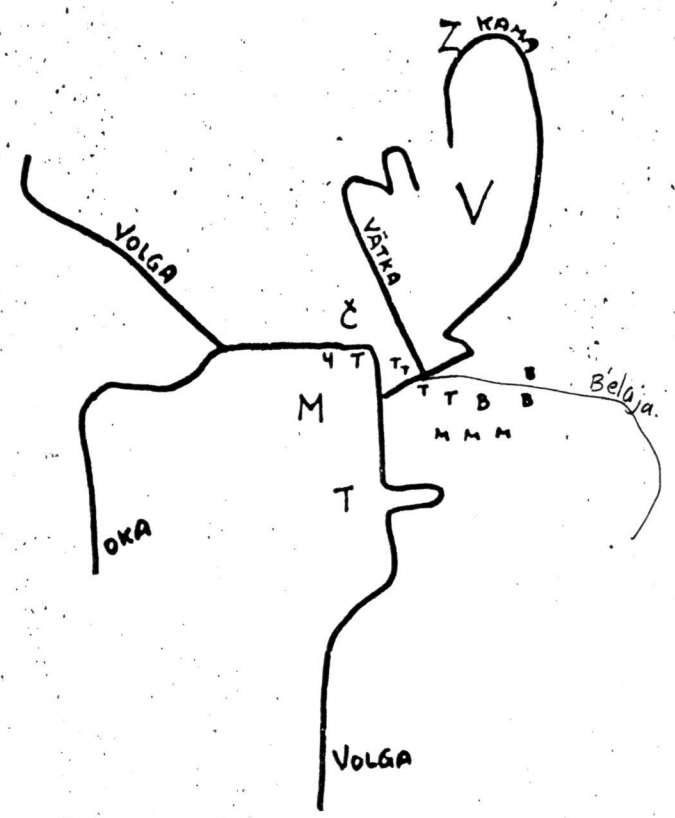
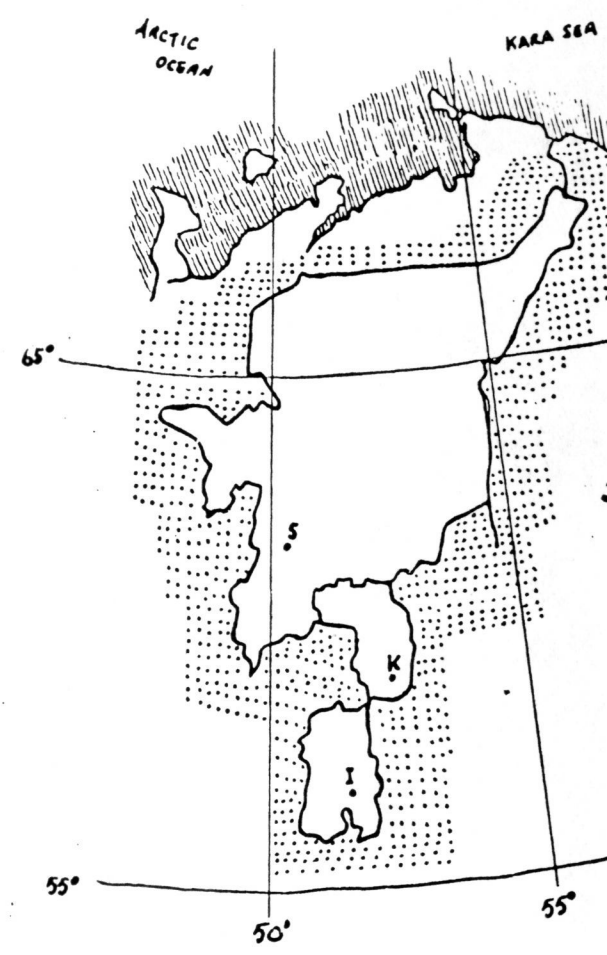


MAP 2



- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| B = BAJKIR | Č = ČEREMIS |
| M = MORZVIN | Y = ŽUVAT |
| T = TATAR | |
| V = VOTYAK | |
| Z = ZYRIEN | |

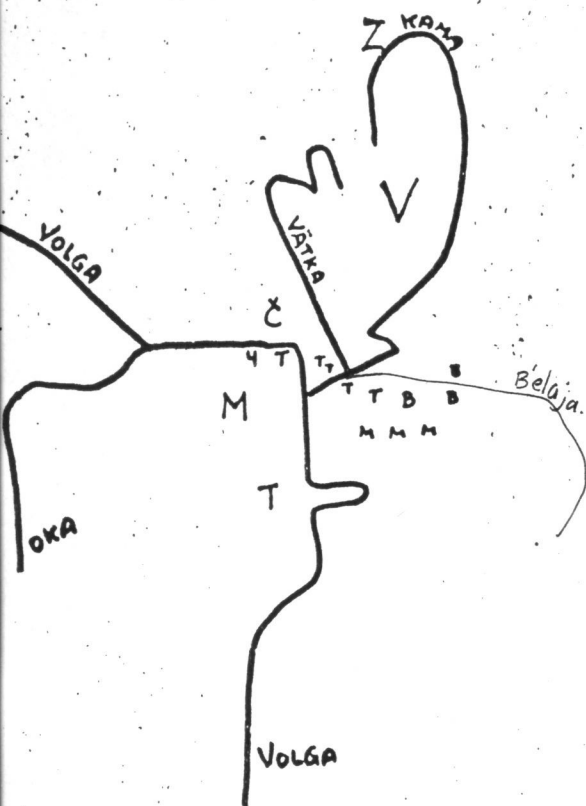
MAP 3



THE ZYRIEN AND VOTYAK AREA

- S = Syktyvkar, capital of the Komi (=)
- K = Kudymkar, capital of the Permiak
- I = Iževsk, capital of the Votyak ASS

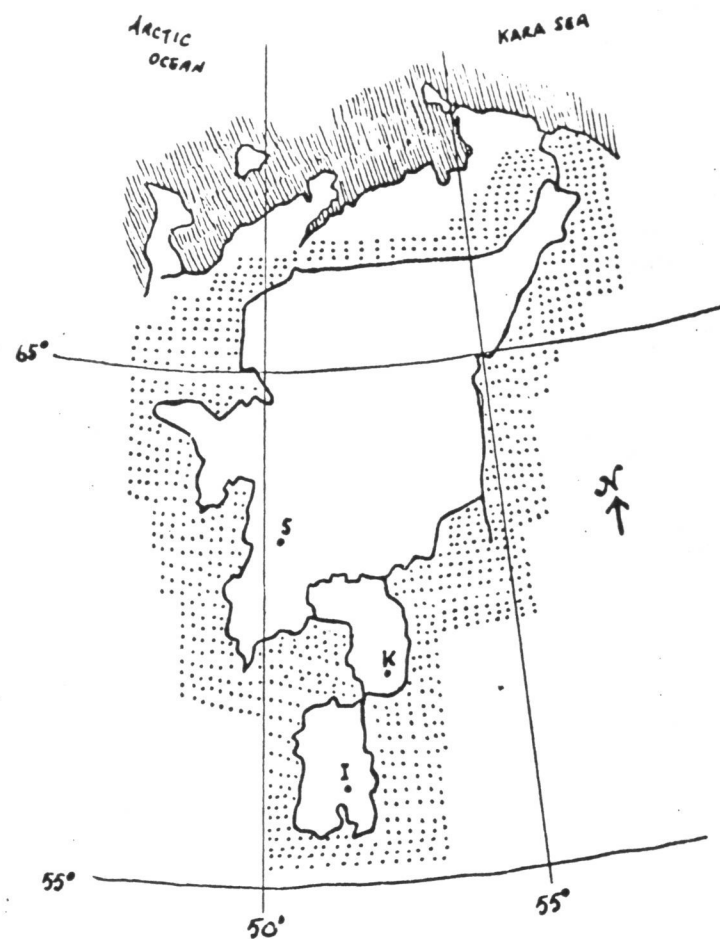
MAP 2



BAŠKIR
MORDVIN
TATAR
VOTYAK
ZYRIEN

Č = ČEREMIS
Y = ČUVAŠ

MAP 3

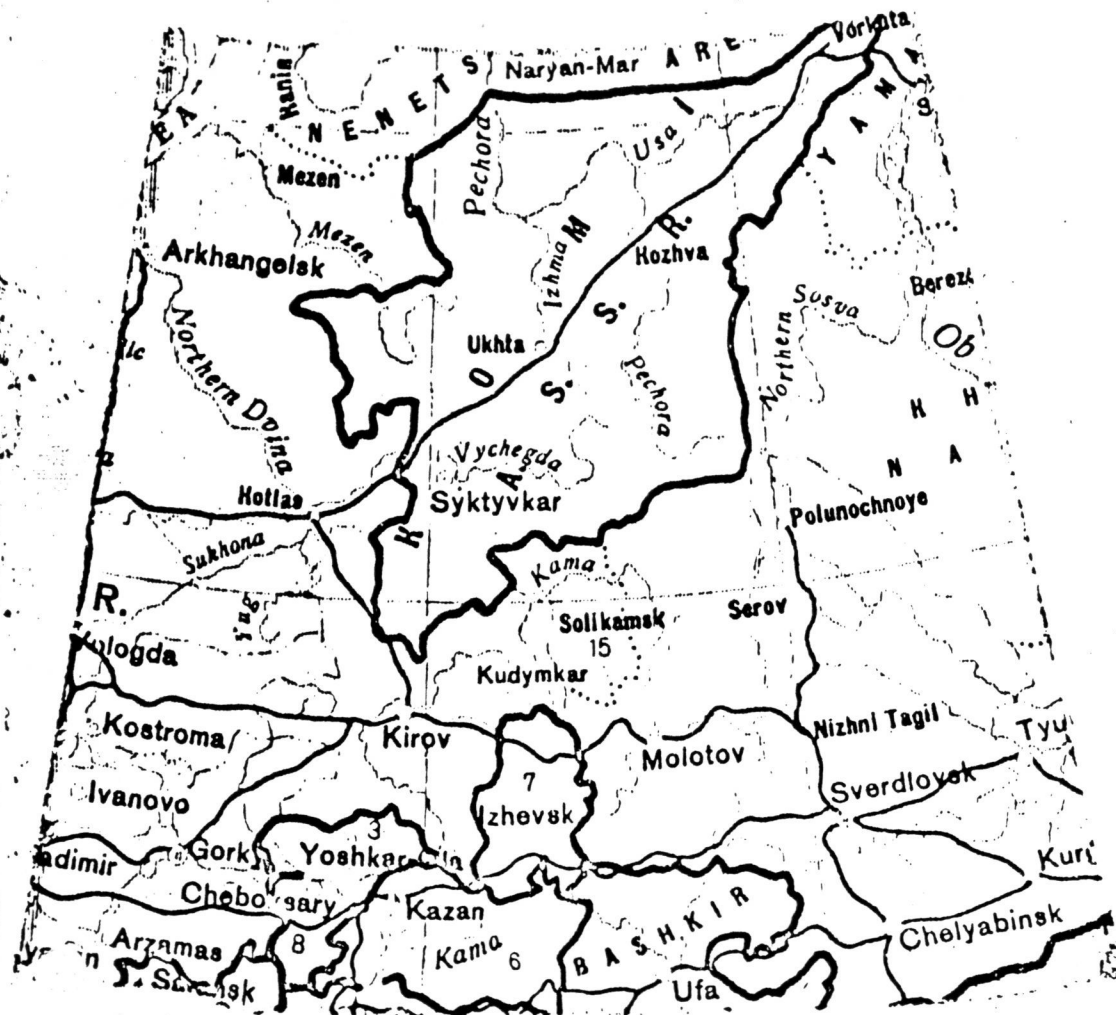


THE ZYRIEN AND VOTYAK AREA

S - Syktyvkar, capital of the Komi (= Zyrien) ASSR
K - Kudymkar, capital of the Permiak Okrug
I - Iževsk, capital of the Votyak ASSR

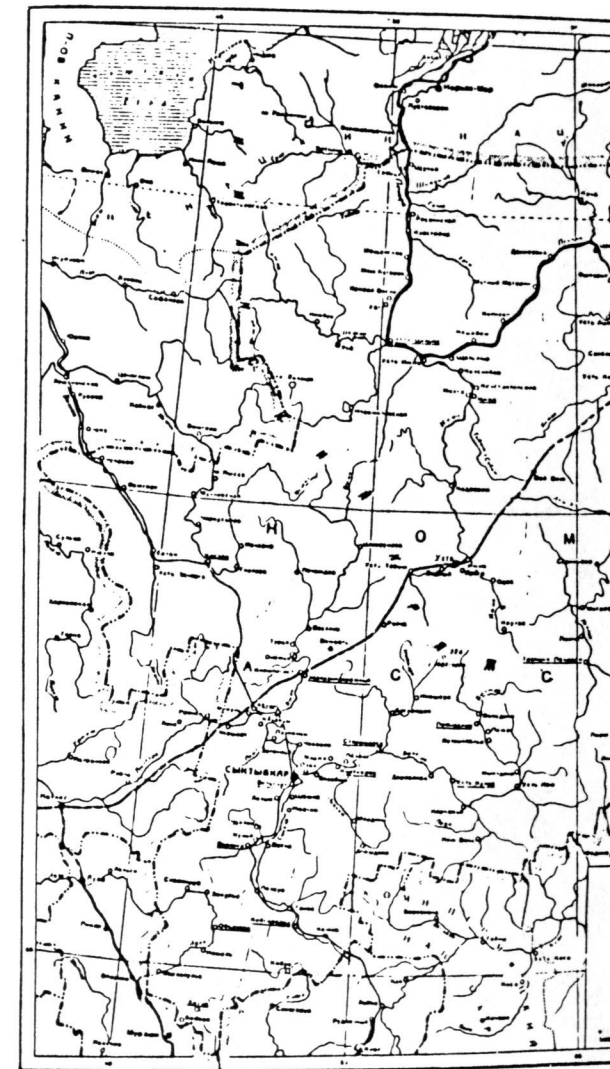
MAP 4

6



THE KOMI A.S.S.R.

MAP 5



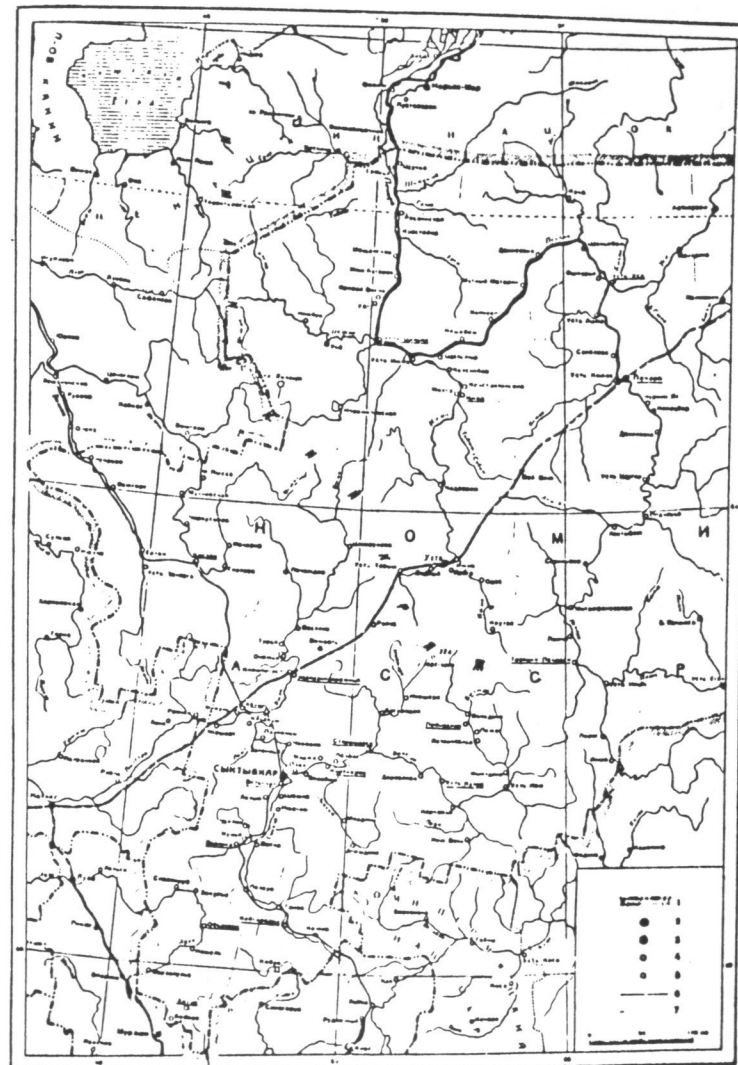
THE KOMI A.S.S.R.
1940

MAP 4



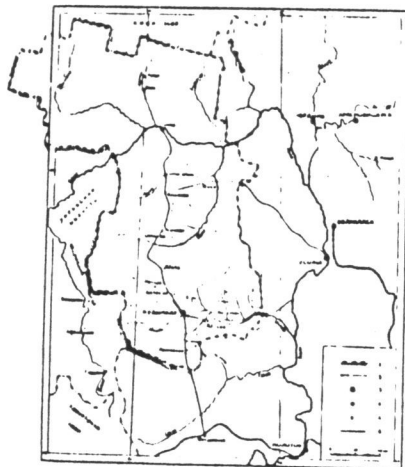
THE KOMI A.S.S.R.

MAP 5



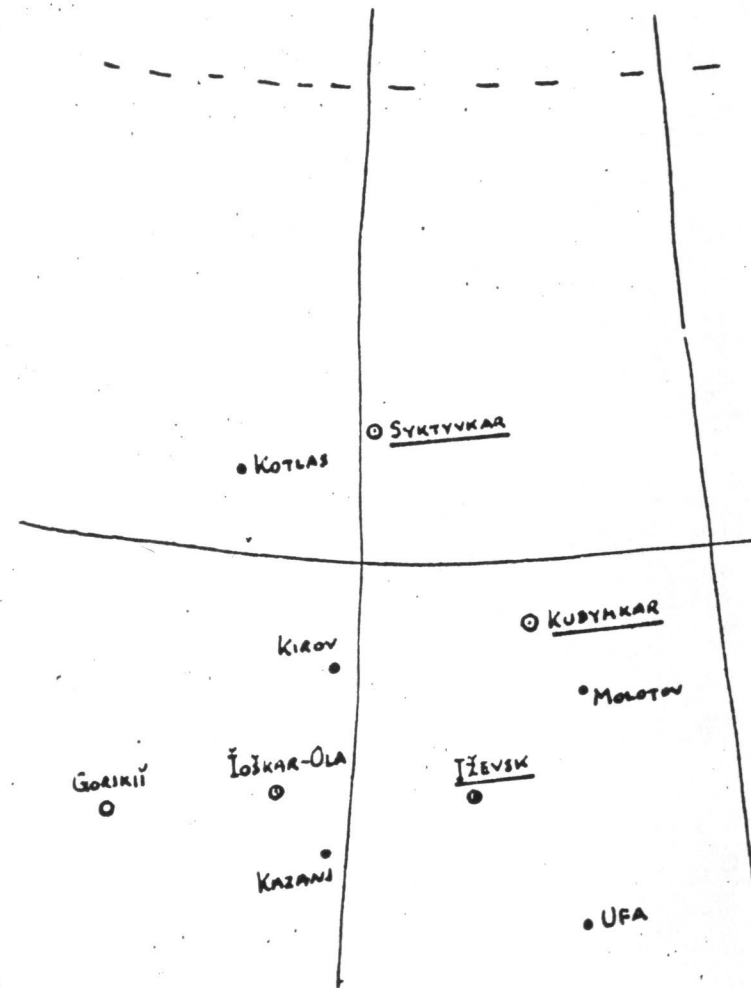
THE KOMI A.S.S.R.
1:500,000

MAP 6



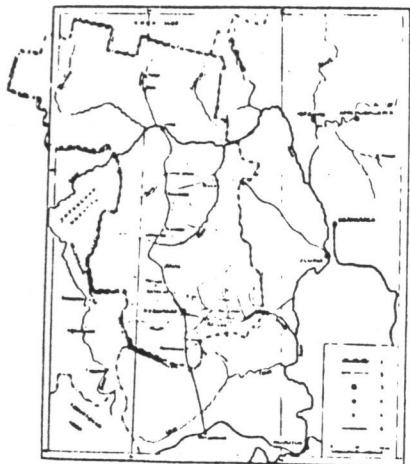
THE PERMIAN NATIONAL OKRUG

MAP 7



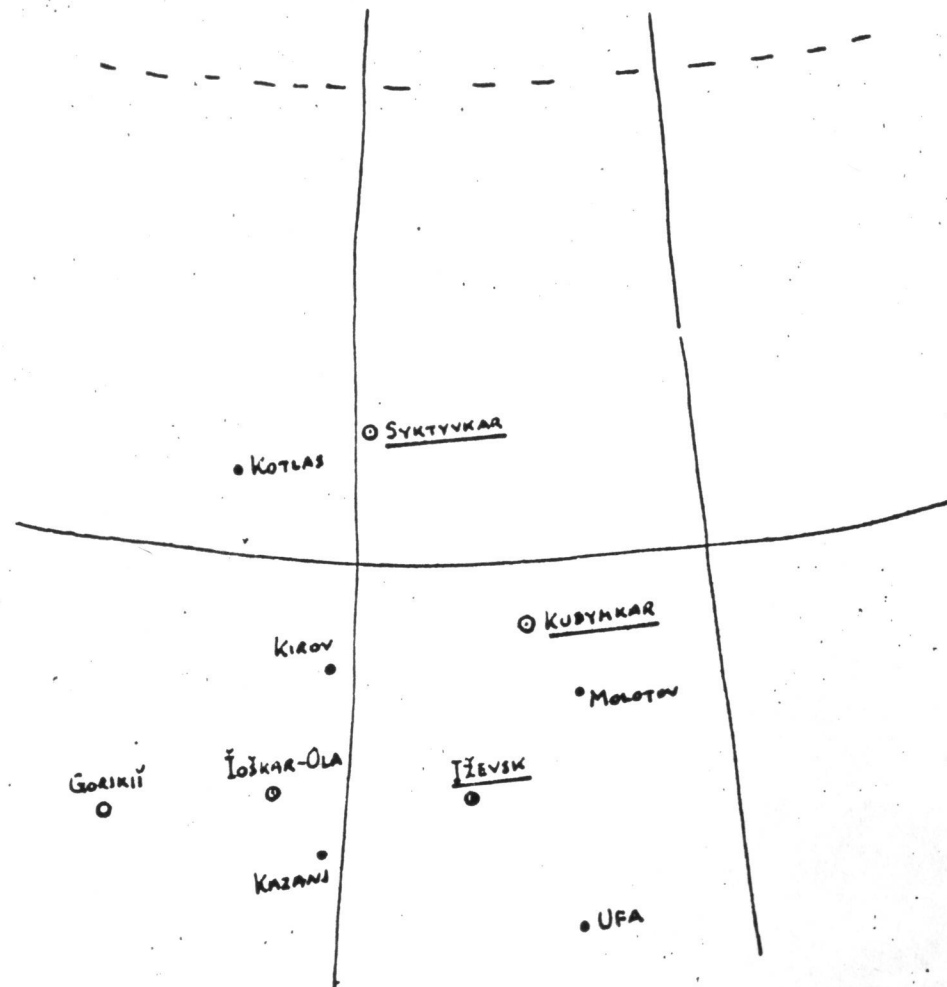
CITIES ON THE ZYRIEN-VOTYAK AREA
AND WEST THEREOF

MAP 6



PERMIAN NATIONAL OKRUG

MAP 7



CITIES ON THE ZYRIEN-VOTYAK AREA
AND WEST THEREOF

GAZETTEER

| | |
|------------|------------|
| Ás'jva * | Málmýš * |
| Dvinà | Mezènj |
| Elàbuga | Mòlotov * |
| Glàsov | Nerdva * |
| Gòrjkiĭ * | Okà |
| | Òni |
| ĭnjva | Pečòra |
| ĭoškàr-Olà | |
| Ižèvak | Sarapulĭ * |
| ĭšma | Slobodskòĭ |
| Kàma | Syktyvkàr |
| Kasànj * | Sýsola |
| Kìrov * | |
| Kobrĭnsk * | Udora * |
| Koča * | Ufà |
| Kočevo * | Uržùm |
| Kosà | Usajva * |
| Kotlas * | |
| Kudymkar * | Vàtka |
| Kuĭbyšev * | Výčegda |
| | |
| Letka * | Zùzdinskiĭ |
| Lupjâ * | |
| Lùza | |

These place names (mainly cities and rivers; some of these are relevant to the discussion of the dialects below) are here given with stress (`) as indicated in K.I. Bylinskiĭ (editor), Slovarĭ udareniĭ dlâ rabotnikov radio i televideniâ, Moskva, 1960. Items with * are not in Bylinskiĭ.

ETHNIC TERMS

This section will discuss the ethnic names which shall encounter in some detail. The Terminological which follows is intended to clear up the somewhat usage. There follow notes on the terms Zyrien, Pe Votyak, komi, and ud+murt and data on the state of about their etymologies or at least backgrounds. captioned ETHNIC NAMES summarizes the reciprocal used by the populations in the area under scrutiny

GAZETTEER

Mälmyä *

Mezënj

Mòlotov *

Nerdva *

Okà

Òni

Pečòra

Sarapulj *

Slobodskòj

Syktyvkàr

Sýsola

Udora *

Ufà

Uržùm

Usjva *

Vätka

Výčegda

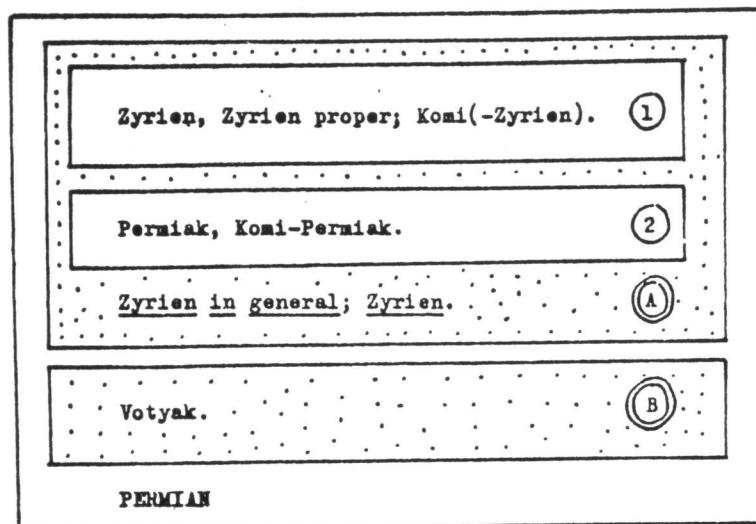
Zùzdinskij

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 o the discussion of the dialects below) are here
 ess (') as indicated in K.I. Bylinskij (editor),
 ij dlä rabotnikov radio i televideniä, Moskva,
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ETHNIC TERMS

This section will discuss the ethnic names which we shall encounter in some detail. The Terminological Note which follows is intended to clear up the somewhat confused usage. There follow notes on the terms Zyrien, Permiak, Votyak, komi, and ud+murt and data on the state of knowledge about their etymologies or at least backgrounds. A table, captioned ETHNIC NAMES summarizes the reciprocal appellations used by the populations in the area under scrutiny.

TERMINOLOGICAL NOTE



In the above diagram the attempt is made to show how (1) Zyrien and (2) Permiak together form (A) Zyrien in the broader sense which, together with (B) Votyak constitutes the Permian family. The use of Zyrien in two senses is regrettable and in what follows we shall try to keep the two uses distinct.

In the USSR, Komi-zyrënskiĭ (äzyk) vs. komi-permäckiĭ (vs. udmurtskiĭ) are used. Though this is more practical, komi alone is also used which presents the same problem as our Zyrien. For future work I would propose: PERMIAN :: Udmurt :: Zyrien = Komi : Permiak but do not abide by this proposal here,

Zyrien

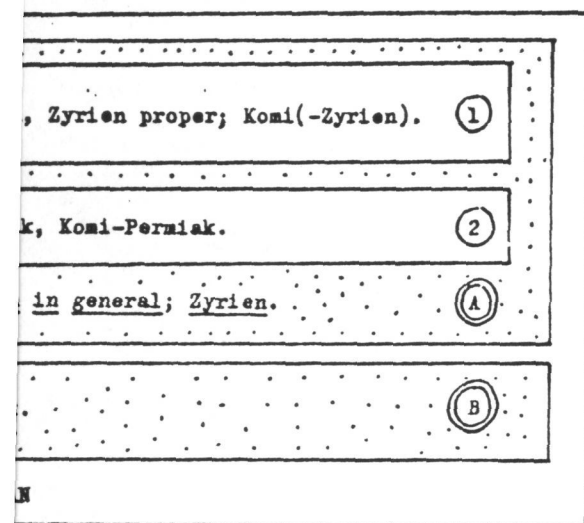
The ethnic name as spelled here is only one current in English: Zyrian, Zyrianian, Ziryene, element of confusion with Syrian is obvious. The which the English is presumably based, is Syrjän. It, in turn, is based on the Russian zyränin (s zyräne, as in cygan and a number of other ethnic the Russian zyränin can be traced all other Wes prevocalic S- in German is read [z].)¹

An older form of Russian zyränin is syränin and suränin. These forms are said to be Russian the Ob-Ugric (Osytak and Vogul [Soviet xanty and saran 'Zyrien'. Mark suggests that the Ob-Ugric Votyak, where he finds sara+kum 'Zyrien person'. sar 'seashore'. ((Mark, Zpirai))

¹In Finnish and Hungarian the first vowel of the is rendered by [ü]: syrjäni and zürjén.

12

TERMINOLOGICAL NOTE



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13

Zyrien

The ethnic name as spelled here is only one among a number
current in English: Zyrian, Zyrianian, Ziryene, etc. The dangerous
element of confusion with Syrian is obvious. The German term, on
which the English is presumably based, is Syrjäne (singular masculine).
It, in turn, is based on the Russian zyränin (sing.masc.; plural:
zyräne, as in cygan and a number of other ethnic names). From
the Russian zyränin can be traced all other Western names. (Initial
prevocalic S- in German is read [z].)¹

An older form of Russian zyränin is syränin, also seränin
and suränin. These forms are said to be Russian forms based on
the Ob-Ugric (Osyak and Vogul [Soviet xanty and mansi]) form
saran 'Zyrien'. Mark suggests that the Ob-Ugric form is from
Votyak, where he finds sara-kum 'Zyrien person'. Zsira suggests
sar 'seashore'. ((Mark, Zsira))

¹In Finnish and Hungarian the first vowel of the Russian form, [ä],
is rendered by [ü]: syryläni and zürjén.

Permiak

This term is used here to designate the southern Zyrien, as indicated elsewhere and following Soviet convention. In Russian the term is permäk (sing.masc.; plural: permäki). It comes from the geographical area Perm (Russian Permj).

"Older Russian sources use the term perm [permj] (also peremä as a collective noun to mean 'the Zyrian people and country'." ((Mark))

The origin of the Russian place name Permj is not known. (Mark says that it has been connected with Scandinavian origins.) The name is attested since the 17th century. It is a town (1879: 32,350 population; 1897: 45,403 population), 1130 miles by rail and river NE of Moscow, 605 miles from Kazanj, situated on the left bank of the Kama, on the Siberian highway. Its present site was occupied in 1568 by a settlement founded by one member of the Stroganov family; the settlement was named Bruxanovo.

Permian is used here to designate the entire family, as stated above. It has also been used in geology since 1841 (Sir Robert Murchison) to designate the "youngest and uppermost system of strata of the Palaeozoic series, situated above Carboniferous and below the Trias." The rocks in the Russian province of the same name are extensively developed. ((Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., s.v. Perm, Permian))

Votyak

This term, from Russian votäk, was, at earl otäk (suffix -äk), otin (suffix -in) and ot in form ot is also found in the Zyrien ethnonym and in Cheremis odo-mari and odo and ode (d = [d] with the meaning ('Votyak'. The origin of this and odo) is unclear. ((Zsirai, 223-224))

It has also been, not surprisingly, connected with Russian vodj with the meaning 'Vot' (a Baltic-Fin group; German Woten, Finnish vatjalaiset, possibly with a word originally meaning 'wedge' [L. Posti ((Mathews, 27))

See also ud-murt.

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Votyak

This term, from Russian votäk, was, at earlier periods, otäk (suffix -äk), otin (suffix -in) and ot in Russian. The form ot is also found in the Zyrien ethnonym vot+ud 'Votyak' and in Cheremis odo-mari and odo and ode (d = [ò] here) also with the meaning ('Votyak'. The origin of this element (ud and odo) is unclear. ((Zsirai, 223-224))

It has also been, not surprisingly, connected with Old Russian vodj with the meaning 'Vot' (a Baltic-Finnic ethnic group; German Woten, Finnish vatjalaiset, possibly connected with a word originally meaning 'wedge' [L. Posti,]). ((Mathews, 27))

See also ud-murt.

komi

This is the self-appellation of the Zyrien and of the Permiak. It has been connected with a Fihmo-Ugric root meaning 'male adult, man', e.g. Vogul xum 'Mann, Mensch', Votyak kum 'id.', and Hungarian him 'male'. Zsirai suggests that the final -m is a formant and connects the forms with Ostyak and Vogul xuj 'male adult' and Lapp kujj 'husband'. ((Zsirai))) In Votyak sara+kum is 'Zyrien'person' (see under Zyrien above).

Collinder accepts this interpretation but is not fully satisfied with the evidence for Votyak. ((Collinder, FUV 14)) He also cites a cognate in Selkup.

Some authorities want to connect this root (kum, kum) with Votyak kam 'the Kama River', said also to mean 'a large river' (as Finnish kymi 'the Kymi River' is said by same authorities also to mean any 'large river'). ((Mark; Mathews, 26)) This interpretation is less likely.

ud+murt

This is the self-appellation of the Votyak element, ud-, also occurs as ut-, urd-, and ur- same element occurs as the Russian stem vot-, and discussed under Votyak. ((Zsirai 223-224 II, 315; Manninen 244))

The Votyak element murt corresponds to the mort. Both mean 'male adult; man'. It is generally be an Indo-Iranian loan (cf. Skt. māta, Avestan mart). ((ibid.))

Some connect it with Mordvinian mifde (Erz. 'husband' and with Finnish marras (Gen. martaa-n 'fragile, brittle...; male; sterile'. Furthermore and mury 'sterile ~~man~~ cow' and Zyrien murjav are be connected with it. All are traced to Indo-Iranian indicated above. ((Collinder, FUV 132))

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 and discussed under Votyak. ((Zsirai 223-224; Suomen Suku
 II, 315; Manninen 244))

The Votyak element murt corresponds to the Zyrien element
mort. Both mean 'male adult; man'. It is generally assumed to
 be an Indo-Iranian loan (cf. Skt. márta, Avestan marēta, Pahlavi
mart). ((ibid.))

Some connect it with Mordvinian mifde (Erzä dialect) 'man,
 husband' and with Finnish marras (Gen. martaa-n) 'dead, moribund,
 fragile, brittle...; male; sterile'. Furthermore, Votyak mer
 and mury 'sterile ~~man~~ cow' and Zyrien murjav are also said to
 be connected with it. All are traced to Indo-Iranian, as in-
 dicated above. ((Collinder, FUV 132))

| | | B | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------|------------------|-----------------|---------|------|
| | | Zyrien | Permiak | Votyak | Russian | Mari |
| A | <u>Zyrien</u> | komi | komi kom+musa | vot+ud votak | roó | por |
| | <u>Permiak</u> | ?komi | komi | votak | roó | por |
| | <u>Votyak</u> | šava+kam | ? | ud+murt | jud | por |
| | <u>Czarist</u> | zyfänin | permäk | votak | | |
| | <u>Soviet</u> | komi | permäk | udmurt | | |
| | <u>Ostyak</u> | saran | | | | |
| | <u>Vogul</u> | saran | | | | |
| | <u>Samoyed</u> | yamo | | | | |

ETHNIC NAMES

Groups indicated in column A call groups in series B by the name indicated.

Data from Wiedemann, Wichmann, Mark.

Additional names: The Zyrien call the Samoyed jaran. Zyrien, Permiak and Votyak call the Cheremis por. The Zyrien call the Tatar totara (and other forms) and biger and the Chuvash čuvaš.

The Samoyed term yamo is from the name of the river Ižma (itself from Zyrien iž+va). ((Mark))

Since the Permian names for 'Russian' end in ć and not in s (or ś)—as an etymology based on russ|kiř would indicate—they have been connected with Finnish ruotsi 'Swedish, |en' which was presumably used (the Varangians ~~to designate~~ Russia, who conquered

DEMOGRAPHY

Zyrien and Permiak

With some exceptions, the Zyrien (Komi) KOMI AUTONOMOUS SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC Permiak the KOMI-PERMIKAREA (Permiak Okrug) status and autonomy, an ASSR is more independent than the Komi ASSR and the Permiak Okrug are a part of the Russian Federative Republic, one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R.

According to the 1959 census there were 1,000,000 Zyrien and Permiak in these and adjoining areas. There are also (or were in recent times) many performing forced labor in the Komi ASSR. The ASSR can therefore be considered as consisting of a (mainly Komi and Russian) component and of

The following is an attempt to trace the Zyrien and Permiak population during the period 1835-1959.

| | | |
|------|---------|--------|
| 1835 | 123,000 | Source |
| 1897 | 258,000 | Census |
| 1926 | 376,000 | " |
| 1939 | 408,000 | " |
| 1959 | 431,000 | " |

Presumably these figures exclude Russians and non-Permiak groups.

| B | | | | | |
|----|----------|------------------|-----------------|---------|-----|
| | Zyrien | Permiak | Votyak | Russian | |
| n | komi | komi kom+musa | vot+ud votak | roó | por |
| ak | ?komi | komi | votak | roó | por |
| é | šara+kam | ? | ud+murt | jud | por |
| st | zyfänin | permäk | votäk | | |
| i | komi | permäk | udmurt | | |
| i | saran | | | | |
| | saran | | | | |
| ud | ysmo | | | | |

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DEMOGRAPHY

Zyrien and Permiak

With some exceptions, the Zyrien (Komi proper) occupy the
KOMI AUTONOMOUS SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (Komi ASSR) and the
Permiak the KOMI-PERMIKAREA (Permiak Okrug). In terms of political
status and autonomy, an ASSR is more independent than an Okrug. Both
the Komi ASSR and the Permiak Okrug are administratively integrated
into the Russian Federative Republic, one of the (and the principal)
constituent republics of the U.S.S.R.

According to the 1959 census there were about 431,000 Komi
and Permiak in these and adjoining areas. It is estimated that
there are also (or were in recent times) some 300,000 individuals
performing forced labor in the Komi ASSR. The population of this
ASSR can therefore be considered as consisting of a permanent
(mainly Komi and Russian) component and of a transient component.

The following is an attempt to trace the growth of the Komi
and Permiak population during the period 1835 to 1959.

| | | |
|------|---------|--------------------|
| 1835 | 123,000 | Source: von Köppen |
| 1897 | 258,000 | Census |
| 1926 | 376,000 | " |
| 1939 | 408,000 | " |
| 1959 | 431,000 | " |

Presumably these figures exclude Russians and other non-Komi and
non-Permiak groups.

There are also Zyrien beyond the borders of the A.S.S.R.,
Especially on Kola Peninsula.

The above data are from Vuorela, HRAF, Mark and, secondarily,
other sources.

According to Vuorela, the entire population of the Komi
A.S.S.R. was 804,000. Almost half of its population must there-
fore be considered as non-Zyrien, in all probability Russian.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

GEOGRAPHICAL and POPULATION DATA.

1. Relative size: the Udmurt A.S.S.R. is the
of the twelve autonomous republics
2. Area: 15 019 sq.mi.
3. Location: (i) between latitudes 56° and
longitudes 51°30'
(ii) bounded by Kirov Region
Molotov Region
Tatar A.S.S.R.
Bashkir A.S.S.
4. Udmurt population:
census of 1776---ca. 90 000
1836 181 270
1872 275 645
1894 367 944
1897 420 976 (or 42
1899 435 887
1926 504 334 (or 50
1939 646 604
1941 ca. 679 984
5. Density; economic distribution:
 - (i) average population per sq.mi. =
 - (ii)

| | % urban pop. | % rural |
|-------|--------------|---------|
| 1897: | 0.54 | 99.46 |
| 1939: | 26.28 | 73.72 |
| | | 68.0 |
| | | 40.0 |
6. Foreign elements within the Udmurt A.S.S.

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Russian | = 43.3% |
| Tatar, Komi, other | = 4.4% |
| thus, Udmurt | = 52.3% |

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

GEOGRAPHICAL and POPULATION DATA.

1. Relative size: the Udmurt A.S.S.R. is the sixth largest
of the twelve autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R.

2. Area: 15 019 sq.mi.

3. Location: (i) between latitudes 56° and 58°30' N.
longitudes 51°30' and 51°15' E.

(ii) bounded by Kirov Region
Molotov Region
Tatar A.S.S.R.
Bashkir A.S.S.R.

4. Udmurt population:

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| census of 1776--- | ca. 90 000 |
| 1836 | 181 270 |
| 1872 | 275 645 |
| 1894 | 367 944 |
| 1897 | 420 976 (or 429 619) |
| 1899 | 435 887 |
| 1926 | 504 334 (or 508 700) |
| 1939 | 646 604 |
| 1941 | ca. 679 984 |

5. Density; economic distribution:

(i) average population per sq.mi. = 46 (in 1941) Udmurt
= 22 for entire U.S.S.R.
= 44 for United States

| (ii) | % urban pop. | % rural pop. |
|-------|--------------|---|
| 1897: | 0.54 | 99.46 |
| 1939: | 26.28 | 73.72 |
| | | [68.0 in all U.S.S.R., 40.0 in U.S.A.] |

6. Foreign elements within the Udmurt A.S.S.R.:

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Russian | = 43.3% |
| Tatar, Komi, other | = 4.4% |
| thus, Udmurt | = 52.3% |

7. Geographical distribution:

Most of the Udmurt population is found within the Udmurt A.S.S.R. (79% in 1926). However, the Kazan, Kirov, Molotov, Ufa, and Kuibyshev Regions have Udmurt inhabitants, and so does Western Siberia (9 500 Udmurt, 1926; Orenburg, Tobolsk, Tomsk, Yenisseisk).

Apparently the Udmurt once lived in several localities which they no longer inhabit. The following table does not show precisely which villages do and which do not have Udmurt population now (due to insufficient data), but it gives an idea of distribution.

---Udmurt living outside the Udmurt A.S.S.R.: Villages where Udmurt now live or have lived, from data of 1916---

| Region | County | Number of villages having an Udmurt name (besides the Russian) | Number of villages known to have some Udmurt pop. (1916) | Total Udmurt pop. for each Region -- census of 1926 |
|-----------|------------|--|--|---|
| Kirov | Glazov | 305 | 3 | |
| | Elabuga | 96 | 5 | |
| | Malmyzh | 76 | - | |
| | Sarapul | 53 | 2 | |
| | Slobodskoi | 3 | - | |
| | Urzhum | 1 | - | 38 600 |
| Kazan | Kazan | 2 | 1 | |
| | Mamadysh | 17 | 3 | 23 900 |
| Molotov | Osa | 8 | 1 | 6 500 |
| Kuibyshev | Bugulma | 2 | 1 | 2 118 [1897] |
| Ufa | Birsk | 8 | 1 | 23 300 |

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was founded in 1921. It covered parts of the provinces of Arxangelj, Vologda, and Perm. It was reconstituted as the Komi Autonomous Republic in 1937. The population for 1937 is given as 282,100. The 1933 census indicates that at that time 92.3 per cent of the population was Zyrien, 6.1 per cent Russian, and the remainder other groups (mainly Samoyed, in a

The capital of the republic is Syktyvkar (Ustjysoljok). It had 27,500 inhabitants in 1937. ((Mark))

The republic proper was founded in 1937.

hical distribution:

most of the Udmurt population is found within Udmurt A.S.S.R. (79% in 1926). However, the Kazan, Molotov, Ufa, and Kuibyshev Regions have inhabitants, and so does Western Siberia (Udmurt, 1926; Orenburg, Tobolsk, Tomsk, Yenisseisk). Apparently the Udmurt once lived in several villages which they no longer inhabit. The following table does not show precisely which villages which do not have Udmurt population now (due to insufficient data), but it gives an idea of the situation.

Udmurt living outside the Udmurt A.S.S.R.: Villages Udmurt now live or have lived, from data of 1916---

| County | Number of villages having an Udmurt name (besides the Russian) | Number of villages known to have some Udmurt pop. (1916) | Total Udmurt pop. for each Region -- census of 1926 |
|------------|--|--|---|
| Glazov | 305 | 3 | |
| Elabuga | 96 | 5 | |
| Malmyzh | 76 | - | |
| Sarapul | 53 | 2 | |
| Slobodskoi | 3 | - | |
| Urzhum | 1 | - | 38 600 |
| Kazan | 2 | 1 | |
| Mamadysh | 17 | 3 | 23 900 |
| Osa | 8 | 1 | 6 500 |
| Bugulma | 2 | 1 | 2 118 [1897] |
| Birsk | 8 | 1 | 23 300 |

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist District was founded in 1921. It covered parts of the former (imperial) provinces of Arxangelj, Vologda, and Perm. In 1926 it was reconstituted as the Komi Autonomous SSR. Its area is 374,900 square miles (404,600 square km., in 1947). The population for 1937 is given as 282,100. The statistics for 1933 indicate that at that time 92.3 percent of the population was Zyrien, 6.1 percent Russian, and the remainder other groups (mainly Samoyed, in all probability).

The capital of the republic is Syktyvkar (formerly Ustjysoljask). It had 27,500 inhabitants in 1937.

((Mark))

The republic proper was founded in 1936.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

Structure of Government.

The Votyak (Udmurt after 1928) Autonomous Region was established on January 5, 1921, with the capital at Glazov. A short time later the capital was moved to Izhevsk, a Russian industrial center. In 1936 the Region gained another degree of autonomy by becoming the Udmurt A.S.S.R. within the R.S.F.S.R.

An autonomous republic has its own Constitution, Supreme Soviet and Presidium, Council of Ministers, Planning Commission and Supreme Court. The Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic can never be promoted to the status of a full Soviet Socialist Republic, the highest autonomous unit, because it does not border on a foreign country.

In the U.S.S.R. autonomy is formal but not actual. It only means that a particular region may use its native dialect publicly. All constitutions are virtually identical and are patterned on the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. makes laws covering all Soviet peoples. The people of any autonomous unit say nothing about foreign policy, defense, transportation, etc. Furthermore they do not own their natural resources.

The Udmurt participate in both branches of the central Supreme Soviet. They have four or five representatives (out of 670) in the Soviet of the Union, and eleven (of 664) in the Soviet of Nationalities. In the 1937 elections, seven of the Nationalities deputies were Udmurt; the other four seats for the Udmurt A.S.S.R. went to Russians.

In the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R., the Udmurt A.S.S.R. has eight or nine members.

Within the Udmurt republic the delegates of the Supreme Soviet each represent 3000 to 20,000 inhabitants. The Council of Ministers is the highest republican administration; its chairman is premier of the Republic. The Ministries are allowed to deal only with local economy, middle and lower education and such. The central government, which controls the Planning Commission and Supreme Court, also appoints the State Prosecutor who is responsible solely to the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R.

There are lower administrative branches within cities and counties.

Zyrien History

After the separation of the proto-Permian and Votyak (or proto-Zyrien and proto-Votyak) moved northward. (Ca. 800 to 1100.) The di due to the political-economic expansion of the empire.

In 1236 the Tatars overthrow the Volga-B 1300 the Novgorod power takes over Kirov.

During their move northward, the Zyrien waterways. Their propensity toward trade als into contact with reindeer-breeding nomads (S Mansi).

A significant period in ~~the~~ Zyrien histo Stephen of Perm (died 1396) during whose life were converted to Christianity. Contacts with lectual culture can thus be dated as far back century. For a period thereafter, the Zyrien scene as allies of the Russians, especially i forays of the Church. In 1558 A. Stroganov r from the czar which made him virtual owner of the Kama district. Economically, this meant to the Zyrien. (The economic motive was salt.

BACKGROUND.

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Zyrien History

After the separation of the proto-Permians into Zyrien and Vatyak (or proto-Zyrien and proto-Votyak), the Zyrien moved northward. (Ca. 800 to 1100.) The dispersion is probably due to the political-economic expansion of the Volga-Bulgar empire.

In 1236 the Tatars overthrow the Volga-Bulgar state. In 1300 the Novgorod power takes over Kirov.

During their move northward, the Zyrien followed the waterways. Their propensity toward trade also brought them into contact with reindeer-breeding nomads (Samoyed, Xanty, Mansi).

A significant period in ~~the~~ Zyrien history is that of St. Stephen of Perm (died 1396) during whose lifetime the Zyrien were converted to Christianity. Contacts with Russian intellectual culture can thus be dated as far back as the 14th century. For a period thereafter, the Zyrien appear on the scene as allies of the Russians, especially in the eastward forays of the Church. In 1558 A. Stroganov received a charter from the czar which made him virtual owner of a large area in the Kama district. Economically, this meant strong privation to the Zyrien. (The economic motive was salt.) ((Vuorela))



NOVGOROD AND ADJOINING AREAS IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Once Zyrien society became agricultural development was parallel to that of the Russ

The significance of the Soviet period for the same as that for the remainder of the continuation (culturally) of their minority role, in modernizations See the section on literature



ADJOINING AREAS IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Once Zyrien society became agricultural, its historical development was parallel to that of the Russians.

The significance of the Soviet period for the Zyrien is the same as that for the remainder of the country: accentuation (culturally) of their minority role, industrialization, modernizations See the section on literature.

Votyak History

Unlike the Zyrien, the Votyak did not move northward. This meant that their history, presumably soon after the split of the Permian group into proto-Zyrian and proto-Votyak, underwent the vagaries dictated by the Volga-Bulgar empire and later, in the 13th century, that of the Tatar Empire. The language reflects this boundedly (whereas Zyrien does not play host to such a great number of culturally significant loans). Loanwords are significant especially in the area of social organization, economy, culture in general.

The Tatar condominium was more of a yoke than the Bulgar.

Contacts with the Russians date from the 13th century; Moscow's hegemony was officially established in 1552 (fall of Kazanj). A bishopric was established in 1636, but serious conversions are recorded only after 1740. In 1897 there were still 7.5 percent pagans in the Votyak area.

The Votyak A.S.S.R. was established in 1934.

Zyrien Economy

In 1897, 90 percent of the Zyrien are said to have been engaged in agriculture and cattle-raising. Crops: barley, rye, oats, wheat, flax, hemp, turnips, cabbage, swede, potatoes, onions, peas, and hops. Domestic animals: horses, cows, sheep, pigs.

Fishing is generally restricted to the extent to which family needs dictate. It assumes a more important role along the large rivers (especially the lower Pečora) where salmon, nelma, and whitefish are caught. Some fish is nevertheless "exported." (In 1935, 800 tons of fish were available for such export.)

The main export commodity is timber.

Hunting, again, is secondary and the primary occupation of only 6000 (in 1935), especially in the northern areas. The principal game is squirrel and hare, among birds the woodhen, partridge, capercaillie, and grouse. Data on game caught in 1935:

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-------|
| squirrels | 2 600 000 | arctic fox | 2 800 |
| hare | 119 000 | marten | 543 |
| ermine | 57 000 | fox; other | 916 |

((Mark))

Reindeer breeding is important in the north, especially. The herds are often taken care of by Samoyed hired (seasonal?) labor. The Zyrien were also known, formerly, as effective reindeer traders.

Zyrien villages resemble the Russian of the area: straight streets, dwellings made of wood.

Among the northern Zyrien, the entrance connects a living room with another ("guest" room). Under one of these there is a barn and above them a hayloft. The dwellings of the southern Zyrien are two stories.

Smaller houses surround the main dwelling. In these there is a bath house (often near a barn) and a structure for drying fish (heated from the stove) and for thrashing and drying grain. ((Mark))

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Zyrien villages resemble the Russian villages of the area: straight streets, dwellings made of treetrunks.

Among the northern Zyrien, the entrance and porch connect a living room with another ("guest" |Mark|) room. Under one of these there is a barn for cattle; above them a hayloft. The dwellings of the rich may have two stories.

Smaller houses surround the main dwelling. Among these there is a bath house (often near a body of water) and a structure for drying fish (heated from underground) and for thrashing and drying grain. ((Mark))

Among the Permiak, the typical dwelling consists of a living room under which there is a room in which household utensils are kept. The entrance and porch connects the living room with a two-story storehouse. Other store houses and barns surround the dwelling proper. ((Mark))

Votyak Economy

The mainstay here is also agriculture, with in second place. The soil, especially, in the yields a better crop than in the Zyrien area. status of the peasant in Czarist Russia, conditions for many, so that ancillary forms of livelihood and fishing, and especially apiculture, were also significant scales. ((Vuorela))

Votyak Economy

The mainstay here is also agriculture, with cattle breeding in second place. The soil, especially, in the northern area, yields a better crop than in the Zyrien area. But given the status of the peasant in Czarist Russia, conditions were stringent for many, so that ancillary forms of livelihood such as hunting and fishing, and especially apiculture, were also practised on significant scales. ((Vuorela))

Tradition
in holes in the
Fish is consumed
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The Northern
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its name, harjo
((Manninen, 2))

Rye-bread
must be imported

Food-plants
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eaten. The yolk
the inner, so
then strained
-- Various Russian
Among the Southerners
literally, "eaten"

Food

Traditionally, meat is eaten on hunting trips. It is baked in holes in the ground. Dry bread (Zwieback) is also taken along. Fish is conserved by salting; then it is dried in ovens. Before preparation, fish is soaked in hot water. Air-drying is also known. The innards of the larger fish are removed and cooked to extract their fat. ((Vuorela, 253; Manninen, 295-296))

The North-Zyrien eat barley bread. In the 1870s, rye and oats were grown only for sale, barley for consumption. But bread as staple is said to have been rare before the 16th century (though its name, naan is said to be Iranian and therefore ancient). ((Manninen, 279))

Rye-bread feasts are known. But in some regions all grain must be imported because it cannot be grown. ((Vuorela, ibid.))

Food-plants: the horsetail (equisetum), eaten in soup, with eggs, in early spring; also in pirožki. Similarly: heracleum sibiricum and another plant. Pine-cones and spruce-cones are also eaten. The young rind of the pine replaces bread in some areas: the inner, soft layer was mashed or kneaded (after being dried), then strained. Sometimes barley flour was added to it. Toasted. -- Various Russian dishes (pirožki and the like) are also known. Among the South-Zyrien some of these are called pel + naan, literally, "ear bread." ((Manninen, 297-8))

Among the other plants used, the turnip and occupy important positions. (In the south, the introduced around 1860-70.) A type of home-brew made of turnips. Beer is made of barley. Strong are also known; these were acquired from neighbours. kvas and soured milk are also consumed.

Votyak diet (the above data are for the Zyrien) similar, agricultural products predominating. A diet consisting of barley, meat, and peas, predominates. Meat is preserved by salting, smoking, and meat is also eaten; horsemeat is used in religious rites.

Food

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Among the other plants used, the turnip and black radish occupy important positions. (In the south, the potato was introduced around 1860-70.) A type of home-brewed beer is made of turnips. Beer is made of barley. Stronger spirits are also known; these were acquired from neighbouring groups. kvass and soured milk are also consumed.

Votyak diet (the above data are for the Zyrien) ~~was~~ is similar, agricultural products predominating. A brew, consisting of barley, meat, and peas, predominates (called žuk).

Meat is preserved by salting, smoking, and drying. Squirrel meat is also eaten; horsemeat is used in religious (pagan) rites.

Social Organization

Traditionally, the father or the eldest son is the head of the family, the nuclear unit. Decisions concerning property are generally made by the father (or head, in his stead).

The long Christian tradition of the Zyrien has obliterated many of the original features of native social organization. In general, therefore, many institutions resemble their Russian analogs. Marriages are arranged between the two families concerned; chastity is prized. Kinship ties are strong; next in order of strength are the bonds incurred in through godparenthood. Childbirth, weddings, funerals strongly resemble their Russian analogs. Education was, traditionally, in the hands of the family.

With the advent of the Soviet period, institutions changed correspondingly. Interestingly enough, a group of the Zyrien type which may be considered as having been traditionally more or less of a classless society (or at least homogeneous), became slowly divided into classes, the boundaries of which were defined by occupation and alignment with the new structures introduced by Soviet culture: intelligentsia vs. workers, agricultural vs. industrial, city vs. rural. All the Soviet institutions (e.g., children's organizations) were also introduced into the Komé area.

Data on the Votyak family are lacking. Presumably similar to those on the Zyrien, though allowance should be made for the relatively recent data--in comparison to that of Christianization, and the symbiosis, as previous with the Bashkir and Tatar.

A clan-system obtains (which has impeded the development of the Soviet system). There is also a system of mutual aid which entails something like primitive cooperatives.

There are village councils (called keñes) which, at various times, been antagonistic to sovietization.

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((HRSF))

Native Religion (Zyrien and Votyak)

This subject has been covered in detail in a monograph by Uno Holmberg (later Uno Harva), Permalaisten uskonto, Provo: 1914 (= Suomen suvun uskonnot, IV). He divided his analysis into

- 1 worship of the departed
- 2 worship of clan representatives
- 3 all-village worship
- 4 anthropoid spirits and their worship
- 5 nature spirits
- 6 agricultural rituals
- 7 spirits associated with disease

As is to be expected, Votyak tradition is a more fertile repository of data than Zyrien.

As an example of Permian native religion we shall present Zyrien data on the water sprites (sub 5, above), after Holmberg.

Zyrien Native Religion: Water S

As a sample of the pagan element in the Zyrien, a few statements concerning their water spirits on U. Holmberg, 'Die Wassergottheiten der finnischen Völker', MSFOu XXXII (1913)--esp. pp. 96-111.

The Zyrien are concerned with water sprites, as is expected because of the topography of their country, a network of waterways. Fishing and commerce therefore play a very important role in the life of the element is reduced (in comparison, say, with the culture) because of their conversion to Christianity.

The following are the names of the water sprites frequently associated with bodies of water:

| | |
|---------------------|------------|
| kul' | vasa |
| va+kul' | vasa, vasa |
| kuI+pian, kuI+pajan | vasa+bei |

D. Pokos-Fuchs claims (Keleti Szemle XI, 1906) that vasa is female; cf. vasa+tyssa, vasa+tefka ('aunt(ie)'). Nalimov disagrees.

The Zyrien conceive of the water spirit as a small, child-like figure, of small size, having long dark-green hair, and appearing

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Zyrien Native Religion: Water Sprites

As a sample of the pagan element in the religion of the Zyrien, a few statements concerning their water-sprites, based on U. Holmberg, 'Die Wassergottheiten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker', MSFOu XXXII (1913)--esp. pp. 96-113--follow.

The Zyrien are concerned with water sprites, as may be expected because of the topography of their habitat which is a network of waterways. Fishing and communication by boat therefore play a very important role in the culture. The pagan element is reduced (in comparison, say, with that in Votyak culture) because of their conversion to Christianity 500 years ago.

The following are the names of the ~~most~~ spirits most frequently associated with bodies of water:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| kul' | vasa |
| va+kul' | vasa, vais |
| kuI+pian, kuI+pajan | vasa+bes (Russian besj) |

D. Pokos-Fuchs claims (Keleti Szemle XII) that kuI' is male and vasa female; of. vasa+tyasa, vasa+tefska (of Russian töt(k)a 'aunt(ie)'). Nalimov disagrees.

The Zyrien conceive of the water spirit as being of human size, having long dark-green hair, and appearing naked or sometimes

clothed. They believe that it alights on the shore, sits down and combs its hair, but flees as soon as humans approach. These spirits also appear as child-spirits. They may also assume the shape of pikes. Their habitat is thought to be in the deep recesses of rivers and lakes.

It is believed that the spirits issue from the water during the Feast of the Epiphany and to enter the human domain then. They are called kuff+vasa or kuffa+dadda at that time. (Cf. Russian kutjā, the name of a delicacy consumed on Christmas Eve and at the time of the Epiphany. -- These references are all to the Gregorian calendar.)

The spirits exude danger: stormy weather, death in the water. The female spirits are thought to seduce men.

The term kul' is also used for 'devil' (Russian čert). Like devils, the kuI'—it is thought—cannot tolerate churchbells or the sign of the cross. The god of the heavens, jen, dispatches lightning against the kul'.

The kul' is offered bread, butter, fish, and occasionally objects or pieces of silver in attempt to appease him. Men refrain from using offensive language while fishing lest the kul' pull down their net. When crossing bodies of water, men also make offerings to this spirit. The miller makes a sacrifice of

of a rooster's head to the kul'.

The ičetik 'the smaller (one)' is another believed to be very small and homuncular and in deep places of rivers. pelēsница is a goddess from Russian полудница (polu|dn-ica) 'mid-noon'. Votyak beliefs concerning this deity and Tatar and Chuvash beliefs: its origin is there Volga-Bulgar.

Exsema on the head is thought to be due to the water."

Newlyweds make offerings to the water.

Holmberg believes that the notion of the native and Russified subsequently. But about Votyak water-divinities in general he says that or at least borrowed from those of the Russian the names, such as that of kuI', ~~are~~ Finno-Ugric

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The ičetik 'the smaller (one)' is another spirit. It is believed to be very small and homuncular and to live in the deep places of rivers. pelešnica is a goddess; the term is from Russian полудница (poludnica (polu|dn-ica) 'mistress of the noon'. Votyak beliefs concerning this deity are closer to Tatar and Chuvash beliefs; its origin is therefore probably Volga-Bulgar.

Exsema on the head is thought to be due to "the wrath of the water."

Newlyweds make offerings to the water.

Holmberg believes that the notion of the kul' is originally native and Russified subsequently. But about the Zyrien and Votyak water-divinities in general he says that they are parallel to or at least borrowed from those of the Russians. But some of the names, such as that of kul', are Finno-Ugric.