Kola area before 1917 [Ushakov 1972]. Among more recent examples, one might mention a paper by the Oulu researcher Aslak Aikio, 'The Disappearance of the Saami from the Karelia Area', presented at a Russo-Finnish symposium in Joensuu in 2003; he refers to censuses and to popular tradition, and to toponyms, in discussing the Saami population resident on the territory that now forms Finnish Karelia during the middle ages [Aikio 2003].

The Saami themselves are mentioned in the ancient Norse sagas, where these describe the Viking voyages to Biarmia in the early years of the second millennium A. D. The Norsemen referred to the Saami as the 'Finns', and for this reason, the area once (and in part still) settled by the Saami in Norway has long been known as the 'Finnmark', i.e. literally, 'Saami Mark'.² The oldest of the treaties between the Norwegians and the Novgorodians [1252] to have been preserved shows how the areas of settlement of the Saami and of tribute collection among them were divided between the Norwegian and Novgorod states. To quote from this document:

Here are the borders between the domains of the Norway konung and the Russ konung according to what was said by old people and what is now said by old settlers and by the Finns. The Russians are to take their tribute by sea as far as Lungestuv, and by land up to Melea, and it {i.e. the tribute boundary} runs straight from the sea to Lungestuv and eastwards to the Kjøl. And the Norwegian konung takes his tribute eastwards along to Trianem and along the Gandvik coast to Valezga, in the places where the half-Karelians or half-Finns are living, those whose mothers were Finns. In these extreme border places no more is

¹ I.e., too early for the general amnesty of prisoners instituted by Lavrenty Beria later in 1953. [Editor].

² In the old sense of 'a territorial boundary'. [Editor].

to be taken than five grey pelts from every bow,¹ or according to old tradition, if the people prefer to render according to this [PIK: 114–16].

The half-Karelians or the half-Finns mentioned in the document are an interesting phenomenon of Saami aboriginal culture. In Karelian traditions, records have been preserved of how the Karelians trading with the Saami in the north drew up a ‘trading truce’ with them, accompanied by an exchange of hostages; at this point, Saami women came to the Karelian merchants and became pregnant by them [IK: 63–4]. The Saami were renewing their gene-pool with the help of a hospitable kind of prostitution. For its part, the tribute boundary between Norwegian and Russian Lapland was preserved for centuries.

Thus, in a complaint about the behaviour of the Danes (who were then the rulers of Norway) made in 1559 to Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich by Efim Anisimov, the tribute-collector of Kola district, we hear:

Sovereign, in your dominions on the sea of Murmansk in the Varen-skaya inlet [now known as Varanger-fjord on the Barents Sea — A. Zh.] there is a river, with many fish in it, and the name of it is Polnaya river. And, sovereign, that Polnaya river was earlier fished by the Loparites of Varenskaya district, and those Loparites, sovereign, pay generous tribute to you, and to the Danish king, and to the Swedish. And, sovereign, these Danish foreigners have a port town Vargav standing on a narrow headland² in the sea on an island [now Vadø, Norway — A. Zh.], and those foreigners do not let your subjects, whoever they may be, sovereign, pass by in their ships and their boats into the Tenaya river [Tenojoki, which now forms the boundary between Finland and Norway along most of its length — A. Zh.] so that they can trade. And that Tenaya river, sovereign, is part of your dominions, and the mouth of that river Tenaya abuts into the sea beyond their city of Vargav. And in that river, sovereign, is much fish and many pearls. And along the left bank, sovereign, over dry land and headlands across your dominions, your tribute collectors go to take your tribute beyond the Tenaya river and across to Ivgei, up to your Russian boundaries [i.e. up to the Western tribute boundary of Russian Lapland — A. Zh.], a thousand versts, to the boundary with the lands of the Danish king [RIB: 51–4].

This complaint to the tsar was to make its mark on Russian diplomatic policy, which engaged in a demarche, and in 1562 Russia and Denmark concluded a treaty recognising the ancient boundaries

¹ See note 33 above.

² I.e. a spit of land between two watercourses or protruding into the sea, in the Russian *volok* (so named from the practice of dragging, *volochit*, boats or building materials across to avoid a long trip by water. [Editor]).

and tribute traditions: *'the boundary is to be marked on both sides as it was in the past'* [RIB: 57–76, 75–90]. It is worth noting that both documents, in their reference to border relations, repeated the Russo-Danish Treaty of Mozhaik of 9 August 1516 [RIB: 17–22]. It is therefore fair to consider that official Russo-Danish diplomatic relations were still in complete accordance with the spirit of compromise and neighbourliness that had been recorded in the 'Border Document' of 1252.

Let us now compare two sources from different eras: the 'Border Document' of 1252 and the complaint of the Kola tribute-collector of 1559. They both record a wide range of Saami territories that were liable for tribute payments to the rulers of Russia and Norway (and later to Sweden, in a number of places). This range of territories ran from the Kola area along the coast and round the Norwegian fjords up to the area round of the modern Norwegian town of Ljungen (the 'Ljungestuv' mentioned in the 1252 document), to the north of the Troms province (*fjulke*), and then crossed the mountains to the edge of the Manselkja ridge (the 'Melea' mentioned in the document). On this ridge lie the sources of the river Tenojoki (the 'river Tenaya' mentioned in the 1559 complaint). From the Manselkja ridge, the border went eastwards to the heights of the Tuloma river, and from there along that river to the river Kol (the 'Kjøøl' mentioned in the 'Border document'). These boundaries today contain the Norwegian *fjulke* of Finnmark and the northern half of the Finnish province of Lappi.

Apart from the Saami resident in the Lapp border zones of both states, there were also Saami living on the Tersk coast of the White Sea. The Russian chronicles and other sources record the Novgorod 'district of Tre' ('Tir') — i.e. the Tersk shore of the Kola peninsula. This district existed by the early thirteenth century at the latest. This is testified by information in the Novgorod Primary Chronicle about the battle of Lipitsk, the most important in the whole history of pre-Mongol Russia. Among the few names of the fallen to come from the elite of Novgorod is that of 'S'm'yun Petrilovits the tribute-collector of T'r'sk'.¹ [NPL: 57, 257]. The district of Tre (the ancient Saami territory of Tarya) was formed as a result of the colonisation from Novgorod of the territory along the Northern Dvina. Already in the 'Statute' of 1137 issued by the Novgorod prince Svyatoslav Olgovich (i.e., his treaty with the Novgorod diocese) several settlements in the lower reaches of the Northern Dvina and on its estuary are listed [PRP: 2: 117–23]. From here, the Novgorodians established their dominance over the Saami in the eastern Kola area, dealing with them through a tribute-collector of their own (the chronicle terms him *dan'nik*). Therefore, in the future, from the late

¹ ' here replaces the Old Russian vowel ъ, phonetically ə [Editor].

fifteenth century, the Tersk districts of Varzuga and Umba, and also Kandalaksha, Kovda, and Keret, became part of the Dvina district with its centre in Kholmogory. But dues were levelled from the local Saami by special tribute-collectors of the Treasury in the capital, who made annual trips into the tundra from Kandalaksha (see the 1525 instructions issued by Grand Prince Vasily III to tribute-collectors in the land of the Lop) [VID: 125–34].

From the start of the second millennium AD, the ancient Karelians (the ‘Korela’ mentioned in the chronicles) rapidly colonised the territory of the Saami right up to the Murman, the Northern reaches of the Gulf of Bothnia, and the shores of the White Sea. Thus, on the Tersk shore was founded Varzuga — ‘a Korelian townland’. It is mentioned in a section of the ‘Patriarchal or Nikonite Chronicle’ dating from 1419–20 and dealing with an attack by the Norwegians, the ‘Murman’, on the northern extents of the possessions of Great Novgorod. The Norwegians, and following them the Danes, while the latter were acting as the temporary rulers of Norway, got into conflict with the Russian authorities in the effort to make a one-off division of the tax payments, and the Saami populations, themselves between the two states, an effort that ended in failure. The *Razryadnye knigi* {i.e. the books of the Court Appointments Chancellery*} of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have left eloquent testimony of successful Russian diplomatic expeditions sent by the tsar at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the Kola borders in order to establish his sole sovereign rights to tribute from the Kola (Tersk) Saami [Razryad. kn. 1493–1609: 922 rev.–923; Razryad. kn. 1530–1636 gg: 176, 202]; and the same is true of the correspondence between the tsars and the Danish king and his emissaries between 1580 and the 1600s. [RIB: 217–226, 225–38, 309–26, 377–8]. The Tersk Saami, accordingly, emerge as a second, ‘non-border-zone’ group of the Saami.

But there was also a third group of Saami, domiciled in Karelia. As the Karelians exterminated or forced out, or alternatively, assimilated, the local Saami, they also took over their lands and imposed on any remaining Saami the *prazga*: a kind of private feudal fee like the trade tax* in return for fishing and forest turbarry rights. The ‘Northern Documents’ (Severnye gramoty) — the private property transaction records of the Karelian elite in the northern Karelian lands — indicate this directly (SG: 135–64). The settling of the Karelian elite in the north took place, at the latest, from the fourteenth century, and was given an administrative profile by the fifteenth century: in the ‘Northern Documents’, dating from the middle of that century, Karelian nobles refer to their possessions in Northern Karelia as ‘my *ottsina* and *dedina*’, which is to say ‘my inheritance from my father and even my grandfather’ [SG: 136–

42].¹ Thus the former Saami territories became part of the *Korelian lands* (*Korela*). But the Karelian townlands on the Western bank of the White Sea — Kem, Shueretskoe and others — are called ‘*lopsky*’, even in an official pathfinder of 1627, ‘The Book of the Great Plan’ (a descriptive supplement to a general map of the Russian tsar’s dominions), and the entire Karelian coast was by tradition called ‘the *Lopsky* coast’ [KBCh: 183].

The Karelians themselves called the Saami and their territories *Lappi*, the root of the Russianised term *Lop* (the Saami people and their territory), and of the proper nouns *Lopin* and *Lopiny* (and later *Lopar*, *Lopari*). The *Lopiny* should in turn not be confused with the *Loplyane*, the residents of the Karelian Lapp townlands, the vast majority of whom were Karelians. But one should also bear in mind that the Kola Saami, who were living in the Saami Loparite townlands of Kola peninsula and in the substantial Lapland border area, were also often called *Loplyane* in Russian source, for instance, in the complaint of the Kola tribute-collector of 1559 mentioned above [RIB: 51–4]. It was in these territories where the Kola district took shape.

The seven Karelian Loparite townlands (Lindozersky, Semchezersky, Seletsky, Padansky, Rugozersky, Shueozersky and Panozersky) and also the two White Sea districts, Kemsкая and Shueretskaya, abutting them to the east and north, were for a considerable time part of the Korelian lands of Great Novgorod; later they became part of the united Russia, where they were included in Novgorod district. As such, the Korelian lands are mentioned in the testaments of Russian monarchs.

In 1504, in the testament of Grand Prince Ivan III Vasilyevich, we read, ‘*And my son Basil I bless with my dominions, the grand principedom of Novgorod [...] and in the Novgorod lands I give him [...] all the Korelian lands, the town of Korelskoi and its districts, and its townlands,, and with all its fees and dues, and with all that is subject to the Korelian lands, the Lop and the Leshaya [Forest], and the Dikaya [Wild]² Lop*’. Tsar Ivan IV made a comparable bequest of the Karelian lands in 1572–78 to his son and heir Ivan: ‘*...I give him the Korelian lands all, the town of Korela, with its districts and its ways, and its villages and townlands, and with all fees and dues, and with all that is subject to the Korelian lands, with Leshaya [Forest] Lop* and with Dikaya [Wild] Lop**’ [PRP: 3: 269; DAI: 384].

In another piece of work [Zhukov 2000a: 6–25], I analysed in detail

¹ The term *otstina*, ‘patrimony’, here translated ‘dominion’, is in turn the root of the word *votchina* (here translated as ‘demesne’) [Editor].

² See explanation of this term — which had the secondary meaning ‘nomadic’ — below.

the formation in the fifteenth century of the ‘Leshaya and Dikaya Lop’, that is, the Loparite settlements along with their coastal districts, making up the northern half of the Karelian lands. Here I should mention that the term *Lappi* — *Lop* was originally used to refer to the Saami; however, after the latter’s territory was appropriated by the Karelians, the name *Lop* continued to be applied to the former territory of the Saami. In the main, the Saami led a mobile, nomadic way of life. And nomadism in Old Russian was named as ‘Wild’ [*dikii, dikaya, dikoe*] (which in this context simply meant ‘mobile’: see e.g. the reference in the chronicles to the Polovtsian ‘Wild Steppe’ and to ‘the Wild Polovtsians’, likewise ‘the Wild Lop’ mentioned in the royal testaments cited above). But a few Saami also lived in a semi-settled fashion, the so-called ‘Leshie’ (here in the meaning ‘forest’)¹ hunters and fishers; some even inhabited villages. They and above all the territories in Karelia they had once inhabited were known as the ‘Leshaya Lop’. Hence, it is evident that the Saami of Karelia can be considered a third group of the Saami.

The 1597 survey book of the Loparite townlands named a village in Rugozersky townland ‘*in the black woods,² in wilderness, at Poyazmoozero [...] in that household lives Ostashko Lopin*’; here was also the household of a Karelian peasant: ‘*they plant corn in clearings they make by cutting and burning in the woods; they make no hay*’; in the Rugozersky villages of Tiksha, Chirko-Kem, and Pizmolaksha only deserted households (‘traces’) of the Saami are mentioned: {formerly} belonging to Boyarinok Lopin, Ivashka Bezymyanny {Ivan Nameless} Lopin, Karpik Lopin and his son Matyushka, Ivashka Koivul Lopin. In the Survey of 1597, five families of Saami (‘Lopins’) also appear in Panozersky townland, they lived in *vezhi* [tents, pavilions; in old Russian, towers], which may refer to earth dug-outs, or to grass huts. Some of the thirty-three families of ‘Lopins’ who had been living in the area earlier had been killed or taken prisoner by the Swedes on one of their frequent raids here [DK 1597: 214–5].

In 1591, the Russian government made over the Kemsкая district neighbouring the Loparite settlements to the Solovki monastery. An ‘inventory note’ of 20 July 1591 by Semen Yurenev, written at the time when the district was made over, has this to say about the Saami living in the district:

And on the Kemsкая lands lived Loparites both christened and unchristened, down by the lakes, who are payers of the bow tax, and

¹ The standard meaning in modern Russian is ‘wood demon’, though this is only used in the singular [Editor].

² I.e. those owned by the state and hence subject to tax.

along the forest lakes at Topoozero and in Kistenga [now known as Kestenga] and on Krito lake and in [sic.] Vedile lake and on Voksha lake and on Ulmo lake and on Murom-lake and on Pilso lake and on Vongo lake and on Keret lake and on Voronye lake and on Kyalgo lake and on Kuzem-lake and along other forest lakes, 18 huts and 20 vezhi, and there are 42 heads of household there, amounting to 20 and a half bows. And those Loparite mansions and their tents and that area where the bow taxes were paid have all been emptied by the foreigners' wars [i.e. the Swedish invasions — A. Zh.], and the Loparites have been killed or have been taken prisoner, and some have gone their separate ways. [Materialy: 325]

The documentation in the general census (of the sixteenth century) notes the Saami as living in general separately from the other inhabitants of Karelia, the Karelians themselves. For instance, in Keret district to the north of Kemsкая district there was one Saami 'wretched household' in the forest. The 'Sotnaya' (Hundred Book)¹ of Keret district for 1563 and the 'Extract' from the general census book of 1574–5 notes that '*in ukhozhai [places remote from villages — A Zh.] in wild forest by the small lake of Nyutko-ozero lives in a wretched household the christened Lopin, Ivanko Velikaya Golova (Ivan the Bighead) with his children,*' and that his trade was fishing the lake [SKGE: 446, 460].

If we can say something definite about this third group of Saami, though, and their way of life, there are far fewer sources relating to the first two groups. Of course, scribal descriptions of the Kola district in the seventeenth century have been preserved, and these are essential to the description of the Kola Saami. So far as the sixteenth century goes, these are almost all fiscal documents. Interesting recently published source materials of this kind include a charter [*zhalovannaya gramota*] and a 'memorandum of instruction' [*nakaznaya pamyat*, i.e. a directive] of Grand Prince Vasily III

¹ The *sotnya* (hundred) was an old military-administrative division (alongside the *tysyacha* (thousand) and *tma* (ten thousand) that was becoming obsolescent at this period. Large territorial units, such as the 'land' or major towns such as Novgorod were reckoned as 'thousands' (i.e., capable of raising a thousand men), while townlands and districts counted as hundreds. The 'hundreds' were overseen by *sotniki*, boyars based in Novgorod. The Novgorod *tysyacha* was divided into ten *sotni*, and was overseen by a *tysyatskii*. Novgorod and nine other similar *tysyachi* composed a *tma* (the central territory of the Novgorod republic). The Korelian lands, though, did not come into this system because they only became part of the Novgorod state at a late stage, in the 1270s. Keret, on the other hand, was part of the Dvina lands, which were added to the Novgorod Republic significantly earlier, in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. This was why Keret district (once a *sotnya*) could have its 'Hundred Book'. The meaning of this term was a district tax book, the official record of the *oklad* (apportioned rate of taxes and the payments thereof). The *zemstvo* elders would use such books, along with their local knowledge, to parcel out dues at the local level, down to individual households. Below, I discuss the 'Extract' (*Vypis*) relating to the Keret district in the survey books — this was not a 'Hundred Book' in its own right, but a sort of 'half-way house' to the next generation of 'Hundred Books'.

addressed to the Loparite territories, and dating from 1525. These documents make clear that the Saami were subject to the direct authority of Moscow in the person of tribute collectors (tax officials) dispatched by the Grand Prince and subordinated to the state-secretary-treasurer in the capital (the term used in the Danish translation is *rentermeister*) [VID: 125–34]. In addition, the 1559 complaint about the activities of the Danes from the Kola tribute-collector indicates that, by the mid sixteenth century, at the latest, he was taking an interest in the Saami's activities in the areas of fishing and pearl-gathering in northern Norway [RIB: 51–4].

During the *oprichnina**, Tsar Ivan IV 'the Terrible' relieved the Treasury and its tribute-gatherers of responsibility for supervising the Kola Saami. In 1566, he transferred part of the western Lop to the supervision of the Pechenga Monastery, and the Eastern Saami from the Ponoï river were in 1575 assigned a spiritual father, elder monk Feognost, to watch over them [Materialy: 236–8, SGKE: 437–42]. Before the Kola district was set up in 1582, the state administration in the Polar regions was transferred for a while into the hands of the church, and church authority reigned supreme.

The majority of the sources that I have mentioned fit well with the 'Book of Military Tax Collection' that I publish here (document 2). For its part, Aleksii Simonov's notebook about Saami traditional beliefs (document 1) can be related only to the 'Charter of Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich to the Elder Monk Feognost in Pomorye about the Renewal of the Church on the River Ponoïa and about the Organisation of the Clergy Therein' of 20 February 1575. In this 'Charter', as it happens, the Saami are termed both *lopari* and *lopyane*. But that is something peculiar to this one document. The Saami under discussion in it are those of the Kola peninsular, from the Tersk (Ponoïsky), Ekonsky, Semiostrovsky and Voronesky (i.e. river Voronaya) townlands. To allow readers the opportunity to compare these two sources, composed a century apart, I give here a substantial extract from the charter:

From the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia to Pomorye on the Tersk spit,¹ River Ponoï, to elder monk Feognost. We have received a petition from Pomorye, and from the Tersk spit, River Ponoï, from Ekonga, and from the Semiostrovsky and Voronesky Loparites Ilya son of Voitín, newly christened, and Kirilko son of Yakov, and Nikiforko Kostarev and all the Loparites [i.e. in the name of all the local Saami — A. Zh.] of the Tersk spit, christened and unchristened. And they said they did beat their [foreheads — A. Zh.]² before

¹ *Navolok*, a thin peninsular or headland, so called from the habit of dragging boats (*volochit/pervolakivat*) across in order to save a long trip round by sea. Cf. *volok* above.

² I.e. beat their foreheads on the ground, bowed low (as a petition formula). [Editor].

Us once more, that we might look upon their plea with favour, and command them to raise a church of God for baptisms and services of prayer and for birthing and christening rites for their children; and We did accordingly look upon their plea with favour, commanding them to raise a church of God to the Chief Saints the Apostles Peter and Paul, and gave them icons, and books, and bells, and vestments, and all church tackle; and they did they say through Our good favour raise this church of God and were they say themselves baptised; yet some of these Loparites did not manage to be baptised, because this church of God was laid waste by powerful people and these Loparites could not defend themselves from these powerful people; and now there is no way the church can stand¹ [perhaps a mistake for ‘be built’? A. Zh.] and the Loparites be christened, and there is no-one to teach the Christian faith, and no-one to protect them from the violence done by powerful people and from tribute-collectors, and Our emissaries, and the Korelians, and the people of Varzuga, and those of the Dvina; and so We take mercy on the Loparites of the Tersk headland and the Ponoï river, christened and unchristened, and command those Loparites to be christened, and the old and sick and halt to be confessed, and monks to be ordained at that church of the Chief Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, and that the church be put in order, and you, Feognast, to supervise this, and to give into their hands a place, [i.e. {a one-off gift} instead of a regular payment — A. Zh.] when they are christened, {of} a marten-fur, and when they are married, a black fox fur or ten squirrel pelts, and a priest is to be commanded to travel on their Loparite reindeer to visit the sick, and take confession, and read prayers over women who have given birth.’

And the tsar goes on to allow all the Saami’s requests to open a new church, and for the material support (payment in pelts) of a monk, and for visits by a priest to the Saami nomadic settlements, using their reindeer, and forbids ‘the violence done by powerful people’, and commands that the church property is to be taken from the *tselevalnik* (the assistant to the headman of Tersk), Savva Vodnikov, since he has it in safe keeping.

Let me now move to some observations on the materials published here. In Document 1, (**‘13 November 1681 — 26 April 1682: Notebooks of Aleksei Simonov, priest at the Kola Fortress cathedral, with an account of his visit by royal command to the townlands of the Loparites in order to stamp out paganism among the people, and convert them to the Orthodox faith’**), we find perhaps the fullest description of the beliefs and rituals of the Saami; notable also is the fact that this record was taken down by the priest verbatim, from

¹ In the sense of ‘survive’. The Russian word used is *stoiiti*, ‘to have value’; a scribal error in rendering *stoiiti* (to be built) can easily be imagined. [Editor].

Saami who had still preserved their own beliefs and rituals in an ‘untouched state’. In essence, what we have is the testimony of senior Saami who had undergone baptism (as can be gathered from the fact that they bore Christian names and patronymics), uttered under oath (‘by rite of clergy’). It would also appear that the elder priest in Kola district was himself familiar with the rituals of the Saami whom he had baptised; therefore he would not have allowed any distortions of the truth while carrying out the tsar’s orders. All of this adds to the value of the source.

The material was set down by the priest in the form of a notebook, which bears a note from the Moscow state secretary ‘copy extracts from these notebooks for use in the... report,’ that is, the material here was passed directly to tsar Fedor Alekseevich (reigned 1676–1682). The ‘order of the great sovereign on the summons of those of other {Christian} faiths and the idolaters and the apostates to our virtuous Orthodox Christian faith’ itself has not survived. But one can suppose with a high degree of certainty that it was an instrument of one of the major concerns in Russian internal politics of the day — the fight to eradicate the Old Believer sect, and especially in the North, where it was very widely entrenched. The Saami ‘got caught up in the law’ because of their obvious pagan beliefs, which were supposed to be stamped out too.

The second document (**‘January 1700, Book of the Kola Local Chancellery Post about the Collection of Military Taxes from the Population of Kola District’**), records the taxes and fees paid to the state chancellery by the Kola and Northern Karelian Saami. And it unambiguously confirms the division of the Saami population into three sections — depending on their territory and the administration to which they were subject that I have outlined above. What is more, the different sections are named according to the names that had become current in common parlance. The first of these is the *Konchanskaya Lop*, i.e., the group of Saami living in the broad border zone. The broad band of the border between Russian and Norwegian Lapland was known as the ‘Murmansk end’; Norway itself was known as ‘Murman’ (or the ‘Murman Land’), and the Norwegians themselves as ‘Murmans’. All of this can be gathered from a number of different sources, for example, among those already mentioned, the article in the Patriarchal Chronicle for 1419–20 and the 1559 complaint of the Kola tribute-collector.

The *Terskaya Lop* was the name for the group of Saami roaming the far reaches of the Kola peninsula, along its southern, Tersk, shore, and also along the rivers Ponoï and Ekon in the region of the Semioistrovsky archipelago. Finally, there was the *Leshaya Lop*, living in the forests of northern Karelia. All three groups are not just concretely named, but categorised separately according to the divi-

sion of Kola district into townlands. Certainly, the places termed 'townlands' in the Leshaya Lop are small ones in terms of population, containing settlements that were almost hamlets, just as was the case with the census material on Karelia that I cited earlier. That the categorisation was accurate is highly likely: one should bear in mind that the tax-collection book was put together in Kola by local residents who had an excellent knowledge of local affairs and conditions.

Document 2, as it happens, is complex in character and is full of terminology requiring special explanation (for which see below). But it is clear that the fairly confused, in terms of ethnic groupings and external politics, administrative and territorial division of the lands of the Far North had acquired considerable clarity and finality by the 1580s. The reshaping had been brought about not only by the persistent aggression of the Swedes, but by the pretensions on the part of the Danes to dominance of the entire Polar region and of the Saami. The Russian presence in the Kola peninsula was focused on Kola, which had the status of an international trading port. And the Norwegian invasion of Murman in 1582 led to huge losses on the part of Russian merchants and the Russian chancellery itself. Having learned of what had happened, Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich immediately dispatched the boyar Averky Ivanovich Palitsyn to Kola, along with a detachment of musketeers. In the same year, all the lands in the Kola peninsula (except the Dvinsk districts of Varzuga and Umba) were subordinated to Kola, along with the White Sea districts of Kandalaksha, Kovda and Keret, and also the territories of the Saami along the border with Sweden. Thus the ancient lands of the Saami, which had previously been treated separately, came together as Kola district. In the south it bordered on the Loparite townlands of Novgorod province (or after 1649, those of the newly-formed Olonets province), and on Korelsky province.

It was the Ilomansky townland of Korelsky province to which the Karelian hamlets from Lendery to Kimasozero belonged. They made up the Rebofskaya district. Partisans from Karelia and the monks of Solovki were able to fend off Swedish invasions in the 1610s and to retain Russian dominance there [Porosozero: 118; Shaskolsky 1950: 88–104]. As a result, after the Peace of Stolbovo was concluded in February 1617, they remained under Russian administration. But this peace treaty also demanded that the whole of the Korelsky province was ceded to Sweden. In order to consolidate Russia's position during the negotiations, the Kremlin subordinated the Rebofskaya district to Kola province in 1621. The justification for this was the presence of Saami in the district. As a result of lengthy and acrimonious negotiations, the Swedes agreed to leave Russia the whole Rebofskaya district from Lendery to Kimasozero; the new border ran directly to Pechenga on the Arctic Ocean. In Karelia it

was marked out on the spot on the 3 August 1621 [Zhukov 2000b: 31–6].

Ethnographical material from the late nineteenth century has been preserved relating to the Saami of Rebolskaya district — the local Karelian residents there had retained some memories of them. For instance, the peasants living in the village of Luzhma held that the remains of some huts on the promontory of Hissakainen had once belonged to Isak the Loparite, who had once lived there and been active as a huntsman and fisherman. One section of the field belonging to the peasant P. Grigoryev four versts away from Luzhma, was called ‘the Loparites’ cemetery’. Next to Luzhma and Koroppi, the local peasants showed the Finnish ethnologist L. Pääkönen ‘the Lapland groves’, where traces of stone walls could be made out. Locals also passed on to Pääkönen traditions about how some so-called ‘fire Loparites’ had once lived here — i.e. wizards and folk healers — and about a shooting match between Loparite Isak and his neighbour Remonen [Pääkönen 1898: 168–75].

Saami were living in the territory of Rebolskaya district right up to the era of Peter I. ‘The Parish Book of the Novgorod Quarter’ compiled in Moscow, 1620–21, notes the collection of tribute ‘from two districts of the Lop — Rökkula and Rebola’; the Kola tribute collector went with a *tolmach* [interpreter] to collect them [PRK: 320]. Evidently, such expeditions always called at the Saami ‘townlands’ in the north of the Loparite townlands and in Kemsкая district, since the 1700 ‘**Book of the Kola Chancellery Post* About the Collection of Military Taxes**’ (Document 2) mentions the local ‘forest Lop’ as regular tax-payers. By this time, the number of the Rebolskaya sub-districts that had been settled by the Karelians had significantly increased; however, this 1700 source does not mention any Saami in Rebola and Rovkula.

Traditionally the Saami, like the Northern Karelians, were subject to the *bow tribute*. At first, the bow was subject to fiscal regulation as an object of production, as is clear for instance from the ‘Border Document’ of 1252. But in the course of time, the spread of occupations among the inhabitants of the Northern territories widened; they began farming, and the *bow tribute* changed its meaning: it started to stand for the conventional unit of fiscal measurement of goods, produce, etc., that were subject to tax. As is clear from the ‘Book’ of 1700, the Saami paid by the ‘bow’, i.e. according to the profits made by individual households, including those made in international trading (as can be seen by the fact that some of the tax records refer to gold *efimkas*, which were only payable on such trade).

By the late seventeenth century, and specifically, in the time after the general census of 1678, the government had decided to collect

taxes household by household, and not according to income. This is why the households of the town- and country-dwellers of Kola district are listed in the document in such elaborate detail. In addition, as was required by the new ‘household-by-household account’ (*dvorovoe chislo*), it was no longer bow tribute that was levelled, but the musketeer tribute (‘musketeer money’, *streletskie dengi*) — at this point, indeed, this became the main tax which was paid by the population to the chancellery. Even the tax paid by the Saami, which in essence remained the old ‘bow tribute’, is termed the ‘musketeer money’ in the text. However, the sum of such moneys in Kola district (just as in Olonetsk district) was equivalent to that raised by the old bow tribute and the taxes previously collected alongside it before the ‘household account’ came in. Among other significant taxes levelled on the population was the ‘trade tax’ (a tax on trade profits) and the ‘prisoner money’ — pretty well regular collections of funds to ransom Russian prisoners of war held abroad.

But in 1679, just after the completion of the general census (carried out by the *valovye pistsy*, or surveyors, mentioned in Document 2) and the general economic and land survey analysis that emerged from this (the *soshnoe pis'mo* of Document 2), a group of very influential Moscow merchants from the ‘merchant hundred’ (*Gostinnaya sotnya*), that is, those carrying out large-scale international trade, lobbied the government to reconsider the tax thresholds being applied in all the different districts of Russia, and assign a similar financial burden to every tax-payer. As is evident from Document 2, this campaign was successful. But it turned out that the tax burden on the inhabitants of Kola and Olonetsk districts, for instance, remained the same as it had before the ‘foreign merchant benefit tax’ was introduced. Thus it is clear that the Kremlin took a tactful approach to the border districts in the unruly North, refusing to tolerate irresponsible increases in the taxes collected from the subjects in these border zones [Zhukov 2003: 183–201].

The tax-collection and administrative pyramid of all the lands of the former Novgorod republic (Kola, Olonetsk, Dvinsk districts and others, and the demesne of Solovki Monastery) was crowned by the *Novgorod Quarter* [Division] in the capital, an amalgamation of earlier departments [*cheti*] of the *oprichnina**, which came together at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and remained in existence till 1720 (from the 1670s it was known as the *Novgorod Chancellery*). Given that administrative affairs in the Northern border zones were always intimately connected with external politics, the Novgorod Chancellery was under the aegis, as it were, of the Foreign Chancellery, and from the 1680s was explicitly subordinate to this, as a sub-department. In turn, the Foreign Chancellery was directly answerable to the tsar himself. The only other chancellery comparable in importance to this was the State Appointments

Chancellery* (or Razryad), the main military ministry, which was also headed by the monarch himself.

But it was, at the same time, the Novgorod Quarter (or later, Chancellery), and not the Court Appointments Chancellery, that appointed *voevodas* and state secretaries to Great Novgorod, Olo-nets, Kola, and other centres of the North. Through its emissaries on the spot, it ran almost all civilian affairs in these territories and closely supervised the collection of all taxes, and the budget disbursements, made there (with the exception of the years 1679–1689, when the musketeer tribute was supervised by the Musketeer Chancellery (in 1679–82: to judge by Document 2, this was a sub-department of the Court Appointments Chancellery), and the Great Treasury (in 1682–9; this department supervised the budgetary affairs of the country at large). Once Peter I had taken power as sole ruler (1689),¹ the Novgorod Chancellery returned to itself the right to exercise fiscal control and organise tax collection [Zhukov 2003: 183–201].

In the district centres, including Kola, it was the *Chancellery Posts* — the offices of the district *voevodas* — that acted as the chief administrative instruments and policy aides of the Novgorod Chancellery. It was they, as we can see from Document 2, that carried out the complex task of running district budgets. To be sure, from the 1680s, they carried out tax collection itself in collaboration with the *Zemstvo Posts*, the organs of elected local government. But by 1700, the situation had changed. After the 1699 reforms, the *zemstvo* elders were replaced by elected mayors, in Kola as well as other places (as is clear from Document 2).

This commentary has set out a brief analysis of ‘The Book of Military Tax Collection’, and of the ‘Notebook’ compiled by Father Aleksei Simonov about the beliefs of the Saami, along with other sources dating from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Taken together, they allow us to conclude that the Saami, though living in isolation from the main centres of administration, roaming the tundra or hunting in the forests, were still closely supervised by the state and by the church. Therefore, Saami culture gradually absorbed state and church influence (as can be seen, for example, in the requests by Saami communities to Tsar Ivan IV for support to found a local church), and assimilated to the values of the surrounding culture. Of course, the links with the outside world were seasonal in character, but they were consistent and regular, and were renewed century after century when tax payments were made, as is demonstrated both by the two documents published here, and by the other materials discussed in the commentary.

¹ Peter was originally co-ruler with his elder half-brother Ivan. [Editor].

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Glossary

Altyn: worth six denga (or three kopecks).

Bow tributes [*lukovye dan*]: tributes paid for the right to use bows when hunting (fur-bearing animals were shot through the eyes so that no mark was left on the pelt). Later, a 'bow' came to refer to a specific unit of taxation, and to the tax-payer (literally, 'bowman') who paid it. See also Commentary.

Burmistr: elective office, a local administrative official, approximately, 'mayor'; up to the end of the seventeenth century, this post was called the *zemskoi starosta* (zemstvo elder).

Chancellery [*prikaz*]: an office or department of state.

Chancellery Posts [*prikaznaya izba*]: district offices of a government office (Chancellery). See also Commentary.

Court Appointments Chancellery [*Razryadnyi prikaz*]: the department of state responsible for overseeing, *inter alia*, military affairs (see also Commentary). The Court Appointments Books were annual records of appointments of *voevodas* to regiments and to border fortresses, to carry out parleys, among other things.

Demesne: *votchina*, a territory held in fee from the crown. The word is also used for the dominions of the Russian sovereign himself, and for an inherited patrimonial estate.

Denga: a low-denomination coin, worth half a kopeck.

District [*volost*]: see under Townland below.

Foreign Chancellery [*Posolskii prikaz*]: the department of state responsible, *inter alia*, for international relations.

Foreign merchant benefit tax (*Gostinny oklad*): the fiscal system that followed the suspension of the previously existing system of taxation on trading exchanges between different Russian cities and regions on the basis of population size. This had been proposed to the Russian government by the *gosti* (the richest merchants of Russia, those trading abroad) and was duly accepted. (See further in the Commentary). As pointed out in the Commentary, in northern districts, however, changes related more to a renaming of the taxes collected than to a reordering of these.

Fortress [*ostrog*]: the original meaning was a fenced township; used in the North for a garrison settlement.

General census [*valovye pistsy*]: see Commentary. The term literally means 'census officers', evoking those who made the records, rather than the records themselves, as in English.

- General census [*valovye pistsy*]: see Commentary.
- General land survey [*soshnoe pis'mo*]: see Commentary.
- Gift tax [*pominki*]: the word originally referred to voluntary 'sweeteners' presented by subject populations to the sovereign; these were later institutionalised as a regular tax.
- Lop: the territory inhabited by the Saami (cf. English Lapland).
- Loparites [*lopari*], the late medieval/early modern Russian term for the Saami (cf. English Lapps). For a discussion of Russian terminology for the Saami, see Commentary.
- Musketeers [*streltsy*]: A large and important division of the armed forces, in which service was life-long and hereditary, set up by Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible). Among other things, they were assigned garrison and sentry duties, and the manning of customs posts. Their numbers stood at around 55,000 at the start of the 1680s, when they also played an important (though unsuccessful) role in the support of Peter I's elder half-sister Sophia. See L. Hughes, *Sophia, Regent of Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Pp. 54–5.
- Novgorod Chancellery (*Novgorodskii prikaz*): the department of state responsible, *inter alia*, for Novgorod and other northern districts, the subdivision of the Foreign Chancellery (see Commentary).
- Oprichnina*: Administrative elite appointed by Ivan IV ('the Terrible') to impose central authority on the Russian state; notorious for their brutality.
- Prisoner ransom tax: a regular tax paid by subjects for the redemption of Russians taken captive while fighting in wars and international conflicts.
- Province [*uezd*]: the basic unit of the administrative division of Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also under 'Townland' below.
- Rouble: the familiar term for Russian coinage (originally referring to a chopped-off — *otrublennyi* — piece of a silver coin), which in the seventeenth century consisted of 400 Moscow polushkas or 100 kopecks, or 33 1/3 altyns, or 10 Moscow grivnas, or 4 polupoltinas, or 2 poltinas.
- State secretary [*dyak*]: the chief administrator of a chancellery.
- Townland: here a translation of *pogost*, an area of country/rural locality, which might cover a sizeable area (several thousand square miles), and contain numerous individual settlements. Administratively, it was a sub-division of the *uezd* (province). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the population rose, *pogosty* were themselves sub-divided into districts, *volosti*. In the late eighteenth century, the term *pogost* was abolished, and *uezdy* were renamed *gubernii* ('governments', or provinces under the authority of a governor), which in turn were subdivided into *uezdy* (districts) and below that into *volosti* (localities). This tripartite structure was retained in some regions in the early Soviet era (for example, Perm *guberniya*, now renamed the Urals *oblast*), though the ancient denominations were not. *Volosti* were renamed as *raiony*, *uezdy* as *okruga*, and *gubernii* became *oblasti*. In other areas, however, the

term *volost* was retained after the Revolution, with several *volosti* subordinated to a *raion*. In the era of collectivization (1928–1933), *okruga* were abolished (in 1931), and so too were *volosti*, producing a new tripartite structure of local administration: *raion* — *oblast'* — *respublika* [the constituent republics of the USSR].

Trade tax [*obrok*]: a tax on the profits of crafts and other trading activities, e.g. agriculture, fishing. See Commentary.

Under-secretary [*podyachyi*]: a junior administrator in a chancellery.

The English translations of government departments here follow those in Hughes, *Sophia, Regent of Russia*.

Translated by Catriona Kelly