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THE PEOPLES OF SIBERIA



THE PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

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Edited by

M.G. LEVIN and L.P. POTAPOV



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TRANSLATION EDITOR'S PREFACE

It is a privilege to introduce to the English-reading professional public this monumental work of Soviet historical and ethnographic scholarship. To the editor's knowledge, this publication constitutes the first comprehensive treatment of its subject in English since Czaplicka's *Aboriginal Siberia* nearly 50 years ago. In view of its importance and novelty, it may be as well to give in some detail the principles on which *Peoples of Siberia* was edited, and a few suggestions on its use.

Transliteration and the use of foreign words. The transliteration system used here is that recommended by the American Board on Geographic Names, with the following modifications: the *iy* and *yy* combinations have been contracted to a single *y* (except in certain non-Russian names and terms, where they appear to be phonetically important in themselves); and the hard and soft signs have been retained. Other phonetic indications are explained in the editor's notes appended to the text. The pluralization of Russian words (including ethnonyms) has been Anglicized where the rules of English euphony permit—that is, except after aspirates and sibilants and certain combinations of consonants. Ethnonyms which derive from Chinese are not pluralized. The Russian ethnic suffix *-tay* (sing. *-ets*) is used in a few appropriate cases.

Geographical and archeological usage. The names of Soviet administrative-territorial units are not translated, and the suffixes *-sky* and *-skaya* are retained, except where an English word intervenes (e.g., "Koryak National Okrug"). Other geographical expressions which are not necessarily administrative are translated, with appropriate modification of the Russian form of the name (e.g., Minusa Basin for *Minusinskaya Kotlovina*). The same is true for certain pre-Revolutionary administrative divisions which are not necessarily territorial.

Archeological designations are equipped with English adjectival endings corresponding to the Russian *-sky* and *-skaya*, except where this would result in a tongue-twister or in too odd-sounding a word, or where another usage has become firmly established.

Finally, a convention has been adopted which the author believes useful in dealing with such an ethnically complex environment as Siberia. Certain ethnonyms are used in two forms, both nominally and adjectivally (Yakut, Yakutian; Mongol, Mongolian, etc.). In such cases, the short form is ethnic or linguistic and the longer form geographical or political.

Translation. A conscious effort has been made to keep down the concentration of foreign terms, even at the cost of some loss in precision. The Russian equivalents in many cases are given in the editor's notes. The translation of such terms as agriculture, pastoralism and so forth is as consistent as it can be made without violence to the context, but there is a limit to what can be done in this matter.

Abridgment. Certain categories of passages have been omitted from the original Russian text. By far the most numerous of these categories consists of unnecessary repetitions of material adequately covered and points adequately made elsewhere. Other categories include: standard ideological passages. For instance, it is generally known that the Soviet regime is hostile to all forms of religion. The editor has not, therefore, felt it necessary to include expressions of this hostility, except where they illustrated some specific and not generally familiar aspect of the ideology or of its application in a particular sense. The same is true for standard passages which contrast the ruthless colonialist policy of the tsarist government with the progressive influence of the Russian people in contact with Siberian populations.

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Statements concerning the assistance given by the Soviet government to the native populations, which are unsupported by specific data, have also been deleted. Finally, the discussions of modern professional literature and art among the Siberian peoples have been left out in all except a few cases, because they were perfunctory and would convey little or nothing to a non-Soviet audience.

These deletions are not intended to imply any judgment on the intrinsic merits of the passages omitted as against those retained. In the case of the discussions of post-Revolutionary culture, the aim of the editing was to present a general picture of the changes which have taken place among the peoples concerned, and to preserve whatever objective data on culture change was contained in the original. It should be noted that in many cases, the sections on post-Revolutionary culture are now out of date. An extensive literature has appeared since the original publication of *Peoples of Siberia* in 1956, and this literature has been critically summarized in part, in English (Stephen P. and Ethel Dunn, "Transformation of the Economy and Culture in the Soviet North," *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1963, pp. 1-28). Samples of the Soviet literature on this area have appeared in translation elsewhere in *Arctic Anthropology* and in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*.

In choosing illustrations for the post-Revolutionary sections, the editor has selected what seemed ethnically distinctive, what gave an idea of the landscape, or what showed the physical type of the people concerned. Accordingly, the level of technology shown should not necessarily be regarded as typical. Almost all the post-Revolutionary sections in the original are illustrated with pictures of agricultural work being done by machinery, but there is no way of knowing how typical they are.

Annotation. The editor's notes appended to the text are intended to help the anthropologist unfamiliar with the specific conditions of Soviet life or with the details of Russian history which are referred to. The editor has not thought it either necessary or possible to provide a full-scale and detailed commentary on the text. The reader is expected to bring to his task a degree of sophistication—not only anthropological but economic and political as well. In the editor's opinion, the concrete data given in *Peoples of Siberia* are accurate as far as they go, but have naturally been preselected. In a special brief preface, omitted from the translation, the Russian authors point out that the sections dealing with post-Revolutionary culture are not intended to be critical or detailed, and the editing of the translation has not gone beyond this intention. It should be noted that the first six editorial notes to the chapter on archeology intended to bring this section up to date, were contributed by another American specialist.

Bibliography. The Russian original was equipped with an extensive bibliography (in addition to the footnote references) that lacked annotation or critical indications of any kind. It comprised a general section that should be of interest to a greater number of readers and also special reference sections grouped by chapters. Because many Russian-language references in the general section appeared to be somewhat more readily available to Western researchers, the entire section was transliterated and also translated into English. The Russian-language references that comprised the special sections, however, tended to represent sources of dubious value to the non-Russian reader. To facilitate their identification for possible use by researchers who read Russian, it was decided to reproduce them in their original Russian form.

Stephen P. Dunn

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INTRODUCTION

At the present time, the overwhelming majority of the population of Siberia is Russian. According to the census of 1897, there were 4,700,000 Russians in Siberia (over 80% of its total population). By 1926, this figure had risen to 9,000,000 persons, and since that census the number of Russians in Siberia has grown even larger.

The contemporary Russian population of Siberia has been made up from several groups, differing in their social origins and in the time of their migration into the area.

The Russians began to settle Siberia at the end of the 16th century. By the end of the 17th century their numbers were already exceeding those of the indigenous population, with its varied tribes. The original Russian population of Siberia consisted of service gentry¹ (Cossacks, *strel'tsy*,² and others) and a few craftsmen and tradesmen in the towns, and Cossacks, hunters and peasants in rural localities and villages of various types.

Farming peasants and, to a lesser degree, Cossacks comprised the basis of the Russian population of Siberia in the 17th, 18th and first half of the 19th century. The bulk of this population of ancient origins is concentrated in Siberia as follows: in the vicinity of Tobol'sk, Verkhotur'ye, and Tyumen'; to a lesser degree Tomsk, Yeniseysk and the Angara River country, and Krasnoyarsk; along the Ilim; on the upper Lena; and near Irkutsk and Nerchinsk. A later wave of Russian penetration, into the steppe regions of Southern Siberia, relates to the 18th century. At that time, the Russian population was being diffused in the northern Altay, in the Minusa steppes, as well as in the Baykal and Transbaykal steppes. After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, millions of Russian peasants migrated to Siberia in a comparatively short time. During that period, Russians settled certain regions of the Altay and northern Kazakhstan, as well as the newly annexed lands of the Amur and Maritime Districts. The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and the growth of towns in Siberia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries led to the swift increase in Russian urban population.

Apart from Russians, Siberia is inhabited by Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews (the Jewish Autonomous Oblast) and representatives of the other Soviet nationalities who settled in Siberia at different times.

¹ In early tsarist Russia, a category of persons which included both the military and the civil service.

² Literally, archers or marksmen. Historically, the crack units of the early Russian army.

Numerically a small part of the total population of Siberia is made up of its non-Russian, native peoples, who total about 800,000 persons, representing many ethnic groups. Corresponding administrative divisions have been formed in Siberia in the Soviet period: two Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, the Buryat-Mongol and Yakut; three Autonomous Oblasts—the Gorno-Altay, Khakasy and Tuvan; and a series of national okrugs and rayons.

The sizes of the different Siberian ethnic groups vary. The most numerous of these are, according to the 1926 census, the Yakut (237,222 persons), the Buryat (238,058 persons), the Altay (50,348 persons), the Khakasy (45,870 persons), and the Tuvan (62,000 persons). The so-called "small nationalities of the North" make up the bulk of the peoples of Siberia. Some of them include a thousand persons or less, while others account for a few thousand. This dispersion and paucity in numbers of the indigenous ethnic groups of northern Siberia reflect those conditions of history and environment under which they emerged and existed, up to Soviet times. Weakly developed productive capacities, harsh climatic conditions, enormous, almost impassable expanses of coniferous forest and tundra, and—over the last three centuries—the colonial policies of tsarism as well—all hampered the formation here of large ethnic groups. Up to the October Revolution, they perpetuated, in the Far North, the most archaic economics, social structures, cultures and ways of life. The larger peoples of Siberia were also relatively backward, though to a lesser degree than the small nationalities of the North.

The non-Russian indigenous population of Siberia belongs to varied linguistic stocks. [See end map of volume]. Most of it speaks Turkic languages, including the Siberian Tatars, Altays, Shors, Khakasy, Tuvans, Tofalars, Yakuts, and Dolgans. The Buryats speak a Mongolic language. In all, about 58% of the native population of Siberia speaks Turkic tongues; about 27%, Mongolic.

The next most numerous are the speakers of Tunguso-Manchurian languages. These are usually divided into Tungusic, or northern peoples, and Manchurian, or southern, branches. The former includes Evenks (Tungus), Evens [Lamut] and Negidals; the latter, Nanays [Goldy], Ul'chi, Oroks, Orochi and Udegeys.⁴ In all, only 6% of the native Siberian population speaks Tungus-Manchu languages, but these are territorially widespread, from the Yenisey to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea and Bering Strait.

The Turkic, Mongolic and Tungus-Manchu languages are usually combined into the so-called Altaic family. These languages are not only similar in morphology (they are all of agglutinative type), but also correspond in lexicon and have common phonetic regularities. The Turkic languages are close to the Mongolic languages and these latter, in turn, are close to the Tungus-Manchu tongues.

The peoples of northwest Siberia speak Samoyedic and Ugric languages. Ugric languages are spoken by the Khants (Ostyaks) and Mansi (Voguls) (about 3.1% of the total indigenous population), while Samoyedic languages are spoken by Nentsy (Yuraks), Nganasans (Tavgins), Entsy and Sel'kups (about 2.6% in all of the native population). The Ugric languages, which, apart from Khant and Mansi, include the language of the Hungarians in Central Europe, are part of the larger Finno-Ugric group. The Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages, which exhibit a definite similarity among themselves, are united by linguists into the Uralic group. In the older classifications, the Altaic and Uralic languages were usually classed as one Ural-Altaic entity.

³ The last were annexed by the USSR only in 1945.—Ed.

⁴ Sometimes classified with Tungusic.—Ed.

Although the Uralic and Altaic languages are morphologically similar (agglutinative structure), this classification is doubtful and not accepted by the majority of present-day linguists.

The languages of a number of peoples in the northeast of Siberia and the Soviet Far East cannot be relegated to any of the above-mentioned large linguistic communities, since they possess a markedly different structure, their own phonetic peculiarities and certain other features. Examples of these are the languages spoken by the Chukchi, Koryaks, Itel'mens (Kamchadals), Yukagirs and Nivkhi (Gilyaks). Although the first three of these do show considerable similarity, the Yukagir and particularly Nivkhi languages have nothing in common with either them or each other.⁵ All these languages are incorporative, although incorporation (combining of a number of root words in a sentence) is not manifested to the same degree in all of them. It is most pronounced in Chukchi, Koryak and Itel'men and to a lesser extent in Nivkhi and Yukagir. Incorporation is only retained in the last case to a slight extent, and the language basically has an agglutinative structure. The phonetic system of these languages contains sounds which do not exist in Russian. These languages (Chukchi, Koryak, Itel'men, Nivkhi and Yukagir) are known as "Paleosiberian." This term, which was introduced first by Academician Shrenk, rightly stresses the antiquity of these languages and their vestigial nature in Siberia. It can be assumed that in the past these ancient languages were much more widely spread over the territory. At the present time only about 3% of the indigenous population of Siberia speaks Paleosiberian languages.

A separate place among the Siberian languages is occupied by Eskimo and Aleut. These are closely related, show a predominance of agglutination and differ from the languages of the northeast Paleosiberian peoples territorially nearby.

Finally, the language of the Kets, a small people living along the middle course of the Yenisey River in Turukhanskiy and Yartsevskiy Rayons of Krasnoyarskiy Kray, is completely isolated among the languages of northern Asia. The problem of its place in linguistic classifications remains unsolved. Apart from agglutination, it manifests inflection, differentiation between animate and inanimate objects, and between genders for animate objects, none of which is found in any other Siberian language.

These isolated languages (Ket and Eskimo-Aleutian) are spoken by 0.3% of the indigenous population of Siberia.

The present work is not intended to include an analysis of the complex and so far inadequately elucidated details of the specific history of different linguistic groups, the period of their formation, and the routes by which they spread. But it should be pointed out that languages close to present-day Ket (the Arin, Kott and Asan languages) were spoken more widely in the past. In the 17th century, languages close to Yukagir were widespread in the basins of the Lena, Yana, Indigirka, Kolyma and Anadyr' Rivers. A number of ethnic groups spoke Samoyedic languages in the Sayan Mountains during the 17th-19th centuries. There is reason to believe that the Samoyedic languages spread to the North from this mountainous region, where before their arrival there were spoken the Paleosiberian languages of the ancient inhabitants of northwest Siberia. It is possible to trace the gradual settlement of Eastern Siberia by Tungusic-speaking

⁵ The best evidence today indicates that the Chukchian family is part of a larger Eskimoan-Chukchian stock, while Yukagir is a part of the Uralic family.—Ed.

tribes and their assimilation of small Paleoasiatic groups; we should note the gradual spread of the Turkic languages among the Samoyedic and Kettic-speaking groups in southern Siberia, and of the Yakut language in northern Siberia.

With the incorporation of Siberia into the Russian State, the Russian language began to be disseminated ever more widely. New concepts associated with the penetration of Russian culture were assimilated by the Siberian peoples in the Russian language, and Russian words became firmly entrenched in the vocabularies of them all. At the present time the influence of the Russian language, which is the *lingua franca* of all the peoples in the Soviet Union, is becoming still more predominant.

In a cultural-historical sense, the vast expanses of Siberia were until recently divided into two regions: the southern region, with its early-established pastoralism and agriculture; and the northern region, with hunting, fishing and reindeer herding as the means of livelihood. The boundaries of these regions did not coincide with those of the geographical and landscape zones (tundra, coniferous forest, forest-steppe, steppe, upland).

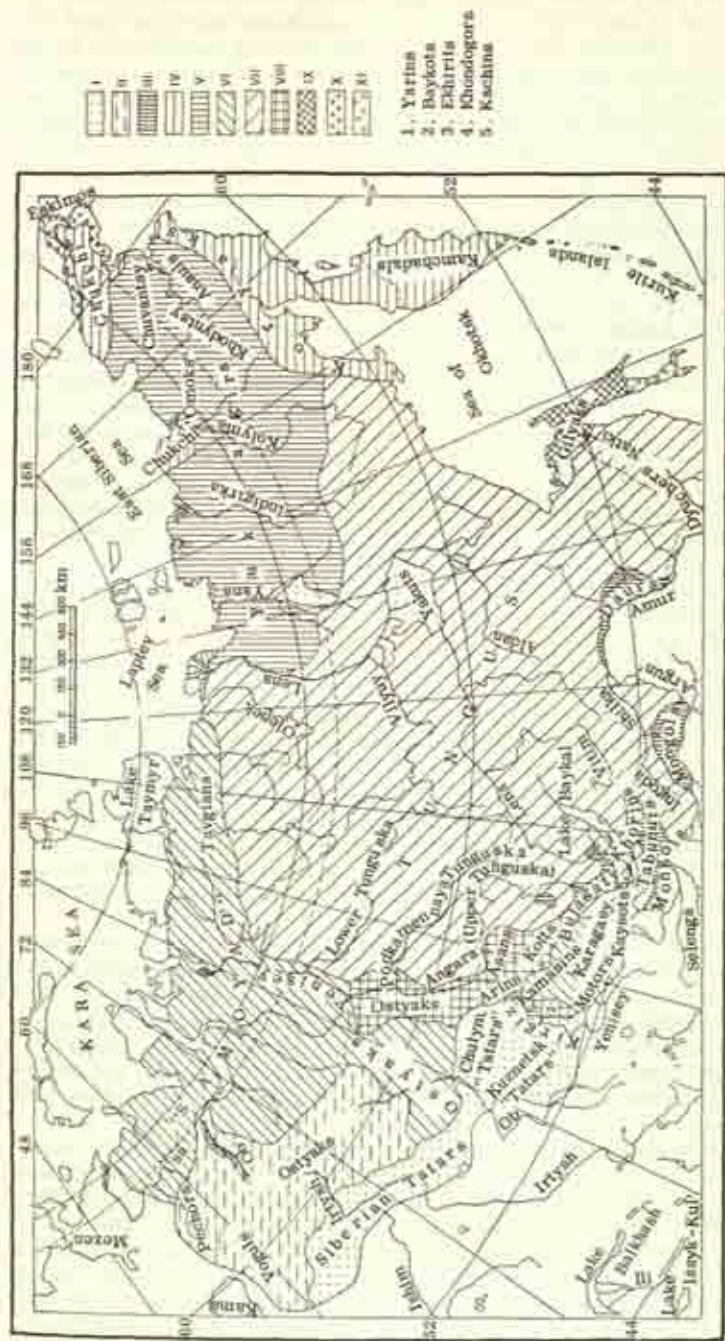
Information gleaned from archeology draws us a picture of the different historical development of these two regions from ancient times. Southern Siberia was settled by man during the Upper Paleolithic. Later on, it became the site of an ancient, relatively highly developed culture, and was part of the various ephemeral political unions and states of the Turks and Mongols. But the development of the peoples of the northern regions was another story. The severe climate, the almost impassable expanses of coniferous forest or taiga and tundra, of little use for pastoralism or agriculture, and the great distances from the cultured regions of the south—all these facts held back the development of productive forces, maintained the isolation of the individual tribes of the north and conserved their archaic forms of culture and life. Whereas the southern part of Siberia consists of the relatively large peoples (Buryats, Khakasy, Altays and West Siberian Tatars) closely related in language and culture to the Mongol and Turkic peoples of other regions, the northern part was settled by a number of small peoples, whose language and culture constitute an isolated entity to a considerable extent.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think of the population of Siberia as entirely divorced from the cultural centers of the south. Archeological materials, starting with the most ancient relics, testify to the constant economic and cultural bonds between the populations of the northern and southern regions of Siberia, and, via the latter, with the ancient civilizations of the East and West. Costly furs from the North began reaching the markets not only of China but of India and Central Asia as well, at a very early stage. These regions, in their turn, exerted an influence on the development of Siberia. Nor were the Siberian peoples untouched by the influence of world religions. Particular mention should be made of the cultural ties which, apparently as early as the Neolithic period, were established between the populations of western Siberia and eastern Europe.

Events in the history of the southern part of Siberia—the movements of the Huns, the formation of the Turkic kaganate, the campaigns of Genghis Khan, and so on—could not but affect the ethnographic map of the Far North. Many migrations of northern peoples in different eras, which are still unstudied to an adequate extent, were reflections of historic storms which arose from time to time in the South.

All these complicated circumstances should be kept continually in mind when considering the ethnic problems of northern Asia.

By the time the Russians arrived in southern Siberia, the indigenous population was engaged predominantly in nomadic pastoralism. Agriculture



Ethnic groups of indigenous population of Siberia in the 17th century.

I—Turkic speaking peoples; II—Ugrian-speaking peoples; III—Mongolic-speaking peoples; IV—Northeastern Paleosiberian peoples; V—Yukagirs; VI—Samoyedic-speaking peoples; VII—Tunguso-Manchurian-speaking peoples; VIII—Kettic-speaking peoples; IX—Gilyaks; X—Eskimos; XI—Aimas.

of very ancient origin also existed there among many ethnic groups, but it was conducted at that time on a very small scale and was important only as an auxiliary economic activity. It was only later on, principally during the 19th century and under the influence of Russian culture, that a settled form of agriculture and pastoral economy gradually replaced pastoral nomadism among the peoples of southern Siberia. However, in a number of regions (among the Aga Buryats and the Telengits in the Altay Mountains), nomadic pastoralism was maintained up to the period of socialist reconstruction. The Yakuts in the north were also pastoralists at the time of Russian advent. The Yakut economy, despite its northern locale, was that of the south-Siberian steppe, transferred to the relict forest-steppe of the Amga-Lena region.

Right up to the October Revolution, the population of northern Siberia, the Amur and Sakhalin, and also that of some backward areas in the south (Tofalar, Tuva-Todzhin, Shors and some of the Altay groups) were culturally undeveloped. The culture of the northern Siberian population developed on the basis of hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. Until recently, this "northern triad" determined the entire economic configuration of the so-called small peoples of the North on the vast expanses of forest land and tundra. It was supplemented on the seacoasts by sea-mammal hunting.

Although the northern economics basically combined hunting, fishing and reindeer breeding, typological distinctions can be made in regard to the relative importance of one or another branch.

Different means of subsistence and differences in the degree of development of productive forces among Siberian peoples were brought about by their entire prior histories. The varying environmental conditions in which different tribes evolved or into which they migrated had additional effects. It should be particularly noted here that certain ethnic elements making up present-day Siberian peoples were subjected to the severe geographical conditions of northern Siberia at a very early stage, while still at a low stage of development of their productive forces, and had little chance of further progress. Other peoples and tribes reached northern Siberia at a later date when they had already reached a higher level of economic development, and were thus able, even in the northern forestlands and tundra, to create and develop improved means of livelihood and thereby higher forms of social organization, and material and spiritual culture.

The peoples of Siberia can be divided into the following groups according to their predominant occupation in the past: 1) unmounted hunters and fishermen of the forest and forest-tundra (i.e., without transport reindeer or sled-dogs); 2) sedentary fishermen in the basins of large rivers and lakes; 3) sedentary sea-mammal hunters on the Arctic coasts; 4) nomadic reindeer-breeding hunters and fishermen of the forest; 5) nomadic reindeer-herders of the tundra and forest-tundra; 6) pastoralists of the steppes and forest-steppes.

The first of these economic types, characteristic of unmounted hunters and fishermen, can only be traced in different parts of the vast forest and forest-tundra zone as relicts, even in the oldest ethnographic information, and always with the marked influence of more developed types. This type of economy was represented most fully among the so-called unmounted Evenks in different parts of Siberia, among the Orochi, Udegeys, among some groups of Yukagirs, Kets and Sel'kups, partially among the Khanty and Mansi, and also among the Shors. In the economy of these forest hunters and fishermen an important part was played by hunting for meat animals (elk and reindeer) coupled with fishing in the forest rivers and lakes,

which predominated during the summer and autumn months and in winter took the form of ice-fishing. This type stands out as the least specialized economy, compared with the other types of the North. A characteristic feature in the culture of these reindeerless hunters and fishermen was the hand sled, which they pulled along behind them as they skied. They were sometimes aided by a hunting dog harnessed to the sled.

The sedentary fishermen lived in the Amur and Ob' Basins. Fishing was their principal means of subsistence throughout the year, and hunting was only of secondary importance. The fishermen used dogs for transportation and fed the dogs with fish. The development of fishing has for a long time involved a sedentary way of life. This type of economy was characteristic of the Nivkhi, Nanays, Ul'chi, Itel'mens, Khanty, some of the Sel'kups and Ob' Mansi.

Among the Arctic hunters (sedentary Chukchi, Eskimo and to some extent sedentary Koryak) the catching of walruses, seals and other sea mammals was the economic basis. Dog-sledding was also widely developed. The Arctic hunters, as distinct from fishermen, settled on the northern coasts, rather than along river banks.

The most widely distributed type of economy in the forest belt in Siberia was represented by the reindeer-breeding hunters and fishermen of the taiga. In contrast to the sedentary fishermen and Arctic hunters, they were nomads, a fact which left its mark on their entire way of life. Reindeer were chiefly used for purposes of transportation (saddle or pack). The herds of reindeer were small. This type of economy was common among the Evenks, Evens, Dolgans and Tofalars, chiefly in the forests and forest-tundra of Eastern Siberia, from the Yenisey to the Sea of Okhotsk, though frequently west of the Yenisey as well (forest Nentsy, northern Sel'kups and reindeer Kets).

The nomadic reindeer-herders in the tundra and forest-tundra zone developed a special type of economy, in which reindeer breeding was the principal means of subsistence. Hunting and fishing, as well as the pursuit of sea mammals, were of subsidiary importance, and were sometimes absent altogether. Reindeer were used as transport animals and their flesh was the staple diet. The reindeer-herders of the tundra led a nomadic way of life, traveling about on reindeer-drawn sledges. Typical of the tundra-type reindeer-herders were the Nentsy, reindeer Chukchi and Koryaks.

The economic basis among the pastoralists of the steppes and forest-steppes was cattle and horses (the Yakuts), or else cattle, horses and sheep (the Altays, Khakasy, Tuvans, Buryats and Siberian Tatars). Agriculture had long been practiced by all these peoples, except for the Yakuts, as a subsidiary activity. The Yakuts only took up agriculture as a result of Russian influence. All these peoples engaged partly in hunting and fishing. In the more distant past they had led a nomadic or seminomadic way of life, but by the time of the Revolution some of them had settled down (Siberian Tatars, western Buryats and others) under Russian influence.

In addition to these principal types of economy, those of some Siberian peoples were of an intermediate variety. For example, the Shors and northern Altays were hunters with the beginnings of sedentary pastoralism. In the past, the Yukagir, Nganasans and Entsy combined reindeer breeding with hunting as their main occupations when they nomadized in the tundra. A considerable part of the Mansi and Khanty had a mixed type of economy.

Despite the differences between these types of economy, they reflected, as a whole, the low level of development of productive forces prevailing among the peoples of Siberia before socialist reconstruction. These were also reflected by the archaic forms of social organization which existed

there until quite recent times. Remaining for almost three centuries a part of the Russian State, the tribes and peoples of Siberia were obviously influenced by feudal and capitalist relationships. But, as a whole, such relationships were developed there only to a slight degree, and survivals of the precapitalist way of life persisted more fully than in other areas of tsarist Russia. In particular, a number of peoples of the North displayed marked survivals of the primeval clan-commune system. Patriarchal clan systems of differing evolutionary maturity predominated among most of the peoples of the North, as well as among some tribes in the northern Altay (Kumandins and Chelkans), and the Shors. Distinctive forms of the territorial commune were also observable among these people. The pastoral peoples—the Yakuts, Buryats, Tuvans, Yenisey Kirgiz, southern Altays, including Teleuts, as well as the horse-breeding Evenks of the Transbaykal, had reached the stage of early stratified, patriarchal feudalism. The Siberian Tatars had feudal social relations of a more developed type.⁶

There were elements of social differentiation everywhere, although they differed in degree. Patriarchal slavery, for instance, was fairly widespread. Social differentiation was particularly clearcut among the reindeer-breeder, among whom herds of reindeer acted as a basis for the accumulation of wealth in individual households and, thereby, of ever greater inequality. This differentiation was found to a lesser extent among hunters and fishermen. In well-developed fisheries and among sea-mammal hunters, inequality arose through the control of gear—boats and tackle—and was also accompanied by different types of patriarchal slavery.

The disintegration of the clan commune as an economic unit undermined the communal principles both in production and in consumption. Clan collectives were replaced by neighborhood communes, and territorial associations of households engaged in joint land and sea-mammal hunting activities, joint fishing, joint reindeer-pasturing, and joint nomadizing. The territorial communes retained many features of collectivism in distribution as well. A clear example of these survivals of the past was the custom of Nimat among the Evenks, by which the meat from a slaughtered wild animal would be divided among all members of a camp. Despite a far-advanced breakup of the primeval commune system, the hunters, fishermen and pastoralists of Siberia retained traces of very early matriarchal-clan relations.

The question whether or not the peoples once had clans based on the matriarchal principle is of great methodological importance. As we know, the so-called cultural-historical school of ethnographers has put forward the theory, despite obvious facts, which states that matriarchy and patriarchy are not consecutive stages in the history of society, but local variants linked with certain "culture circles," and indigenous only to certain regions.⁷ This notion is completely refuted by actual facts from the history of the Siberian peoples.

In Siberia we find certain traces of the matriarchal clan, reflecting a definite stage in the social development of these peoples. The survivals show up in matrilocal marriage (the husband goes to live with his wife's family), in the avunculate (a special part played by the uncle on the mother's side), and in many different customs and rituals testifying to the existence of a matriarchy in the past.

⁶This evolutionary typology applies strictly to Marxist rubrics, and cannot be identified with corresponding Western terminologies.—Ed.

⁷The school of F. Graebner and W. Schmidt.—Ed.

The problem of the matriarchal clan is related to dual organization as one of the most ancient forms of clan and tribal structure. With respect to the Siberian peoples, this problem was first raised, and by and large settled, by Soviet ethnography. Soviet ethnographers have collected a considerable amount of material showing the survival of dual organization among different peoples in northern Siberia. Data on phratries among the Khanty and Mansi, among the Kets and Sel'kups, Nentsy, Evenks, Ul'chi, and other tribes are examples.

By the beginning of the 20th century capitalist relationships had grown up among the most developed peoples of southern Siberia (southern Altays, Khakasy, Buryats and Siberian Tatars) as well as among the Yakuts, whereas others, particularly the small peoples of the North, retained patriarchal relationships and the primitive forms of exploitation corresponding to them. The Altays, Buryats and Yakuts had a feudal system which was interwoven in a very strange way with patriarchal clan relations, on the one hand, and with embryonic capitalism, on the other.

Study of these differences is not only of theoretical interest to the historian and ethnographer. It is of great practical importance in view of the tasks of socialist reconstruction of the economy, culture and ways of life of the peoples of Siberia. To accomplish these goals, concrete recognition has had to be made of peculiarities, the national way of life and social structure of individual peoples.

The creation in 1931-1932 of nomadic and rural soviets, rayons and national okrugs on a territorial basis finally undermined the importance in the social structure of the peoples of the North, of their former clan and tribal organizations and of the social elements which headed them.

By the present time, the village soviet has become the principal local unit of Soviet administration among the peoples of the North, while the collective farm now is universally the fundamental economic unit. Sometimes several collective farms make up a nomadic or village soviet, and sometimes the entire population of a village or nomadic soviet is comprised within one collective farm. The collective farms are in most cases organized according to the charter of an agricultural cooperative, but in some regions according to those of fishing cooperatives.

As a rule, the collective farms usually combine people of the same ethnic group, although in regions with a mixed population, mixed collective farms can be found and may even predominate, for example: Komi-Nen, En-Nen, Yukagir-Even, Yakut-Evenk farms, and so on. This also applies to village soviets. In addition to those in which the entire population belongs to one ethnic group there are others including two or three. This leads to a complete break with former clan and tribal traditions.

It should also be pointed out that throughout Siberia, even in the northern national okrugs, there is a large number of Russians who belong to the same rayons, village soviets and collective farms as the indigenous population. This drawing together, in a communal life, with the Russians is an important factor in the cultural and economic advancement of the peoples of Siberia.

Socialist construction among Siberian peoples was at first hampered by overall cultural backwardness. It required tremendous mass political and educational work to overcome, for example, an outdated religious ideology.

Practically all of the peoples of Siberia (except for the eastern Buryats, among whom Lamaism was widespread, and the Chukchi, some of the Koryaks, Nganasans and eastern Nentsy who were beyond ecclesiastical reach) were nominally members of the Russian Orthodox faith. Nevertheless, until recently, all of them retained their ancient religious conceptions and cults.

The pre-Christian religions of the peoples of Siberia are usually combined together under the general concept of shamanism. In Siberia shamanism was very widespread, took particularly vivid forms of expression, and involved the use of certain accoutrements (shamanistic tambourines and dress). But shamanism in Siberia was far from a set of unified beliefs and cults. It can be divided into several types, each of which reflects different stages of evolutionary development, from more ancient family and clan forms up to highly developed professional shamanism.

Nor were shamanistic accoutrements identical. Several types of shamans, largely characteristic of individual regions, can be differentiated from the shape of the tambourine, and the style of dress and headgear. This aspect of shamanism is of great scientific interest both in understanding the social role and actual origin of shamanism, and in studying the historical and cultural relationships between individual peoples. As has been shown by the work of Soviet scholars, study of these relationships throws light on certain issues regarding the origin and ethnic ties of the peoples of Northern Asia.

Shamanism played an extremely negative role in the history of the Siberian peoples. By the beginning of the 20th century, the shamans among almost all the peoples of Siberia had become true professionals who usually performed their rituals on request and for remuneration. In status, activity and interests, the shamans were hand in glove with the exploiting ruling cliques of the indigenous population. They caused economic harm by constantly demanding blood sacrifices, hence, the slaughter of dogs, reindeer and other livestock essential to the hunter.

After the Soviet regime had been established, the shamans, feeling that the new kind of life would be a mortal blow to the existence of parasitic groups, including their own, fiercely opposed the Soviet administrative organs and their plans for building schools, creches, hospitals, maternity homes, and so on. In the beginning, there were cases in which the population refused to send children to school, rejected medical assistance in the hospitals and were reluctant to join collective farms as a result of agitation by shamans. It is obvious that neither the shamans nor any other exploiters were able to turn back the clock, and their influence did not last very long, although their reactionary propaganda certainly played a harmful role.

Among the peoples of Siberia different animistic concepts were found. One was a cult of the spirits or "masters" of various manifestations of nature. Different forms of clan cults were also practiced. Only among some of the peoples were these cults controlled by shamans.

Despite the view expressed by certain writers that there are no traces of totemism in Siberia, indications of it can definitely be found among almost all the Siberian peoples. Examples are described in the chapters dealing with individual peoples. The cult of the bear, which was almost universal in Siberia, goes back to totemism. This cult was manifested in two forms: first, in the form of rituals involving a bear killed during a hunt, and, second, as a special cult of bear cubs, reared in captivity and ritually slaughtered later. The second form was confined to an area of Sakhalin and the Amur River (Ainu, Nivkhi, Ul'chi and Orochi). The custom of rearing a sacred animal in captivity and its subsequent ritual slaughter takes us far to the south where we also find certain other elements in the culture of the Ainu. The general form of bear-worship in Siberia seems to go back to totemism of the ancient forest hunters and fishermen, to the economic and cultural complex which is evident even in the Neolithic of the coniferous forest belt.

The spiritual development of the Siberian peoples was obviously not confined solely to images and concepts of religious consciousness, despite the low level of development of productive forces. Various forms of popular practical knowledge and folklore convincingly demonstrate this. Almost every ethnic group possesses its own kind of folklore, and the variety of forms is explained by the differing historical developments and origins of each of these peoples. The folklore of the peoples of the North has been very greatly influenced by the oral lore of the Russians. Russian fairy tales, sometimes slightly adapted to local conditions, though at times without any modification at all, make up a considerable part of the treasury of folklore found among most of the peoples of the North, and often the most popular part.

The graphic art of the peoples of Siberia is also rich and varied. Among other things we should mention embroidery and appliqué work on clothing, particularly embroidery with hair from the underside of the reindeer's neck (an archaic method of ornamentation), appliqué with pieces of leather, hide and fabric, and embellishment with silk and beads.

The peoples of Siberia show great artistry in creating ornamental designs, selecting colors, inlaying and metal work. The carving of mammoth bones and walrus tusks, the working of metal and the inlaying of objects of everyday use, such as the bone parts of reindeer harness, pipes, and tinder-boxes, were notable aspects of applied graphic art. Such art included the decoration of birchbark vessels, chiefly in the forest regions (predominantly in the Ob' Basin). We should also mention wood carving, which was most commonly found in the Amur River region. A study of all types of Siberian art is not of historical interest and importance alone. Such study, under the present Soviet conditions, should help to raise this art to an even higher level and to make it a fundamental part of the socialist culture of the Siberian peoples.

The October Revolution came at a time when the social and economic development of the non-Russian population, beginning with different stages of decomposition of the primitive-communal structure and ending with the embryonic capitalist relations, presented a rather variegated picture.

It must be mentioned that the clan-tribal and national groups of Siberia also underwent changes under the tsars. Many of them were in what might be called a transitional state—i.e., they were partially being assimilated and partially developing. Such groups as the Yakuts, Buryats and Khakasy were not only growing through natural increase, but also through assimilation of various smaller nationalities, such as Tungusic- and Samoyedic-speaking clan-tribal groups. Some of the smaller groups were observed to merge with the Russians, for example, the Kotts and Kamasins in the former Kanskiy Uyezd, the Kumandins and Teleuts in the Biyskiy Uyezd, and so on. Thus, on the one hand there was consolidation of the clan-tribal groups into nationalities; on the other, splitting up and assimilation. Prior to the Revolution, this process moved at an extremely slow rate.

Under the Soviet system and the nationality policy of the Communist Party, the majority of the non-Russian population in Siberia was given a special form of state structure, i.e., administrative autonomy (for the autonomous oblasts, national okrugs and rayons) and political autonomy (for the autonomous republic). This promoted the advancement and strengthening of its economic life and cultural growth, as well as national consolidation. Even to this day, apart from such relatively large peoples as the Yakuts and Buryats who number hundreds of thousands, there are minor nationalities, comprising only several thousand or even several hundred persons in Siberia. Thanks to the great attention and care shown by the

Soviet government and Communist Party, they are gradually overcoming their economic and cultural backwardness and are becoming part of socialist culture. Nevertheless, they still have a long way to go in economic and cultural development. Their profound economic and cultural backwardness, smallness in number and division into small units, inherited from pre-Revolutionary times, have made for a variety of difficulties in further development, even under socialist conditions. Economic and cultural reconstruction among such ethnic groups requires careful consideration of their historical past, culture and ways of life, and the geographic conditions in which they live. These small peoples, who possess hundreds of years of experience of living under the severe climatic conditions of the North, are unsurpassed hunters and reindeer-breeders, and great experts in local natural conditions. No one knows as well as they how to utilize the natural wealth of the enormous expanses of taiga and tundra by developing hunting and reindeer breeding. It is, therefore, quite natural that their economic and cultural reconstruction involves specific features of its own. A careful study of these features will permit a quicker sharing of the treasures of Soviet socialist culture with the Siberian peoples and, in turn, utilization of the tremendous resources of the distant Siberian lands for the benefit of the socialist construction of the entire Soviet state.





ANCIENT POPULATION OF SIBERIA AND ITS CULTURE

A. P. OKLADNIKOV

First Settlement of Siberia by Man

The earliest signs of man and his culture in the regions of Europe and Asia lying closest to Siberia are remains found in ancient cave deposits on the Chou K'ou-tien elevation in northern China, near Peking. *Sinanthropus*, who used to inhabit them, had pronounced anthropoid features. Among the ancient warmth-loving animals living then were the saber-toothed tiger (*Machairodus*) and Merck's rhinoceros, both of which subsequently became extinct. *Sinanthropus* made fire and carved stone tools, close in level of technical creation to the Acheulian implements of the Lower Paleolithic. The crude stone tools made from river pebbles split transversely, which have been found on the Tin-Shan Range in Kirgizia on the River On-Archa, from Lake Issyk-Kul' to Naryn, can be assigned to the same period.

During the Mousterian period, some fauna from the preceding era continued to survive in Europe and Asia, but along with them there appeared for the first time animals associated with the colder and harsher climatic conditions which prevailed up to the end of the Ice Age.¹ The tools and remains of Neanderthal man that have been discovered in Teshik-Tash Grotto in southwest Uzbekistan, in nearby Amir-Temir Cave and in Aman-Kutan Cave near Samarkand as well as finds made at a number of points on the Krasnovodsk Peninsula, in the lower valley of the Uzboy and in the Syr-Dar'ya basin near Leninabad and Naukat, may be dated from the Mousterian period. A stone point worked on both sides, found by M. V. Talitskiy on the Chusovaya River in the Urals, seems likewise to date from this period.

Of great interest as well are the crude, solid flakes and points found in gravels near Kanay aul (village) on the Irtysh in northwest Kazakhstan. They appear so archaic that they can be assigned typologically to the era preceding the Upper Paleolithic. This is all we possess at the moment for study of the earliest stages of man's history in the regions of Eastern Europe and Central Asia lying closest to Siberia.

¹This is inexact, since Mousterian refers to technology, not paleontology or geology. This culture is generally associated with the Third Interglacial period and temperate climates.—Ed.

Remains of early warmth-loving fauna which are elsewhere associated with prehistoric man of the Lower and Middle Paleolithic have also been recorded on Siberian territory. Examples are the remains of the ancient elephant, *Elephas trogontherium* Pahl, of *Rhinoceros mercki* Jäger and of an archaic relative of the rhinoceros, *Elasmotherium*, in sands near Pavlodar; also those of the wide-skull deer (*Megaloceros*) in the gravel beds of the second alluvial terrace on the Irtysh in Tobol'skiy Okrug, which belong to the so-called Tiraspol' fossil complex. To the subsequent, Late Mousterian period belong the remains of animals forming the "Khazar" faunistic complex, diffused over an enormous amount of territory in Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asia, covering roughly all territory between latitudes 45° and 60° N, and stretching from the limits of the Transbaykal in the east to the British Isles and France, inclusive, in the west.²

Nevertheless, despite the facts indicating that the natural conditions of Siberia and the Soviet Far East were suitable for the survival of Lower and Middle Paleolithic man, no definite trace of his activity has yet been found there. The question of whether or not primeval man lived in Siberia is as yet unanswered. It is quite probable that the vast spaces stretching to the east of the Urals were still uninhabited in that far-off time when man was passing through the first stages of his development. This probability is further confirmed by the fact that so far no signs of the existence of early anthropoid apes have been discovered in Siberia, and that the first apemen must have originally stayed within a more or less restricted region of habitation where natural conditions were most favorable. The spread of man to the north and east of Asia later encountered a major obstacle in the form of the sudden deterioration of climate and cold weather associated with the Ice Age, which developed early in the Quaternary.

Geologists think that during the period of intense glaciation, which coincided with the Mousterian period (the Riss phase of the Glacial period), there was also a tremendous water barrier separating Europe from Northern Asia. It was formed through blockage of the lower courses of the Siberian rivers by glaciers, which reached as far north as 60° N latitude, and the consequent creation of a strait joining the Aral Sea and the Caspian Basin. As a result the vast expanses of the present West Siberian depression were covered by water. The mountain systems of the Altay and the Sayan were also glaciated. For Siberia to have been habitable by paleolithic man, these natural obstacles must have disappeared.³ Furthermore, there must have been a complete reconstruction of the life and culture of primitive man, so that he might leave his original habitat and reach the Siberian

² This agrees neither with Western geological concepts nor with the most authoritative Soviet stratigraphic source, I. P. Gerasimov, 1953. The Khazar transgression is ascribed there to the Riss glaciation, while the Mousterian implements of the Stalingrad dam site are ascribed to the Ateian series of the succeeding Riss-Würm interglacial.—Ed.

³ Fundamental new studies by A. I. Popov radically change the known facts on the Ice Age in western Siberia. The dominant observable phenomenon of the Quaternary was one extensive marine transgression, not a glaciation. The river systems were enormously expanded. On land, tundra and permafrost replaced forest to about 60° N. The possibilities of Upper Paleolithic settlement in western Siberia cannot be excluded today. See K. K. Markov and A. I. Popov: *Lednikovyy period na territorii Yevropeyskoy chasti SSSR i Sibiri*, Moskovskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet. Moscow, 1959.

expanses. First and foremost there had to be new, improved methods of hunting, superior to those of the Middle Paleolithic, and new hunting implements; the people had to learn to build special dwellings to protect them from the winter floods and wind and to store food for winter. Finally, the people had to invent actual and tailored clothing which would enable them to go out of doors in winter and continue their hunting activities.

This could only have become possible during the Upper Paleolithic, i.e., at least 40,000-30,000 years ago.

It is therefore not surprising that the most ancient indisputable traces of primitive man in Northern Asia known at the present time relate to a state which seems fairly late when viewed against the background of world history. This was the last phase of the Glacial period, conventionally termed by geologists the Würm glaciation. It was a time when the distinctive mixed animal world of that period was still completely preserved and when the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, together with representatives of such typically Arctic fauna as the Arctic fox, lemming, musk ox and willow ptarmigan—not to mention the reindeer—still inhabited the vast expanses of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia.

At that time in Eastern Europe the Aurignacian-Solutrean stage of the Paleolithic was coming to an end, and the new Magdalenian stage was beginning. The earlier Paleolithic sites of Siberia now known are also assigned to this period.⁴ The Upper Paleolithic sites are fairly numerous (about 150 camps). Almost all are found in the valleys of major rivers. Three principal, comparatively narrow areas of Upper Paleolithic camp sites can be distinguished in Siberia. These are the upper reaches of the Ob' (with its center near the present town of Biysk), the upper Yenisey (from Minusinsk to Krasnoyarsk) and the region around Lake Baykal (the Angara and its small tributaries west and northwest of Irkutsk—the Belaya and Irkut, as well as the basins of the Selenga, the Onon and the Upper Lena). On the Lena the paleolithic camps discovered in recent years reach as far as latitude 61°N, which is the farthest known northern limit reached by paleolithic man either in Siberia or elsewhere.

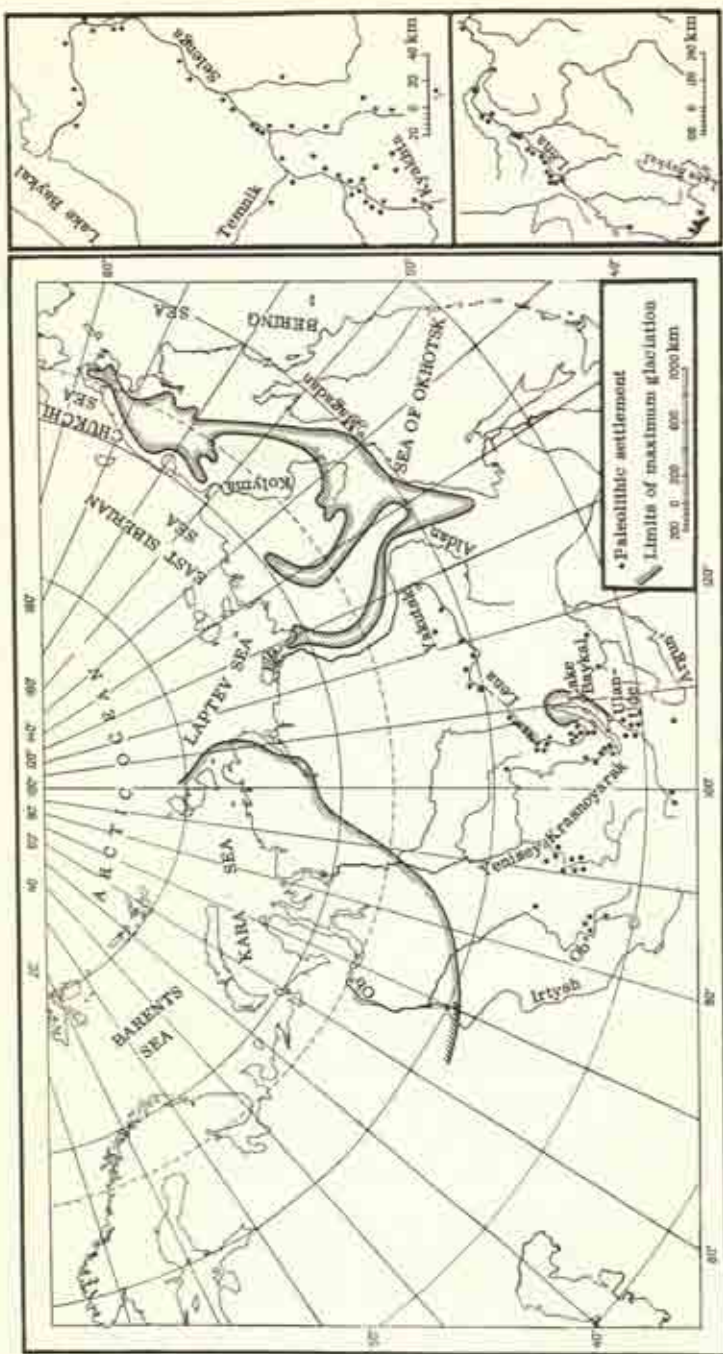
The earliest site is also the first paleolithic settlement studied by Russian scientists. It was found in 1871 near the military hospital at Irkutsk. Judging from the artifacts carved from mammoth tusk (including large rings) and other decorated objects found there, as well as the laurel-leaf stone points, this paleolithic settlement goes back to the end of the Solutrean period.

In 1928 and 1936 two other paleolithic sites, Mal'ta and Buret', which have subsequently gained great scientific renown, were found on the Angara River. Both these settlements date from the same period, which is somewhat later than that of the military hospital camp. According to European chronology, it is most likely Early Magdalenian, a fact which is also shown by the characteristic shaft-straighteners, perforators, nuclei with regular conical facets, fine disk-shaped scrapers and elaborate bone-work.

Both these settlements lie to the east of the Yenisey: Buret' is located in the valley of the Angara itself on the right bank of the river, near a village of the same name, while Mal'ta lies on the Belaya River⁵ near the village of Mal'tinskoye. They show remarkably similar features of culture

⁴If synchronous with the German Magdalenian, they would be about 10,000 years old. See G. W. Barendsen, et al., *Science*, 126, 908-919 (1957).—Ed.

⁵A part of the Pleistocene channel of the Angara.—Ed.



Map of paleolithic settlements in Siberia

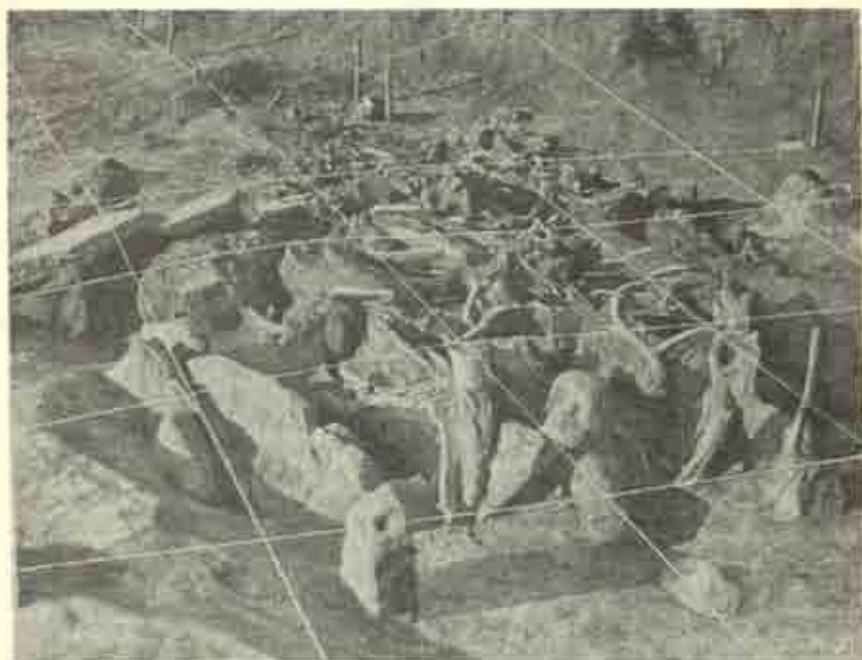
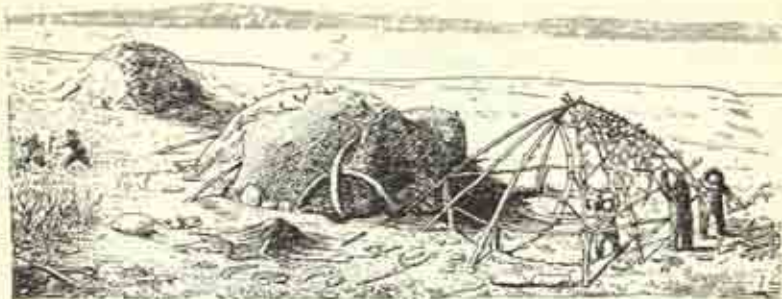
and everyday life; so much so in fact that they can be regarded as successive settlements of the same primitive community, or even simultaneous settlements by two related communities with close mutual ties. This connection is all the more probable in that the two settlements are not more than 3-4 kilometers apart, as the crow flies. Systematic, large-scale excavations at Mal'ta and Buret' (in Mal'ta about 800 sq. m have been unearthed, and in Buret' about 400 sq. m) enable us to reconstruct this ancient culture and way of life both in general terms and in a number of specific details.

It is important first and foremost that the paleolithic camps at Mal'ta and Buret' were actual settlements consisting of a number of sturdy buildings designed to last for some time. For example, the remains of four dwellings were found in Buret'. One of them, preserved better and more completely than the others, had a rectangular foundation sunk into the ground, and undoubtedly hollowed out especially for that purpose. Leading from it was a narrow corridor which came out toward the river. The edges of the pit had been originally lined with a symmetrical, carefully aligned row of mammoth femurs, with their lower ends stuck into the ground and firmly secured with limestone slabs. These were, so to say, the columns of the ancient dwelling, that is, the structure by which the walls and roof were supported. There were about twelve such columns in the dwelling.

In addition to the columns, some of the roof frame of the paleolithic dwelling had also been preserved. Inside the house, right on the floor, there were a large number of reindeer antlers, which had undoubtedly been specially collected and sorted out. In a number of cases the antlers were criss-crossed at right angles with set gaps between the main stem and the branch, forming a sort of net. This shows that the roof of the paleolithic dwelling in Buret' must have had a supporting framework made of reindeer horns criss-crossed and interwoven not only with a form of binding, but also by the interlocking branches.

A hearth was located in the middle of each dwelling, and various stone and bone implements were found on the floor. In types, design and architectural characteristics the Buret' dwellings and those of Mal'ta as well, which are similar to the former in all their main features, show a surprisingly close resemblance to the houses of the settled maritime tribes in the northeast of our country in comparatively recent times—18th and 19th centuries. Some of the features in common are: 1) semisubterranean foundation; 2) the rectangular ground plan; 3) the corridor-type entrance; 4) the use of the bones of large animals as building materials (in one case mammoth and rhinoceros, and in the other, whale); 5) the use of stones to stabilize the bone pillars; 6) the construction of the walls from earth, slabs and bones (whale vertebrae in the case of the settled Chukchi and Eskimos, and rhinoceros skulls in Buret'); and 7) the flexible and light-weight roof frame made of whale ribs (in the Chukchi semisubterranean dwellings), or a network of intertwined reindeer horns bound with straps (in Buret'). The exterior surfaces of the paleolithic dwellings, like the Chukchi whalebone houses or val'kars, must have looked from above like small mounds slightly projecting above ground level. The sizes of the dwellings are also very similar: the area of the Chukchi dwelling in the 18th century, like that of the paleolithic Buret' houses, was 25 sq. m, while the height of both was not less than 2 or 2.5 m.

In general, the nature of these paleolithic settlements as a whole is very close to the Chukchi-Eskimo maritime settlements. The Buret' dwellings, like the older Chukchi dwellings, were built on elevated sites,



Paleolithic dwellings, Buret':
1—reconstruction; 2—general view of excavations.

several of them in a row, with all the exits facing the river, whereas the Chukchi-Eskimo dwellings are oriented exactly the same way toward the sea.

The similarities in the culture and everyday life of the paleolithic inhabitants of Siberia and the life of the later settled paleoasiatic peoples of our northeast are just as pronounced. The paleolithic inhabitants of Siberia also wore closed skin clothing made all in one piece with a hood for the head, but went naked when indoors.

This is clearly shown by the paleolithic statuettes discovered in Mal'ta (20 items) and Buret' (5 items). The majority of them depict naked women wearing only finely groomed and luxurious heads of hair. In 1936, however, a fairly large statuette was found in Buret' depicting a woman in tailored

clothing with a clearly marked hood, worn over her head. Two statuettes of the same kind were found in Mal'ta except that they were miniatures and the details are therefore more sketchy. Just like the Paleolithic tribes and Eskimos, the ancient Upper Paleolithic population lived by hunting, possessed spear throwers and so-called "chieftain's batons" (shaft-straighteners), evidently had tools for making leather straps, made realistic figures of animals from bone and horn, and worshipped female deities and spirits, similar to Silla and Asiyak of the Eskimos.

However, the opinion of a number of prominent scholars (Boyd-Dawkins, G. de Mortillet, E. Lartet and K. Rasmussen) that the Eskimos are directly descended from the ancient paleolithic (Magdalenian) tribes of Europe cannot be regarded at the present time as acceptable.

The general similarity of the culture in this particular case is explained by the identity of environmental conditions at the end of the Glacial period with those existing at present in the Far North, and by the corresponding closeness of the cultural and economic way of life of the Upper Paleolithic in Siberia to that of the Paleolithic tribes and Eskimos in the 18th and 19th centuries.

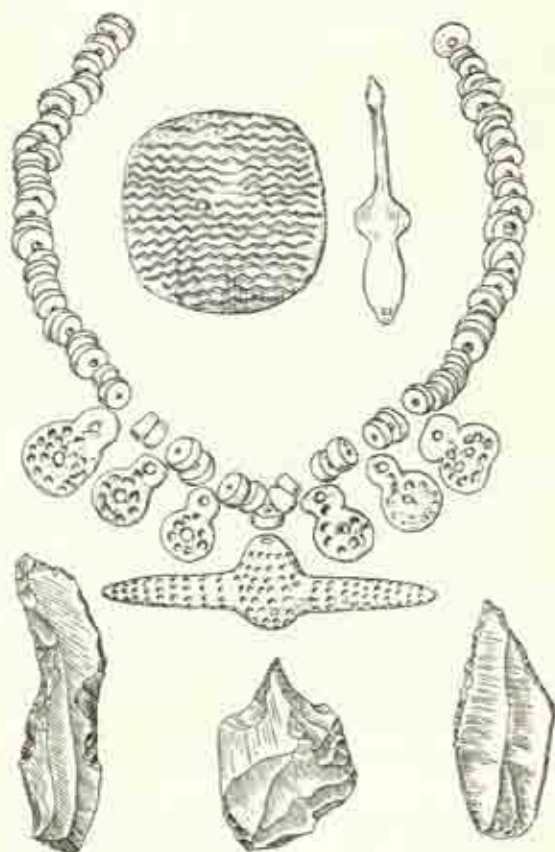


Statuette showing clothing. Buret'.

The abundant game of the Paleolithic, when gigantic pachyderms and herds of reindeer provided quite as much meat as hunting sea animals in the present-day Arctic, meant that tribes settled down at spots most convenient for this purpose.⁸ It was just as inevitable that the grim climatic conditions of the Glacial period gave rise to the need to build the same sturdy earth dwelling of the semisubterranean type on the Angara in paleolithic times as existed in the Arctic with its piercing winds and below-zero temperatures, in the 18th and 19th centuries.

⁸ The crucial technique for hunting the mammoth and other herd animals being the use of the surround, into which herds were lured and then driven over cliffs.—Ed.

Because of the shortage or complete absence of timber, the people of the Paleolithic, like the Arctic tribes of the present day, had to resort just as extensively to substitute materials, particularly bone, the more so since the abundance of bone and horn was itself inducement to the people to use it as a building material. And, finally, the rich paleolithic art of Siberia reminds us that the long Arctic nights and fierce northern winds, which in the recent ethnographic past enforced idleness among the strong and active hunters, coupled with the abundance of so suitable a material as walrus tusk, promoted the amazing development of ornamental art and miniature sculpture among these inhabitants of the remote Arctic. The same thing undoubtedly occurred in the Baykal region in the Old Stone Age.



Adornments and stone tools from an infant's burial. Mal'ta.

Thus by the end of the Glacial period a remarkable culture had sprung up among the paleolithic hunters of Eastern Europe and Siberia which can be called the continental culture of the sedentary Arctic hunters of the Upper Paleolithic.

The unquestioned unity of the ancient culture among the hunters of reindeer, mammoth and rhinoceros in Europe and Asia is, of course, a

reflection of the conditions of life shared by them all. The sites of the military hospital, Mal'ta and Buret', which are the earliest traces of human culture in Northern Asia, reveal such close similarity to the culture of their Glacial period contemporaries living in Eastern and Western Europe, however, that the similarity can hardly be explained by mere convergence. Precisely that theory has been expressed, however, by Soviet scholars (Levin and Bader).

Yet, exactly the same small flint implements, made from thin foliate chips, as in the Western European settlements of the Early Magdalenian period and in the Eastern European sites of the same time, have been found in Mal'ta and Buret'; these include cutters, cutting points and, particularly, the piercing instruments of different shapes, including double-pointed and lateral piercers, which are well known, for instance, from the excavations at Mezin in the Ukraine.

As has already been mentioned, wonderful examples of primitive art have also been discovered in the heart of Siberia: these include figurines of women and birds carved from mammoth ivory, engraved drawings of mammoths and serpents, a large number of decorated articles of everyday use, and some finely made ornaments. Finally, wonderful drawings of wild horses extant during the Upper Paleolithic, which in type resemble Przheval'skiy's horse and in style look like Late Magdalenian specimens of paleolithic art, have been preserved in the upper reaches of the Lena, on the Shishkino Cliff. A picture of a bison, now extinct, has also been found at that spot.

Despite its undoubted variety, the rich art of the Upper Paleolithic in Siberia is a kind of direct offshoot of a more highly developed and original artistic culture flourishing in the Glacial period among the paleolithic European hunters—not only in subject, but also in the fine specific detail of the specimens. Such, first and foremost, are the characteristic treatment and poses of portrayals of women. As for the distinctive nature of the paleolithic art of Siberia, if we merely take into account the sharp difference between the discoveries at Mezin in the Ukraine and those on the Don, this distinctiveness is quite natural. Clearly the comparable distinction between the art of the inhabitants of far-off Eastern Siberia and their contemporaries on the banks of the Don and Dnepr must have been just as profound.

All this gives us reason to assume that the most ancient inhabitants of Siberia reached the shores of Lake Baykal from Eastern Europe at the end of the Glacial period, during the Solutrean and Magdalenian stages, bringing with them their characteristic culture of Arctic hunters of the Upper Paleolithic.

As time passed, however, great changes took place in the life and culture of the primitive Siberian population and, obviously, in its composition. These changes were so great and far-reaching that they might be regarded as a result of a complete discontinuity in cultural-ethnic tradition, were it not for facts seeming to prove the opposite and further suggesting that the culture of the Late Paleolithic was descended from the earlier, Mal'ta and Buret' stage.

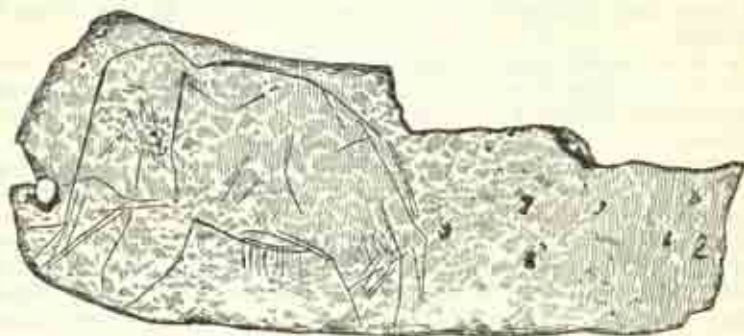
In the Late Paleolithic, to which are assigned such monuments as Mount Afontova on the Yenisey, Mount Verkholsenskaya near Irkutsk on the Angara, Oshurkovo, Nyan'gi and Ust'-Kiyakhta on the Selenga, Makarovo, Shishkino, Nyuya, Markbachan and other settlements on the Lena, the ancient population of Siberia increased greatly. This is shown by the overall increase in the number of settlements by the end of the Paleolithic. They were then no longer reckoned in ones and twos, but in dozens. The

inhabited territory was also greatly expanded. People began settling the valleys of the most important Siberian rivers at the more southerly points—the Amur, Selenga, Yenisey, Angara and Lena; and they also settled in the Altay, where earlier there had been a solid mass of glacier ice. In the Lena valley they moved down to Olekminsk and Markhachan, the most northerly of all the paleolithic settlements in Europe and Asia.

This great expansion by paleolithic man occurred against the background of considerable change in the natural environment of these ancient inhabitants of Siberia.

One of the earliest Late Paleolithic settlements—Mount Afontova—differs from later ones only in that no woolly rhinoceros bones were found there. In every other respect the fauna of Mount Afontova is very close to that of Mal'ta and Buret'. Bones found belonged to mammoths, reindeer, polar fox, wild horse and some animals which even still inhabit these parts—the roe deer, fox, wolverine, bear, hare, etc.

Calculation of the number of individual animals characteristic of different climates and terrains shows that 24% of the animals found at Mount Afontova belong to the species from the Far North (polar fox) and 12% now live in moderate climates (wolverines, red deer, roe deer, horse and saiga antelope), while the remainder are found in both climatic belts. Calculations in the basis of type of terrain show the predominance of tundra and steppe forms. Of the latter there were 37% (polar fox, mammoth, horse and saiga antelope), while the forest species amounted to only 7% (wolverine, red deer, roe deer and bear); the remainder are found both in forest land and in open terrain (reindeer, fox, hare, etc.). The Late Paleolithic (Late Magdalenian) settlements in the Yenisey valley (the crossing near Krasnoyarsk, Kokorevo-Zabochka and Kipernyy Ravine and Biryusa sites) and the contemporaneous sites in the Angara valley (Olonki and Ust'-Belaya) as well as in the Lena and Selenga valleys are assigned to the latest, first alluvial terraces 6 to 12 m high. The cultural relics are buried here in alluvial deposits, and neither mammoth tusk nor bone articles are found here any longer among the kitchen refuse. It follows from this that both the rhinoceros and the mammoth, which outlived it by a considerable period of time, had already become extinct. At the same time, another characteristic representative of the ancient fauna of the Würm phase (i.e., the end of the Glacial period) also disappeared—the polar fox. They were replaced by forest animals. For example, at the Oshurkovo camp, the bones of red deer and boar, typical forest animals, were found alongside bison and reindeer bones. The climate had obviously become rather warmer and was no



Picture of mammoth on plaque made of mammoth tusk. Mal'ta.

longer as moist as in the preceding period. The new postglacial age had begun.

Still greater changes were observed in the culture and everyday life of the inhabitants of the paleolithic settlements in Siberia. The former settlements, consisting of a number of strongly built, long-lasting dwellings, disappeared. The settlements took the form of temporary hunting camps consisting of a few above-ground dwellings, of which no traces enabling us to reconstruct their shape and design, other than hearths, have been preserved. The hearths are rings of slabs set on edge. Their diameter is not more than a meter (about 60-70 cm). Similar structures have been unearthed, for example, on the Yenisey (Zabochka settlement) and in the Lena valley near the village of Makarovo. A few stone implements, chips and animal bones are usually found scattered round the hearths. The actual dwellings were most likely shaped like the various present-day conical tents consisting of thin poles to form the framework and a light covering sewn from animal skins or birchbark.

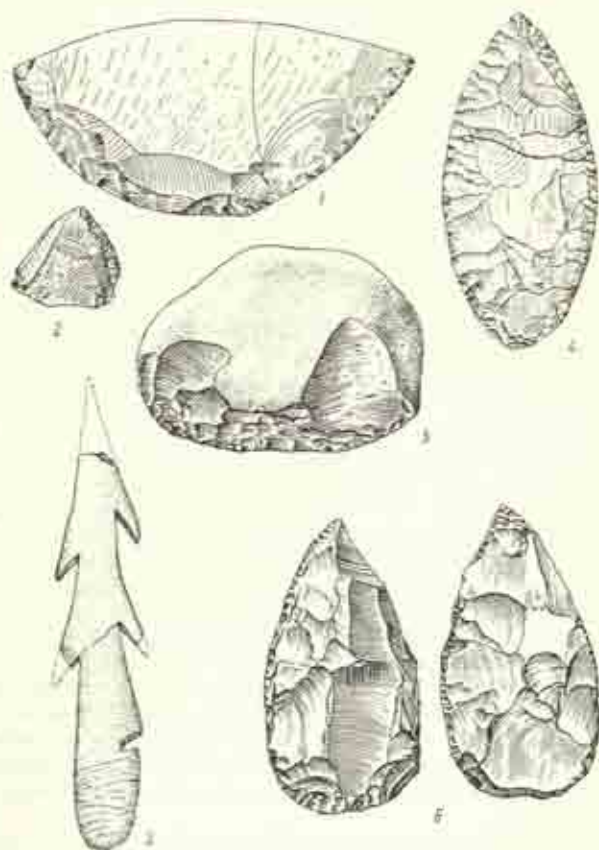
The changes in the overall nature of the settlements and design of the dwellings must be directly related to the general changes in climate and the economic everyday life of the original Siberian hunters. The disappearance of the giant grass-eating animals of the Glacial period and the extinction of the rhinoceros and mammoth could not but cause considerable changes in the life of the primitive tribes. The stocks of meat, almost inexhaustible before, now began to run out.

In order to survive by hunting smaller animals than the mammoth and rhinoceros, it became necessary to adopt a more mobile way of life and new, more flexible hunting tactics. Roaming from place to place in the wake of herds of reindeer, horse and wild ox, the Late Paleolithic hunters were no longer in a position to build populous communities or set up large collective dwellings. At best the only remnants at the sites of their temporary halts are a few hearths made of stone, similar to the stone hearths at the settlements of the later reindeer-breeding tribes of Siberia. It is quite possible that an important influence on the change in the construction of the dwellings was the general change from a severe, glacial climate to the milder, postglacial period, when it was no longer necessary to have semiunderground dwellings carefully sheltered from the penetrating tundra wind. Earthen huts of this type, as we shall see later, have been preserved in Siberia only among the fishermen permanently inhabiting one particular region.

Just as profound was the change in the material culture and work tools made of stone. This showed up both in the types of implements and in their shapes and sizes, as well as in the main features of the technique for working the stone. Whereas at first, in that far-off age when there were extensive settlements of semisedentary mammoth and rhinoceros hunters on the Angara and Lena, their stone implements had a great deal in common with those usual in Eastern and Western Europe during the Upper Paleolithic, the outward appearance of the stone tools now underwent a sudden and extensive change. Instead of the elegant awls with curves or straight fine points, miniature scrapers, finely retouched foliate blades and Magdalenian cutting tools of different shapes, we find large, solid and heavy articles, just as crude at first sight as those of the same type which are made chiefly of river pebbles.

In effect, they are all variations of the same thing, the articles being repeated with amazing persistence: for instance, a solid scraper shaped like a half-moon or close to an oval, shaped along the abrupt working edge with a sharp retouche with long, wide facets. Sometimes, however, these

articles have a straight working edge, and in some, though admittedly rare, cases, it may even be slightly concave. Some of them are only worked on the top side, while others are worked on both sides, although these differences are not so characteristic and are not really found very often.



Stone and bone artifacts:

1—scraper; 2—nucleus scraper; 3—harpoon; 4—spear-head; 5—scraper; 6—points; 1-4—Verkholsenskaya Mountain; 5—Oshurkovo; 6—Nyan'gi.

But in general, on account of the distinctive shape and the specific treatment of the working edge, which resembles Mousterian counter-blow technique, these objects produce a very unusual impression. It is made all the stronger by the fact that among the innumerable series of scraper-shaped tools of this kind, resembling the Mousterian, we find solid, wide points worked with the same sharp retouche, similar at the edges and in shape to the Mousterian arrowheads.

The arrowheads from the paleolithic camps in Siberia are also close to the Mousterian ones, in that the material used to make them consisted of

wide plates cut from typical, wide disk-shaped nuclei, completely Mousterian in appearance.

The archaic appearance of the implements from these camps is so marked that previous students detected not only Mousterian but even Lower Paleolithic elements in them. These solid implements, oval in shape and worked on both sides, were described by them as "bifacial"—i.e., as the closest analogy to cleavers of the Acheulian or even Chellean periods. Going by the existence of stone implements of the archaic shape and correspondingly archaic technique, they first assigned the Late Paleolithic items discovered by L. T. Savenkov on the Yenisey to an extremely early period and dated them as the very beginning, or at least very early stage of the Paleolithic, i.e., the Acheulian and Mousterian stages. Savenkov himself, however, has definitely pointed out that together with the stone tools similar to Mousterian or even Acheulian in type, his collection contained some articles which in appearance are very late for the Paleolithic, for example, cutters, various foliate tips and small scrapers. He has called the attention of archeologists to the fact that splendidly formed bone items—javelin heads, ornaments, needles and awls—have been found there.

The researchers were faced with a new and extremely interesting riddle—how could they explain such an unusual combination of typologically ancient and typologically new objects, separated in the west by tens of thousands of years, whereas on the Altay, in the valleys of the Lena, Yenisey and Angara, they lay side by side in the same cultural layer as part of the same Upper Paleolithic site?

Different solutions have been proffered for the riddle. In the thirties, certain scholars (G. P. Sosnovskiy and A. P. Okladnikov) tried to show that the Late Paleolithic culture of Siberia had evolved directly from a more ancient culture, i.e., that of Mal'ta and Buret', and considered the transition from one culture to another an expression of the continuous evolutionary advancement of the ancient Siberian tribes from a lower to a higher state.

Other investigators (L. Savitskiy and N. K. Auerbakh) were reluctant to see in it anything but an expression of the direct influence on the culture of the Siberian Paleolithic population of the cultures of deepest Asia, particularly the Mongolian and Chinese Paleolithic.

A third point of view has also been expressed (V. I. Gromov), according to which the peculiarity of the stone tools characteristic of the Siberian Paleolithic depends on the raw material available. Because so excellent a material for making stone implements as the chalkstone found on the Don does not exist in Siberia, local craftsmen were forced to make do with materials such as black lydite in the Transbaykal or greenstone pebbles on the Yenisey or the Altay. The result of this, so the advocates of this theory assumed, was that the production, perfected at that time, of elegant and fine plates used as a basis for working stone by pressure retouche, could not have developed there. This point of view is unacceptable for the simple reason that later on, in the Neolithic, a fully developed technique for working stone, just as advanced as in Europe, if not more so, existed on the territory of Siberia; the pressure technique often used for the same "crude" material as the paleolithic craftsmen used was just as well developed. Thus, it was not the material but man's requirements which determined the technique for making implements, their shape and even the choice of the material itself.

What, then, were these requirements?

Did they result from evolutionary inertia, from the traditions passed down for many thousands of years? Or, conversely, was the reason that

the older population was replaced by a new one, with different traditions, new customs and proclivities? Both these points of view, however, though based on some very weighty factual evidence, have met with strong objection after a more thorough consideration of the facts.

The first argument is weakened by the fact that it is not actually possible to derive the types of implements and the technique for making them characteristic of later encampments from the specific equipment and the pressure-retouche technique for working stone found at Mal'ta and Buret'. It is quite unclear, for example, how the more perfect prismatic nucleus could evolve into a nucleus of a more ancient disk type or how an incomparably cruder Mousterian scraper could evolve from an end scraper. Regarding the second point of view, the extensive similarity between the stone implements and technique for making them of the Paleolithic in Siberia, on the one hand, and the Paleolithic in Eastern Asia, on the other, speaks in favor of it. At the same time, nowhere in the East Asian Paleolithic have articles so specific and typical of the Siberian Paleolithic, such as foliate points, oval scrapers, or flat bone harpoons, been discovered. All this clearly developed independently in Siberia, on the spot. And everything taken together shows that the situation is in actual fact considerably more complicated than was thought in the past. It was clear that both groups were wrong: the supporters of direct evolutionary development, who assumed that the "mixture" of cultural elements from different times and different stages, characteristic of the late Siberian Paleolithic, showed the survival of particularly archaic features in the culture of the local tribes, their deeply conservative attitude and the fact that they retained elements of the technique from the distant Lower Paleolithic past far more strongly and securely than their contemporaries in the west, and the opponents of this view, who reduce everything to the clash of different cultural and ethnic groups. In effect the latter were also developing the same point of view, that is, the greater backwardness among the Siberian paleolithic tribes compared with the European tribes, except that they expressed it in a still more specific, accentuated and even tendentious form. According to this point of view, formulated by Breuil in the clearest and fullest way, with respect to the Chinese Paleolithic, deepest Asia is regarded as a country in which the ancient forms were preserved from the very beginning and as a country of stagnation and inertia, as distinct from Europe where culture always forged vigorously ahead.

It is easy to see that when formulated in this way, the view is not only superficial and invalid, but also directly insulting to the peoples of Asia in that it expresses a basically imperialist conception, refuted by the entire history of the Asian peoples and, first and foremost, the great Chinese people.

In actual fact, a more thorough and objective study of the sites of the Siberian Paleolithic, like the Paleolithic of Eastern Asia, shows that all we observe there is a highly distinctive and at the same time undoubtedly progressive line of development of the very early Asian tribes, which should be approached with different classificational criteria, different rubrics, different bases of evaluation than the Paleolithic of Western or Eastern Europe, and from the point of view of the originality of its development and the contribution of the population of north and east Asia to the Stone Age culture.

When considering the types of stone articles retrieved from the Siberian paleolithic settlements from the point of view of dynamic development rather than statically, it is easy to see that the primary, large scraper-shaped articles of indeterminate type, yet typical of such settlements as

Mal'ta and Buret', gradually become the "archaic" implements, clear-cut in shape and complete in technical features, about which we spoke earlier. Furthermore, whereas these large objects were originally represented by only a few examples, as time passed the number of them steadily increased until they finally began to predominate over stone implements of other kinds. Hence, the tools of the Late Paleolithic population of Siberia do not show the distant past, but show signs of a new formation; they are indications not of stagnation or backwardness, but of a tempestuous and irresistible development with its own features, which did not fit into the general pattern of Western European classification.

The reason for this distinctive development should apparently be sought among the vital requirements of the primitive hunters, who used tools of these kinds. The tools could hardly have been used for any work involving soft materials, including fur and hides. They are closest to implements for woodworking, since they have strong, solid blades suitable for cutting and planing operations. The fact that the source of development of the Siberian paleolithic stone implements along these characteristic lines is to be found here, in the requirements of craftsmanship, is shown by the presence of real axe-shaped or adze-shaped tools recorded among the Late Paleolithic implements from Siberia on the Altay, Yenisey, and Angara, beyond Lake Baykal, and also on the Lena. The techniques, still fully paleolithic in nature, were therefore accompanied by the progressive formation of large cutting tools of a new type, tools which later turned into axes and adzes of the mature neolithic culture.

At the same time, Siberia, earlier than many other places, was the scene of the development and flourishing of an original insertion technique for making work tools and weapons. Excellent bone points with deep grooves for sharp flint plates have been discovered at the camps on Mount Verkholsenskaya near the town of Irkutsk, and at Oshurkovo near Ulan-Ude. Implements of this kind therefore combined the flexibility and elasticity of bone and horn with the strength and hardness of flint; as a result they were greatly superior to simple stone points and knives as well as to bone tools without inserted stone blades.

The appearance in Siberia of the first domesticated animal of the hunting tribes, the dog, certainly came no later, if not earlier, than in other countries.

The fairly widespread use of fish as food began relatively early in Siberia; harpoons of the Azil type beautifully made from red deerhorn have been found on Mount Verkholsenskaya on the Angara and at Oshurkovo on the Selenga. At the Oshurkovo site, alongside the harpoon there were found numerous fishbones showing that fishing played an important part in the everyday life of the inhabitants.

However, during this progressive development the specific forms in which the evolution of the culture took place were also influenced by the specific historical environment in which the Stone Age Siberian tribes had lived for centuries and the specific historical events which occurred in that part of Asia.

The fact that the culture of the ancient Siberian population first developed in identical forms and along the same lines as that of their contemporaries in the West, in the Danube, Dnepr, Don and Volga basins, and then seemed to branch off suddenly in a different direction is definitely not accidental and is of great importance in the history of Europe and Asia.

It can be explained by the fact that the Siberian tribes first led the same way of life as the tribes of the West, were in contact with them, and had a single cultural basis. Then, toward the end of the Ice Age, since they were

few in number and were spread out over the vast expanses of Siberia, they lost direct contact with the population of the Western countries, and, being isolated from them for a fairly long time, began leading their own way of life and creating a new culture essentially different in many respects.

This originality is clearly shown by the above-mentioned features of the manufacturing techniques and types of stone implements used for everyday purposes by paleolithic man. Whereas at the end of the Paleolithic in the West there developed the so-called microlithic technology, in which essential implements were made by and large with knifelike flakes cut into pieces in a certain way, in Siberia the chief method of making stone implements was to split large pebbles into two pieces or to take large flakes from the surface of archaic disk-shaped nuclei, similar to the Mousterian.

At the same time, the condition of isolated existence over colossal stretches of territory of Siberia and the Far East obviously gave rise to a particular physical type as well. Anthropologists consider that the basic racial groups comprising modern man arose in the Upper Paleolithic—the Negroids in Africa and neighboring regions of the Mediterranean, as well as in southeast and south Asia, the Europeoids in Europe, and the Mongoloids to the east of the Urals. Whereas the remains of the local Upper Paleolithic man discovered in Europe are predominantly assigned to the Europeoid type—the Cro-Magnon man, in the broad sense of the word—fresh archeological and anthropological data indicate the existence of definite Mongoloid features at a very early stage among the ancient settlers in east Asia. A statuette of a woman found in 1936 in Buret' has a carefully modeled face with a distinct Mongoloid cast. It has the characteristic narrow, slanting eyes, a low, flattened nose and prominent cheekbones.

Bits of arm bones and a fragment of skull, and also a piece of frontal bone discovered in 1937, date from the paleolithic layers of Mount Afontova near Krasnoyarsk. The frontal bone was studied by G. F. Debets. The morphological features of the fragment (abrupt flattening at the bridge of the nose) suggest the Mongoloid type and have enabled Debets to state that the Upper Paleolithic population of Mount Afontova belonged to the Mongoloid racial type in the broad sense of the word.

Thus the scanty data which the paleoanthropologists possess at the present time seem to suggest that the paleolithic population of the Baykal region and the Middle Yenisey belonged to the Mongoloid type. The proximity of the regions of eastern and central Asia, in which, in the opinion of Soviet anthropologists, the Mongoloid racial type arose, may have been significant in this respect. In connection with this we cannot but point out that throughout the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic it is possible to trace a cultural development of its Late Paleolithic population along the same essential lines as in Siberia. Hence the whole of this enormous territory in the Late Paleolithic can be called, if we stretch a point, the Siberian-Mongolian cultural region.

Taking the isolated and fragmentary nature of the discoveries into account, however, it would be risky to relate everything that has been said above regarding the physical type of the ancient Siberian inhabitants to the territory taken as a whole. It is quite possible that the population of other regions, particularly the Altay and Minusinsk Hollow, was even in the Paleolithic not Mongoloid in anthropological type, but Europeoid. This hypothesis is supported, as we shall see later, by paleoanthropological data for later periods.

But as a whole, the end of the Upper Paleolithic seems to have been that very important historical stage of the peoples of Siberia and the Soviet Far East at which their ancestors begin to stand out from the rest of mankind as the possessors of a particular physical type and specific culture. This was the second major stage in the ancient history of Siberia.

The third stage coincides with the spread of new neolithic sites.

The Neolithic

The Neolithic is indeed the next and extremely important stage in the history of the culture and ethnic relations in Siberia and the Far East.

The transition to the Neolithic is marked in Siberia, as in other parts of the world, by a considerable development in the productive forces of the early population, associated with new techniques and the appearance of new types of work tools, first and foremost the invention of the bow and arrow. As is well known, the bow and arrow are the universal forerunner of polished work tools, at the time when pottery had not yet been developed.

Very little study has been made so far, however, of the early Neolithic Age in Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

In the Baykal region, among the earliest relics of the local Neolithic, which to some extent correspond to the Late Mesolithic settlements in the West, there is a small number of burials belonging to the Ch'in stage, in which have been found foliate flint arrowheads, very archaic in form and manufacturing technique; they are worked by retouche on one side only, at the top and bottom ends. A characteristic feature of them is a lateral cavity in the base forming a shaft. Arrowheads of this kind are universally found in sites dating from the end of the Paleolithic (Epipaleolithic) and also in the earliest neolithic sites.

At the time to which the sites of the developed Neolithic with their polished stone tools and pottery represented by clay pots and pans are assigned, we find, in the Baykal region (the most studied in this respect), the successive replacement of several stages of neolithic culture.

The earliest or Isakovian stage (going back to roughly the fourth millennium B.C.) is known from material found in several graves in the Angara valley. The largest grave containing the greatest number of finds was discovered near the village of Ponomarevo. Like most of the other neolithic Baykal graves, it is situated on a high-lying promontory at the mouth of a deep canyon. The graves unearthed there were filled on the inside with solid piles of limestone slabs forming the foundation of the local ancient terraces. In the graves there were only bones belonging to wild forest animals, predominantly the elk, Siberian deer (maral), roe deer and beaver. Judging by the remains of the animals, the peoples who buried the dead on the Ponomarevo promontory lived in the dense taiga and led the lives of typical hunters. The graves contained bone spear points of remarkable craftsmanship and size, complete with sharp flint blades made of specially serrated knifelike flakes. Alongside them lay large stone arrowheads, typically neolithic in manufacturing technique; i.e., they were retouched on both sides with a strangely formed rear portion in the shape of a dovetail slot with one symmetrically elongated barb and the other shortened. The bow was made of wood and, most likely simple. The people of this period also possessed splendidly polished adze-shaped tools for woodworking, made of a variety of schist, the same kind of schist and nephrite knives for women's domestic use, various kinds of scrapers, bone needle cases and needles, awls and a number of other objects.

The ceramics from the Isakovian graves show that pottery arose quite recently. The pots have a very simple shape, parabolic in vertical section. Their walls on the outside are completely covered with textile imprints and the impression of a fine mesh, of which clearer traces of fairly fine, interwoven threads and knots have been preserved. People of the Isakovian period decorated themselves with whole boar tusks, hung on the forehead like a diadem, and also with pear-shaped pendants made of deer teeth. As a whole the Isakovian burials provide some extremely archaic material. The large, oval scrapers found in them are similar to the Late Paleolithic ones. The extensive use of mammoth bone and the various types of bone points also remind us of the ancient hunting culture of the Paleolithic. They undoubtedly reflect traditions stretching far into the past and showing that during the Neolithic, as before, the Baykal region was still inhabited by the descendants of the paleolithic population of these regions, the direct heirs to its culture.

The culture of the Isakovian stage changes to the next, Serovian stage (fourth to third millennium B.C.), at which certain new, previously unknown features begin to appear alongside certain firmly retained traditional ones.

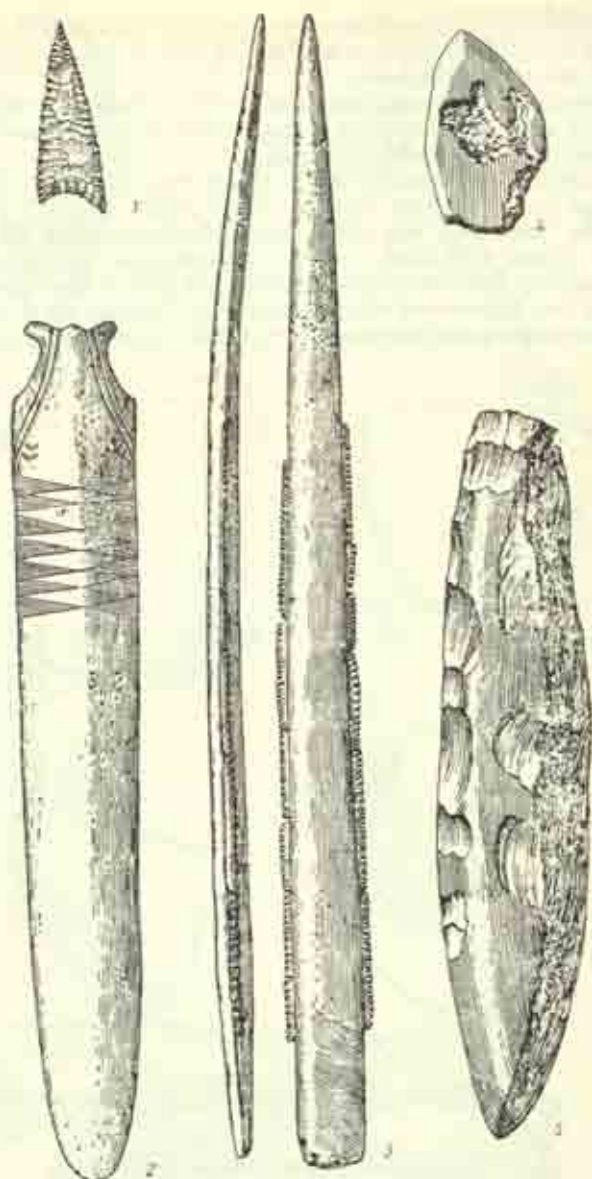
The stone and bone articles from the burials, particularly the ceramics, now showed signs of considerable and progressive advance. The very ancient vessels with their simple, undivided shape were replaced by a new variation with a clearly marked neck, crown and belly, and an original type of flask, with handles for suspension, began to appear. Designs with straight lines and broken comblike impressions became common.

The hunters' equipment considerably improved during the Serovian stage. The burials on the Angara and Lena contain long bone plates for facing bows. The Serovian bows are the oldest examples of bone and wood bows in the world, and the earliest precursors of the complex bow as a whole. In addition to these the burials contain pictorial representations of fish, chiefly burbot, more rarely the omul, lake salmon and sterlet, artistically worked in different, at times rare, types of stone. Figures of fish of exactly the same kind were used by various tribes in the north, the Evens and Evenks, Eskimos, Nentsy and Koryaks, as bait when fishing with harpoons under the ice, in order to attract the predatory fish to the ice-hole where the hunter awaited them.

The settlements of the Serovian period take the form of encampments, i.e., fairly permanent, most probably seasonal sites where the chum-type[†] tents were put up; the only things preserved here are hearths formed of rings of stones from the river. From time to time we find the remains of sounder constructions with a foundation sunk into the ground. Traces of dwellings of this kind have been found, for example, at the well-known Ulan-Khada encampment on Lake Baykal. A remarkable feature of the Serovian burials is the fact that the burial objects are completely uniform in assortment; there are no "poor" or "rich" deceased. Differentiation in the burial objects found in poorer and richer graves does not occur until much later. In the majority of graves we find approximately the same things—a clay vessel, facings from a bow, arrowheads, polished adzes, knives, bows and arrows—usually accompanying both men and women. This is a reminder that women warriors took an active part in hunting activities among a number of peoples of Siberia in the past.

The Serovian burials and other monuments of that period provide interesting and valuable clues to the intellectual culture of the neolithic

[†] Conical, covered with skins or bark, resembling the Indian tepee.—Ed.



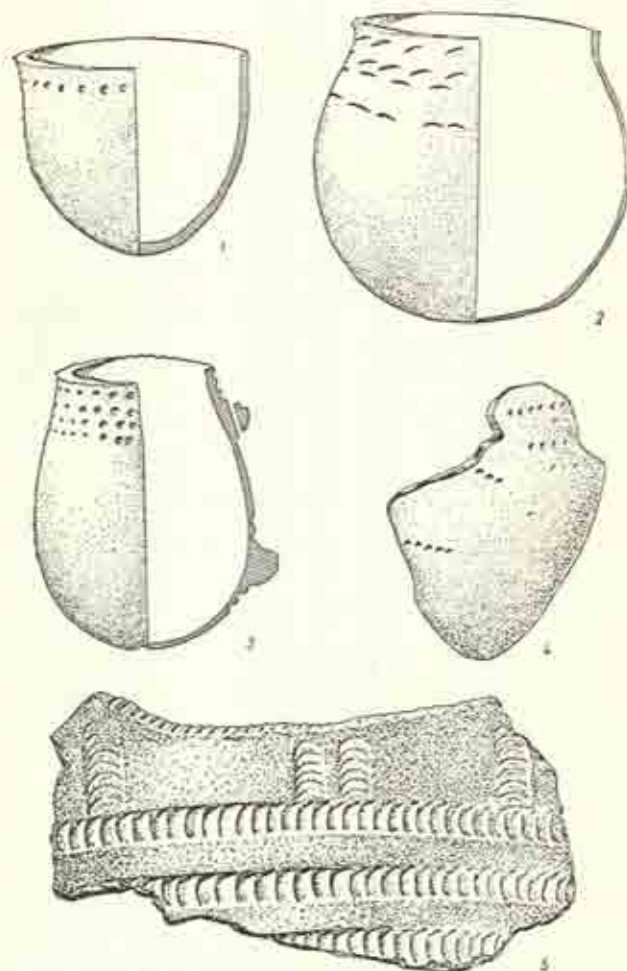
Stone and bone artifacts from Baykal neolithic burials:
1—flint arrowhead; 2—ornamented bone dagger; 3—inserted spear-
head; 4—nephrite knife; 5—large adze.

Baykal tribes and to their beliefs and art. In their art the first place is taken by realistic representations of animals, predominantly the elk. We also find rectilinear geometrical designs of a definite style, typified by a combination of horizontal and vertical lines as well as a rhythmic combination of "bundles" of short nicks. The burial rites of the Serovian period

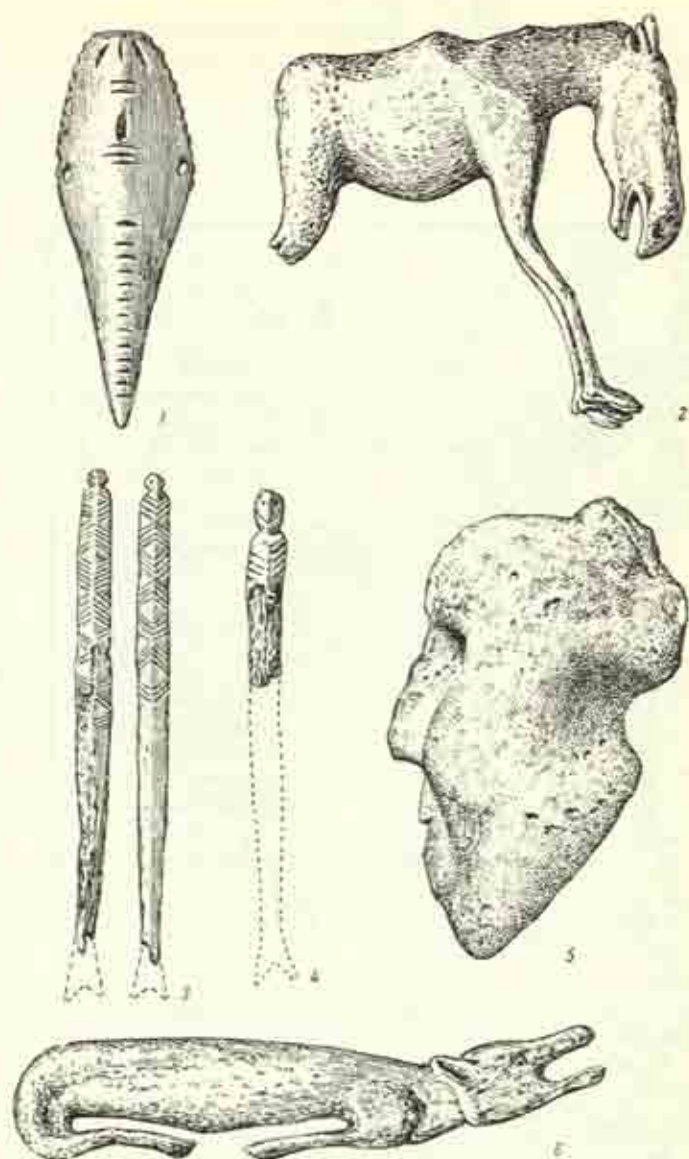
are an indirect indication of the close link between kinsmen and "circulation of souls." The hunting cult of the elk was of great importance in the religion of the ancient hunters.

As a whole, the material from the Serovian stage expressively depicts the colorful and mature culture of the hunters of the forests of the Baykal region at the height of its development.

The burials of the Kitoyan stage, which replaced the Serovian graves, are marked by a specific feature of the ritual of burial—the custom of covering the dead with red ochre, and sometimes filling the whole grave with ochre mixed with sand or earth. In particular, among the varied and often technically perfect articles discovered both in the classical Kitoyan graves and in a number of other burials (the Cyclodrome in Irkutsk, Rasputino on the Angara and Zhigalovo on the Upper Lena), are composite hooks



Neolithic pottery from Baykal region:
1-4—Serovian period vessels; 5—fragment of
vessel from cultural layers at Ulan-Khada camp.

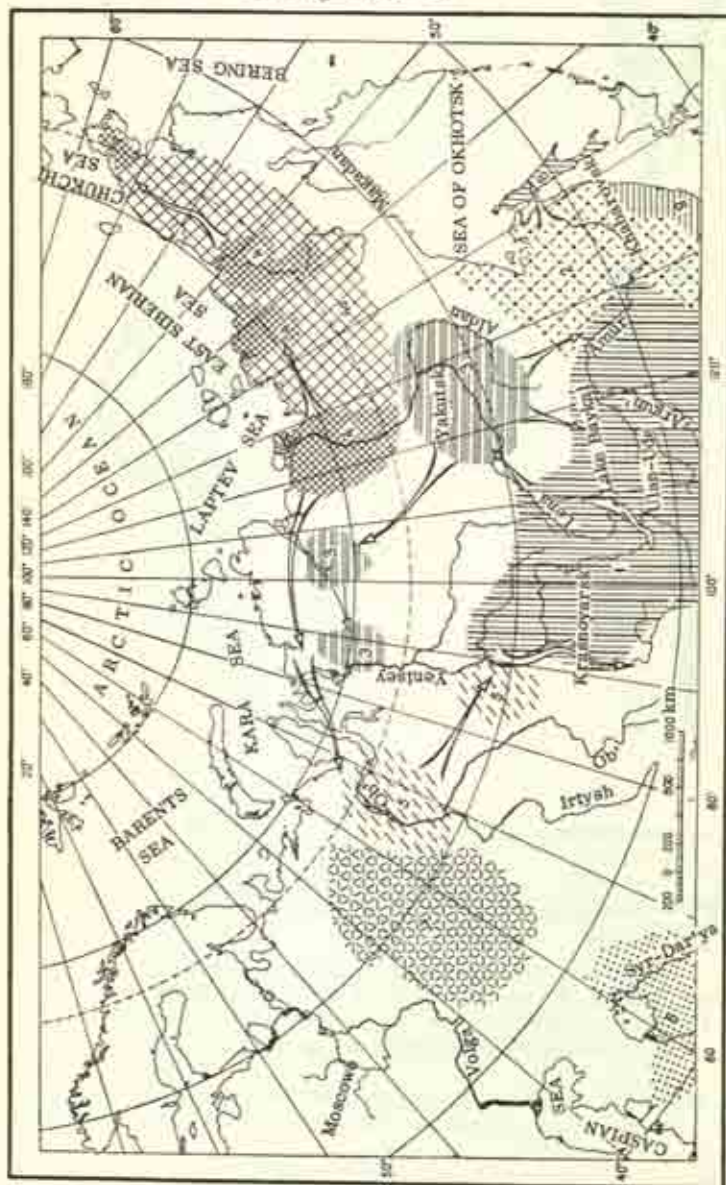


Stone and bone artifacts. Baykal neolithic:

1—stone fish; 2, 6—representations of elk, Bazaykha; 3, 4—bone figurines, Glazkovo; 5—sculptured representation of human head, marble, Rasputino.

of a specific type with semicircular widening of the head at the ends of the rod weights. These hooks, found in practically every burial, definitely show the increased importance of fishing.

The Kitoyan burial site, which lies close to sources of the most valuable raw material of that period, green nephrite (the basic deposits of which are



Map of neolithic cultures of Siberia

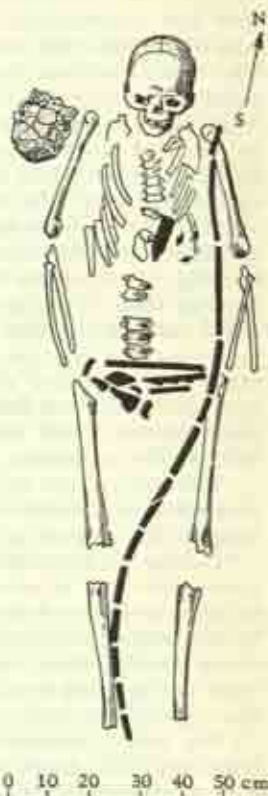
found in the neighboring Sayan Mountains), is typified by a large number of nephrite articles, including unfinished blocks. It is quite possible that the exchange of nephrite was of great importance in the lives of the tribes or clans populating the Kitoy Valley and the neighboring regions, just as barter left its mark at one stage on the lives of a number of tribes in North America and North Asia, who "specialized" to a considerable extent in trading in certain products from their own territory, or even in selling them through middlemen.

At the same time we observe new facts indicating important changes in the internal social life of the Baykal population. Alongside the burials which can be considered "average" from the point of view of the number of articles in the grave, there appear burial sites abounding in finds, and at the same time graves with very few objects.

The Kitoyan stage of the Baykal Neolithic (third and beginning of second millennium B.C.) is still entirely contained within the Neolithic. No traces of metal have been observed for this period.

Whereas this original culture made its way along the shores of Lake Baykal, the Upper Lena, the Angara and Selenga over thousands of years, in the valley of the Amur and the Soviet Maritime District the development of the culture and history of the local tribes took a characteristic path of its own. The most ancient traces of man's activity in the middle reaches of the Amur (Blagoveshchensk area) are stone articles very similar to the Late Paleolithic objects found in eastern Siberia and eastern Mongolia.

On the lower Amur, in the region of Khabarovsk, near the village of Osipovka and the railroad bridge across the Amur, on the high ancient terrace of the left bank, a layer of loam was found to contain traces of hearths made of cobblestone, and also some splendid stone laurel-leaf tips or knives, scrapers of the end type, plates, and original objects, finished with a fine Solutrean retouche, outwardly reminiscent of the Acheulian cleavers, which, moreover, have blades suitable for chopping operations. These discoveries relate to the very early Neolithic, Proto-Neolithic or Mesolithic. The ancient traces of man in the Maritime District are distinctive stone objects discovered in 1953 near the village of Osinovka in the region of Voroshilov-Ussuriyskiy. These articles were found on a high hill close to the original, now partly overgrown bed of the river Osinovka, which at that time was clearly a much more powerful and wider river than at present. The first inhabitants reached the Osinovka Hill at that far-off time when it was still not covered with soil. They settled directly on the bare, weathered surface of the granite rock. The stone implements left behind by them lie in a reddish sublayer which stands out clearly against the background of light yellow loam lying above it. It is very probable that this layer corresponds to laterite deposits



Skeleton of a man with bow. Serovian-type burial. Bratskiy Kamen' on Angara River.

formed through weathering in a tropical climate. As soon as the area of the ancient settlement had been cleared, the explorers found a typical picture of the working life of an ancient population of the Soviet Far East. In the center was a sort of "forge" made of hard quartzite covered with numerous pits and depressions—traces of many years of work. Strewn around were bits of the stone which had been used as raw material for making work tools. The work tools themselves made in this primitive workshop on the stone anvil were well preserved. They were strange objects of puzzling shape. They were large river pebbles made of dense greenstone. One end of each pebble had been chiseled by a series of strong, well-directed blows, and thus converted into a wide, solid blade similar to the blade of a modern axe or cutting tool. The other end of the pebble, which served as the handle, retained its rock crust. With these crude tools it was possible to hew bone or wood, dig the earth, dig up edible roots and bring down game during hunting. Implements of this shape are unknown to the west of the Urals. Nor do they exist, in effect, in neighboring Siberia. It is therefore all the more interesting that they resemble in general shape and manufacturing technique the pebble-cutting tools in the form of "choppers" known in the Stone Age in China as well as in the more distant regions of Asia, as far over as Burma and Indochina. The Osinovka discoveries precede the Maritime Neolithic and can be assigned to the end of the Paleolithic or, at any rate, to the Mesolithic.

The same mark of originality, though accompanied at the same time by a certain similarity to ancient cultures of neighboring East Asia, can be found in the culture of the later inhabitants of the Soviet Far East.

During the excavations carried out in 1955 on the Osinovka Hill a second, later layer was discovered above the most ancient cultural layer. It belongs to different people and a different cultural-historical age—the New Stone Age. These people, who existed several millennia after the first inhabitants of the Osinovka Hill, were already able to make polished adzes and axes from stone. They had learned to make clay pottery which was rather good for that time. They had spears with stone tips and, much more important, bows and arrows.

The most abundant and striking discoveries relating to that time were found near the mouth of the River Tetyukhe. On the high promontory at the merging point of two rivers there had once been an extensive settlement of ancient hunters and fishers.

The 1955 excavations showed that many generations of these hunters and fishers had followed each other on the Tetyukhe hill and that each one had left traces of its occupations and culture. At the very bottom of the loose deposits in the terrace lay cultural relics showing that the first settlers had gone there with a neolithic culture fairly well developed for the time.

Alongside splendidly polished articles of stone, arrowheads and knives elegantly finished with a fine retouche lay pieces of large clay vessels with flat bottoms. Their walls were decorated at the top with a simple though effective pattern which imitated a wide band woven from strips of cloth or hide.

Vessels of this kind are unknown in the forest regions of Siberia, but similarly shaped pots were used more than four or five thousand years ago by the neolithic tribes in the south of Mongolia and the northeast of China.

The people of the lower horizon of the Tetyukhe encampment also made splendidly polished stones, adzes convex on one side in a transverse direction, and elegant arrowheads similar in shape to the Baykal ones. They possessed bone or wooden daggers, knives and spearheads with insertable blades made of carefully retouched stone plates. By its cultural level this was therefore a fully developed Neolithic. It can be dated as the third or second millennium B. C.

A thousand years later, i.e., about 4000 years ago, radical changes occurred in the lives of the ancient Tetyukhe inhabitants.

The first sign of the new life was a change in the nature of the settlements themselves. The very ancient hunting camp was replaced by a large settlement, and a true village of Stone Age people sprang into existence. The settlement now consisted of a number of sturdy, long-lasting dwelling houses. The remains of more than two dozen such dwellings, each covering an area of about 100 square meters, have been preserved on the Tetyukhe hill.

When one pit was opened up during the excavations, it was found that the sides of the rectilinear pit dug in the earth contained other, deeper pits for keeping stocks of food, while in the middle were several small hearths.

The planning of the next, neighboring house was completely different. The floor rose in two steps on either side of the central hearth. On the steps lay stone implements abandoned by the ancient inhabitants, including splendidly polished stone adzes. These articles were not strewn about at random, as might have seemed at first sight. Just the opposite, there was a definite system of arrangement connected with the daily life of the inhabitants of the dwelling and their occupations.

Stone points were concentrated at one spot, while in other places there were very fine flint chips left over from the manufacture of flint tools. On the steps of the earthen dwelling were fragments of flat-bottomed clay pots. These pots had at one time stood upright, but later, when the dwelling was abandoned, had fallen sideways and been crushed by the earth. The walls of the house were constructed with columns inserted into the earth along the edge; the holes that had held these columns were numerous and close.

An unexpectedly vivid picture of the life of this ancient Stone Age community thereby looms up before us.

The first dwelling excavated on the Tetyukhe hill was the center of everyday economic occupations. There the Stone Age people had their own kind of food stores in the form of holes, and it was there that they cooked food on hearths specially constructed for the purpose. The second, neighboring house was used for other purposes. Judging by the ethnographic analogies, wide steps (nary)¹ ran around the central (and only) hearth in the house. The inhabitants sat and worked on these steps. There they made stone tools, including points for javelins or harpoons, and the craftsmen making them always sat at a certain point, to the east of the hearth. It is very probable that below, right by the hearth, was the place for the elders and that the younger people were farther up. Once intact clay vessels were found on the benches. Generally speaking, this house was reminiscent of the so-called men's houses or assembly houses well studied by ethnographers among the many backward tribes of Northern Asia and America in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The actual emergence of these settlements, in which not one but several hundreds of persons lived permanently, or at least for a long time, was due to important changes in productive forces and the economic life of the population.

These tribes, one of which was located on the Tetyukhe promontory, were still not acquainted with metal and remained Stone Age people, except that they had begun showing the first signs of a new progressive form of economy—embryonic agriculture. This is shown by the numerous remains of grain mortars and pestles. Relations with neighboring territories and

¹ Sing. nara, sleeping-benches, usually heated from beneath by hot air ducts.—Ed.

countries were also strengthened and expanded. The adze, for which the semiprecious stone nephrite was used as a raw material, was brought here from the distant Transbaykal. Particularly noteworthy are adornments in the form of long, cylindrical beads and curved pendants resembling boar tusks. These objects show the ties between the ancient Maritime tribes and the population of the Chinese and Korean coasts. Relations between the Chinese tribes and other, neighboring regions of Asia can also be judged from the pieces of clay pottery. The Chinese evidently knew these tribes under the general name of su-shen or hai-shen.

The entire way of life of these tribes of the Soviet Far East in the third and second millennia B. C. also differed sharply from the life of the hunters and fishers of Eastern Siberia, who were nomadic and did not build lasting dwellings of the semisubterranean type, nor use flat-bottomed clay vessels, and who decorated their pointed pots with a completely different style of design consisting of geometrical, straight-line patterns.

Their neighbors in the Amur Basin, particularly the lower reaches below the present-day town of Khabarovsk, lived in much the same way as the neolithic Maritime tribes.

The developed Neolithic is represented on the Amur by a large number of settlements; the earliest ones were found on the island of Suchu near Mariinsk and on the Kuenga River near Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur. On Suchu Island among the many neolithic monument sites are the remains of a large semiunderground dwelling with its foundations dug deep into the ground, with sloping walls and a large number of holes in the ground for columns. Numerous and typical remains were found inside the dwellings: polished stone adzes, arrowheads, scrapers, knives, pins and points worked with an edge retouche, cudgels made of porous stone of volcanic origin, adornments or amulets, and numerous fragments of clay pottery.

The ceramics of the neolithic settlements on the Amur are similar to the Maritime, and together with the latter differ radically from the Baykal ceramics. Here the vessels also have flat rather than pointed or round bottoms. There is no imprint of netting on the outside. Instead, they are covered with a fine broken line and comb-type pattern in the form of parallel vertical zig-zags. Closely resembling the very ancient "cylindrical" ("ento-doki") vessels of the neolithic settlements on the Japanese islands in shape and pattern, these pots are evidently direct descendants of the original, high cylindrical baskets of the southern regions of eastern Asia and neighboring islands. These baskets had the same narrow, upright strips of vegetation in zig-zags.

Cudgels made of volcanic stone, curved adornments of the magatama type, slightly resembling boar tusks, and the ornamentation of exceptional wealth and originality all point in the same direction, namely, to the south. As distinct from the traditional neolithic designs of the forest regions of Siberia and eastern Europe, the neolithic Amur design is basically curvilinear rather than rectilinear and geometric. It is not the very simple zonal patterns in zig-zags or combinations of horizontal and vertical lines which predominate, but intricate spirals, just as in the Maritime District, and complicated interweaving of curved bands of the wattle type. Even the rectilinear and geometric patterns here take the form of intricate, meander compositions. Particularly unexpected is the presence of red, polished vessels, covered with engobe, the design of which was first scratched on and then colored black. The designs are very reminiscent of both the discoveries on the Japanese islands, evidently dating from a long time before the appearance there of the ancestors of the present-day Japanese, and also of the remarkable, patterned ceramics of the North Chinese and South

Manchurian Neolithics, known from the settlements of the ancient agriculturalists of the Yang-shao culture and from the Sha-kuo-tung cave in Tungpei.

There can be no question that the main occupation of the neolithic inhabitants of the Amur, just as in the Soviet Maritime District, was fishing. The scale from clay pots found on Suchu Island has revealed traces of marine diatoms which most probably got there while fish of the sturgeon family—possibly *Huso dauricus*—were being cooked in them. The volcanic stone clubs were evidently used as weapons with which to stun or kill these large fish as soon as they were caught. It was indeed their interest in fishing, as is shown vividly by the stratification of fish bones and scales as well as various shells found in the later settlements in the Amur region and the Maritime District, that decided where and when the local tribes settled, and conditioned their characteristic way of life.

The third large group of neolithic sites to reveal a new and indigenous pattern of culture was recently discovered in Yakutiya. The Neolithic in Yakutiya, like that of the Baykal and Amur, splits up into a series of chronological stages, following one after the other over the course of many centuries. The earliest neolithic discoveries in the south of Yakutiya were found at a locality called Yuyedey on the Oy-Muran channel, and near the river Kullata 40 km above Yakutsk, and in the north of the Yakut ASSR not far from Lake Uolba 20 km from Zhigansk, almost on the Arctic Circle. Characteristic of the Yuyedey encampment and Uolba are archaic, flake arrowheads of which most of the surface is unworked and only partially shaped with the retouche along the edges. On the shores of Lake Uolba and the neighboring lakes there have been found a whole group of neolithic settlements characterizing the specific way of life of the lake fishermen over two stages of the Neolithic period.

These sites of the Early Neolithic of the Yuyedey type are followed in the south of Yakutiya by others, among which stands out a settlement at the mouth of a small river called the Little Munku (Little Cherepanikha) near the town of Olekminsk. The camp was situated deep in the river valley and sheltered by the high ancient terrace. During the excavations, hearths were discovered in the upper, turf layer, and near them lay a few fragments of early Iron Age clay vessels. Below them lay the basic cultural neolithic layer, teeming with cultural relics. To judge by the finds, the inhabitants of the settlement lived by hunting and fishing: in every square meter of excavated area one or more stone arrowheads were found. For fishing, the inhabitants used bone hooks of a compound type and also harpoons.

The stone implements of the settlement contained, alongside axes of the Baykal type (axes with handles), oar-shaped axes and adzes with small projections on the back edge, unknown anywhere else in north Asia, though partially reminiscent of the same tools in southeast Asia and on the American continent.

The inhabitants of the settlement attained a high degree of proficiency in working stone by all the methods known in the Neolithic: the conventional retouche, spot chipping, sawing, drilling and polishing. They had at their disposal splendid raw material: black schist, milk-white, red and other colored limestone flints, and different varieties of crystalline rocks. They also fashioned articles from the semiprecious stone nephrite. As distinct from the Baykal type of nephrite tool, the knives, axes and adzes of the middle Lena were made not of dark green but of white nephrite. The types of nephrite implements, particularly the adornments of the middle Lena regions, are also different from the Baykal ones. It is possible that the Vitim in Yakutiya was not only a local source of precious raw material, but a special center for making nephrite implements, quite distinct from the Angara-Sayan deposits.

The inhabitants of the encampment shaped their clay vessels with characteristic sharp bottoms, and the pots even had the same "knob" on the bottom as those from the Scandinavian kitchen middens. The surface was often covered with the imprint of textiles, i.e., marks made by a mallet wrapped with fabric or fiber thread. The design is simple and geometric, and only on the crown does it differ to any great extent from the rich and lavish ornamentation of the Late Neolithic in the Baykal region.

The Munku-type sites are followed by settlements of the type excavated at Lake Ymyyakhtakh in the Sottinsky nasleg⁹ of the Ust'-Aldan Rayon of the Yakut ASSR, 60 km to the northeast of Yakutsk. It was a typical encampment which the lake fishers periodically visited over a prolonged period, during which a cultural layer as much as 60 or 70 cm thick was formed. The cultural relics were concentrated around small hearths, represented by piles of ashes.

Compared with the discoveries at Munku, the ceramics are few and uniform; instead of the former textile ceramics there is a predominance of pseudotextile ceramics with a very simple incised linear pattern in the form of triangles hanging from the crown,¹⁰ and there are several fragments of a smooth vessel with ridges molded onto it. Among the stone implements there stand out arrowheads with straight and oval hafts, as well as nucleoid polyhedral cutters.

There was an abundance of fishbones in the cultural layer and there were also elk and human bones broken and burned to the same extent, evidently indicating cannibalism.

Rock drawing flourished above all in Yakutiyan territory during the Neolithic and ensuing periods. The most remarkable examples of this are the numerous red-colored drawings on the Suruktakh Khaya rock in the valley of a small river, the Markha, which flows into the Lena below Olekminsk. These drawings can be dated by the implements found at a sacrificial site there. On top lay Iron Age arrowheads, below them were Bronze Age objects, and still farther down were Late Neolithic arrowheads and scrapers, chips, mother-of-pearl beads, and fragments of needle holders ornamented with straight incised lines. Veneration of the Suruktakh Khaya rock therefore arose in the Late Neolithic.

The most ancient drawings on the middle Lena are representations of elks on a rock near the village of Churu, and similar drawings, close in style, which are marked by realism in the dynamic and vital portrayal of the bodies of the animals. After this we begin to observe far more sketchy representations and a loss of the former realistic touches.

In the north of the Yakut ASSR, where there was a considerable cultural unity with the south in the Neolithic, we find certain specific features in the way of life and originality in the material culture associated with them. The change from one chronological stage of the Neolithic to another apparently occurs here, too, in its own particular way.

On Lake Uolba and the neighboring lakes in the region of Zhiganek there have been found a whole group of neolithic settlements characterizing the specific way of life of the lake fishermen during the two principal stages of the Neolithic. The earliest of these is a burial site and a settlement on a hill between lakes Uolba and Zhirkovo. There was no

⁹A local unit of area and population in the Yakut ASSR.—Ed.

¹⁰Pseudotextile ceramics are ceramics covered with impressions in the form of a fine checkered mesh made by blows with a special trowel with incisions on its surface.—Ed.

outward indication of the graves. The skeletons lay in holes in the ground strewn with red mineral ochre in a fashion similar to the skeletons from the Kitoy burial site on the Angara and from Deer Island on Lake Onega in Karelia. Next to one skeleton there were large stone arrowheads of an archaic type—knife-shaped, partially retouched along the edges. The settlement occupied the whole of the hill, and the cultural relics were found in two layers. The bottom layer contained the same type of arrowhead as the burial site, but there were also arrowheads of a particular kind—"files," that is to say, with three transverse facets completely retouched. The remains of the dwelling found here took the form of an oval depression with almost right-angled sides, filled with sandy loam containing a considerable amount of red ochre, and fine stone implements. The latter were represented by a large number of large knife-shaped plates with regular sides, made of black flinty schist. The top layer contained finds of a different kind. There was an abundance of pseudotextile ceramics. The arrowheads had the usual neolithic appearance: they were small, retouched on two sides, and fitted with a clearly marked haft. Cutters of a new type were found in abundance: they were many-faceted with clearly separated handles at the corners made of worked nuclei, whereas, earlier, use was made of archaic cutters of broken flakes or cutters of lateral type specially made from stone chips retouched on the upper end.

Not far from the Uolba Hill there appear other settlements dating from the same time as the upper layer. No traces of dwellings in the form of dugouts were found, but special hearth pits in the ground with deposits of waste ash nearby were recorded. These hearths might have accompanied the summer dwellings, made with a framework of willow branches, known on the Amur as *khomorán* and among the Lena Yakuts as *otuy*.

At this particular stage, or possibly earlier, the neolithic tribes reached the more northerly regions of Yakutiya and even went as far as the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Along the banks of the Lena, between Zhigansk and Chokurovka, relics of the culture of wandering hunters of the Stone Age tundra and forest tundra have been brought to light at a number of points. There are traces of a number of temporary encampments which had one or several light, transportable dwellings of the tent (*chum*) type. The relics usually discovered at the site of these dwellings are extremely few in number and greatly lacking in variety: they consist of several fine chips and knifelike plates, one or two retouched knives, shaped like spearheads, used by male hunters, one or two arrowheads and, very occasionally, scrapers. Ceramics were known, but few specimens are ever found at the encampments.

Apart from these camps, a particular type of settlement dating from the same time has been found in these regions. On high, rocky promontories exposed to the wind on all sides (which means that all midges and mosquitoes are blown away) we find thousands of stone chips, usually concentrated in a very small area not more than 15-20 sq. m. Alongside the chips are tools used to work the stone, oval or cylindrical pebbles with cavities in their ends—mallets. Here there are very few of the usual type of blocks in the form of incomplete objects of definite shape, i.e., scrapers, points, knives. On the other hand, there were many roughly hewn stones, a kind of uncompleted product, which could have been used later for making any desired implement. Thus the ancient craftsmen were only interested in preparing the stone in a rough-and-ready way, reducing the weight of it by removing the crust and cracked portions and then taking it away to more distant places where there was no stone of the same kind. These original

lower Lena "workshops" correspond exactly in character to the temporary encampments of the forest-tundra nomadic hunters who continually changed their residence in accordance with the season, and with the migration of the game, particularly herds of reindeer.

Neolithic settlements exactly the same in basic outline are known far to the east of the Lena, in the Kolyma valley. They have been discovered as well in the heart of the Chukchi Peninsula, where long ago there existed an ancient continental culture preceding that of the settled marine hunters. Traces of the latter have been found, for example, in the middle of the peninsula on the Amguema River in the form of knifelike plates and nuclei, which are completely lacking in the ancient coastal settlements, but are known in the settlements on the Alaskan mainland, for example, at a site in the region of the "University Farm" in Fairbanks. Laurel-leaf arrowheads splendidly worked with pressure retouche have also been discovered on the Amguema.

Very few sites of the forest Neolithic in western Siberia, northern or eastern Urals have yet been brought to light. Nevertheless, even those which have been found so far show that here, too, the development of the ancient cultures took its own particular paths. It is known, for example, that in the north of the Ob' Basin there are numerous ancient settlements consisting of dugouts. These huts are situated on promontories and cliffs in marshy areas near lakes and do not therefore show any trace of fortifications such as ditches or embankments; the surrounding natural conditions served as sufficient protection. The dugouts in the settlements are very large and attain 625 sq. m in area. These structures must have been erected by the joint efforts of a whole community and undoubtedly served as communal dwellings. Dugouts, although considerably smaller, continued to exist here as the basic type of dwelling for three or four thousand years after. They were still in use on the Ob' in the 18th and 19th centuries and were called *mys-khat*, i.e., earth houses. The ancient earthen dugouts on the north Sosva were found to contain polished and chipped stone tools, including chisels, knives, scrapers, arrowheads and pieces of thin-walled oval pots. The pots were usually decorated with a pitted comb-type pattern, similar to the designs found on typical vessels from the Mid-Ural settlements of the Late Neolithic—about 2000 B.C.

A little later, at the end of the second or beginning of the first millennium B.C., the overall nature of the material culture of the Lower Ob' inhabitants underwent a change. The vessels acquired a greater variety of shapes and designs. Flat-bottomed pots and dishes began to appear. The designs were enriched. For the first time we observe intricate combinations of embossed rhomboids forming a sort of network. Elegant meander patterns similar to the Shigir designs of the Urals and those of the Andronovian steppe culture begin to appear. They are also somewhat similar to the neolithic designs of the Soviet Far East. This resemblance, incidentally, is carried even further to other aspects of their culture.

Like the Amur tribes, the inhabitants of the Ob' region chiefly engaged in fishing. The enormous river with its numerous oxbow lakes, tributaries and lakes provided people with just as reliable a source of subsistence as the Amur did for its neolithic inhabitants. Fishing not only determined the types of dwellings and ceramics, but also conditioned many other features of everyday life, right down to fish-skin clothing.

The general resemblance of the way of life and economic-cultural structure, despite the colossal distances separating the various areas of northern Asia, led to the convergent rise of a very similar material culture among the ancient fishing tribes on the Ob' and Amur.

The Bronze Age

The Population of the Steppe Belt

While the different tribes settling the vast expanses of the taiga regions of Siberia, the tundra and forest-tundra, and also the Maritime and Amur Districts continued living as before by hunting and fishing, at the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the Bronze Age, events of exceptional importance occurred in the neighboring steppes, as we shall see below.

These events developed almost simultaneously west of Lake Baykal in the Minusinskiy Rayon and on the Altay, on the one hand, and east of it, in the Baykal regions of wooded steppe and steppe, on the other. They seem to have begun earliest of all in the west.

At the end of the third or the very beginning of the second millennium B. C., a remarkable culture known as the Afanas'yevo culture existed in the Minusinskiy Kray and on the Altay. In many respects it was directly connected with the culture of the Stone Age.

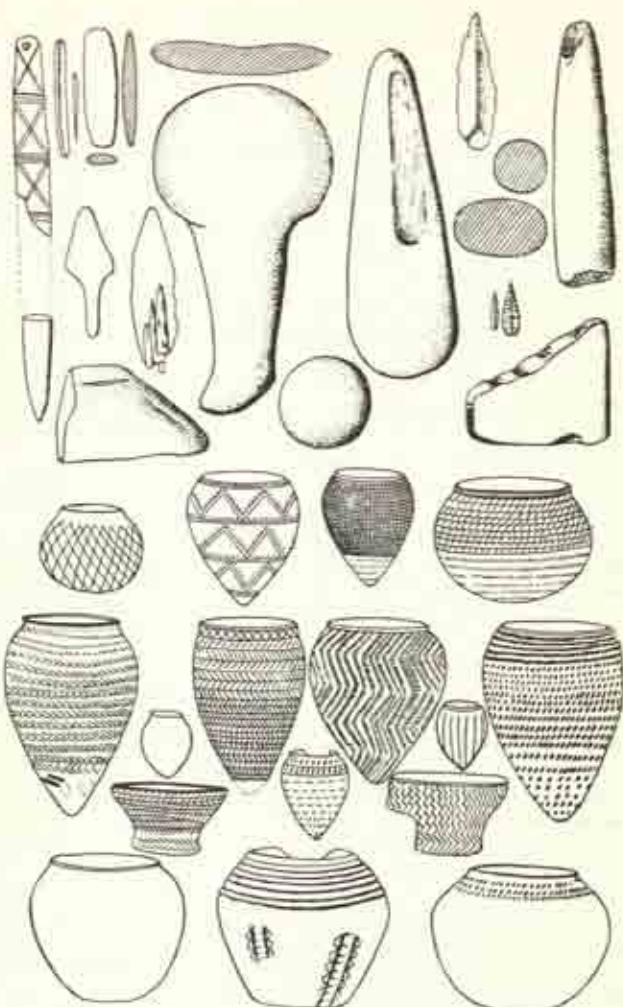
Prime examples are the shape and ornamentation of the clay vessels found in abundance in graves of the Afanas'yevo period. The vessels have a pointed base and are of an elongated oval or turnip-like shape. On the outside they are completely covered with a pattern resembling the neolithic, particularly in cases in which the design runs in horizontal bands. Together with these vessels the graves contained stone implements of neolithic shape: a polished axe, flint arrowheads and a "battleaxe." On the encampments, furthermore, there were found knife-shaped flakes and other small stone tools. Just as the neolithic hunters, the people of the Afanas'yevo stage continued to adorn themselves with pendants made of animal teeth.

The link with the Neolithic is shown by the Afanas'yevo burial rites. The dead were buried close to rivers, in holes in the ground lined with stones—it was only later that they began to construct the first barrows; red coloring—bloodstone—was used during the burials.

It is particularly important that the Afanas'yevo graves have been found to contain the first copper implements and remains of domestic animals, the most important being sheep, horses and cows. The Afanas'yevo people were consequently not only the first metalworkers in the steppes of southwest Siberia, but also the first pastoralists in Northern Asia. Admittedly the metal implements from these graves are still few and far between, and are also primitive in shape. They represent crude bindings for wooden vessels, very simple sheet-type knives, temporal rings and copper needle holders. Metal, however, was already well known and undoubtedly highly valued.

Their pastoralism was also very primitive. Milk was apparently still not drunk, nor were domestic animals used as beasts of burden. Nevertheless, incomparably more reliable and more permanent supplies of food had now been ensured in the form of herds of domestic animals. The livestock also provided their owners with material for clothing. The Afanas'yevo shepherds knew how to weave wool and make thread from it; they were therefore easily able to make woollen cloth to replace the more primitive fabrics made from vegetable fiber.

It follows from this that with the emergence of the Afanas'yevo culture of the early pastoralists, it was precisely the steppes, as distinct from the taiga, which became the region of this economic advance and the center of the new productive economy. By taming animals and switching to pastoralism, the steppe-dwellers had moved far ahead of their neighbors, still living in the forest and tundra.



Objects from burials. Afanas'yevo culture.

Hence from then on societies no longer close to each other, no longer identical, but differing completely in economic structure and cultural development coexisted in Northern Asia.

This coexistence could not but have far-reaching consequences for both the pastoralists and the settled land cultivators of the Old World, who were soon drawn by the march of time into certain relationships with the steppe pastoralists. Thus in the steppes of Asia there was established a network of intricate relationships which was later to play a part in the history of all mankind.

Human skeletons from the Afanas'yevo stage give an idea of the physical appearance of the peoples who created this colorful and characteristic culture in the third and second millennia B. C. on the Yenisey.

The human remains from the Afanas'yevo culture are characterized by dolichocephaly (cephalic index 74-76), strongly projecting nasal bones, a

wide and not very long face and a well-developed frontal area. Afanas'yevo man was tall in stature (about 168 cm), with a strong physique. The physical type shows Europeoid characteristics. G. F. Debets notes in it features of Cro-Magnon or, as he calls it, the proto-European type widespread during the Paleolithic in Western Europe.

It is therefore highly significant that the material culture of the Afanas'yevo people contains a number of features of western and southern origin, such as, mollusk shells from *Corbicula fluminalis*, originating from the Aral Sea region, catacomb-type incense burners, traces of ornamental art found on one vessel from the Tesina burial site, and a considerable overall resemblance between the Afanas'yevo and the Kel'timinar ceramics on the lower reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya. Fairly well developed metal working and pastoralism also relate to this period. All this shows the definite contact between the Afanas'yevo people and the tribes of the west, i.e., Central Asia, the Ural and Volga regions, and possibly the Black Sea region.

The Afanas'yevo stage in the steppes is followed by the Andronovian stage (about 1500-1200 B.C.). There are sites of this stage all over the Minusinskiy Kray and the Altay, Kazakhstan and Ural region, right up to Chkalov. Traces of similarity with the Andronovian ceramics are also to be observed in discoveries on the lower reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya, in northern Kirgiziya and in the region of Semirech'ye. The culture of the Andronovian stage grew out of Afanas'yevo culture. This fact is clearly indicated by the similarity between early Andronovian vessels (Okun' chronological stage) and their ornamentation and the Afanas'yevo vessels.

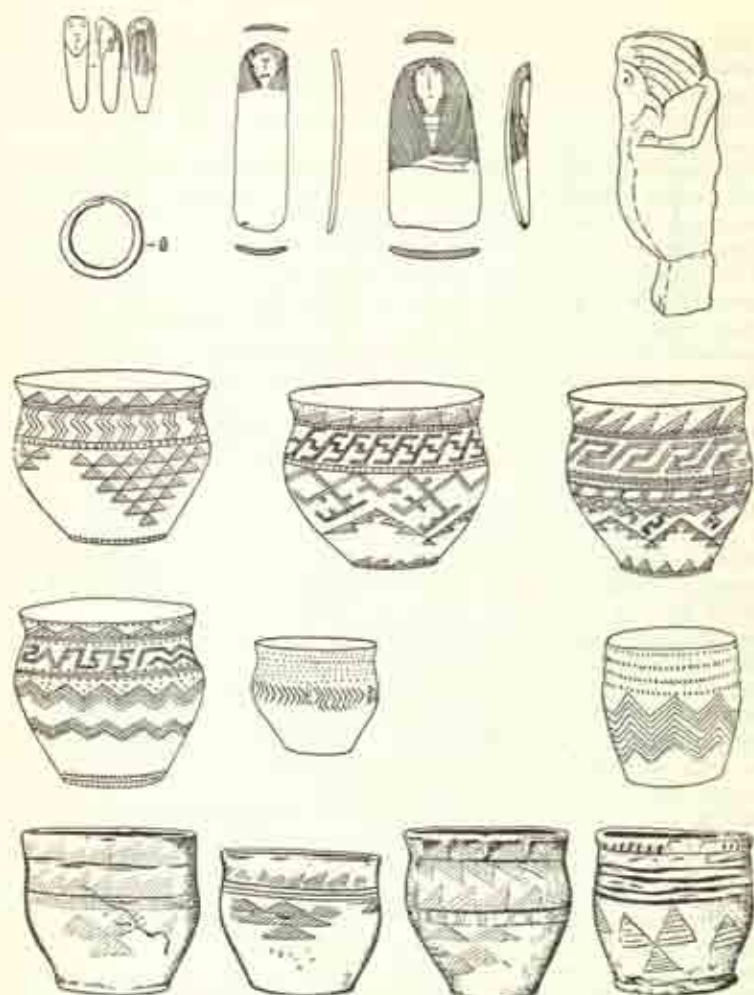
The Andronovian stage, as distinct from the Afanas'yevo, is characterized by flat-bottomed vessels rather than round-bottomed ones, richly ornamented with meander patterns, as well as by a great variety of improved metal tools, including celts, long-handled axes, daggers, spearheads with sockets resembling the so-called Seyma points in the Volga region and the Turbino points in the Urals.

During the Andronovian period, local metal working was therefore raised to a much higher level. Mining of copper, tin and gold came into existence and rapidly developed. The tin was obtained from deposits on the Kalba and Naryn ranges on the upper reaches of the Irtysh.

The further development of pastoralism during this period is indicated, according to S. V. Kiselev, by the appearance of two types of sheep with coarse and fine fleeces.

Alongside pastoralism, agriculture now acquired great importance in the economy, particularly west of the Altay. It was on account of agriculture that the Andronovian tribes changed to a settled way of life.

At the excavations near the village of Alekseyevskoye on the river Tobol in the Kustanayskiy Rayon, for example, the remnants of a settlement consisting of five rectangular dugouts occupying an area up to 250 sq. m have been found; these date from the end of the Andronovian stage. The roofs of the dwellings were obviously made of straw and turf and were supported on a series of wooden posts firmly implanted into the ground and capable of withstanding a heavy load. The walls of the dwellings were probably also wooden. The dwellings were heated by hearths; apart from the central stone hearths, they also contained several others, which were probably used by individual families. Near the dwellings were enclosures for livestock (horses, cows, sheep and goats). The fact that the inhabitants of the settlement tilled the land is shown by the querns found in them, stone hoes and a bronze scythe-shaped cutter for clearing bushes from arable ground, as well as a site for sacrifices. At the bottom of specially dug pits at this sacrificial site there were remains of scorched grains of wheat and straw. The



Anthropomorphic representations and pottery. Finds in Andronovian graves and early Karasuk burials.

development of agriculture, pastoralism and mining among the steppe tribes of Siberia helped the spread of barter, and all this brought about important advances in their social structure.

The Andronovian burials provide a wealth of material suggesting social relationships. Against a background of mass burials with a monotonous and scanty assortment of implements, there stand out individual graves different in size, structure and in the variety of burial objects. This differentiation was observed during the Afanas'yevo stage, but by the end of the Andronovian period it had become particularly marked. There began to appear large barrows, like those excavated near Karkaralinsk in the locality of Bes-Oba. Some of the graves contained gold ornaments besides large-size metal objects. The layout of the burials revealed features indicating the

natural patriarchal community inevitable among pastoral tribes. At the Andronovian burial site near Orak Ulus [village—Ed.] the skeletons are arranged in pairs of a man and a woman.

The intellectual culture of the Andronovian tribes can be gathered from samples of their art and religious sites.

The Andronovian period is typified by copious straight-line geometric designs on the clay vessels. These designs almost entirely cover the surface; they consist of regular and strictly symmetrical figures in the form of zig-zags, hatched triangles, and meanders, sometimes very arbitrarily combined into intricate compositions. The compositions are based on a horizontal division of the ornamented surface into separate bands. In the top band the pattern is strictly limited in a horizontal direction by continuous strips, while beneath it come rhythmic, repeated triangles or angles made by the elements of the meander, or else shaded triangles.

The graves by the church in Abakan contained unique implements made of bone in the form of two smoothly polished plates on which distinctively stylized human faces had been finely engraved.

One plate has the face of a woman with a long, thin nose and a narrow chin, fringed on either side with long, luxurious hair. Earrings made from threaded beads can be seen in the woman's ears and round her throat is a necklace or embroidered collar. These objects have made it possible to assign to the Andronovian period certain stone sculptures from the Minusa steppes, which resemble them in character and depict female deities or progenitors.

Of particular interest as a characteristic of the art, and at the same time the religion, of the ancient tribes of Minusinskiy Kray are remarkable monumental sculptures—steles, which used to be considered of the Karasuk period but are now dated as Andronovian (M. P. Gryaznov). They are only known in the Minusinskiy Kray. These steles are covered with a variety of representations, including circles with rays radiating from them. A very important feature of the Karasuk sculpture is the peculiar "countenance" resembling the snout of a bull or a horse, running across which there is usually a wide strip resembling a halter. Furthermore, the Karasuk "masks" or "countenances" usually have horns at the side and undulating strips fringed with short lines jutting outward. There are cases in which, apart from two normal eyes, there is a third in the forehead. Sculptures depicting the head of a ram are also known.

Worship of the sun is shown by a structure found in the locality of Bes-Oba; it is a circular area surrounded by stone slabs arranged in the form of rays. The close connection between the religious beliefs and rites of the Andronovian agriculturalists and their agricultural background is reflected by the nature of a sacrificial altar found in the excavations near Alekseyevskoye which contained ritual pits filled with scorched grain.

As a whole, the skeletons from the Andronovian burials in the Minusinskiy Kray and the Altay reveal a type close to the Afanas'yev, i.e., a type which is also Europeoid, but with a higher cranial index (a more rounded skull), a straighter forehead and a lower face. These features characterize skulls from the Andronovian burials in West Kazakhstan, which coupled with the resemblance of the West Siberian and Kazakhstan burials of the Andronovian culture may indicate penetration of the Andronovian anthropological type into southwest Siberia from the Kazakhstan steppes (G. F. Debets).

Nor is there any doubt of fairly strong cultural ties between the Siberian Andronovians and their contemporaries living west of the Ob', as far as the Urals and Volga region, where at this time there existed Srubno-Khvalynsk and Seyma-Turbino cultures, close to the Andronovian in many respects.

Thus, the chief area over which the Andronovian culture and Andronovian tribes were spread lay in the steppes of western Siberia, northern and eastern Kazakhstan, whereas the Minusinskiy Rayon was only the site of the most easterly wing of it.

The next stage of development of Bronze Age culture in the classical sense is represented by the Karasuk-type sites on the Yenisey in the Minusa Hollow. These cover a period from about 1300 to 800 B. C.

The Karasuk stage on the Yenisey is characterized first and foremost by the peculiar arrangement of the burial sites. As a rule, they are located some way away from rivers, in the steppes near lakes and small streams, in spots suitable for breeding livestock. The very great importance of pastoralism in the life of the Karasuk population of the Minusinskiy Kray is confirmed by the very common custom of including the meat of domesticated animals, particularly mutton, in the graves (58.6%, according to calculations by S. V. Kiselev). The latter also contained cow and horse bones. Apart from horses and cattle, the Karasuk pastoralists also bred camels. Provided, of course, that the camels were domesticated, this is interesting in that it is a direct indication of contact with the steppe regions of central Asia, as well as of the great importance of pastoralism in the economy of the Karasuk people.

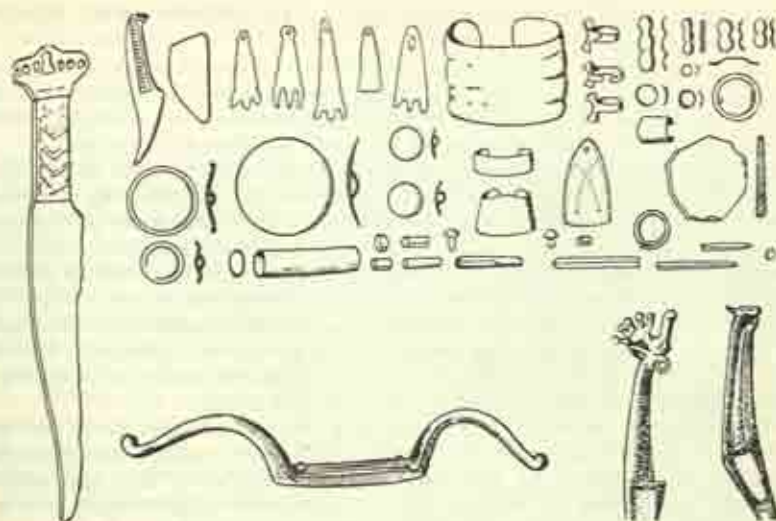
In view of this it is worth noting the chiselled representation of a four-wheel cart found on a stele in the village of Znamenka; the cart is carrying a kibitka [portable nomadic dwelling—Ed.], which shows that the nomadic way of life of these pastoralists on the Yenisey was the advanced, mobile type. These kibitkas are similar in design to those commonly found among the nomadic peoples of much later times.

This new advance in the culture of the population of Minusinskiy Kray of this time can also be seen in the domain of metal work. New forms of daggers, knives and other metal implements begin to appear. For example, we have new types of bronze celts, differing sharply from the more ancient, Andronovian variety. A large assortment of knives, daggers and swords was developed; they all had certain features in common—peculiar projections or lugs at the point where the handle joins the blade, and the knives, in addition, had a characteristic elbow bend and a curved end to the blade. Clippers and sickles became common. New types of metal decorations were developed, including the characteristic wide, solid bracelets, finger rings and web-footed pendants. The technique of casting copper and bronze parts was raised to the level of a genuine art.

At the same time we observe a further increase in barter, which first and foremost is represented by the spread of metal implements of the Karasuk types. Not only are these articles found in the forest regions bordering on the Minusinskiy Kray, and on the Upper Lena, but also in the heart of Yakutiya. It is even more interesting that they can be traced far to the west of the Yenisey in the forest Ural regions (Turbino burial site) and in the European part of the USSR (Seyma burial site near Gor'kly).

The further development of productive forces and the general economic prosperity brought about an increase in population. This is shown by the fact that the number of burials at the sites is considerably greater than in the Andronovian graveyards. It is not unusual to find graveyards consisting of dozens or even hundreds of Karasuk graves.

The increase in population apparently also had an effect on the migration of the Karasuk tribes from the steppe lands to the wooded steppes, right up to the mountainous taiga to the west and southwest of the Minusa Basin. Local centers of culture now began to arise in these regions. These centers were close in a number of characteristics to the Karasuk culture of the



Objects from Karasuk period burials.

Minusinskiy Kray, although possessing certain of their own specific features. This is what occurred on the middle Yenisey near Krasnoyarsk, on the Ob' near Tomsk, and on the Altay. The influence of the cultural ties, which even left their mark on the culture of such extreme northern tribes as the inhabitants of the Vilyuy valley and the tribes of Kazakhstan and the Ural regions, spread further still.

The structure of society continued to develop along the same lines as during the Andronovian period, that is to say, strengthening of the patriarchal clan system. Testimony of this is the layout of the enormous Karasuk graveyards, in which some graves form a veritable network, with the slabs forming the enclosure jutting out from the ground. The small number of graves in these burial complexes suggests that the latter are small graveyards for individual families, i.e., patriarchal communities combined into clans.

The originality and high level of the Karasuk culture, compared with the foregoing period, are most clearly marked in the monuments of art. These are primarily cast specimens representing utilitarian objects, such as knives and daggers, covered with geometrical designs and sculptural embellishments. The knife and dagger handles are often finished with astonishingly lifelike and realistic animal heads, chiefly of ram and elk, and sometimes of bull. However, the realism of these depictions, which are cast with great technical perfection and boldness, is somewhat marred by the peculiar stylization, making them rather primitive and stressing only the most characteristic features of the animals portrayed.

Hence the work of the Karasuk founders shows for the first time specific features of the animal style of the steppe tribes, which later flourished among the Scythians in the first millennium A. D. near the Black Sea and in central Asia, and among the inhabitants of southern Siberia and far-off Mongolia.

At the same time, metal implements of the Karasuk types reveal a remarkable similarity to those from North China, including relics found in

the Yin (Shang) Dynasty graves excavated on the territory of the capital of this dynasty (founded about 1400 B.C.).

Just as marked is the similarity between the Karasuk vessels and those from ancient burials, of roughly the same period, found in regions adjoining North China in the northeast, at Jehol. These include, for example, round-bottomed pots and cylindrical pots with small handles at the sides.

The hypothesis of the closeness of the Karasuk culture in the Minusinskiy Kray to the bronze culture of North China and the neighboring steppes of eastern Asia, which was first put forward by S. A. Teploukhov on the basis of archeological material, has been developed in detail and proved by S. V. Kiselev. According to the latter, a comparatively small number of settlers from the east reached southern Siberia, including the Minusinskiy Kray, during the Yin period. Kiselev assumes that this migration from the south-east of Asia to the north was brought about by the emergence of the very ancient Yin state in North China and its subsequent pressure on neighboring tribes, who were thereby forced to retire to the north.

The migrants from the southeast took with them to the north and west the higher culture attained in North China; this culture progressively influenced the culture of the indigenous Afanas'yevo and Andronovian Europeoid population of Siberia, which continued to inhabit their own territory, although they mixed with the newcomers.

As has already been mentioned, Karasuk-type articles found their way as far west as the Urals (Turmino) and Gor'kly (Seyma burial site). There are no Mongoloid traces, however, in the skeletons from the west Altay or north Kazakhstan burials of this time. In many respects the culture here, too, was different and maintained the Andronovian traditions. Consequently, the ancient agricultural population of the Andronovian period continued to exist there, steadily developing its culture.

The destiny of the forest-steppe and the steppe tribes of the Transbaykal also took its own path.

By the end of the Glazkovian period (see below) we observe important steps forward in the economy and culture of local tribes. Alongside the ancient vessels with pointed bases there appeared flat-bottomed pots close, in the nature of their pseudotextile ornamentation, to the vessels of the ancient Chinese settlements in Ch'eng-Tz'u-Yai ("black-pottery culture") which preceded the Yin Dynasty relics. Among the adornments found in the Fofanovo burial site on the Selenga there are seashells brought from the South Seas, from the region of the Moluccas and Japanese Islands.

Finally, in addition to the Karasuk metal implements and stone axes resembling those found in North China, we now find domestic animals—the horse and the cow—on the Selenga for the first time. Thus, for the first time the Transbaykal tribes set themselves off from their more backward taiga neighbors. Abandoning the original hunting and fishing of their ancestors, they turned to a new form of economy, pastoralism, and possibly even to agriculture.

The conditions under which this turning point in their lives occurred are shown, as we have already seen, by the appearance of a new type of vessel as well as the spread of seashells typical of China.

The effect of the powerful culture of the ancient agriculturalists of China, where at this time a class society was beginning to form, a state was emerging and hieroglyphic writing was being created in its initial form, now reached the Transbaykal, spreading right up to the southwest shore of Lake Baykal, to the Selenga delta.

It is important to note that the indigenous population which settled in the Transbaykal back in the middle of the Stone Age continued to live here as

well, but there are no signs of anything resembling intermixing between the newcomers and the aboriginal tribes on the Selenga.

The Taiga Tribes

There is an opinion commonly found in specialized literature that whereas the steppe tribes of Siberia moved on from stone to metal, their northern neighbors—the forest tribes engaged in hunting and fishing—remained at Stone Age level. This view, however, does not give a picture of the true state of affairs. It is only accurate for the extremely distant regions of northeast Asia, and untrue of most of the Siberian taiga, first and foremost the Baykal regions, where the colorful and original culture of the Baykal Neolithic had been developing for thousands of years.

We left it in the Kitoyan period, i.e., at the end of the third millennium B.C. Let us now take a look at what happened in the Baykal taiga, on the Angara and the Upper Lena in the second millennium B.C., when there was still an Afanas'yev culture in the Minusa and Altay steppes, later replaced by the Andronovian culture.

Study of the relics of the Glazkovian stage, which came after the Kitoyan, shows that it was this stage (about 1800-1300 B.C.) that saw the beginning of metal working in the Baykal region. The very ancient Glazkovian burials, together with the variety of stone and bone implements and pottery, still entirely Neolithic in appearance, contain laurel-leaf knives made of copper and small thin sheets of this new metal, used for embellishment. The early Glazkovian burials are followed by later ones in which, apart from copper implements, we begin to find bronze articles of archaic, though more perfected form: laurel-leaf knives with a short haft or knob, solid fishhooks, needles, tubular piercers rolled from metal plates, and certain other small items.

The appearance of the first copper articles was accompanied by a sudden change in the appearance and number of implements important in a typological sense. The flint arrowheads acquired a straight base, and there appeared double harpoons (fish spears), biconvex nephrite axes (symmetrical in cross section), a special type of rod-shaped stone weight for compound fishhooks, pyrophyllite beads shaped like short, white cylinders and wonderful disks and rings made of white nephrite. The spread of these articles is accompanied by the disappearance of the archaic implements—insertion knives, asymmetrically triangular and spear-shaped hunting knives for men and early types of arrowheads.

This step forward in assortment and technique marks an important turning point in the economic life of the Baykal population, begun back in the Kitoyan period, and now manifested with great clarity. While hunter burials were typical of the Serovian period, in the Glazkovian graves the wealth of burial objects belongs to the true fisherman, whose satchels contain a variety of fishing tackle in strict order. The great importance acquired by the occupation of fishing in the lives of the Glazkovian tribes can be assessed from other, indirect data. The graves are no longer turned to the sun, but now face the rivers; in a number of cases, the graves are shaped like boats, the ornaments are made of river shells and fishbones can be found alongside the remains of the bodies.

In the same way that the economic life of the Glazkovian people was the culmination of trends which began back in the Kitoyan time, a similar situation is observed in their social life. Individual graves rich in relics begin to stand out more and more sharply and frequently against the

background of "average," rank-and-file graves. There are more and more instances in which a male is accompanied by a female and the implements accompanying them differ sharply in assortment in each case. The men have objects associated with male occupations, while the women have articles used by them for domestic duties. A burial was discovered close to Nizhnyaya Buret', for example, in which there were two skeletons. A male skeleton lay on one side of the grave and had by it a variety of stone and bone implements, including dagger-shaped points. Alongside was the skeleton of a woman and an infant; a stone arrowhead was lodged in the woman's pelvis and must have struck her with great force. Judging by the position of the arrowhead in the bone, the woman must have been shot point-blank from behind with a bow and arrow while she was bending down or lying on the ground. The overall picture of the burials suggests that after the man's death, the woman, his wife or concubine or slave, was put to death and buried with him in a common grave as a companion in the next world.

The increasing inequality of property, the rise of slavery, the change from matriarchy to patriarchy and the allied "universal historical degradation of woman," written about by Friedrich Engels—such is the social advance characteristic of the Glazkovian period in the Baykal region.

Two facts must have been of great importance for the very early emergence of the patriarchal family and the accompanying developments. The first of them is the fact that barter between the Glazkovian tribes and their neighbors definitely continued to exist and develop. Furthermore, it is highly probable that the proximity of the Baykal tribes to their steppe neighbors promoted trade in furs. The barter disrupted the original equality among kinsmen: "the basest interests—greed, crude desire for pleasure, vile self-seeking, egoistic appropriation of common property" (F. Engels) began to become more and more pronounced.

A second fact must have been just as important. In northwest America a laborious form of production, fishing, gave rise fairly early to a special social structure, through which certain "aristocratic" families began to stand out among the richer fishermen and slavery became widespread. The northwest Indians attained exactly the same technical level in the process as the Glazkovian tribes, which, apart from stone and bone, had archaic copper implements. Quite naturally, in the eneolithic Baykal regions we observe the same basic everyday life and social culture among the Glazkovian fishermen as among the Indians, Tlingits and Chimshians on the northwest coast of America in the 18th and 19th centuries.

These very important advances obviously had an effect on the approach to life, religion and art of the ancient population of the Baykal region. The predominance of the new orientation toward the river of the burial sites during the Glazkovian period testifies to the rise of the belief that the dead depart downriver where the next world was supposed to lie. This tallies with ethnographic data on belief in the existence of a land of the dead ruled by a hideous monster—a female deity—representing the former matriarchal ruler. During this period there developed the cult of anthropomorphic male spirits, and the first shamans evidently appeared (burials near Anosovo and Ust'-Uda villages on the Angara). Schematic interpretations of subjects now become predominant in art.

The Baykal tribes of the Glazkovian period, being closer neighbors of the population of the Transbaykal and West Siberian steppes than their distant forest contemporaries, especially the inhabitants of the tundra, obviously developed their culture more rapidly and made greater advances because of their advantageous geographical position.

Nevertheless, even the more distant inhabitants of the forest were not in a state of stagnation. The archeological sites of Yakutiya, which cast completely new light on the beginning of the era of metal in this far-off country with its difficult climate, are, for example, exceptionally interesting for the description of their life in the Bronze Age. As these relics show, the tribes of the Far North were also not doomed to Stone Age techniques forever, but moved on to metal and entered the Bronze Age.

The outstanding scientific importance of the discovery of an original Bronze Age culture among the northern tribes both in Europe and in Asia is because so far it has been believed that a northern Bronze Age culture could not have existed. Traditional views of the age-old stagnation of the culture of the northern peoples caused archeologists to explain the occasional discovery in the north of primitively shaped bronze instruments as articles imported by chance from more cultured and developed peoples elsewhere. But the archeologists had only to begin a systematic study of ancient Yakutiya in order to establish that there, too, the true and extremely ancient Neolithic, which was mentioned above, was followed in time by a very ancient local Bronze Age culture.

For example, near the village of Pokrovskoye, 80 km to the south of Yakutsk, on the high bank of the Lena, there proved to be an ancient burial containing stone and bone arrowheads, flint scrapers and a bone spear point with knife-like flint plates inserted in its edge. The composition of the discoveries suggests that the Pokrovskoye burial dates from the Stone Age. But among the stone and bone implements there was also one metal object—a small copper or bronze awl.

Exactly the same thing was found at other spots, for example, on the river Bugachan, this time a long way north of Yakutsk, beyond the Arctic Circle. Beside the skeleton of a hunter and warrior, armed with splendid daggers made of reindeer horn, a bow and arrows with stone points, there lay a bone needle holder. However, the needle inside the holder was not made of bone as usual, but of copper.

It could have been assumed, of course, that these very simple and occasional metal articles had not been made on the spot but brought in from other regions. Further research in the polar regions of Yakutiya, however, brought in fresh, still more important evidence.

At an ancient encampment on the lower reaches of the Lena, far beyond the Arctic Circle, near Siktyakh, the hearth used by one who smelted copper or bronze in it was found preserved together with stone implements and pieces of archaic vessels. In the hearth there were even drops of solidified metal, and beside it pieces of miniature clay vessels shaped like spoons in which the metal was smelted before being cast into the molds.

It now becomes clear that the age of metal began on Yakutiyan territory in the very distant past, at least at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., i.e., more than 3000 years ago. It is an important point that this progressive development in the North was the result of the influence of the Glazkovian Baykal tribes inhabiting the upper reaches of the Lena to the south. Traces of this influence are clearly to be seen, for example, in the art of the Yakutiyan population, in the stylized flat, anthropomorphic bone figurines, white nephrite circles and small "paste" beads similar to the ones discovered in Glazkovian graves on the Lena near Kachuga, and on the Angara. There are also traces of the opposite influence—the original bone tips with a split base found in the Glazkovian burials on the upper Lena were undoubtedly influenced by specimens typical of the middle and lower Lena.

The characteristic nature of the mobile way of life led by the Siberian forest tribes, the relative sparseness of the population, and the absence of

gravestones make it particularly difficult to find Bronze Age burial sites. Nevertheless, there have been discoveries showing that the early period of the forest bronze culture was followed here, too, by another period during which the culture of the local tribes advanced to a higher stage.

The chief occupations of the Yakutian tribes populating the Lena basin at the end of the second and first millennia B.C., just as thousands of years ago, were hunting and fishing. But despite this fact, they possessed bronze celts, spear-tips and even swords made after both steppe, Karasuk and also ancient Chinese models borrowed from the Yin artisans. Their swords were not inferior in size or quality to the Urart swords of Transcaucasia, while the spear tips had no equal either in size or beauty of line in Siberia, nor even Eastern Europe. It is particularly interesting that these swords and spear tips were made by local metal workers and founders who knew how to extract copper from ore, melt it in special miniature crucibles and cast the objects in hand-made clay molds.

This was also the way the descendants of the Glazkovian tribes—the tribes bearing the local mature Bronze Age culture—lived when they settled the lower and upper reaches of the Angara. The Karasuk relics there coincide with the Shiverian stage burials, which are interesting in that they contain works of art differing greatly from the Karasuk steppe type: for example, a sharply stylized figure of an elk carved in horn and a cast of a fantastic "serpent." The latter was found in the grave of a chieftain at whose feet lay the body of a man in a hunched-up position who had evidently been bound hand and foot.

In the Shiverian burials there were found white nephrite rings showing that the ties between the Baykal regions and the population of the Amur and the forest zone in European Russia, indicated by the Turbino and Seyma burial sites, go back to this period and not to the earlier Glazkovian stage.

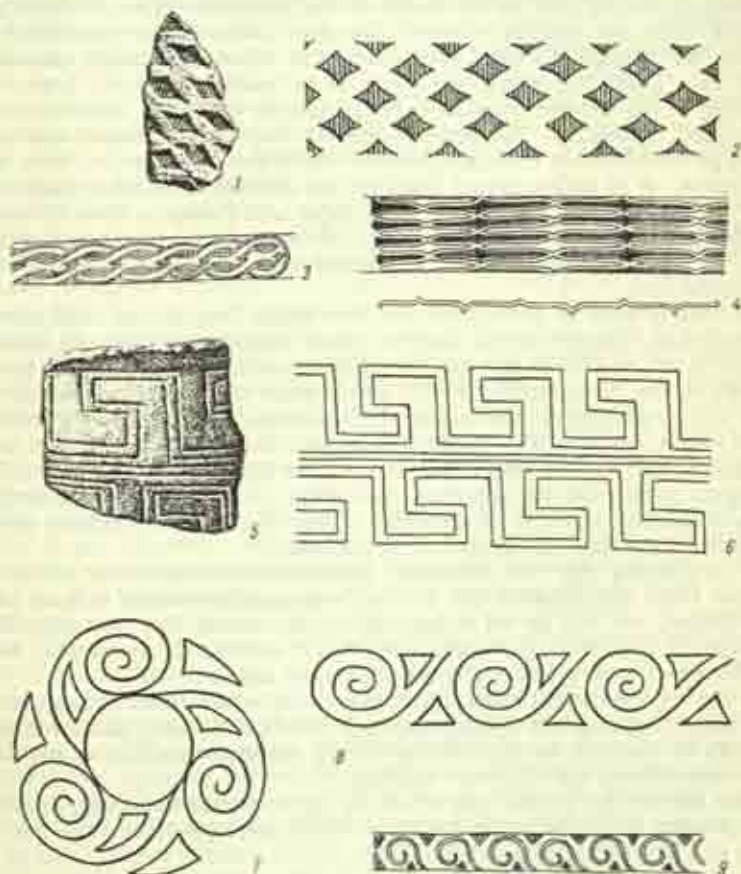
The Ancient Tribal Groups of North Asia

The Neolithic and early Bronze Age sites from the forest regions of Siberia are of additional interest in that they provide a wealth of material for the study of the ethnic history of these regions. For example, the Glazkovian period not only stands out in that it begins an era of new culture and history, the age of the everyday use of metal, or in that very important advances were made in the social life of the tribes of the Baykal region, but because the Glazkovian sites provide us with a colorful picture of the ethnic peculiarities of the tribes of that time and their relationship with the ethnic groups of the present.

Study of the Glazkovian burials has given us valuable facts enabling us to envisage and reconstruct in outline the clothes worn by the people of that time. The most characteristic feature of this clothing was the apron or breastpiece embroidered with disks of shell. The apron found in the Fofanovo burial site on the Selenga took the form of a wide strip of shiny mother-of-pearl beads and covered an area from the neck to the hips. In the Nokhoy ravine on the Angara and in some of the Upper Lena burials the apron was a narrower strip running down the spine of the dead man and widening near the pelvis. These aprons or breastpieces are, as is known, an essential accoutrement of costume among the Northern Tungus and tribes close to them in culture and way of life, first and foremost the Yukagirs.

Tungus-Yukagir aprons of the 19th century were decorated with a variety of pendants, most of them disks and rings.

The costumes of the Glazkovian period also had nephrite disks and large rings. The headgear of the eneolithic period can easily be reconstructed from the arrangement of these traditional mother-of-pearl and nephrite ornaments on skulls found in burials in the Lenkovka ravine and other sites on the Lena and Angara. The ornaments are usually found in the graves in the form of a band across the forehead from temple to temple. In the Lenkovka ravine four splendidly polished disks of white nephrite were symmetrically placed across the forehead, nape of the neck and temples, while the frontal area of the cranium was fringed with a band of small plates of mother-of-pearl. This headgear is also similar to the Tungus-Yukagir type.



Neolithic designs compared with present-day designs used by Amur peoples:
1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8—neolithic designs; 3, 4, 9—contemporary designs.

Just as the Tungus and Yukagirs of the 17th to 19th centuries, the ancient Baykal tribes lived in tents with a stone hearth, used birchbark boats, and went fishing with carved smaller fish as lures. Like the Yukagirs and Tungus in the 17th and 18th centuries, they had their own graphic art based on geometrical patterns with straight lines. Shamans were already in existence among them, and their religious views were without doubt much in

harmony with the Tungus and Yukagir beliefs of the 17th to 19th centuries. The social structure of the Tungus and Yukagir tribes of the 17th and 18th centuries was in many respects a further development of the system characteristic of even the Glazkovian tribes in its embryonic forms: patriarchal clans; inequality of property among the families making up the clans; slavery and interclan feuding.

In its turn, the anthropological material from the Baykal graves studied by Debets enables us to relate the neolithic population of this region, as distinct from that of western Siberia, to the great Mongoloid race. In Debets' opinion, the neolithic skulls of the Transbaykal (excavated by G. P. Sosnovskiy in the area of Ulan-Ude and the Fofanovo grave at the mouth of the Selenga) should also be attributed to the Mongoloid type. Craniological evidence from the neolithic burial site near Krasnoyarsk (Bazalkha) also reveals the Mongoloid type, possibly with some Europeoid admixture.

On this point the anthropologists have made particular note of the closeness of the ancient population of the Baykal region to the present-day Tungus and Yukagirs. The characteristics they have in common show an ancient paleo-Siberian race, features of which are observed in other Siberian tribes. It is an important fact that, as distinct from other bearers of these "paleo-Siberian" features, the Tungus and Yukagirs have preserved most fully features of the culture typical of the neolithic tribes and, what is more, on the very same territory on which the Glazkovian culture existed 4000 years ago.

We should note in particular the interesting fact that in 1952 a human skull together with numerous neolithic stone and bone implements was discovered in a cave near the village of Shilkinskiy Zavod near the town of Sretensk on the river Shilka. M. G. Levin's study of the Shilka skull showed that it was even closer to the Tungus skull than the neolithic skulls from the Baykal region proper. The region where the ancestors of the Tungus tribes lived during the second millennium B. C. must therefore have covered both the Baykal region and the upper reaches of the Amur, which is not surprising, incidentally, when it is considered how close these regions are and how similar are their geographical conditions.

By comparing the rich neolithic discoveries on the lower Amur with material from the present-day (in the ethnographic sense) culture of the Amur tribes, we can go on to say just as accurately that they coincide in a number of important features, particularly economic life (fishing as the basic occupation; semiunderground dwellings) and art.

As can be seen from a comparison of the ancient neolithic ornamentation of the Amur regions and the present-day Nivkhi and Nanay patterns, these tally both as regards the curvilinear ribbon patterns as a whole, and in the motifs—meanders, spirals and "wattling."

Some authorities on the folk art of the Amur tribes have suggested that its originality is due to direct imitation of Chinese specimens and the borrowing of Chinese artistic motifs.

It is now clear that there can be no question of imitation or borrowing, but merely a certain mutual resemblance between the art of the Amur tribes and the Chinese. This resemblance may go back to an extremely distant time, to the age in which the Yang Shao culture existed in the Yellow River Valley (about 2500-2000 B.C.), which had much in common with the culture of the Amur settlements.

Thus, whereas the bleak Siberian taiga and the wooded steppes of the Baykal region were populated by the ancestors of the present-day Evenks and Yukagirs, the warm Amuro-Primorskiy Kray, which was covered to a considerable extent with wild grape and warm-climate plants, was settled

in the early Neolithic by other tribes, the culture of whose descendants, the present-day Amur tribes (Gilyaks and Ul'chi) and neighboring Ainu, has in many respects retained a marked southern aspect right up to the present day.

If it can be assumed that the neolithic Baykal culture belongs to the ancestors of the later Tungus and Yukagir tribes, while the culture of the Amur peoples has its roots in the Amur Neolithic, then the distinctive culture of Yakutiya, which spreads from Vitim in the south and covers all the territory to the north of it, as far as the Arctic, was probably created by other tribes in the Neolithic. These tribes, it can be assumed, are the closest (of those presently existing) to the paleo-Asiatic peoples.

This must have included, first and foremost, some of the ancestors of the Yukagirs, who undoubtedly occupied far more territory in former times than in the 17th to 19th centuries A.D. Data on the settlement of Yukagirs in the relatively recent past show that they occupied the entire country between the Lena in the west, the Aldan in the south, the Anadyr in the east and the Arctic Ocean in the north, being incomparably greater in number in the 17th than in the 18th to 19th centuries.

"The Yukagir camp fires," states the legend, "were as many as the stars in the heavens. Birds passing over them were changed from white to yellow by the smoke." In the distant past the ancestors of the Yukagirs may have occupied still vaster stretches of territory in the north of Asia, including the land above Yakutsk along the Lena, within the territorial bounds of the original neolithic culture of the middle and lower Lena.

The very ancient settlers of the northern Ob' region in the Neolithic can also be associated, on the basis of certain data, with the later inhabitants of those parts, the Khanty and Mansi. This is clearly indicated by the overall similarity, just as pronounced as on the Amur, of the original neolithic designs to present-day typical ornamentation found among the Khanty and Mansi.

It is very interesting that this culture, which should be called East Ural or West Siberian, extends far east of the Ob'. The later neolithic sites on the Yenisey in the region of Krasnoyarsk show that here, too, at the end of the Neolithic they had much in common with the Ural and Ob' regions. At the Ust'-Sobaka encampment near Krasnoyarsk, for example, we find fragments of clay vessels with designs of the Shigir-Ural type. It is still more curious that the miniature figures of bears and human beings made of agalmatolite found in Bazaikha are strikingly similar to certain examples of Late Neolithic art from the Ural regions, and even the northern Baltic regions. This suggests that there was some contact between the Late Neolithic tribes on the middle Yenisey with tribes from the Urals and even more distant western areas. It is not out of the question that certain clans and tribes reached the east from the west and that the western features in the Yenisey culture can be explained by their influence.

The Population of South Siberia During the First Millennium B.C. and the First Millennium A.D.

It would be impossible within the scope of one essay to give a detailed picture of the complex and far-reaching events taking place in Siberia, particularly in the steppe regions, during the first millennium B.C. and the first and second millennia A.D. We will therefore only give a brief general survey of these developments, and those wishing to acquaint themselves more fully with the subject should do so in the specialized literature.

In the first millennium B.C. the Karasuk sites in the middle and upper Yenisey were replaced by Tagarian sites (Minusa barrow culture, according to the terminology of other writers) relating to the 8th and 9th centuries B. C. and in many respects similar to the Scythian sites of the same age. It is thought that this culture belonged to the steppe pastoralists everywhere, except for the Minusinskiy Rayon and the middle Ob'.

In basic outline the Tagarian culture is a continuation and development of the Karasuk culture. Indications of this are the pottery, the forms of metal artifacts, art, graves, general features of economy and everyday life, and also social structure.

The Tagarian culture divides into a series of chronological stages. S. V. Kiselev divides the whole Tagarian period into three stages and dates the beginning of the first one about the 10th century B.C., the beginning of the second in the 5th century, the beginning of the third in the 3rd century, and the end of it in the 1st century B.C. It is assumed that during the Tagarian period, agriculture was developed intensively in the Minusinskiy Kray. Extensive and complex irrigation systems were constructed; even cliffs were sometimes cut away to form canals. The fields were tilled with hoes. The existence of permanent settlements with log houses fits in well with the assumption that agriculture was very important. The famous Boyar cliff drawing depicts one of these Tagarian agricultural settlements. Judging by the drawing, chiseled on a smooth rock surface, it consisted of four mortised log dwellings. By the side is a yurt made of felt, similar to the ancient Mongolian tents, with a high, narrow section at the top. The remains of a log house from the Tagarian period have also been found near Krasnoyarsk.

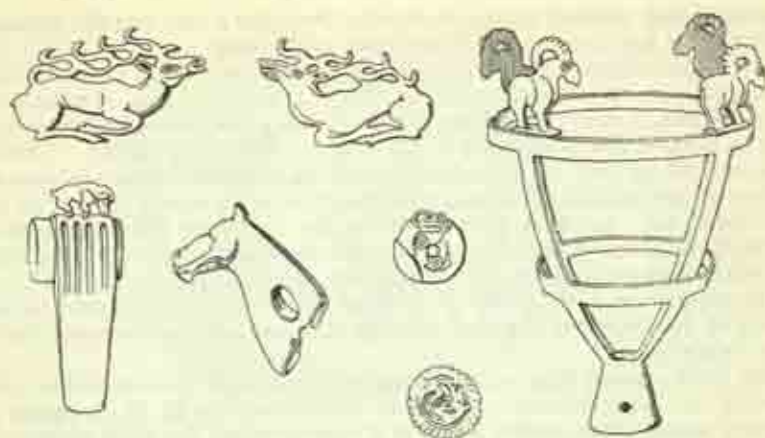
In the sphere of pastoralism a very important development was the final taming of the horse for purposes of riding; this is shown by bronze and, later, iron bits of early Scythian shape.

In metal working we notice a certain standardization of metal implements and specialization in crafts. We encounter stocks of bronze parts, typical of the culminating point of the Bronze Age culture and the exchange of metal and metal objects associated with it.

The growth of this exchange can be judged from the abundance of decorations brought in from other parts in the form of multicolored glass beads and genuine paste beads, i.e., beads made with so-called glass paste. These used to be made in the Mediterranean and countries of the classic East. They were undoubtedly regarded as a valuable item in the Minusa steppes. As a result of increased exchange with more advanced countries where iron became widespread during the second stage of the Tagarian culture, iron appeared for the first time in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Minusa Hollow. During the third stage, iron ousted bronze completely as a material for making work tools.

The social structure of the population of the Minusinskiy Kray during the Tagarian period shows up first and foremost in a standard combination of male and female graves, although a sharp division between the two is observed in the burial accoutrements. Household objects were usually placed in the grave alongside the women and arms alongside the men. It is true that from time to time we encounter burials of armed female warriors. But as a whole all the available data suggest that the man was the head of the family: in the family graveyards unearthed in the Tagarian barrows the graves of the males always occupied the main spot—the center of the barrow or underneath its highest, northern part.

The second stage of the Tagarian culture, according to Kiselev, is typified by the combination of numerous ordinary barrows, in which the



Representations of animals on objects of Tagarian period. From Minusa Hollow.

majority of kinsmen were buried, with impressive barrows for the heads of the patriarchal clan. One such barrow, the Salbyk, is about 70 m high with a perimeter of 250 m. It is surrounded by a ring of enormous stone slabs and pillars.

Later, during the third stage, we begin to find collective graves in which, however, it is also possible to trace individual burials with badges of rank—"crests"—and with burial masks as well. This tallies well with information indicating an increase in armaments and development of warfare among the ancient Tagarians. For example, for 15 Karasuk daggers in chance finds from Minusa there are 230 Tagarian objects of this type. Excavations have revealed graves of Tagarian warriors with daggers, maces [klevtsy], bows and arrows.

It follows from everything that has been said that the leadership of the ancient patriarchal communities and clans, which had been acquiring ever greater force, finally crystallized under a mature patriarchal clan system. The new conditions gave rise to characteristic features of art reflecting a sort of cult of brute force and agility; there arose the "animal style" with its inherent monumental strength and dynamism.

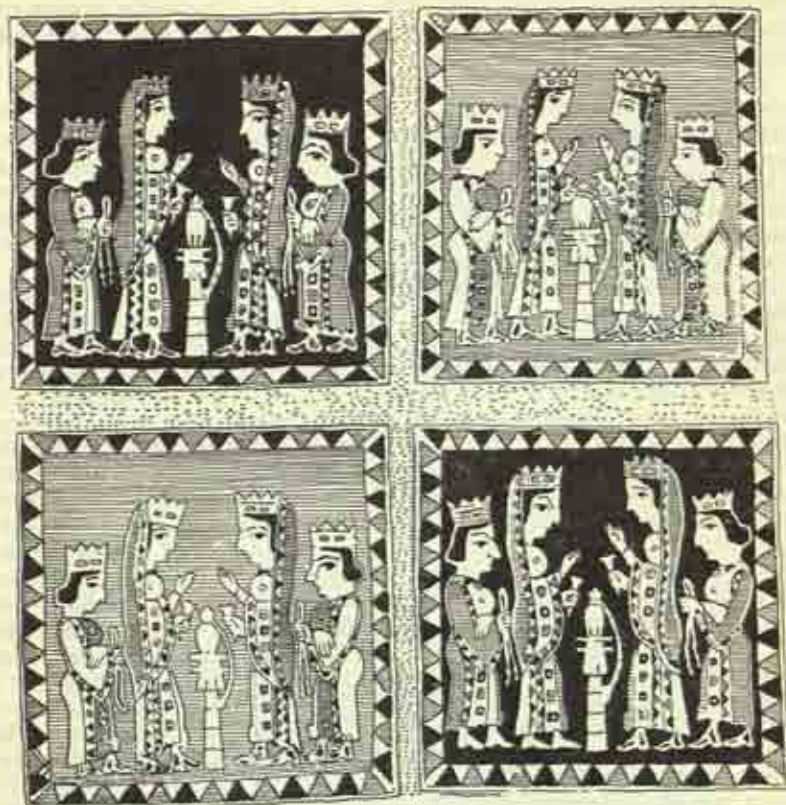
The tendency toward stylization is most pronounced in the ornamental deformation of the bodies of animals and their parts. The animals' trunk is bent in a circle ("coiled animal") and the length and width are unnaturally exaggerated. Some of the appendages, e.g., paws or claws, are made into rings, and the head is elongated or bent back; the neck is supplemented with a number of extra heads, including heads of birds; as time passes, images of monsters begin to appear. Certain canonical devices, i.e., clichés of a sort, begin to develop and are used for the depiction of other animals. Such is the traditional pose of the "coiled animal" used for beasts of prey. The deer is depicted in the same stereotyped pose, with its legs characteristically drawn up and antlers lying along its back.

These new features all grow up on the old Karasuk basis, though in close and lively combination with the art of classical Scythia, both European and Central Asian—the Sakian. The latter, in turn, is linked with the Near East and the Mediterranean. This was the foundation of the great cultural syncretism of the first millennium B.C., the remarkable cultural community, which in the Scytho-Sarmatian period covered a vast belt of



Gold plaques from West Siberian barrows of 5th-2nd centuries B.C.
Siberian collection in Hermitage Museum:
1—gryphon; 2—winged lion attacking a horse.

Ocean. Even the horses, the bodies of which were placed near their masters, indicate the wealth and eminence of the latter. They are splendid mounts belonging to the best breeds of the East, hot-blooded horses, elegant and mettlesome steeds of a golden-red-brown color. They were not allowed to graze, but were kept in stables and fed with the very best grain.



Fragment of Near Eastern fabric.
Pazyryk.

The monumental size of the graves, as well as their splendor and luxury, in itself reflects the important role played by the persons buried in the Pazyryk barrows among their kinsmen. The fact that the barrows lie in a chain means that the dead buried in them were related. One grave was added to another as the members of a prominent clan died. The small number of large barrows at Pazyryk, however, suggests that the graves do not belong to one complete clan, but to successive generations of leaders, or a kind of dynasty.

It is unlikely that the head of an ordinary clan could be surrounded by such splendor both during life and after death. Those buried were evidently persons who had stood at the head of large groups of tribes, and whose influence must have reached far beyond the Pazyryk Valley.

This is shown by all the discoveries in the barrows which reflect the highly ramified, wide-scale ties between the Pazyryk tribes and the world outside. The very structure of the grave and the burial ritual are an indication of this.

The Pazyryk tribes buried their leaders according to the Scythian custom, which we know about not only from excavations, but also from accounts by a contemporary of the Scythians—Herodotus. Both the Black Sea

Scythians and the Pazyryks erected the same kind of imposing graves in the form of deep caverns with large chambers inside, above which were heaped mounds of earth.

They embalmed the bodies of dead chiefs in an equally artistic and thorough manner. According to Herodotus, this custom was not only motivated by the desire to preserve the body of the dead man forever, as was the case in ancient Egypt, but also by the fact that the Scythians used to carry the bodies of dead chiefs through the territories they ruled. This must also have been the case with their Altayan contemporaries. It is worth noting here that the embalmed bodies buried at Pazyryk even preserved the tattoo marks, mentioned in passing by ancient writers.

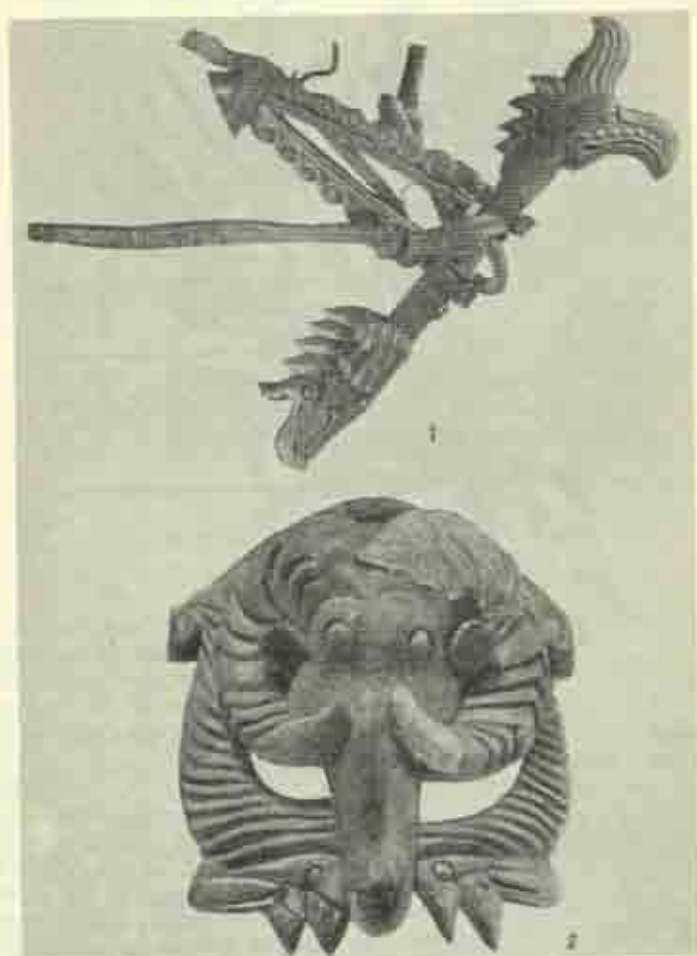
The tribal chief buried in the second Pazyryk barrow had evidently been killed in battle. His skull had been smashed by blows from a club and his enemies had scalped him. But kinsmen had rescued the body of their chief, embalmed it and buried it together with his wife or concubine, who was also embalmed. During the interment the dead chief was adorned with a long false beard, heavily dyed with black coloring. The body was lavishly covered with tattoo marks which had been applied by the pricking method a long time before death. The area above the chief's heart was tattooed with a figure of a mythical animal or lion-gryphon with a bird's head at the end of its tail. A series of figures on his right arm had been preserved; these included an onager or ass with its rump turned upwards, some sort of winged monster, a mountain goat, a deer with a beak at the end of its snout, a fanged beast of prey and finally a deer with a clipped serrated mane. On the left arm were the figures of two deer and a mountain goat. On the front of the chief's right leg were representations of a fish, similar to a burbot, a monster with a mane composed of birds' heads and a tail spiraling upwards. On the inside of the leg was a series of figures of mountain goats racing along one behind the other. The horse graves in Pazyryk also reproduce the Scythian hecatombs traditional during the burial of chiefs, although on a lesser scale.

Herodotus' account is borne out vividly by a specific detail of the Altayan burials—a bronze incense bowl with hemp inside and the six-legged frame of a miniature tent, the purpose of which becomes clear in the light of the account given by Herodotus of the Scythian ritual of cleansing.

Close ties with the south, first and foremost with the Scythians of central Asia and southern Russia, are also indicated by art relics taken from the Pazyryk barrows. Figures of animals—elk, roebuck, reindeer, sniga, hare, lion, tiger and boar were central in Pazyryk art. Among the artistic relics of the Pazyryk craftsmen we just as often come across pictures of birds—swans, geese, cocks and particularly the predatory gryphons, made of different materials by a variety of techniques. There is even a representation of a pelican. From time to time we find pictures of fish.

A very important place in Pazyryk art belongs to unreal, mythical creatures which combine the characteristics of different animals in a whimsical way. One such object has the body of a beast of prey supplemented with the wings of a bird, while others show birds with mammalian ears and horns, and a third group has the body of a deer or beast of prey, while the head is completed with a beak. There is also a deer with the beak of an eagle and the tail of a cat. In a number of cases the tails of these monsters have birds' or snakes' heads at the end. Birds' heads are sometimes found on the tips of branching antlers.

One of the most commonly occurring monsters of this kind is the eagle-gryphon, i.e., a being with a body of a lion or tiger, the wings of a bird and the large-eared head of a predatory gryphon. The lion-gryphon, on the contrary, has the head of a predatory feline, either a lion or tiger.



Wooden harness ornaments:
1—bridle with gryphon heads; 2—ram's-head pendant.

A quaintly colored sphinx with a human chest and arms and a lion's rear stands out particularly. Its face is red-brown; it has a fleshy hooked nose and a black mustache curving upward. On its head the monster has a lavish set of antlers, and from its back protrudes an imposingly shaped wing made of long multicolored plumes. These plumes are red, yellow and blue and black at the tip. The sphinx's tail ends in a stylized deer antler. Both the actual animals and the monsters are often depicted at grips with one another. Such, for example, are compositions showing goats fighting each other, or a lion tearing a mountain goat to pieces. We also see the gryphon, a winged monster with ears, in the act of pouncing on an elk, a lion-gryphon attacking a goat, and an eagle-gryphon fighting a lion-gryphon. Even the fish is shown gripping a ram's head in its mouth.

Typical of the representations of animals in the Pazyryk barrows are points of style which ally them with the art of the ancient East, first



Sphinx. Felt appliqué on felt tapestry.
Pazyryk.

and foremost, with the art of Achaemenian Iran. This includes, first and foremost, the "horseshoes" and "half-horseshoes," "points" and "comas" which are used to represent the more pronounced muscles, ribs and other features of animals. Such is the original method of depicting animals with the rear end turned upward as though the body had been twisted in the middle like an S. Just as characteristic is the custom of the Pazyryk craftsmen of fully adapting the shape of the body to the shape of the object on which its image was being drawn, such as a round badge, saddle covering for a bridle or the handle of a whip. The Pazyryk craftsmen achieved their aim with remarkable resourcefulness and virtuosity, without varying the proportions of the body of the animal or any of its parts to any extent, and always depicting them in such a way that the picture retains a realistic basis and astonishing animation.

The art of the ancient Altay tribes, examples of which were preserved in the icy chambers of the Pazyryk barrows, is profoundly original and indigenous. Nevertheless, it also reveals much in common both with the animal style of the Scythian tribes in the Black Sea region and the art of the higher civilizations of the classical East, i.e., Hither Asia, particularly Syria and Achaemenian Persia.

Two objects found in 1949 in the fifth and last barrow eclipse all the others. These were two carpets. The first, made of felt, is staggering in size alone. It is 6.5 m long and 4.5 m wide. The entire edge of the carpet is taken up by two horizontal bands depicting a horseman and a seated woman, repeated all the way round in identical form. The woman's head is crowned with a high hat and she is dressed in a long, patterned robe; she is sitting on a chair with carved legs. In one hand she holds a branch with blossoms.



Goddess and horsemen. Appliqué on felt tapestry.
Pazyryk.

This is undoubtedly a female deity, most probably the goddess of the earth, as indicated by the branch in her hand.

The horseman in front of her is dressed in a short tunic; at his side hangs a holder for a bow. A short cape billows out behind him. The horseman is hatless and has a head of thick, curly hair. His face is striking. The nose is large and hooked, and the eyes are black and round; the face is swarthy and in no way does it resemble the facial features of the contemporary inhabitants of Siberia. It is a typical Armenoid. Thus, the large Pazyryk carpet from the fifth barrow depicts a cult scene usual on examples of Scythian art from the Black Sea region—a horseman in front of an enthroned goddess. This scene most probably shows an emperor or chief being invested with authority by the goddess—in the case in point, as assumed by S. I. Rudenko, the goddess of the earth or the mistress of the emperor's hearth—Tabiti.

The second carpet, 4 sq. m in area, is even more astonishing. We see the oldest multicolored woven carpet in the world with velvet pile, no inferior in perfection or craftsmanship to the best Turkmenian and Persian carpets, although it is at least 2000 years older than all the known museum carpets of this kind.

On the second Pazyryk carpet, around a wide central square-shaped area filled with a geometrical design in the form of radiant rosettes, there are wide ornamental bands depicting monstrous eagle-gryphons and realistically depicted deer and horses with people. The horses are shown in extravagant Near Eastern harness with a plume on the head; their manes are carefully trimmed and their tails are tied in a knot with tassels. The horses have breastplates, and their saddlecloths are decorated with a rich pattern and edged with a thick fringe. The horsemen or the people leading horses by the bridle are dressed in typically Scythian clothing. They are wearing Scythian bashlyks [hoods] on their heads, short tunics and long, narrow trousers.

In this way, it can be seen that the high-level culture of the ancient Altay tribes, existing in the middle of the first millennium B.C., arose and developed under conditions of close cultural and political ties with the advanced countries of the time. In the light of the Pazyryk excavations the ancient Altay no longer looms up as a backward and impoverished province, but a center of a high and colorful culture.

Where and when did the culture arise, and who created it? Most probably the Pazyryk barrows were left by the rivals of the Mongolian Huns—the Eastern Scythians, Yüeh-chih, who were known to the ancient writers as Massagetae.

Back in the third century B.C., i.e., before the rise of the Huns, the Yüeh-chih ruled the nomads inhabiting the steppes from Central Asia to Kansu, including the Huns. The Huns were not liberated until the time of the Shan-yüeh Mo-teh, at the beginning of the second century B.C. In 165 the chief of the Huns, the Shan-Yueh Lao-Shan, completely routed the Yüeh-chih and forced them to move to the West. It is most natural to assume that the Iranian-speaking Yüeh-chih and Massagetae were able to take possession of mountainous Altay, a region which for ages had been closely linked with the steppe tribes of Central Asia and Eastern Europe, not only in the second century B.C., but even much earlier. These may well have been the regions over which one of the nomadic Yüeh-chih tribes wandered for many centuries. Most of these tribes occupied the territory of present-day Kazakhstan and probably to some extent Eastern Turkestan, right over to Kansu. The astonishing treasures of the Pazyryk barrows may well have belonged to this Massagetic tribe settling on the far northeastern borders of Massagetic territory.

In the Altay the Pazyryk barrows are followed by later sites dating back to the third or second century B.C. To judge from these, the population of the Altay still steadily preserved its colorful and original culture, together with the ancient rituals, including burial. Just as before, large wooden structures were erected to bury the chiefs; just as before, the dead were buried in enormous sarcophagi; just as before, the bodies of horses with complete trappings were placed beside them in separate sections.

The art also remained fundamentally the same. This art, however, no longer shows traces of ties with the classical East or with the countries of the Near East, but we observe ties with China of the Ch'in and Han dynasties. These ties may have been formed through the Huns who, as already mentioned, inflicted on the Yüeh-chih a crushing blow in 165.

In the Minusinskiy Kray, or the country of the Khyagasy, as the Chinese called it at the time, the most vivid relics relating to the first centuries A.D., are the Tashtyk relics.

The inhabitants of the Minusinskiy Kray continued to engage in pastoralism and agriculture during the Tashtyk period. It is interesting to note that during the excavations of the Syrskiy "chatas" along the river Tuba, L. R. Kyzlasov discovered the oldest authentic Siberian traces of reindeer-breeding: charred wooden figures of reindeer with halters similar to those used for horses. The numerous settled or semisettled population of the time left behind it on the Yenisey earthen graves or vault-type graves. The graves contained the remains of cremated bodies placed in special "nests" woven from grass. From time to time the remains of artificially mummified bodies were found.

A noteworthy feature of the Tashtyk burials is the distinctive masks, which sometimes represent the face of the dead man with portrait-like precision. These masks bring out the mixed Europeoid and Mongoloid

features. The graves were found to contain anthropomorphic dummies embroidered with Chinese silk, clearly related in purpose to the ritualistic representations of the dead among a number of Siberian peoples in the 19th century which "replaced" the dead for a while after death (for example, the "fanya" among the Nanays).

A number of graves contained carefully woven braids of human hair. Various fragments of ceremonial wooden sunshades, similar to those found in the Noin-Ula graves of the Hun chieftains, were discovered in the Tashtyk graves. These sunshades were used in China as a symbol of authority. The Chinese emperors usually presented them to the chiefs of various tribes who came under Chinese influence. The aristocrats among the ancient Khyagasy obviously strove to imitate Chinese customs in every way. They carried ceremonial sunshades similar to those used by Chinese officials—perhaps presented by the Chinese government in a number of cases—and made themselves clothes of Chinese precious silks. Ties with China are also suggested by the stylistic features of sculptured objects from the Tashtyk period, reminiscent of the sculpture of Han China. In this way the Tashtyk finds are a vivid indication of the radical change, far more definite than in the Altay, in the main trend of cultural and political relations. While the inhabitants of the Altay and the Minusinskiy Kray were in contact with the western tribes at an earlier stage, a new influence now begins to show up more and more clearly, i.e., the influence of China, the most ancient and most powerful state in eastern Asia.

How firmly entrenched in the orbit of Chinese influence the Khyagasy country became is shown by a completely unexpected find—the remains of a building purely Chinese in architectural style and method of construction; it was situated not far from Abakan and contained tiles with traditional goodwill inscriptions to the Chinese emperor and solid doorknobs cast from bronze in the form of anthropomorphic masks—the head of the T'aot'ieh monster. A noteworthy feature of these masks is the type of face which served as the original before the exaggerated treatment of it. It is not a Chinese version of a monster's head, but an exaggerated portrayal of an actual physical type of ancient Europeoid—the Tagarian, with his high, hooked nose and large wide-open eyes. The Abakan masks may have been cast by local craftsmen who depicted the spirits of their country as they appeared to the local population, but they might also have been made by a Chinese who wanted to depict the features of the inhabitants of the middle Yenisey Valley, so unusual and striking from the Chinese point of view.

Inside the house were found the remains of a complicated system of heating, with pipes running underneath the floor. It is very probable that this was the residence of the Chinese commander, Li Ling, who was captured by the Huns in 99 B.C., or his descendants who ruled the Khyagasy country. Chinese accounts of the fate of Li Ling tell us the specific conditions under which the influence of Chinese culture was so marked on the Yenisey at the beginning of our era, when the Han Dynasty ruled in China. These accounts, coupled with archeological data, also enable us to understand the history of the Minusinskiy Kray in the first millennium A.D. to a far greater extent.

In the year 99 B.C. a Chinese army was sent into Hun country under the command of Li Kuang-li, famous for his campaign in Central Asia. His grandson, Li Ling, who commanded a special detachment of infantry numbering 5000 men, moved against the Huns at the same time. The Huns surrounded Li Ling's detachment and took him prisoner. Remaining with the Huns, Li Ling "was given possession of Khyagas." Li Ling died in



Objects from ruins of Chinese house. Abakan.

74 B.C. He was apparently followed as a ruler of the Yenisey by his son, who took an active part in the stormy political events accompanying the decline of the Hun Alliance into the northern and southern areas during the time of the Shan-Yüeh Hu-han-yeh. Li Ling's reign in the Khyagasy country was long remembered by the local population. We are told by the historians of the T'ang Dynasty that all black-eyed people were considered there to be descendants of Li Ling. The Kyrgyz kagans (nomadic chieftains) claimed descent from Li Ling, which was taken into account by the Chinese in their diplomatic relations with the Kyrgyz.

Thus the influence of Chinese culture found its way to the Yenisey through the medium of the Huns, whose aristocratic leaders had established close contact with China by that time and were still more strongly impressed by its highly developed culture.

The political and socioeconomic history of the Yenisey Khyagasy, to judge from Chinese accounts, also developed under the influence of the Huns, on whom they depended politically, and although they retained a certain autonomy in their internal affairs, they were ruled by the local representative of the Hun Shan-yüeh. Hence we must agree with S. V. Kiselev that the methods of administration developed by the Huns and the ways of exploiting the direct producer must have stimulated the development

of the social order of the Yenisey Khyagasy and helped to strengthen the local ruling clique.

Their close association with the Huns is also reflected unexpectedly by the war waged by the Khyagasy against the Huns led by Li Ling's son. The Khyagasy certainly learned a great deal from the Huns from the military, administrative and political point of view. Their ties with the Huns as well as with China may therefore have done a great deal to prepare the way for local state organization among the descendants of the Khyagasy, the Yenisey Kyrgyz of the first millennium A.D. Both the bearers of Tagarian culture and the ancient Khyagasy, to judge by the burial masks and Chinese historical accounts, were typical Europeoids until they mixed with the Turkic tribes.

A large number of skulls from the Tagarian burials have been studied by G. F. Debets. As a whole, the skulls show Europeoid features. Just as in the burials of the preceding age, we find here, apart from the predominant dolichocephalic type, going back to the ancient Afanas'yev type, a brachycephalic component similar to the Andronovian. It may be that these ancient Europeoids from southern Siberia were related to the mysterious Ting-ling, mentioned by Chinese sources.

However, the mixture of new, Mongoloid people, similar to the present-day Central Asians, appears fairly early on the Yenisey, particularly on the Altay. For example, among the people buried in the Pazyryk barrows, there were some who were typical Mongoloids in physical type rather than Europeoids, as in the Black Sea region. This means that the culture of the southern Siberian tribes in the middle of the first millennium B.C., which was surprisingly close to the Black Sea Scythian culture, belonged to some other tribes, among whom were representatives of ethnic groups linked by blood with the heart of Asia, settled by a population which was important in that the Pazyryk barrow revealed objects indicating an unexpectedly vivid and close relationship between this fossilized culture of the distant past and that of the modern pastoral tribes of Siberia and Central Asia.

The felt carpets and saddle blankets taken from the ice-filled chambers at Pazyryk proved to be covered with exactly the same curvilinear patterns as are found on similar objects made by the Kirgiz,¹¹ Altays and Kazakhs. In turn, among the discoveries in the Tashtyk graves there were various objects linking the culture of the Tashtyk period with that of the Yenisey Kyrgyz of the first millennium A.D., for example, belts assembled from metal plaques.

The highly developed and fabulously wealthy art of the very ancient period was thus the original home ground of the present-day folk art of the Siberian and Central Asian steppe dwellers. This art is still alive after 2500 years, although in a greatly modified form, and is an indication of the complex historical past and rich cultural heritage of these tribes who were at one time considered "extra-historic" and "primitive."

Eastern Siberia in the First Millennium B.C.

At the beginning of the first millennium B.C., the vast expanses of forest from the Yenisey to Lake Baykal were settled by numerous tribes who, just as their ancestors, lived by hunting and fishing.

¹¹A modern Central Asian people, not to be confused with the ancient Kyrgyz of the Yenisey.—Ed.

The settlements built by the hunters and fishermen of the East Siberian taiga have been studied best of all on the lower reaches of the Angara, below Bratsk and around Irkutsk, and on the islands situated at the point where the Angara leaves Lake Baykal.

Stone work tools and weapons were now either completely or almost completely replaced by implements made of copper and bronze. Cast bronze adzes and axes, the same kind of knives and daggers, awls, mirrors and other metal objects are commonly found at encampments and among chance discoveries. Some of these objects came from craftsmen of neighboring steppe tribes. For example, such characteristic objects of everyday use as Scythian copper cauldrons with a high conical base, adapted for cooking meat in the steppes where dry manure, grass or scrub was used as fuel, were brought in from the steppes. In the taiga, which abounds in splendid fuel, this type of fuel-saving cauldron was out of place, but once they had the objects, the forest tribes obviously made use of them. Many objects were made on the spot, on the Angara and Lena, although they were modeled on articles of the Bronze Age steppe culture. Finally, we find features indicating local indigenous traditions. For example, along with steppe-type knives, close to those of a Minusa or Transbaykal type, plate knives of an original type, which have their counterparts among the Glazkovian knives, were found on an island near Irkutsk.

The same stamp of originality is borne by the entire material culture of the East Siberian forest tribes, first and foremost by their ceramics. As distinct from their steppe neighbors, they did not make flat-bottomed but round-bottomed clay vessels, the shape of which perpetuated the vessels used by their neolithic forefathers and the people of the early Bronze Age in the Baykal region—the Glazkovians. Something new, however, was the design embellishing these old-fashioned vessels. They were covered from top to bottom with horizontal series of ridges, often taking the form of interconnected arcs.

Among tribes of eastern Siberia the ancient forest art continued to survive without any great change. In the cliff drawings of the Angara and Lena there is still nothing resembling the elaborate ornamental animal style of the steppe nomads, nor the variety of animals characteristic of the steppe art. The dwellers in the taiga by and large decorated their caves with elk, carefully outlining the shape of their bodies as before. The cliff drawings, just as before, were made mostly with red ochre, but sometimes they were chiselled out on a smooth rock surface by the ancient point retouche technique.

The old faiths continued to persist, and the ancient shamanism of the forest hunters was consistently being developed. A vivid relic of these beliefs is a large frieze on the Shishkino Cliffs on the upper reaches of the Lena, where a whole series of boats, probably sailing one behind the other into the land of the dead along the sacred river, is depicted in dark crimson coloring. There are people or anthropomorphic spirits sitting in the boats with their arms raised up; below is a fallow deer with its head thrown back, and on its hip can be seen a series of concentric circles or spirals drawn one inside the other, as is often the case in the Bronze Age pictures of animals in the steppes. Around the fallow deer is a group of people or spirits with horns on their heads and curious tails. These anthropomorphic images, strange as it may seem, are strikingly similar to those found in cliff drawings in Scandinavia dating from the Bronze Age, and also on Scandinavian bronze razors of the same period. It is not out of the question that during the Bronze Age there were cultural ties between the tribes of northern Asia and northern Europe.



Bone arrowheads, metal artifacts and pot from eastern Siberian taiga.
Bronze Age.

Another interesting figure on these cliffs in Shishkino is a mythical monster evidently trying to swallow a round object. This drawing probably shows the mongoose—a well-known monster in Central Asian myths—trying to swallow the moon or perhaps the sun.

A notable feature of the life of these forest tribes in Eastern Siberia was their cultural ties with distant China, traces of which are clearly shown in the most abundant archeological material—ceramics. Alongside fragments of round-bottomed vessels of the local type, we find on the Angara islands fragments of vessels of a completely different kind with a small base in the form of a ring covered with unusual sculptured design and textile imprints on the outside. Exactly the same kind of vessel had been used for centuries, including the Bronze Age, by the ancient Chinese who used to call them "tzu." A direct link with the ancient Chinese bronze celts of the Yin dynasty is also shown by the taiga-type bronze celts characteristic of East Siberia. These are marked by elongated proportions, rectangular shape and a specific design consisting of convex linear bands forming triangles or circles drawn one inside the other with a point in the middle. By comparing this design with that of the Chinese celts of the Yin period, it can easily be seen that the Baykal casters of the Bronze Age almost entirely utilized the Chinese designs, which had evidently fired their imagination, although they simplified them slightly and made them incomparably more schematic in character. How these unexpected traces of an ancient Chinese culture penetrated into the depths of the East Siberian forestland becomes clear when we acquaint ourselves with the life and culture of the population of the neighboring Transbaykal steppes in the Bronze Age.

But before dealing with the Transbaykal, we should say a few words on the tribes who at the time lived still farther to the north and east, in present-day Yakutiya.

By the middle of the first millennium B.C., the descendants of the first Yakutian metalworkers had moved further on. They had mastered the art of making splendid bronze celt axes, daggers, swords and spearheads. Their tools are often amazingly large, and in thoroughness of finish are not inferior to objects made by steppe craftsmen.

The taiga warriors and hunters of the Bronze Age therefore had marvelous bronze weapons. Just as the heroes of the *Iliad*, they fought with copper-edged swords and copper-pointed spears.

Ties between the Yakutian tribes and other countries continued to increase and strengthen at the same time. A bronze sword found at Vilyuy is extraordinarily like the swords and daggers of the Karasuk type; a bronze cauldron discovered on the upper reaches of the Markha River is a repetition in shape of the steppe cauldrons of the so-called Scythian type. In the Vilyuy Basin there was found a bronze vessel similar in shape and design to Bronze Age vessels made by Chinese craftsmen of the Chou period.

Notwithstanding, the forest tribes of the Bronze Age persistently maintained in every other respect their ancient way of life and their centuries-old cultural traditions. Just as before, their clay pots had flat rather than round bottoms. On their sacred clan cliffs they continued to draw elk and reindeer, and spirits and shamans in horned headgear. Their ornamental designs continued to consist of straight-line geometrical patterns based on a rhythmic alternation of horizontal and vertical, long and short lines. They contained nothing like the elaborate ornamental style and whimsical patterns of the steppe pastoralists of the time. They had their own colorful cultural world which stretched for thousands of kilometers over taiga, forest-tundra and tundra, along one of the greatest Asian rivers—the Lena—and its tributaries.

Just as among their Baykal neighbors and the steppe tribes, the Yakutian and Baykal tribes of the Bronze Age must have gradually

changed from the matriarchal clan to the patriarchal. This is shown indirectly by the predominance of anthropomorphic images over zoomorphic ones in the cliff drawings, as well as the appearance of a kind of metal standard with representations of bearded human faces—probably male ancestors, the patrons and protectors of the clan.

Transbaykal in the First Millennium B.C.

At the end of the second and during the first millennium B.C. the steppes of the Transbaykal and regions farther to the north, right up to the Gobi and Ordos, were inhabited by numerous tribes who all led the same way of life and whose cultures were strikingly similar.

These tribes, as distinct from their northern neighbors of the taiga, were typical pastoralists. They successfully raised all the principal breeds of domestic animals—horses, cows, sheep and goats. Compared with the dwellers of the taiga and tundra, they were therefore bearers of a new, advanced culture based on an incomparably more advanced economy and a way of life that was new in principle.

The comparatively early rise and rapid development of pastoralism in the Transbaykal and neighboring Mongolia was brought about by the favorable climatic conditions of these regions of Asia, with their abundant and boundless pastureland. These natural conditions opened up great possibilities for rearing livestock with an extensive grazing economy.

The pastoralists of the Transbaykal were able to pasture their herds the whole year around without bothering to store hay for the winter, because of the abundance of wide-open spaces and hilly inclines which were blown free of snow by the steppe winds, revealing dry vegetation underneath.

In more severe winters, the steppe pastoralists could halt for the season near rivers, in secluded valleys protected by neighboring elevations, which is indeed where Bronze Age burial grounds and traces of temporary encampments of pastoral communities are usually to be found. These traces are always sparse and scant, but all the more characteristic on that account; they usually consist of fragments of one or two broken clay vessels and a few copper or bronze objects, accidentally lost or left behind at the abandoned camping site. There are no traces of dwellings, for example, dugouts, at these encampments. It must be assumed that at that time the ancient inhabitants of the Transbaykal used the portable felt yurt—the traditional dwelling of the steppe nomads for thousands of years—as their main form of shelter. The Transbaykal pastoralists of the first millennium were successful in raising all the main breeds of domestic animals, first and foremost horses, and then cattle, sheep and goats.

Just as the later shepherds of the Transbaykal and Mongolia, they rode horses, using a bridle with bronze bits to control them, as is shown by the discovery of such bits in Bronze Age graves.

The Transbaykal Mountains, rich in tin, copper and other nonferrous metals, were the main reason that local metalworking developed so early and was so considerable for the time.

The population of the Transbaykal steppes had already mastered the art of casting by the end of the second millennium B.C. and particularly in the first few centuries of the subsequent millennium. Local craftsmen cast splendid copper and bronze articles in stone molds; they were sometimes decorated with original and elegant designs as well as with realistically drawn animals.



Slab graves on river Uda. Bronze Age.

Ornaments made of semiprecious stones, cowrie shells brought from the Indian Ocean, and white cylindrical beads made of pyrophyllite, all found in the graves, indicate the increasing scale of cultural ties. These ties obviously could not but have a progressive effect on the life of the Transbaykal tribes; they helped to speed up their economic and cultural development.

In the development of metalworking and casting, just as throughout the culture of the Transbaykal and Mongolian steppe tribes as a whole, relations with neighboring countries, first and foremost China (first the Yin, then the Chou and Ch'in Dynasties), were of great importance. Mutual relations with China and the neighboring steppe tribes are shown vividly by the knives and daggers found during the excavations of An-yang at the site of the Yin capital; the handles of these weapons are decorated with steppe animal heads in the same way as the Transbaykal knives and daggers of the so-called Karasuk type. The shape of these daggers and knives also coincides, sometimes down to the smallest detail. Hence the An-Yang casters may have made these objects after specimens of the skilled steppe craftsmen.

On the other hand, the direct influence of the highly developed agriculture of ancient China is revealed in the wonderful clay tripods found both in settlements and in graves dating from the first millennium B. C. in the Transbaykal, from the Aga steppes in the east to the city of Ulan-Ude in the west. These vessels have a large space inside which gradually changes into three capacious legs, similar to a cow's udder. In China vessels of this original type, called *li*, first appeared during the Neolithic and continued throughout the Bronze Age. They are so specific and characteristic of China that they have been very rightly called the symbol of the ancient Chinese agricultural civilization. Thus, the presence of vessels of this type in the Transbaykal steppes emphasizes the unexpected extent and truly intimate nature of the ties between the pastoral tribes of the Transbaykal and archaic China, the oldest center of advanced culture in East Asia.

Although the tripod-type vessels reflect these bonds, other facts testify just as convincingly to the further strengthening of these relations with the West, beginning with the Minusa Hollow, the Altay, central Asia, and ending with the distant Scythian tribes of the Black Sea region. Such are the weapons, including bronze daggers and knives, embellishments, first and foremost bronze mirrors, parts of harnesses and many other things made from identical original models. Ties with the western tribes and the maturity reached in a way of life fundamentally similar and a culture identical in principle can be judged from the relics of art, including pictures of deer in the cliff drawings and deer stones of the Transbaykal and northern Mongolia.

The deer stones, common in the steppe regions of Mongolia, the Transbaykal and Tannu-Tuva, are monumental Bronze Age relics, remarkable for their thorough artistic finish and the stylistic originality in the pictures of them.

As their name indicates, the deer stones depicted characteristically stylized deer with long branching antlers in the form of twirls running down their back.

These oddly stylized pictures of deer, despite a certain originality of detail, generally show a close affinity with representations of deer characteristic of the archaic Scythian art.

The deer stones are supplemented by cliff drawings with the same antlered figures of deer, and various chance discoveries, including crests close to the ancient Scythian ones in general treatment, in the form of stylized figurines of deer, birds, beasts of prey, and in one case even a hedgehog.

This does not mean, of course, that there was no originality or individualism in the culture of the steppe tribes of the Far East. Their strikingly original nature is shown, among other things, by their burial customs, which are often an important ethnic characteristic, as is known.

Whereas most of the steppe tribes buried their dead under mounds of earth or stones, those of Transbaykal built typical slab graves in the form of rectangular squares or enclosures made of slabs, often huge ones, standing on edge. These slab graves, sometimes grouped into whole cemeteries and visible from a distance against the background of the steppes, are as much a characteristic feature of the Transbaykal landscape as the Dyrilisun bushes and quaint granite rocks.

The religious beliefs of the Transbaykal tribes apparently centered around the zoomorphic image of a benevolent sun god, the most popular in their art, with the aspect of a golden-horned deer, or a radiant disk in the sky symbolized by a circle or a metal mirror.

The sloping walls and roofs of the Transbaykal caves are also decorated with hundreds of ancient red-ochre drawings dating in style from the Bronze Age. These drawings tell of the cult of the sacred bird—an eagle or



Clay tripod from Transbaykal, Bronze Age. Village of Aginskoye.

falcon—a magic group ritual aimed at ensuring the fertility of livestock, the growth of the clan and the welfare of its members. Most frequently the drawings show the same subject, the same picture of a magic enclosure guarded by a moon-winged sacred bird hand in hand with anthropomorphic guardian spirits of the clan.

It is curious that the image of this sacred bird has not disappeared without trace, but was preserved until the 19th to 20th centuries in ancient designs on the woolen stockings of the Ol'khon Buryats. These Buryats called the bird *yékhé-Shubun*,¹² that is to say, the eagle. As is well known, the eagle occupies an exceptionally important place in the shamanistic mythology and cult of the Buryats, and on Ol'khon it was considered the patron and king of the island.

Inside the "enclosure" and around it, the drawings usually show a great number of oval or circular spots, rather like fingerprints. Each such spot may have symbolized an actual member of the clan or his soul which was guarded by benevolent family spirits. One can also see pictures of animals, usually horses, shown in a characteristic stylized pose, as though preparing to leap. Drawings of this kind are also found on the banks of the Tola near Ulan Bator, throughout the Selenga Valley with the rivers flowing into it, in the Aga steppes and on the river Ingoda near the city of Chita.

There is no doubt that the Bronze Age tribes of the Transbaykal persistently preserved their ancient communal system. Indicative in this respect are the Bronze Age burial monuments of the Transbaykal as compared with the Scythian graves in south Russia. For a very long time enormous barrows had been erected in the south of Russia; these were the burial sites of the tribal leaders, the graves of the Scythian "emperors," where deceased dignitaries were buried according to a set, elaborate ritual together with their wives and servants, tens (if not hundreds) of horses, and precious gold and silver accoutrements. Alongside these barrows the steppes are strewn with innumerable ordinary graves of rank-and-file Scythians, contrasting sharply in simplicity and unpretentiousness with the graves of the aristocrats.

In the steppes of the Bronze Age Transbaykal there is nothing like the pompous and elaborate burials of the Scythian "Basilleuses." All the slab graves keep strictly to their set design, and their arrangement is itself an indication of the strength of communal-clan bonds. They lie in straight rows from south to north and face one direction only—west. This arrangement recalls to mind the very familiar layout of communal-clan cemeteries belonging to the Iroquois, who lived under a matriarchate.

Even in cases in which some of the slab graves are larger in size, they were not reserved for one person, but were collective graves for several persons together. It would nevertheless be wrong to think that the Bronze Age inhabitants of the Transbaykal lived just as their predecessors, the Stone Age people, under conditions of primitive equality and collectivism.

Although they were not far from the level of the Asian nomads, the Saks, close to them in culture, and all the more so, the European Scythians, the population of the Bronze Age beyond the Baykal had progressed just as far from the way of life of their ancestors, who knew neither pastoralism nor metalworking.

The appearance of domestic animals, the formation of herds of horses and other livestock, and the associated increase in surplus products over and above the requirements of the pastoralists themselves must have

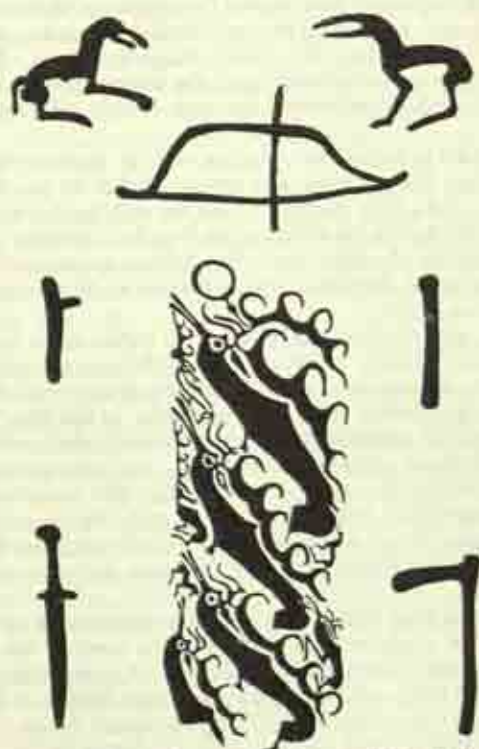
¹² E represents the Russian Э.—Ed.

promoted the development of exchange and increased its importance. Gold objects, which are even found from time to time in slab graves which have been looted, ornaments made of malachite, turquoise, carnelian and other valuable gems, and cowrie shells, which accidentally escaped the robbers, these signs of links with ancient China and Scythia are evidence of some sort of embryonic luxury and wealth formation among the individual families.

As a result there was bound to be a change from the ancient matriarchal clan to the patriarchal clan, the origin of a patriarchal community and the emergence of a definite aristocratic stratum of the heads of these wealthier pastoral families.

In this connection the slab graves themselves are presented in a quite distinctive light as evidence of the major changes occurring in the social life of these pastoralists. The often monumental size of these burial sites and at the same time their relative sparsity show that they were basically the resting place of heads of rich and influential family units.

This is shown even more vividly by the monumental sculpture—deer stones with strongly stylized portrayals of deer. The great amount of labor needed in order to hew suitable lumps of stone from granite rock, form them with bronze tools, work them into columns or saber-shaped steles, and, last but not least, patiently cover the entire surface with skilfully engraved pictures clearly shows the importance and influence in society possessed by those persons over whose graves were placed these magnificent monuments, which have stood there unchanged for 2000—2500 years.



Drawings on deer stone from river Ivolga.
Bronze Age.

The same thing is shown both by the valuables placed beside those buried in the slab graves and by the drawings on the deer stones.

Alongside the symbolic representations of the sun and the figures of mythical sun deer, the deer stones often have very accurately and carefully drawn pictures of such everyday objects as a belt, a bow, a fighting dagger similar to the Scythian akinak, a battle-axe, even a disk representing a bronze mirror. All this was certainly the personal equipment of the ancient warrior, most probably an exact reproduction of what he actually possessed in life. According to the belief of that time, these warriors were expected to appear in the "other world" armed to the teeth as befits champions of the steppes, ever ready to rebuff their enemies as well as to raid their neighbors and carry off their property, primarily the herds, wives and children of their enemies.

These warriors, whose majestic graves are crowned with monuments—steles—covered with sacred pictures of sun deer and personal weapons, were obviously not rank-and-file members of the community, but aristocratic chieftains, heads of individual families, who stood apart from all others through their wealth and occupied a leading position within the patriarchal clan community of the time.

There can hardly be any doubt that the patriarchal clan society of steppe pastoralists of the Bronze Age in the Transbaykal had gone way ahead of the customs and norms of primitive equality; property had acquired a private, individualistic nature and people were developing a sense of private property. Only one step more was needed for opposing classes to be created within the society and for the irreconcilability of class contradictions to give rise to the organization of a class rule—the state. This was indeed how the historical process developed in all the advanced countries of Europe and Asia, although it occurred among their peoples in different forms and at different times.

That is how it must have had occurred as well in Buryat-Mongolia, where in the steppe regions the process was prepared for by the whole course of preceding history. This new stage arrived beyond the Baykal, in the steppe regions of Buryat-Mongolia, at a time when iron had become very common—the second century B. C.—and when the tribes appeared on the arena of world history who were known to the Chinese as Hung-nu or later to the European peoples as Huns.

With the Huns, who created the first steppe tribal state in the steppes of Central Asia, history finally reached the age of class society and the state.

The well-known monuments of Hun culture discovered in the Noin-Ula Mountains and at the burial site near Kyakhta in the Ilm Valley, and the Chinese chronicles and materials from the Transbaykal settlements, draw us a picture of the Huns as pastoral nomads, who also grew grain (millet) to some extent. Among the Huns the rank-and-file members of the clans were ruled by clan-tribal nobility; slavery was highly developed and the slaves were obtained from wars with the Huns' neighbors, including the Chinese. The slaves probably tilled the soil and performed other arduous jobs.

The nucleus of the Hun state was a military alliance of 24 tribes divided into two branches, an eastern and a western. The head of the Hun state was the Shan-yüeh. United within the framework of their state, cemented by tribal traditions and ties, and acting as an armed nation, a tribal alliance, the Huns represented an awesome military-political force. Within a short time they had subjugated most other tribes and dominated a vast amount of territory stretching from Lake Baykal to Tibet and from eastern Turkestan in the west to the Amur River in the northeast.

A monument of Hun expansion in the north is the wonderful fortified site built near Ulan-Ude on the Ivolga River. The fortified site was found to occupy an area of 72,380 sq. m. Originally it had been much larger but part had been destroyed by the Selenga River which undermined its left bank at this point. It was surrounded by four ramparts 1.5 m high and by four moats. Inside the fortifications were dozens of small dwellings and two large ones. The smaller houses had a rectangular foundation sunk into the ground and were heated by a hearth, the smoke and hot air from which escaped through special flues along the walls and under the sleeping bunks. A similar principle was used for the heating system discovered during excavation of the remarkable palace on the Abakan in the Minusa Hollow, which, as already mentioned, seems to have belonged to the captive Chinese commander Li Ling.

Pits in the ground for keeping stocks of food were found both inside and outside the dwellings. The food was usually cooked outside the house in small hearths, near which there were found many fragments of vessels with a soot-covered surface. Inside the dwellings was an assortment of household implements, including pots with holes in the bottom for making cheese, and traces of metalworking (slag). The bronze vessels stand out from the remainder, since they were the first of their kind to be found in a Hun settlement. The larger houses were obviously used for public purposes or were intended for the Hun chieftains. They were rectangular in shape, 8 by 9 m in size, and surrounded by clay walls more than a meter thick, with wooden columns at the corners and in the middle, like the present-day buildings in Mongolia. The chief's house had the same kind of hearth as in the smaller dwellings, except that it was larger. As in the smaller houses, along the walls of the larger dwellings were ducts used as flues. Clay vessels for making cheese, keeping food and cooking food were found intact inside the house, and there were also a bronze cup, arrowheads and bone tips for the ends of a bow. The finds at the large Hun fortified site on the Ivolga are not only noteworthy because this is actually the first Hun settlement to be systematically studied by archeologists, but also because it provides us with an excellent picture of the way of life and culture of the Huns, and throws light on their mutual relations with the northern tribes. As can be seen from the Ivolga excavations, the nomadic Huns also had fortified settlements. Apart from meat, milk and cheese, they ate agricultural products, as shown by the grains of millet found there. This is borne out by the Chinese chronicles which describe the Huns as sowing millet and tilling the soil, although the work was done by Chinese captives.

The settlement on the lower Ivolga, which was found such a long way from the main area of dissemination of Hun sites found in the region of the Kyakhta, along the Dzhdza and on the upper reaches of the Selenga, and which is at the same time the most northerly actual Hun site known at the present time, is of further interest in that it is encircled by an unusually powerful system of defenses, moats and ramparts. The Huns living in this settlement on the bank of the Selenga cut themselves off from the surrounding world by four powerful ramparts and four moats. The width of this defense belt is 26 m. This suggests that the Ivolga settlement was the most northerly fortified outpost of the Huns in the Transbaykal.

As we know, the greatest territorial expansion by the Huns occurred during the reign of the famous Shan-yüeh Mo-teh. Mo-teh seized power over the Huns in 209 B.C. and pursued an aggressive policy with respect to neighboring countries. Chinese sources record Mo-teh's expansionist campaigns both to the south, to China, and to the north. It must have been about this

time that the Hun fortifications were built at the most northerly point of their possessions.

The fact that the inhabitants of the Ivolga settlement were so concerned for the protection of their dwellings against attack shows clearly that life was by no means calm in the lower reaches of the Selenga.

The indigenous population of the northern Transbaykal, which certainly lived under primitive communal conditions, must have despised the representatives of a class society—the warriors and officials of the Hun Shanyüehs—as raiders, ravishers and enslavers. It was against this hatred that the Huns clearly protected themselves by settling in their fortified town near the mouth of the Ivolga.

The aggressive policy of the Huns is shown by events which involved not only the northern regions of the Transbaykal but also the Baykal region itself. At that time new peoples were making their way into the valley of the river Kuda, the right-hand tributary of the Angara, and perhaps even farther to the west, right over to the mouth of the river Unga near present-day Balagansk. These people, who found themselves deep in the Baykal taiga among the local hunting and fishing tribes, were pastoralists. They bred horses and sheep and possessed the same material culture and the same customs as the Transbaykal pastoral tribes of the early Iron Age who lived on the lower reaches of the Selenga in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. They made typical clay pots of Transbaykal shape, wore on their clothing the same hemispherical pieces of bronze with a flat notched edge and had bows with bone facings and bone and iron points similar to the Transbaykal type.

These people buried their dead in carefully built rectangular graves with vertical slabs of red sandstone. Just as in the steppes of Mongolia and in the Transbaykal, their burial sites took the form of chains stretching from the south to north, and just as in the Transbaykal both the deceased and the graves faced the east.

Just as the Transbaykal graves, these slab graves were set up on flat ground on a hill or at the foot of cliffs with alluvial deposits. Examples of such graves are found at the picturesque Mankhay Mountain near the village of Kharganay or Ust'-Orda, the center of the Ust'-Ordynskiy National Okrug in the Irkutskaya Oblast. The Mankhay burials show clearly that they were left by a tribe which had newly arrived from beyond Baykal or from the Baykal shore. They were obviously steppe pastoralists, closely related to those who had left the slab graves of the Bronze and early Iron Ages in the steppelands of the Transbaykal and Mongolia.

The builders of the slab graves of Mankhay perhaps took not only their economic-cultural way of life and their ancient customs west to the Kuda River Valley. It is not impossible that along with pastoralism they even took the seed of a typical steppe grass—*dyrisun*—which gives the Transbaykal landscape beyond the taiga its characteristic look.

What was it that caused the migration of this colony of Transbaykal steppe dwellers of the early Iron Age to the Kuda River Valley, through the mountain passes and the marshes of the Baykal Range, and what was the reason for their leaving their native valleys for the northwest, the country of the forest tribes?

An answer to this question is provided by the fact that it was at this time that the territory of Mongolia and the neighboring regions of the Transbaykal were witnessing major changes due to the rise of the Huns with their aggressive territorial ambitions, which included the north, right up to the Baykal region. In such difficult times some of the Selenga tribes, probably ancestors of the Turkic Uyghurs, left their traditional encampments and

under pressure from the aggressors moved farther north. This event must have occurred during the greatest northern expansion of the Hun ordas under Mo-teh, when the Hun fortified settlement on the Ivolga River was built and used as the main outpost in the north.

It was then, under pressure from the Huns, that the group of ancient pastoralists who had left behind the monumental slab graves in the Transbaykal steppes overcame all obstacles in their way and arrived in the fertile Kuda Valley together with their herds, wives and children.

The foundations of the extensive state created by the Hun tribes proved to be unsound, however, and in the middle of the first century A.D. it collapsed under the blows of the Chinese and other enemies. The Huns divided into two parts, one of which moved westward, while the other subjected itself to China and lost its independence. A few phrases preserved in the Chinese chronicles tell us that the Hun language was, on the one hand, very close to Turkic and, on the other, to Mongolian. It is interesting that the actual word "Hun" is connected with the Mongolian word "khun," meaning "man." It is therefore very likely that they were not Turkic but Mongol (the Turkic word for man was "kizi" or "kisi").

Maritime and Amur Tribes in the First Millennium B.C.

While the culture of the pastoral Bronze Age tribes to the west of the Amur and in the Transbaykal and Mongolian steppes was developing for centuries, and these tribes later divided into the Turkic and Mongol peoples of the Middle Ages, the Amur Basin and the Maritime District were inhabited by other tribes whose entire ways of life and culture were still in marked contrast to the life and culture of the pastoralists.

The culture of the Maritime tribes of the Soviet Far East, living along the banks of the Pacific to the east and north of the Korean border, near Vladivostok and farther north in the first millennium B.C., is known in archeology as the "shell midden culture." These heaps or middens of shells, usually found in bays in promontories and peninsulas, consist of layers of shells of edible salt-water and fresh-water mollusks. Such for example are the numerous middens near Vladivostok and along the shores of the Peter the Great Gulf. These middens are usually up to a meter high and 10-25 m in circumference. Apart from seashells, they contain the bones of fish, pigs, deer, dogs, roe deer, bears and leopards. Stone axes, points of slate and bone, sinkers, and slate knives and daggers have also been found in the middens. At first sight all this is of an ordinary neolithic nature, but this is not the case, for in actual fact the culture of the Maritime settlers who left behind the shell middens is, on the whole, a considerably more advanced one.

Even the stone implements found there are very different from the more ancient ones, including those from encampments directly preceding them, for example, at the mouth of the river Gladkaya in the Pos'yetskiy Rayon, where obsidian points, arrowheads and knives are widely represented, accompanied by characteristic pottery decorated with incised patterns in the form of lines, zig-zags and occasionally meanders.

Even the material from which the stone implements were made now changed. Slate took the first place, and instead of chipping and retouche, it became usual to grind the stone. Instead of the stone adzes, with one side convex, there appeared new, flat adzes with a symmetrical cross section.

Everything else took on a new look, including the most abundant material among the archeological discoveries—pottery. The ancient simple clay

vessels were replaced by new ones, more even in shape. Among them a prominent place is occupied by wide vessels with a more intricate profile, unknown before, and also flat bowls resting on a narrow conical stem. The ornamentation and outside finish of the vessels was also greatly changed. We now come across vessels with a brightly polished surface, sometimes purposely covered with a thin coating of raspberry-red coloring. When making their vessels, the ancient potters now embellished them with an incised linear design, especially a superimposed coiled pattern, in the form of parallel bands as well as symmetrically placed bumps.

However, the changes in the culture of the Maritime tribes who left behind the shell middens are more far-reaching.

The thick layers of shells and fish bones, which gave the settlements such a primeval appearance, cannot be explained by the fact that the people living there were miserable collectors of the "gifts of the sea," who picked up shells or the bodies of dead sea animals cast ashore. Among the shells there are some whose habitat is not the shore itself but the open sea—at depths of several dozen meters. At the same time we find bones of fish which also live a long way from the shore.

It would not have been possible to obtain the deep-water mollusks and fish without sailing out to sea. The operation required the appropriate equipment, first and foremost steady boats, possibly with sails and balancing outriggers. There must have been nets and special fishing lines with weights which could be lowered to great depths, and many other things used for sea fishing by various tribes in the Pacific when they first came into contact with Europeans.

The flat slate points, occasionally with one or two holes drilled in the middle, found in the middens are particularly interesting. They are identical with the harpoon points of the primitive Eskimos and other coastal tribes of the Pacific. Thus, the inhabitants of the shell-midden settlements must have had harpoons for hunting larger fish and marine animals, and they must have had the complex hunting harpoons, the appearance of which was a major step forward in the development of Maritime culture and a very important gain for the sea fishermen and hunters from the Japanese islands up to Scandinavia.

Without these weapons the vast expanses of coast of the Pacific and Arctic Oceans could not have been properly conquered by man, nor could there have arisen a highly specialized sea-hunting culture, which in some ways left the culture of the continental fishermen and hunters of the Neolithic period far behind.

The existence of a specialized fishing and sea-hunting culture was the first characteristic feature of the economy and way of life of the Maritime population during the "shell midden age," and its occurrence was a milestone in their cultural history.

The valiant seafarers, used to boundless stretches of ocean, must certainly have developed a new mentality. The appearance of the first middens in the Primorskiy Kray was therefore not a sign of decay but, on the contrary, a sudden advance in all spheres of the life and culture of its population.

A thorough study of the contents of the middens resulted in an even more unexpected discovery. They contain stones of oval, boatlike shape. One side is convex and more or less smooth, while the other is flat and completely covered with fine indentations like notches.

In shape, size and finish, they are exactly like the primitive implements used to make flour from grain—stone grain mortars. The mortars, which are forerunners of the later hand mills, are continually encountered among primitive farming cultures throughout the world, beginning with the first

center of primitive agriculture in the countries of the Near East and Central Asia, and ending with far-off America. It was indeed with implements of this kind that the women of ancient Egypt ground grain while kneeling down, as shown by statuettes found intact in the ancient tombs of the "land of the pyramids." This method of making flour is just as typical of the agriculture of the primitive-communal age as the handmills, in Karl Marx's colorful phrase, for feudal society with a suzerain at the top.

Besides the fragments of stone mortars, the shell middens often contained stone hoes and fragments of a particular type of slate knife consisting of a small flake with a one-sided convex blade and two holes drilled in the middle. Slate knives of exactly the same shape, used as sickles, and hoes with shoulders were used in the Neolithic period by the agriculturalists of the Yellow River in China.

The "shell-midden people" were therefore not only the creators of a highly specialized sea-fishing and hunting culture for that period but also the first tillers of the soil in the Soviet Far East.

As time passed, the Maritime tribes began to obtain metal objects as well from their steppe neighbors, as shown by occasional discoveries of such items, and also of stone daggers and points made from metal prototypes at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium B. C. This was the transition in the Maritime District from stone to metal, which was the end of the Neolithic period in the true sense of the word.

At the same time, domestic animals other than dogs began to appear among some tribes, and pastoralism in its true form, i.e., the breeding of animals for meat, milk and other products, came into being. An important place was clearly taken in the economy of the Maritime tribes by pigs, since pig bones are found very frequently in the middens. Pig breeding, as is well known, was very common for a very long time among all peoples of southeast Asia, as well as the inhabitants of the South Seas, right over to New Guinea, inhabited by the Papuans. The tribes of the Maritime District obviously borrowed pig breeding, together with agriculture, from the south.

The close contact between the populations of Korea and China, particularly with the tribes inhabiting the Chinese seacoasts, is also shown by other features in the culture of the Maritime population of that period. Such, for example, are the stone axes and slate arrowheads and harpoons known as far as the island of Taiwan and all over the south of China, as well as the clay vessels of shapes unknown earlier (cups on a high stem, dishes, etc.). It can be assumed, therefore, that these coastal tribes were at one time spread from the south to the north, and for a long time steadily maintained their culture, in which we see a variety of features linking it with the culture of the neolithic Chinese farmers of the Yang-shao and later periods.

Judging from Chinese sources, these ancient inhabitants of the Maritime District bore the common name of I-lou. The Chinese have left us brief though exact information on them in their chronicles, which tallies well with the archeological sources and also adds to them considerably.

The "San-kuo-chih" survey (not used by N. Ya. Bichurin) of the history of three dynasties simultaneously ruling China from 220 to 264 A.D., compiled by Chen Shou in the 5th century A.D., says of the I-lou that they were located more than 1000 li to the northeast of Fu-yü and were spread out along the coast of the Great Ocean. In the south they adjoined the northern Wo-chu, but "it is not known where their lands end in the north." There were "many impassable mountains" in the country of the I-lou.

Agriculture and pastoralism were the main occupations of the I-lou; they had "five types of [cereals] grains, cows and horses"; particular stress

was placed on the fact that the I-lou loved to breed pigs, "eat their meat and wear their skins."

The important role of pastoralism is shown by a passage in the chronicle which says that the I-lou "make an enclosure for the cattle in the middle, and the people themselves live all around it."

The I-lou used to mine jasper and produced good sable: "the ones that are now called I-lou sables," the chronicle says. It is also pointed out that they had ships. The dwellings of the I-lou were situated among mountains and in forest land. They were sunk into the ground: "they usually live in pits. The large families are nine steps below ground and the more steps the better." In the summer the I-lou used to go naked: "a piece of cloth one chi in size [0.32 m - A. O.] covered them in front and back to hide their bodies. In winter they smeared themselves with several coats of lard to protect themselves against the wind and frost." The main weapon used by the I-lou was the bow: "their bows were four chi long [1.3 m - A. O.]. In force they are greater than crossbows. The arrows are made of k'u wood, one chi long. The tips of the arrows are made of dark-colored stone . . . they are very good archers. When the archers shoot arrows at people, they always hit the mark. Since the arrows are smeared with poison, the people who are hit die."

In social structure the I-lou had not gone beyond the primitive-communal system. ("The people are mainly brave and strong. They do not have great leaders, but each settlement has a chief.")

Hence the I-lou had no common ruler and they lived in clan communities, independent of one another. But this did not prevent them from successfully defending themselves from their neighbors who sought to enslave them.

The "San-kuo-chih" contains some interesting information on relations between the I-lou and the neighboring peoples, and also on their political history. From the time of the Han Dynasty, the chronicle says, the Fu-yü inhabitants subjugated them and imposed heavy tribute. During the Huang Ch'u period (222-226 A.D.) they revolted against their enslavers. "The Fu-yü people made several punitive expeditions against them. Although their tribes inhabiting the impassable mountainous areas were few in number, people from the neighboring countries were afraid of their bows and arrows and were finally unable to subdue them." Furthermore, the I-lou themselves, intrepidly sailing the seas, made their neighbors ever fearful: "they invade and plunder, making the neighboring countries suffer."¹³

In the north the I-lou came into contact with other tribes, the life of which can be judged to some extent by the archeological relics found in the Amur Valley near Khabarovsk. These relics tell of the tribes which later passed into the history of the Far East under the name of Mo-ho in the Chinese chronicles. They draw us a picture, fairly definite on the whole although in some ways fragmentary, of the same gradual development in the local culture, as in the Maritime District from stone to metal, from hunting and fishing to agriculture and pastoralism, from the matriarchal to the patriarchal clan system, and later, generally speaking, from the primitive clan community to the state.

In the lowest cultural layer of one of the sites near Khabarovsk there were traces of a Late Neolithic culture in the form of dugouts, on the

¹³ Descriptions of the I-lou taken from the "San-kuo-chih" have been borrowed from a translation of the original Chinese chronicle by E. V. Shavkunov and V. Ye. Larichev.

bottom of which were crude, molded vessels covered on the outside with marks in imitation of coarse fabric or matting. Above there were the remains of more developed pottery, including cups in the form of two cones joined at the apex, and large high vessels with a narrow bottom, the same kind of neck and a wide saucer-like crown. Vessels similar in shape were also common at the end of the first millennium B. C. in the neighboring countries of the Soviet Far East, right up to the Japanese islands, where they are called yayoi vessels.

The ancient stone implements gradually went out of use at the same time, and local metalworking came into existence. Drops of copper—traces of the smelting of this metal—were found at a settlement dating from this period near the village of Malmyzhskoye.

Also discovered were very characteristic features of the religious beliefs and burial rituals. At the same settlement near Khabarovsk where the yayoi-type vessels were found, the remains of destroyed burial sites from the same period were also discovered, in which human bones were found in large clay vessels joined together by their necks.

All these new features of the material culture and way of life linking the Amur region with the neighboring countries of the Soviet Far East are remarkable in that they indicate still more important and far-reaching changes in the lives of the Far East tribes. It is indeed at this time that pastoralism and agriculture became widespread, the matriarchy was replaced by the patriarchy, exchange was increased, and ties with other countries, first and foremost China, were strengthened and helped to bring about the decline of the primitive-communal way of life. Now we see the first signs of inequality of property. A local patriarchal aristocracy begins to take shape, and the economic premises for local political formations, first the Po-hai Kingdom and later, at the very beginning of the next millennium, the Churčen or Chin State, start to form.

Siberia and the Far East During the First Millennium A.D.

The first millennium A. D. witnessed in the Siberian steppes the rise and culmination of the national formation of Turkic-speaking steppe peoples. The Turkic khanate which emerged in the middle of the 6th century united the various tribes of Middle Asia and the eastern part of Central Asia,¹⁴ with the Altay Turks acting as the nucleus. The state was headed by a khan. The khan's clan together with the nobility of other tribes made up the ruling clique of the Turkic elya, i.e., tribal alliance. The free members of the clans, i.e., the bulk of the nomads, were termed budun. There were also clients and slaves. As a whole, the Turkic social structure was patriarchal and feudal.

Through their close ties with China, Persia and to some extent even Byzantium, the ancient Turks attained a fairly high level of culture. They had their own writing, using a runic script, neatly adapted to represent the sounds of the Turkic speech with phonetic accuracy. They also had an original and lavish form of art.

However, the rapid growth of the Turkic steppe power was soon followed by its decline. In 558 the Turkic khanate split into two parts, eastern and western, and in the middle of the 7th century the Turkic peoples came under the rule of China and lost their independence. It was only after 50

¹⁴ Central Asia, in Soviet terminology, denotes the territory of the Trukmenian, Tadjik, Uzbek and Kirgiz republics. Middle Asia is a more general term.—Ed.

years of Chinese domination that they made the first attempt to free themselves. Later, with the rise of Gudulu-Khan (Kutluga), a Turkic state was reestablished on the Orkhon, of which certain relics have been found, including curious political decorations—the famous runic inscriptions in memory of the dead khans and outstanding leaders of the Turkic state close to them.

The Yenisey above Krasnoyarsk during the time of the first Turkic and later Orkhon state, and the final one succeeding it, the Uygur khanate, was inhabited by the descendants of the Khyagasy—the Kyrgyz—who in the past had been people of the Europeoid anthropological type, but who toward the end of the last century B.C. had become mixed with the Turkic tribes and gradually been Turkicized.

The Kyrgyz settled in dwellings with bark coverings. They reared livestock but also engaged in farming: they sowed millet, barley, wheat and Himalayan barley. They tilled the land with wooden and iron plows, reaped the grain with sickles, and milled the grain with pairs of rotating millstones. The fields were irrigated with special ditches.

The Kyrgyz had an aristocracy which possessed large herds. Their chief was called *azho*.

Metalworking (iron, gold and tin) was highly developed; they had skilled smiths, armorers and jewellers, and they traded with the Chinese, the Arabs and the forest tribes of Siberia.

The Chinese tell us that music was highly developed among the Kyrgyz. They enjoyed circus-type amusements with acrobats, skilled horsemen and performing animals. The Chinese mention, for example, that camels and lions were trained for use in the circus.

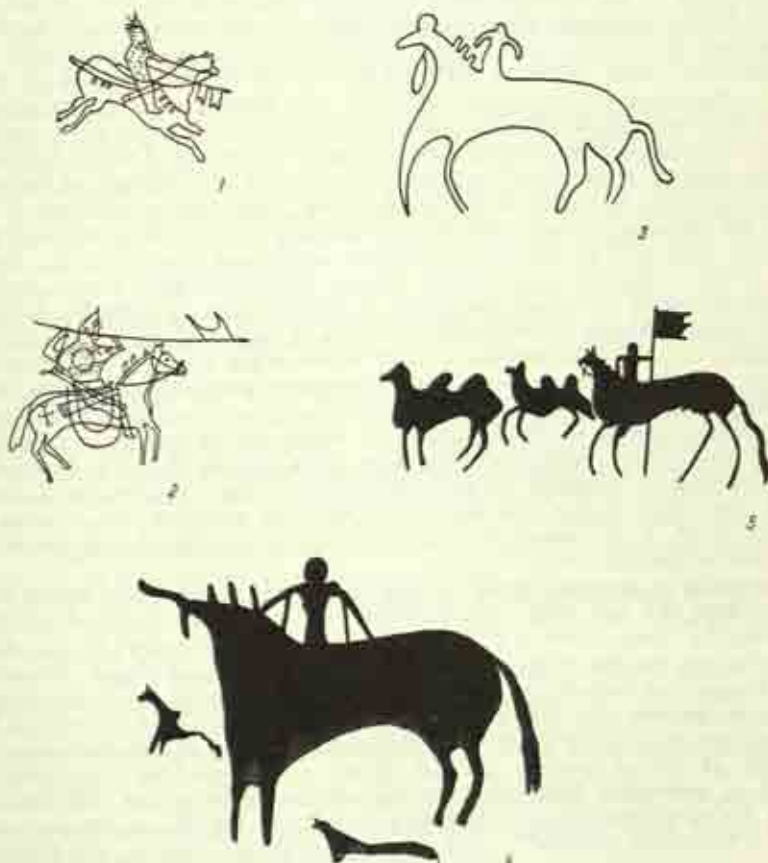
The Kyrgyz jewelers have left us wonderful specimens of their skill in the form of the precious stones found in the graves of eminent Kyrgyz. They took particular pleasure in depicting hunting scenes: horses spread out as they gallop along, bowstrings drawn back by the archers to their very ears, and game fleeing in panic. Cliff drawings of the same kind have been preserved in the Minusinskiy Kray, where, apart from soldiers, horses, horsemen, hunters and battle scenes, there are strange figures of priests or sacred chiefs in long cloaks with staffs in their hands, as well as amazingly realistic drawings of male camels, and even leopards fighting one another with clubs in their paws.

The sociopolitical structure and culture of the Kyrgyz were close to those of the other Turkic tribes. Alongside the Kyrgyz, the Yenisey and neighboring regions were inhabited by various other non-Turkic-speaking tribes who lived in the forests and engaged in hunting, fishing and to some extent pastoralism. These tribes were not by any means as developed as the Kyrgyz. Examples are the Dubó, the probable ancestors of the later Tubalars and Tofalars (Karagasy). They may have been responsible for the cave encampments and numerous fortified sites in the region of Krasnoyarsk to the north, and also the cave drawings made with red coloring which had been found on the rivers Mana and Biryusa. Among the other tribes who were neighbors of the Kyrgyz we find mention of the Kurykans (the Guligans of the Chinese, and the Kuri or Furi of the Arab sources). The Kurykans lived near Lake Baykal on the lower reaches of the Selenga, along the Angara and the upper Lena.

Most of the remains of the numerous fortress-encampments around Lake Baykal go back to the Kurykan period, as shown by the characteristic pottery found there—pieces of crudely made vessels with flat bottoms. The numerous Kurykan graves found on the island of Ol'khon are shaped like conical tents and made of gneiss slabs; wherever there was no

gneiss to be found, they buried the dead in ordinary graves in the ground.

Just as the Kyrgyz, the Kurykans bred horses, cows and camels; they grew crops, possessed runic writing and had an art close to that of the Kyrgyz and the Altay Turks. An important focal point of Kurykan art is cliff drawings near the village of Shishkino on the upper Lena, which show galloping horses and riders carrying banners while seated on horses and camels lavishly decorated with plumes and tassels under the neck. Both these drawings and the complete hunting and battle scenes on the Lena cliffs have much in common with the art of the Yenisey Kyrgyz and Altay Turks of the first millennium A.D.



Cliff drawings;

1, 2—Minusinskiy Kray (7th-9th centuries A.D.); 3, 4, 5—Baykal region, village of Shishkino (6th-10th centuries A.D.).

The Kurykans were hostile to the Orkhon Turks and maintained friendly relations with their enemies—the Chinese.

The Turkic ancestors of the Yakuts, the Sakhalars, must have come from the land of the Kurykans, the most northerly Turkic people of that time. The Sakhalars first left the Baykal region before the 10th to 13th centuries A.D., for the early Mongol settlers had already spread to this part at this time,

although a new Turkic-speaking group, the one which evidently gave the Yakuts their own name of Sakha, moved northward along the Lena later on.

The Selenga Uygurs, neighbors of the Orkhon Turks, were evidently located south of the Kurykans, in the Selenga Basin. These Uygurs left behind numerous kereksurs—i.e., stone barrows with rectangular or circular enclosures and annexes to them in the form of circles and horse graves. As anthropological research has shown, the skulls from these barrows, just as the earlier finds in the slab graves, are characterized by long, flat faces and slightly projecting nose bones. They are brachycephalic and have a sloping forehead and a strongly developed supraorbital area.

While the Huns were coming into prominence in the Transbaykal steppes, the embryo of the Kyrgyz state had begun to gestate on the Yenisey, and other Turkic-speaking nationalities were forming states, their northern neighbors—the taiga and tundra tribes—continued developing their own culture and social relations, although the process of formation did not move as rapidly as among the steppe dwellers. The history of relations between the steppe and forest tribes is very complex and still in some ways unclear.

At any rate, it is certain that for many thousands of years the forest tribes steadily maintained their indigenous way of life, although at the same time they were subjected to the accelerating, progressive influence of ties with the steppes. These ties had particularly far-reaching consequences for the culture of the forest tribes in the northwest Siberian taiga. By the end of the first millennium B.C. steppe objects made of bronze are encountered more and more frequently in the Ob' area. In turn, the finish of local objects shows appreciable imitation of imported steppe objects; for example, clay vessels which are exact copies of the Scythian cauldrons are now made. The most vivid examples of the interrelations between the local, aboriginal forest culture and the steppe culture are remarkable discoveries made at the mouth of the Poluy on the Ob', where among numerous discoveries at an ancient sacrificial site there were objects of Scytho-Sarmatian type as well as samples of art similar both to the P'yano-borian samples from the Ural region and the steppe Scythian samples, but relating, as shown by M. P. Gryaznov, to a later period, the middle or even the end of the first millennium A.D.

A wealth of material throwing light on the life of the forest tribes from the middle Ob' and their relationships with the steppe dwellers has been provided by many years of research carried out by Gryaznov in the region of Bol'shaya Rechka village, in the vicinity of Nizhniye Yelbany. Gryaznov has traced the successive cultural stages here between the Andronovian-Karasuk period and the 17th century. His studies have shown that the inhabitants of the middle Ob' in the first millennium A.D. led their own way of life as forest hunters and fishermen, and created their own culture, which is markedly different from that of the steppe tribes. The distinctions are most pronounced in the relics dating from the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. ("Fominian culture"). The neighboring Turkic nomads, who inhabited the mountains and steppes of the Altay, buried their kinsmen with a full set of weapons, including a saber and a saddled horse. During the burial, they always slaughtered a ram and put its rump in the grave. There is no clay pottery in these nomadic graves. The forest tribes who bore the Fominian culture, conversely, only very rarely buried weapons with their dead, and if they did, they were hunting weapons. There are no remains of domestic animals in their graves, but only clay pots with traces of vegetable or milk products.

Thus, two cultural worlds existed side by side, separated only by the river Ob'—the world of the warlike steppe pastoralists and the world of the

forest hunters and fishermen. It is therefore remarkable that the material from the Fominian cultural sites reveals a very close resemblance with material from those left by the forest tribes inhabiting not only the region of Tomsk, Achinsk and the valley of the River Tara, but also the northern part of the Urals and even the Kama and Vyatka Basins. These include belt plaques and buckles representing bears, known in the Ural region since the P'yanoborian period (about the beginning of our era), pendants in the form of birds, and cast, flat representations of the "Chudaki type." This is also indicated by the pottery, which has round and not flat bottoms and a carefully drawn design reminiscent of the Anan'ino period vessels on the Kama.

In physical appearance the population of the forest region of the middle Ob' belonged to the Europeoid group, which emphasizes still more sharply the difference between them and the Turkic steppe dwellers, Mongoloid in racial type.

During the 9th and 10th centuries the settled Europeoid bearers of the Fominian culture were ousted by the nomads from the right bank of the Ob', but continued living to the northwest of it and preserved their ancient cultural traditions, customs and way of life. V. N. Chernetsov assumes that the mutual relations between the forest and steppe tribes in northwest Siberia not only took the form of barter or armed clashes, but resulted in new settlements, far to the north of steppe origin, as shown by the very name of the Ostyaks (khan-te, khun-ty) and of their neighbors, the Voguls (man'-si). Speaking an Ugric language, these settlers had a great influence on the local tribes (metalworking, references to horses in the religion and folklore).

By the end of the first millennium A.D., two nationalities close in language and culture had begun to form here; these were the Mansi (the Voguls) and the Khanty (Ostyaks). It is assumed that next to spread through the territory between the Ob' and Yenisey from the Sayan-Altayskiy Rayon were representatives of a new ethnic group—the Samoyed (Samodi) tribes. Their arrival in the Narymskiy Kray gradually produced another nationality, the Sel'kups, whose culture combined very ancient Samoyed elements with traces of the Ket, Ugrian and Tungus cultures.

Let us now move from the northwest of Siberia, inhabited by the Samoyed and Ugrian tribes, to the other extreme, to the world of the paleo-Asiatic tribes of northeast Asia.

As we saw, just about this time (i.e., toward the 10th century A.D.) important events were taking place in northeast Siberia, where the Turkic ancestors of the Yakuts, and not the Ugrians or the Samoyeds, were destined to contribute a new basis to the culture. By this time the northern neighbors of the Yakuts, who lived on the middle and lower Lena (probably the ancestors of the Yukagirs), had already been using iron extensively, although they seemed to have kept their stone scrapers and arrows, and were still making round-bottomed clay pots in the ancient style.

Still farther northeast of the Lena, there stretched a region with a primitive maritime culture. This region had been inhabited by hunters of sea animals for centuries. It is still not known how or when this culture arose there. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that it was preceded by a continental culture of wandering reindeer-hunters.

The oldest stage of maritime culture, termed the Okvik after the first discoveries, and the Uelen-Okvik after the finds on the Chukchi Peninsula, is characterized by compound harpoons ornamented in a special, straight-line geometrical style similar in shape and pattern to the harpoons of the Kurile Islands and north Japan, where the ancestors of the Ainu lived during

the Neolithic period. Later this culture passed through a number of stages of development, as shown by the wealth of material collected on the Chukchi Peninsula. The material comes from many ancient settlements lying along the Arctic to the east of the Kolyma and along the shores of the Bering Sea.

The settlements consisted of dwellings sunk into the earth. Their inhabitants, marine-animal hunters, many of whom came from the neighboring regions of the Russian Far East (of which we are reminded by the earlier Okvik and later, curvilinear ornamentation), showed amazing fortitude and truly inexhaustible resourcefulness in combating nature. They made up for the lack of timber by using whalebone. Not having large stocks of firewood, they successfully substituted seal oil, which was used to heat and light the dwellings in lamps made of clay or stone. Since there was no raw material for wooden or bark boats, they invented boats made of skin. These polar hunters cleverly perfected their gear by making harpoons of a compound type. As time passed, they also developed dog transportation. Of exceptional interest is the original and lavish art of these ancient Arctic tribes, which reached its peak during the so-called ancient Bering Sea stage with the fantastically elaborate curvilinear designs and realistically sculptured representations of animals and occasionally human beings.

The material from the maritime settlements has established the gradual change in the material culture, the development of the economy and to some extent the social relations of the inhabitants. Originally the settled maritime tribes kept near the coast, hunting walrus and seal the whole year. Later on, the role of whaling began to increase, in connection with which we should note the appearance of special harpoons and the development of dog breeding for transportation. The spread of fishhooks and bolas for snaring birds also seems to indicate an improvement in hunting and fishing methods.

The increasing abundance of game, coupled with the development of barter with neighboring tribes, led to the transition from the ancient matriarchal to the new patriarchal system. This transition is reflected in the folklore of the Arctic tribes, the central theme of which (the myth of Sedna) concerns the struggle for domination between the male and female and the "worldwide historical decline of the female sex" described by Engels.

It was about 1500 years ago that iron first reached these distant maritime regions in northeast Asia, settled by the ancestors of the Eskimos, Chukchi, Koryaks and Kamchadals (Itel'mens). It is true that the tribes of the North were still mainly using Stone Age techniques and living under Stone Age conditions, but the use of a special cutting tool, a sort of chisel, made of iron, had become firmly entrenched. Iron could be obtained from the southwest, from the lower Lena tribes, as well as from the southeast, from the Amur and via the Kurile Islands.

On the Amur and as a whole in the southern part of the Soviet Maritime District, the historical fate of the indigenous tribes during the first millennium A.D. is very strange. Whereas backward forms of economy and social structure prevailed for thousands of years in the Arctic region along the shores of the Pacific and Arctic Oceans, here, on account of the closeness of China and Korea, great advances were made very early, back in the last few centuries of the first millennium B.C. By the beginning of our era, iron was widespread and had ousted stone tools; in certain places with a favorable climate there was agriculture and pastoralism, and barter was increased.

In the Maritime District and the Amur Basin, reached by the Tungus tribes very early, and also in the neighboring regions, not only was there

intensive intermixing between the local tribes and indigenous population, by the end of the first and beginning of the second millennium A.D. the local tribes had formed their own states.

The process of class formation began here in the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. The Chinese chronicles tell us that the Mo-ho tribes living there had long been engaged in agriculture and pastoralism. As domestic animals they had horses and pigs, and as crops they grew rice, millet and wheat. They quarried salt and made distilled liquor from rice. The Mo-hos sold the Chinese and the Koreans river pearls, medicinal ginseng roots, gerfalcons and sables. In return they received metal objects, pottery and fabrics, including silk.

Beginning in 471 A.D., cultural-political ties between the Mo-ho tribes and the Chinese became firmly cemented. From the beginning of the 6th century, Mo-ho embassies regularly visited the Chinese court, and some of the tribes fell under Chinese rule and had to pay tribute. In subjugating some of the Mo-ho tribes, the Chinese court counted on their aristocratic leaders. The Chinese chronicles make particular mention of one of the Mo-ho chiefs—Tudiki—who voluntarily subjected himself to China with his tribe, in return for which he was given an important civil rank and badge of authority in the form of a gold seal on a crimson cord and ceremonial dress—a hat and a belt. Tudiki "became enamored" of the customs of the Middle Kingdom and showed undying allegiance to the emperor, for which the latter greatly favored him and gave him lavish gifts of patterned silks. When accompanying the emperor on his campaigns, Tudiki received awards and titles for every military success.

Events occurring in neighboring Korea were also of great importance in the further development of the Mo-ho culture and the genesis of a local state.

In 668, war broke out between China and the Korean principality of Kao-li. Kao-li was devastated, a large number of people were exterminated, and many Koreans fled to the north, beyond Tumen'-Ula Island, where they settled down among the Mo-hos. There they developed agriculture, stock breeding and metalworking and established their own highly developed Chinese-Korean culture. It was directly due to these events that the Mo-ho tribes formed a real state, the Po-hai kingdom.



Statue of official. Environs of Voroshilov-Ussuriyskiy. 8th-11th centuries, A.D.

According to the chronicles, the founder of the Po-hai state was Ch'i Ch'i Ch'ung-hsiang, a Mo-ho prince and vassal of the Kao-li kingdom, who, pursued by the Chinese soldiers, took shelter in the inaccessible mountains. Having become stronger, Ch'i Ch'i Ch'ung-hsiang declared his lands to be the Principality of Chen, and styled himself prince by taking the title Chen Kuo-Kung. His son, Tso-jung, greatly expanded his possessions and in 699 declared himself king of the Chen state.

Having defeated the troops of the Chinese emperor Jui Tsung in 712, Tso-jung took the title of Po-hai-chün-wang, i.e., vassal prince of Po-hai, after the name of the former Chinese territory, Po-hai, conquered by him and after which the whole state was named.

At first the state covered only a small amount of territory, stretching about 1000 km west of the sea, and the country had no administrative divisions.

In the 8th and 9th centuries the Po-hai Kingdom was considerably enlarged and developed both culturally and politically, and turned into a powerful state for the time. In the south it reached to the middle of Korea, in the east it stretched as far as the ocean, including the present-day Vladivostok and Voroshilov regions, in the west it reached Ninguta, and in the north its border was the Amur.

The rural population of Po-hai grew kaoling, beans and grain, raised livestock, and worked at various trades. They had towns which acted as cultural and administrative centers. They had five capitals, 15 oblasts and 60 district centers. One of the major provincial centers of the Po-hai Kingdom, Shuai-ping, was located on the site of the present-day city of Voroshilov. The town was surrounded by an earthen rampart with bastions and moats. Inside were buildings with walls made of well-fired red and dark-gray brick; the roofs were often tiled and richly ornamented with ceramic slabs with a floral pattern, including stylized lotus flowers. The gables had sculptured dragon heads.

The Po-hai state had a stable administrative apparatus. The head of the state had the title of prince. Under him were two ministers, a right-hand and left-hand minister, each heading three departments. According to Chinese custom, the officials appeared at court with badges of distinction in the form of silver or gold fish. The military administration was carried out by a council of war leaders. The army and navy were used as reliable support for foreign policy and the independence of Po-hai.

The Chinese court strove to keep the Po-hai rulers under its influence. But in actual fact the vassalage of Po-hai to the Chinese emperor went no further than formal investiture of its rulers. The rulers of Po-hai were confirmed in office by the Chinese emperor and were subsequently given an honorary posthumous title by him.

The Chinese titles, which were flattering to the barbarians, raised the prestige of the Po-hai ruler among his subjects, and strengthened his influence over his neighbors.

However, this formal dependence on the Chinese court did not last very long. The son of the founder of the Po-hai state, Tso-jung, crushed the Chinese troops and united a number of neighboring tribes under his rule. The Chinese emperor, Jui Tsung, was forced to send envoys to Po-hai in 713 and to recognize Tso-jung as the sovereign prince and ruler of the "great seaboard state" of Po-hai.

Po-hai is not only associated with the rise of a state of Far Eastern tribes, but also with the flourishing of civilization. Po-hai was reputed among the Chinese to be a country of enlightenment and learning.



Bronze mirror with representation of dragon.
Primorsky Kray. Suchen. 11th century A.D.

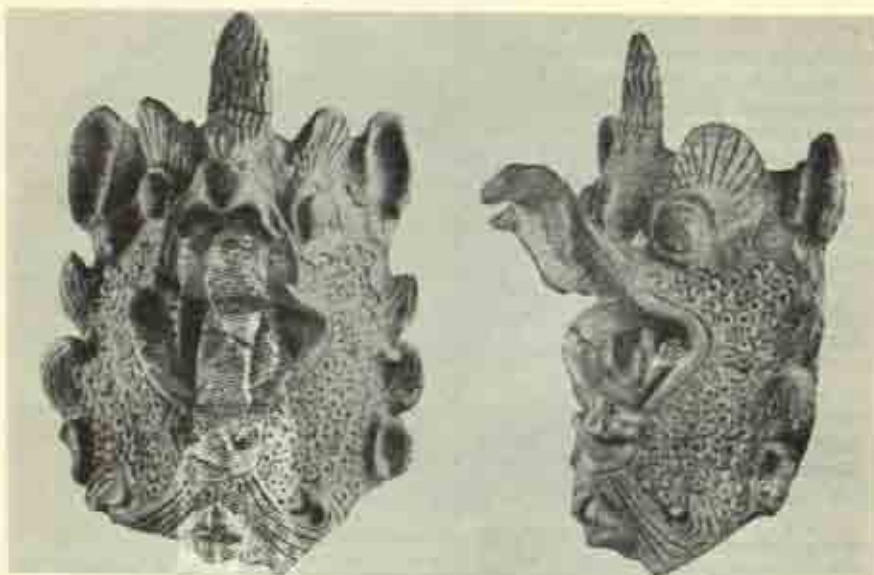
The Po-hai Kingdom was destroyed by the Kidaneans, originally nomadic tribes, who emerged in the first half of the 9th century.

Between 922 and 924 the Kidanean chief, Ambagyan', founder of the Liao Dynasty, defeated the Po-hai army and seized the western area of the country, while in northeast Manchuria, in the south of the Ussuriyskiy Kray, the Po-hai possessions remained independent.

Toward the 11th century, however, the Liao state was torn by internal strife. It was replaced by a new state formed by the Churchens. The Churchens, a people of Tunguso-Manchurian origin who were included among the Mo-ho tribes, had long inhabited northern Manchuria and the neighboring regions of the Russian Far East. They engaged in agriculture and reared domestic livestock; an important place in their life was taken by hunting. They knew how to track game and hunted the Siberian stag (*Cervus canadensis lugdorfi*) by decoying it with birchbark trumpets; they enjoyed hunting them on a large scale in the bush. The Churchens no longer lived in primitive dugouts, but in above-ground dwellings heated by stoves, the hot air from which was piped under the wide bunks.

It was in these warm bunks that the Churchens slept and spent their free time at home. The remains of such dwellings, with bunks lined with slabs, are found at many spots along the Amur and in the Maritime District. According to Chinese sources, the Churchens kept slaves. There were sharp distinctions within the clans. An aristocracy had formed. When notables were buried, their slaves and favorite male and female servants were burned alive.

The Churchen princes conquered more and more territory and increased their strength. In 1113, Aguda became ruler of the Churchens and founded the new Chin Dynasty. He issued a direct challenge to the Kidaneans, on whom the Churchens were dependent. In the battle of the river La-ling he defeated the Kidaneans and incited a revolt which finally ended with the complete destruction of the Kidanean state. The Liao state fell in 1122; the remnants of the Kidaneans moved west to Lake Baykal, or farther on to Central Asia, to Semirech'ye, where a new Karakitay state now grew up.



Dragon head (view from front and side). Ornament on roof. Environs of Voroshilov-Ussuriyskiy. 8th-12th centuries A.D.

After Aguda's death in 1123, his heirs inherited a tremendous expanse which included a considerable part of North China, Manchuria and Mongolia.

During the Chin period the Soviet Maritime District was a densely populated territory.

Close to the Po-hai town of Shuai-ping, captured and razed by the Chin soldiers, there was built the town of Fur-tung-ch'êng. Here there have been preserved monumental sepulchres erected in honor of the Chin princes, including complete granite tortoises to the backs of which are attached slabs with inscriptions and figures of dragons. Copious ruins of ancient fortifications, roads and mines dating from this period are ubiquitous in the Maritime District.

One of the most outstanding monuments of the medieval Far East is the Krasnoyarsk hill fort near the town of Voroshilov. This fort was evidently founded by the Po-hai people, and later inhabited by the Churchens.

The first explorers of the Ussuriyskiy Kray halted many a time in surprise in front of the ancient defenses of the high Krasnoyarsk Hill on the left bank of the river Suyfun opposite Voroshilov.

The defense belt of the ancient fortress stretches for almost 8 km following the outline of the hill. Its ramparts, even today, are 3-4 or even 5 meters high. But it is the southeast area of the hill fort which is most strongly fortified. Behind the high embankment there must have been a central area of the camp, the site of the palace buildings and temples of the Po-hai people, or more likely the Churchens, surrounded by a supplementary high enclosure. Immediately below the top layer of soil at the site of these buildings was a solid mass of tile. It was the remains of the roofs of the ancient buildings and it lay in astonishing order. Among the tiles, fragments of figures of fantastic monsters which had adorned the corners of the roofs were found intact. Under the layer of tile there were large lumps of hewn stone, supports for the wooden beams which held up the roof.

This was evidently a kind of "forbidden city," a city of palaces and temples like those that existed, for example, in the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an, in the capital of the Po-hai Kingdom near Ninguta, at the site of the present-day city of Tung-ching-ch'êng, or later in Peking. Its architecture bore the hallmark of higher Chinese culture. And, indeed, could the situation have been otherwise at that time, when the China of the brilliant T'ang Dynasty was an example and pattern for all the neighboring countries of the Far Eastern world? People learned from the Chinese, and built palaces and temples along Chinese lines, not only in Po-hai, but also in Korea and Japan. But it is all the more interesting that the overall design of the "forbidden city" on the Krasnoyarsk Hill shows one very important and extremely characteristic feature which distinguishes it from the towns of Po-hai, and also from the Chinese urban centers of the T'ang Dynasty. In the Po-hai capital near Ninguta and in the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an the entire city was situated on level ground and from above was shaped like a regular rectangle. The straight streets intersected from south to north and from east to west and divided it into blocks like a chessboard. On the Krasnoyarsk Hill, however, the fort followed the natural relief of the terrain. Furthermore, all the buildings in the "forbidden city" were not on flat ground but on ledges specially cut for the purpose, arranged in steps like terraces. Here, too, the original traditions of the Far Eastern tribes and traits of their own cultural creativeness showed up in the planning of the ancient town.

The town, however, fell victim to enemy attack. The onslaught was so fast and furious that the defenders had no time even to use the stocks of stone missiles, which are still lying in heaps on its walls.

It is known from the Chinese chronicles that the Chin state fell victim to the Mongol conquerors. The Mongols of Genghis Khan stormed the Chin forts, slaughtered the population and devastated the whole country with such barbarity that it never really recovered.

The fearful force which crushed the powerful empire of the Churchens with incredible speed and then sped on to conquer other territories emerged beside the Amur, in the steppes by the Onon and Kerulen.

Some of the burials in the Selenga Valley near the village of Zarubino can be assigned to the earlier stage of Mongol history in our country. They give us an idea of the life of the poor nomadic pastoralists and hunters armed with bows and arrows with iron points. The discovery in these graves of a musical instrument typical of the steppe dwellers, the Mongolian jew's-harp or khur, is noteworthy. Women were seen off for the "other world" with shears for fleecing sheep. In similar graves on the Lena, at the mouth of the Manzurka, beside the women were found round-bottomed clay pots of ancient Mongol origin, mentioned in the writings of the 13th century. The Lena cliffs are carved with pictures of carts adorned with tassels, carpets and banners. In the drawings the carts are pulled by bulls. This is exactly how the carts of the ancient Mongols of the 12th and 13th centuries are described in the "Secret History."

The culmination of the Mongol empire is shown in Siberia by such archeological discoveries as the well-known "Nyuk treasure" near Kabansk on the Selenga, where there was found a silver p'ai-tzu, rich burials on Chasovennaya Mountain near Krasnoyarsk, and a number of burials in Tunka, in which there were found remains of compound bows, silver beakers, the remains of luxurious leather clothing embroidered with gold, ornaments made of gold and pearl. Chinese lacquered objects, and bronze mirrors with designs showing bunches of grapes and doves. All these were graves of the Mongol noyons [military leaders—Ed.], and at the same time

direct indications of the plundering campaigns against the cultured agricultural peoples of the time by the Mongol armies.

As L. P. Potapov has shown, the barbaric rule of the Mongol conquerors also affected the archeological relics related to the period of Mongol domination in the Altay although at a completely different level. The Altayan relics of the 13th and 14th centuries are so scanty that they suggest extreme impoverishment of the population which left them and which was unmercifully exploited by the Mongol feudal lords.

The same thing is clearly observed on the Selenga, both on the middle and lower reaches. The glaring paucity of the discoveries in collective graves which can be related to the time of the Mongol empire is so obvious that later plunderers did not even bother to dig them up. And this is in the Transbaykal, where, regardless of size, not a single grave of the earlier period which projects above the ground to any degree has been left untouched by the plundering grave raiders.

The events connected with the rise of the Mongol empire had other consequences, just as important and far-reaching. The rise of the Mongols and of the expansionist and political activity of their emperors brought about new, important changes in relationships between different tribes and peoples of Siberia.

From then on Mongolia became almost entirely Mongol. The Turkic tribes, with few exceptions, finally began to concentrate to the west of the Sayan Mountains. The forest steppes of the Baykal region, even before the time of Genghis Khan, widely populated by Mongolic-speaking tribes such as the Bargu-Buryats, Khors, Bulagats and Ikhirits, mixed with the remnants of the ancient Turkic population, became the homeland of the Buryat people between the 12th and 16th centuries.

But in every other respect the ethnographic picture of Siberia from the time of Genghis Khan up to the advent of the Russians by and large retained the overall character determined by the end of the first millennium A.D.





THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL TYPES OF SIBERIA

M. G. LEVIN

In the preceding chapter we adduced data on the anthropological composition of the ancient population of Siberia, which can be summed up in the following way. Judging by the material available, which, admittedly, is still very sparse, during the Upper Paleolithic Siberia was populated by Mongoloid groups. We do not yet possess sufficient data to define the limits within which the Mongoloids spread during this period, or to trace how far west the settlement of the Mongoloid-type paleolithic population extended. Future researches will have to ascertain whether or not this region covered southwest Siberia as well during that period, or whether the original settlement of that territory, just as in the vast spaces to the west of the Yenisey, was due to the advance of Europeoid groups from the southwest and the west.

In any case, the region west of the Yenisey had long been the scene of intermingling between Europeoid and Mongoloid types. The latter penetrated far into Eastern Europe. In the Neolithic and eneolithic periods, the demarcation between Mongoloids and Europeoids in Siberia can be traced fairly clearly. The population of the forest belt at this time, to judge by paleo-anthropological material, has clearly marked traits of the great Mongoloid race.

During this period the Altay-Sayan Plateau was settled by Europeoids; the anthropological type of the population, which left behind relics of the Afanas'yevo and Andronovian cultures, need give rise to no doubt.

The Europeoid groups occupied the steppes of the Altay and Minusinskiy Kray, while the forest belt both in eastern and western Siberia continued to be extensively inhabited by Mongoloid types. The boundary between them was by no means permanent. From the Altay-Sayan steppes the Europeoid groups seem to have moved fairly far east; the neolithic population of the taiga west of Lake Baykal, in particular, shows a Europeoid admixture. In their turn, the Mongoloid elements penetrated into the steppe regions.

From then on the proportion of the various Mongoloid types among the population of southwest Siberia kept increasing. This was particularly the case during the Tashtyk period. At the end of the first and beginning of the second millennia A.D., in the Altay-Sayan Plateau, too, Mongoloid-type groups almost completely ousted the ancient Europeoid population.

Unfortunately, the whole of the Russian Far East is still to this very day a blank spot on the chart of anthropological types of the ancient population, although there need be no doubt that this territory, too, had long been populated by the northern Mongoloids. Nevertheless, other elements associated with Southeast Asia had also reached those parts a long time before. When and how this occurred remains for the moment a complete mystery.

The anthropological composition of the present-day peoples of Siberia, as indicated by paleoanthropological data, was based chiefly on ancient Mongoloid elements. It is very difficult, however, to trace the direct link between the present-day anthropological type and the ancient tribes in the majority of cases. The present-day types have emerged as a result of complex historical processes which reflect both different stages of ethnic development of individual peoples and their mutual influence, intermixing and migration, as well as the influence of their natural environment.

Over the last few centuries the admixture of Russian blood has affected the formation of anthropological types among the Siberian peoples to a considerable extent, and in a number of cases this has become very obvious.

As a whole, the indigenous pre-Russian population of Siberia had predominantly Mongoloid traits and belonged to different variants of the great Mongoloid race. The Mongoloid complex shows up most clearly among the peoples of central and eastern Siberia. Among various peoples to the west of the Yenisey there is an appreciable weakening of the Mongoloid features through intermarriage with the ancient Europeoids. An admixture of non-Mongoloid type is also found in the Pacific coastal region, but there it stems from something different and is connected with the ancient population of Southeast Asia and the islands of the Pacific.

Research carried out by Soviet anthropologists has enabled them to single out from the pre-Russian Siberian population several basic anthropological types, formed historically in set territories and represented by different ethnic groups.

The anthropological type predominating in the West Siberian population is called in the literature the Ural type. In basic characteristics it occupies an intermediate place between the Mongoloid and Europeoid great races.

Characteristic of the Ural type is straight, though soft hair, comparatively light skin, a large percentage of light and mixed eye-coloring, poor development of the epicanthus (Mongolian fold of the eyelid), as compared with the East Siberian types, and, on the other hand, a thicker beard. The Ural type is further characterized by low stature (about 160 cm for men as an average), a comparatively short and moderately wide face; the nose is often concave or turned up, the lips are thin, and the head is usually mesocephalic (cranial index 79-80).

The most typical representatives of the Ural type are the Mansi and Khanty; but the type is also represented among the Sel'kups and western Nentsy. The traits of the Ural type are also found among the Shors, the northern Altays, certain groups of Khakasy, and the Siberian Tatars. It should be mentioned that these traits are also found among the population west of the Urals—the peoples of the Volga-Kama (Mari, Udmurts and Perm Komi). Thus, the Ural type represents a whole chain of intermediate Mongoloid-Europeoid forms widespread among various ethnic groups to the east and the west of the Urals.

Studies made by Soviet anthropologists suggest that these forms are the result of intermixing between types of Asiatic and European origin, and relate the beginning of this process to the stage when man first settled the forest belt of western Siberia.

The anthropological makeup of the Kets is rather peculiar. Though possessing many features of the Ural type, they are marked by darker pigmentation, less beard, a comparatively strongly protruding nose, sometimes with a convex bridge, which creates an impression of similarity with the North American Indians. This resemblance, however, is very distant and cannot be used as a basis for suggesting any genetic link between these types, so essentially different in origin. Traits characteristic of the Kets

are also found among certain other peoples in West Siberia (among the Taz Sel'kups and eastern Nentsy), which enables us to single out from the Ural type a particular variant, sometimes known in the literature as the Yenisey type.

The eastern limit of the Ural anthropological type is the Yenisey. Among the peoples east of the Yenisey, the ancient Europeoid admixture, which shows up so strongly in the present-day population of western Siberia, hardly exists at all. The anthropological type widespread among the pre-Russian population of the northern part of central and eastern Siberia is known as the Baykal or paleo-Siberian type. This latter name is an indication of how ancient the type is, which goes back at least to the Neolithic. The Baykal type shows marked Mongoloid features.

Characteristic of the type are a strongly developed epicanthus, exceptionally little beard, a very high, wide, flat face with strongly projecting cheek bones, and a flat nose with a very low bridge. The representatives of the Baykal type, like those of the Ural type, have comparatively soft hair, light skin, a fairly considerable percentage of mixed eye-coloring, although here this cannot be due to the Europeoid mixture: as far as the other above-mentioned characteristics are concerned, the Baykal type does not show any resemblance to the Europeoid. Characteristic features of the Baykal type are thin lips and a very high, protruding upper lip. The shape of the head varies considerably. The stature is small (below 160 cm as an average for men).

The Baykal type is represented by various groups of Evenks and Lamuts; it can be clearly traced among the Tungus-speaking population of the lower Amur and Sakhalin (the Negidals and Oroks are typical representatives), and is one of the components of Yakuts.

It can be assumed that the Baykal type was fully represented among the Yukagir tribes, who were spread all over northeast Siberia in the past, and even in the 17th century occupied a considerable amount of territory east of the river Yana. The Baykal type evidently constituted the basis of the ancient, paleoasiatic language-groups of East Siberia, and its region of formation was the taiga east of the Yenisey.

It seems that later, when a considerable part of the paleoasiatic population was assimilated by the Tungus-speaking groups who moved in from the more southerly regions of the Transbaykal and the upper reaches of the Amur, the Baykal type was assimilated by the Evenks, and particularly the Lamuts, who have retained to a greater extent than the Evenks the features of this ancient paleoasiatic stratum.

The complex migrations of the Evenk and Lamut groups, which took many centuries to occur, greatly changed the pattern of the former distribution of anthropological types in eastern Siberia and the Russian Far East.

The peoples of southern Siberia, who speak the Mongolic and Turkic languages, differ anthropologically from their northern neighbors.

Archeological and paleoanthropological data suggest that the spread of Turkic and Mongolic languages over this territory is associated with the lengthy influx of ethnic groups from Middle Asia. In the process, the local population was not entirely ousted or exterminated by the newcomers, but intermingled with them, gradually assimilating the Turkic and Mongolic speech, but retaining many features of their own anthropological type. Even to the present time, the anthropological type of the Turkic-speaking peoples of western Siberia reveals traits of mixed origin.

As has already been mentioned, among the Shors, northern Altays, and to some extent the Khakasy, the Ural type predominates, and also stands out among the Chulym and certain groups of West Siberian Tatars. These groups have retained their ancient anthropological features.

Among the Tuvans of the steppe regions, the Buryats, to some extent, the southern Altays, and certain groups of Khakasy, there predominates another anthropological type, described as the Middle-Asian type. This type possesses the following traits: pigmentation of the skin, eyes and hair darker than in the Baykal type, rather coarser hair and a heavier beard, a considerably developed epicanthus, a high and wide face, but less flattened, with cheek bones less protruding than in the Baykal type, a nose with a comparatively high bridge, and medium-thick lips. The shape of the head varies considerably. Their height is lower than average (162-164 cm as an average for men). A characteristic feature of the Middle-Asian type distinguishing it from the Baykal type is a very high cranium. The term "Middle-Asian type" describes the territory over which it is chiefly spread: this set of anthropological characteristics is typical of the population of northern Mongolia, which was in fact the chief region of its formation.

The fact should be particularly stressed that among the Yakuts, who have features of the Baykal type, characteristics of the Middle-Asian type nevertheless predominate. This shows how the Yakut people was formed. The present-day distribution of the Middle-Asian type among the Yakut people of the Lena Basin must be associated with the migrations of the Yakuts' ancestors from the more southerly regions which they originally inhabited; these migrations can be clearly traced from archeological and ethnographic material and have left their mark on the Yakut language, which, as is well known, belongs to the Turkic group.

On the middle Lena the Turkic-speaking ancestors of the Yakuts intermingled with the ancient population of that territory, which, as we have already mentioned, belonged anthropologically to the Baykal type. The assimilation of the pre-Yakut population brought about intermixing between the more ancient Baykal type in the Lena Basin and the Middle-Asian type. Both types are represented among the present-day Yakuts.

The Buryats show Middle-Asian traits, two variations being clearly distinguishable. These are the Transbaykal type, resembling the Mongols and distinguished by brachycephaly and low cranium, and the Angara Lena type, mesocephalic, with a fairly high cranium. The northwest Buryats and Yakuts are closest together, anthropologically speaking, which indicates the western Baykal region as the area where the ancestors of the Yakuts first settled. Data are available showing the presence of traits of the Middle-Asian type among the southern Evenks, in particular the Transbaykal Evenks (we should recall that the Baykal type is characteristic of most Evenks).

The formation of the Evenks, just as of any other people, is a complex process of intermixing between elements different in origin. The ancient Baykal type merely constitutes one component in their ethnogenesis. Another component, if we are to proceed from anthropological data, is the presence of the Middle-Asian type among the Evenks, linked in origin with territory farther south. The fact that this component is the predominant one among the Buryats, Yakuts and northern Mongols tallies well with the closeness of the Tungusic, Turkic and Mongolic languages, established by linguists.

In an anthropological respect the present-day population of the Amur region is a variegated picture of complex ethnic relationships and tribal intermingling, typical of the peoples of this region.

The Nivkhi are an anthropological type with a number of specific features distinguishing them from other Mongoloid types in Siberia. The following features are characteristic: comparatively dark pigmentation of the skin, eyes and hair, fairly coarse hair, sometimes wavy, and a well-developed

epicanthus, which coupled with considerable growth of beard (on the Mongoloid scale) makes for a marked peculiarity. The faces of the Nivkhi are very wide and high with fairly strongly projecting cheek bones. The nose is flattish with a low bridge. The lips are thick. The shape of the head among the Amur Nivkhi is mesocephalic and among the Sakhalin Nivkhi sharply brachycephalic (cranial index 85). In height they are below average (160-161 cm as an average for men).

Anthropologically, the Nivkhi definitely show traces of the Ainu type, but it is not possible to explain the unusual nature of this type merely by this admixture, or to regard it as the result of the intermixing of the Baykal and Ainu types; from the point of view of a whole number of other important characteristics it is far from being an intermediate stage between them.

This anthropological type deserves a particular place in the classification and can be termed Amur-Sakhalin on account of its localization. It is represented to the greatest extent, as mentioned, among the Sakhalin and Amur Nivkhi, but also constitutes part of the Ul'chi and to some extent the Oroki makeup.

It may be assumed that in the past this type was more widespread and that the ancient paleoasiatic-speaking population of the lower Amur Basin belonged to that very type, before the Tungus-speaking groups reached them. The most direct descendants of this population are the Nivkhi, whose language is the last representative of the ancient tongues of the Amur region.

The Oroks of Sakhalin, and particularly the Negidals, have marked traits of the Baykal type. Compared with their neighbors, the Nivkhi, their skin, eyes and hair are considerably lighter, their hair is comparatively soft, they do not have much beard, their faces are flatter, with sharply projecting cheek bones, the bridge of the nose is low and their lips are much thinner. Both the Negidals and the Oroks are small in stature (155-156 cm as an average for men).

All these distinguishing features bring the Negidals and Oroks closer to the Lamuts, from whom they differ chiefly in the shape of the head (the Oroks and Negidals are brachycephalic).

The Ul'chi occupy a place in between the Negidals and Nivkhi in an anthropological sense, exhibiting very clear traits of both the Baykal and Sakhalin-Amur types.

The Baykal component can be traced among the Oroks and Nanays. It may be assumed that the latter also possess a North-Chinese anthropological component (the Nanay face is not so wide or flat; the pigmentation seems to be darker, and the lips thicker).

As a whole, the anthropological composition of the peoples of the lower Amur and Sakhalin reflect fairly clearly the basic stages in their ethnic development.

The ancient, paleoasiatic population of this territory belonged to the Amur-Sakhalin type.

The present-day distribution of the Baykal type among the Amur and Sakhalin peoples indicates that it first appeared in that territory later than the Amur-Sakhalin type and is connected with the spread of the Tungus-speaking peoples.

That there are Ainu elements in the anthropological type of the Nivkhi and to some extent in the other peoples of the Amur region is unquestionable, but how and when they got there remains unclear for the moment. They are not necessarily to be associated with the Sakhalin Ainu; there may have been more ancient ties between the paleoasiatic population of the Amur and anthropologically Ainu southern elements.

The peoples of northeast Asia—the paleoasiatics and Eskimos—relate basically to an anthropological type designated in the literature as the Arctic or Eskimo type.

The Eskimo type shows Americanoid features and is characterized by a comparatively poorly developed epicanthus, a sharply outlined nose with a comparatively high bridge and a straight, often convex profile, stronger beard growth than among the Siberian Mongoloids. Typical also are a swarthy skin, dark eyes, almost without any mixed coloring, and tight hair of a jet-black color. The face is very high and wide, but not so flattened as in the Baykal type; the lips are comparatively thick. The head is usually mesocephalic. The height is below average (162 - 163 cm as an average for men).

The Eskimo type is not only characteristic of the Asiatic Eskimos, but also of the coastal Chukchi and Koryaks, and to some extent the Itel'mens. The latter, apart from the known admixture of Russian blood, may be assumed to have Ainu elements as well.

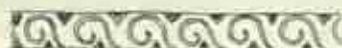
The reindeer Chukchi and Koryaks show distinctive traits in their type. Compared with the coastal Chukchi, they have a more developed epicanthus, while the beard is less developed, pigmentation is lighter, and their hair is less coarse. These characteristics distinguish them from the Eskimo type and bring them closer to the Baykal type. But in other characteristics the reindeer Chukchi and Koryaks do not occupy this intermediate position. Their faces, compared with the Eskimo and the Baykal types, are not so high or wide; they have a wider nose with strongly projecting wings. G. F. Debets calls this the Kamchatka type, and on the basis of the characteristic combination of wide nose and small face, likens it to the southern Mongoloid types.

The ancient penetration of anthropological elements of southern origin into the Chukchi Peninsula and Kamchatka is very probable. Many writers have pointed out southern elements in the ancient cultures of the Bering Sea.

As a whole the Chukchi and Koryaks belong to the Eskimo type. The formation of the Eskimos, Chukchi and Koryaks took place, generally speaking, on a single anthropological basis. Among the reindeer groups we observe traits of the Baykal type. This fact should not be regarded as merely due to a possible, though considerably later admixture of Lamut blood; the influx of continental elements into the coastal region of the Bering Sea goes back to a much earlier period and is linked with the pre-Tungus population of the inner regions of northeast Asia.

We have given here a description of the basic anthropological types of Siberia and traced their distribution among the present-day ethnic groups in this territory. When studying the map of the anthropological composition of the population and comparing the present-day anthropological types with those of preceding eras, we seek and can often find an answer to such important questions as the possibly autochthonous development or foreign origin of the groups in question, the direction of the migration involved, and the nature of the intermixing.

The anthropological composition of a people reflects the lengthy path traversed by it during its historical development, and anthropological material, along with ethnographic, archeological and linguistic data, provides us with an important source for throwing light on the main stages of the ethnic history of that people.





HISTORICAL-ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION OF SIBERIA IN THE PREREVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

L. P. POTAPOV

(with the assistance of S. V. Ivanov,
G. S. Maslova and V. K. Sokolova)

The Discovery and Occupation of Siberia

It was the Russians who opened up Siberia to the European world. The first people to reach those parts were the intrepid and enterprising inhabitants of Novgorod, who began contacting the various ethnic groups of the Siberian population in the 11th century and at that time knew them under the general name of "Yugry." (The Novgorod Chronicle for 1096 says: "The Yugry people have their own language and live next to the Samoyeds in the midnight countries.")

The chief inducement to geographical exploration among the Russians was economic interest, that is to say, the desire to expand their spheres of economic activity by discovering new territories, to expand relations with neighboring lands, and to develop trade by incorporating the newly discovered regions.

Karl Marx has given particular emphasis to the historically progressive role of ancient Novgorod: "In the 10th century," wrote Marx, "its trade only extended as far as Constantinople, whereas by the 12th century ships were sailing to Lübeck; the Novgoroders were blazing a path into Siberia through primeval forest, and the boundless expanses between Lake Ladoga, the White Sea, Novaya Zemlya and the Onega were to some extent civilized and Christianized."¹

The earliest reference to expeditions from Novgorod to the Yugry country goes back to 1032. In the 11th century, Novgorod had fairly thoroughly mastered the Pechora route to the land of the Yugry, and by the end of the century Russians had already been beyond the Ural Range. Trips to the Yugry country continued during the 12th century as well. At this time the Yugry population paid tribute to the Novgoroders (in the chronicles it is usually called a "yugorshchina") in the form of animal skins, "fish-teeth" (walrus tusks), and "uzoroch'ya" (probably different types of ornaments). From about 1264 on, the land of the Yugry was officially included in the Volosts [administrative regions] of Novgorod, as has been

¹ Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa (Marx and Engels Archives), Vol. VIII, 1946, Moscow, p. 156.

established from treaty scrolls executed between the citizens and princes of Novgorod. One of the chronicles states that the Novgoroders made visits "along the Ob' River to the sea" in 1365.

As soon as Novgorod had been incorporated into the centralized Russian State (1487), the problem of development of relations with the Yugry and the development and strengthening of economic and cultural ties between the Russian people and Siberia as well as the protection of state interests was taken over by Moscow—the center of the Russian State. In the 15th and 16th centuries, centers of Russian folk culture arose in the Pechorskiy Kray, where there appeared a number of villages and peasant colonies (Izhemskaya, Ust'-Tsilemskaya, Pustozersk, and others), the inhabitants of which organized trade with the Samoyeds, Ostyaks and Voguls.

The Muscovite government sent three expeditions beyond the Urals during the second half of the 15th century.

The first expedition was undertaken in 1465 under Tsar Ivan III. It was headed by Vasilii Skryaba, who hailed from Ustyug. His detachment included "willing peoples as well as men from Vym' and Vychegda." As a result of this expedition, Vasilii Skryaba and his men "brought the Yugry...country for the Great Prince, and brought the Yugry princes, Kaipak and Techik, to Moscow, to the Great Ivan Vasil'yevich, and the Great Prince invested them with rule of the Yugry principedom and sent them back to the Yugry, and imposed tribute upon them and the whole of the Yugry land." In 1483 a fresh expedition was sent to the Yugry country. This time it was led by the voyevods "Prince Fedor Kurbskiy the Black and Ivan Ivanovich Saltyk Travin, and with them people from Ustyug and Vologda, Vychegda, Vym', Sysola and Perm." The chronicles state that the expedition went to the Pelym and Tavda Rivers, went along the Irtysh, moved along the Irtysh to the "Great River Ob'," and on to the Yugry country.

The land of the Yugry was not finally annexed to the Muscovite State until 1499-1500, after a third military expedition to the Yugry country, consisting of 5000 men from Ustyug, Vyatka and Dvina. The roll-books describing the campaign state that the expedition was led by three voyevods: Kurbskiy, Ushatyy and Zabolotskiy-Brazhnik.

According to the evidence of Gerberstein (beginning of the 16th century), the Russians regularly visited the Yugry country to collect the tribute (yasak) and also to trade. According to his reports, both the Voguls and the Ostyaks, as well as the "Samoyad'" (Samoyeds), paid this tribute.

Reports by foreigners show that the Russians were thoroughly acquainted with the sea route from Archangel and the Pechora to the Ob' Bay and Yenisey Estuary at least as far back as the beginning of the 16th century. Hence it is quite natural that in a conversation with the British ambassador, Edward Bowes, on October 24, 1583, Ivan the Terrible mentioned the Ob' and the Yenisey "and those places in our land 3000 versts from the sea wharf at the mouth of the Dvina."²

It is possible that the lighter Russian craft sailed even farther at that time, as suggested in the legends handed down by the Ust' Russians, one of the most ancient Russian groups in Siberia, who lived at the mouth of the Indigirka. These legends, recorded in a document dating from the 1830's, as well as in others from the end of that century, say that the ancestors of

² Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniy Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Angliyei, II. Russkiy istoricheskiy sbornik, XXXVIII (Memorials of Diplomatic Relations of the Muscovite State with England, Vol. 2. Russian Historical Collection, Vol. 38), 1883, p. 112.

the Ust' Russians sailed there in boats and settled there during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The legends mention Russian noblemen among these early settlers. It is hard to say how true this is, but it is well known that the Ust' Russians have retained certain surnames (Chikhachev, Kiselev, etc.) which were borne under Ivan the Terrible by some of the well-known boyars and members of the nobility.

The trips along the Arctic coast by the earlier Russian seafarers were aimed at coastal trade. They sailed in "kochi" or flat-bottomed boats with only a small load (6 or 7 tons) and a small seating capacity. The Russian Pomors³ and Komi (Zyryans) had already settled far along the northern coast of Siberia by the 16th century. This is known at least in the case of the right bank of the Taz Bay and the Mangazeya, where, on the instructions of the Muscovite government, there was later (1601) built the Mangazeya fortified settlement which quickly became an important and lively trade center in northwest Siberia, and at that time was known as the "Tsar's gold mine." However, Mangazeya only retained its importance up to the beginning of the third decade of the 17th century. In 1619 the Muscovite government passed a law ending navigation along the northern Mangazeya route, and also trade in Mangazeya. The reason for this was the receipt of a petition from the Tobol'sk voyevod, who requested that foreign ships should not be allowed to use this route on the grounds that local Russian seafarers had reported the appearance there of foreign ships. Tsar Mikhail Romanov gave this petition careful study and as a precautionary measure closed the northern sea route to Siberia and prohibited trade in Mangazeya. There was, of course, good reason for this apprehension. At that time, Siberia had already gained a reputation for its wealth of fur, a fact which naturally attracted the attention of the West European countries seeking to acquire new colonies. Moscow was well aware of the intense interest which foreigners were showing in all information on Siberia in the 16th and early 17th centuries, particularly in the routes leading to it. This interest led to expeditions by the Englishmen Hugo Willoughby, Steven Borrow, Arthur Peet and Charles Jackman, the Dutchmen Willem Barents, van Kerhoven, Jan Mey and a number of others. All these expeditions were aimed at discovering a route to China through Siberia, and not only discovering it, but also securing it for themselves. It must be admitted that none of the expeditions was successful—none of them discovered a northern route to China. Furthermore, the West European seafarers were not even able to reach the mouth of the Ob'. As a result, in 1608 the English Muscovy Company ceased financing Arctic expeditions. The reasons for the failure of the expeditions were revealed by M. V. Lomonosov in his time, who pointed out that the Western seafarers "had insufficient knowledge of nature and no clear picture of the way ahead of them," that is to say, they did not possess the same experience that had been gained by the Russian Arctic seafarers. Every fresh attempt by foreign explorers to reach the waters of northern Siberia aroused well-founded alarm in Russian government circles. The actual scheme of opening a northern sea route to China was not alien to the tsars, and we know, for example, of the importance that Ivan the Terrible attributed to it.

The precautions taken by the Moscow government with regard to the northern sea route obviously slowed down the development of Russian Siberia for a long time. As soon as the sea route was closed, Mangazeya underwent a great economic and cultural decline.

³ Literally, "coast-dwellers"; the Russian inhabitants of the White Sea shore in the region of Archangel.—Ed.

The archeological excavations and discoveries on the east coast of the Taymyr in Sims' Bay and on the northerly Faddeya Island in 1940-1945 established that the boats of the Russian Pomors during the first few decades of the 17th century carried their merchandise along the most difficult sector of the northern sea route, circling the Taymyr Peninsula. Archeological material from these excavations shows us the high level of culture of the Russian seafarers of that time.¹ The trading expeditions were well equipped and the members of them were people of education, who knew how to use sundials and compasses. They counted on trips lasting long periods, taking into account the need to spend the winter away. During the winter period they spent their leisure hours playing chess. The view that the Russian sea voyages during the opening up of Siberia were casual, haphazard undertakings, whose members "sailed like the blind without compasses or charts, without any experience of navigation, in clumsy ships made from crudely hewn wood certain to be wrecked"² is clearly refuted by the wealth of documentary archeological evidence. Comparison of this evidence with reports made by foreigners enables us to reconstruct the true aspect of the Russian seafarers as experienced Arctic sailors who preferred sailing the kochi not because of the backwardness of the ancient Russian shipbuilding, but because of the greater adaptability of these boats to the specific conditions of navigating the Arctic.

Siberia was discovered by the Russians many centuries before it was finally incorporated into the Russian State, and the name "Siberian land" is found in Russian chronicles dating from 1407. It was one of the most important discoveries in world geography. The first pioneers rapidly established economic and cultural ties with the population of the part of Europe and Asia they had discovered, and set up their own settlements, exerting a beneficial influence on the culture and everyday life of the age-old inhabitants. The extremely backward population of northwest Siberia engaged in hunting, fishing and reindeer breeding. The Siberian tribes desperately needed Russian products, particularly iron objects, and willingly traded furs for them, as recorded in the chronicle; it tells of "silent barter" of the Russians with the inhabitants of the North: "they point to iron and wave their hands, asking iron, and if someone giveth them a knife or an axe, they give him a fur in return." The Novgorod Chronicles contain various reports on the territory and population of northwest Siberia given by Russians during the discovery of Siberia and initial contact with its inhabitants; these reports represent a valuable historical source and are evidence of the level of Russian culture of the time. The Russian seafarers not only discovered the new lands and tribes but also recorded their discoveries, realizing the importance of the information they reported.

Siberia was incorporated into Russia at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, during the formation of the Russian multinational state. The Russian State, growing economically and strengthening politically, required the expansion and fortification of its frontiers. The incorporation of Siberia, discovered by Russians, completely accorded with this aim. In

¹A. P. Okladnikov, *Russkiye polyarnyye perekhody XVII veka u beregov Taymyra* (Russian Arctic Crossings in the 17th Century off the Taymyr Peninsula), Moscow-Leningrad, 1948.

²V. G. Bogoraz, *Novyye zadachi russkoy etnografii v polyarnykh oblastiakh*, Tr. Severnoy Nauchno-Promyslovoy ekspeditsii (New Problems in Russian Ethnography in the Polar Regions, Proc. Northern Scientific-Trade Expedition), No. 9, Petrogra, 1921, p. 121.

Siberia, which was the natural continuation of the territory of the Russian State beyond the Urals, which had great natural wealth and was so sparsely populated, the Moscow government saw a major source of territorial and economic development for Russia. It was for this reason that, beginning with the reign of Ivan the Terrible, armed expeditions were dispatched on numerous occasions to Siberia to fulfill government missions. The aim of the expeditions was to study the territory, its topography, natural conditions and paths of communication, and to ascertain the ethnic composition and numbers of the population, its language and occupations, and to gather information on the countries and states bordering on Siberia.

The Moscow government steadfastly insisted that its service gentry (from the moment they entered Siberia and began crossing its territory) should make drawings and record descriptions of the Siberian land. These documents arrived in large quantities in Moscow where they were studied and processed, as a result of which, in 1629, the government had the first rough map of the whole of Siberia explored up to that time, although the written description has alone come down to us.⁷ After Siberia had been incorporated into the Russian State, towns and forts began to be built and measures were taken to populate the territory with Russians; the resettlement of peasants from behind the Urals started in the last decade of the 16th century; agriculture began to develop and a mail-coach service was introduced. Trade, too, was actively developed. The merchants of Bukhara, for example, were allowed to "travel to all the Siberian towns without restriction and to trade without taxes." All this shows that the incorporation of Siberia in the Russian State was regarded as a major and important matter, requiring the adoption of judicious and far-reaching measures.

The incorporation of Siberia was completed within an extremely brief period of history, the beginning of which can be considered to date from the famous expedition by Yermak (1581-1585) during which, as Marx stated, "the foundation of Asiatic Russia was laid."⁸ Over the ensuing period, up to 1648, Russians traversed the whole of Siberia, from the Urals to the Pacific. At that time there were no large, strong states there at all, with the exception of the Siberian Khanate which emerged through feudal fragmentation of the Golden Horde. It was led by the Khan Kuchum, a descendant of Sheybani-Khan of the dynasty of Genghis. The Siberian Khanate possessed neither strength nor stability. It collapsed at the very first clash with Yermak's detachments, who thereby freed the tribes of northwest Siberia from Kuchum's tyranny. Not being attached to the Siberian Khanate by any unity of economic, political or cultural life, the tribes and nationalities (Nentsy, Mansi, Khanty, Sel'kups and various Turkic-speaking associations of tribes and clans, for example, the Teleuts), evinced little desire to support Kuchum, relations with whom were based entirely on payment of tributes. The fall of the Siberian Khanate cleared the way to the northern, central and eastern regions of Siberia. As they advanced, the Russian explorers encountered vast, untouched territories, the inclusion of which in the Russian State presented no difficulty, for no one laid claim to them and no one

⁷ Russian: *sluzhilyye lyudy*, a group intermediate between the nobility and the peasantry, which was granted land in return for military or civil service.—Ed.

⁸ A. I. Andreyev. *Ocherki po istochnikovedeniyu Sibiri XVII v.* (Essays on Siberian Sources in the 17th Century). Leningrad, 1940, pp. 8-12.

⁹ Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa (Marx and Engels Archives), Vol. 8, Moscow, 1946, p. 166.

defended them. Advancement into the territory was made even easier by the fact that the population there was extremely sparse and scattered about in small clans with different languages, often hostile to each other (as is clearly told in the folklore of the Nentsy, Mansi, Khanty, Entsy, Sel'kups, Kets, Evenks and so on).

These tribes were very poorly developed socially. They were primitive hunters and fishermen; some of them reared reindeer. Only a few knew how to melt metal and make tools and weapons from iron, though stone and bone implements predominated. The tribes of northeast Siberia (Yukagirs, Chukchi, Koryaks and so on) were still using Stone Age technology. It was only the Yakuts, Buryats and a number of smaller groups of the Sayan-Altay Plateau who had developed nomadic pastoralism, primitive agriculture, and knew about melting iron ore and forging.

The low level of socioeconomic development among the Siberian tribes and their scattered nature were not conducive to any great resistance to the newcomers. Naturally, even in these circumstances the movement of small and poorly armed groups of Russian pioneers through unknown, virgin forests and along unexplored rivers could easily have been slowed down, since the Siberian tribes knew how to fight and defend themselves if the occasion arose. This did not happen, however, and apparently for a number of reasons. First of all, the local population did not at first regard the explorers as conquerors or invaders. This was why they not only did not attack and kill the small groups of explorers, but showed them hospitality instead, and readily supplied them with advice, instructions, and guides in the spirit of the customs and traditions of the clan system. The chief motivation for this was evidently their economic requirements, and a desire to barter with the Russians so as to obtain certain basic commodities they lacked (iron objects, fabrics, beads, and so on).

In certain cases, for example when the Russians reached the Ob' River network (the Tom' and Chulym Basins) and also the southern reaches of the Yenisey, incorporation in the Russian State, despite the imposition of tribute involved, was the best solution for the local tribes and clans to the difficult political problems arising there at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Feudal strife and discord between the various Mongol, Yenisey Kirgiz, Teleut, and also Buryat, feudal nomads was having a ruinous effect on the everyday life of the smaller tribes in these regions (Teleuts, Kyzyls, Achi, Basagars, Arins, Kotts, Asans, Kachins, Sagays, Shors, and others). Regular bandit raids organized by the feudal lords, plundering and murder, abduction and the extortion of tribute were the lot of these tribal groups, who were held virtually permanently in subjugation by the nomadic aristocracy. The incorporation into the Russian State improved the political situation, replaced the system of numerous tributes by one yasak payable to the Russian tsar, and made for a more peaceful life. The considerate behavior of the local population towards the pioneers helped the Russians to advance speedily into Siberia and to reach the shores of the Pacific. As they moved across the land, they were ever conscious of the importance of their discoveries and maintained close contact with the central authority. The first Russian town—Tyumen'—was built in 1586 on the right bank of the Tura, and the following year another one was built at the mouth of the Tobol River, not far from Kashlyk, the former headquarters of Kuchum; this town—Tobol'sk—was for a long time the administrative center of Siberia. From the moment they were founded, the Siberian towns were carefully planned with regard for their strategic position and potential economic development. The selection of the site was usually successful, and most of them have been preserved to the present day.

In 1593, three towns were founded at the same time: Pelym, at the site of the fort of the Pelym Mansi "princes"; Berezov, on the lower reaches of the Ob', at the site of the old "settlement" of trappers; and Surgut at the site of the headquarters of the Khanty "prince," Bardak. In 1594, the town of Tara was built on the Irtysh in order to protect these new Russian possessions from the south against Kuchum's defeated hordes roaming the steppes.

Thus, the West Siberian Tatars, Khanty, Mansi and Siberian Nentsy were annexed to the Russian State with the imposition of a special tax in kind. The Siberian Nentsy, incidentally, were only nominally annexed; they underpaid the tax or paid it irregularly, and throughout the 17th century retained almost complete independence in internal and even external affairs.

In 1598, the town of Verkhotur'ye was built on the upper reaches of the Tura. It was to be the terminal point of the new overland road from Solikamsk to Siberia via the Urals, discovered by the trader Artem Babinov. In 1600, Tura (Yepanchin) was built on the middle reaches of the river of the same name, as an intermediate station between Verkhotur'ye and Tyumen'.

Each of these eight West Siberian towns was "allotted" an uyezd or administrative region. The Pelymskiy and Verkhotur'skiy Uyezds were settled by the Mansi, the Tyumenskiy, Turinskiy and Tarskiy Uyezds by Siberian Tatars, the Surgutskiy by the Khanty, the Tobolskiy by Tatars and Khanty, and the Berezovskiy Uyezd by Khanty, Mansi and Nentsy.

With the assimilation of West Siberia—the original Siberian Khanate—the Russians continued their way eastward in two directions, one of which took them up the Ob'. There, they founded the town of Narym in 1594. In the last year or so of the 16th century, they founded the Ket Fortress in the lower reaches of the river Ket'. These forts were built on Sel'kup land. Still further along the Ob', on a tributary called the Tom', in the land of the Yeushta Tatars, who invited the Russians to visit them, they founded the town of Tomsk in 1604. The Tomskiy Uyezd, apart from various Turkic groups (the Yeushta and Chulym Tatars), encompassed a large number of Sel'kups living on the Ob' above the mouth of the Ket' and on the lower reaches of the Chulym.

Moving south along the Tom', the Russians reached the territory of the "Kuznets Tatars," the ancestors of the present-day Shors and some of the Khakasy. The annexation of this territory was finally secured in 1618 by foundation of the town of Kuznetsk. Apart from the ancestors of the Shors, the Kuznetskiy Uyezd also included the Teleuts and some of the Altay tribes.

It is true that the tribes of Gornyy Altay, just as the Kirgiz from the upper Yenisey, were not part of Russia in the 17th century, and the Kuznetskiy Uyezd was surrounded on three sides by "unquiet" territories. Nevertheless, it can be considered that with the founding of Kuznetsk the incorporation of western Siberia in the Russian State was by and large complete.

The second route to the east went from Berezov through the lower reaches of the Ob' to the Taz Bay and the river Taz, which had already been explored to a considerable extent by Russian and Komi trappers.

In 1601, the town of Mangazeya was built on the lower reaches of the Taz, and from there the Russians spread to the east, to the Yenisey, and then up and down the Yenisey and its tributaries—the Lower and Podkamennaya Tunguska—and to the rivers Pyasina, Khatanga and Anabar. In a comparatively short time (by the thirties of that century) the ancestors of the Ents, Nganasans, Kets and a large group of northwestern Tungusic tribes had become subjects of the Russian State. Thus was formed the

Mangazeyskiy, later the Turukhanskiy, Uyezd, one of the most extensive in 17th century Siberia. About 1670 the center of this Uyezd was transferred from Old Mangazeya on the Taz to "New Mangazeya" (Turukhansk, founded in 1604) on the Yenisey.

From Tomsk and Mangazeya, the Russians made an attempt to penetrate farther to the east. By the beginning of 1630's the Mangazeya service gentry had already reached the sea which is now called the Laptev Sea, and had gone as far as the Vilyuy basin from the upper reaches of the Lower Tunguska; the Tomsk explorers had already reached the tribes of the upper Yenisey in the first two decades of that century. However, these were not the towns which later became the base for further Russian expansion to the east, nor was it through them that the main routes lay which were taken by the Russian pioneers who opened up the vast expanses of eastern Siberia.

In 1619, a detachment of Tobol'sk service gentry from the smallest of all the Siberian forts—the Ket Fort—set up another fortified town on the Yenisey which was first called the Tungus and then the Yenisey fort.

The Yeniseyskiy Uyezd included the Ket-speaking population, which lived on the upper reaches of the Ket' and in the Sym and Kas basins (tributaries of the Yenisey), as well as the population of the environs of Yeniseysk itself, the Angara Evenks (lower Angara Basin) and some of the Angara Buryats (in the region of present-day Bratsk and Balagansk), the Bulagats. The Yeniseyskiy Uyezd was later greatly expanded, since it came to include Yakutiya, discovered by the Yenisey explorers, and later on the Transbaykal. But Yakutiya and then the Transbaykal subsequently became separate regions, and by the end of the 18th century the Yenisey region only included the territory mentioned.

Since the lower reaches of the Yenisey had already been discovered by the Mangazeya pioneers in the first few years of the 17th century, Russian influence spread from the Yenisey fort mainly in an easterly direction, along the Upper Tunguska (Angara) River, and to the south along the river Kem, as the indigenous population called the Yenisey above the mouth of the Angara.

In 1628, the "fine new Kacha fort," or Krasnoyarsk, which protected Yeniseysk from the south, was built still farther up the Yenisey. Krasnoyarsk quickly became the center of the uyezd, whose population included the Ket-speaking Yenisey Ostyaks, Kotts, Arins, Asans, and Baykots; the Samoyed-speaking Motors, Kamasins, Karagasy and Tochi; the Turkic-speaking Khasut Tuvans (near Lake Kosogol), the Kachas and the ancestors of the Lower Uda Buryats. Moving farther along the Angara, the Yenisey explorers came into contact with the Buryats on the lower reaches of the Oka in 1628, and in 1631 founded a fortified town called the "Lena Portage" (since it was from here that the route to the river Lena went across the watershed). It was founded on the river Il'm, and later was called Il'msk. The Il'mskiy Uyezd included the Evenks from the west bank of Lake Baykal, the upper reaches of the Lena, and the Il'm basin, and the Buryats living between the upper reaches of the Lena and Angara (all of the Ekhirit tribe and the Bulagats, with the exception of those living in the region of the Balagansk fort).

In 1632, Peter Beketov, the commander of the Yenisey Streltsy,³ accompanied by 30 men "sailed" down the Lena and founded a fortified town on its middle reaches, which first had the name of Lensk and later was called Yakutsk. Yakutsk became the center of the largest uyezd in Siberia

³Literally, archers or riflemen; historically, the crack units of the army.—Ed.

in the 17th century and a base for expeditions to the extreme northeast, to the Okhotsk coast and the Amur. It was from Yakutsk that Mikhail Stadukhin, who reached the Kolyma, Semen Dezhnev, who discovered the straits between Asia and America, Vasilii Poyarkov and Yerofey Khabarov, who reached the Amur, Vladimir Atlasov, the first explorer of Kamchatka, who annexed it to Russia, and many others all led their expeditions.

The Yakutskiy Uyezd included, apart from the Yakuts, many Even and Evenk tribes from the Olenek, Vilyuy, Vitim, Aldan and Maya basins and the Okhotsk coast, all the Yukagir tribes (including the Chuvans, Khodys and Anauls), and at the end of the 18th century the Koryaks and Itel'mens as well. At the end of the 17th century, that is to say, prior to the annexation of Kamchatka, the Yakutskiy Uyezd included about 30% of the total indigenous population of Siberia.

Apart from Yakutsk itself, around which the bulk of the Yakuts were grouped, a large number of other fortified points were created by the Russians in the Yakutskiy Uyezd. The chief of these in the 17th century were Zhigansk, Olekminsk, Zashiversk, Okhotsk, Verkhoyansk, the Uda fort, three Vilyuy wintering stations, three Kolyma wintering stations, the Anadyr, Alazeya, Nizhne-Yana, Olenek and other encampments.

Another route from Yeniseysk to the east went from the mouth of the Il'm, up the Angara across Lake Baykal to the Shilka and the Amur. In 1661, Yakov Pokhabov founded a fortified town, which later on became Irkutsk, on the right bank of the Angara, near the old winter encampment. The Irkutskiy Uyezd included the Buryats (chiefly the Khongodors), Tuvans and Evenks living to the south of the headwaters of the Angara in the Cisbaykal region, the Buryat-Mongol groups on the left bank of the lower Selenga and in the region of the Selenga fort, built later in 1665; and the Evenks along the Barguzin, the upper Angara and the headwaters of the Vitim. All these groups of Evenks became Russian subjects about the middle of the 17th century and belonged to the Yeniseyskiy Uyezd before the formation of Irkutsk.

The Horse-Tungus from the eastern Transbaykal and the Khora Buryat, who had been living a nomadic life along the rivers Great and Little Bugul'deyka, on the west bank of Lake Baykal, on the island of Ol'khon, in the Kudara steppe, on the east bank of Lake Baykal and along the river Uda, moved back to the town of Nerchinsk, founded in 1654. The Khora in their winter camp on the river Selenga paid tribute.

When as a result of the expeditions of Khabarov and Chernigovskiy, the Amur region was incorporated into the Russian State, there emerged the twentieth Siberian uyezd—the Albazinskiy Uyezd. In actual fact it had begun to exist in the middle of the 17th century, although it was not officially registered until the 1680's. The Albazinskiy Uyezd included Manegry, Birars, Natkas (Achans), i.e., Nanays (Gol'dy), Ul'chi (Manguns) and certain other Amur groups.

By the end of the 17th century Russians were firmly entrenched in the whole of Siberia. In 1700, Vladimir Atlasov arrived in Yakutsk with the news that the population of Kamchatka had become subjects of the Russian State, and brought furs received as tribute. By 1700, the only regions lying outside the boundaries of Russian Siberia were parts of the Amur region, the Minusa Hollow and Gornyy Altay. The Minusa Hollow was explored by Russians and by a number of the smaller Sayan-Altayan tribes soon after 1703, when the Dzhungarian Khans resettled a large number of the Yenisey Kirgiz into Djungariya. In 1756 the Altays of Gornyy Altay were made Russian subjects, and in 1789 the Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos; finally, in 1858, the entire Amur region and Ussuriyskiy Kray were annexed to

Russia. The Anadyr basin, as we know, had been a Russian possession since the time of Dezhnev's heroic voyage in 1649.

At the end of the 17th century the Russian population of Siberia became predominant in numbers, although in the middle of that century some of the

indigenous groups (Yakuts and Buryats) also greatly increased in number. According to the Siberian Bureau, in 1697 there was an adult male population of 36,915 Russians and 27,300 aboriginal inhabitants in the 19 Siberian uyezds (excluding the Albazinskiy Uyezd). Counting the women and children, the data of the Siberian Bureau enables us to assess the Russian population of Siberia in 1697 as approximately 150,000, with 125,000 non-Russians (excluding the Altayans, dwellers in the Amur Region and Kamchatka, the Chukchi, Koryaks and Eskimos).

The bulk of the Russian population of Siberia in 1697 was concentrated in the west. Most of them were in the Tobol'skiy Uyezd—13,299 adult males, i.e., about 65,000 Russians; and in Verkhotur-



Old 17th-century tower in Yakutsk.

ye—4525 adult males, i.e., about 23,000 Russians.

The greater part of the Siberian Russians in 1697 were different classes of peasants (25,965 adult males), after which came the service gentry (8829 adult males), tradesmen (1093 adult males), clergy (376 adult males) and so on. This figure does not, evidently, include those Russians whose stay in Siberia was regarded as temporary, i.e., traders and artisans from towns and districts in European Russia, as well as "vagrants."

The most important documents of foreign policy recording the territorial rights of the Russian State in Siberia were treaties with China—the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689, signed by F. A. Golovin, the Kyakhta Treaty Concluded in 1728 by S. L. Vladislavich-Raguzinskiy and the Aygun Treaty concluded in 1858 by N. N. Murav'yev. Under the 1689 treaty the eastern boundary of the Transbaykal was set along the Argun'. The 1728 treaty laid down the southern boundary of Russian Siberia from the Argun' to the Yenisey. Here the boundary from the Argun' to Kyakhta followed the actual boundaries of the Russian possessions and places populated by Russian subjects, but from Kyakhta to the Yenisey a considerable amount of territory assimilated by Tuvans who paid tribute to Russia was included in China, and the Tuvans became Chinese subjects from that time on. Under the Aygun Treaty Russia was given the Amur region and was allowed to annex the Ussuriyskiy Kray.

The penetration by the Russians to the east was not restricted to Asian territory. As is well known, in the 18th century the Russians occupied the

Aleutian Islands and Alaska up to the island of Sitka (Baranov Island). Moving farther south along the Pacific coast of America, the Russians founded Fort Ross in California in 1812, in the region where the present-day city of San Francisco was later built; Fort Ross remained until 1839. But the adventurous and enterprising Russians of the time were not supported by the tsarist government, and in 1867 Alaska and the Aleutians were sold to the United States.

Proclaiming the formation of a multinational Russian State in the 17th century, the Moscow government saw the advantage of the situation and realized the importance of unifying the Siberian expanses within the framework of Russia; it tried to do so peacefully and even took measures to safeguard the Siberian tribes and nationalities from outside encroachment as well as from internal oppression.

The imperial orders in Siberia constantly emphasize the necessity of bringing the population "under the high hand of the sovereign" by peaceful means. In relations with the tributary population, which had become subjects by their own free will, it was prescribed "to treat them lovingly, carefully, and with welcome, and not to cause them needless cruelty or taxes, or in collecting the tribute to oppress them needlessly and drive them away from the sovereign's mercy." The striving toward peaceful means is shown by the presentation to the tributaries of "imperial grants"—i.e., various gifts in return for faithful payment of tribute. Among the gifts, we find mention of iron articles (knives, axes, saws, needles, etc.), cloth, beads, tin and food products (grain, oil, etc.). The presentation of such goods, of which the tributary population stood in great need, certainly eased its inclusion in the Russian State.

Naturally, the Moscow tsars were more than interested in the quick receipt of the highly valuable Siberian furs received as tribute by the Russian treasury on a monopolistic basis, but in the initial period the surrender of furs in Siberia was not the only purpose, as often wrongly asserted in history books. A number of documents of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich tell of the easing or even abolition of the fur tax on certain tribes (Ostyaks and Voguls). It was recommended "to take a moderate tribute and from some not to take any."

This is also shown by the fact that in certain tribute areas of Voguls and Samoyeds in 1596 arrears were abolished and instructions were issued "to decrease the tribute henceforth," and instead of the fur tribute, some areas were instructed to plough "the tsar's ploughland," the seed being issued from Siberian government granaries. Finally, in certain cases, the local princes were allowed to "collect tribute for themselves." This policy was pursued under Boris Godunov, who mentioned it in a document dated August 30, 1601. "We take a moderate tribute, as much as each can pay, considering his resources and his trade, and he who has a heavy tribute, which is beyond his power and henceforth cannot pay it, it is ordered to investigate whether the tribute is unjustly placed and wherein lies the burden, and to exempt him from the tribute. And the poor people, who cannot pay the tribute, no tribute is to be taken from them, so that none of the Siberian people should be in need, and in the Siberian land, everyone should live in our imperial mercy in all things, and in ease and rest and quiet, without any doubt, and all should follow their trades, and look after their relatives and friends in our imperial mercy, everywhere, both in the cities and in the country districts."¹⁰

¹⁰ G. F. Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri* (History of Siberia), Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, pp. 169-170.

It was more of an advantage to the Moscow tsars to assimilate Siberia peacefully and settle it with the Russian peasantry supported by small forces of Russian soldiery than to take this enormous area of the Asian Continent by force, since the operation would have involved great material expenditure and large armed forces.

At the same time, it would be wrong to think of the incorporation of Siberia into the Russian State as a process which ran smoothly and without detriment to the local population. There are historical facts showing that in addition to the other methods there was enforced annexation of some nationalities and territories. We need only remember the campaign of Yermak, who opened the way not only to the free, uninhabited territories, but also to the populated regions of Siberia; Khabarov's Amur campaign in the middle of the 17th century, accompanied by the subjugation and devastation of the local population, or the campaigns against the Chukchi in the first half of the 18th century by Pavlutskiy, who tried, though unsuccessfully, to subdue them by extremely cruel methods, and other sallies against individual Siberian nationalities. But these methods of force were typical not so much of the initial annexation of Siberia as of the consolidation and incorporation of it in the Russian State. The tsarist government, recommending peaceful annexation of the local population and regular payment of tribute in furs, prescribed firm reprisals at the same time against groups of the population who refused to pay the tribute and to the recalcitrant inhabitants who for various reasons were reluctant to pay, and sometimes even attacked the tribute-gatherers and other peaceful Russian or tributary inhabitants, or incited people not to pay, and so on. In such cases small detachments of Siberian soldiers would undertake punitive expeditions accompanied by harsh treatment of an often innocent population. Historical documents give some vivid accounts of these "pogroms."

Hostages or *amanats* were taken from the tribal aristocracy (princes or close relatives, the "best people" and so on). The hostages were kept in towns and forts to ensure regular payment of the tribute. In the case of refusal to pay or "robbery" (i.e., betrayal) by an area or region, the hostages were severely dealt with, especially in cases where the dissenting tribesmen had carried out armed attacks on the Russians or on peaceful tributary citizens. It must not be forgotten that the interests of the various classes and individuals during the annexation of Siberia were not the same. The tsarist voyevods and their aides usually went to Siberia to "get rich quick," being chiefly interested in personal gain. Greed, selfishness and the desire for the acquisition of all kinds of wealth inevitably led to conflicts with the tributary population. The decrees of the Moscow tsars aimed at protecting the tributary population from coercion and bullying, but were by no means always put into effect, because of the distance from Moscow, which enabled voyevods to feel themselves free to act as they wished. Various forms of chicanery, robbery of the tributaries, and sometimes the use of direct force against them were in great vogue among the voyevods and their aides, who acquired great riches in this way. This is shown directly and clearly by the various tsarist decrees and edicts addressed to the Siberian voyevods, in which their extortionist practices are referred to.

The voyevods also acquired wealth by fraudulent dealings with the tribute-payers, in which they bought their furs for a mere trifle. It is known that there were attempts by the Siberian voyevods to acquire fresh serfs from among the Siberian population and to have them sent to Central Russia. This was done at the expense of prisoners taken captive during the campaigns against the tribes refusing to pay tribute. The captives were baptized by the voyevods, that is, they were converted to Orthodoxy, and proclaimed

as the voyevods' own serfs. The documents of the Siberian Bureau contain a great deal of information on the recovery from the voyevods of serfs they hoped to take away from Siberia. This behavior on the part of the representatives of the tsarist regime was often the direct cause of refusal to pay and emigration of the population in order to avoid oppression.

In the historical documents of the 17th century relating to Siberia there are many such cases. Although the Moscow government tried to counteract the "extortion" practiced by the tsarist officialdom in Siberia, observing the detriment caused to the treasury thereby, it was not always able to do so. Not even frequent replacement of the voyevods produced the desired results.

The attitude toward the tribute-paying tribesmen taken by the Russian working population making up the majority of the Russians in Siberia was quite different. The service gentry, peasants, and so on were also oppressed by the voyevods and the entire tsarist system, possibly to a greater extent than the local population. The peasants were burdened by the compulsory ploughing of a desyatina of government ploughland, and had to pay heavy quitrent. On account of this, their own farms were in a pitiful condition. In some places the position of the peasants was so burdensome that even in Siberia they drifted about, seeking to ease their lot. Here is how the position of the rank-and-file service gentry is described in an official document of the 17th century: "... in Tomsk and in Kuznetsk and in Krasnoyarsk, the people are poor and needy, two or three to one horse, and others always wander on foot, dragging their supplies with them on sledges, and go hungry, and because of this hunger, the soldiers are always killed by the Kirgiz, and ridiculed by the enemy, that the tsar's soldiers come into their country hungry, and going along the road, die without supplies of grain."¹¹ The petitions from the rank-and-file Cossacks received by the tsar are full of complaints of their poverty, and the great hardships and privations which they had to suffer in government service. Since they were constantly on the move by the nature of their work, these people were unable to acquire sufficient property of their own and were forced to live on rather poor salaries paid in grain, salt and money, which usually arrived late and irregularly. The military service of these lower ranks was difficult and not only took up a great deal of time, but also a great deal of energy. Roaming the taiga, tundra and mountainous regions for weeks and months on end, in all kinds of weather, in the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer, collecting the fur tribute or exploring new land—all the activities involved great difficulties and privations as well as endangering both their lives and their health. It is not surprising that there were cases where groups of tired and hungry soldiers were tempted by the property of the local population. In such cases the tsarist voyevods "protected the interest of the state." They mercilessly flogged the culprits, took away the property that had been pillaged and then kept it for themselves. However, it was not these ordinary soldiers who were the bane of the local population; it was tsarism as a political system, and the fact that the people in power, from the tsar himself down to the voyevod, were landowners who merely pursued their own class interests. But the Russian working population of the 17th century in Siberia, particularly the peasantry, did not in any way oppress the local

¹¹ Akty istoricheskkiye (Historical Documents), Vol. V, p. 167. See also: Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka (Russian Historical Library), St. Petersburg, 1884, Vol. VIII, pp. 471-472, 477-489, 533-535 et passim.

population, but, on the contrary, had already established cultural and economic ties with it. The Russian peasants mixed so closely with the local population that they even intermarried. This displeased the voyevods. In a document written by one of the voyevods, dated 1623, it is said that the "peasants live not as peasants; they do not wear crucifixes, nor respect Fridays and Wednesdays, but eat any kind of filth with the unbaptized Tatars," and "live with Tatar wives ... and their children mix with unbaptized children."¹²

The Russian working people in Siberia had much more in common with the local working people than with the land- and serf-owning voyevods. Racial hatred was foreign to the simple-hearted Russians. They took a sympathetic and truly human interest in the life and customs of the local population, which the latter reciprocated.

The community of socioeconomic interests among the Russian workers and local population was sometimes manifested in the 17th century by joint revolts against the tsarist oppressors. The famous "Krasnoyarsk Mutiny" of 1695-1698, which in actual fact was a popular revolt against the tsarist voyevods in Siberia, is testimony of this. The Russian peasants were joined, for example, by the Kachas, led by Karochan Taylarov; they, together with the Russian soldiery and townsmen of Krasnoyarsk, were termed "brigands" in the documents relating to the subsequent inquiry.¹³ The remarkable popular movement of the end of the 17th century, which unfortunately has not been studied at all so far, was not the only such event. Historical documents contain references to the "plans for revolt and uprisings" of the soldiery of the Selenga, Uda, Kaban and other forts in the Irkutskiy Uyezd against the tsarist "civil servants" in these forts.

The local feudal aristocracy was against incorporation into the Russian State. This was shown particularly clearly during annexation of the middle and upper reaches of the Ob' and Yenisey basins. The Asiatic feudal lords considered the local population of these regions their tributaries and did not intend to lose them. The princes of the Kuchum clan, the Djungarian khans and t'as-shih, the Teleut and Kirgiz feudal lords were active inspirers and organizers of armed attacks and revolts against the Russians in western and southern Siberia. Abak, the Teleut t'ai-shih, who together with his son-in-law, Tarlava (murza [prince] of the Chatsk Tatars), was connected with the "Kuchum princes" (for example, the grandson of Kuchum, Ablaygirim, was among the more active of them).

A large part in the armed uprisings against the Russians from the time that Tomsk was built was played by the Yenisey Kirgiz princes. Their armed aggression against the Russian towns and forts, beginning in 1608, continued throughout the 17th century. Outstanding among the Kirgiz princes for his energy and cruelty was Irenak Isheyev, who burned and looted Russian and local settlements in the Kuznetskiy, Tomskiy, Achinskiy, Krasnoyarskiy and other Uyezds, slew and carried off the peaceful inhabitants for 20 years. Some historians consider the raids by Irenak and his predecessors as a "struggle for independence." But it is not right to define the activity of the Kirgiz princes of the 17th century in this way. Irenak did not fight the Djungarian khans, on whom he was really dependent and who systematically interfered in the internal affairs of the Kirgiz as well as in their relations with the Russians, and, moreover, forced them to pay a fur tribute (*alban*).

¹² G. F. Miller, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 293.

¹³ N. N. Ogloblin. Krasnoyarskiy bunt 1695-1698 gg. (Krasnoyarsk Mutiny of 1695-1698), Tomsk, 1902.

The reason for the difficulties and unrest in southern Siberia during the 17th century was the aggression of the Kirgiz and Teleut feudal lords, encouraged by the feudal lords in Djungariya. The extortion of tribute from the population of these regions was particularly important for the nomadic feudal lords, since these regions provided them with iron implements. The population of the upper reaches of the Tom', Mrassa, Kondoma and Biya Rivers and the middle reaches of the Yenisey produced a great variety of household implements made of iron (cauldrons, ladles and trivets) as well as weapons and hunting tackle (particularly stirrups, points, arrows, spears, lances, sabres) and knew how to mine iron. The desire of the Kirgiz princes to keep the tribute-payers (kyshtyms) within their power to prevent economic and cultural association with the Russian population, coupled with the idea of easy gain, encouraged them to pursue their aggressive policy. As regards the tribal aristocracy of the former Mongol, Djungar and Kirgiz tributaries, although they did not normally resist inclusion in the Russian state in any direct way, they fairly often came in contact with the aggressively minded feudal lords attacking the peaceful population.

The incorporation of Siberia into the Russian State as the Russians advanced through the territory was accompanied by its economic development.

The newly annexed lands, as already mentioned, were roughly charted, after which descriptive reports were compiled and sent to Moscow, and their natural conditions were studied. The annexed population was "sworn in," forced to pay the fur tribute, and recorded in the relevant books, the names of the princelings and the number of tribute-payers in their charge being entered. Heads of local tribes or clans—"princelings"—continued to govern their people and were considered responsible representatives of the region ("volost") or territory ("zemlitsa") in all dealings with the tsarist administrative units. They bore the responsibility for regular payment of the tribute. An inventory was also taken of the tribute-paying population, and a study made of its language, ethnic composition, distribution, occupations, way of life and customs. Russian settlements were established on the annexed territory, including towns, forts and winter quarters. Routes were reconnoitered and constructed, communications were established between the Siberian towns and the center of the state—Moscow—and a mail-coach service was introduced. Measures were taken to settle Siberia with the most stable stratum of the Russian population of the time—the peasantry.

Through the efforts of the Russian pioneers the whole of Siberia was soon mapped. There can hardly be any need to prove the great importance for the state in promptly mapping the territory and studying it. The north-west part of Siberia was accurately mapped back in the 16th century. The activities of certain foreigners resulted in the relevant information leaking abroad, and it was even published on a number of occasions. The Dutchman Massa, who lived eight years in Russia, (1609-1612) published a map of Russia covering the territory of Siberia up to the Yenisey on his return to Holland. He states quite candidly that the information on Siberia was given him by certain "Moscow courtiers."

Possession of the material compiled by the Russian pioneers enabled the tsar in 1626 to order the compilation of a map of the whole of Siberia, which was completed in 1629. We all know the great scientific value of Remezov's map of the whole of Siberia, compiled in 1698, and also his Atlas of Siberia (1701).

A tremendous amount of work was done in reconnoitering and establishing communication routes. Apart from study of the river systems and portages, great attention was given to the summer and winter overland

routes through the taiga, tundra, mountains, steppes, and so on. The pioneers moved on foot, on skis, on horseback, in dog-sleds or in reindeer-sleds. They made extensive use of the knowledge of the locality, assistance and advice of the local population, often using them as "guides." As soon as the route had been discovered, traffic was immediately begun, a mail-service instituted, and the building of ships for river transportation was organized on a local scale. The town of Verkhotur'y'e became a fairly important center for the building of river craft. As already mentioned, a coach service was organized in the first half of the 17th century, as far as the River Lena.

Carrying out official duties and also guided by their own initiative, the pioneers of Siberia were the first to gather valuable information on the natural resources, the fauna and flora of this part of the Asian Continent.¹⁴ The exploitation of these mineral resources was made possible during the first few decades following annexation through the personal prospecting of the pioneers and their inquiries among the local population. Many decades before the Greek, Levandian, was sent to the Tomskiy Uyezd in 1696-1699 by Peter the First to mine iron ore and teach the art to the local people, the inhabitants of Tomsk were already doing it themselves. It has now been established by documents that it was not Levandian who started the mining industry in Siberia, back in 1624 the smith Fetka Yeremeyev and the Cossack Petun'ka Kizyl had been sent to prospect for iron ore; they discovered the ore and brought it back to Tomsk where it was smelted into iron in the presence of the voyevods. Experience showed that the iron from the ore was as good as that found in the region of Kuznetsk. Yeremeyev was sent with samples of the iron to Moscow, where it was found that the iron was of good quality and could be made into steel. Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich rewarded Yeremeyev and Kizyl and gave orders for iron ore to be mined and smelted in the Tomskiy Uyezd for the manufacture of iron implements. "The peasants in the Siberian peasant towns...hammered out ploughshares and scythes and sickles and axes because previously, in the Rus', the peasants had not had them of iron, because iron was too expensive for them, and scythes and sickles and ploughshares and axes were not bought."¹⁵ Apart from Tomsk and Kuznetsk, iron deposits were discovered and tried out in the Ural regions (1628) and in Yakutiya (1647). Craftsmen were sent from Yakutsk to make iron implements with the local ore. In the discovery of the ore and the working of it, a great deal of assistance was given by the local tribute-paying population, which is mentioned directly in the documents of the 17th century. In the 60's of the 17th century, an ore expert, M. A. Tumashev, conducted extensive geological prospecting in Siberia and not only showed himself to be an expert prospector, but was also able to organize mining of the iron on the basis of deposits discovered. He wrote to the tsar in 1668 that he had "organized an ironworks" in the Verkhotur'skiy Uyezd and that "...local smiths and workers have been hired and sent to the works."¹⁶ Apart from iron ore, deposits of copper and silver were also discovered in the first half of the century; the search for them sometimes followed in the tracks

¹⁴ A great deal of documentary material on these topics has been collected by V. N. Skalon in his valuable book *Russkiye zemleprokhodtsy XVII veka v Sibiri* (Russian Pioneers in Siberia in the 17th Century), Moscow, 1951.

¹⁵ Miller, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 325-326.

¹⁶ *Dopolneniya k "Aktam Istoricheskim"* (Supplements to "Historical Documents"), Vol. V, p. 65.

of ancient mines, which later came to be called "miracle pits" (in the 18th-19th centuries).

The organizational nature and importance to the state of the prospecting is shown by tsarist documents and verbal announcements by public criers.¹⁷ The tradesman A. Zhilin studied the taiga in the Yeniseyskiy Uyezd like a true geologist for many years (first half of the 17th century). He was able to find "mica in the Yenisey region in open country, and no one possessed that land before or extracted the mica."¹⁸ Specimens of the mica and the results of experimentally smelted copper ore, also discovered by him, were sent to Moscow where they met with approval. At his request, Zhilin was given a scroll from the tsar entitling him to work the mica and copper deposits he had found in return for a tax of a tenth; furthermore the scroll permitted him to carry out geological prospecting in other Siberian towns and uyezds, and instructed the Yeniseyskiy voyevod to help Zhilin in every way and not to transfer him or his comrades to other work so that he could continue unhampered.¹⁹

Silver deposits were discovered and tried out in various regions of Siberia. Particularly famous are the Nerchinsk deposits along the river Argun'. Prospectors even reached as far as Gornyy Altay and Teletskoye Lake, from where a silversmith named Fed'ka had sent specimens of silver ore to Moscow back in 1673 when the territory of Gornyy Altay was under the control of the Dzhungarian feudal lords.²⁰

The prospecting and mining of salt became extensively developed in Siberia. The organization of a salt-mining industry was a matter of great concern for the Moscow government from the very first days of the occupation of Siberia. The pioneers of Siberia worked very hard to cope with this problem. In the 18th century, too, great attention was given to the development of salt-mining.

Great economic importance was attributed to sulfur and saltpeter deposits. In the tsar's letters to the Selenga and Yakutsk voyevods (1680-1681) the latter are instructed to determine the overall resources of saltpeter and sulfur, the yield from production ("how much can be obtained from a pound and from each ore"),²¹ and to find out "what price should be set for a pood of saltpeter and sulfur."²²

The letter states outright: "to search out diligently and without error saltpeter and sulfur deposits in the Yakutsk regions and to make gunpowder, so that in Yakutsk and other Siberian cities, gunpowder should be available without sending to Moscow."²³

The prospecting and mining of mineral dyes, rock crystal and even building materials for town buildings, such as limestone, as well as "every kind of quarry-stone, gray or black, which would be suitable for cutting or building, close by, and clay suitable for making and firing bricks, and whether there is sand and so on;"²⁴ were organized. Attempts were even made to find oil.²⁵ From this it is quite clear that the geological prospecting was carried out conscientiously and skillfully and that special instructions

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 223.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹ Ibid., Vol. VI, 1858, p. 328.

²⁰ Akty istoricheskkiye, Vol. V, 1858, p. 105.

²¹ Dopolneniya k "Aktam istoricheskimi," Vol. VIII, p. 295.

²² Ibid.

²³ Akty istoricheskkiye, Vol. V, p. 492.

²⁴ Dopolneniya k "Aktam istoricheskimi," Vol. X, p. 333.

were issued in which the prospectors were told "what to look for and the specimens should be sent to Moscow in special sacks with labels indicating where the specimens were taken from and how far under the earth they were found."²⁵

The geological prospecting was aimed at creating a local industry in Siberia (iron foundries, mining and smelting of copper and silver ore, production of gunpowder, manufacture of mineral dyes and building materials, etc.). This also shows that in the 17th century Siberia was not considered a colony, but was regarded as an organic part of the Russian State. The Russians assimilated it together with the indigenous population as thrifty owners. The local population took an active part in prospecting the mineral wealth of Siberia, their interest in which was encouraged by the Russians. The Evenks and Buryats, Yakuts and Yukagirs are mentioned in the historical documents of the 17th century as discoverers of ores and minerals, who reported their finds to the Russians. As an example of this mutual interest we can refer to the discovery of the silver deposits on the river Argun'. At the beginning of the 80's, they were discovered by a pioneer called Pavel Shul'gin, and in 1691 two Evenk brothers went to see F. A. Golovin in Nerchinsk to tell him they had found silver deposits at other spots along the Argun'.

Of great value are the varied botanical and zoological observations and information collected by the Russian pioneers of the 17th century. It has now been proved that the data, the outstanding feature of which was their practical nature, were obtained through a highly organized and thorough study of Siberian natural conditions. The study and observation of life and the abundance of different species of animals, fish, and vegetation, including completely new species, were conducted by the pioneers, whose aim was the assimilation and settling of Siberia. They determined and described the grass cover with a view to determining its suitability for pasturing and haying, and responded to the orders from Moscow to search for and procure medical herbs (for example, rhubarb) and to dispatch them to Moscow. They were interested in the composition of the soil and the climatic conditions from the viewpoint of ripening grain; they did not forget about pests. The reports of the pioneers contain references to grasshoppers which destroy shoots, and in certain places to sowings covered by fungus or eaten by worms, and so on.

A prominent place in the assimilation of Siberia was taken by the study of the indigenous inhabitants and the relations of the first Russian settlers with them. The collection of a variety of detailed information on the different tribes and peoples was one of the duties of the pioneers and the need for this was constantly stressed in the instructions and letters from Moscow. The curiosity, power of observation and success of the pioneers in this respect are reflected in the numerous "relations" and "descriptions," which to this very day have remained an historical source of the greatest value. Information on the population of Siberia as well as the discovery of new territories was immediately reported to Moscow. The pioneer Yu. Seliverstov, having reached the shore of the East Siberian Sea and completed his study of the ethnic composition of the population, reported: "and many rivers flowed into the sea—the Chukhchi River and the Kovyma River, and beyond the Kovyma there are four other rivers, and from those rivers, there are other rivers—the Nenandyr and the Chondon. And different peoples live on those rivers—the Chukhchi, Kohodyns, Koryaks, Nyanyauls

²⁵ Akty Istoricheskoye, Vol. V, p. 468.

and other clans, and there are many languages." The state required exact information on the different tribes. Hence we often find instructions in the documents for rechecking and verification of the data. When the Cossack soldier Yelisey Buza was on his way to the Indigirka in 1642, in order to find the river Neroga, he was instructed to check the existing information on the population living on it. "And on the same river Neroga, not far from the sea mouth, in the mountains and cliffs above the river, there is silver ore, and above that silver ore, live a few people on the cliff of the clan of Natty; their yurts are made in the earth; these people have much silver, and go on foot, having no reindeer or horses, and the river is good for fish, so that the people live on fish."²⁵

Study of the indigenous population of Siberia in the 17th century was of great practical importance for the Russian State in determining the status and describing characteristic features of the Asiatic part of it. This was why it was necessary to ascertain the ethnic composition of the indigenous inhabitants, their strength and distribution, occupations, ways and customs. Attention was also given to their religious beliefs, and the pioneers were advised to question them thoroughly on their beliefs so that they could be made to swear allegiance to the Russian State on the basis of them. The variety of ethnographic information obtained for the population of Siberia in the first half of the 17th century was contained in various works (the *Siberian Chronicle* [*Sibirskaya letopis*] of Savva Yesipov, the *True Description of the Siberian State* [*Podlinnoye opisaniye Sibirskogo gosudarstva*] and other writings). There are even more in the works of the second half of that century. It was only as the result of an extensive preliminary study of the population that at the end of the 17th century the very important first census of the Siberian population was made possible.

At the same time as they assimilated Siberia, the Russian pioneers aimed at finding routes to China and establishing trade with China through Siberia, Tuva and Mongolia. Detailed descriptions of the natural conditions and population of these parts were compiled. Often on their own initiative (and sometimes in search of ore deposits) the pioneers found themselves in territory belonging to certain East Mongolian princedoms, which came under the authority of either the West Mongolian or Oyrat khans. Whenever they found themselves in a foreign state, these simple pioneers behaved with great dignity even though they were not invested with any diplomatic powers. They refused to "bow or kneel" before the khans, insisted that as representatives of the Russian State they should be treated with respect, never lost faith in the most dangerous or difficult situations, and suffered great hardships. At the same time they studied everything so thoroughly that when they returned they were able to compile amazingly accurate and succinct reports on everything they had seen and heard.

The fact that Siberia was settled by Russian peasants played a decisive part in the rapid and thorough occupation of it. As already mentioned, this plan was put into effect at the same time as the first steps on inclusion of Siberia in the Russian State. The tsarist government sought to do this first so as to develop agriculture and supply Siberia with its own grain, thereby making it unnecessary to transport grain reserves from the European part of the state, since before the advent of the Russians the local agriculture was carried on in an extremely primitive way and on an extremely small scale. In the 90's of the 16th century the government made attempts to resettle the peasantry. The peasant population was recruited

²⁵ *Dopolneniya k "Aktam istoricheskim,"* Vol. II, 1845, p. 262.

by "edict" and "instrument" and transferred to Siberia to plough crown land. To develop the agriculture, use was made of convicts (exiles) and the tribute-paying population, for whom the obligatory procurement of sable was replaced by work on the land. As established by Soviet scholars, however, these government measures were not adequate and did not provide Siberia with the necessary contingent of Russian peasantry or the required amount of grain. The problem was actually solved in a relatively short time by the larger influx of Russian peasants fleeing to Siberia from serfdom in Russia.²⁷

In the 17th century Siberia was settled in fact through "free" migration of Russians. At the very beginning of the assimilation of Siberia (end of the 16th—beginning of the 17th centuries), the Moscow government encouraged this "free" migration, although at the same time it strove not to jeopardize its class interests, for it recommended sending to Siberia the nonserf population ("the son from the father, the brother from the brother and the nephews from the uncle, and the neighbor from the neighbors").²⁸ Later on migration to Siberia, particularly voluntary migration in the form of escape from landowners, was severely punished.

The problem of developing agriculture was solved in Siberia in the 17th century and the crown lands were organized by the use of primarily "free" peasants who had emigrated there. By the end of the century there were more than 10,000 such families among the total Russian population, which numbered about 25,000 families. At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries the policy of the Moscow government with respect to the Siberian peasantry was to accord them certain privileges and to assist them. "At first the settler who had to carry out compulsory work for the state in the form of ploughing a desyatina of crown land and making implements for the state, apart from conducting his own holding, was given land, temporary privileges, assistance and loans. The peasant privilege meant that the newly recruited peasant was exempted from taxes for a certain number of years. The assistance was gratis and was rendered either in money or in kind so that the peasant could set up a holding of his own. The loan whether in money or in kind, had the same purpose, but had to be paid back."²⁹

Although the assistance and the loans were not adequate for the development of a peasant's own holding, they were nevertheless to some extent beneficial at the time.

By the beginning of the 18th century, Siberia was providing its own grain. The obligation imposed upon a number of cities in the European part of the state to supply Siberia with grain was annulled (1685). A local grain market was organized. The tribute-paying population became to a considerable extent the consumers of the grain, and some of them even became producers. Although the transformation of Siberia into one of the major grain-producing regions of the state goes back to the 19th or beginning of the 20th century, the historic role of the first Russian settlers as the founders of agriculture should not be underrated. It was indeed they who started and spread agriculture in Siberia by studying natural conditions and adapting themselves to them. They were the first to undertake the difficulties of

²⁷ V. I. Shunkov, *Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Sibiri v XVII-nachale XVIII vekov* (Essays on the History of the Colonization of Siberia in the 17th and beginning of the 18th Centuries), Moscow-Leningrad, 1946.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

occupying virgin land, and were the first to acquire experience in combating the difficult natural conditions, handing it down from generation to generation. It would be wrong to think that the Moscow government officials took no part in this matter. Documentary material shows that steps were taken in Moscow to spread agriculture throughout Siberia and that instructions were issued to seek out land suitable for this purpose: "and where farmland is found, it is ordered to determine how many peasants can be settled in these places."

Great practical importance was attributed to experimental agriculture in such places as Yakutiya. In 1640 the Lena Voyevod had already been advised to seek arable land on the Lena. No sooner had the peasant Overkiy Yelizar'yev begun sowing grain by the headwaters of the Lena in 1646 than the news caused great interest among the authorities and an investigation into the experiment was ordered: "... Measure the desyatinas by the sovereign's decree—how many desyatinas of rye and winter wheat he sowed; and measuring the grain, observe carefully how much grain has sprouted and will sprout and not be killed by the frost, and how many desyatinas the frost has killed and will kill, and how many hundredweight are left for the total production of threshed grain."³⁰

Soviet research has established for the first time the great importance of agriculture in the Russian national economy of Siberia in the first half of the 17th century, and has thereby refuted the misguided view that the economy of the Siberian Russians in the 17th century was based on the predatory sable trade.³¹ An important part in developing agriculture in eastern Siberia was played by the "Il'm Ploughland" started up by the Russians in roughly the middle of the 17th century on the middle course of the Angara, on the Il'm and on the Lena Portage.

The growth in agriculture was accompanied by the increased development of peasant cattle-breeding as an essential part of the Russian farming economy of Siberia. The cattle were reared indoors and supplied with fodder during the winter. Hence the meadowland attracted the attention of Russians from the very first moment they entered Siberia, and the transformation of large expanses of Siberia into meadowland was a service rendered by the Russian peasantry in the 17th century.

Thus, agriculture had already come to be the basis of the Russian peasant economy in Siberia at this stage. This does not by any means suggest that the hunting and selling of furs, highly valued at that time on the world market and constituting the chief Siberian export, was any less important.

Most of the furs were procured by the indigenous inhabitants of Siberia who surrendered them as tribute or exchanged them for different Russian commodities, including grain. But the Russian population itself was engaged in fur-trading and considerably increased the output of furs, particularly sable, by introducing new techniques, first and foremost traps and snares. These trapping techniques were quickly taken over by the local Siberians who had mainly used bows and arrows until that time.

The increased interest on the part of the Moscow government in procuring as many valuable furs as possible from Siberia and the measures taken for this purpose are known to all. But, as Soviet scholars have

³⁰ Dopolneniya k "Aktam Istoricheskim," Vol. II, p. 263.

³¹ V. N. Sherstoboyev, *Il'mskaya pashnya* (The Il'm Ploughland), Vol. I, Irkutsk, 1949; V. N. Skalon, op. cit.

established, government circles in the 17th-century Russian State did not confine themselves to measures aimed at maximum exportation of furs from Siberia; concern was also shown for safeguarding the animals from extermination and hunting grounds from plunder.³² First of all, the Moscow government at that period took a firm stand on safeguarding the rights of the tribute-paying population, which was the main supplier of the valuable furs. Government deeds contain references to the fact that Russians should only settle in open areas unoccupied by the tribute-paying population. To obtain permission to settle at a certain point it was usually necessary to prove that there were no local inhabitants there, and the local people themselves had to supply the evidence. The tsar's orders drew attention to the fact that "many of the peasants set fire to the forest in the spring and summer... the forest burns, and all kinds of animals run from the flames." The Russian peasants fairly often resorted to burning over areas of forest in order to clear the ground for ploughing. The government demanded resolute measures against this and prescribed "...and those people who devastate the lands of the tribute-paying population, set the forest on fire and burn it down, and drive out the game, ... should be mercilessly beaten with the knout..."³³ Laws were passed forbidding the Russian hunters to kill animals in the local hunting grounds. Thus the Moscow authorities even went as far as imposing restrictions on the Russian hunters; this shows that the local population and not the Russians were considered the principal producers of furs in Siberia in the 17th century.

The main occupation of the Russian peasantry in Siberia (most of whom were concentrated in the western part)³⁴ was agriculture, but it was supplemented by various crafts and trades, which broadened and developed the economic life of the Siberian population at that time.

The 17th century, however, should be considered as merely the beginning of the occupation of Siberia, which still remained a poorly populated part of the state. The building of towns and forts (the latter often turning into towns as well) rather than peasant villages or rural communities was characteristic of the period, for even in those parts agriculture usually began in the towns and forts.³⁵ The Siberian towns of the 17th century had a characteristic appearance. They were both fortified towns and fortresses in one. They were surrounded by moats and a stockade with peepholes and towers both with and without entrances below them. The unmarried Cossack soldiery usually lived underneath these towers, while the married ones lived in the area outside the stockade. Behind the fortress walls inside the town were timber buildings, such as the "town hall" where the administrative offices were concentrated, the voyevod's court, provided the town had a voyevod, government storehouses for official money and munitions (gunpowder, lead, etc.), customs and guardhouses (where the hostages were kept), a church, an inn with stalls, and so on. The soldiers of the town garrison were armed with artillery (brass and iron cannon), muskets,

³² V. N. Skalon, op. cit., pp. 93-99.

³³ Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka (Russian Historical Library), Vol. II, pp. 764-766.

³⁴ Akty istoricheskoye, Vol. V, p. 431.

³⁵ See: R. M. Kabo, *Gordoda Zapadnoy Sibiri* (Cities of Western Siberia), Moscow, 1949; V. V. Pokshishevskiy, *Zaseleniye Sibiri* (The Settlement of Siberia), Irkutsk, 1951.

lances, spears, halberds, sabers, and so on. The citizens lived in houses built in the area outside the walls. This was also where the traders, industrial service gentry, and craftsmen lived with their families. Peasants ploughing crown land and their own also lived here and went to their plots from there. Many of the town-dwellers (the clergy, soldiers, coachmen and so on) also engaged in farming and mowing, and kept livestock. For ploughing and haymaking, the citizens were first given plots of land near the town, but as the population increased the plots were farther and farther away. On these plots of land they established cleared plots, villages and repair shops which later became centers for a large number of settlements. Trades sprang up and developed in the towns (tanning, blacksmithing, soapmaking, etc.) and commerce increased (trade in grain, salt, livestock, cloth, linen metal articles, and so on). The towns were not only administrative and economic centers, but also cultural centers. It was here that various information on the natural conditions and population of Siberia was collected and processed for Moscow, and valuable archives were kept, which unfortunately were often destroyed by the frequent fires. It was here that they compiled and inventoried, wrote the Siberian chronicles, carried out experiments with ores, and so on. It was here that there first appeared such important Siberian scholars as Semen Remezov, the geographer and historian; these towns, being foci of Russian culture, played an important part in the spread of this culture throughout Siberia.



Old Cossack tower.
Town of Turukhansk.

The following centuries saw more intensive development of Siberia, particularly after the completion of the trans-Siberian railroad. Nevertheless, up to the October Revolution it was chiefly confined to the development of farming. The settlement of Siberia in the 18th and 19th centuries did not take place uniformly. The immigration of peasants streaming into Siberia was slowed down during the pre-Reform period by the antiserf policy of the tsarist government. The landowners did not want to part with the extremely cheap labor on which their economy was based. They took stringent measures to see that the peasants in their charge were unable to run away to Siberia. The flights continued, of course, but as time went on there were fewer and fewer of these "free" migrants.

The peasants fled to Siberia not only by ones and twos but in large groups of schismatics or Old Believers³⁶ seeking refuge from religious persecution. A considerable number of these schismatics came from the former Nizhegorodskaya Guberniya along the river Kerzhnets, on account of which in Siberia they were given the name of "Kerzhaks." Some of the Kerzhaks reached the Gornyy Altay, where on account of the stoniness of the region they were given the name of "Kamenshchiks" (stonemasons) or "Bukhtarmans" (from the Bukhtarma River basin). There was still one more source of manpower for the settlement of Siberia, and this was the state-owned peasantry. But the source was not very large. A certain contribution to the number of settlers was provided by the system of exile. Among the large groups of exiles sent to Siberia in the 18th century we should mention the so-called "Poles," as the Russian Old Believers were called who fled to Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries. During the 18th century they were twice expelled from Poland by military force, and in 1764 they were sent from Poland to Siberia. When they arrived there, these "Poles" found their way partly to the Gornyy Altay, but mainly to the Transbaykal. In the Transbaykal they became known as "Semays."

The 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries are not so much marked by the arrival of new Russian elements in Siberia as by redistribution of the Russian population already there; this relates particularly to the occupation of territory up the Irtysh in the Kazakh steppes, in the Minusa Hollow and Gornyy Altay. The 18th and first half of the 19th centuries are marked, apart from the continued occupation of Siberia and the development of farming, by the development of mining at two major centers—the Altay and the East Transbaykal (Nerchinsk Mining Region). The Altay metalworks were founded by A. N. Demidov, and smelted chiefly silver, lead and copper. In 1747 these metalworks were taken over by the crown in a special decree. At the peak of their development (1799–1806), the production of silver alone amounted to 20 tons a year. At the Suzun copper and silver foundries (founded in 1764) there was a mint where Siberian coins were minted. During the creation and operation of the Altay metalworks Russian technology in Siberia reached a high stage of development. It was there that outstanding technical inventions, in certain cases in advance of the scientific thought of Western Europe, were developed (e.g. the famous inventions of I. Polzunov, P. Frolov, and others).

In 1786 the Kolyvan Polishing Works was opened in the Altay. It produced the famous and highly artistic objects made of jasper, porphyry and other colored stones. Even at that time the stones were worked with machines and devices invented by talented, self-taught Russians whose names are hardly known. In the Nerchinskiy Rayon in the 18th century more than a dozen factories producing mainly silver, though to some extent smelting iron and pig iron, were in operation. The operation of the Altay factories was based on unpaid serf labor of Russian peasants who were signed on at the factories by whole volosts. The male population employed as miners had to work from the age of 7 until they were no longer able. The unbearable working conditions and way of life prevalent at these tsarist factories caused the peasants to take flight, among other places, to the depths of the Altay Mountains, where they formed whole colonies of

³⁶ Members of a religious movement which broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church in the late 17th century, refusing to accept certain reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon.—Ed.



Ruins of Kazym fort.

"kamenshchiks," the location of which was carefully kept secret from the authorities. By the time the reform came in 1861, about 150,000 registered male serfs had been put down for the Altay factories. The Nerchinsk factories were also under the charge of the crown and also employed peasant labor. But convict labor was used here, too. During the reign of Nicholas the First and after, it was common practice to send political exiles to the Nerchinsk mines. It was here that the Decembrists, later those taking part in the Polish revolt of 1830, later the Petrashevtsy, N. G. Chernyshevsky and later the "Karakozovtsy"³⁷ and a number of others were sent.

In the first half of the 19th century the mining and export of gold from Siberia acquired great economic importance. The gold industry underwent considerable development.

The economic development of Siberia should be considered, therefore, in close association with the organization and development of means of communication, particularly overland routes.

New highways were laid and new settlements were built along them. A main highway crossed Siberia from Tyumen' in the west to Nerchinsk in the east, linking the western and eastern regions. The highway was joined by roads from the south of Siberia and from certain regions of the North (for example, Yakutiya). Peasants and coachmen were settled along the highways to ensure smooth operation of the communication system, but most of the population in the right-of-way areas settled there voluntarily, attracted by the possibility of earning money. Busy freight and passenger traffic along the highway day and night the whole year round required a considerable

³⁷ These terms refer to conspiratorial revolutionary movements of the mid- and late 19th century, roughly Populist in nature.—Ed.

number of people to look after it. Suffice it to say that over a stretch of highway 900 km long, as many as 35,000 horses were required to transport merchandise alone passing through Kyakhta in the first half of the 19th century. In the first quarter of the 18th century there were about 7000 coachmen using the Siberian highways, though at that time the highway as such was still poorly developed. The total number of people servicing the highway at that time was approximately 100,000, the great majority of whom were Russian.

Siberia was also forging ahead in terms of trade. In the 18th century commerce in Siberia was concentrated in the hands of the Russian trading companies, of which there were about 40.³⁸ Apart from well-developed trade with China via Kyakhta, the famous Irbit fair was of great economic importance; this fair sprang up on the river Nitsa near the little village of Irbit, close to the boundary between Siberia and the European part of Russia, founded in 1632. By the middle of the 19th century, merchandise worth more than 30,000,000 rubles was being brought to the Irbit fair. Such commodities as furs, sheepskins, lard, oil, rawhide and so on were forwarded from there to the Nizhegorod market, to Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities, while goods from the Russian side of the Urals (textiles and dressed leather, etc.) went to Siberia. Thus, economic ties between Siberia and the central part of the state had grown up and become consolidated during the pre-Reform period, and were subsequently expanded and developed.

The development of capitalism in Russia set the stage for a new period in the occupation of Siberia. After the 1861 reform, Siberia, just as a number of other outlying Russian territories, became a major agrarian appendage of the central part of the state. Siberia's mining industry, which was based on cheap serf labor and occupied a prominent place in the economy of the Russian State, went into a decline when serfdom was abolished, and petered out. The crown was not able to switch the entire industry to hired labor in view of the fact that this made it immediately unprofitable. Hence the crown decided to liquidate the mining industry and began looking for other sources of revenue, including rent for the tremendous acreage which it possessed. The Russian capitalists already had a fair amount of scope for their activity in the European part of Russia, which possessed great natural resources. The development of Siberian industry did not interest them, on account of the great distances and difficulties of communication, particularly before the building of the trans-Siberian railroad, except for the gold mining, which was carried on in a rather piratical way. The Russian capitalists were more interested in turning Siberia into a market for the sale of merchandise.

The state of Siberian industry at this particular time can be judged from the following data. According to 1908 figures, the industrial plants in Siberia amounted to only 2.5% of the total number in the European part of Russia, while the number of workers amounted to only 1% (more than 20,000). These were small factories with small numbers of workers, with outdated machinery chiefly intended for processing agricultural raw materials (steam mills, distilleries and dairies, etc.). The gold-mining industry, the oldest in Siberia, was carried on on a considerably larger scale, and by the end of the 19th century the output amounted to 75.1% of the total for the whole of Russia. It was concentrated in the Irkutsk (Lena

³⁸ S. V. Bakhrushin, *Istoricheskiy ocherk zaseleniya Sibiri. Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Severa i Sibiri* (Historical Outline of the Settlement of Siberia. Essays on the History of Colonization of the North and Siberia), No. 2, Petrograd, 1922, p. 52.



Russian travelers in Biryusa taiga. Former Irkutskaya Guberniya.

goldfields), Amur and Transbaykal regions, and partially in the northern Altay as well. The Lena goldfields employed the greatest number of workers—14,500 shortly before the 1914 war. As soon as the trans-Siberian railroad was laid, a small coal industry sufficient for the needs of the railroad arose, and was supported by the Kuznetsk, Minusa, Suchan and some other deposits. Even in 1913, 77% of the output of this industry was absorbed by the railroad. Both these branches of Siberian industry were characterized by extremely backward technology and very difficult working and living conditions. With regard to the metalworking industry, it can be said that there was none at all in Siberia. Siberian industry, in which an important place was taken by gold, only amounted to an insignificant fraction of Russian industry—1.3%. This situation doomed Siberia to an agrarian line of development and made it dependent on the capitalist centers of European Russia.

As far as farming was concerned, the post-Reform period was more favorable. Commercial agriculture developed fairly rapidly in Siberia. Its development was closely associated with industrial development in the European part, since by becoming a market for the sale of products manufactured by Russian industry, Siberia was able to supply grain to the industrial regions of the central part. The development of this agriculture was associated with the influx of large new contingents of peasants. The abundance of free land continued to attract migrants from the European part. The abolition of serfdom opened the door of Siberia to the Russian peasants, although survivals of serfdom still hampered migration for some time. Needing labor, the landowners strove to prevent the peasants from migrating. It was only after the peasant unrest of 1905 that the tsarist government began assisting the peasants to migrate to Siberia in order to avert the risk of revolutionary outbursts. Several million peasants migrated to Siberia in the post-Reform period. The flow increased when the

trans-Siberian railroad was opened, and after 1905 reached its peak. The bulk of the migrating peasantry settled in western and southern Siberia, where there was a considerable amount of land available, including the arable land owned by the crown.

Not only did the tsarist government now no longer bother about guarding the rights of the local Siberian tribes to possess land, but even tried to take as much of it as possible back from them under the guise of land redistribution. The land recovered in this way which came under the jurisdiction of the crown was turned by it into a source of revenue by leasing it to the newly arrived settlers. In Siberia the crown possessed 47,000,000 desyatinas (1,269,000,000 acres).

The migration to Siberia of a large number of Russian peasants from various regions inside Russia during the post-Reform period made Siberia one of the leading centers of Russian commercial agriculture and animal husbandry, as a result of which it became closely linked to both the all-Russian and international markets. The Russian peasants sowed millions of acres of Siberia each year with different crops, the predominant one being wheat. Of the hundreds of millions of poods of grain which the country received from Siberia, tens of millions went for export. Butter production grew up on the basis of Russian peasant animal husbandry in Siberia, and its produce was reckoned in millions of poods of high-grade butter. Even before the trans-Siberian railroad was laid, as many as 500,000 poods of clarified butter were exported each year (1894). When the separator was introduced (1894) and railroad communication opened up, the production and export of butter sharply increased. In 1896, there were only 16 private and 4 cooperative dairies in Siberia. Most of the butter was made at home by the peasants and clarified. By 1900, there were already more than 1000 dairies in operation (30 of them were cooperative), and in 1913 there were more than 4000, of which 2185 were private and 1917 were cooperative. With the transition to the factory method, creamery butter began to be churned. Despite the fact that the dairies were small, badly equipped and usually housed in adapted peasant barns and sheds, and depended on manual labor, the butter which they turned out was of a high grade and was mainly exported. Eighty-four percent of the dairies employed manual labor. Only 6 dairies used steam, 4 used water and about 200 used horse traction. By 1913, Siberia was producing more than 4,500,000 poods of butter a year for export, having thus outstripped Australia and the Netherlands in volume of export, and come close to Denmark. The peasant dairies were entirely in the hands of capitalists, despite the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century the dairy cooperative had become fairly common in Siberia. The association of numerous Siberian dairy cooperatives, in which the local kulaks played the chief part, found itself dependent on foreign, particularly Danish, capital, which took part in financing the bourgeois Siberian Union of Dairy Cooperatives and received most of the revenue from the sale of butter. Western and central Siberia were covered with a network of foreign trading agencies and warehouses, situated along the railroads and waterways. Up to the creation of the Union of Siberian Dairy Cooperatives in 1907, these foreign firms possessed the butter monopoly. Among the larger ones were the Danish "Siberian Company," "Lund and Peterson," "Danish Export Association," and other firms. These foreign firms not only bought up Siberian butter at low rates, but also sold separators and agricultural machinery.

Within a fairly short time the Russian peasantry was able to make great strides forward in Siberian farming, despite the unfavorable conditions created by the tsarist government's policy. The mass migration of Russian



Gold diggers. Sibiryakov Mine in former Yakutsk district.

peasants during the development of capitalism in Russia played a progressive role in the economic assimilation of Siberia, although the settlers themselves often had to live under difficult conditions. Siberia was drawn into the capitalist development of the country. The policy of Tsarism, dictated by the interests of the Russian landowners and capitalists, obviously slowed down the development of Siberia. The policy was aimed at artificially holding back the development of Siberia's productive forces, and hampering the development of local industry. Siberia was made a consumer of industrial produce and a supplier of agricultural produce. But in this respect, too, the Russian landowners and capitalists—the exporters of grain—pursued a policy of holding back cultivation of the land; for example, they tried to prevent cheap Siberian grain from reaching the internal Russian and foreign markets. They forced the tsarist government to impose a special excise tax on the transportation of Siberian grain, which came to be known in the literature as the "Chelyabinsk break," which sent up the cost of the exported grain and clearly hampered the export of it, as well as worsening the position of the agricultural peasants, since the traders reduced the buying price of grain, striving to shift the burden of the notorious Chelyabinsk excise onto the peasants. However, even in these conditions it cannot be denied that there was a certain progress in the economy, culture and everyday life of the Russian population of Siberia over this period. A major railway line appeared and regular shipping was organized on the rivers, both of which had a direct effect upon the development of commercial agriculture and animal husbandry. A small local industry also grew up, mainly for the initial processing of agricultural produce (flour milling, butter making and distilling). There was an increase in the number of towns, a large number of new rural

settlements appeared, and the population of the older ones increased. An influx of several million Russian peasants strengthened the population of Siberia, but it nevertheless remained sparsely populated for a long time to come.

Agricultural technology was improved, agricultural machinery became widespread. Over the twenty years prior to the October Revolution, Siberia imported 150,000,000 rubles worth of agricultural machinery,³⁹ thereby becoming a very important market not only for domestic, but to an even larger extent, for foreign capital. A number of scholars have noted that the Russian peasant settlers of the post-Reform period greatly improved the technique of land cultivation and harvesting; they improved the types of seed, introduced buckwheat, millet, sunflower-seed, beans, and here and there engaged in orchardry and melon-growing. Manure came into use as fertilizer for the soil, the wooden plow was replaced by a metal one, new and improved breeds of livestock emerged. The migrants brought with them to Siberia hive bee-keeping, dairy-farming, and various trades (tanning, leatherworking, fur-dressing, woodworking, and so on).⁴⁰

Of tremendous importance for the historical development of the Russian and local population in Siberia was the emergence of the working class. No matter how poorly the industry was developed, no matter how widely scattered the small factories with trained workers may have been, the workers in Siberia after the railroad had been laid already numbered many tens of thousands. Without going into the formation of the working class in Siberia, and without giving even a brief description of it, we should stress that the railroad workers represented the most politically conscious and advanced contingent of the skilled labor. But it was not only the railroad workers in Siberia who made a valuable contribution to the all-Russian revolutionary movement. The workers in the Siberian goldfields also took a part in it. In 1912, the miners at the Lena goldfields went on strike; the strike was led by one of the Siberian Bolshevik groups. Under the guidance of the Bolsheviks the workers compiled and submitted to the administration a set of economic and political demands. The reply given by the capitalists—the owners of the Lena Goldfields Company—and the tsarists authorities was to open fire on the miners.

Everyday Life of Russian Peasants in Siberia

Occupation

The great majority of the Russian population of Siberia consisted of peasants living in rural localities; according to 1897 figures, the urban population numbered less than 10%.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the Russian peasants. Their way of life in Siberia had certain specific features and naturally reflected class distinctions among the peasantry typical of the post-Reform period. During the pre-Reform period the peasantry in Siberia was a comparatively homogeneous group. Despite the fact that many of the Russian peasants (with the exception of those assigned to government factories) had not experienced serfdom, they were nevertheless exploited and oppressed by the ruling classes in other ways, for example, tithes payable in money or kind, compulsory labor, and so on. The peasants were also exploited by traders and

³⁹ *Aziatskaya Rossiya (Asian Russia)*, Vol. 2, pp. 406-407.

⁴⁰ See: V. V. Pokshishevskiy, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

usurers. As capitalist relations developed in Siberian agriculture, the peasantry gradually divided up into classes. On the one hand, there emerged the kulaks, and on the other, the farming proletariat and hired farm laborers. The kulaks engaged in commercial agriculture and stock-breeding, for which they hired the farm hands; they often controlled the mail-coach service, and gained control of all the rural commerce by buying up agricultural produce and other commodities such as furs, fish, nuts and so on. For example, the strong kulak contingent of exiled Skoptsy [a religious sect] in the settlements of the Yakutsk region bought up most of the grain delivered to the Yakutsk market. Among them were owners of large mills, who employed Yakut, Evenk and Russian labor on their large farms. A large proportion of the old Russian peasant settlers in the Siberian countryside was made up of middle peasants. The process of the stratification of the Siberian countryside into capitalistic classes attracted the attention of Lenin when he was writing his famous study, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (*Razvitiye kapitalizma v Rossii*). Lenin drew attention to the specific nature of capitalist development in the Siberian countryside, distinguishing it from the similar process in European Russia. He established that the system of leasing land, which grew up during the development of capitalist relationships in rural Russia and led to the concentration of real estate in the hands of the kulak upper class, was not typical of Siberia. "The fact is," Lenin pointed out, "that Siberia does not have the conditions, on which this rule is based; there is no obligatory or 'equalizing' re-allotment of the land, and no developing private ownership of the land. A well-off peasant does not buy or lease land, but merely takes it (that is at least how it has been so far); land leasing is more like an exchange between neighbors, and therefore the group statistics for leasing land do not follow any law."⁴¹ Siberia did not have the same problem of land shortage which was the scourge of the toiling peasantry in European Russia. It was just the reverse; Siberia had a great deal of land, but it was virgin and by no means so easy to cultivate. Draught animals and agricultural implements were required for the purpose. Hence the capitalist division of rural Siberia into classes was revealed most clearly in terms of the possession of working horses by the peasant.

The more well-to-do the peasant was, the more horses he had, and therefore the larger the area of land he could plough, especially since he employed the labor of poorer peasants. It should be pointed out that the great labor reserves for developing the richer kulak farms in Siberia were supplied by the peasants migrating from European Russia. On this point Lenin noted: "It is very interesting to observe that the relations between the well-off Siberian Russian and the settler (and even the most rabid Populist would hardly look for the famous communalism in these relationships!) were essentially the same as those between the well-off members of our communes and their confreres who had no horses or only one."⁴²

The living conditions of the Siberian peasantry, as already pointed out, were quite different from those of the Russian peasants in central Russia. The serfdom in Siberia was not quite so oppressive, and during the post-Reform period the feudal survivals were not as strong as in the central region. The commune in Siberia did not restrict the activity of its members,

⁴¹ V. I. Lenin, *Soch.* (Works), Vol. 3, p. 97.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

and there was not the same land shortage or crowding, particularly in the beginning, as there was in the center. The farming in Siberia was quite different from farming in the central regions, where the three-field system had predominated until the middle of the 19th century, and the change to the multiple-field system had gone on from the second half of the 19th and up to the beginning of the 20th century. In Siberia, on account of the vast stretches of land, use was made of the fallow-land system. Only a small area of the lessee's land (peasant holding) was cultivated, and the remainder lay fallow. After several harvests, the land was left fallow for as long as 15 years.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, as the population increased and the amount of available land diminished, short-term fallow cultivation became predominant (and the period over which the land lay fallow kept being shortened until it amounted to only one year). This multiple-field system, typical of Siberia, was the transition to the three-field system. The relationship between meadow land and fallow was greatly varied. In the southern, fertile region of Siberia the soil was recovered by letting it lie untouched for a number of years, while towards the north the importance of seasonal fallow was increased. In forest areas, the slash-and-burn system was used in which the forest was burnt down to make ploughland and periodically allowed to grow again. The tendency to change to a two-field or three-field system, particularly on old ploughland, was universal. The ousting of short-term fallow cultivation by seasonal fallow both with and without manure was more and more obvious as one moved from west to east. In East Siberia the two- and three-field systems predominated; the two-field system was already predominant there at certain places during the 17th century (on the Ilim).

The Siberian peasants began using manure as a fertilizer more and more. There was no consistency in the rotation of crops, which may largely have been due to the prevalence of squatter land-tenure, for the cultivator was hardly dependent at all on his fellow farmers, and ran his farm as he wished.

The basic crops were wheat (winter and spring varieties), winter and spring rye, oats and barley; millet, buckwheat, peas and other crops were also grown. The increase in the amount of wheat sown through a reduction in rye was observed at the earlier stages of Russian agriculture in Siberia (particularly in the west). In the former Tobol'skaya and Tomskaya Guberniyas, wheat comprised 50% of the total grain crop sown.⁴³ In East Siberia, even though the wheat was systematically increasing, the predominant crop was rye.

In the more northerly regions barley was very important. The technical crops sown were hemp and some flax, which were chiefly used to satisfy the farmers' own requirements; it was only occasionally that hemp was sown for commercial purposes. The growing of beets was also known in Siberia (Minusinskiy Kray). The cultivation of this crop arose as a result of the influence of immigrants from the southern regions of Russia, and Ukrainians.

The ploughing equipment brought from the north or from the central guberniyas of Russia to Siberia quickly gave place to tools more suited to the local soils. The conventional Great Russian double-furrowed wooden plough, called in Siberia the rogamol; the rogolyukha, or hand plough;

⁴³ P. M. Golovachev, *Sibir' (Siberia)*, Moscow, n.d., p. 71.



Ploughing with single-bladed wooden plough.
Former Irkutskaya Guberniya.

the "roe-deer" [a homemade steelshod wooden harrow—Ed.]; and the wooden harrow—all these were replaced by other tools: heavy home-made wooden ploughs, wheeled ploughs, and harrows with iron teeth. The *kolesukha* or *kolesyanka* is something in between the primitive wooden plough and the metal plough, with one ploughshare, and with a front part mounted on a wheel. Wooden ploughs with one share, called *sabans*, were used. The true *saban* was also used in Siberia; it is a wooden plough usually called a *permyanka* and is similar to the Ural-Volga type. Well-to-do peasants already had factory-made iron ploughs in the 19th century, and in the beginning of the 20th century they became more and more common, particularly in the grain-growing regions of Siberia. From two to four horses were harnessed to the wooden plough or the "roe-deer," and from five to eight to the heavier type of plough, depending on the soil. The horse was the chief work animal; only occasionally were oxen used in the Ukrainian style. The Russian type of harnessing with a shaft-bow or shafts, or else leather straps, was the main type of harness employed in Siberia, but from time to time they used the Ukrainian harnessing with a yoke or pole. The harvest was reaped predominantly with a sickle. Some of the crops (barley, oats) were mowed with scythes (to which a wooden "comb" was attached). The reaped grain was stacked in groups of ten or more sheaves for drying. In the literature there are references to cross-shaped stacks of sheaves.⁴⁴ Two or three weeks later the sheaves were transferred from the stacks into ricks from which they were transported to the threshing floor.

The threshing was carried out with flails and horses, sometimes with a *molotyaga*, which was a wooden shaft with teeth cut in it (the horse was harnessed by means of shafts), or else with a thresher worked by one or two horses. Winnowing was done with a spade.

⁴⁴ *Svedeniya o Sibiri* (Information on Siberia), St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 170. The system of stacking in bunches was common in northeast European Russia, while stacking in crosses was predominant to the south of Moscow.



Klunya or open floor for threshing grain. Bukhtarmans.

In the second half of the 19th century the richest peasants acquired agricultural machinery, such as winnowers, threshers, reapers and mowers; these became particularly common after the railroad had been built. Peasants who owned machinery hired it out to their poorer fellow villagers. The threshing and winnowing were done on a threshing floor enclosed by a fence, or sometimes by an awning—the so-called klunya. The sheaves were allowed to dry slightly in a barn beforehand. With the introduction of machinery, the grain was threshed for the most part without predrying. In the Russian Far East the grain was dried in front of Russian stoves in the threshed state.

The grain-dryers in Siberia were ordinary Russian barns with a stove; there are indications that these barns were sunk into the ground (Irkutskaya Guberniya). The barns were located near the threshing floor. There were also threshing barns. There were also types of grain-dryers called shishas—conical structures made of poles above a pit in which a fire was lit. These very simple grain-dryers, the cheapest kind, were used by the poorest peasants.⁴⁵ When threshing was carried out at night, hearths were used for illumination; these hearths consisted of small wooden structures filled with earth, on top of which wood or pine tar was burnt.

Flour-milling was widely developed in Siberia. There were mills for grinding the grain (windmills or water mills) everywhere. Steam-roller mills appeared in the second half of the 19th century and usually belonged to the kulaks or rich tradesmen. Pounders were used to husk the groats. Some of the groats were husked at home with mortar and pestle. Querns were only used to grind flour for minor domestic purposes.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133. The shisha was known in the Volga region and was apparently transferred to Siberia from there by the settlers—either Russians, Mariyts, Chuvashes or Tatars.



Water mill. Former Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, Minusinskiy Uyezd.

Vegetable-gardening was a special branch of agriculture. In their vegetable gardens the peasants grew cucumbers, carrots, onions, radishes, turnips, beets, cabbages and rutabagas. Potatoes became widespread in Siberia in the 1840's. They were first grown in vegetable gardens, but later in fields, especially under the influence of the newly arrived settlers. Even today the old name for potato, "little apple," is remembered in Siberia. Hothouses were used to grow cucumbers and certain other vegetables. At certain spots in the Far North, potatoes, turnips and onions were also grown. In the second half of the 19th century, particularly as a result of the influence of settlers from the southern provinces of Russia and the Ukrainians, Persian melons and watermelons began to be cultivated (in the southern regions of western Siberia, in the Minusinskiy Kray, and in the southern regions of the Soviet Far East). In their vegetable gardens the peasants also grew tobacco (shag and bakun) for their own consumption, and sometimes for commercial purposes. There were considerable tobacco plantations in the southern districts of the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya and in the West of Siberia (where the Russian Cossack women were famed for their tobacco).⁴⁶

Vegetable-gardening and melon-growing were universal as a subsidiary branch of farming near towns, industrial centers and gold-mining areas. For example, near the towns of Omsk and Petropavlovsk (western Siberia) there were whole settlements engaged solely in growing vegetables, melons and tobacco. The different types of melons and tobacco were exported a long way from western Siberia, and the suburban settlements of the Yakutsk region sent vegetables, melons, etc., apart from wheat, to the Yakutsk market.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

⁴⁷ I. I. Maynov, *Russkiye krest'yane i osedlyye inorodtsy Yakutskoy oblasti* (Russian Peasants and Settled Natives in the Yakutsk Region). St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 326.

Orchard-growing (apple trees, cherry trees) was developed in the southern regions of the Tobol'skaya Guberniya. Experiments in orchard-growing were conducted in the Minusinskiy Kray (Chinese apples, pears), near Krasnoyarsk. In the Russian Far East, attempts were made to grow cherries and other orchard fruit. Most successful of all was the growing of different kinds of berries—raspberries, currants, gooseberries, domestic and wild strawberries. It was mostly the newly arrived settlers who engaged in gardening as well as melon-growing.

Animal husbandry among the Siberian farmers comprised an essential and important, though subsidiary, branch of activity; it was only in areas where agriculture was restricted by climatic conditions that animal husbandry took on prime importance in the economic life. The techniques and methods of stock-breeding were extensive. The stock were not looked after anything like as well as in the central guberniyas. In the countryside different social groups had different numbers of working and milch animals. Among the old settlers, too, the number of cattle possessed varied, but this was particularly marked between the well-to-do old settlers and the new immigrants. There were always farms without horses or cows in the settlements, mainly among the newly arrived settlers, who sometimes comprised 25% of all the farmers.⁴⁸ There were settlements in which no horned stock at all was to be found, and sometimes both the horses and most of the inhabitants were hired for work on large farms belonging to earlier settlers.⁴⁹

Horse-breeding had long been highly developed in Siberia. The horse was the main draught animal in agriculture and was of great importance for transportation.

As mentioned above, oxen were comparatively rarely used. At certain places (in the Transbaykal) camels began to be used as draught animals from the end of the 19th century.⁵⁰

Russian horse-breeding played an important part in improving the local breeds of horses. By organizing stud farms and interbreeding horses brought from the European part of Russia (Bitug cart horses, trotters, etc.) improved local breeds were created. The strong "Tomsk" cart horse has a well-deserved reputation; at a number of other places in western and eastern Siberia, improved breeds of packhorses were produced. The local breeds of steppe saddle horses possessed good characteristics; these included the "Minusinka" and the "Altayka;" in the southernmost regions of Siberia, the "Mongolka;" in the west, the "Kirgiz;" and in the east, the "Transbaykal" (which was distinguished by its speed). A particular variety of the "Minusinka" called the "Narymka" was bred on the Ob'; although smaller, it was not inferior in strength or endurance to the "Minusinka." All these breeds showed great endurance and adaptability to Siberian natural conditions.

The Siberian cows are known for their great endurance and undemanding nature, but for the most part they were unproductive. Local breeds of cow, for example, the "Manchurian" (in the Far East), were only used as

⁴⁸ Materialy dlya izucheniya byta pereselentsev, vodvorenykh v Tobol'skoy gubernii za 15 let (s kontsa 70-kh godov po 1893 g.) [Material for the Study of the Everyday Life of Settlers Living in Tobol'skaya Guberniya Covering 15 Years (From the End of the 70's up to 1893)], Vol. 1, Moscow, 1895, pp. 218, 222.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 390.

⁵⁰ Svedeniya o Sibiri, p. 175.

a source of meat by the Manchus, and it was only the Russian peasants who began milking them. Many of the poorly productive local breeds of cattle were improved by crossing with imported breeds: Yaroslavl, Kholmogorsk, Dutch, Simmenthal, etc. Good results were obtained by crossing local breeds with Ukrainian cattle brought in from the Poltavskaya and Khar'kouskaya Guberniyas by the migrants.

Dairy farming was the most advanced side of animal husbandry in western Siberia, while in the east it was mainly meat production. In western Siberia dairy farming was mainly in the hands of private entrepreneurs who used improved machinery for making butter (separators, etc.), and was therefore of commercial importance. On the peasant farms, butter was made largely in homemade wooden churns.

The breeding of sheep and goats was everywhere a subsidiary branch of animal husbandry. It was only at a few places in the steppes that sheep-raising acquired greater importance than the breeding of cattle. The Mongolian, Kirgiz and Russian breeds of sheep were the main types raised. Because of the quality of its wool, the Russian breed was far superior to local breeds, and the Buryats, as ancient pastoralists, improved the productivity of their own sheep by crossing the Mongol with the Russian type.

In the winter the stock was kept in stalls; heated byres were normally only built for sheep and calves. From April (St. George's Day) to October (until the snowfall) the stock was let out to graze. Out of 7 months of pasturing, manured fields, meadows and fallow land were used as the pastures for 8 to 10 weeks, while after the harvesting the stock grazed on the stubble. For the rest of the time the stock grazed on fenced-off common pastureland, where the fodder was poorer.

The Siberian peasants improved the pastures by using manure as a fertilizer; this was also practiced by the Buryats. The fertilized fields were called *utogs*. In the Transbaykal the Russians and Buryats also irrigated the fields. An irrigation system for watering ploughland and hayfields also existed in the Altay.

Hay-growing as a commercial occupation was only important in settlements near highways. The hay was mown with a "Lithuanian" scythe. The crooked scythe was used comparatively little towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, except in awkward places (forest land, swamp). The better-off peasants used mowers. The hay was dried, raked and stacked into long ricks, which were mainly transported by the winter routes and kept in haylofts. At the turn of the century grass-sowing was started up, particularly at places where dairy farming was developed.

A characteristic feature of Siberian animal husbandry was the extensive pasturing of stock without shepherds. At certain places horses grazed in herds the whole year round (in winter they scraped up the fodder from under the snow). This form of pasturing was usually carried out without surveillance. Cows and sheep were also pastured in the same way in the fenced-off common pasture.

To protect the sowings from damage by cattle, the peasants had to set up fences made of wooden stakes, sometimes stretching dozens of kilometers. The settlement itself and adjoining pastureland were usually fenced off. There were gates for going into and out of the settlement and everyone coming in had to close them behind him. Sometimes the gates were arranged in such a way that they closed automatically when someone went through. Each member of the settlement was apportioned a certain amount of fence. The length of each section of fence required

to protect a farmer was measured in sazhen's, the number of the latter usually being determined by the number of head of stock in his possession. There were also equalizing types of apportionment—by farm, regardless of the quantity of stock, and according to the number of people. The richer peasants were much in favor of this. Shepherds were hired in the autumn for pasturing on ploughland or for the period of the roundup. Sheep, nondraught horses and oxen were let out each summer to graze under the supervision of shepherds; the farmers only inspected the animals a few times during this season. Shepherds were hired for the entire season and drove out the animals each day in the fields, which was the normal system for Russia. The shepherds were always paid by the farmers in accordance with the quantity of stock; the farmers also fed the shepherds in rotation, and sometimes gave them clothing, such as boots, shirts and coats (which were then taken back at the end of the season).

The shepherds' rights were quite different from those of the shepherds in the central guberniyas, where their responsibility for the cattle was much greater. According to customary law in Siberia, the shepherd was not responsible for the animals killed by beasts of prey or for damage done to grain stores, breaking of the fences, and so on. It was the farmer who had not properly fenced off the grain stores who bore the responsibility.

Before the coming of the Russians, pig-breeding was unknown to many of the tribes, even though their main occupation was raising animals (Buryats, Yakuts and Altays). Only a few groups of the population on the Amur bred pigs (the Nanays, etc.), having learned to do so from the Chinese. Pig-breeding reached a peak in the 19th and 20th centuries in the Tobol'skaya (Kurganskiy Uyezd) and Tomskaya (Biyskiy Uyezd) Guberniyas. Pork products were exported to European Russia. The pigs were kept in the farmyard and small heated sties were built for them, called *katushki*.

There was also poultry-farming in Siberia; this included the raising of chickens, geese, ducks, and sometimes turkeys. A great part in the development of this branch of farming was played by the newly arrived settlers (who were not as well off as the older ones). Poultry-farming was apparently not known in Siberia before the arrival of the Russians.

The Siberian Russians also developed branches of animal husbandry which were either not typical or not known at all in European Russia. The chief of these were dog-breeding and maral-breeding. Dog-breeding was of great importance among Russians engaged in fishing (at the mouth of the Indigirka, Kolyma, Anadyr', Kamchatka, the Okhotsk coast, etc.). The Ust' Russians even called the dog "livestock."

In the Far North the dog was often the only domestic animal used for transportation. Different breeds of Siberian lalkas were commonly found. The number of dogs on each farm depended on the wealth of the farmer. A team of 12 dogs was considered average. The farms had from one to three teams. The dogs were mainly fed on dried fish. In the taiga region the dog was the hunter's true companion.

The breeding and keeping of marals (a species of red deer, the *Cervus canadensis*) first began at the commencement of the 19th century among the Russians in the south Altay. From then on it spread through the Western Sayan Mountains, the Usinskiy Kray (Tuva) and the Transbaykal. The marals were mainly bred for their horns, which were sold in China, where they were used in medicine and highly valued. Apart from the horns, maral hide was used on the farm (as suede or else to line clothing).

The meat of the maral was eaten and its fat was turned into candles and also used as medicine for treating ulcers; the bone marrow was used to make a lubricant for guns, etc.

At the beginning of the 19th century the horns of the wild maral were always obtained by hunting. Wild marals were caught in pitfalls or chased on horseback over the snow crust. In trying to tame the maral, the Siberian Russians managed to turn it into a semidomestic animal which bred in captivity. The marals were kept in a "garden" or maral enclosure (maral'nik) in the Altay, and in yards in the Sayans. The maral enclosures were extensive (fenced-off areas (from 1.5 to 120 hectares). The larger enclosures usually belonged to the kulaks, but were sometimes jointly owned by several farmers. When they were kept in yards, each maral had less space and had to be given more food. This method was more like the stall method of keeping animals. It was mainly the males that were kept in yards, and their numbers were supplemented by wild ones brought back alive. In the summer the horns were removed from the animals in special huts, after which they were boiled and dried. They were then sold to dealers.

The peoples of Siberia knew how to gather the honey from wild bees before the appearance of the Russians, but did not have any apiaries. The commencement of beekeeping in the Altay goes back to the 18th century. It was started in the Ust'-kamenogorskiy Uyezd by the so-called "Poles", a group of Russian Old Believers.

In the middle of the 19th century beekeeping already occupied a prominent place in Kerzhak farming. There were as many as a thousand or more hives in the richer kulak farms. The most important beekeeping center was the southern Altay, particularly Bukhtarminskiy Kray.

The hives originally consisted of artificially hollowed-out tree stumps or holes made in hollow trees. The frame type of hive began to appear in the second half of the 19th century. However, in the areas of the most developed apiaries, the Altay, Minusinskiy Kray, Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, and so on, stump hives—horizontal and vertical—made up most of the apiaries. Honey and wax were sold on the markets or to local dealers and passing merchants. Bukhtarma mountain honey was known for its wonderful qualities and was sent to the Irbit and Nizhegorod fairs, as well as to other spots.

The assimilation of Siberia and the spread of the agricultural methods and machinery used by the Russian people played a progressive role in advancing the indigenous Siberians. The Russian peasants had an influence on the development of agriculture among many of the Siberian peoples. For example, back at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, the Yakuts began using the wooden plow, harrow, Russian harness, and trained animals to work on ploughland—in other words, they switched over to plough cultivation, bypassing the more primitive stage of cultivation with the hoe. The Yakuts took over the Russian millstone and later began building mills. Under the influence of the Russians, some of the Evenks living in the Yakutsk region and the Transbaykal settled down and took up agriculture. The Buryat pastoralists and trappers were particularly receptive to Russian agriculture and a settled way of life. They soon began expanding their ploughed land. By the beginning of the 20th century, Buryat agriculture in certain regions (the Irkutskiy and Balaganskiy Uyezds) was almost at the same level of development as Russian peasant agriculture. A considerable number of Altays also began changing to a settled way of life and to cultivation of the soil. Russian implements, methods of stacking crops in sheaves, threshing with flails



Marals in a maral pen. Former Yeniseyskaya
Guberniya, Minusinskiy Uyezd.

and horses became firmly entrenched in the everyday practice of large groups of Altays.

A very positive feature in the economy of the peoples of Siberia was the introduction of vegetable crops first brought by the Russians, methods of Russian animal husbandry, poultry-farming, and soon. By the beginning of the 20th century, many Buryats, Yakuts, Altays, Khakasys and others were already planting potatoes, cabbages and a number of other vegetables. Russian stall-type animal husbandry had a very beneficial effect on the nomadic and primitive pastoralism of Siberia. All the peoples of Siberia who were pastoralists began keeping stock in stalls, procuring winter fodder in advance, and this helped to improve the productivity of the stock and to keep the size of the herds more stable. The Russians developed new breeds of milch cattle, sheep and other stronger breeds of cart horses. Pig-raising and poultry-farming also began to become part of the way of life of the local tribes. Mowing implements were also taken over from the Russians. At first the crooked scythe became common, after which the "Lithuanian" scythe was adopted, and the productivity of labor was greatly increased; they began to dry hay by the Russian method, stacking it in sheaves and ricks, and not hanging it on trees, woven into coils, as the Altays, for example, used to do.

Agriculture and vegetable-gardening as well as the stall-type animal husbandry taken over by the former nomadic pastoralists, hunters and fishermen ensured a better basic stock of food, and here and there (e.g., among the Buryats) provided commercial products, thus promoting the development of capitalist relations.

Among the Russian population of Siberia, hunting was mainly a secondary occupation. In the northern taiga regions, and even then only where agriculture was poorly developed, hunting was one of the important means of subsistence for the Russian population (in the Tobol'sk North,



Bringing a maral to the maral enclosure.
Former Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, Minusinskiy Uyezd.

the Angara region, Usinskiy Kray, and northern Transbaykal). The furs obtained were sold.

Of the fur-bearing animals, the squirrel was the most important from the point of view of trade at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

The other most valuable fur-bearing animals—the beaver, marten and sable—were considerably fewer in quantity by this time, and sable hunting was only important in a few areas of western Siberia (in the Pelymskiy Kray and in the Altay), eastern Siberia and in the Amur region, and also Kamchatka. The Vitim and Kirensk sables (eastern Siberia), which had an unusually dark-colored, fluffy fur, were particularly famous. The chief animals hunted were the elk, lynx, wolverine, fox, and polar fox (the blue fox was especially valued). Of the smaller animals, apart from the squirrel and sable, they hunted the chipmunk, weasel, ermine and hare. The roebuck, musk deer, maral deer (the Altay and Maritime District), as well as the wild reindeer (Far North), were also hunted.

The fowl hunted in the taiga regions were the wood grouse, black grouse and hazel grouse, and in the tundra the partridge, goose, duck and swan. Hunting wild geese was of great importance in the lives of the Russians in the Far North; these constituted their staple diet during years when they were short of other food.

Along the shores of the Arctic and Pacific Oceans and at the mouths of the Siberian rivers, the Russians hunted marine animals—the seal, bearded seal, and sometimes the walrus and polar bear.

The weapons and methods used in hunting were varied, but shooting with guns prevailed. Different types of traps were common: homemade pressure-traps, falltraps, nooses. In Eastern Siberia the sables were trapped in an unusual way by means of kurkavkas. The kurkavka is a noose made of hair which is set up in position on tree trunks laid across rivers and used as a bridge by the sables in October before the rivers ice over.

The omet was also used; this is a special net for catching the sable after the first snowfall. The hunter who has tracked down the sable to its burrow places omets all round the tree and then smokes out the animal. Aquatic birds were also caught with different types of nets. The technique of trapping elk and deer with pitfalls was also used.

Hunting in Siberia, particularly in the winter, involved great difficulties. The reindeer were hunted during the migratory periods as the herds were crossing rivers. They were either shot, speared, or slaughtered with other weapons, as the hunters approached them in light canoes.

The main hunting season began in the autumn and continued, with interruptions, until the spring. Fur-bearing animals were hunted in the winter. Each hunter or hunting party had its own hunting grounds, on which the hunters set snares or dug pitfalls. These areas were known by the old Russian terms "ukhozheny," "lesovyye ukhozh'i" and "putiki." The hunters went off to the distant "ukhozh'i" for long periods and sometimes stayed in the forest for months at a time.

They hunted alone, but more frequently in parties (from 2 to 20 men). Each party had its own hunting lodge where the men spent the night. The hunting lodge had a stone fireplace or an earthen stove, planks for sleeping and poles for drying clothing.

The game was divided among the members of the party. The furs were sold to merchants and to local kulaks who kept many hunters and trappers in financial servitude. A system of "turning" was developed. The kulak equipped the hunter with everything he needed, on credit, pricing the goods two or three times above their actual value. The hunter paid back the debt in the furs he obtained from the hunt.

Fishing was universally known among the Siberian Russians wherever there was suitable water. Fishing acquired greatest importance along the river Ob' and its tributaries, on the Angara, Baykal, Kolyma, Indigirka, and Anadyr', and in the Kamchatka rivers, the Okhotsk coast and along the Amur. A variety of sea, river and lake fish were also caught. Fishing was carried on in the fisheries almost all the year round, except for a few short periods.

In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries artificial barriers and so-called gimgas were used for fishing in the Ob'. The gimga is a large, curious device made of interwoven branches (considerably taller than a human being), and was evidently taken over by the Russians from the local fishermen (Khanty and Mansi). Large gimgas ranging from 40 to 100 in number were only possessed by the richer fishermen, particularly in the region between Berezov and Obdorsk; gimgas were used to partition even wider areas of the river. More cheaply made barriers with a trap consisting of a four-cornered net sack were set up near the banks. In smaller expanses of water snares made of branches or laths were used.

In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, hoops with net stretched across them (merezhes) and cylindrical snares made of twigs (mordas) were universally used for fishing. Fish were also caught in ditches, particularly in places where they came near the surface in search of air (during the winter period).

Nets of various types and designs were used everywhere. The nets were brought into Siberia and spread by the Russians.

Fishing with seines or dragnets in Lake Baykal was mainly the occupation of large fishing entrepreneurs, who were called nevodchiki [seiners], while those occupied in fishing with more modest tackle, predominantly the smaller peasant cooperatives, were called setovshchiki (netmen).

There was always hostility between the two groups, which reached a peak from time to time.

The seine consisted of a motnya, or net bag, and sidepieces made from pieces of ordinary net ("columns"); rope was attached to the ends of the sidepieces; these were called drops (also called cuts, keys and lassoes). The length of the net was sometimes as much as 400 or 600 meters (Yenisey, Lena and Ob'), while on Lake Baykal it was 1000 meters. Wooden floats were attached to the top of the seine, and stone weights wrapped in birchbark, known as kibas'yas or tashes, were attached to the bottom.⁴¹ In the summer these seines were used mainly on the sandy bottom of the river. The fishermen sailed out in their boats, spread the net and hauled it in by means of a winch. Fishing under the ice was also common in winter.

In the Russian Far East seines were used to catch fish of the salmon family—the Siberian, humped-back, or toothed salmon (*Oncorhynchus*)—which were of great commercial importance (along the Okhotsk coast, the rivers Amur, Ussuri and others). Here it was mainly the Cossacks from the Amur, Transbaykal and Kamchatka who engaged in fishing. The peasants did not begin fishing in these parts until the end of the 19th century, as a result of the settling of migrants from the major fishing waters of Astrakhanskaya Guberniya and the Don region.

Apart from nets of various kinds, hook-type tackle was also used universally in Siberia, that is to say fishing rods, the spinning lure, and the dorozhka (a hook with a small tin fish as bait). Hand-nets were also common, and netting and trap-nets were also used. Large fish were speared with a forked spear by the light of lumps of tar burning on a metal grid. The technique of stunning fish by hitting the ice with wooden hammers was also practiced.

The peasant fishermen had to buy fishing rights for some of the more productive fishing waters from private owners, such as the monasteries and wealthier fishmongers who possessed the best spots. Sometimes the fishermen were able to use the waters on the basis of customary law. In both cases the poorer fishermen ended up with the worst spots. In the fishing regions there were always wealthier fishmongers who would hire local fishermen and Russian peasants for work. They were paid in money and given clothing and food. It is clear from descriptions of the everyday life of the Ob' fishermen how difficult were the conditions of the workers; they were forced to live in crowded, cold, barrack-like huts, which sometimes did not even have floors.

The cooperative method of fishing was the commonest. The cooperative members were merely a second category of workers, differing from the hired labor in that they received a share of the profits; nevertheless, they had to give up four-fifths of the total haul to the trader in return for the necessary fishing tackle and only received one-fifth for distribution among themselves. There were cooperatives consisting of half-seiners, who gave up 50% to the trader in return for the tackle he loaned them.

Sometimes groups consisting of two or three peasant families used to join forces (and equipment) for purposes of fishing. But they also fished separately. The catch was sold through a dealer or wealthy fishmonger. It was the latter who supplied the fishermen with the necessary commodities. The population was particularly dependent on the dealer in the more out-of-the-way settlements in the Far North. There, the peasants

⁴¹ From the Turkic word for stone—tash.

were always in the debt of the dealer or his bailiff; they paid back the debt in fish, fox fur, or dogs, and sometimes by personal labor.

On Lake Baykal the cooperatives formed in the summer for fishing with seines comprised from 3 to 30 men, and the winter cooperatives from 3 or 4 to 50 or 60. The members of the cooperative made their own seine, and duties were allotted among them. Every fisherman joining the cooperative had to have his own section of net and rope from which the seine was made up; in return for this he obtained a share of the catch. The cooperative was headed by an experienced fisherman who took charge of the hauling operation and was known as the *bashlyk*. The *bashlyk's* chief assistant was called the *podbashlych'ye*. Apart from his section of net, the *bashlyk* also supplied the bag in the seine, and the boat, for which he received three shares of the haul. Shares were also given to those who did not take a direct part in the operation, for example, the cook, clerk, and storyteller. The life of the fishermen possessed one notable feature. The fishing was carried out by the men, but at times women and boys took an extensive part in it by seine-handling. Female labor was particularly important in processing the fish (for example, in making *yukola* [split, sun-dried fish—Ed.]) and also for different subsidiary jobs.

Many of the hunting and fishing techniques used by the Russian peasantry, lower middle classes and Cossacks in Siberia were known all over Russia. The seines, ordinary nets, fishing rods and various other types of tackle are mentioned in earlier Russian sources. Such devices as the trap, loop-snare, duck-net and various others are common throughout Russia. There are features in common with northern fishing (the seine with sinkers) and with fishing in the central regions (fishing in ditches). A great deal of experience gained by the indigenous peoples of Siberia was taken over by the Russians (fishing methods, the *ginga*, the Nanay-type seine, preparation of *yukola*, techniques for hunting reindeer, and so forth). As the Russians assimilated Siberia, hunting and fishing became greatly developed. Many Russian implements were further developed in accordance with local conditions (stationary seines, etc.). The Russians created new branches of hunting, for example, polar-fox trapping in the tundra zone along the Arctic coast. The adoption of various Russian hunting and fishing implements such as different kinds of traps, guns, nets made of woven thread, improved fishing boats, etc., by the local Siberian tribes was highly beneficial and resulted in better hauls and catches. The rise and growth of Russian towns and trading centers stimulated the development of commerce. In addition, there was an increased demand for furs, which also helped to develop the local trades.

Forest trades such as logging, lumberjacking and floating timber to towns, ports and wharfs were of great importance among the Russians in Siberia. The firewood trade was particularly well developed near the larger towns, trading centers and dock installations. The production of tar, resin and charcoal was universal. Particularly widespread was an unusual Siberian trade—the gathering of cedar nuts, particularly in spots where there were good cedar trees (western and eastern Siberia), as well as the gathering and melting of chewing resin from the larch tree. This resin was in great demand among the Russian peasant women in Siberia.

The gathering of berries and mushrooms for personal consumption was universal, but in some places cranberries and bilberries were gathered for purposes of marketing. In the southern regions of western Siberia, the gathering of wild garlic or "*kolba*" was of commercial



Salting herring. Town of Berezov in Tobol'skaya Guberniya.

importance. Among the Siberian trades which were still of some importance at the beginning of the 20th century we should also mention the gathering of river pearls in the Soviet Far East and hunting for walrus and mammoth tusks in the Far North.

The processing of products and manufacture of basic consumer goods were largely carried out at home, especially in the remoter points a long way from highways and trade centers. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, cloth was still made at home in certain places. The hemp or flax yarn was spun on spinning wheels or spindles, and woven on the "krosny" or ordinary Russian loom with a base. Cloth was made from sheep's wool. In the 19th century the well-off peasants also had fulling mills.

There were whole settlements or even regions in which different types of handicrafts were predominant. The individual craftsmen were dependent on the dealer, and small-scale establishments with hired labor began to arise. The importance of the crafts developed at points where agriculture did not provide adequate means of subsistence. The newly arrived settlers played a large part in developing trades. Woodworking, forging, tanning, boneworking and stoneworking became widespread. Large regions of cottage industry formed in the southwest part of western Siberia. The woodworking trade produced such goods as sledges, carts, wheels, barrels and casks, furniture, wooden harness parts, and so on. The chemical treatment of wood was known throughout the forest regions. In the cedar regions they made cedar oil (Byskiy Uyezd).

Wool-carding, tanning and cobbling were universal, and in certain places there was fur-dressing and suede-making. The making of sheepskin coats was developed near Tyumen', and sheepskin "barnaulka" coats near the town of Barnaul, in the southern part of the former Tobol'skaya Guberniya.

where sheepbreeding was developed, there was production of woolen mittens and stockings.

Pottery and brick-making were developed mainly near the towns. A potter's wheel was used to make the pots.⁵² The production of clay weights for seines (Samarovo village where the Irtysh runs into the Ob') was developed in the fishing regions.



Working a spinning wheel. Former Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, Achinskiy Uyezd.

The trades of blacksmith and machinist were found universally, but particularly in the Kuznetskiy Uyezd and in the Tyumenskiy Uyezd of Tobol'skaya Guberniya. Smithery existed among the Russian peasants even in the most remote corners of the Far North, where it was of great practical importance for the surrounding tribes—the Chukchi and others—who did not know about it before. The Russian and Russified population of the Anadyr' exchanged their knives, axes and cauldrons with the Chukchi and Koryaks for reindeer, sealskin, suede, etc.

At the beginning of the 19th century the discovery of the gold deposits gave a rapid boost to gold mining. The workers hired at the mines were highly diverse in ethnic origin. They went there from every part of European Russia and Siberia

and included representatives of the local non-Russian tribes and nationalities, although Russians predominated. The miners developed their own specific way of life and had their own mining jargon.⁵³ Specifically local features were reflected by the language, daily life and folklore of the gold miners. Among the gold diggers who sometimes worked by themselves or in parties were "chief foremen" and also "underforemen." The "boss's workers" was the name for those who were hired

⁵² No data has been published on the technique for making pottery in the relevant regions. Apart from the hand-operated wheel, there must also have been one with a treadle. We know more of domestic pottery engaged in by women using the potter's wheel and the molding technique.

⁵³ See: N. P. Popov, *Priiskovy byt* (Life at the Mines), St. Petersburg. Zhivaya Starina, Issues VIII-IX, Irkutsk, 1929.



Dyeing fabrics by hand. Former Irkutskaya Guberniya.

by the larger gold-mining companies for a set wage. The workers in the cooperatives formulated their own laws: the cooperative members were responsible for each other (which was turned to the owners' advantage), and it was customary for the whole cooperative to punish a member who committed a misdemeanor. Working and living conditions of the miners were at times unbearable. They either lived in large dirty and dark huts belonging to the employer, or else in huts which they built themselves. These huts were similar to the wooden peasant huts or were made of earth. The employers sold the workers food from stores at high prices.

The Russian trades and handicrafts which developed in the towns and villages had a positive effect on the trades practiced by the local tribes and nationalities. Russian craftsmen, for example, helped to improve the level of metalworking among tribes and nationalities which already knew about it (Yakuts, Buryats, etc.). The introduction of spinning and weaving was of great importance to the everyday lives of the Siberian nationalities. Until that time only the Mansi and Khanty knew how to weave, using the fiber of the wild nettle, and also the northern Altays who wove canvas from wild hemp fiber.

Many nationalities, particularly the Yakuts, took over coopering. The level of woodworking among the Buryats, Yakuts and other peoples was considerably raised when more perfected implements brought by the Russian settlers, such as the saw, plane, and plumbline, became objects of everyday use.

Means of Transportation

In the summer the Siberian peasants used mainly wheeled transport. The main draught animal was the horse. It was harnessed with a shaft-bow,



Domestic tanning. Former Irkutskaya Guberniya.

collar, saddle strap and shafts, and was used to pull two- or four-wheeled carts. The dvukolka with one axle and two wheels was common at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The simplest dvukolka carts with solid wheels were used in the taiga regions; special, improved carts with iron shafts were used to carry loads; the well-off peasants used cabriolets for driving about (eastern Siberia). The two-wheeled cart was ousted by the four-wheeled cart, which until that time was the main type of work-cart. They came into use at different times in different places. In a number of places, particularly at spots where the carting trade was developed, these carts had long been used; in the mountainous regions (the Altay) they only appeared in the middle of the 19th century, and even the beginning of the 20th century were still not usual on every farm. A particular variety of cart without body (drogl) was used to transport heavy loads. Carts with a wooden or basketweave body, mainly with iron axles, are used even today for transporting passengers.

The means of transportation in winter consisted of the usual Russian sleighs and sledges: the drovny (for carrying weights), the rozval'ni [a toboggan-like sleigh—Ed.], ordinary sleighs and half-sleighs, the koshevka (with a basket weave body), and the poshevni (with a wooden body). The poshevni was used on festive occasions and had an ornamental back (it was used for weddings and during Lent). The enclosed cart, the so-called vozok, with rigidly attached metal runners, was used on the highways, particularly for carrying valuable commodities.

In the tundra the Russian peasants mainly used dogs, since reindeer-breeding involved a nomadic way of life, and horses were not adapted to the tundra. The dogs were harnessed in pairs, the stronger ones, known as the leaders, being placed at the front. On both sides of the main strap running lengthways were shorter straps passing under the belly and



Device for carrying logs by road in summer. Bukhtarmans.

across the back. When harnessed in this way, the dogs pulled with their chests. This type of harnessing is somewhat similar to horse-harnessing and represents an improvement on the old, local type, which used to exhaust the dogs. The dog-sledge designed by the Russian peasants has straight, vertical staves (three or four on each side), runners, curved at the front only, and a horizontal bow and an extra vertical bow at the front. The staves are fixed to the runners by pins and also by straps. This sledge is very strong and can carry heavier weights than the other types (Chukchi, Nivkhi or old Itel'men). In this way, the Russians converted the local system of dog transportation into the new East Siberian system, which later became widely used by the local tribes and peoples.

Skis were also widely used in the winter as a means of transportation. For crossing rivers there were scows with plank boats attached. Rafts were used for floating downstream, and salks—small one-man rafts made of logs with an overlay—were particularly common. Large-size rafts were built to carry heavy loads. In some cases a little plank hut was built on the raft, a mound of earth was used as the hearth and food was cooked on it during the trip. Experienced raftsmen guided the motion of the raft. If it was intended to return on horseback, horses were taken aboard the raft. Boats, which had been used for a long time by the Russians in Siberia, varied tremendously in size, load-carrying capacity and purpose (dugouts, canoes, flat-bottomed plank boats, etc.). Different types of boats made of wooden planks came into use among the local tribes with the appearance of the Russians. The karbas became widespread; this was a boat up to 10 or 12 m long, made either of planks or with a hollowed-out bottom and sewn-on sides. Karbases were made with and without decks. Boats used for trades were given a large number of other names besides the karbas: "seiner" (Yenisey, Baykal), "carrier"



Cart with wattled body. Bukhtarmans.

(Ob'); large boats for transporting fish and other cargo were called "seagoers" (Baykal), "shitiks" (Yenisey), or fish-boats (Amur). The so-called *ilimkas* became very common; these were flat-bottomed wooden boats (up to 20 or 25 m. long) with a prow and foreshortened bow. Their distinguishing feature was a covered structure for storing commodities and housing people. These boats received their name from the place where they were made—the Ilim Portage. Freight was carried along the Angara and Podkamennaya Tunguska in *ilimkas*. They were also common among the population living on the Ob' and Yenisey, and were often used as a temporary dwelling, apart from carrying freight (among the Kets and others). The boats were moved by means of oars or sails.

The native Russian means of transportation furthered the development of local transportation and the economy of the local Siberian population. Many of the tribes began using horses as draught animals. For example, the Russian mail-coach drivers on the river Lena played a large part in spreading horse transportation among the Yakuts, who learned to drive the horses and harness them, using Russian harnessing and carts. The spread of plank boats, which were more convenient and carried greater loads, was of great importance in developing transportation among the Siberian peoples.

Food

In the agricultural belt of Siberia the staple diet of the rural population was composed of bread and various dishes made with flour. Rye bread was baked with leavening in the form of small round rolls. Wheat bread predominated in certain places (particularly in western Siberia). Sour wheat bread was made in Siberia in the form of ring-rolls. Unleavened dough was made into dumplings and meat or sour-cream turnovers,



Carrying-frame on runners. Former Amurskiy Kray.

which had evidently been brought by the immigrants from the north of European Russia. Pirogi were the fare for family festivities. They were made of leavened or unleavened dough, were either sweet or plain, and had different kinds of stuffing such as cabbage, sour cream, cheese, potato, onion, carrot, grape, berries, ground or devilled meat and so on; each type was called by a different term. Wild-cherry pies and also fish pies were particularly widespread in Siberia; in the fish pies the fish was cooked whole (as in the Urals).

Russian dishes made with wheat flour, such as pancakes and fritters, and also oatmeal and porridge were also known in Siberia. Pel'meni (a kind of dumpling with meat or fish) was known as Siberian food, and was also common in the Urals. During the winter the pel'meni used to be frozen (before being cooked) and put into boxes or sacks; they were taken on journeys as well. Russian meat dishes known throughout the country, such as aspic, roast meat, cabbage and grain soup, etc., were also found in Siberia.

In places where hunting predominated, cereals were a less important part of the diet. In a number of regions in the Far North, bread had to be imported and was only eaten by the merchants and clergy; most of the peasants considered it a luxury and used to eat it only on holidays, and even then not all of them.

The food in the Russian settlements of the Far North was of a distinctive kind. Reindeer was cut into pieces and fried slightly in fish oil. The tongue of the reindeer, the bone fat from the shanks and the tendons were considered particularly tasty and were eaten raw. The fat of the reindeer was melted down. The meat of wild geese was kept in pits in which it fermented. The fatty meat from the goose and the loon was cut into pieces and roasted over the fire or made into stew.

Fish soup was a widespread dish in Siberia. Furthermore, fish was eaten in fried, smoked and frozen form. In the Far North the Obdors, Markovans and Ust' Russians ate strogania—raw frozen fish in slices. Roe, fish heads, and borbot liver (maksu) were eaten fresh and were

popular dishes among the Northerners. The way borchas was cooked is worth mentioning. The smoked fish was ground in a mortar until it formed a fibrous dry substance—borcha. The borchas when cooked in fish oil is called varka. Because in the past only the richer people could afford grain products, dough used to be made of fish, although in outward appearance it was hardly different from the normal kind. The dough was baked into toptanniks—a variety of pirog stuffed with fish stomachs and fish skin. Ground fish was made into a type of fishcake called tel'no; frozen and pressed roe was used to make pancakes, fritters and bliny. When setting out on a long journey, the Siberians usually took along dried, ground fish, which they made into fish soup when necessary.

The dairy produce consumed included milk, curds, butter as a seasoning, and sour cream. Milk was used in both fresh and frozen form (just as everywhere else in the North). Curds were dried on Russian stoves after first being mixed with sour cream, and were also eaten in the frozen form; in this form the curds were called syrchiks and made into the shape of cups.

Dishes made of groats and kisel'⁴⁴ were extremely common, as indeed they are everywhere among Russians. They made barley, millet and buckwheat porridge. Rye or wheat flour was made into a porridge with water or buttermilk. In the Altay, barley groats were made into a thick, porridge-like soup, as distinct from the thinner variety made with the same material. Kisel' and also bliny were usually cooked specially for family occasions such as weddings, wakes, and so on. In the old days, burduk, a kisel' made of spent grain, was common. It was made from wheat or rye bran leavened with yeast. The burduk was eaten with vegetable oil. Kisel' usually made of milk and berries (which made up the majority of festive dishes), as well as pea kisel', called goroshnitsa, were also cooked.

The potato was the commonest vegetable; sauerkraut was prepared in advance for the winter and was either ground up or cut into strips. Cucumbers and watermelons were salted wherever they grew. Cucumbers were often eaten in the fresh form with honey. Beets, rutabagas and turnips were steamed over a hot stove.

Onions and garlic were prepared in the salted form. A type of wild onion called ramson was also eaten. Other wild vegetables consumed were sorrel and "snake root" (*Polyrgonum Risturta*) in the Far North, which prevent scurvy; and also different types of berries: cranberries, red bilberries, cloudberry, raspberries, gooseberries, wild cherries, etc. Mushrooms were also eaten. In spring the Siberian Russians collected birch sap, which is known to Russians everywhere. The custom of chewing larch resin (*senka*) and eating cedar nuts is characteristic of Siberia. The cedar nuts were chewed in large mouthfuls and in silence, particularly when people went visiting. This is jokingly called the "Siberian conversation." The drinks consumed were tea, beer, kvas⁴⁵ and vodka. Kvas and beer are very old Russian beverages; kvas was drunk every day, while beer was only brewed on holidays and the amount made depended on how wealthy the household was. Tea should be regarded as one of the commonest beverages in Siberia. During the first half of the 19th century, A. Stepanov gave the following account of the everyday life of the population of the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya: "Samovars can be found in practically every

⁴⁴ Natural jelly made from fruit or milk.—Ed.

⁴⁵ A slightly alcoholic beverage made from stale bread.—Ed.



Landing-stage near town of Berezov.
Former Tobol'skaya Guberniya.

village. Most of the peasants drink tea through a lump of sugar. Sometimes they use sassafras (*saxifraga crassifolia*) or knotted pososhok (*phlomis tuberosa*) instead of tea; the brew is made in a pot, milk is added and the mixture is drunk with something soft"⁵⁵ (with bread).

As a rule, the samovars mentioned here did not appear in the Central Russian countryside until the Reform period. It is possible that tea may have been known earlier among the Siberian Russians living close to the Chinese and Mongols, among whom it was very popular. It was only the Old Believers, for example, the Semey Old Believers in the Transbaykal and the Kerzhaks in the Altay who did not drink tea, since it was considered a sin. "Brick tea," which was drunk with honey, sugar, or confectionery, jam, gingerbread and so on, was most usual. In the Far North tea was sometimes drunk with spices such as cloves and aniseed.

Green tea spiced with flour, cooked in open pots and scooped out with cups, was a Siberian specialty, borrowed from the Mongols and Altays. Tea with the addition of khurcha and zaturan to the tea was also a Siberian specialty. The zaturan was made of flour, fat and tea, while the khuroha was made of dried, ground wheat or barley grains. The drinking of tea with these seasonings has been observed in the Irkutskaya Oblast and was obviously borrowed from the Buryats. In the Far North an original beverage for the road called perezhar was made of flour cooked in fish oil and soaked with tea.

We have described here the types of food common to the whole population of Siberia, but the diet of the various class groups in the Siberian countryside undoubtedly differed sharply in variety, quantity and quality. Meat and dairy produce could not easily be afforded by the poorer groups

⁵⁵ A. Stepanov. Yeniseyskaya guberniya, St. Petersburg, 1835, p. 110.



Household objects. Anadyr' Russians.

- 1—birchbark bag for collecting berries; 2—wooden plane with slits for blade; 3—wooden dish; 4—wooden soup bowl; 5—wooden spoon for removing meat from pots; 6—rod for mixing; 7—washboard.

of the countryside, who often lacked livestock or were forced to give up all they produced to the dairies.

Native Russian cooking, crockery and utensils became firmly entrenched among the local Siberian nationalities. The acquisition of the arts of baking bread and making butter was of particularly great importance. Bread began to be baked by the settled Buryats, Yakuts, Altays, some of the Khanty and Mansi, and many other tribes. In place of their primitive method of making butter, the Yakuts, Altays and other pastoralists adopted the Russian system. The inclusion of potatoes and other vegetables as well as salt in the diet of the local population was of great importance. Many Russian dishes were taken over. Russian types of crockery ousted the extremely primitive local wooden and birchbark vessels. Cups, plates,

knives and forks became everyday objects of use among the wealthier Buryats, Yakuts and others. Under the influence of the Russians the crockery was kept cleaner and the food prepared more hygienically. The Russian peasants in Siberia, in turn, added variety to their food by adopting local dishes and learning to preserve foodstuffs (certain types of fish dishes, accompaniments for tea, and so on).

Settlements and Dwellings

Plots of land with nuclear villages of one or two houses were typical of the first Russian migrants to settle in the vast empty spaces of Siberia. These little groups of houses grew into large settlements. They emerged chiefly along the banks of rivers and lakes, which were the normal ways of communication, on water divides, and near highways or major trade routes.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries there were villages consisting of several hundred peasant holdings and stretching for several kilometers in the agricultural plains. In the taiga regions the size of the villages was smaller (20 or 30 to 100 or 200 holdings). There were also settlements (in the tundra) which numbered from one to five holdings. All around the old villages was a network of plots of granted land, new settlements and farmsteads.

Siberian settlements may be divided by their layout into the following groups: 1) a free, disorderly layout: the structures are grouped in what seem to be clusters, chiefly by smaller rivers or streams (the older type); 2) the single row settlement stretching along a river or a lake with the houses facing the water; 3) settlements of two rows of houses with a street in between, mostly lying along highways and roads: villages of this type either stretch in line, or have branching streets. The settlements of the first and second types are known as the older type in European Russia as well (the type with houses in one row is characteristic of the North). A typical feature of the Siberian settlement is the cattle enclosure, which was described earlier.

The picturesque setting of the Siberian settlement has been noted by many investigators. The austere taiga or mountainous landscape, the somewhat scattered arrangement of the buildings, the lack of crowding and the nature of the farmyards and architecture of the buildings make these settlements highly distinctive.

It was the custom in Siberia to build houses both along and across the streets, sometimes even at different angles. The house was built well inside the holding, with its front, and sometimes the side, facing the street. On the grounds, surrounded by a fence, stood a woodshed, hayloft, barn, and covered shed for carts; sometimes there was also a "klunya" for threshing, and sheds for the animals—sties for the smaller animals, stalls for the cows, and also open pens. The barns and bathhouses were built usually outside the fence—the former in the street and the latter in the vegetable garden or close to the river. There were not only farm buildings close to the main house. Apart from the holdings in the actual settlement, there were buildings on the plots of granted land, first temporary and later permanent; these included both dwellings and farm buildings. Some members of the family spent the whole of the working season on their land, returning to the settlement in the autumn. Sometimes there were dwellings and farm buildings near the apiaries and maral-enclosures, some way from the settlement.



General view of farmyard, Bukhtarmans.

There is a fair amount of variety in the layout of the Siberian village. One feature in common with the central regions was the 11-shaped farmstead. It is still called the enclosed holding. This type often consists of two cottages facing the street, behind which are farm buildings arranged around a square yard, open in the middle. This system is characteristic of the Moscow Oblast, the Volga and the Ural regions, and was evidently taken to Siberia from those parts. In the two-row system the enclosed yard is alongside the cottage. This type is found in western Siberia, although it is characteristic of the central regions of Russia (Upper Volga region in particular).

The complex two-row system, which can also be called a triple system (western Siberia), is very distinctive. The holding consists of a wooden farmhouse, yard and second farm building or second farmhouse (each building has a pitched roof, and all three stand side by side, perpendicular to the street). This type of layout is observed in the Ural region (dwellings of the Nizhny Tagil' workers in the 19th and 20th centuries). A characteristic feature of these farms is a series of platforms of different height used for a variety of purposes, and in summer used for sleeping. We should also note the farm with an unenclosed yard. The unenclosed yard with the farm buildings inside it is common in Siberia and is the characteristic Siberian layout. The single-line system of the North was not commonly used in Siberia, although most of the earlier immigrants came from the northern regions of Russia, where it was the basic type.

The principle type of dwelling among the Russian peasants in Siberia was the log hut on an underroom—i.e., with a basement. The logs were joined "corner-fashion" (in Old Russian "notch-fashion" [v oblo], "cup-fashion"). Less common was the joining of logs "by leaning," analogous to the Great Russian "hook-fashion;" the method of joining "by dovetailing"—i.e., without corner-notches—was used (primarily in putting up farm buildings).



"Single-rooftree" cottage. Bukhtarmans.

There is also evidence of the existence in Siberia of wattle-and-daub huts, and also adobe structures. These two types of farmhouses were used by the settlers arriving from the southern regions of Russia (in particular, from the Kurskaya and Vitebskaya Guberniyas. The simplest type of dwelling was the four-walled house without any hallway (which is sometimes called the "single rooftree"). A four-walled wooden house (with a peaked roof) which has a small hallway is sometimes called the ordinarka or "round house."

In the hallway a partition is used to separate the pantry and storeroom. The division of the dwelling into three parts (living quarters, hallway and storeroom), so typical of the older Russian peasant houses, did not become common in Siberia. On the other hand, an increase in living area was attained by combining two such houses or by intricate joining.

The system of combining two houses by means of a hallway was replaced towards the beginning of the 20th century by the five- and six-walled cottage. The five-walled cottage, which consisted of an elongated log structure divided down the middle by a fifth solid wall, was then divided into two halves—the izba [cottage] and the gornitsa [parlor]. The most complex structure is the so-called cross-shaped house, which was built by the wealthier peasants. The cross-shaped house was made of two five-walled houses. It was covered by a pointed roof with four sloping sides. The older houses of this kind were joined by a corridor. The later type of six-walled house constituted a large log house divided crossways by two solid walls into four rooms. These four rooms usually included two izbas and two gornitsas with a corridor, hallway and storeroom. The Siberian houses were usually covered with wooden roofs made of planks or shingles. The two-sided roof (on the older cottages and farm buildings) rested on beams, had "hens" supporting the gutters and a decoration on the gable. Rafter-type roofs have long been used.

For purposes of decoration, the ends of the rooftree in the old-fashioned peasant houses were shaped into birds' or horses' heads (as in the north of Russia); the ends of the top beams projecting beyond the front were also given artistic shapes. The fringes were decorated



"Ordinary" cottage. Bukhtarmans.

at the ends with perforations. The window frames were embellished with simple, but expressive carving, predominantly of a geometrical nature; semicircles or circles divided into radii are found on the old window frames (these are typical of the older cottages in the central zone). The houses, particularly those in suburban settlements and towns, were lavishly decorated with fretwork. The houses were usually painted (three or four different colors) and the window frames and shutters were usually different colors. Gates and porohways were decorated with carving. The older porohways, on columns with long staircases, were covered with a single-slope or double-slope roof and retained their resemblance to those found in northern Russia. Also to be found were built-on porches with enclosed steps. Balconies and terraces were also found in some houses.

The structures of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries reflected the gradual division into classes in the Siberian countryside. The two-story house and the cross-shaped house were found predominantly among the wealthier peasants, and only to some extent among the middle peasants; the five-wall type of house was usual among the latter; the poorer peasants chiefly had a four-walled house (single roof free or round). Some groups of newly arrived peasants lived in dugouts, half-dugouts, or wattle-and-daub huts for the first three or four years of their new lives.³⁷

In the Far North the very poor section of the population sometimes merely erected a yurt (Yakut-type tent), rather than a log hut. The sharp difference in the dwellings owned by the different classes also showed up in the size of the farmyard, the number and type of farm buildings on it, the internal layout of the dwelling and the construction of various

³⁷ V. A. Ostaf'yev. *Kak ustalvayutsya pereselentsy v Zapadnoy Sibiri* (How the settlers organized themselves in Western Siberia). Svedeniya o Sibiri, 1892, pp. 262-263.



Five-walled house. Bukharmans.

parts of it. For example, whereas glass was used by the wealthier peasants for their windows during the second half of the 19th century, the poorer people (particularly in the tundra) stretched an animal's bladder over the smaller windows in their dwellings, or sometimes put sheets of ice in them.

The distinctiveness of Siberian houses is brought out very clearly by the number and arrangement of the windows. It was usual to have two windows at the front (sometimes arranged nonsymmetrically) or only one window, and three or four windows in the five-wall type, whereas in the European settlements there were usually three windows, and five or six in the five-wall type (along the front, not counting the side windows), and they were arranged symmetrically.

As regards internal arrangement, the Russian Siberian cottage is close to the Great Russian cottage of the North (the stove is in one of the corners near the door, and its opening faces the windows at the front). Between the stove and the wall is an area for household needs; the entrance to the cellar used to be situated at this point. Diagonally opposite the stove was the front corner in which the icon shelf was located. Just at the entrance to the house were the *polati*—a wooden platform for sleeping—and the *golbets* or wooden bench, sometimes set up by the stove. The Russian stove was made of brick on a wooden covering, or sometimes it was made of clay. There were in addition tiled stoves which also heated the *gornitsa* or ceremonial side of the house. At the side of the Russian stove there was often a special hearth, which had been used at one stage to illuminate the house. The Russian-type stove, which was found universally, also became an object of everyday use for the local Siberian peoples, who began to lead a settled life in the pre-Revolutionary period (Buryats, Yakuts, etc.). It was only in a few places in the tundra that the Russian settlers did not have this type of stove; they were so expensive to build that only representatives of the



Cross-type house, Bukhtarmans.

clergy and the merchants could afford them, while the peasants heated their houses with a *chuval* or primitive hearth of the Yakut type.

As regards internal finish, the Siberian cottages also possessed specific features. The walls and other parts of the cottage were not always made of painted beams or planks; at the end of the 19th century it became customary to paint the inside of the cottage different colors, with oil paints; the stove area, benches and berths, partitions, and so on, were all painted. The richer peasants, furthermore, painted the floor and ceiling. Plastering and whitewashing of walls and ceilings became common at the beginning of the 20th century. A distinctive feature of the Siberian cottage is the painting of designs in oil paints on plaster or wood. The motifs are to some extent geometrical patterns—circles or wheels (for example, among the Semeys of the Transbaykal), but are mainly different types of plants, flowers and sometimes birds. The paintings contain several colors, and are often very bright. Apart from the traditional floral designs, cultural and even historical subjects are also found—hunting scenes, episodes from Yermak's campaign, and so on.

The furnishings in the two halves of the house varied. In the cooking area there were sometimes stationary benches, shelves for domestic needs (*gryadki* and *polavoshniki*),⁸⁸ and there was also movable home-made or bought furniture. The table was put in a front corner or else between the windows and the front wall. The custom of putting the table in the front corner was typical of most of the Russian regions, while the second method is more typical of the Archangel-Vologda North. It was sometimes possible to find cupboards and beds in this half. The layout of the clean half or living area came closer to that of the urban house.

⁸⁸ The *gryadki* are attached to the chimney, while the *polavoshniki* are above the benches.



Old cottage with bird-shaped roof-tree ornament.
Former Irkutskaya Guberniya.

Here we find movable furniture, sometimes with carved ornamentation and oil-painted designs, an abundance of flowers and curtains on the windows. A prominent place in this area was occupied by the bed, which was usually of local manufacture, with a pile of pillows in colored pillow-cases and a down quilt. Partitions were sometimes used to divide off special sections or so-called bedrooms, tea-room and hall. The Siberians kept their houses very clean; the floors were often washed and entirely covered with woven rugs. Characteristic furnishings were Tyumen' pile carpets and chests. The walls were hung with photographs and sometimes pictures.

The original settlers in Siberia illuminated their dwellings by means of a small hearth (on a grate in the stove) or an oil lamp, a clay or metal vessel containing melted fat with a rag wick. The torch, the old method of illuminating Russian peasant houses, did not become common in Siberia. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries there were also kerosene lamps in the Siberian countryside, but in the far-off regions (on account of transportation difficulties) they were used comparatively rarely; it was more common to have wax or tallow candles made at home.

Native Russian architecture exerted a great effect on the development of building among the Siberian peoples. The tribes who became settled built their settlements in the Russian style with streets of houses or yurts. Among the Yakuts, even in the middle of the last century, wooden Russian-type houses began to appear alongside the yurts and arasy. With the change to the wooden dwelling it became usual to install a Russian stove (certain groups of Khanty, Mansi, Evenks, northern Altays, and so on). The houses, and sometimes the yurts, were furnished in the same way as the Russian houses, and the wealthier peasants began furnishing their dwellings in the same way as the town houses. Glass was inserted in the windows instead of the former bladder or sheet of ice. The very poor people, who could



Old-type two-story house with balcony and galleries, Bukhtarman,.

not possibly afford to buy expensive glass, used bits of broken glass framed in birchbark. The log hut with its wooden floor, windows, Russian stove, and whitewashed walls ousted the primitive tent or half-dugout among a great number of Altays. The settlements of the northern Altays acquired the appearance of Russian settlements with their various farm buildings such as barns, bathhouses and cattle yards.

The Buryats of the Balaganskii and Irkutskii Uyezds of the Irkutskaya Guberniya in the 19th century built houses with stoves instead of the felt yurt at their winter encampments, although in the summer they still lived in yurts, but built Russian stoves with an awning on top in the open in order to bake their bread.

The Russian-type bathhouse and the custom of washing regularly became part of the daily life of the local population and was of great cultural benefit.

The acquisition of carpentry and cabinetmaking was a great step forward for those peoples who did not know these crafts or among whom they were only poorly developed. Alongside the primitive tools such as the knife, axe and so on, the Yakuts, Buryats and other peoples took over the plane, compass, plumbline, T-square and so on, which made it possible for them to use more advanced techniques.

Clothing

The clothing of the peasants was made from homespun wool, hemp and, to some extent, linen fabrics. Different types of Chinese cottons and cheap silks had become common in the Siberian countryside at a fairly early stage. Apart from these, Russian factory-made fabrics such as cotton and chintz were also known and became particularly common in the second half of the 19th century, ousting the homespun cloth. At the beginning of the 20th century, homespun cloth was used mainly for work clothes, sometimes for ceremonial clothing, but it was only the poorest peasants, particularly the newly arrived settlers, who made their everyday clothing from it. At this time bought cloth had become fairly well entrenched in the Siberian countryside. Apart from fabrics, they also used furs, skins, leather and suede for clothing to a greater extent than in the central regions of Russia.

As the capitalism developed, the fashions of the towns began to have an ever greater effect on the clothing of the rural population. References show that by the first half of the 19th century, peasant women had already taken to wearing blouses and skirts, that is to say urban-style clothing, and by the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20 centuries this type of clothing was normal. The old-fashioned native costume was retained mainly by the Old Believers—the Kerzhaks—who because of their religious views lived a conservative life and maintained their old customs, particularly as regards clothing. But even they began to take up the new, sometimes local types of clothing, and began extensive use of factory-made cloth. The clothing of the women belonging to the earlier immigrant population in western and eastern Siberia (including the Transbaykal) shows clearly marked traces of the north-Russian style. The chief items were a shirt with a straight hem, a sarafan [long full skirt] and a complicated headdress consisting of top, front piece and back piece.⁵⁹

The woman's shirt with straight hems was usually made in the old days of homespun; later the top part (or "sleeves") was usually made of factory-made cloth, to some extent of colored cloth, while the bottom part was made of linen, sometimes pot-dyed. The collar of the shirt was gathered and sewn onto the trimming or else had a small turned-down flap.

The second type of woman's shirt had a pelerine or koketka. It was worn both with a sarafan and a skirt, often becoming part of the underwear, the blouse being worn on top.

The sarafan worn over the shirt was called a kosoklinnik, dubas, dubasik (a term known also in the northeastern regions of European Russia), or dabinnik (a Siberian term from the name of the material—daba [Chinese blue cotton cloth—Ed.]), or a round or semicircular sarafan. This type was usually made of one-colored cloth. A very old version of it is a sarafan with an uncut front section (among the "Poles" it was the dabinnik, among the Bukhtarmans it was the lastovka sarafan, i.e., one with wedge-shaped panels inserted in the sides).

The second version of this sarafan with a seam at the front was common in Siberia. In the Altay, a characteristic feature of it is the absence of buttons or embroidery along the seam, so commonly found on this type of sarafan in northern Russia. Another, later style of sarafan, which apparently replaced the old type with wedges, was the round sarafan consisting of straight sections with straps, chiefly made of bought, patterned material. A type of sarafan with a top was also known in Siberia.

A supplementary item of female dress was the apron. The main types of apron are as follows: 1) sleeved, made of a strip of white linen across the shoulders, with sleeves (the ceremonial sleeved aprons were embroidered); 2) sleeved aprons with a pelerine with strips of cloth attached in gathers; the strips were usually made of bought, vividly patterned cloth. These sleeved aprons replaced the older form and were most commonly found; 3) an apron or pinafore tied around the waist and worn as part of the work clothing.

The data on the different types of women's clothing worn over the shirt and sarafan relate to the Angara region. They wore the kabatka

⁵⁹According to available data, this is observed in the Tomskaya Guberniya among the "Poles" and Bukhtarmans, and in the Transbaykal among the Semeyas. Sarafans and shirts with straight hems were much more widely distributed, particularly in the Yeniseyskaya and Tobol'skaya Guberniyas.

and khobatkha, i.e., a linen tunic-type garment with sleeves and an opening for the head, very similar to the south Russian *kastalan* or *naverschnik*. The "visiting" *kabotka* was made of linen, while the working variety was made of hemp, dyed a dark color and worn to work.

Also known were the *sushun* (shushun),⁶⁰ a damask jacket worn open at front, with a turned-down collar; and the *telogreya* [body-warmer], a sleeveless jacket with straps that went out of everyday use in the 19th century.

The headdress consisted of a *kichka* with a hard, oval or semioval section, which was often called the *shamshura*; a nape-piece, which was made of embroidered cloth, sometimes decorated with beads; and a *kokoshnik*, the top, soft part of the hat made of colorful fabric. The *kokoshnik* here corresponds to the "shirt" in the complex, *kichka*-type Russian headwear normally used. Similar headgear was known in the Vologda region.

The fact that the headgear of the Siberian women was the same as that of the northeast of European Russia is an indication of the origin of these groups of the Siberian population.

Apart from this type of headgear, the Siberians also had the *kokoshnik* proper, known as the *naklonka*, and the *povoynik*, a hat made of a light fabric with ribbons, and also the "nakolka."

Various types of kerchiefs were also worn and gradually changed, from trimmings to the headgear, to the basic headgear. The headgear worn by girls differed from that of married women, as was universal among Russians; the girls wore a knotted kerchief across the forehead, and a headband embroidered with beads; we should also mention the kerchief made of bits of multicolored cloth used to adorn the pigtail, and the white cap knitted from white linen thread (the cap was worn by girls in the Angara region).⁶¹ A hat with a cloth top and a fur ring, also known in the north of European Russia, was common.

The *sarafan*, and sometimes the outer clothing, was worn with a belt.

The jewelry worn by women and girls consisted of rings (signet rings of local manufacture are known among the *Semeys*), earrings and pendants, the quality and lavishness of which depended on the wealth of their owner. Of the pendants we find the following: 1) amber necklaces, common among many of the earlier immigrant groups; 2) a bead choker (the Altay); 3) the *gaytan*—a string of flat or round beads (Angara region, the Altay). The bead *gaytans* are also noted among the older chest adornments worn by "Polish" and *Bukhtarman* men.

Balls of swan- or duck-fluff suspended from the earrings were also known (among the "Poles" and the population of the Angara). This type of adornment, like the *gaytan*, is more typical of the southern Russian regions.

In certain parts of Siberia female attire included trousers, which was not the case among the Russians in the old days. Life in Siberian conditions, the custom of riding horseback, and the example of neighboring *Buryat* and *Kazakh* women brought about the use of this item of women's clothing.

The male costume consisted of a shirt, belt, trousers, hat, outer garment and footwear. The old type of men's shirt is the tunic-type linen Russian-style shirt without a collar, with a slit usually on the left side, but sometimes on the right.

⁶⁰ This old term was used by the Russians to mean a *sarafan* (in the north) or a tunic-type garment for formal occasions (in the south).

⁶¹ A similar form of headdress is rarely found among the Russians. It has been observed in the *Vologodskaya Oblast* as the hat for a girl who is engaged.



Old-fashioned clothing worn by different Russian groups in Siberia.

1—men's clothing, Bukhtarmans; 2—men's festive clothing, Bukhtarmans; 3—women's "round" sarafan, Bukhtarmans; 4—men's clothing, Semeys; 5—women's clothing and headgear, Semeys; 6—girls' clothing, Semeys; 7—women's clothing, Russian population of Yakutiya; 8—men's clothing, Russian population of Yakutiya; 9—women's clothing, Kolyma Russians; 10—women's clothing, Ust' Russians.

A feature of the older festive shirts worn by the Russians on the Altay is the copious embroidery at the front, calico and even lace (along the sleeves and hem). At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the kosovorotka or Russian blouse with an upright collar and a shirt with the top section made of calico (and among the rich, made of a brightly patterned woolen cloth) became common.

The men's shirts, observed in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya at the beginning of the 20th century as "old-timers' shirts" were made with straight hems and a turned-down collar. Another type common in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya had seams on the shoulders and strips sewn onto them and a turned-down collar. Both these types are typical of the Belorussians and some of the Ukrainians, and their appearance is due to Belorussian and Ukrainian groups among the settlers.

The trousers, outside which the shirt was worn with a belt, were called *porty* or *gachi* (old Slavic words). Apart from normal Russian-style trousers (not too loosely cut) they also wore wide trousers known as *chembary* and *sharovary*. A Siberian peculiarity is the use of sheepskin, goat hair, leather and suede for making trousers. The old-type leather trousers, which were part of the Kerzhak costume in the Altay, were embroidered with tambour designs "in the Kirgiz style."

The headgear consisted of felt hats with a conical, hemispherical or cylindrical top (this shape is similar to the *greshnevik* of the central regions). They wore felt hats with brims and straw hats in the summer. Hats for festive occasions were decorated with drake or peacock feathers. At the end of the 19th century the peaked cap became common. Winter hats were greatly varied; there were some with a square base, some were semicircular with fur edging, others were fur caps with long earflaps. In their belts, which were woven or made of leather, the men carried knives in sheaths, tobacco pouches and a hook for cleaning their pipes.

The outer garment worn by both men and women had a great deal in common in its cut, differing only in detail. Of sleeveless garments worn in Siberia at the end of the 19th century, the *yepancha* or fur cloak was common. There were also garments with sleeves, but they were also worn over the shoulders and tied at the neck (women's festive fur coats in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, and robes made of colored fabric worn by the *Semeys* in the Transbaykal). The chief type of outer garment (for both sexes) was a form of *kaftan* made of homewoven cloth and used to work in, while for the poorer peasants it was often the only outer garment they had. A shorter garment of this type was called the *tunic*. Male and female clothing with a cutout back and gathers, made of bought fabric, was usually reserved for festive occasions and only worn during the workday by the wealthier peasants; it was usually double-breasted with a clasp on the left-hand side, as is typical of the central Great Russian regions. There were also single-breasted *kaftans*, for example, the *Bukhtarma* type, which was always worn with a wide girdle, and others. A single-breasted coat was the *labashan* or *azyam*, woven from camel hair (similar in cut to the Central Asian robe), which apparently reached the Russians via the Tatars.

There was a great variety of winter fur-lined clothing. Apart from the Russian coats made of sheepskin, the *yaga* or *dokha* worn on top of the ordinary winter clothing was common. The *dokha* is a single-breasted straight garment made of dog, goat, reindeer or maral skin with the hair left on. It was usual in Siberia to wear fur garments acquired from neighboring peoples; for example, Evenk clothing, which was warm and light, was worn by hunters, trappers and gold-miners. The Ust' Russians,

Kolymchans, Markovans and other peoples wore the kukhlyanka (a coat with fur both on the outside and inside), and the suede parka.

The footwear was made of leather or fur. Bast footwear was not common in Siberia, but it was possible to find it among the newly arrived settlers.

The normal footwear for both sexes was the so-called charki, chary, or cherki,⁶² a kind of low leather shoe worn with stockings, either cotton or knitted. Russian boots were worn on festive occasions. A lighter type of boot was worn for work, and this footwear was characteristic of Siberian peasants, made from rawhide or teal-skin with an internal seam and then turned inside out. The wide tops of the boots came up to the knee and were secured with straps around the ankle and above the calf. In summer they were worn with foot cloths, and in winter with cotton puttees. Soft footwear was also in use, for example, the Yakut torbasa and sary, and the Buryat and Evenk unty and other types acquired from neighboring tribes. Apart from fur and leather footwear, felt boots were also made and worn in the winter. Felt boots (valenki), known as pimy in western Siberia and katanki in eastern Siberia, became common in the 19th century, evidently through the influence of the newly arrived



Men's old-type clothing. Former Tomskaya Guberniya, Zmeinogorskiy Uyezd.

settlers. In some places the old settlers did not know how to make valenki.

Clothing also reflected differences in age and class and was subdivided into clothing for everyday use and for festive occasions. Both the work clothes and ceremonial dress had their own distinguishing features. For example, the trappers, apart from ordinary clothing worn next to the skin, had special clothing, such as buckskin breeches covered with black homespun with a large leather pocket, a fur hat with a piece of cloth sewn on at the back and earflaps, a "dog collar" made of squirrel tails, worn around the neck, boots and mittens. The term kokol'dy [mittens] is evidently of local Evenk origin. Ordinary knitted gloves were worn inside the mittens and could be made of leather, buckskin or dogskin. Gloves were also worn in Siberia. A special item of men's clothing used for work was the linen komarnik (a tunic-type shirt protecting the wearer from mosquitoes).

⁶² These are equivalent to the koty of the central regions.

Clothing also showed the economic inequality of the inhabitants of the countryside. The richer villagers made extensive use of silk, sometimes brocade, and factory-made woolen cloth (particularly for ceremonial occasions) apart from the cheaper fabrics; coats were lined with squirrel and trimmed with the other expensive furs; the richer villagers wore shop-bought ornaments made of precious metals. The poorer members of the village wore clothing made of the cheaper fabrics, often spun at home.

The town had a strong influence on peasant clothing, particularly men's attire. The clothing worn by workers, which differed considerably from peasant clothing both in the fabric used and the cut, and also to some extent in stylishness, began to reach the countryside more frequently. At the beginning of the 20th century, the holiday dress of the miner consisted of a wide shirt worn outside wide trousers and belted with a wide belt into which the mittens were stuffed, a beaver-trimmed hat, a cloak on the shoulders and kneeboots with metal heeltaps which made a noise when he danced. The workers from the mines often used the clothing of the local indigenous population as work clothing; the employer equipped them, apart from skis and sleds, with Evenk garments.

As a whole, there is a preponderance of north-Russian features in the dress of the older inhabitants, and a clearly marked resemblance to the North and Upper Volga region in that of the Old Believers (Bukhtarmans, "Poles" and Semeys). There are clear points of similarity with the Ural regions, the population of which was constantly in touch with the Siberians (here the influence was mutual, it seems). We also find more complex features indicating the great variety of the settlers. For example, in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, apart from items of north-Russian dress (shirt, sarafan, telogreya, etc.) we find Belorussian and Ukrainian elements (men's and women's shirts with straight hems and a turned-down collar, and men's shirts with shoulder embroidery), plus features of the southern Russian complex. Many original styles of clothing unknown to the Russian central regions, for example, the dokha and wide loose trousers, were developed in Siberia. Many local types of fur and suede clothing (particularly among the work clothes of the tundra inhabitants) were taken over.

Borrowing many of the convenient local forms of dress, the Russians, in turn, had a great effect on the clothing of the Siberian peoples, thereby helping to improve techniques in sewing and cutting Russian clothes. Many of the local tribes only came to know about clothing worn next to the body and cloth outer clothing when the Russians had occupied Siberia.

G. M. Popov described the Yakuts at the beginning of the 20th century in the following way: "... It is now very rare to find a Yakut dressed in his original animal-skin clothing; the Yakuts now wear clothing sewn from factory-made cloth.... The men now usually wear outer clothing consisting of a coat or blouse girdled with a belt, wide trousers and kneeboots; in the summer they wear a peaked cap and in the winter a Russian fur hat." The Yakuts began making Russian-style clothing; the richer Yakuts bought silk, velvet and Russian boots and shoes. Russian clothing, particularly for men, began to be worn by the Altays. The Buryats made their robes from Russian fabric and Evenk women began making skirts in the Russian style.

The Russian influence on the Evenks was particularly marked in the gold-mining regions; in the Bodaybo region the Evenks wore trousers, shirts and jackets made of calico, satin and other bought fabrics. Among the Khakasy the men's and women's shirts still retained certain traces of their Russian origin. Russian footwear and headgear became widespread in Siberia.

Oral Literature

The folk poetry of the Russians in Siberia is an inseparable part of the poetry of the entire Russian people. It contains all the forms and genres of Russian folk poetry created at different times by the Russian people.

The studies made by pre-revolutionary, and particularly Soviet ethnographers and specialists in folklore, are convincing evidence that the regionalists are wrong in asserting that the Russians in Siberia differ from European Russians in mentality, and that having crossed the Urals they forgot or distorted the older traditions and songs, and created nothing worthy of attention. In actual fact the Russian population of Siberia very carefully preserved its traditional songs and stories taken there by the first Russian settlers—peasants and Cossacks—by handing them down from generation to generation.

S. I. Gulyayev, who spent his whole life studying the everyday culture and poetry of the Russians in southern Siberia, wrote back in 1845: "...the settlers took with them, as the sacred heritage of their ancestors, sayings, stories and songs of ancient times, which were handed down from clan to clan and are retained to this very day in the memory of the people, most probably without great changes."⁶² It is indicative that it was just in Siberia that people preserved and recorded the older Russian songs, stories and customs, already forgotten by this time by most of the population of European Russia. But, naturally, the Siberians could not play the part, and never in fact played the part of mere keepers of ancient Russian poetry. They were active participants in the never-ending vital process of folklore, making their contribution to the all-Russian treasure house of folk art.

The basic collection of oral Siberian folklore comprises the most popular and universal Russian songs and stories. The never-ending stream of settlers, both voluntary immigrants and exiled prisoners, took to Siberia new songs and stories, which became firmly entrenched in the local repertoire. The political exiles had a great effect on the development of the oral folklore of the Siberians, enriching it with new ideas and images.

Many of the songs, *chastushki*,⁶³ stories and traditions were created by the Siberians themselves. They tell of the life of the working population of Siberia, its family and social customs, and paint a picture of the Siberian countryside. The favorite heroes in traditional Siberian folklore are courageous, enterprising, resourceful and hard-working people who face difficulties and bravely withstand the severe climate and their social oppressors. Such were the valiant Russian pioneers who first made their way through the distant, unknown territories and exploited the tremendous expanses of land. The best of the Siberian works gained nationwide renown and have become part of the all-Russian treasury of folklore. Everyone knows, for example, the wonderful Siberian songs: "Through the Wild Steppes of the Transbaykal," "The Glorious Sea," "Sacred Baykal," "Through the Dense and Unknown Taiga," and many others.

The Siberians' love for songs has been shown by many ethnographers and collectors of oral poetry. Skillful songmakers and storytellers were

⁶² Gulyayev. *Altayskiye kamenshchiki* (The stonemasons of the Altay), *Sanktpeterburgskiy vedomosti* (St. Petersburg News), St. Petersburg, 1845, No. 20-30.

⁶³ A brief song in quatrain form, usually humorous or satirical, but sometimes romantic.—Ed.

particularly valued by the men of the fishing and hunting cooperatives. Just as in the European North, the cooperatives used to employ the services of a good storyteller, and sometimes gave him an extra portion of the catch. That is what the fishermen on Lake Baykal used to do, for example.⁶⁵ Many such remarkable masters of folklore—reciters, singers, storytellers—are known in Siberia. Examples are the Altay reciter Leontiy Tupitsyn, from whom S. I. Gulyayev⁶⁶ recorded many lays and historical songs, a woman storyteller of the Upper Lena region, N. O. Vinokurova,⁶⁷ another from the Tunka Valley in the Transbaykal, Ye. I. Sorokovikov (Magay),⁶⁸ and so on.

The folklore of the Russian Siberians was also enriched through their close association and friendly ties with the non-Russian nationalities. The best heroic images created by the different peoples of Siberia and the numerous traditional stories and legends also became part of the Russian folklore. The exchange of spiritual values was just as useful as the exchange of economic experience and practical knowledge; Russian poems and songs became a firm part of the repertoire of most of the non-Russians, added greatly to it, and helped to improve the outlook of those peoples. It is a very interesting fact, for example, that the greatest Siberian storyteller and expert in the traditional fairytales, Ye. I. Sorokovikov, used to tell Russian stories in the Buryat language and Buryat stories in Russian.

It was first and foremost the Old Believers among the population (particularly the Semeys) and the Cossacks who preserved traditional Russian folklore in Siberia. Up to the October Revolution the ancient customs and rituals—calendrical⁶⁹ festivals and family events such as weddings and burials⁷⁰—were still practiced in Siberia almost everywhere. They were the same Russian customs and rituals as were observed in European Russia, except that in a number of cases there was adaption to local conditions (for example, the agricultural calendar). The North Russian tradition can be traced most clearly in the rituals (as in all the epic poetry of the Siberians). For example, we commonly find in Siberia carols with the refrain "vinograd'ye" which is a distinguishing feature of the North Russian carols and is not found among the southern or central Great Russians. Ethnographers who have described the wedding ceremony in Siberia have also observed its closeness to the North Russian ritual. It contains the same basic stages—matchmaking, agreement, presentation of the bride, girls' bachelor party (where the bride's hair is unplaited),

⁶⁵ *Skazki iz raznykh mest Sibiri* (Fairytales from Different Parts of Siberia). Edited by M. K. Azadovskiy, Irkutsk, 1928, p. 134.

⁶⁶ *Byliny i pesni yuzhnoy Sibiri, sobraniye S. I. Gulyayeva* (Lays and Songs from Southern Siberia, collection by S. I. Gulyayev). Edited by V. I. Chicherov, Novosibirsk, 1952.

⁶⁷ M. Azadovskiy. *Skazki Verkhnelenskogo Kraya*. (Fairy Tales from the Verkhnelenskiy Kray), Issue 1, Irkutsk, 1925.

⁶⁸ *Skazki Magaya* (E. I. Sorokovikova). *Zapis' L. Eliasova i M. Azadovskogo* (Fairy Tales of Magay, E. I. Sorokovikov). Recorded by L. Eliasov and M. Azadovskiy. Edited by M. Azadovskiy, Leningrad, GIKL, 1940.

⁶⁹ The Siberian folk calendar was specially studied by A. Makarenko. See his summary work: "Sibirskiy narodny kalendar' v etnograficheskoy otnoshenii" ("Siberian folk calendar from the ethnographic point of view"), *Zap. RGO*, otd. etnografii, Vol. XXXVI, 1913.

⁷⁰ The burial laments of the Lena were recorded and studied by M. K. Azadovskiy: *Lenskiye prichitaniya* (Lena Laments). Chita, 1922.

wedding, pancakes at mother-in-law's and the taking away of the bride. The marriage ceremony includes a large number of songs and prayers.

Most of the Siberian wedding songs are versions of the all-Russian (or more often Northern Russian) songs: "The White Swan Stayed Behind," "Gather Ye, Gather Ye," "My Braid, My Little Braid," "I Did Not Know the Matchmaker Came to Me," "Oh, Falcons, Falcons," and others. A large part in the Siberian wedding (just as in the European North) was played by the master of ceremonies.⁷¹ We should also point out the specific features distinguishing the Siberian festivals. Games and contests requiring strength and agility were very popular among the Russian population in Siberia. For example, indispensable amusements on Siberian religious holidays were horse-riding contests and wrestling. The "snow camp," a purely Siberian game depicted in Surikov's famous picture "The Capture of the Snow Camp," was almost universal in Siberia during Shrovetide. The game was accompanied by the donning of masks and a special carnival procession.⁷² Theatrical performances were also organized during Lent.

The Siberians always felt themselves to be an integral part of the Russian people. They took particular care to preserve stories and songs telling of the heroic chapters in Russian history and the exploits of Russian patriots. The epic tradition was maintained almost everywhere in Siberia. Most scholars of this period believe that the first collection of *byliny* in Russia, entitled "Ancient Russian Verse Collected by Kirsha Danilov" (*Drevnerossiyskiye stikhotvoreniya, sobrannyye Kirsheyu Danilovym*), was compiled in Western Siberia. S. I. Gulyayev⁷³ compiled a large collection of folk tales and historical songs from Western Siberia.

The Siberian tradition in epic poetry is also closely connected with the North Russian tradition. The closeness between Siberian lays and the North Russian ones shows up both in content and in poetic and linguistic features. In Siberia, just as in the Onega region, people retained the fullest versions of the lays, and the whole of the epic "ceremonial nature" was carefully kept (repetition, "standard passages," traditional beginnings and endings, and so on). The closeness between Siberian and Northern Russian lays was pointed out by the first person to study the Siberian epics, S. I. Gulyayev. He explained it by the fact that the earlier populations of Siberia came from the Northern Russian guberniyas. "The original Russian population of those parts," he wrote with regard to the Altay, "was mainly formed from inhabitants from the Olonetskaya, Volgodskaya, Novgorodskaya, Archangel and Permskaya Guberniyas." As they

⁷¹For a detailed description of the Siberian wedding with songs and laments see, for example, S. I. Gulyayev, *Byliny i pesni yuzhnoy Sibiri*, pp. 201-247, and also an article by N. O. Osipov entitled: "Ritual sibirskoy svad'by" "The Ritual of the Siberian Wedding" (*The Living Past [Zhivaya starina]*, Issue 1, 1893), etc.

⁷²The capture of a snow camp is described by A. Makarenko (op cit.), M. V. Krasnozhenova, "Vztyatiye snezhnogo gorodka v Yeneiseyskoy gubernii," *Sib. zhivaya starina* ("The capture of a snow camp in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya," *The Living Past in Siberia*, II, 1924), A. Novikov "Neskol'ko zametok o sibirskoy maslyanitse" (Some notes on Siberian Shrovetide), *Ibid.*, VIII-IX, 1929.

⁷³The lays of Eastern Siberia were recorded by M. A. Zensinov, N. Protasov, A. Makarenko, I. A. Chekaninsky, and others. V. G. Tan-Bogoraz recorded the lays and historical songs from the Kolyma.

to southern Siberia, "they took with them the legendary stories of Grand Duke Vladimir and his warrior-knights, which have been handed down from generation to generation and are preserved to this very day in exactly the same way as many rituals and customs already forgotten in other places."¹⁴

Epics dealing with Il'ya Muromets were great favorites in Siberia. The knight Alyosha Popovich, who has often been given an unflattering interpretation in European Russia, has maintained his original heroic character in Siberia; the lay of Alyosha and Tugarin, practically forgotten in European Russia, has been retained in Siberia. In the Siberian folk tales, the mighty knights of Holy Russia are sometimes given local characteristics; they hunt in the dense forest for Siberian beasts, ride through the almost impenetrable taiga and so on.

Earlier ballads (16th-17th centuries), such as the "Capture of Kazan," "Kostryuk," ballads of Yermak, Skopin, Stepan Razin and others have been recorded in Siberia. The Siberian Chronicle is evidence of the widespread nature of songs about Yermak in Siberia.

It is no accident that the most complete version of the ballad describing Yermak's heroic campaign in Siberia is contained in the Danilov collection. Songs and stories of Stepan Razin are common in Siberia. Practically everyone knows the song of Razin's "Son," which is the most socially significant of those in the Razin cycle expressing faith in a rapid victory by the people. Razin is interpreted in Siberia, as in the Volga region, as the leader and spokesman of the poor. "The fame of his campaigns and of his good life was spread through the whole of Russia. Together with the vagrants, the free people came to him of their own accord," it says in the legend of Razin.¹⁵ The legend goes on to relate how a man employed to tow barges along the Volga left his employer and was honorably received by Razin. The images of Yermak and Razin embodied the social ideals of the working people and their desire for social justice.

The great respect of the Siberians for historical ballads is also shown by the fact that some of them were incorporated into religious rituals and performances.

A performance entitled "Shrovetide," performed as a dramatization of the song of Kostryuk, has been recorded in the Tavdinskiy Rayon.¹⁶ S. I. Gulyayev states that at the Loktev plant those playing the game of capturing the snow camp sang a song about Suvorov. On the Kolyma the song of Skopin was sung at Yuletide as the "Vinograd'ye."

Siberian peasants and Cossacks made up ballads about local events. Two such songs (not counting the songs of Yermak's Siberian campaign, which is also Siberian proper) are already found in Danilov's collection: "The Campaign of the Selenga Cossacks," "In the Siberian Ukraine, on the Daur Side." Of particular interest is another song telling of the hardship involved in occupying the Amur region, and of how the Cossacks at the mouth of the Komara—

¹⁴S. I. Gulyayev. *Sibirskiye krugovyye pesni* (Siberian Round Songs). Izv. Akad. Nauk. St. Petersburg, 1853, p. 163.

¹⁵A. Makarenko. *Sibirskiye pesennyye stariny* (Siberian Songs of Old), p. 36. [Reference incomplete in original].

¹⁶N. Ye. Onchukov. "Tri varianta pesni o Kostryuke, Sb. old russk. yaz. i slovesn. "Three versions of the song of Kostryuk," Coll. Department of Russian Language and Philology, Vol. 1, 1928, No. 3.

On the glorious river Amur
A fortress was built
And a strong fortress was built
And an arcade was made,
And the shops were of stone.⁷⁷

The Amur Cossacks have recorded a song about their enforced migration to the Amur:

And we were settled forcibly on the Amur

We were shoved in the marshes and told "this is your village."⁷⁸

The wealth of the fairytale tradition in Siberia can be judged by the collections of M. K. Azadovskiy (mentioned above), M. V. Krasnozhenova, and the various local editions of folk tales (particularly those edited by the Russian Geographical Society). Practically all the well-known Russian folk tales have been recorded in Siberia, often in very complete and artistic versions. Among them are many fairytales which embody the belief of the Russian people in the triumph of justice and in man's victory over hostile elemental and social forces. As has been mentioned, the master storyteller of this genre was Ye. I. Sorokovikov. His recorded stories include such popular Russian tales as "Ivan Tsarevich and the Gray Wolf," "The Magic Ring," "The Milk of Wild Beasts," "Give Up the Person Whose Home You Don't Know," "Yerushan Lazarevich," and others. Siberian satirical tales are marked by their great social significance and mordant humor. For example, in the tale "The Cruel Lady" in Krasnozhenova's collection, the role of the lady is played by Catherine II and the tale is therefore not only a satire on the landowners, but on Russian autocracy. The higher church dignitaries are wittily and maliciously unmasked in Sorokovikov's stories "The Unsad Monastery" (a variation of the well-known Russian tale) and "Has the Archpriest Seen a Human Soul?" The hero of the satirical and many of the fairytales is a clever, resourceful and adventurous Siberian peasant or soldier.

Siberian folk tales provide us with a great deal of information on the way of life of the pre-Revolutionary Siberian peasants. The tales very often tell of hunters who wander through impassable taiga or mountain passes, are well acquainted with all the tracks, surrounding objects and the habits of the wild animals. The tales often describe gold-miners, vagrants or fugitives—typical figures in Siberia in the old days, which was a land of penal servitude (the image of the vagrant and fugitive was vividly portrayed in Siberian songs as well).

The heroes live in little wooden houses furnished in the Siberian style, and hunt local fur-bearing animals, and so on. When going out to hunt or going off on long trips, they always put on fur boots and their mothers or wives bake them pies for the journey; the slandered wife, driven from home by her husband, builds her own small house in the forest and lives in it with her son. In one version of the folk tale "The Magic Ring," the hero does not buy a dog and a cat, as is usual, but a dog and a sable. It is possible to find many such characteristic features of Siberia in these tales.

⁷⁷ Drevniye rosslyaskiye stikhotvoreniya, sobrannyye Kirshayu Danilovym (Ancient Russian Verse, collected by K. Danilov), Moscow, GIKL, 1936, p. 220.

⁷⁸ A. P. Georgiyevskiy. "Russikiye na Dal'nem Vostoke," vyp. IV, Fol'klor Primor'ya, "Russians in the Far East," Issue IV, Folklore of the Maritime District. Vladivostok, 1929, p. 86.

Siberian songs are also rich and varied. S. I. Gulyayev, the first person to make any attempt to classify them, singled out a large group of "round songs." This group, which included most of the lyrical songs, was subdivided into songs accompanying games and "rounds" proper. "These songs," he pointed out, "are known everywhere and are sung during leisure time and family celebrations; they are entertainment for both old and young, who use them to express the feelings and aspirations of young people and of love."⁷⁹ Gulyayev points out that these songs are sung between Easter and Trinity, and later in the autumn during "cabbage time," ploughing celebrations and evening gatherings, and from Christmas to Shrovetide. In the summer the songs were usually sung during the harvesting. Apart from the rounds there are also "solos."

A. Makarenko⁸⁰ gives a more detailed classification of the songs. He points out that the population itself subdivides nonritual songs into several categories. The largest group is composed of solo or drawn-out songs; these, which are not associated with rituals or games, are sung at any time. The second group is composed of songs accompanying games, which are divided, in turn, into "group," "home" or "bathhouse," which are songs of a mixed nature sung by girls during autumn and winter jobs in the house or bathhouses.

The content of most of the solo songs is normal for Russian traditional peasant singing. They are love songs containing images of a kind young man and a pretty girl, or else describe how the lovers have to part because the young man is going off to faraway lands to earn his living, or is going into the service of the Tsar, or else how they part because of class distinction; the beloved has to marry another man she does not love, but who is rich; the parents of a girl want to marry her off to someone else, and so on. A large group comprises songs describing the difficult life led by women in large patriarchal families. The game songs often describe occupational activities, for example, the song "Time to Plough the Land" describes all the operations involved in growing peas right from the moment they are sown to the final cooking of them in a pie.

Siberian songs are rich and melodic. N. Protasov says that when Rimskiy-Korsakov looked through the songs he had collected in Siberia, he observed in them "fragments of ancient pure Russian melody, which are a valuable contribution to literature on folklore."⁸¹ The melodies of the Siberian songs are mainly typical of the Great Russian songs.

In a number of places in Siberia we find a marked influence of Ukrainian songs (at places where there were many Ukrainian migrants). For example, A. Makarenko recorded a song about "Karnalyuk" (i.e., Karmelyuk) in the Yeniseysk region and also "The Sun Shines Beyond Siberia", one of the best known Ukrainian songs, in subject and ideological content similar to Russian songs of the Razin revolt. The influence of Ukrainian ballad tradition is particularly strong in the Maritime Region, where the bulk of the population was Ukrainian.

Specifically Siberian songs are those describing the heavy forced labor and escape from jail (for example, "Lantsov Has Broken Out of Jail") or from convict labor, and vagrants who take the "narrow wild beast's path"

⁷⁹ S. I. Gulyayev. *O Sibirskikh krugovykh pesnyakh* (Siberian Round Songs). *Otech. zap.*, 1839, Vol. 3, p. 58.

⁸⁰ A. Makarenko. *Sibirskiye pesennyye stariny*, pp. 3-4.

⁸¹ N. Protasov. *Kak ya zapisyval narodnyye pesni*, (How I recorded folk songs), *Izv. VSORGO*, 1904, Vol. XXIV, p. 132.

home, to their dearly beloved families. The songs describe the vagrants sympathetically as brave and freedom-loving. The image of the vagrant is often interpreted as a fighter for freedom and justice. The hero of the song suffers for a common cause, and is exiled "not for drunkenness or belligerence or for stealing at night," but "for the honest peasant mir."⁸² The songs give a true picture of the sorry fate of the convict and exile and tell of the assistance given them by the local population:

The peasant girls fed me bread

The boys gave me tobacco.

This is in full keeping with the Siberian custom of setting up special shelves near their houses, on which bread and other products were placed overnight for fugitives.

In the second half of the 19th century, romances and musical settings of the works of Russian poets became as common in Siberia as in Russia proper. The revolutionary song brought to Siberia by the political exiles began to come more and more to the fore in the Siberian repertoire. The *chastushka* describing local life began to be heard all round.

We should mention particularly the poetry and songs of the Siberian workers. The earliest of those recorded describe the everyday life of workers recruited for the state-operated factories. The militaristic way the work was organized at the factories is described in the song "Oh, how the work of the miner... gives everyone trouble."⁸³ This song is one of the earliest worker's songs to come down to us (it goes back probably to the 18th century) and gives an idea of the initial stage of folk poetry among the Russian workers. The song describes in detail and with great knowledge the working arrangements at the Zmeinogorsk Mine, the difficult norm which the workers had to fulfill and the tools they used. The concluding words of the song are as follows:

We will go along the street

Loudly singing songs

How the bosses "love" us.

These lines indicate the popularity among the workers of songs exposing the factory bosses and the relationship between the workers and the management. The same picture is conjured up by the song "When We Are Washing By Hand." They reflect the dissatisfaction of the workers with existing arrangements, and show at the same time that they did not know how to improve the situation.

We don't know who to complain to, except God,

But he's too far above, and the Tsar's too far away.

The most frequent solution which the serfs resorted to (as well as the convicts and exiles working in the Siberian mines) was escape. "A characteristic feature of serfdom at the factories was the fact that a type of runaway serf was created at this period," wrote Mamin-Sibiryak. The workers' songs often tell of the escape of workers.

The workers are pleased when the "winter and frost" passes and it becomes possible to run away.

⁸² Literally, "world," historically the peasant commune of pre-Revolutionary Russia.—Ed.

⁸³ This song was recorded the first time by Ye. I. Paramonov and published by him in the *Tomskiy gubernskiy vedomosti* [Tomskaya Guberniya News] (1865, Nos. 17-18). Variations of it are given in V. I. Semevskiy's work, *Iz istorii obyazatel'nogo gornogo truda v Rossii* (On the History of Compulsory Mining in Russia), Irkutsk, 1897.

We will tie up the guards,
We will kill the sentries
We will seize all their guns,
And run away to the forest.⁸⁴

The image of the fugitive avenger became popular in the workers' songs and verse. This image is particularly well developed in the workers' tales.

The narratives of the Altay workers, recorded by A. A. Misyurev,⁸⁵ give us a shocking picture of the work and everyday life before the Reform in the Altay mines. They tell of exhausting labor, difficult norms, and harsh treatment suffered at the hands of the overseers. The management not only did not try to ease the burdens of the workers; but even punished them cruelly for attempts to make improvements or introduce new devices.

The workers were flogged for any reason at all, or without any reason. There was an official system of punishments: workers were made to run the gauntlet, were flogged on the horse with a knout and so on. The workers "ran away and later began to mutiny" because of this life. Some of the tales tell of the mutinies and how the workers settled accounts with particularly objectionable employers. The stories of this retribution show the hatred that the miners felt for their oppressors, and also, of course, their immaturity—they still thought that all evil stemmed directly from the bosses and that if their cruel employers were replaced by other kinder people, life would become easier. The ending to a story describing the killing of the odious employer Pirozhkov by a worker is typical. The worker accepts his execution "on behalf of the people. . ." "and the life of the workers, it is true, was improved. A new manager was sent from the mining corps and he was more lenient."⁸⁶

The hatred of the workers for the arduous, forced labor is combined in these stories with a respect for the skill of the workingman and for an ability to do many things. "What a worker he was! There wasn't a single job he couldn't do. They worked him to death at the sieve," it says of a talented worker who was destroyed by a wicked overseer. It is indicative that it is the best workers who protest and lead a campaign for social justice. "That's what he was like, Father Olen! He worked hard, was afraid of nothing and sought the truth," that is how one of the fugitives is described.

The tales of fugitive worker-avengers, based on actual fact, have many motives in common with the "robber stories;" the hero cannot be killed by bullets (only by a copper button), fetters fall away from him, he usually manages to escape from jail by asking for a drink of water and then hiding in the pitcher, and so on. But all these stories are made specific and contain the same details of everyday life of the serfs as in the personal accounts.

At every factory there were tales of their own fugitives. In Gornaya Kolyvan' they told of the twelve Belousov brothers; at the Loktev factory

⁸⁴ *Peśni i u-stnyye rasskazy rabochikh staroy Sibiri* (Songs and Oral Tales of the Workers in Old Siberia). Compiled by A. Gurevich. Irkutsk, 1940, p. 19.

⁸⁵ *Legendy i byll. Skazaniya altayskikh masterovykh* (Fact and Fiction Tales Told by the Altayan Craftsmen). Recordings, essay, and notes by A. A. Misyurev, edited by Prof. M. K. Azadovskiy, Novosibirsk, 1938.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

they told of Krivolutskiy, and so on. There is much in common in all these stories. The fugitives are usually former workers, and what is more, the best workers; they are "jacks of all trades." They run away, unable to stand the oppression and harsh treatment. Having become "brigands," they rob and kill only the managers, merchants and government officials. They never harm ordinary people, but help them in every way. For example, Krivolutskiy rode through the villages in the daytime and made a note, where he saw the children badly dressed, then during the night he would bring children's clothes and leave them at the peasant huts. The fugitives sought freedom, hence "there was respect for them from the people." The people never gave them away, and helped them to hide.

The legends of Selezén' the Brigand indicate the realization that the struggle required organization of the workers. Selezén' not only robbed the "passing merchants and factory officials," but tried to organize and incite the peasants to revolt. He went round the villages, treated the men and impressed upon them: "Hey you clumsy peasants, you work all day and night, and who for? You don't know yourselves. You ought to give it all up and say that's enough; we don't want any more; and the officials, bailiffs and foremen you should squash like bedbugs."

The workers of the Altay created the legend of the keepers of mineral wealth, and the Father of the Mines, who helped workers, warned them of approaching avalanches, and so on.

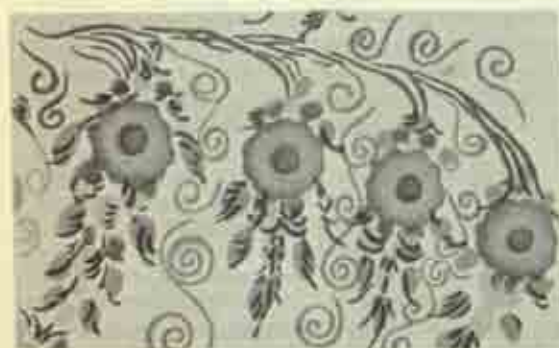
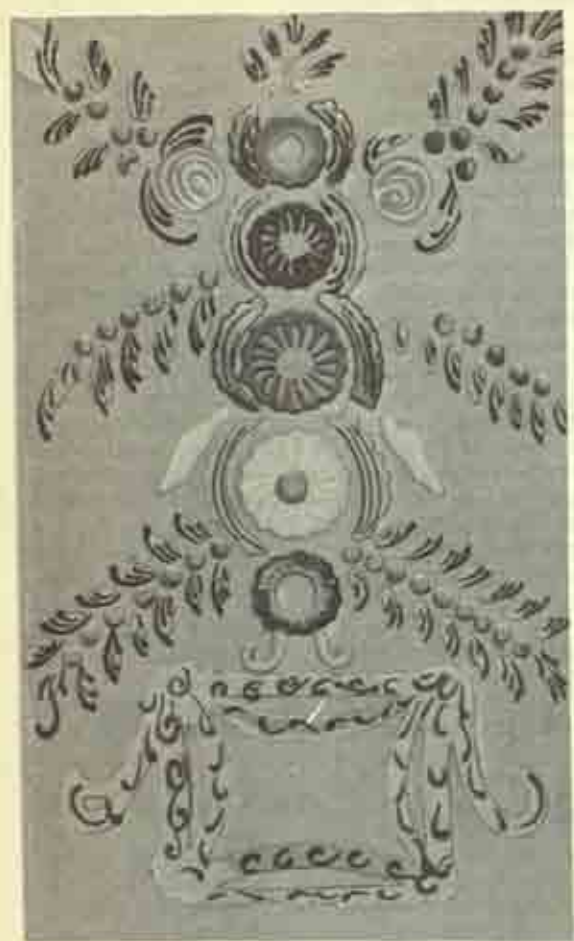
The songs and particularly the legends of the Altay workers are a splendid source for studying the everyday life and development of social awareness among the workers. They show us the tragedy of the conscripted miners who created wealth for the exploiting class. These songs and stories have much in common with the ones created by "free" workers, the working and living conditions of whom were no better.

Graphic Art of the People

The graphic art of the Russian population in Siberia was very rich and reflects its historical development. When they migrated to Siberia, the Russians took with them their own techniques for woodworking and metalworking, building houses, towns and fortified points, and continued to practice their trades wherever they settled.

Whenever the conditions were favorable, the folk art not only fully retained its importance, but also retained many features which related it to the peasant art of European Russia. This was the case first and foremost with the art of Western Siberia. Here there developed a variety of forms of urban architecture and rural housing design, a rich and colorful ornamental art, embroidery, cloth printing and lace.

In other parts of Eastern Siberia, particularly in the extreme northeast, conditions were quite different. There the Russians lived farther apart, some of them were often closely surrounded by a non-Russian local population, the climatic conditions were severe and their contact with the European Russians was only slight. In the south and southeast, the Russians lived in close proximity to the Mongolian, Chinese and Manchurian population. Alongside the older Russian forms of art, in Eastern Siberia there arose new forms in which we can often feel the influence of the peoples of Southern Siberia and foreign countries of the East. Thus, the development of Russian folk art in Siberia varied with geography. In some regions it maintained its former aspect, while in others it partially lost it and acquired new features. In the northeastern region of Siberia certain types of graphic art, widely represented among the Russian population of



Decoration of inside dwelling, oil. Bukhtarmans.
 1—pier in living-room; 2—pier, details; 3—wall near front corner, detail; 4—ceiling beam, detail.



"One with a plow, seven with spoons."
Bone carving. By Tobol'sk craftsman P. Terent'yev.

Western Siberia, are found more rarely or are not known at all. In western and southern Siberia, where the population is considerably more dense than in the eastern regions, the number of folk art relics is fairly large, and they show greater variety than, for example, in the northeast.

The presence or absence of forest land, the closeness or distance of the administrative centers, the nature of the communications network between the populated points, regions or towns, the abundance of necessary commodities, the numbers and kinds of fairs, and many other facts were of very great importance in the development and state of the folk art. For example, in the tundra zone, where the population could only use floated timber, the latter was highly valued and there was hardly enough of it for building dwellings. Hence wood-carving in these regions did not become developed. The manufactured commodities reached the North with great difficulty and with great delay. Communication with neighboring settlements was inadequate, and even these settlements themselves were a long way away. The impossibility of growing flax in the Far North also left its mark. There, imported fabrics were used and clothing was made of fur or reindeer suede.

In order to understand the local features in the graphic art, we must pay considerable attention to the data showing the regions of European Russia from which the first and later streams of settlers went to Siberia, where they mixed together, and what their social composition was. These facts explain to us why, for example, in some cases Russian embroidery includes Ukrainian motifs, while in other cases it shares features with the designs from central or northern regions of European Russia. The Russians reaching western and northwestern Siberia, for example, came mainly from the northern and northeastern regions of Russia. The major cultural centers there were towns built in the 16th to 18th centuries, which had buildings very similar in architecture to structures of the European North—the Mezen', Dvina and Trans-Onega regions.⁸⁷

Ornamental designs and different types of decoration are the most lavishly represented in Russian peasant art in Siberia. Painting and

⁸⁷Until the 1680's, all buildings in the towns of western Siberia were of wood. The first stone building, the Uspenskiy Cathedral, was built in Tobol'sk between 1683 and 1686.



"Ostyak hunter." Bone carving. Work of Tobol'sk craftsman P. Terent'yev.

sculpture are less developed and are not so widespread.

Wood sculpture is found most frequently on houses and gates. For instance, the front end of the roof ridge is shaped into the head of a horse, bird or deer (Tomskaya and Omskaya Oblasts), above the windows or on the gates there are cockerels (the Altay), wooden vases on the gates (Western Siberia), proffled gateposts and hitching-posts (Tomskaya Oblast). Among the 'Poles' in the Altay, figures of birds made of straw with paper heads and wings used to be common. They were hung from the ceiling, usually in the hallway. The older Russian immigrants on the river Indigirka set up high poles with wooden weather vanes, the middle of which was carved in the shape of an animal or bird (goose), outside their houses.

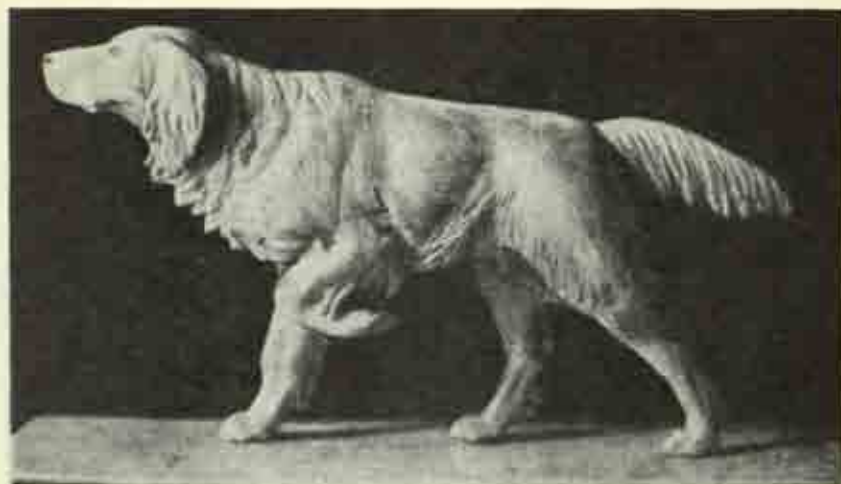
In the older churches of Eastern Siberia (for example, in Kitoy village or the town of Kirensk) in the 19th century it was possible to find images of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints all carved in wood. They were extremely expressive and to a large extent similar to the Perm and North Russian church sculpture.

Tobol'sk had long been famous for its carved mammoth ivory. Particularly artistic are the small bone figures of animals (reindeer and dogs), Khanty hunters, Nentsy traveling in sleds drawn by reindeer, and also small bas-reliefs. A well-known and purely indigenous master craftsman in bone-carving at the turn of the century was the

peasant Porfiriy Terent'yev (who died in the 1920's); among other carvers working at the end of the 19th century and also during the Soviet period we should mention Vengerskiy, Ponyakov, the Nevskiy brothers, Denisov and Peskov. The production of bone objects was actually a trade. The carvings were sold in Tyumen', Tobol'sk and Kurgan and ordered in large quantities from St. Petersburg, Moscow and Riga. Apart from Tobol'sk, there were some bone-carvers in Barnaul, Chelyabinsk, Omsk, Turukhansk and other towns. The Kamchadals were good carvers. They usually carved small figures of animals and birds from bone and horn.

In many regions of Siberia, local potters, even to this day, make glazed and painted clay toys. In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, some of the craftsmen working in Tobol'sk and Berezov were making bronze adornments for women with figures of birds and deer enclosed in a circle; these were made to order for the Khanty and Nentsy and also from the models they supplied.²³

²³ At the end of the 19th century there was a brass foundry in the Mitinskeya Volost of the Tobol'skaya Guberniya in which crosses, folding objects and also small enamel-embellished icons of the Old Believer type were cast. In the 17th-19th centuries the Khanty, Mansi, Nentsy, Evenks, Evens, Yukagirs and to some extent Yakuts and Buryats commonly used the older Russian brass and bronze plaques with bas-relief figures of centaurs, cockerels, birds in flight, horsemen, and so on.



"Setter." Bone carving.
Work of Tobol'sk craftsman P. Terent'yev.

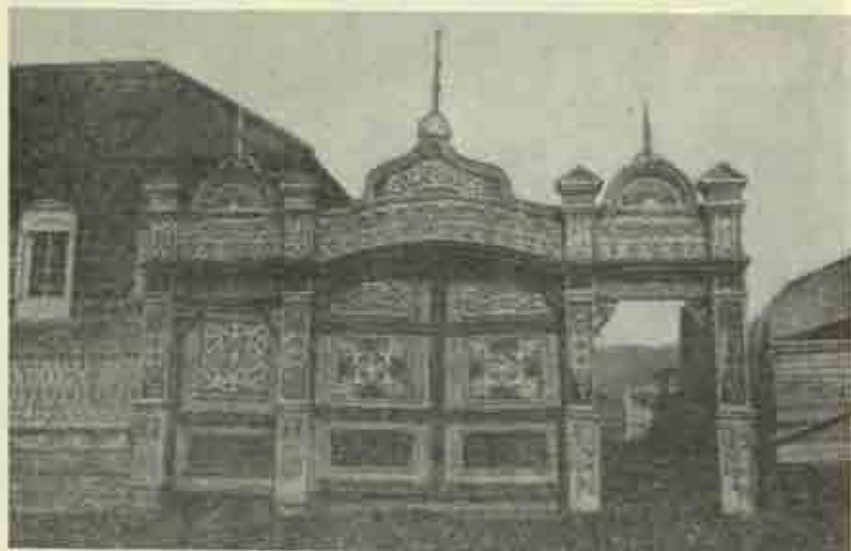
Of the colorful everyday designs,⁸⁹ those used to cover the walls of houses, fences, shutters, doors and stoves deserve attention. This type of representation has been found both in the western and southeastern regions of Siberia and was fairly varied; the subjects included Yermak Timofeyevich, hunting scenes, tea-drinking, lions, cockerels, fantastic birds, birds perched on branches, bunches of grapes, lawns, bushes, bouquets and separate flowers, trees with flowers and fruit, and so on. At the present time these subjects are rarely found.

Ornamentation is the form most lavishly represented in peasant art. In the technical respect, the designs show great variety. In Siberia the commonest forms are painted wood and birchbark, carved wood and embroidery. More rarely we find wood-burning, embossed birchbark, the use of metal for decorative purposes, designs on clay pottery, fur mosaics, design fabrics, printed cloth, lace and embroidery with colored beads. In the 18th century, the outside walls of stone churches in certain towns were richly embellished with carvings, fences, half-columns and cornices. A remarkable monument of this type is the Krestovozdvizhenskaya Church in Irkutsk built in 1758.

In the West Siberian regions, on the Altay, in the Irkutskaya Oblast and the Transbaykal, painted designs were common in the second half of the 19th century; they were used to cover walls and ceilings, fences, doors, window frames, shutters and stoves. Wealthier peasants, kulaks and traders lavishly painted the whole of their houses, while the poor people had to be content with simple painting of parts of the house or a modest design on the doors, shutters or stove area. The former usually hired itinerant craftsmen for the job, usually men from Tyumen'. Red, green and dark blue are typical colors of the paintings in West Siberian regions and the Altay, while dark blue, green, brown, gray and sometimes white are characteristic of the eastern regions.

The painted designs included both floral and geometric motifs—

⁸⁹We omit such forms of art as icon painting, colored prints, and so on.

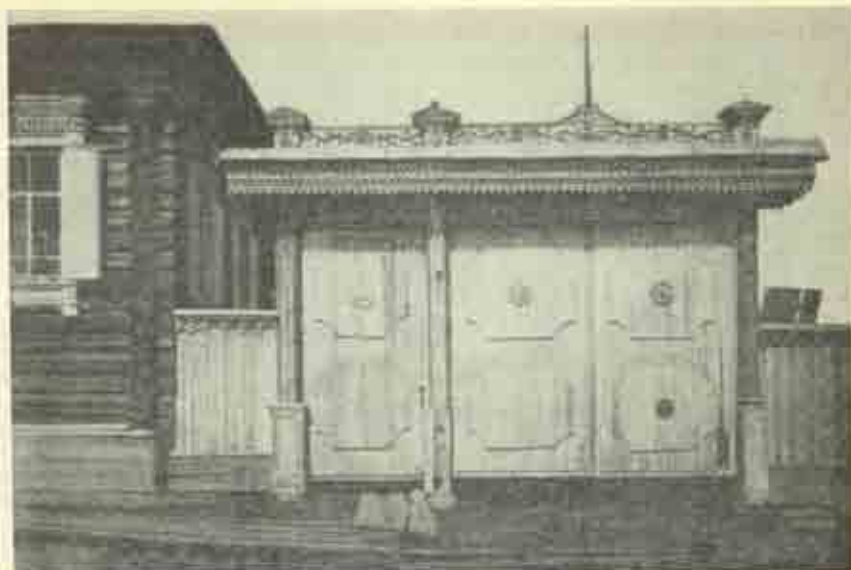


Gates decorated with fretwork. Bukhtarmans.

garlands, foliage, circles (the "sun"), concentric circles, zigzags, triangles, squares, curlicues and bands. There was also painting made to resemble brickwork, marble and walnut, in which the influence of the town can be felt. Painting is rarely found, or is entirely absent, in the more recent houses.

Apart from the monumental painted designs, it was very common to find wooden and birchbark crockery, utensils and furniture with painted designs. Many objects of this kind were made in the villages of the Tyumenskiy Okrug of the Tobol'skaya Guberniya. Great renown was enjoyed by round birchbark boxes from Tyumen', which could be found in various parts of West Siberia. The Tyumen' craftsmen went far beyond their own districts to earn money. They were invited to work for the Altay Kerzhaks. This explains the similarity between Kerzhak and Tyumen' painted objects. According to the Kerzhaks themselves, painted crockery and utensils only appeared on the scene at the end of the 19th century. The objects painted and colored were spinning wheels, kvas pitchers, tubs, arches, stools, benches, tables, couches, and sometimes beds. The paintings on these objects were the same in character as on walls. Painted arches were found in other parts of Siberia as well, for example, Yakutiya and the Amur. In the second half of the 19th century, the Tura craftsmen painted metal trays on order for the peasants.

In Siberia carving is one of the commonest types of folk art. The richest carving is found in dwellings in West Siberia, the Altay, and to some extent in the Irkutskaya Oblast and in the towns of Yakutiya. The peasants decorate their houses with carved, ornamental window frames, friezes, cornices and povaly (the jutting ends of beams). The columns of the porches were often profiled and carved figures were placed above gates. Fluted carving, using axes, knives and chisels, was widespread in West Siberia. Wood-burning was occasionally found as well. The motifs are usually geometric (rosettes, zigzags, serrations, chevrons, "rusks", and rhombuses). In the regions close to the Urals the architectural carving



Russian house with decoration carved by Chinese craftsman.
Former Lower Amur District, village of Bogorodskoye.

shows a considerable resemblance to the peasant structures in European Russia; in regions farther away from the Urals, it is of a more independent type. In the Tomskaya Oblast the peasant carving sometime shares motifs with Khanty carving.

In the Altay, alongside the older fluted carving, we also find later fretwork. Apart from typically Russian motifs, the structures there are often decorated with designs characteristic of the neighbors of the Kerzhaks—the Kazakhs, and in the villages close to the borders of the Chinese People's Republic we find the motifs of East Asian origin. In the Irkutskaya Oblast the techniques and motifs used in the older Russian carving are combined with later techniques brought there by the newly arrived craftsmen. They often added urban motifs (for example, vases on columns) or else finished the wood to make it resemble stone. Beyond Lake Baykal the influence of Mongol ornamentation can be felt in the Russian fretwork.

The Semeys retain ancient Russian motifs in their architectural decorations.

Within Yakutsk and its environs the wooden Russian structures are decorated just as lavishly. The technique of fretwork, with designs which include certain Yakut motifs, is very common at the present time. In the Vilyuyskiy Rayon carving is only used to embellish a few houses. Only a few specimens of ancient carving have been preserved in Yakutiya. Some idea of it can be gained from the details of the towers of the Yakut fort. The roof of the towers was decorated with spear-shaped ends, brackets were profiled, and the balusters on the balconies were also profiled.

On the Amur alongside Russian motifs (rosettes), the architectural carving sometimes shows figures of dragons and Chinese symbols. This is because in a number of cases the carving was done by Chinese craftsmen. The peasants sometimes carved household utensils, harnessing, looms, spinning wheels, boxes, shelves and furniture.

Metal is rarely found in everyday decorative art. In the villages of the southwest Altay the friezes on the houses were decorated in an original way with square pieces of tin. They also had chests reinforced with tin, but these objects were imported. The wealthier Kerzhaks decorated their saddles with flat pieces of silver made by the Kazakhs.

Embroidery is very often found, and there is great variety in the materials, techniques and motifs used. It is found on men's and women's clothing, headgear, footwear, mittens, gloves, tobacco pouches, tablecloths, bed-fringes, and so on. Cloth and leather are embroidered with colored cotton, silk and woolen thread, silver and gold thread, white reindeer hair, and fine leather straps being used for the purpose.

The embroidered designs consist of rectilinear or curvilinear figures, floral shoots, flowers, leaves and buds. West Siberian embroidered designs are often similar to the North-Russian type, and in the Altay they are basically the same as the North-Russian, but in addition to the latter, we also find Kazakh motifs and the Kazakh stitch (*tambour*). On the Amur, North Russian motifs are found alongside typically Ukrainian ones (towels and aprons). On the Anadyr' the Russian embroidery shows a considerable admixture of Yukagir, Chukchi and Koryak geometrical motifs; some of the embroidering techniques were also borrowed from the Yukagirs.

The embroidery was mostly intended for personal use, but in certain parts of Siberia it was used to decorate objects for sale. For example, in the Tobol'skaya Guberniya they made embroidered towels and tablecloths; mittens embroidered with colored wool were sent to Eastern Siberia; on the Altay among the "Poles" it was possible to buy embroidered towels, headaddresses, sarafans and aprons; on the Anadyr' (village of Markovo) a considerable amount of embroidered clothing, gloves and footwear was made and sold on the Kolyma and in Gizhiga.

Alongside colored silk and cotton thread, the Markovo craftsmen used the white hair from under the neck of the reindeer for their embroidery. They often used very thin bands of leather (light- and dark-colored), passing them through slits in the hide. The hair designs are very fine and strictly geometric. Leather bags were decorated with designs made of superimposed geometrical figures cut from thin leather (for example, leather footwear). In addition to this, these objects (footwear or mittens) were also decorated with large, bright flowers, buds and leaves in colored thread.

In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, some of the nunneries (Tomsk, Turinsk) produced gold-embroidered objects which acquired a great reputation in the Ural regions and Siberia. The Altay "Poles" also knew of gold and silver embroidery. They used it to embellish women's headgear. Sometimes two or three gold threads would be woven into towels embroidered with other colored thread. These "Poles" used trimmings or different colored laces to decorate their shirts. Articles of this kind were found in the richer peasant families. In the 1820's the use of gold thread to embroider footwear was observed among the Russians in the Kolymskiy Okrug. The arts of the richer Kerzhak families were marked by great variety. Their women did not go out to work in the fields, since Kazakhs were hired for this purpose. The system of hired labor enabled the women to devote more time to embroidery and knitting.

Patterned fabric was not only known in the Altay, it was found throughout the Tobol'skaya Guberniya. In practically every village there were women from whom patterned fabrics could be ordered, but homespun material gradually began to be ousted by factory-made material. The peasants of the Irkutskaya Oblast made patterned belts. The designs on



Fur carpet, Anadyr' Russians.

them were geometric (curls and rhombuses). In the homes of the Altay Kerzhaks there were carpets made in Tyumen' and also Kazakh carpets decorated with geometric motifs. Woolen carpets from Tyumen' acquired great fame, and in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries a considerable number of weavers were employed in the production of them. In 1864 the output amounted to as many as 20,000 carpets, in 1871 to 30,000, and by the beginning of the 20th century the number had gone up to 80,000 a year. The carpets were woven on simple standing looms. Men also took part in the manufacture of them. The material used was sheep's wool or cow's wool and the dyes were bought elsewhere (aniline), although some of them (brown-red, yellow or light brown) were made at home. In the old days, vegetable dyes were mainly used. Tyumen' (and later Ishim) carpets were in great demand. They were sold at bazaars throughout West and East Siberia, exported to the Irbit, Ishim and Nizhegorod fairs, sold in the leatherware shops of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and even reached Warsaw and Kyakhta. The price of the carpets, which were comparatively crudely made, was not high.

The carpets were divided into teased and nonteased. The teased variety was subdivided into rugs for covering tables and boxes. The patterns on them were either designed by the weavers themselves or copied from

objects which came into their hands; sometimes they were taken from labels. Flowers and leaves predominated. In the central field there was usually a large bunch of flowers, while smaller flower motifs were used for the borders. The background was usually dark, occasionally white. Apart from the flower motifs, there were occasional animals (horses, dogs, cats and deer), and sometimes representations of human beings. The patterns on the unteased variety were marked by their simplicity. It is not quite clear how the carpet industry in the Tyumenskaya Oblast developed. Some people think that it was taken to Siberia from European Russia, while others consider it was borrowed from the Orient, in particular the Bukharians; while yet others see in Tyumen' carpets an imitation of the Siberian Tatar carpets. In flower motifs the Tyumen' carpets are closest to the designs of the Saratov and Kursk carpets.

Printed cloth was not very common and if made was usually intended for sale. At the beginning of the 20th century, a few families in the Tobol'skaya Guberniya were engaged in this trade and made "stamped" cloth for table coverings and mattresses. The printed cloth was bought by local peasants and to some extent by the peoples of the North who made it into covering for their sledges. In the Altay the Kerzhak houses had printed table cloths and fringes to cover the bottom of the bed. Blue or brown patterns were printed on white linen, green patterns on red linen, and red patterns on blue linen. Oil paints were used for the purpose. The designs were floral. The printed cloth was made by visiting craftsmen.

An original form of decorative art preserved to the present day is embellishment with fur found on the river Anadyr' (Markovo village). To embellish fur headgear, footwear, and clothing, the Russian craftswomen in this region used light-colored or dark-colored reindeer hair. Many of the fur motifs are similar to Koryak and Chukchi motifs. They consist of circles, triangles, squares or alternating light and dark bands of fur. Artificially made edging for fur outer garments as well as ornamented fur carpets acquired great fame. They were made both for personal use and for sale. In the pre-Revolutionary period it was mainly the merchants who sold fur carpets, taking them to Gizhiga, the Kolyma and to Yakutsk for the purpose.

The design on the edging consisted either of geometric motifs (most often small squares or rhombuses) or stylized floral motifs—branches, leaves and flowers. Designs with rhombuses or semirhombuses are known there as scale designs, and floral patterns as grass. The techniques and the geometric motifs used are typically Koryak; the pieces of fur are joined at the edges and resemble a mosaic. The floral motifs are Russian and are larger in size. The designs in lighter-colored fur, which stand out sharply against the dark background, give the edging a stylish appearance.

In the nature of the decorative finish, Russian fur carpets hardly differed from Koryak ones. The field of the carpet consists of light and dark alternating squares or other geometrical figures, or else has a plain background (usually dark) with representations of animals (elk, deer, or wolf), birds, trees, serrated leaves, starry rosettes and sometimes dwellings running across it. The carpets have a broad edge, inside which we often find the same figures as in the central field. The closeness of the Markovo carpets and trimmings to the Koryak variety is explained not only by the fact that the Russians living on the Anadyr' often went to Gizhiga, where trade with the Koryaks is concentrated, but also by the fact that the Russian peasants and petty bourgeois migrated at one stage from Gizhiga to Markovo and had known about the highly-artistic objects made by the settled Koryaks for some time. Light and dark reindeer-hair was used by



Tyumen' carpet.

the Kamchadals to ornament their clothing. In the same way as the Koryaks, the Kamchadals introduced stylized or realistic animal figures into the designs.

It was mainly in the Tobol'skaya Guberniya in Siberia that lace was made. In the Altay, lace was made from colored wool or cotton thread. Beads were rarely found. The Kerzhaks used them to embellish girls' belts and made ryaski (adornments for the chest) out of them; the "Poles" used beads for embroidery.

Worthy of note is the fairly extensive distribution of birchbark tobacco pouches with serrated designs among the Russian population. In the Tobol'skaya Oblast the peasants made birchbark boxes decorated by means of bone stamps. The design consisted of circles, chevrons and other geometrical figures, sometimes with the addition of birds. The inhabitants of Markovo embellished birchbark satchels, used to collect berries, with superimposed carved figures.

The ornamentation on clay vessels has not been a subject of special study. We know of painted plates, jugs, dishes and other crockery made in the village of Bogotol in the Tomskaya Oblast. In the Altay it was mainly the Kerzhaks who made pottery with a manually operated potter's wheel. While the clay was soft, they adorned the vessels with very simple geometrical designs (wave lines) by means of a sliver of wood, after which the vessels were fired.

Thus the Russians took with them to Siberia the rich, artistic culture of their people, retained it and further developed it. A long period of contact with the local population led to the Russians using certain techniques and artistic forms created by the Tatars, Khanty, Kazakhs, Buryats, Yakuts, Koryaks, Yukagirs and other tribes. This was how there emerged original forms of graphic art among the Tobol'sk Russians, Kerzhaks and "Poles" on the Altay, Semeys in the Transbaykal, Russians in Yakutiya and on the Amur, and Markovians on the Anadyr'. The Russians sometimes invited Yakut and Chinese carvers to visit them, and bought readymade objets d'art from the Yakuts, Kazakhs and Chinese for everyday use. At the same time the Russian objets d'art became firmly entrenched among the non-Russian population and were imitated by local craftsmen in their work (Yakutiya, Khakasiya, etc.).

In Yakutiya the Russian bone-carvers introduced the art of carving mammoth ivory. Articles of Yakut workmanship of the 19th century (small boxes covered with openwork carving, clock stands) were very close in subject and technique to the work of Russian craftsmen from Kholmogory in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries.

General Characteristics of Russian Culture in Siberia

The focal point of Russian culture in Siberia was the town. The towns themselves were also an important indication of the level of Russian culture. Despite their remote location and lack of any developed industry, the Siberian towns were by no means cultural backwaters. Just the opposite, in certain respects they had a more cultured appearance than a number of provincial towns in central Russia. Many Siberian towns had geometrically laid-out streets. In the larger towns there were certain public utilities, for example, plumbing systems (Tomsk, Irkutsk, etc.) and electric illumination of the streets (Tomsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Chita, Vladivostok and so on). In a number of towns there were paved streets, and most of them had wooden sidewalks. The towns contained many stone and wooden

structures of splendid architectural design, beginning with the ancient tent-like belfries and houses of the 17th century (Tobol'sk, Tyumen') and ending with buildings in the Russian Empire and Classical styles. The development of urban construction in the 18th century was characterized by solid stone buildings. Apart from churches there were arcades of shops, administrative buildings, private houses, and so on. There was a marked tendency towards lavish forms of the Russian baroque style predominant at the time, in Tobol'sk, Tyumen', Irkutsk and other towns, particularly in Tobol'skaya and Tomskaya Guberniyas (the Zakhar'yevskaya Church, the Smaller Kremlin Gates, a number of church walls in Tobol'sk, the fortress and guard-house in Omsk, and so on). Architecture in the Russian Empire style was commoner later on. Stone houses with elegant columns and facades adorned the streets and squares of many towns (e.g., a number of buildings surrounding the former Demidovskaya Square and making up the architectural ensemble in Barnaul, the Cadet Corps in Omsk, the palace of the Governor of East Siberia and a number of churches in Irkutsk, the meat stalls in the market, the Townsmen's Bureau in Tomsk, and a number of other buildings).

There were also classical structures, for example, the Young Ladies' Institute and the Kuznetsk Hospital in Irkutsk, designed by Razgil'deyev, the first Buryat architect. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, a number of large public buildings were built in Siberian towns, including the University Library and Technological Institute in Tomsk, secondary schools and railway office in Omsk, and so on, there were contests for the best design for public buildings, town architects were commissioned on the basis of the contest, and so on. Most of the private houses in the Siberian towns were nevertheless made of wood.

It is also important to point out the development of the postal and telegraph services. Regular postal communication between Siberia and Moscow had been organized by the end of the 17th century. In 1800, the Siberian post office was established in Tobol'sk. In 1862, the telegraph was introduced into Siberia. By 1870, a telegraph line stretched right across Siberia from west to east, with branch lines as well (for example, in Barnaul). The Siberian region of the Russian State was thus linked both with the rest of the country and with foreign countries. At the end of the 19th century, the telephone was widespread in Siberian towns. In the 1840's river transportation was started up and a main railway line was laid right across Siberia from the Urals to Vladivostok, and at the end of the 19th century the major seaport of Vladivostok was opened.

Even by the end of the 17th century Siberia had schools. The first one was opened for children of the Siberian clergy in Tobol'sk and was called the "Slavyanoserbskaya" school, and in 1725 a missionary school for Buryats and Russians was opened at the Voznesensk Monastery in the Irkutskaya Guberniya. In 1756, secular trade-schools were set up in Irkutsk and Nerchinsk. Secular schools were opened for the first time in Tobol'sk, Irkutsk, Tomsk and Verkhneudinsk in the second half of the 18th century. The first secondary school in Siberia was the Irkutsk Gymnasium, opened in 1805, the director of which was the famous historian P. Slotsov. Through his efforts another 18 primary schools had been opened by the 1820's. The second gymnasium was opened in Tobol'sk in 1810, the third in Tomsk in 1838. The opening of other secondary schools in Siberian towns goes back to the Reform period, and by the time the Revolution came there were several dozen.

The first higher educational establishment—Tomsk University—first opened in 1888, and the Technological Institute came into being in 1890.

According to figures for 1911, of the total number of 100,749 primary schools in Russia, only about 6000 were located in Siberia. This number of schools was hopelessly inadequate for the many millions of people in Siberia, hence the literacy of the Russian Siberian population was rather low. It averaged 19.2% for men and 5.1% for women (1897). The greatest number of literate people were obviously found among the urban population. Nevertheless, the fact that before Siberia was incorporated in the Russian State there were no schools at all, whereas it now had several thousand primary schools, more than 100 general and special secondary schools (gymnasias, scientific schools), dozens of trade schools, four higher educational establishments (Tomsk University, Technological Institute, Siberian Women's Institute and Eastern Institute in Vladivostok) can only be regarded as a very great step forward. No matter how few the educational facilities in Siberia under Russian capitalism, no matter how hard the tsarist government tried to prevent education from reaching the Russian and non-Russian masses, the profoundly progressive importance of this network of different establishments in Siberia is clear to all.

Scientific medicine arose and developed in tune with the growth of the towns. Smallpox vaccination was introduced in Siberia in the 18th century. In 1771, a doctor called Andreyev inoculated peasants against smallpox in Zmeinogorsk. In 1799 the first chemist's shop was opened in Irkutsk, and by 1858 the first medical society had been founded in Irkutsk under the name of the Society of Physicians of East Siberia. Medical societies subsequently appeared in other Siberian towns, for example, in Omsk (1883), Krasnoyarsk (1886), in Tomsk, and so on. The opening of Tomsk University with its wonderful clinics soon became a recognized center of Russian medicine. Apart from the university, there were eight nursing schools in Siberia for training intermediate medical personnel.

The development of medical services in Siberia was of great cultural importance both for the Russian population and for the various local tribes and nationalities. But the scale of the work was extremely limited. According to 1910 figures, there was only one hospital for an area of about 25,000 square kilometers (about 700 square kilometers in European Russia), and each doctor had an area of about 15,000 square kilometers to cover and more than 11,000 patients to see. There were less than 600 hospitals throughout the territory of Siberia and these were concentrated mainly in the former Tobol'skaya, Tomskaya, Yeniseyskaya, and Irkutskaya Guberniyas. The number of doctors in Siberia did not even amount to 1000.

In the 18th century, belles-lettres began to appear in Siberia. Between 1789 and 1791 a monthly journal called *The Irtysh Turning Into the Hippocrene* was published in Tobol'sk. It was published by the Tobol'sk Senior School and was one of the first provincial journals in Russia. It was printed at a local privately owned printing works, it was supported by the Tobol'sk Public Assistance Bureau and the editors were teachers from the school. An important part in the work of the journal was played by exiled writer P. Sumarokov, a relative of the famous dramatist. At that time Tobol'sk was the cultural center of Siberia. Despite the fact that at first the clergy tried hard to give all forms of education and enlightenment an ecclesiastical slant, Tobol'sk was the birthplace of the first Siberian literary monthly. The first lay drama (*Yermak*) by a local author was first performed there in the 1770's. Local teachers, junior officials and exiles were able to keep the culture on a secular plane.

The Tobol'sk journals, particularly the *Irtysh*, were not confined to local, parochial matters. They acquainted Siberian society with the ideas of Voltaire and de Condorcet and with the major advances of the sciences

of that time. A man who stood out among the local educated people was P. Slovtsov, whose writings or "sermons" were imbued with the revolutionary ideas of the eighteenth-century French enlighteners and gained him many followers and disciples. The birth of Siberian journalism dates from the second half of the 18th century; the first representative was F. Soymonov, who founded the School of Navigation in Nerchinsk.

A major center for the embryonic Russian literature in Siberia was Irkutsk. The chief role in its cultural life was played by the local merchants, junior officials and ordinary town-dwellers, called meshohans. Several journals were published there. The lack of printing presses hampered the publication of Siberian literature. Most of the journals were issued in manuscript form. Manuscript literature was published up to the 1860's (e.g., the satirical sheet *Shaman* and others published in the Minusinskii Okrug).⁹⁰ They fully reflected with mordant satire the struggle between the local Russian society and the representatives of the tsarist administration.

The birth of Siberian periodicals dates from 1857, when the *Guberniya News* began coming out in different towns. Some of the Siberian newspapers became very popular among Russian society in the European part of Russia, for example, *Siberia*, *Siberian Gazette*, and *Eastern Survey*, which were all printed in St. Petersburg under the editorship of N. M. Yadrintsev. Writers in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities contributed to them. According to figures for 1908, there were 76 newspapers published in Siberia.

The level of Russian culture in Siberia, fairly high for its time, is also shown by the development of libraries and museums. The Siberian merchants collected large private libraries. The exiled Decembrists also had large libraries. The collections of the Siberian bibliophiles subsequently became famous. The best of them belonged to a Krasnoyarsk merchant called Yudin, who had about 80,000 volumes, among which there was a particularly comprehensive section on Siberia. Lenin himself knew of and highly valued this collection. Unfortunately, Yudin's books were sold just before World War I, mostly in America.

Alongside the private collections of books, there were also public libraries in the Siberian towns. A public library was opened in Irkutsk in 1782 and the Academy of Sciences helped to equip it. It had many books in Russian, French and German. In 1838, a second public library was opened in Irkutsk. In Tobolsk the first library appeared in 1748 with the opening of a theological seminary. The public library in Tomsk dates from 1830. Furthermore, there were two people's libraries there, and later a large library from which books could be borrowed on payment, and a number of institutional libraries, including the Technological Institute Library. In the second half of the 19th century, two private libraries with an exorbitant yearly subscription were opened in Barnaul, and there was also a large government-owned library run by the Altay Mine Administration. Minusinsk was famous for its public library, founded by Mart'yanov. Even such small towns as Kamen', Kolyvansk and many others had public libraries. By the end of the 17th century, regional geography museums had begun to appear in Siberia (Irkutsk). In the second half of the 19th century, when various branches of the Russian Geographical Society had broadened the scope of its activities, there was a rather large number of museums in Siberia.

⁹⁰ M. Azadovskiy, *Ocherki literatury i kul'tury Sibiri* (Essays on Literature and Culture in Siberia), Part 1, Irkutsk, 1947, pp. 106-137.

One of the oldest, and one which was always highly commended by travelers and visiting scholars in the first half of the 19th century, was the Barnaul Museum. It was opened in 1823 under the auspices of the Altay Mine Administration. The Minusinsk Museum was widely known both in Russia and among scholars and scientists abroad. There were museums in many other towns, too. The political exiles actively helped to run them. The Siberian museums were of great cultural-educational importance and were very popular among the people. Some of them also published scientific material (Tobol'sk Museum Yearbook).

In the 18th century some well-known academic expeditions were sent to Siberia, where they raised the study of Siberia to a new level, and the "Russian Columbus" Shelekhov continued his geographical explorations in the northeast region at the end of that century, and led an expedition to Alaska; Kad'yak explored the Kurile and Aleutian Islands.

These academic expeditions, which made a thorough investigation of Siberia and were of great scientific importance for their time, based their activities on both the work of Russian pioneers of the 17th and 18th centuries and on assistance rendered by the local population. The 18th-century expeditions produced a number of well-known general works on the nature and population of Siberia (Gmelin, Pallas, Miller, Krasheninnikov, etc.). In the first half of the 19th century, Admiral Nevel'skoy carried out extensive exploration of the Amur, and P. A. Slovtsov produced his work, *A Historical Survey of Siberia*.

In 1854 Gagemeyster published a statistical survey of Siberia in four volumes, which reviewed the study of Siberian economy over the first half of the 19th century.

In 1851 the Siberian branch of the Russian Geographical Society was set up in Irkutsk and became a research center for the study of the natural history and population of Siberia. Composite physical-geographical study and description of individual areas of Siberia, mapping, study of the economy and ways of communication, the ethnography of the Siberian tribes, and other subjects came within the scope of this scientific institution. It soon set up more specialized sections with narrower fields (meteorological and biological stations, observatories and so on). The steady development of the Russian Geographical Society in Siberia led to the division of the Siberian branch into a number of large sections and subsections, each of which became a local form of scientific research. These sections were able to seek out and utilize the services of the more progressive and cultured local Russians, and even enlisted some of the local nationalities (Buryats, Yakuts, etc.) for their scientific activities.

A great part in exploratory work of the Russian Geographical Society in Siberia was played by political exiles.

The Siberian branches of the Russian Geographical Society organized scientific expeditions which greatly contributed to Russian science by their valuable finds. The East Siberian branch organized the Vilyuy, Amur and Ussury expeditions headed by R. Maak (1854-1859), the Vitim, Turukhansk and other expeditions led by Lopatin, in which the exiled revolutionary Shchapov took part. A number of expeditions worked in China. The Transbaykal branch organized the Major Aga expedition to study Buryatiya. The findings of this expedition have been published in five volumes.

The work of the Siberian branches of the Russian Geographical Society was an important contribution to the development of world science and greatly boosted the authority of Russian science as a whole.

Scientific work in Siberia was conducted both in the departments of the Russian Technical Society and in other specialized scientific societies

(medical, natural science and so on), and again in local museums (Tobol'sk, Minusinsk) which published scientific works, in statistical committees and military-topographical sections. Intensive scientific study was made under the auspices of the Tomsk University. The works of the botanists Krylov and Sapozhnikov, the zoologist Kashchenko, the geologist Obruchev, and others acquired great fame. The university was scientifically very active and published a regular Bulletin. The work of Russian scientists in Siberia was a great contribution to the development of Russian and world science. Their studies went far beyond the bounds of purely Siberian subjects. As regards the study of Siberia itself before the Revolution, it would be wrong to attribute the achievements of the Russian scholars solely to Siberians. A tremendous part was played by the Academy of Sciences and other institutions in the capital. Apart from the 18th-century expeditions already mentioned, the Academy of Sciences organized a number of important expeditions to study Siberia in the 19th century as well, one of which was the famous Orkhon Expedition led by V. Radlov and N. M. Yadrintsev, who discovered ancient Turkic inscriptions on stones in Mongolia.

Despite the unquestioned cultural achievements of the Russian people in Siberia before the Revolution, this territory only attained full development through the radical political changes brought about by the Revolution. The overthrow of tsarism and the capitalist regime of private ownership created exceptional conditions for the unlimited development of Siberia's economy and national culture. A leading part in this creative, active process was played by the Russian people. The Russian population in Siberia now numbers tens of millions. Enormous expanses of Siberia, particularly in the North, which used to be wasteland have been settled and economically developed. In a short time Siberia has created a powerful industry, the heart of which is the Kuzbass, that famous center of the coal and metal-working industry. A number of large electric stations have been put into operation, and the Bratsk hydroelectric station—largest in the world—is being built on the Angara.

Siberian agriculture, too, has trodden the path of progress. We know that Siberia's socialist agricultural output now plays a major part in satisfying the constantly growing needs of the population of our country. Nevertheless, prospects for the development of agriculture in Siberia are enormous. There is further intensification of the economy; virgin land is being exploited. Socialized agriculture ensures the most mechanized farming in the world. It is based on the achievements of advanced agrotechnology and socialist working methods. The machine-tractor stations, which possess large fleets of tractors and combines, crisscross the vast expanses of Siberia.⁶¹ Siberia has become the most important granary of the Soviet State. The main crop is still wheat. The sowings have been increased many times and the regions where it is grown have been enlarged. Land cultivation in Kamchatka and Sakhalin has been greatly stepped up. The boundary of the agricultural regions has moved markedly to the north. For example, in the Turukhanskiy Kray the kolkhozniks sow winter wheat and barley with quite good results.

With the transition to the multifield system, other crops such as oats, rye, millet, beans and grass have been developed. The cultivation of rice in

⁶¹In 1958, the machine-tractor stations were transformed into repair-technical stations, with specialized and much reduced functions. Most of the equipment was sold to the collective and state farms.—Ed.

the Maritime region, sugar beets in the Maritime region and the Altay Kray, and soya in the Far East are all new ventures for the collective farms.

In West Siberia the cultivation of fiber flax and hemp has been further developed; sunflower seed is also sown there now. Orchardry, vegetable-gardening and melon-growing have been started up. In the larger industrial regions and close to towns there have been set up major vegetable-gardening bases. The kolkhozniks of the Khabarovskaya and Primorskaya Oblasts, the Altay Kray, the Novosibirskaya Oblast and so on have been very successful in growing melons. Using the Michurin hybridization method, the gardeners are growing new types of pears and apples in their nurseries. Even grapes are being grown. Collective-farm beekeeping has been very highly developed in the Altay, Primorskiy and Krasnoyarskiy Krays, and is also found in other parts. Many collective-farm apiaries produce record yields of honey.

Animal husbandry in Siberia has not only developed in the sense of increased numbers of herds, but to a greater extent with respect to improved breeds of livestock and increased productivity. On the animal farms electrically driven machinery is now being introduced (milking machines, fleecing devices and so on). There are large pig-farms in West Siberia and model sheep-farms on which fine-fleeced sheep are bred; the Chitinskaya Oblast has become a major center of animal husbandry (the breeding of horses and cattle is highly developed there). The breeding of marals and the East Siberian stag has been developed within the socialized economy of the Altay Kray and Soviet Far East.

The general development of animal husbandry is associated with the development of meadow land, grass-sowing and improvement of pastureland. In Eastern Siberia, for example (the Buryat-Mongol ASSR), the kolkhozniks have initiated a movement for better harvests from the meadows. By weeding the meadows, systematically manuring them and further developing the irrigation systems the farmers have been able to mow twice in one summer.

Such previously poorly equipped activities as hunting and fishing have undergone radical transformation, and are developing into highly profitable branches of the economy. Hunting brigades have been organized in the collective farms; individual hunters make contracts with the state hunting organizations. Preserves and state hunting units have been established in Siberia. A new branch of the economy, the breeding of fur animals in cages, has arisen. On state animal-farms and the fur divisions of collective farms, the silver fox, the Ussury raccoon, and other valuable fur animals are kept and raised in cages. The so-called system of island animal-breeding is practiced: the fur seal, sea otter (Kamchatka beaver), blue fox, and other animals are raised. As a result of measures for the preservation and multiplication of commercial game, many almost extinct fur species (marten, sable, etc.) are now restored. The variety of commercial fauna has been increased by new species of fur animals; for example, the muskrat has been acclimatized and acquired commercial importance.

A large part in the organization of trades, marketing and supplying the farmers and individual hunters with the necessary commodities and supplies has been played by the hunting stations. These stations acquire new hunting grounds and introduce improved hunting kit, better types of shotguns and so on.

With the victory of the collective-farm system there have been established large fishing collectives with organized fishing teams. The motor-fishing stations set up at the fisheries are of tremendous importance in spreading more advanced techniques.

The maritime collectives have begun to use such items of equipment as drift-nets and bag-seines (more advanced than the ordinary seine, which passes under a shoal of fish and is closed by means of a cable). New forms of fishing, such as sardine-fishing, crabbing (in the Far East), and also whaling, have been started up. The crabbers are floating canning factories, on which there are 10-14 boats for catching crabs. In the North, the whaling flotilla works. Whales are shot with special harpoon-guns from special boats. The socialist fish-processing industry is highly developed.

The flourishing of the economy and culture of the Russian population in Siberia has had a decisive influence on the organization of everyday life both among urban and village dwellers. The effect of the socialist town on the daily life of the collective-farm peasants is extremely great, and shows up throughout, beginning with clothing and food and ending with dwellings and household utensils. Purchased products of local and central light industry and of the industry of various Union republics have taken the chief place in the domestic life of the Siberian kolkhoznik, who buys ready made clothes, furniture, household and farm equipment and many food products. This circumstance has brought about a certain leveling of the material culture of the Siberian Russian kolkhozniks, and has led to the disappearance of most of the old local ethnic peculiarities (for example, in clothing, dwellings, furnishings, travel and communications) which were mentioned above, and which are now of merely historical and museum interest.





PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN SIBERIA



THE BURYATS

K. V. VYATKINA

The Buryats or Buryat-Mongols are a Mongolic-speaking people of southern Siberia. In the literature the Buryats living to the west of Lake Baykal are often known as the western or Baykal Buryats, while those living to the east of it are known as eastern or Transbaykal Buryats. Other geographical epithets such as Selenga, Unga, Alar, Barguzin and so on are also often found.

General Information

According to the 1926 census, the number of Buryats within the Soviet Union was 220,000. The bulk of them are concentrated in the Buryat-Mongol ASSR, but in addition they live in the Aginsk Buryat-Mongolian National Okrug in the Chitinskaya Oblast, in the Ust'-Ordynsk Buryat-Mongolian National Okrug in the Irkutskaya Oblast and in a number of other separate rayons in these oblasts. Also included among the Buryats are the so-called Tunka Soyots, who are Tuvans by extraction, although they have assimilated the Buryat language and way of life. They live in the Oka Aymak (Rayon) of the Buryat-Mongol ASSR. Outside the USSR there are Buryats living in the northeastern regions of the Mongolian People's Republic and in Manchuria (China), where they are known as Bargu-Buryats and are settled in the vicinity of Lake Dalay, in the Urshun Valley, and near Lake Buir-Nur. In ancient literature the Bargu-Buryats, under the name of Barguts, were united with the tribes of Mongol (Chipchins, Dairs and Olëts) and Tungus (Solons and Orochons) origin.

The Buryat language belongs to the Mongolic group and divides up into a number of dialects (Khor, Selenga, Tsongol', Kabano-Barguzintsi, Tunka, Oka, Lower Uda, Unga, Alar, Bokhan, Ekhirit and Bulagat).

The previous conventional division of the Buryat language into an eastern and western dialect subdivided into subdialects is not supported by the latest evidence obtained by Soviet scholars (G. D. Sanzheyev and others).

The dialects existing on one side of Lake Baykal cannot be counterposed to those of the other side.

The main distinction between the Buryat dialects relates to the vocabulary and in some measure to the phonetic structure, since the grammatical structure does not show any great difference.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the various Mongol dialects represented tribal branches of a common Mongol language. After the dissolution of Genghis Khan's empire, some of the Mongolic-speaking groups found

themselves a long way apart and began developing on an independent basis, and their dialects developed into independent languages, including the Buryat and Buryat-Mongol tongues.

In the 17th century the Buryat tribes were already ethnically isolated from the Mongols, and in Cossack documents were referred to as "brothers."

The chief territory settled by the Buryats lies between 49° 35' and 57° 10' N latitude and 97° 50' and 117° E longitude, i.e., to the east and west of Lake Baykal, in the Sayano-Baykal Upland, the eastern Transbaykal and on the southeast edge of the Central Siberian Plateau. The Buryat-Mongol ASSR, formed in 1923, is part of the RSFSR. The overall area occupied by the Buryat-Mongol ASSR is more than 330,000 square kilometers. Its capital is Ulan-Ude (Verkhneudinsk), which is situated at the mouth of the Uda which runs into the Selenga. The unusual natural landscape of the Sayano-Baykal Upland and the eastern Transbaykal makes these territories stand out sharply from the vast adjoining expanses.

Most of the territory is mountainous terrain, but the mountains do not reach the permanent snowline; it is only in the Sayans that occasional glacier-covered peaks can be found. The landscape is sharply broken up and very high above sea level. A distinguishing feature is the way the arid steppes extend through the dips in the landscape deep into the mountainous taiga.

The fact that the territory is a long way from the ocean and considerably above sea level makes for severity of the climate, which is only milder along the banks of the Baykal. The winter is cold (mean January temperature between -23° and -27° C), long-lasting, windless, cloudless and marked by only slight snowfalls. The summers are hot (mean July temperature about 20° C). A feature of the climate is the concentration of precipitation in the summer, the annual total exceeding 300 mm. On account of the greatly varied natural conditions in Buryatiya, its animal world also shows great variety. Apart from the taiga fauna, animals of the steppes are also to be found. Among valuable game animals are sable, squirrel, marten, polecat, wolverine, lynx, fox and bear. Alongside these, the taiga is inhabited by reindeer, musk-deer, elk, wild roe-deer, in the southern regions the boar, and so on; in the steppes, Siberian hamsters and tarbagans (a steppe rodent). As regards birds, there are bustards, various species of duck, geese and so on, which nest near Lake Baykal and other lakes teeming with fish. The rivers and lakes abound with such valuable fish as the whitefish, trout, sturgeon and salmon-trout. In the lake itself there are seal. Their main haunts are in the Ushkan Islands, the Svyatoy Nos Peninsula, the Ol'khon and other promontories.

Vast expanses of grassy steppeland, which are hardly touched by snow during the winter and can be used for primitive pastoral stockbreeding, fur-bearing animals, which in the unpopulated mountainous taiga have been thoughtlessly exterminated, and lake fish, and to some extent river fish, are the resources of the one time "convict-settled" Transbaykal which were developed before the Revolution. The gold which prospectors "dug in the mountains" of the Barguzin taiga was the only mineral of practical importance before the Revolution, and the practical exploitation of it was the only branch of "industry" which in importance extended beyond the needs of local consumers.

The sum total of historical and archeological data suggests that the formation of the Buryat people occurred in the region of Lake Baykal.

Apart from the Mongol tribal groups, the Buryats included aboriginal tribes of non-Mongol extraction such as the Tungus and Turkic tribes inhabiting the territory of present-day Buryat-Mongolia.

The legends of the Buryats assign their ancient homeland to the regions of Lake Baykal. The Ekhirit, Bulagat and Khoridoy are considered the legendary progenitors of the Buryats.

The historical monuments of the 13th and 15th centuries mention the country of Bargudzhin-Tukum, in which, according to the evidence of Rashid-ad-Din, the Persian historian, there lived Barguts, Khors, Tulasy, closely related Tumets, as well as Oyrat Bulagachins (sable hunters), Keremuchins (squirrel hunters) and Oyn-Uryankha (forest Uryankhays). Some investigators (Banzarov and others) identify the name "Burgut" or "Buruts" with "Buryats".

The ancestral tribes of the Buryats inhabited the vicinity of Lake Baykal long before the creation of Genghis Khan's empire. The very ancient Mongolian source "Secret Tales" (1240) tells of campaigns to the north, ordered by Genghis, in order to subdue the forest tribes, among whom the Khorit-Tumets and Buryats are mentioned.

More authentic information on the Buryats first appears in the 17th century, the time of the arrival of the Cossacks in the "brotherly land." In technical literature it is usual to divide them into five tribes—the Bulagats, Ekhirits, Khongodors, Khorins and Tabunuts. The largest tribes were the Bulagats and Khorins. The Bulagats lived on the river Angara and its tributaries, while the Ekhirits populated the upper reaches of the Lena. The Khongodors nomadized south of the Bulagats.

The Khorins lived on both sides of Lake Baykal and on Ol'khon Island. In the regions west of Lake Baykal they only lived on the Great and Little Bugul'deyka Rivers. The Tabunuts lived on the right bank of the Selenga between the mouths of the Chikoy and the Uda.

In addition, individual groups of tribes originating from Mongolia, such as the Sartols, Atagans and others, were to be found among the Buryats. As a result, some of the Buryat clans changed their place of residence; for example, some of the Bulagats moved along the river Selenga, while some of the Ekhirit clans moved from the Verkholsensk fortress to the river Barguzin in the 18th century (1740), and so on.

Under the Nerchinsk Treaty with China (1689) and later under the Burinskiy Agreement (1727-1728), the Buryats were finally ceded to Russia on both sides of Lake Baykal. The annexation of the Buryats to Russia and the progressive nature of this event have not been understood by historians; until recently it was interpreted in historical literature as the "conquest and enforced subjugation" of the Siberian peoples. At the same time it would be wrong to think of the annexation as a smooth process which had no ill effect for the Buryat population. The role and importance of the various classes, both Russian and Buryat, in the process were completely different. The representatives of the exploiting class—the voyevods and so on—strove to enrich themselves through coercion, looting and trickery. The excessive raiding and plundering caused many insurrections by the Buryats and their neighbors, the Evenks, against the tsarist authorities. They besieged the forts, drove off the tribute-collectors and killed the tsarist officials.

It should be pointed out that in their antifeudal struggle, the tribute-paying Buryats often allied themselves with the Evenks, Russian peasants, merchants and rank-and-file soldiery. Such, for example, were the risings in 1696 in the Bratsk Fort and round about, the mutiny of the Buryats in the same year against the Ilm voyevod, and the unrest in

1695-1696 in the Uda, Selenga and Kaban forts in the Transbaykal.

In the 17th century, in Buryat society itself, there was intensive decomposition of the communal structure and transition to a feudal class society, during which the eastern Buryats, who had closer relations with feudal Mongolia, went considerably further in the process of feudalization than the western Buryats. Their ruling clique borrowed the system of the Mongolian feudal hierarchy and adopted Mongolian feudal titles.

Among the eastern Buryats the masses of ordinary clan members—"ulus people"—were headed by tayshas, zaysans and shulengas. Among the western Buryats the clan aristocracy ("princelings" or shulengas), with the help of their kinsmen, raided the neighboring tribes and turned some of them into their kishtyms or tribute-payers. The kishtym Buryats were some of the Kott clans, some of the Baykal Evenks and Tofalars. The kishtym dependence of the Buryats was mainly restricted to the payment of a tribute in furs. Furs were of great value and long before the Russians reached Siberia there were trade ties between the Buryat hierarchy and Mongolia and China.

In return for their "soft wares" the Buryats received silver, silk, metal objects and other imports from China. It was this that gave rise to the rumors reaching the tsarist government about silver mines in the "brotherly land."

The pasturelands needed by the nomadic pastoralists were nominally in the possession of the ulus in the 17th century, although among the eastern Buryats the actual landowners were the richer pastoralists, the noyons.

The word "ulus" among the ancient Mongols meant a union of clans and tribes dependent on a certain khan, noyon or taysha. The Buryats of the 17th century also used the word to mean a union of clans or tribes nomadizing on one particular area under the power of a chief ("princeling," noyon, and so on). The documents of the 17th century often called the ulus by the name of its leader.

The bulk of the Buryat population was composed of "ulus people" who nomadized within the limits of their own ulus. They had a small number of stock and their pastureland was smaller and poorer than that of the princelings.

The latter, being the ulus chiefs, were also major stock owners.

Intraclan assistance was often used as a disguise for different kinds of exploitation—the handing over of stock by the feudal hierarchy to destitute stockbreeders for pasturing; working for the richer pastoralists in return for loans (tanning, feltmaking and so on). Apart from this there were people who were completely dependent on the clan aristocracy. Documents of the 17th century make frequent mention of bondsmen (kholopy) belonging to different people. The bondsmen were both people taken into captivity during intertribal wars and raids and evidently also ulus people who had no stock and worked on the farms of the feudal hierarchy.

In the common law of the Buryats in the 17th century, stress is given to the difference between the rights enjoyed by the bondsmen and the free people.

Feudal relationships in 17th-century Buryat society were closely interwoven with primitive-communal relationships. Clan grouping was of importance in distributing pastureland, collecting tribute, joint action in feuding and raiding, hunting, and also when performing various religious rites.

Survivals of the primitive-communal relationships were retained in Buryat society right up to the October Revolution.

The tsarist government sought to win over the Buryat hierarchy by giving them more privileges, ranks and awards. It exempted representatives of the Buryat hierarchy from payment of the fur tribute, awarded them the titles of taysha and zaysan, paid them wages for service in frontier detachments and later invested them with ranks under the Table of Ranks. The chief tayshas headed the "offices" which governed the territorial associations of Buryats. Within their own domain the tayshas enjoyed extensive powers.

In the 18th century, local government was carried out by a zasul who stood at the head of an ulus or khoton. As distinct from an ulus, a khoton was a group of closely related kinsmen. The ulus corresponded to the Russian rural commune. In certain regions, for example, among the Buryats of the Verkholsk-Kuda steppes, there were rural communes consisting of joint families. The union of several ulusy made a kholbon or tabin, headed by a shulenga who was chosen from among the "honored people." The tabins were part of the clan administration which was headed by a zaysan or taysha.

According to Buryat customary law, the farmlands located within the territory of the ulus community were considered to belong to it and were distributed by the zaysan, shulenga and ulus assembly (suglan) in accordance with the number of registered persons and head of cattle.

Land suitable for haymaking had to be distributed evenly between members of the ulus. But in actual fact, the zaysans and shulengas, taking advantage of their superior economic and administrative status, appropriated the best and largest areas for themselves. Not only did they often take the best farmland, but also legally registered their ownership with the excuse that it was a voluntary concession on the part of the ulus members.

The "ulus people" were subjected to various forms of exploitation by the Buryat hierarchy. An extensive practice was to hand over livestock to the poorer population for raising; the working-off of loans, a number of tithes in favor of the zaysan, noyon or shulenga when collecting tribute, retention of the "brokerage" for deliveries (of wool, cattle, wood) to the government and so on were also common.

The main occupation of the Buryats in the 18th century, as in the preceding century, was nomadic pastoralism, although the frequency and scale of the migrations had dropped considerably due to the restriction of free land, which was due, in turn, to the historical development of Siberia as a whole. Both the Buryat population and the Russian peasants in Siberia were oppressed by the feudal lords, on the one hand, and the merchants who found their way among them, on the other. The monasteries, which possessed extensive ploughland, meadowland, forests and fishing grounds in Buryatiya, also cruelly exploited the Russian peasants and baptized Buryats working for them.

The growth of colonization, the expansion of trade with China via Kyakhta and also internal trade, the birth of industry in the shape of small factories (The Tal'tsin china factory and Tel'min cloth mill), the conversion of the older forts into towns (Irkutsk, Verkhneudinsk, Nerchinsk, Selenginsk, etc.), the population growth in the towns, settlements and factories, the starting up of the mining industry, which at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries included the Nerchinsk silver-lead mine and smelting works, the Aleksandrovsk, Il'insk and Nikol'sk distilleries, the Petrovskiy iron-works and other establishments, all stepped up the demand for agricultural products and stimulated the development of farming

in Buryatiya. The Cossack reports point out that the western Buryats sowed millet and buckwheat, but it was only with the arrival of the Russians that agriculture began to develop on a wide scale. The western Buryat was the first to sow a variety of crops (rye, wheat, oats) and make hay, and at the end of the 18th century farming began to spread to the Transbaykal or eastern Buryats.

In agriculture and haymaking, just as in pastoralism, the exploiting hierarchy of the Buryat society strove to turn the toil of their kinsmen to their own advantage.

Complaints filed by the Khorin Buryats relating to the first half of the 19th century point out that the clan chieftains forced them to till their land for them, make hay on their own fields and fence off their dwellings, took away hay and livestock, kept them for many years without paying for their use, and cruelly punished them without any legal basis.

From the 18th century right up to the October Revolution, the land problem in Buryatiya was one of the most controversial issues. The struggle of the toiling Buryat population against seizure of their land is shown vividly by the petitions and delegations sent to St. Petersburg, where, however, their appeals were simply ignored.

In the 19th century the system of governing the Buryats was altered. The Buryats classed under Speransky's charter of 1822 as "foreigners" obtained the semblance of self-government. The administrative heads were so-called steppe *dumas*,¹ elected by themselves and merely approved by the tsarist administration. Twelve steppe *dumas* were formed all over Buryatiya. The lowest link in the system of government was the clan administration and native bureaus which came under the steppe *dumas* and were also formally elected. The most important posts, however, were still inherited, and it was only exceptional abuse on the part of the *taysha* which could result in withdrawal of his title. According to the 1822 charter, none of the elected authorities "received any wages from their kinsmen, but performed the duties of their ranks as a public service." On the other hand, it was pointed out that they received "income as befitted their rank according to steppe law and customs from the trades and lands." This sanctioned the special privileges of the feudal hierarchy enabling them to exploit the toiling masses.

The new system of administration intensified the oppression and exploitation of the population and also led to constant feuding between the *noyons* in their struggle for power.

In the 19th century capitalist relations began emerging in Buryatiya. Conditions were made particularly favorable for their development by the laying at the end of the century of the Siberian railroad, which provided an outlet for the products of Buryat economy and stimulated the development of certain branches of local economy. Alongside the Russian traders, the Buryats now had their own trader-usurers. The lamas from the large Buddhist monasteries were not adverse to this activity, either.

The various factories and plants which developed around the Siberian railroad were the gathering point of the proletariat. But the number of Buryat workers was extremely small, and the bulk of them continued to engage in agriculture.

Class stratification, which had occurred among the Buryats even before their annexation to Russia, was becoming ever stronger. By the end of the 19th century there were considerable numbers of farm laborers, in addition to the kulak farms.

¹ An ancient Russian word for a popular assembly.—Ed.

At that time the exploitation had already gone beyond national limits—many Russians, particularly convict-settlers, worked on the Buryat kulak farms; propertyless Buryats often worked on Russian kulak farms.

The lamaist (Buddhist) clergy also took a part in the exploitation. The lamas and datsans [monasteries] possessed large areas of farmland. According to the 1853 law on the lamaist clergy in Eastern Siberia, set areas were assigned to different categories of lamas: for example, the chief of a lamaist temple, the Bondido-Khambo Lama, was entitled to 500 desyatinas, a staff lama received 60 desyatinas, and so on.

By the beginning of the 20th century, feudal relations among the Buryats, just as among the other backward pastoral peoples of tsarist Russia who had not had time to pass through the capitalist stage, were still closely interwoven with patriarchal relations.

The oppressed Buryats, just as the Russians, began to harbor strong resentment of both the local exploiters and the tsarist system. The class struggle was manifested by the refusal of the Buryat masses to obey the noyons, tayshas and kulaks, in their refusal to do compulsory jobs and pay taxes, and in flights by farm laborers, which became especially frequent in the 80's and 90's of the last century. A peculiar form of the struggle was the burning of the estates of the noyons and kulaks. The struggle often took the form of riots, open armed resistance, and reprisals against the local authorities.

The class contradictions found a physical outlet in the controversy over the administrative reforms of 1900-1903, which merely amounted to replacement of the Buryat "self-government" (the steppe dumas) by volost administrations and peasant administrators. A great deal of unrest was caused by the introduction of the 15-desyatina plot of land per male, which for the local pastoral economy was obviously inadequate and resulted in an economic decline. The unrest reached its peak in 1905 when the revolutionary movement sweeping across Russia spread to East Siberia as well. At this period there were a number of Buryat congresses. The most important one was held in April 1905 in Chita, and those attending demanded "direct participation in the management of the population's own affairs without distinction of sex," the formation of organs of self-government on the basis of universal and equal electoral rights, the opening of schools for Buryats in their native language, and various other measures. The movement attracted more and more people. The movement was actively aided by the Chita Bolshevik Committee. The bourgeois nationalists and lamas, whose political program usually went no further than bourgeois-nationalist demands, strove to take advantage of this mass movement.

The revolutionary movement of 1905 was firmly suppressed by the tsarist government. After the suppression of the uprising, the Buryat national bourgeoisie and noyons came to new terms with the tsarist regime. But the struggle of the toiling masses continued in different forms right up to the October Revolution, which finally gave the Buryats the chance to put an end to centuries-old oppression forever.

By the end of 1918, the activities of the first Soviet organs on the territory of Buryatiya and Siberia had been stopped by the counterrevolution; June 1918 to December 1919 was a period of cruel reaction and military dictatorship by Kolchak.

During this time the most important populated points along the Siberian railroad were occupied by foreign invaders. The bands of the hetman Semenov, inspired by Japan, caused havoc in the Transbaykal. Nevertheless, the success of the Red Army and the revolutionary movement in

Siberia and in the Soviet Far East thwarted the plans of the interventionists.

On April 25, 1921, the Central Buryat-Mongol Committee of Eastern Siberia was set up in Irkutsk. During the liberation of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, two autonomous oblasts were set up: one at the end of 1921 on the territory of the Far Eastern Republic², and the other in January 1922 within the RFSFR. In 1923 the two oblasts were merged into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR.³

Influence of Russian Culture

The association between the Buryat people and the Russians was of great progressive importance. The Russians took to Buryatiya methods of agriculture, a settled way of life, different trades, and so on. The Buryats borrowed techniques for growing crops, and learned about new crops they had not known before, such as rye, wheat, oats, hemp. Farming was introduced mainly in the Baykal regions. It is characteristic that in addition to the agriculture itself, all the Russian terms associated with it were absorbed by the Buryat language.

From the Russians the Buryats also adopted the techniques for looking after cattle and veterinary science. Under the influence of the Russians the Buryats began building Russian-type wooden houses, which completely replaced the old felt yurts among the western Buryats. Russian furnishing, utensils and clothing were also taken over.

The close association between the Buryats and the Russians led to assimilation of the Russian language by the Buryats, and often to co-operation in work, particularly in the hunting cooperatives.

In turn, the Russians gained from the experience acquired by the Buryats over many centuries of hunting in local conditions, including the ability to track game, to know its habits, to find its habitat, and so on.

The occupations of agriculture and pastoralism, just as hunting and trapping, required a variety of factory-made commodities—agricultural implements, iron pots, vessels, cloth, fabrics, guns and so on. The Buryats received all these things from the Russians. They also received tea, salt and tobacco from them.

Contact between the Buryats and the Russians often led to marriage. The hybrid population was known under the name of karym. Russified Buryats were called yasachnyye.

The proximity of the Russians also had an effect on the overall development of the Buryat people, reflected first and foremost by a desire for education. Here a particularly important part was played by the numerous political exiles who acted as propagators of advanced Russian culture.

During the years of autocracy, Buryatiya served as a convict settlement for political exiles. In 1775, the Ural and Yaitso Cossacks who had taken part in the Pugachev revolt, and later the Polish insurgents of 1795, 1831 and 1863, were exiled to the Transbaykal.

² A short-lived buffer state set up in April 1920 by agreement between the Soviet government and Japan.—Ed.

³ In September 1937, the Alarskiy, Bokhanskiy and Ekhirit-Bulagatskiy Aymaks were separated from the Buryat-Mongol ASSR and formed into the Ust'-Ordynsk Buryat-Mongolian National Okrug within the Irkutskaya Oblast.

Occupations

By the time the Revolution arrived, the two main branches of Buryat economy were nomadic pastoralism and agriculture. Agriculture predominated among the western Baykal Buryats and pastoralism among the Transbaykal Buryats, and the Buryats of the Aginskoye Vedomstvo,⁴ who nomadized along the river Onon, had a purely pastoral economy. Subsidiary occupations were hunting, fishing, forestry, carting and carpentry. Pastoralism, which was particularly extensively practiced among the nomadic population, involved the rearing of cattle, sheep, horses and camels (Aginskoye Vedomstvo). The Buryats who changed to a semi-settled pastoral agricultural economy reared a few cattle, sheep and horses.

Dairy products and meat were the staple food; leather and wool were not only the raw material for making clothing, footwear, vessels and felt, but were also sold to merchants, in the same way as cattle, sheep and horses. In return, the Buryats received fabrics and objects of household use.

On the stockbreeding farms the livestock were given extra fodder, but since it was not possible to provide all the animals with hay, some of the animals were usually kept grazing the whole year round. It should be pointed out that the range of the Buryat nomadic migrations diminished as time passed. While in the first half of the 18th century the Transbaykal Buryats nomadized over large expanses almost the whole year round, from the first half of the 19th century a cyclic form of migration had begun to prevail, in which they nomadized for a certain time of year within a fixed territory (winter camps, spring camps, summer camps and autumn camps); the cyclic form began to develop among the western Buryats much earlier than among the eastern Buryats. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Buryats migrated only twice a year—from winter camps to summer camps and back again.

Among the Irkutsk Buryats, pastoralism was not the chief form of subsistence; their herds were fewer in quantity than among the Transbaykal Buryats, on account of which the extent of their migration was small and fewer of their cattle were fed by pasturing.

Among the Buryats who had changed to a settled way of life, the pasturing system was no different from that employed by the Russian population. During the summer, cart-horses, milch-cows and calves belonging to the nomadic population usually grazed alongside the actual dwellings, while the remainder were left on the summer pastures almost without any surveillance, and it was only the sheep and goats that were watched by herdsmen. In certain cases the poor people combined their small herds into one large one, which was looked after in turn or else conjointly. The richer people grazed their stock separately and often split them into several groups.

In winter the poorer people drove all their livestock to the winter camp, while the richer people only took the animals which were to be fed on hay, leaving the remainder to graze the whole winter long on the mown fields covered with autumn grass. In order to improve the yield from the grass, the western Buryats used an artificial irrigation system and manured fields lying close to the farm areas. Lack of fodder, death of stock during snowstorms, and especially different types of epizootics had a negative effect on the development of stockbreeding. Whenever the

⁴A unit of local self-government.—Ed.

livestock became ill, the Buryats resorted to advice from the shamans and lamas. When there was extensive cattle plague in the western aymaks, they made blood sacrifices and built ongons (images of deities) which were supposed to afford protection from the disease and promote fertility. In certain regions the rite of Shurge Shukhe was practiced; this consisted in purifying the livestock with fire made by rubbing pieces of wood together. Documents of the Kulomzin Commission which studied the economy of the Buryat population at the end of the last century states that: "The Buryats who lived near Selenginsk appealed to a certain lama for help when a contagious plague broke out among their livestock. . . the lama skinned two of the animals which had died from the plague, spread them out on the ground and ordered all the horned cattle to be driven over these skins. The results of this help were lamentable; the cattle all caught the plague and every one of them died."⁵

The extensive form of economy involved the constant risk of losing herds. The fact that the pastoralists were so dependent on the elemental forces of nature at this low level of the productive forces gave no guarantee either of a normal increase in the herd or even of its preservation.

The prevalent system of cultivation was one in which the land was alternately sown, left fallow and left to lie for a long period. The crops sown were mainly the summer variety—rye, oats, barley, buckwheat—and also winter rye. The implements for tilling the soil and agricultural techniques were borrowed from the Russians. Both in the Russian economy and in that of the Buryats, the one-horse wooden plough was gradually ousted by the two-horse plough with wheels. The old-type "battered" harrows with wooden teeth were replaced by ones with iron teeth. The wealthier Buryats (noyons and kulaks) acquired winnowers and threshers, while the poorer people used chains or molotyagas. The latter usually consisted of a round larch log with teeth cut into it. Shafts were attached to the axis of this log for harnessing horses, and sometimes the axes of one or several stumps were fixed to a rectangular frame.

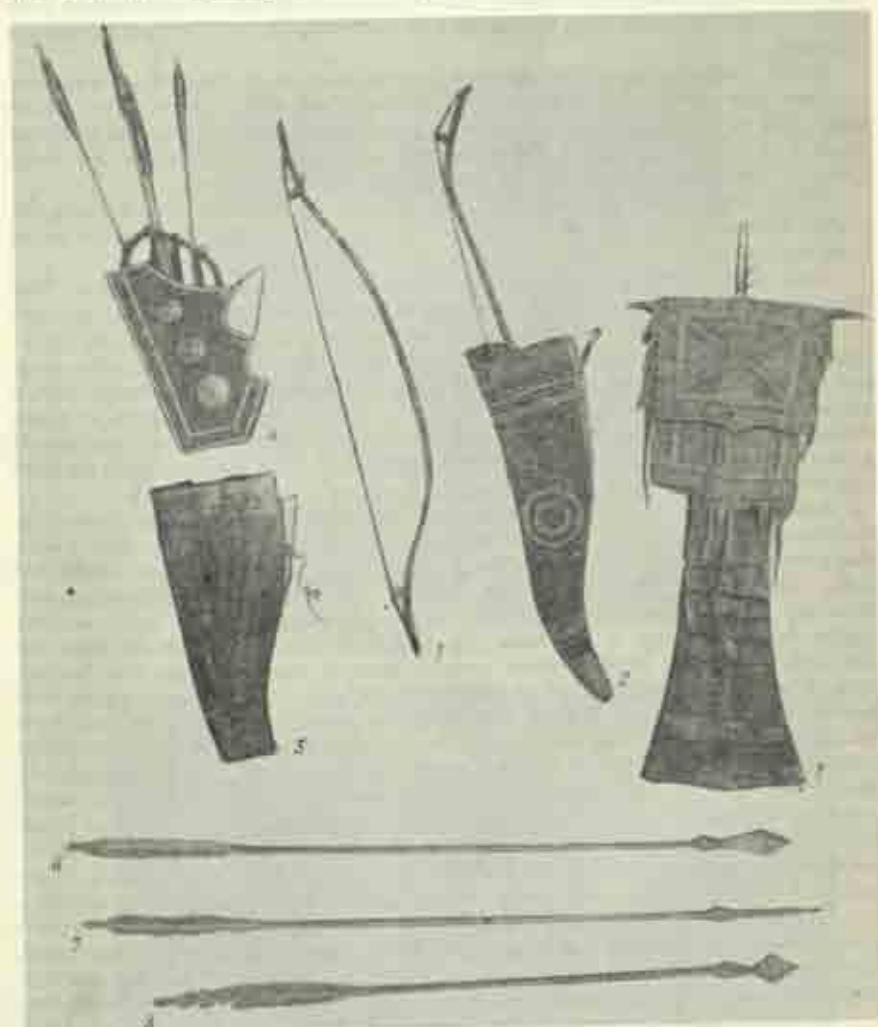
Other branches of economy common among the Buryats were hunting and fishing, individual crafts and cottage industry. In certain regions the hunting grounds were assigned to individual clans. The Buryats of the Chikoy-Kharanut clan in the Selenginskoye Vedomstvo, who lived on the river Chikoy, for example, had the right to use the hunting grounds lying along the left bank. All the mountain ridges, spring and stream areas were distributed among different families in proportion to the number of males in them. The owners of these areas formed cooperatives. Each cooperative had a common winter camp in its area consisting of yurts and tents, in which the hunters lived.

The hunting rights of the Buryats retained traces of the primitive-communal relationships in that all the members of the clan took an equal part in the hunt and in distribution of the booty. The most ancient form of hunting, which combined a large number of clans, was battue hunting. The western Buryats called it zegete-aba, and the eastern Buryats, aba khaydak. Even at the end of the 19th century the Buryats could still remember these battue hunts. Various superstitions and rituals were associated with hunting; for example, among the Tunka Buryats a slaughtered sable was not carried through the door, but passed through a

⁵ Materialy obsledovaniya Zabaykal'skoy oblasti (Materials From the Study of the Transbaykal District), Issue 13, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 44.

specially made window with the words "all'chin irebe," which means the visitor has arrived, thus stressing their respect for this animal. The hunter who had killed the sable was greeted with great respect by his comrades.

The weapons used for hunting were extremely primitive. The bulk of them consisted of all types of traps such as noose-snares, pitfalls, self-triggered bows and arrows, and so on. Firearms were not very common, and were chiefly found in places where it was possible to obtain the required ammunition. Flint guns were the commonest type. The season for hunting squirrel, sable and ermine began halfway through October and ended at the beginning of February. Until the first snow came, guns and



Old-type weapons: 1—bow; 2—bow-case and bow; 3—quiver;
4—quiver; 5—bow-case; 6, 7, 8—arrows.

dogs were used for the hunting, but after the snow traps were set. Fox, wolf, lynx, wolverine and otter were hunted all through the winter. Apart from guns, traps and snares, the system of poisoning bait with strychnine was also used for hunting wolves and foxes. In some places, e.g., among the Buryats of the Unginskoye Vedomstvo, battues were organized for hunting wolves, and the hunters used bows and arrows rather than guns, and fired the arrows from horseback. The main purpose of hunting the East Siberian stag was to obtain the antlers which were used for trade with China, where they were made into medicines. Hence the principal hunting season was the summer months when the antlers had reached maximum size. The hunters usually lay in wait for the stag on salt bottoms, where they built hiding places on scaffolding. In the autumn they used to lure the male stag within shot by imitating its call with a birchbark trumpet.

When hunting bear, the hunters lay in wait near the bait, sometimes smoked the bear out of its lair or drove it out with spears, after which they shot it or beat it to death with clubs. As regards birds, the Buryats hunted on rivers and lakes for geese and ducks, and in the forest for wood grouse, heathcock, hazel grouse, and bustard in the steppes.

They fished on the banks of the Baykal, on Ol'khon Island along the river Selenga, and in some of the lakes. The whitefish was the most frequent catch.

Seal was the chief animal taken on the shore of Lake Baykal. The operation began in January and was initially carried out with nets. Horse-hair nets from 4 to 8 m long were set up under the ice during the night. Nearer the springtime the hunters used guns. To track the animals, they put on white clothing and pushed along in front of them a sledge with a white cover: this concealed the hunter and enabled him to fire at close range. The skin of the seal was used for clothing and various small articles such as bags, saddle trimmings, etc. The fat was used as food and was to some extent sold in Irkutsk.

Among the trades we should point out blacksmithing, fur-dressing, saddlemaking, tanning, and feltmaking. Among the Kutul and Yelan Buryats there was coopering—the manufacture of barrels and casks for fish. The Armak and Zakamensk Buryats engaged in lumberjacking and floating timber downriver for sale in Verkhneudinsk. The most ancient trade was smithery. It had been regarded with respect by the Buryats for centuries and the smiths were usually greatly revered, and this feeling was often mixed with a kind of superstitious awe. The trade of smith was hereditary. In former times, the shamans were also often smiths. The worship of iron as well as objects made from it was directly associated with the idolization of the smith's trade. For example, it was considered that if an iron object such as a knife or axe was placed alongside a sick person or someone who was sleeping, they would be better protected from evil forces. Buryat legends often mention whitesmiths (specialists in nonferrous metals) and blacksmiths (specialists in iron), which is an indication of the fact that there were jewelers among the Buryat smiths.

The smiths made hunting implements and weapons, household implements such as pots for cooking food, knives and axes, and also harness. The smith-jewelers made silver ornaments for women's clothing and for headgear, and also made artistic bracelets, rings, silver trimmings for the harness, and weapons. Thin silver and gold plates cut to size were placed on red-hot strips of iron and impressed into the metal with taps of a hammer, and rubbed with coal after reheating; this made the objects look very elegant.



Working leather and making felt: 1—rolling felt;
2—working sheepskin; 3—leather pounder.

Leather and felt work, which was common among the nomadic and seminomadic population, was exclusively a domestic craft. The leather was used to make clothing, footwear, harness, and containers for dairy produce. Felt was made into coverings for the tents, rugs to sit on, sacks for keeping salt, etc. When the leather was being worked, the wool was first scraped off with a scythe or a knife, usually without any preparation, and sometimes the leather was soaked in water. When the fur had been removed, the hide was smeared with fermented rye flour, and then, during the actual working, with oil or bone marrow. Sour milk and half-rotten liver were also used as lubricants. Smaller skins such as sheepskin were cleaned with a knife, rumpled by hand and the flesh was removed with scrapers—*khidyrgen*. For preparing the hide of cattle and horses, use was made of massive leather pounders (*tyrlge* or *erigulge*). Rawhide was used for reins, straps, etc. The leather intended for mittens and footwear was smoked over a pit of glowing pine cones and manure. When making felt, the fur was fluffed up with sticks and spread in layers 6 or 7 cm thick on an old felt soaked in water, after which it was swamped with water and then wound onto a wooden roller. In the eastern nomadic regions the felt roll was wrapped in leather and bound with string. Short wooden tubes with strings attached were placed over the ends of the roll, and the other end of the string was attached to the saddle of the horse. The roll was dragged over the steppes until the felt was ready. Among the western Buryats, the roll was bound in the middle with string, the ends of which were held by two women on opposite sides. As the string was pulled tight, the roll moved from one side to the other.



Old-style women's saddle.

Objects made of horsehair, such as string, reins, underlays for saddles, collars for calves, fetters for horses, reins, handles for pails and small fishing nets, were very common.

Dwellings

Land restrictions, the growth of the population, the introduction of agriculture and haymaking, proximity to markets, and the influence of settled Russian peasants all influenced the nomadic way of life of the Buryat population. Their dwellings also altered through changes in occupation and the reduced scale of migration. Alongside the portable felt yurt common among the nomads there began to appear permanent wooden yurts, which gradually ousted the felt yurt. By the time of the October Revolution, the felt yurt was no longer found among the western Buryats.

According to the well-known collector of ancient Buryat relics, M. N. Khangalov, the northern Buryats did not have felt yurts in ancient times, but borrowed them from the Transbaykal Buryats. He also points out the conical dwelling made of wooden stakes and covered with animal skins—the bukhek—found among the ancient northern Buryat trappers. In migrating from one place to another the Buryats took only the covering with them.

The summer camps of the western Buryats were set up in river valleys or near springs, that is, in places where there was an abundance of pasture, while the winter camps were located in haymaking areas (fertilized areas near farms) and in places with plenty of grass. The summer pasturelands were separated from the winter ones by a fence. The Buryat dwellings, which were surrounded by fields, were often a long way away from each other. They were built either in the style of the Russian houses, or else were 6- or 8-cornered log huts with a sloping roof. In shape the wooden huts were similar to the felt yurts. These wooden dwellings were only of importance as a summer residence, and in the winter they were



Wooden hut used by western Buryats.

used as barns, cattle stalls, or for temporary accommodation when the normal house was being aired; they were also used for various trades—leatherwork, harness making, and so on. Shamanistic ceremonies were sometimes performed in these dwellings. Most frequently, the wooden yurt consisted of eight walls, usually made of larch logs set in 12 or 14 rows; in diameter the yurt attained 10 m. In the middle there were columns with a crossbeam at the top to support the roof. A hole was left in the middle of the ceiling for the smoke to escape. The ceiling was covered with soaked bark, turf and thin planks of wood. The floor was made of wood, but in the middle between the columns there was a square hearth (gulamta) made of brick or clay. A three-legged iron stand (tukha) or three stones (dule) were placed over the hearth. In some cases small sheds were built onto the north side of the dwelling and joined to it by a door. Inside the dwelling, a wooden shelf called an ekhe uge, which means "principal or old shelf" (the word ekhe means mother), was built into the western wall during the actual construction. It was mainly used for objects connected with the religious cult. On the north-western side was placed a wide wooden bed, and shelves for household utensils were either built into the walls on the northeastern side or simply attached to them. A porchway was built on the outside of the southeastern side.

The internal arrangement of Russian-type dwellings in regions close to towns and trade routes, particularly among the richer Buryats, was similar to that of the houses of Russian peasants. But in places a long way from towns it differed considerably. There it was usual for the "clean" side of the house to have a wooden floor, raised considerably above the ground, while the other part of the dwelling (for working) had an earth floor. During the winter, lambs and calves were kept below the floor. Wherever the floorspace was inadequate, a place on the clean side of the dwelling with an earthen floor was partitioned off for the young animals, and a partition was also used to separate the living quarters from the working quarters. A Russian stove was used for heating. In places where the rivers froze over in winter, water was obtained from melted snow or ice, for which a bench was set up in the working quarters, in the corner by the door, and snow or crushed ice was placed on it; as it melted the water flowed along a gutter into a receptacle placed underneath.



Felt yurt of poor family.

In the eastern regions the nomadic population used the felt yurt. The framework consisted of lattice-type vertical walls (*khana*), of which there were usually five, though among the richer Buryats there could be as many as eight or ten. These walls were set up in a circle and tied together with cords at the joins. The top of the dwelling was shaped like a truncated cone consisting of long sticks (*uni*) which were attached by one end to the wall, while the other was inserted in a circular opening (*tono*) which was used to allow light into the dwelling and to let out the smoke. As soon as the framework had been set up, the vertical walls were secured on the outside with hair rope (*khoshlan*). The framework was spread with felt covers and tied with rope. The entrance always faced the south; a two-piece wooden door (*thalaga*) was made on the inside, and on the outside a quilted felt cover was let down to cover it (*uda*). The floor was made of earth, although among the richer Buryats it was laid with planks and felt, except for the place for the fire.

In the eastern regions the wooden dwellings were usually found in summer camps. As distinct from the dwellings of the western Buryats, these were rectangular in shape, their roofs were covered with planks and

there was a square opening to let the smoke out. They did not make any windows, but sometimes there was a small longitudinal opening between the beams for watching the livestock. The floor was usually made of earth, and sometimes covered with planks among the richer people.

The furnishings in both the winter and summer dwellings were the same.

As they moved to the summer camp in spring, the Buryats took along their property as well. Inside the dwelling, the middle of the floor beneath the opening in the roof was set aside for the fire. Sometimes there was an adobe stove with a plate and an iron chimney, sometimes it was an iron stove, and often it was simply a fire with a tripod above it, usually with an iron bowl for cooking meat, brewing tea or heating milk. Opposite the door was a wooden shelf on which stood (in lamaist dwellings) brass images of Buddhist deities with offerings of milk, wine and rye in front of them. Instead of images of Buddha, the shamanists used to hang a long box with ongons (shamanistic deities) on the wall; these consisted of squirrel, ermine and other animal skins. On the left of the entrance was the place occupied by the head of the household, and it was also where the hunting equipment was kept; his wife sat on the right, where the kitchen utensils were located. They sat on the floor around the hearth. To sit on, they spread quilted felts (shirdeg); the middle felt was usually placed in front of the shelf with the deities, while the other two were on either side of it. Felt mattresses sewn with cloth on the outside (olbok) were available for honored guests and lamas, and from 3 to 12 of them were piled on top of each other. On the right-hand side, just by the entrance, there was always a crockery cupboard (ergeneg), after which came a low wooden bed (oron) with a felt mattress, a pillow (dere) and a blanket (khushalga).

The top part of the bed was often ornamented. The pillow was stuffed with wool. One end was round and usually faced the wall, while the end facing the fire was square, decorated with metal plates and multicolored ribbon. The more attractive pillows were handed down from mother to daughter. Behind the bed were different types of chests — the ukheg for small articles and the abder for household objects and clothes. In houses in which there were children, a cradle was placed alongside the bed. It had a sloping bottom with a hole in it to drain away the urine. The cradle was not ornamented or painted, but an anklebone or some other amulet was hung on the right-hand side. The anklebone was usually taken from the animal which had been slaughtered to celebrate the birth of the child.

Saddles and harness were kept on the left-hand side of the entrance, and sometimes there were also chests there, on which the felt-roll beds of the members of the family were sometimes piled up.

To heat the house they usually used argal, i.e., dry cow or horse dung; wood was not very often used.

Utensils

The following wooden vessels were very commonly used by the Buryats: the *төмөр*, a wide birchbark pail for milking cows, the *tudkhur*, a small pail for milking goats and sheep, the *khaba* or *saba*, a tall vessel for sour milk (*ayrag*), the *бугуур*, a tall narrow tub for making and keeping *төрөнсө*, fermented milk close to *kumys* (*бугуур* was also the name of the wooden churn staff for making butter), the *tebshe*, a dish for meat, the *tabak*, a hollowed-out dish, the *shanaga*, a large wooden spoon (ladle), the *ayaga* or *takshi*, a cup made from the roots of the birch tree, larch or

birch nodes, the *zoponso* torkho, a tub for keeping *zoponso*, a dombo, a jug for tea, and the ur, a wooden mortar for crushing brick tea. For cooking meat and brewing tea they used a cast iron cup (togon). Among the nomads of the eastern regions, tall skin vessels (*хүхүү*) were used for sour milk, and thick gut and animal stomachs were used for keeping butter and cream. The Buryats had a few enamel and metal vessels which they acquired in Russian shops.

Food

The nomadic and seminomadic populations subsisted mainly on meat and dairy products, milk being consumed solely in the boiled form. The national dishes which used to be widespread and are still retained in the daily life of the Buryats were arul, khurut, *үрмэ*, *zoponso* and salamat. Arul and khurut were a curdy mass dried and tied with thread or pressed



Utensils: 1—churn; 2—wooden vessel; 3—metal vessel.

in separate slices. They were made by fermenting and boiling fresh milk. In the summertime, when there was plenty of milk about, arul and khurut were conserved for use in winter.

The favorite dish was *үрмэ*, a thick, slightly dried layer of scum taken from boiled milk. Milk was always made into butter and *arsa* for later use; the latter was left after milk vodka (*tarasun* or *arkha*) had been

distilled from it. The poorer nomads poured the arsa into a special tub, adding dried roots, flour, ground birdcherry and other ingredients. Common among the western Buryats was salamat—flour boiled in sour cream. Vessels containing *xapouza* were usually placed by the northern column (*tenga*) of the dwelling. When making fresh *xapouza*, stale *xapouza* was used for the fermentation. It was chiefly the wealthier people who were in a position to keep any up to the time of the spring milk yield.

There was a special distilling apparatus for making tarasun or arkha. The process of making tarasun was called "sitting tarasun" by the Russian population, and the expressions "arkhidachit" and "dukhoryanit" were applied to the consumption of this milk-base spirit in the western regions. The former word stems from arkha (vodka), and the verb meant "to drink arkha." The second expression was connected with the ceremony of courtesy—dukhoryan—observed by the western Buryats. It usually happened that while the tarasun was being distilled, the neighbors and guests would gather in the dwelling and sit down round the fire. The hostess poured tarasun into a cup and gave it to the most honored and eldest guest or to the shaman. The one who received the tarasun went up to the fire and held out the cup, uttering a prayer as he did so, after which some of the liquid was poured into the fire as a sacrifice; then, having drunk a little, he gave the cup back to the hostess or to another of the guests with a greeting (blessing), which was called the dukhoryan. The person who received the cup then drank a little of the tarasun and answered the greetings, after which, having filled up the cup again he passed it to the same person, who this time emptied it. The ceremony was repeated for each person present. The last cup was drunk in mouthfuls by all those present, which meant khabay (friendship).

The tarasun played a very important part in all social ceremonies, prayers, sacrifices and weddings and so on.

Apart from dairy products, a staple food was meat, chiefly mutton in the summer and beef in the winter. The Buryats would only consume boiled meat, and it was cooked in slightly salted or completely unsalted water.

Tea was consumed in the form of blocks (bricks); milk, lard and salt were added. Only the Buryats who cultivated the land knew how to bake bread. They ate meat with their hands, and drank tea or soup from wooden cups. The vessels were not washed, as the spoons and cups were licked clean. An unwashed vessel was often passed from one member of a family to another, as was the smoking pipe. Customs of this kind promoted the spread of various diseases.

Clothing

The proximity of the Russians very much influenced the clothing of the western Buryats, even before the Revolution. Many Buryats, particularly the wealthier ones, began wearing urban clothes—jackets, vests, trousers, hats, kneeboots, shoes, and so on. Russian peasant knee-length coats became common.

The national winter dress of males consisted of a straight fur robe, the left side of which folded over the right side and buttoned at the side, which made it possible to carry things with the right hand in the space in between. The collar was erect, the sleeves were sewn of separately and the cuffs

were flat. The robe was belted with a long piece of material or a strap with silver and copper plaques. A tobacco pouch and a tobacco box were attached to the right-hand side of the belt, and there was also a knife in a sheath and a flint (khnete). The pipe was pushed into the kneeboot. The flint was made of steel or iron plates and was attached to a leather bag, often adorned with copper or silver plates. According to Buryat legends, a flint was so highly valued that a horse could be received in exchange for one. The summer clothing consisted of a robe (terlig) of the same cut as the winter type. It was made of a lined material and bound at the edges with cotton cloth or velveteen. The underclothing consisted of trousers and a shirt, the cut of



Clothing: 1—men's winter gown; 2—women's summer gown; 3—men's hat; 4—women's sleeveless coat; 5—footwear; 6, 7—bags for holding flint steel.

which was borrowed from the Russians. The man's hat with a pointed top and band widening towards the top was made of fox or wolf paws, roe-deer, sable, musk-deer or some other type of skin. Two ribbons hung down from the back of the cap. In the eastern aymaks many of the men shaved half their heads and had a pigtail.

The women's clothing consisted of a shirt (*samaa*) and trousers (*yabie*), over which they wore a robe (*degil'*). In the case of married women, the robe consisted of a gathered skirt and blouse, joined at waist level; the left side of the robe closed over the right and buttoned at the collar, on the shoulder and on the right side. The sleeves were often made of different pieces of cloth. At the bottom they were wide and gathered at the



Group of Buryats in old-type costume.

shoulder, while at the ends they had narrow cuffs made of velveteen. The collar was low and always embroidered with strips of colored ribbon or silk. The base of the skirt and the edge of both sides up to the blouse were bound with strips of velveteen or some other colored material. The point at which the blouse and skirt were joined was also embroidered with different-colored ribbons and string. The robe was always lined and was usually made of silk or cotton. Over the robe (*degil'*) they wore a sleeveless garment (*udzhe*) which consisted of a vest by itself or a vest with a gathered skirt attached to it. The vent was down the front from the collar to the bottom and at the back there was also a vent up as far as the vest. The edges of the vent in the collar and sleeves, the joining points between the vest and skirt, and the hem were embroidered with colored ribbon. Like the robe, the *udzhe* was lined.

The robe worn by girls, just as the women's type, consisted of a gathered skirt with a blouse sewn onto it. As distinct from the women's type, the girls' robe did not have puffed sleeves. Nor did girls wear the *udzhe*.

In winter the Buryats wore short overcoats made of domestic goatskin. The national women's headgear was a hat made of colored material with a fur top (beaver, otter, etc.), and a red tassel (tszalan) hung from the top at the back. In summer, the women bound their heads with kerchiefs.

Their hair was parted in the middle and worn in braids. At the level of the ears, two little sticks made of copper or gold were woven into the braids and on festive occasions numerous little trinkets were attached to them. On festivals a velvet covering decorated with coral and beads was worn under the hat. The women wore earrings and medallions inscribed with Tibetan prayers on their necks. Some women wore a red sash across their shoulder as a sign that they had taken a religious vow.

The girls, particularly in the eastern regions, wore a number of plaits joined at the temples by coral chains, as distinct from the women.

The national footwear (gutuly) was made of Russian leather or velveteen with a short top, on a thick felt sole well quilted and sewn with leather; the toe was usually slightly turned up, and there was no heel. The backs, toes and tops were sometimes decorated with silk or leather appliqué. The clothing of the richer people retained the national style, although it differed in the quality of the material and value of the decorations. Their clothing was predominantly made of Chinese and Russian silks, velvet, and other such material. At the present time the national dress is retained by the older generation and in the regions farthest away from the center of the Republic. The young people and the intelligentsia wear Russian clothes.

Survivals of Primitive-Communal Relations

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the Buryats still retained elements of the primitive-communal structure. They were divided into clans and "bones"—yasu. In the distant past the yasu consisted of blood relatives and constituted an exogamous group. Later on, people of one bone came to be united into different clans, which included fragments of other tribes. According to their tradition, an unknown Buryat entering the yurt was first asked which bone he belonged to; every Buryat had to know the name of his yasu and name all his male ancestors as far back as the 7th or 10th generation.

In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the Buryat clans were not so much based on the principle of kinship as territorial-economic community.

Mutual assistance during harvesting, haymaking and so on was customary in the Buryat communities, but in its true form this custom was only found among the poorer people, for on the farms of the noyons and kulaks it was an excuse for exploitation of kinsmen. Clan traditions required Buryats to summon all their closest neighbors and take part in the feast whenever a bull, horse or ram was slaughtered. The custom was still more rigorously observed when a hunter killed a Siberian stag, elk or roe-deer.

Apart from common territory and material interests, the members of the clan held the same belief with regard to territorial deities—the owners (edzhin) of the mountains, forests, springs, and so on. They made common sacrifices to them (taylgany). In addition to this, some members of the clan (or, more exactly, members of one yasu), the descendants of one early ancestor, had their "own" gods, to whom they made special sacrifices. Each kinsman who went off to a public festivity, whether it was a public sacrifice, wedding or some other event, had to make a contribution (nemyr) in the form of meat, milk, wine or some other product. Anyone who failed to bring a nemyr was censured by all and sundry. Clan solidarity was also

manifested in the customs associated with public games and contests. The relatives as a whole were responsible for any violation of the rules by one of their kinsmen.

Family and Marriage

The prevalent type of family was the individual (small-size) unit. It consisted of the head of the household, his wife and children, and sometimes the parents. Polygamy was permissible, although it was mainly found in the richer families; the poorer families were monogamous. Marriage was preceded by matchmaking; the parents sometimes consented to the future marriage of their children still under age, and in some cases of children who had just been born or not yet born.

Exogamy and bride-price played an important part in the life of the Buryats. No Buryat could marry a woman of his own clan. Kinship was only reckoned on the male side. Kinship on the female side could not be used as an obstacle to marriage. The extent of the bride-price differed according to the solvency of the family of the betrothed. Sometimes it was possible to work off the bride-price in the family of the bride's parents; it was very common practice to marry off daughters at an early age (11-15 years old).

Agreement on the marriage conditions and violation of this agreement involved a whole number of legal consequences. The insult to a groom was considered an insult to the whole clan. If the promised girl married someone else, her husband had to return all the bride-price to her former fiancé and make up everything spent on the matchmaking. Not only were the suitor and his close relatives interested in returning the bride-price, but also the clan as a whole. Buryats often resorted to the custom of *adiyay* to avoid paying bride-price. This custom consisted in an exchange of girls between two families with sons and daughters.

Familial and marital relations retained traces of the matriarchal system. Among relatives on the mother's side an important place was occupied by her brother (*nagasa*), who was given a number of rights and duties with respect to his sister's children. The Buryat terminology dealing with kinship has retained traces of the classificatory system. The terms relate to strictly defined categories of relatives, among whom they distinguish elders (*akhia*) and juniors (*du*), relatives on the male side, or more accurately on the father's side (*abaga*), and relatives on the mother's side (*nagasa*), and so on and so forth. When the bride moved into the bridegroom's house, she bowed to her husband's hearth and his relatives, after which she was finally taken into her husband's clan.

The position of a woman in the family and in society was an inferior one. The head of the house and the possessor of the property was the husband. In accordance with clan traditions, a woman could not call her mother-in-law or any elder relative of her husband (*khadam*) by their names; she was not supposed to sit while her mother-in-law and her husband's elder relatives were standing. She had to leave her mother-in-law's dwelling with her back to the door, facing those sitting inside. She had to cover her head and wear full dress in the presence of her husband's family. She could not sleep in the same dwelling as they. In the presence of her mother-in-law the girl could not approach the images of the Buddhist deities. When sitting in front of the fire, she had to pull down the hem of her dress, just as in front of her husband's elder relatives, since the "master" of the fire was considered the patron of the clan. She was not



Aninsk Datsan, Former Transbaykal District,
Verkhneudinsky Okrug.

permitted to take part in the communal clan festivities, and during banquets she was the last to receive her food. When her husband died, she had to become the wife of his younger brother or another relative of the deceased, to whom she had not bowed during the ritual performed on entering her husband's house. A husband could throw his wife out of the house on the flimsiest pretext. The bride-price imposed on a woman a number of obligations with regard to her husband's family and his clan as a whole. In effect she became the collective property of her husband's clan. The customary law of the 19th-century Buryats is a very clear reflection of the inferior position of the Buryat woman.

Religion

The ancient religion of the Buryats was shamanism, which was ousted by Buddhism among the eastern Buryats in the middle of the 18th century, while among the western Buryats it was preserved in certain parts right up to the October Revolution. Shamanistic practices, which were widespread among the peoples of Siberia, were based on animistic beliefs. The shamanists imagined the whole of nature to be animate and deified various manifestations of it. The Buryat shamanists believed that the mountains, forests, rocks, sky, and fire all possessed their own masters (*edzhins*), who could be made hostile or benevolent to human beings according to how they were treated. On the tops of mountains the Buryats often raised "sacred" cairns (*obo*); as they went past them, they used to leave some object or other behind (a piece of cloth, bread, meat, confectionery and so on) or else sprinkled them with wine, thereby showing respect to the

edzhin of that particular place. The worship of fire was very common and sacrifices were made to the fire by pouring oil, fat, wine into the hearth or burning lumps of meat.

The sky (tengri) was considered by the Buryats to be populated by deities (tengerins) divided into two mutually hostile camps: there were 55 western (good) tenerins and 44 eastern (evil) ones. Fire was believed to be the son of one of the deities—Esega-Malan-Tengeri—and the younger brother of the sun and moon. The Buryats believed that the highest deities—tengerins—had children (khaty) who, like the tenerins themselves, were divided into hostile eastern and western groups. A prominent place in the pantheon of western Buryat deities was taken by their mythical ancestor Bukha-noyon-babay, which in translation means "bull-master-father." Closely associated with belief in deities was their belief in the spirits of ancestors. The spirits of deceased famous shamans, skillful archers, smiths and so on were supposed to turn into khaty after death and reside in the sky, while the souls of ordinary people became bokholdoy—spectres which wandered the earth.

In a shaman's dwelling it was always possible to find ongons kept in special boxes, or decked along the wall. The word ongon meant both the image of a spirit and the spirit itself, which was supposed to dwell in the image, and also the souls of ancestors. The ongons were usually represented in human form drawn on cloth, wood and sometimes rock. The skins of some animals such as squirrels and hares were also ongons. Offerings of food and wine were made to all of them.

The ministers of the shamanist cult — the shamans — were divided among the Buryats into white and black shamans. The former performed rituals and made sacrifices to the deities inhabiting the sky and to the good deities, while the latter group made offerings to the evil deities and dwellers of the underworld. The shaman costume was always trimmed with a large number of hangings, bells, little metal animals representing the spirits helping him; copper disks representing the sun were also attached to the clothing. On his head the shaman wore an iron helmet with horns. The shaman used to perform his rituals dressed in this fashion and carrying a stick or a tambourine. In most cases the calling of shaman was inherited. Over the very long period of its existence, shamanism gradually absorbed elements of different ages.

In the Transbaykal regions, and also among the Khongodors west of Baykal, the prevalent religion was lamaism, a modified form of Buddhism, based on the teachings of the "Yellow Hat" sect. It began to spread there in the 17th century from Tibet and Mongolia, and by the 18th century had become deeply rooted.

The tsarist government pursued a double-faced policy with regard to lamaism. On the one hand, it encouraged the spread of Orthodoxy among the Buryats, while on the other, seeking to take advantage of the attachment of the feudal hierarchy to lamaism, it made lamaism legal. In 1741, the prior of the Tsongol' Datsan (monastery) was made head of all the Buryat lamas by a tsarist decree, and in 1764 the head of the lamas was given the title of Bondido-Khambo Lama, and his residence was the Gusinozerskiy Datsan.

This measure set up a center of Buddhism within Russia, the aim of which was to draw away the local Buddhist church from the influence of Tibet and Mongolia. The spread and entrenchment of lamaism was reflected by the increase in the number of monasteries. While in 1741 there were 11 datsans, there were 39 in 1816, and 42 by the end of the century. In 1822, the number of lamas was reckoned at 2600, but by 1842

It had reached 5545. The datsans consisted of whole settlements, where there were temples, farm buildings and dwellings for the lamas. In the datsans, services were held, attended by large numbers of people (khuraly), and it was there that the lama craftsmen made different objects associated with the cult—icons, statues of Buddha, amulets and so on; religious literature was printed from word blocks in the Tibetan and, to some extent, Mongol languages, and the lamas studied theology, religious-mystic philosophy, Tibetan medicine, and astrology, which meant the study of the creation of the world, carried out divination using the sacred books, and so on. Dogmatism, scholasticism and conservatism were characteristic features of this "teaching." The canons of lamaism were set forth in 360 books called the Gandzhur and the Dandzhur. Every Buryat family, according to custom, had to dedicate one of two sons 7 to 8 years of age to become lamas. Apart from lamaism and shamanism, Orthodoxy also existed among the Buryats, first reaching them in the 17th century. It was commonest among the western, Baykal, Buryats.

Folk Festivities

Among the most ancient folk festivals is sur-kharban (archery). It was commonest among the western Buryats (Kuda, Kapsal, Verkholsensk, Lena and Ol'khon). This festival was usually held in the spring, and several thousand Buryats would gather together for it. All men, irrespective of age or status, were admitted to the festival, but only unmarried women and young girls were allowed to be present. The height of the festival was a set of three contests—archery, wrestling and horse trotting-racing.



Characters from religious mystery "Tsam".

The first was the archery contest, which gave the festival its name. A stick bound with leather straps (khur) was set up as the target in a semi-circle formed by the onlookers. In the old days every clan had its own khur. The arrows were brought by the archers from home, while the same bow was used by everyone, being passed on from one to the other.

The dance (yokhor or khatarakha) is a very ancient Buryat folk dance and can be found to this very day in modified form. Those dancing form a circle, arm in arm, and, swaying from side to side, move round, first raising one, then the other foot, accompanied by a rhythmic chanting with frequent repetition of the word yokhor. Public festivals closely associated with religious rites were taylgans. They began with prayers and sacrifices and ended with a large meal, the drinking of tarasun and a number of games, including wrestling, jumping, archery. The Buryat shamanists had three obligatory taylgans in the spring, summer and autumn; there were also many noncompulsory ones. The cost of the festivity was carried by the whole society. At the end of the 19th century the taylgans cost the western Buryats from 80,000 to 150,000 rubles a year. Among the lamaist religious festivals held at the datsans were khurals (prayers), maydars and tsams.

Maydar was worshipped by the lamaists as Buddha, whom they believed to be periodically reincarnated. In his honor they held the khural, during which an image of Maydar was taken through the monastery on a special cart. During the tsam festival the chief activity was mystic dancing by masked lamas.

Folklore

Before the Revolution the Buryats had no form of writing or literature of their own, but oral folklore was found among them extensively. A prominent part in it was occupied by the epics handed down from generation to generation; these include the tales of Shono-Bator, Alamzhi-Mergen, Altan-Shagay Mergen, Geser and others.

The Buryat poems—uligers—are common even today. They are based on the traditional rules of Buryat-Mongol versification and are characterized by the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables and alliteration at the beginning of each line. These poems ranged from two or three thousand to 25,000 lines in length. The common motif in all the lays is the struggle by the heroes against the hostile forces—Mangatkhay, and so on. They usually begin with a description of the country and the palace of the hero, his horse, armor and his hunting trips; then there follows a description of his fight with the enemy and final victory. Almost all the poems end with the hero's wedding feast.

Different stages of development have all contributed elements to the lays. They reflect both the feudal relationships and survivals of the clan era. In the final phase of development the lays reflected capitalist elements as well. These lays were commonest among the western Buryats (Alarskiy, Bokhanskiy and Ekhirit-Bulagatskiy Aymaks); among the eastern Buryats they are chiefly found in the Khorinskiy Aymak.

Fairytales occupy a considerable place among the different genres of folklore. This type of tale usually tells how a shrewd but poor peasant conquers the khan or makes a fool of him.

The fairytales and heroic epics differ from the historical legends, which mainly deal with a specific historical event or a particular person.

State of Popular Education

Before the Revolution, popular education was extremely poorly developed among the Buryats. The tsarist government did its best to limit the activity of local schools and educational establishments, and often closed them altogether, although it could obviously not prevent the natural development of literacy among the Buryat population. The first schools in the Buryat vedomstvos of the Transbaykal appeared at the end of the 19th century, and were attended by a small number of pupils. For example, in 1857, the Ona school had 16 pupils, the Barguzin school 15, and the Kudarín school 14. Some boys went to the Verkhneudinskiy Uyezd school.

In 1862 there were eleven Buryat schools with 340 pupils in the Transbaykal District; six of them were closed in 1870.

According to the 1897 census, literacy among the Buryats attained 8.4%; the Irkutsk Buryats studied in Russian, whereas Mongol and Tibetan reading and writing were prevalent among the Transbaykal Buryats.

Only a few pupils ever reached the Russian secondary or higher educational establishments, membership in the Russian Orthodox Church being an obligatory condition for entry. In 1916, there were 125 Buryat students in the secondary schools of the Irkutskaya Guberniya and the Transbaykal District, and about 30 studying at universities and colleges in Russia. The Buryat women were almost completely illiterate. The 1897 census recorded 0.8% of literate women in the western regions and 0.6% in the eastern regions.

Socialist Reconstruction

Agriculture

A historic role in the transformation of Buryat-Mongol agriculture was played by the Central Committee Decree dated May 27, 1929, issued after a report by the Buryat-Mongol Oblast Committee. This decree was a decisive one for the socialist reorganization of the Republic's agriculture. More than 200,000 hectares of land were expropriated from the exploiting classes and handed over to the most needy persons. This year saw the beginning of an intensive increase in the collective farms.⁶ Whereas there were 311 collective farms in Buryat-Mongolia in 1929 (which amounted to 5.5% of all the peasant households), by 1932, 61.1% of the households had been collectivized.

The settling down of the Buryat-Mongol population meant that the basic branch of the Republic's agriculture—animal husbandry—became organized on a completely new basis. Primitive open-pasture pastoralism was replaced by socialist collective-farm cattle-breeding. To make farming more efficient, the collective farms began to organize branch farms for breeding horses, cattle, sheep and pigs. At the present time, wide-scale attempts are being made in the Republic to improve the stock by crossbreeding. Most of the collective farms have stud farms for Simmenthal cattle, fine-fleeced and semi-fine-fleeced merino sheep. The State stud farm for Simmenthal cattle

⁶A collective farm is an agricultural cooperative, in which major tools are owned and utilized collectively, and land is leased from the state free of charge for an indefinite period. By virtue of membership, each household living on the farm has the right to use a plot of land for its own private economy and to own the necessary tools for working it, and a specified quantity of livestock.—Ed.

and pedigree sheep is giving a great deal of assistance in the development of raising pedigree cattle. To improve the grade of the livestock and to create new breeds of agriculture animals, pedigree stock is being brought in from different parts of the Soviet Union.

An extensive network of veterinary points and veterinary departments provides for the needs of collective animal husbandry. In the winter the animals are kept in special, light and airy buildings, which was never the case in the pre-Revolutionary period. Buryat animal husbandry, now developing on an ever-increasing scale, has required the proper planning of cattle-yards, stables, sheppens, pigsties, poultry coops, silos, and so on.

An important point is the deployment of premises for livestock with a view to satisfying the conditions essential for correct upkeep (drinking water, food stocks, the epizootic state of the locality, and so on.)

On the branch farms fodder crops are grown and stored in silos, the area of mown fields is being increased and a campaign is being conducted to improve the harvests. Emergency reserves of hay are stored at winter pastures, cattle-sheds are built, watering points are established, and veterinary service is also available. All this makes the present-day rotational animal husbandry very different from the nomadic open-pasture pastoralism existing prior to the Revolution. To ensure proper and economic consumption of fodder, the cattle-yards are equipped with troughs and mangers. In order to look after the cattle more effectively, the animals are split up into sections according to age, feeding and productivity.

On many of the advanced collective farms in the Republic which have their own power stations and mobile power plants, the electricity is not only used for purposes of illumination but also to operate sheep shears, milking machines, and do other jobs.

Great attention has been given in the Republic to the development of fine-fleeced and semi-fine-fleeced sheep-breeding. Pedigree sheep-raising brings in tremendous income to the collective farm. When merinos and their hybrids are well looked after and fed, they become highly productive. For example, at the Vanguard collective farm in the Toreyskiy Aymak 900 grams of coarse wool used to be sheared from each sheep, but now the average is as much as 3 kilograms, or even more, of fine wool. In 1952 each sheep gave an average of 3.9 kilograms of wool at the Lenin collective farm. Some of the advanced workers of this farm have obtained 4.2 kilograms of wool from each of the sheep placed in their charge. One of the important tasks for collective and State farms is to step up the number of sheep as soon as possible.

The decrees passed by the Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in 1953 "On Measures for Further Developing the Agriculture of the USSR" brought about a fresh spurt of political and labor activity among the Buryat-Mongol people. The first task for the next few years is to create an abundance of agricultural products in the Republic. In striving to carry out this decision the collective farms have undertaken a number of measures aimed at improving branches of agriculture, first and foremost, socialized animal husbandry.

Standard-type cattle-sheds have now been developed, and there has been an increase in the sowings of fodder root crops, green fodder and silage crops, among which sunflower and corn, which were not used before, have now been made available to farmers. In order to expand the sown areas, use is now made of meadowland and pastures which were unproductive earlier.

The appeal of the Soviet Communist Party to agricultural specialists engaged in industry and the Party's message on the assimilation of virgin and fallow land met with warm response among the Buryat-Mongol officials.

Thousands of agricultural specialists and other volunteers went to work on collective and State farms on the virgin lands between 1953 and 1954.

The organization of collective market farms and large State farms has created favorable conditions in the Republic for the ever-increasing market value and productivity of animal husbandry. Indication of the progress made in this sphere is the Party's and Government's decision to turn Buryat-Mongolia into the most important stockbreeding region in the eastern part of the country. The products are processed at the Ulan-Ude meatpacking plant, at tanneries, local food-industry plants and dairies. So as to be able to raise cattle properly, the collective farmers are improving their knowledge by taking special courses or attending study groups. Quite often the organizers of these groups on farms and in field teams are agronomists, zootechnicians and veterinarians. One has only to look at the Red Corners to see how wide is the range of the farmers' interests. The collective farmers often assemble in the Red Corners after the working day. There they have a radio, newspapers, periodicals, fiction literature, and the walls are hung with visual aids. Milkmaids and cowherds discuss their experience and learn the best way to look after animals and improve productivity of animal farming. Almost every farmer on the farm has a certificate showing him to have completed a zootechnical course.

For the training of agricultural specialists and collective farm administrative personnel the Republic has a wide network of agricultural schools and courses. In Ulan-Ude there is a zooveterinary institute, an agricultural tekhnikum⁷ and a 3-year agricultural school for training administrative staff. In the town of Kyakhta there is a tekhnikum for land use and reclamation. At some of the experimental stations and aymaks there are schools for the training of equipment operators, livestock-breeders, field workers, horticulturalists, beekeepers, and so on. Alongside cattle-breeding, the Buryats have also learned new branches of farming completely unknown to them before, such as poultry-breeding and pig-raising.

An important part of Buryat farming is cultivation of the soil. The technical reequipping of agriculture in the USSR was an important precondition for instituting socialist land-cultivation in Buryat-Mongolia. Through the victory of the collective-farm system the Buryat population, nomadic or seminomadic in the past, has mastered the use of the most advanced technology of cultivation. In the campaign for improving agriculture an important part is played by the machine-tractor stations.⁸ All the important jobs in growing grain and other crops on the farms are carried out by machinery. The level of mechanization in these basic jobs in 1951 was 98% for ploughing, 78% for grain crops, and 68% for combine harvesting. The equipment available at machine-tractor stations, which is increasing from year to year, creates all necessary conditions for improving labor productivity and obtaining high regular harvests. A number of different agrotechnical measures such as mineral fertilization or vernalization of seed, for example, are playing a substantial part in improving grain farming. In many acres in the Republic irrigation is being developed, the area under sowing

⁷A tekhnikum is a technical secondary school which grants on graduation a certificate entitling the holder to practice a given specialty and in some cases to enroll for further professional training.—Ed.

⁸The machine-tractor stations, which previously operated the machinery for the collective farms and State farms, were reconstituted in 1958 with specialized and much reduced functions, as repair-technical stations. Most of their equipment was sold to the collective and State farms, and the operators transferred to the staffs of the respective farms.—Ed.



Field laboratory, Buryat-Mongol ASSR, Ivolginskiy Aymak, Molotov collective farm.

is being expanded and new crops are to be introduced. The entire nomadic and seminomadic population that prior to the Revolution had never had vegetables as food, nor was able to grow them, has not only gained success in growing potatoes, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables but is now beginning to grow such crops as sugar beet.

The forms in which labor is organized do not differ in any way from those used in other regions and Republics of the Soviet Union.

In addition to animal husbandry and land cultivation, hunting and trapping are still of great importance in the taiga forest regions and along the edge of Lake Baykal. In the Tunkinskiy, Barguzinskiy, Bauntovski and Severo-Baykalskiy Aymaks of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, the reindeer, Siberian stag, elk, goat and muskdeer are still hunted. In these regions there is also wide-scale hunting for sable and squirrel, the best breed of which is the blue squirrel found on the eastern side of Lake Baykal, in the region of the Svatoy Nos Peninsula, and by the river Chikoy, as well as in the Sayan Mountains and along the river Dzida. An important part in hunting in the Aginskiy National Okrug is played by the Siberian marmot and gazelle (*Gazella subgutoroza*), and the best sable in the world is found in the Barguzinskiy Aymak. The Barguzin sable reserve stretches along the northeast shore of Lake Baykal, from the Great Chivyrkuy in the south, and as far as Gulekan in the north. Near Barguzin village there is an experimental farm for rearing sable in captivity. Blue fox, imported from the Soviet Far East, is also reared in this region.

A large part of the hunting population has been brought into collective farms. In the Severo-Baykalskiy, Barguzinskiy and Okinskiy Rayons there are well-equipped hunting stations. The procuring of muskrat is widely developed in the Republic. The muskrat with its fine fluffy fur was first brought to Buryat-Mongolia in 1932 and has become very common since that time.

The timber industry is very important in the Republic. Only very recently use was still being made of the handsaw and axe at the lumber camps, but now we find dozens of mobile power stations used to operate electric saws, winches, hoisting equipment for loading timber, and so on.

The timber is taken away on special trucks and tractors. Mechanization has made it possible to improve considerably the volume of wood procured.

Industry

The most important branch of the Buryat-Mongolian national economy since the October Revolution has been industry. At the time when the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR was formed in 1923 the national economy, as has been pointed out, was at a very low level of development. There was hardly any industry at all. The small number of enterprises on Buryat territory was made up of gold mines, operated in predatory fashion with manual labor, coal mines and small, primitively equipped factories making leather footwear, sheepskin coats, soap, and a few mills, distilleries and sawmills. Concentration of the production was a slow process and took place only on a small scale. The total number of workers and employees was 10,700, among whom there was only a handful of Buryats. After the Revolution the overcoming of the economic and cultural backwardness of the minorities was closely linked to the industrialization of the country and assimilation of the natural resources.

Geological prospecting aimed at finding resources for building materials was begun from the very first. Studies were also made at the same time of the hydroelectric resources and a thorough study was carried out on Lake Baykal.

By the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, the Selenga sulphate plant, the Il'ya sawmill and machine-foundry and the Chikoy tannery had already been constructed and set going.

During the First Five-Year Plan, the Ulan-Ude hydroelectric station, the Ulan-Ude packing plant, the Klyuyevskiy sawmill, three lumber camps, a steam mill, and several fisheries had all been built. During the same period construction work was begun on a plant for building locomotives and railroad cars, a glass factory and also a flour mill.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the locomotive and railroad car plant was completed and put into service in record time, thereby marking the commencement of heavy machine-building in the Republic. This was followed by the opening up of the Dzhdza tungsten plant, a mechanized glass factory and a powerful flour mill. Over the same period there were built and put into service two mechanized bakeries, the Verkhne-Berezhov brick works, a woodworking plant, a number of establishments connected with the timber industry, and so on. Machine-building and metalworking occupy a leading place in industry. During the Third Five-Year Plan a new branch of industry was created in the Republic—the coal industry. During World War II, construction was begun on the Ulan-Ude textile mill, the Bichura sugar mill, the Selendumskiy motor repair plant, and a tobacco factory in Ulan-Ude. Under the postwar Five-Year Plan all of these became working institutions. During the prewar Five-Year Plans there had also been general development of the fishing industry located along the entire Baykal coast.

The capital investments in the Republic's industry during the First Five-Year Plan amounted to about 20,000,000 rubles, and in the Second Plan 400,000,000 rubles. While in 1929 there were only a handful of Buryat workers, by 1936 there were 1092 Buryats (of a total number of workers of 10,878) employed at the chief industrial enterprises. The industries employed Buryats from different regions of the Republic, who sometimes spoke different dialects and occasionally knew no Russian at all. There, in the factories, they acquired new skills, learned to read and write, and changed their way of life.

The most important industrial center of Buryat-Mongolia is Ulan-Ude (formerly Verkhneudinsk). Most of the industrial plants are concentrated in this city. Before the Revolution, Verkhneudinsk was a transit and transshipment point on the Siberian railroad. Freight intended for distribution beyond Lake Baykal or for transshipment to Mongolia and the gold-mining regions used to accumulate there. It was also a meeting point for trade negotiations. During the Five-Year-Plan the city of Ulan-Ude became an important industrial and cultural center.

New Way of Life

As he went to work in a factory or plant the worker began to adopt new living conditions. From his former smoke-filled hovel the worker changed to spacious premises. Previously used to sitting on the floor by the hearth, he now learned to use chairs, tables and beds. The national costume was replaced by work clothes more comfortable to wear and more suited to the purpose, and the Russian style of suit, coat and shirt was given preference to national dress.

The everyday life of the rural population was also essentially altered. The felt yurt was replaced by a wooden house with one or two rooms. Instead of a hole for smoke, which also served as a window, there appeared panes of glass in frames, and instead of the smoky hearth there came the Russian stove. In place of the former furnishings there appeared beds, tables, chairs, bookshelves, mirrors, tablecloths, flowers and window blinds, and sewing machines. Books, newspapers, and radios became a common sight. In certain cases there was complete redesigning of the old scattered ulusy, in which the houses were scattered over the steppes a long way from one another because of the nomadic way of life. Even in 1945, for example, houses belonging to the Kirov collective farm in the Bichurskiy Aymak were from 5 to 10 kilometers apart. In two years 250 houses and public buildings were transported to a new site. The operation was accompanied by the building of schools, reading rooms and radio-relay systems. Sturdy buildings were erected as dispensaries, shops, veterinary hospitals, local soviets, and so on. In the taiga, over the vast expanse of steppeland, well-built collective-farm settlements with their clubs, hospitals, schools and kindergartens, power stations, telephone exchanges and radio-relay systems are everywhere to be seen. Let us look at the Thaelmann collective farm in the Selenginskiy Aymak as an illustration. The filthy yurts and ramshackle huts that used to be found here were populated by seminomadic stockbreeders. Now there are carefully spaced farmhouses, there is an electric power station, a large school, a hospital, a spacious club, and a radio-relay center; contact is maintained with the field brigades and branch animal farms by telephone.

The new social and economic conditions have affected the entire domestic life of the Buryats. Whereas the basic and often only food consumed by the former nomadic and seminomadic population used to be meat and milk products, the collective farmers nowadays have bread, fruits, vegetables, sugar, cakes and sausages in addition. Public catering is organized during the field work, and the farm canteens provide for the various brigades in the field and at temporary camps.

The new types of food have in turn required the learning of ways of cooking them. The old wooden and leather vessels used by the nomads have been almost entirely replaced by factory-made aluminum, enamel and porcelain utensils. The wide network of Soviet trading establishments is helping to spread town clothing. In the shops the collective-farm members can buy

ready-made coats, suits, dresses, underwear, stockings and shoes. The national dress used by women on festive occasions has been replaced by silk and woolen dresses, shoes, silk stockings, etc., etc. The old-fashioned clothing is only retained by people from the older generation.

In the pre-Revolutionary period it was not customary for the Buryats to wash their clothes and the poor people wore them until they were complete rags; it was thought to be sinful to wash away the dirt. Nowadays the washing of underclothes is standard practice among Buryat farmers.

Socialist reconstruction is not only changing the face of the old towns, settlements, villages and ulusy in the Republic; it has also meant the creation of completely new populated points. In the region of the gold mines and other enterprises (mines, woodworking plants, canneries, etc.) there have appeared new workers' settlements, such as the Tungsten Plant settlement, and so on.

The concentration of government offices, as well as cooperative facilities, education, political education and public health organizations, dispensaries, maternity homes, institutions for the prevention of diseases, etc., have all led to close contact between Buryats. The economic and administrative centers, apart from their economic importance, play an important role in the cultural development of the population and the reorganization of their way of life.

Medicine

In 1913 there were only 7 hospitals, 7 medical departments and several dozen medical-assistant centers. On account of the abysmal poverty, lack of medical aid and low cultural level of the Buryats, there was always a high death rate, especially among children.

Over the period of the Soviet regime there has been developed an extensive network of medical establishments in the Republic. Hospitals and maternity homes are being built on collective farms. Over the last few years there has been progress in medical aviation, enabling first aid to be given to the population of the more distant and inaccessible aymaks. Every year many millions of rubles are assigned for public health. The numbers of trained medical workers among the Buryats have also increased along with the hospitals. The number of doctors in 1953 was 30 times greater than in 1923.

The development of health resorts has been given great attention in Buryat-Mongolia. Despite the fact that there are many mineral springs in the Republic, their medicinal use was always very much restricted in former times. Nowadays the Republic has built health resorts and large sums are set aside each year for their development. The best known of these are the Tunkinskiy Arshan (spring) at the foot of the Tunkinskiy Peaks, Goryachinsk on the east side of Lake Baykal, the kumys treatment center near Ulan-Ude (in Berezovsk), Garga (Barguzinskiy Aymak), the Nilova Pustyn' (Tunkinskiy Aymak), Il'inka (Khabanskiy Aymak), the Kiran salt and mud lake (Kyakhtinskiy Aymak) and a whole crowd of smaller arshans.

Education

During the first few months following the formation of the Buryat-Mongol ASSR, the Communist Party gave great attention to education. It should be pointed out that the cultural transformation of the Republic involved overcoming of great difficulties. The mass-scale illiteracy of the working population, a heavy burden inherited from the past, was a serious obstacle at

the initial stage of socialist reconstruction. The campaign for a national culture was also made more difficult by the nonexistence of a generally accepted alphabet for the Buryat-Mongol population, plus the fact that the nomads and seminomads were used to their own specific way of life, their religious bigotry, and certain other factors. With the formation of the Republic the number of schools and cultural establishments began a steady increase. By the 25th anniversary of the Buryat-Mongol ASSR (1948) there were 88,000 pupils attending school, or 5 times as many as in 1923. By this time the Republic possessed 499 primary schools, 90 seven-year schools and 45 secondary schools. By the 30th anniversary of the Republic (1953) there were 458 primary schools, 160 seven-year schools and 63 secondary schools attended by more than 100,000 pupils. The teaching in all primary schools is conducted in the native language. The Communist Party has always attributed great importance to incorporating the assistance of trained Buryats in administration and to developing the school network and cultural institutions, the press, theatres, cinema and other cultural facilities, in the vernacular. The construction of industrial plants and reconstruction of agriculture required the help of Buryat-Mongol workers. For the purpose of training their own people the Buryats set up a network of *tekhnikums*, factory schools and higher education establishments.

A tremendous part in training workers is played by local educational establishments. In the capital of the Republic—Ulan-Ude—there are two higher educational establishments at the present time—a pedagogical and a zooveterinary institute. Besides these, there are 9 *tekhnikums* and other specialized schools for teaching, animal husbandry, agriculture, a medical-assistants' school and a music and drama school.

A large number of young Buryat-Mongols are completing postgraduate studies in Moscow, Leningrad and other centers in the Soviet Union. Many of them have been awarded the degree of Candidates in Sciences⁸ and there are even Doctors of Sciences among them. The Buryat scholars are successfully employed in different scientific establishments in the Soviet Union and also teach in different departments of the Buryat-Mongol universities and those in other parts of the USSR.

In tsarist Russia there was literally only a handful of Buryat scholars. Among the best known are Dorzhi Banzarov (1822-1855) and the orientalist Galsan Gomboyev (1822-1863).

Dorzhi Banzarov was a great expert in Mongol and Buryat history and ethnography. He graduated from the Gymnasium and the philological section of the Philosophy Department of Kazan' University. For his dissertation on "Black Magic or Shamanism Among the Mongols" Banzarov was awarded the degree of Candidate in Mongol-Turkish Letters. Galsan Gomboyev was a graduate of Kazan' University and from 1854 on worked in the Oriental Department of St. Petersburg University. He is responsible for the translation into Russian of many Mongol chronicles kept in the museums and archives of the capital, including the famous ancient Mongol manuscript Altan Tobchi, and also translated many Mongol tales and riddles.

A vivid indication of the growth of national culture was the development of an extensive network of cultural-educational establishments (in the Soviet period). Whereas during the first two years of the Republic there were only 10 clubs and 13 reading rooms, by 1953 there were 347 libraries, 30 houses of culture, 607 clubs, more than 150 reading rooms, more than 140

⁸Candidate in Sciences is a postgraduate degree which, in the Soviet Union, functionally takes the place of the doctorate, rare in that country and usually awarded late in life on a more or less honorary basis.—Ed.



National sport of archery. Ulan-Ude Stadium.

permanent and mobile film-projection units, and more than 120 relay stations in the towns and countryside in Buryat-Mongolia.

Writing

A tremendous obstacle in the way of the development of Buryat socialist culture at the initial stages was the fact that the archaic Mongol script was still used and there was no literary language. Mongol writing, common among the feudal lords prior to the Revolution, made it difficult to teach the working masses of the Buryat people to read and write. To begin with, the written Mongol language differed from the spoken language and the Mongol-Uyghur vertical alphabet developed during the time of Genghis Khan was difficult to master. Tibetan writing was incomprehensible to the people; it was only current among the lamas and was used for the Buddhist cult. This fact seriously hampered the development of national culture and required the invention of a new form of writing based on an improved alphabet and a language close to the spoken language and thereby more accessible to the masses of people. At first the Latin alphabet was adopted, but in 1939 the Buryat-Mongol writing was changed to the Russian alphabet—a fact of great political and cultural importance. The Russian alphabet was technically suitable for the printing of books, and facilitated study in the vernacular and the Russian language. Russian is of great importance in the cultural development of the Buryats and more and more of the people speak it. The creation of Buryat-Mongol writing based on the new alphabet also created a Buryat-Mongol literary language, of which the Khorin dialect was made the basis.

The consolidation and spread of a single Buryat-Mongol literary language was helped to a considerable degree by the newspaper *Buryat-Mongoloy Unen*, published in the vernacular. It was begun soon after the formation of the

Buryat-Mongol ASSR. For the first time in their history these people had a newspaper in their own language. It gave them a daily account of the latest events, mobilized them for the campaign for the socialist transformation of economy and culture, and was also a vehicle for propaganda and agitation. Concurrently with the newspaper in Buryat-Mongolian, a newspaper in Russian entitled the Buryat-Mongol'skaya Pravda began publication, and somewhat later there appeared the Buryat-Mongol'skiy Komsomlets in the vernacular. Apart from these newspapers, the Republic has at the present time 23 aymak, 2 urban and 3 factory newspapers. The overall circulation of newspapers published in the Republic is 96,000 copies.

Oral folklore was also highly developed in the period following the Revolution. New uligers are being written. The song is especially typical of post-Revolutionary Buryat folklore. The new songs are different from the old ones. They tell of the former oppression and the struggle to build a socialist society.

Many songs are devoted to the Communist Party and Komsomol, to the collective farm movement and mechanization of agriculture, to schools, education and also to antireligious subjects.

In form the new songs usually comprise one or several quatrains with alliteration at the beginning of each line.

Art

Graphic art among the Buryat people is rooted deep in the past. It should be mentioned that this art, which developed under conditions of a nomadic and hunting way of life, has not only not been described, it has not even been collected to the fullest extent, even though the bone carvings, embossed metal, and designs found as ornamentation of clothing, footwear, felt carpets, chests, beds, leather saddles, and many other everyday objects are an indication of an abundant and original folk art.

A form of art associated with religious worship was prominent among the Buryats in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Among the eastern Buryats lamaism (Buddhism), which reached Buryat-Mongolia in the 18th century, only allowed the development of art in conformity with the Buddhist canons and greatly hampered the free advancement of folk art. In the regions where lamaism was practiced, art was concentrated at the datsans where it was completely in the hands of the lamas, and had to conform to religious requirements. In the datsans icon painting was commonly found, and to some extent the sculpting of burkhans (Buddhist deities) as well. It was mainly the occupation of the lower lamas. They usually made molds and templates by means of which they made castings or pressings in clay, or on linen and paper, and were then able to paint designs on the stamped part without difficulty. The creative initiative of these skilled craftsmen was suppressed by the need for strict conformity with the Buddhist canons.

The symbolic elements of Indochinese and Tibetan art, such as pictures of dragons, white elephants, lotuses, stylized clouds, and so on, which came in together with Buddhism, were characteristic features of datsan art.

Among the western Buryats, who practiced shamanism on a wide scale and were not adherents of Buddhism, the making of ongons was a commonly found art. Images of spirits were drawn on cloth and leather, or else cut from felt, wood or metal. These were most often depictions of people, but occasionally animals, birds, or even the sun, moon and stars. Line drawings of human beings always faced the viewer; they showed round heads,



Namzhilov, senior metal-carver.

the legs slightly apart and the fingers splayed, and were all very similar. Animals were always shown in profile and in motion.

Despite the spread of religious art, which hampered the development of folk art to a considerable extent, the designs encountered in national Buryat dress, footwear, household utensils and so on, cannot conceal the inventiveness, taste and skill of the folk craftsmen.

Long before the Revolution the skill of local craftsmen in carving wood and bone, making colored stone objects and embossing metal was known far beyond the bounds of Buryat-Mongolia.

Buryat folk craft was, and still is, divided into male and female occupations. Male occupations are the carving of bone, wood and stone, casting, embossing metal, and painting wooden objects, while on the female side there is embroidery, knitting and appliqué on leather, felt and fabric.

Stone is carved by the Buryats into chess-pieces, pipestems and belt-buckles. Bone is made into chess-pieces, cover-plates and ornaments for saddlebows. Embossed metal is used for knife-handles, bridles and saddles. The male crafts also include jewelry work. The jewelers used to make rings, ornaments for women's headgear, men's belts, tobacco, pipes, and so on.

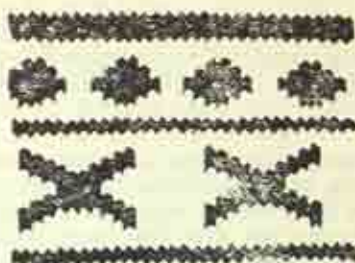
The women embroider by hand. The commonest form is chainstitch embroidery. For this, use is made of a paper stencil which is tacked onto the fabric. Leather appliqué with an impressed design is sewn onto the national footwear and onto the saddlecloths. In this case use is made of wooden slats with a cut-in design and the wet leather is placed on top, after which, by means of a blunt knife, it is pressed into the cutout pattern. As soon as the leather is dry an awl is used to make punctures along the outline of the design and the appliqué is then sewn on.

Pieces of felt are usually sewn together to make quilted carpets, with horsehair and animal tendons used as thread for the quilting.

The ornamentation of women's national costume should also be considered a folk craft, although in design it is simpler nowadays than it used to be. Apart from the embroidery of the sleeves, the hem, the edges of the right-hand side and neckline are sewn with strips of different-colored materials.



1



2



3



4



5



6

Ornamentation

1, 2—knitted designs on stockings; 3—embroidered design on tops of velvet boots; 4—embroidered designs on mittens; 5, 6—carved designs on wood.

One of the commonest motifs is the spiral (ram's horn). It is found on headwear, footwear (made of velvet or plush), little boxes, and various other objects. On the felt carpets we find squares, rhombs, zigzags and serrations. The same motif is repeated in wood-carving.

At the present time Buryat national painting has become widely developed. The Buryat artists use their canvasses to tell of the building of a new life, the heroic feats of the Buryat people in the past and the colorful scenery of their native land. There were also self-taught artists among the Buryats during the first few years following the Revolution. One outstanding example was Sampilov, who later became a famous Buryat painter. Despite the attempts of the Buryat bourgeois nationalists to carry over the symbolism and techniques of datsan art into Soviet painting, the advanced Soviet artists would not deviate from realistic printing. In this they were helped by study of the rich legacy of Russian and foreign painting.





THE YAKUTS

S. A. TOKAREV and I. S. GURVICH

The Yakuts are the basic population of the Yakut ASSR, territorially one of the largest Republics in the Soviet Union. The name of this people was taken by the Russians from the Tungus, who called them Jeko. The Yakuts call themselves Sakha, and in the ancient legends they are known as Urangkhay Sakha.

General Information

By language, the Yakuts belong to the Turkic-speaking group of peoples (the northeastern branch), although the language occupies a somewhat isolated position in this group. In the vocabulary and, to some extent, in the grammar of the Yakut language, there are many Mongol elements as well as others of Tungus and of unknown origin.

The total number of Yakuts according to the 1926 census was 235,926 persons, including 122,245 men and 113,681 women. The urban population was 4936 persons and the rural population 230,990. There were 235,523 persons speaking their own (Yakut) language. Statistics for the same year tell us that the Yakuts made up 82.3% of the total population of the Republic, the remainder being 10.4% Russians, 4% Evenks and Lamuts, 0.5% Chukchi and 0.14% Yukagirs.

The principal territory occupied by the Yakuts is the basin of the Middle Lena with the Lower Aldan and Vilyuy. There are also Yakuts living close to the mouth of the Olekma River along the rivers Yana, Indigirka, Kolyma, Olenek and Anabar. Almost the whole of this region is located in the East Siberian taiga belt, which consists partly of mountains and partly of lowlands (the Vilyuy depression). In the Far North, along the Arctic coast, there stretches a wide belt of forestless tundra, 300 km long. The general landscape is a gentle slope from south to north, intersected in different directions by mountain ranges (Verkhoyansk, Cherskiy and so on). The territory is rich in mineral deposits (coal, iron, diamonds, gold, silver, lead ore, platinum, salt, semiprecious stones and so on), but before the Revolution was hardly touched at all. Apart from an extensive network of rivers, Yakutiya has a large number of small lakes. Many of them have been drying up in recent years. The banks of the lakes and rivers as well as the numerous meadows (alaas'y) within the taiga, constitute the cultural oases. The climate is a dry one, severely continental, with fierce frosts throughout the long winter (the cold pole occurs in the upper reaches of the Indigirka, near the village of Oymyakon) with a brief, though hot summer (except for the Far North and the mountainous regions). The soils are saline and fairly fertile. There is a layer of

permafrost at a depth of one or two meters, but it does not prevent plant life. The taiga flora consists predominantly of larch, as well as some birch and pine. The animal world is rich and varied, containing squirrel, Siberian ferret, ermine, hare, fox, bear, wolverine, elk, blue fox, wild reindeer, musk deer, etc.; the species of birds are numerous and in the lakes and rivers there is an abundance of carp, different types of salmon, sturgeon, and so on.

The distribution of Yakuts throughout the territory of the Republic is extremely uneven. About nine-tenths of them are concentrated in the central regions—in the former Yakutskiy and Vilyuyskiy Okrugs. These are the two principal groups of Yakuts, the first being slightly larger in number than the second. The "Yakutiyan" (or Amga-Lena) Yakuts occupy a rectangle between the Lena, Lower Aldan and Amga, the taiga plateau, and also the adjoining left bank of the Lena. The "Vilyuy" Yakuts occupy the Vilyuy Basin. It is among these basic Yakut regions that the most typical, purely Yakut way of life has developed; it is here that it has been studied most thoroughly, particularly on the Amga-Lena plateau. The third, considerably smaller group of Yakuts is to be found in the region of Olekminsk. The Yakuts of this group are more Russified, and their way of life (though not their language) has become closer to the Russian. And, finally the last group, the smallest but most widely spread, is the population of the northern regions of Yakutiya, the basins of the Kolyma, Indigirka, Yana, Olenek and Anabar Rivers.

The northern Yakuts are distinguished by a completely original cultural way of life: in this respect they are closer to the smaller hunting-fishing peoples of the North, the Tungus and Yukagirs, than their southern fellow tribesmen. These northern Yakuts are even, here and there, known as Tungus (for example, on the upper reaches of the Olenek and Anabar), although in language they are Yakuts and call themselves Sakha.

In language the Yakuts are monolithic. There are no dialects, there are only slight regional differences; for example, in the southern part, the Amga-Lena plateau, there is akan'ye (pronunciation of an unstressed "o" as "a") and in the north and on the Vilyuy there is okan'ye (pronunciation of the unstressed "o" as "o").

The earliest history of the Yakut district has become known only during the last few years through archeological research, chiefly through the efforts of A. P. Okladnikov. Paleolithic campsites have been found on the Upper and Middle Lena. During the Neolithic man already inhabited the entire course of the Lena, probably together with its tributaries and other Yakutiyan rivers. The neolithic tribes led the seminomadic life of hunters and fishermen. Even then there were signs of economic and cultural ties between the population of the Lena district and the more southern, easterly and western regions of Siberia. These ties became stronger during the Bronze Age. It was even recently widely believed in science that the population of Yakutiya was itself never able to work bronze, and that it obtained bronze objects from the Baykal regions and the Upper Yenisey. It has now been proved (by Okladnikov) that bronze was worked in Yakutiya itself, and, moreover, that the population carried on lively exchange with the tribes of southern Siberia, from whom they first learned about bronze.

Were these ancient tribes of the Lena district the ancestors of the present-day Yakuts? The problem of the origin of the Yakut people is one of the most complicated ones in the history of the Siberian peoples. It has a long history of its own, in fact. But until recently the solution was sought in an entirely different way; it was assumed that in origin the Yakuts were

completely unconnected with the ancient inhabitants of the Lena district and that they constituted an element which migrated there.

Back in the 17th-18th centuries, the view was expressed in literature (by Isbrand Ides, Stralenberg, Miller, Gmelin, Fischer and others) that the Yakuts were a people who had come from the south, specifically from the Baykal region. This view, which was later developed and substantiated (particularly at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries) by ethnographers, became the traditional theory of the "southern origin of the Yakuts," a theory which even today is predominant.

This theory is based, first, on the existence among the Yakuts themselves of legends relating that their ancestors once lived in the Baykal region and were driven away by the Buryats, and, second, on the undoubted evidence of cultural ties between the Yakuts and the nomadic steppe to the south; this evidence is, first and foremost, the Turkic origin of the Yakut language, and the pastoral economy of the Yakuts, together with a number of related elements of material culture (leather utensils, the preparation of kumys, butter, riding and pack saddles and so on), certain aspects of dress, and so on. All these phenomena of the language and culture of the Yakuts single them out clearly from the surrounding taiga peoples and bring them closer to the distant Turkic-speaking (to some extent Mongolic-speaking) population of southern Siberia and Central Asia. On the basis of these facts, the traditional theory considers the Yakuts to be an immigrant people who once lived in the Baykal region (according to some investigators they lived still earlier on the Upper Yenisey, in the Uryankhay district and even in Turkestan). It was later—in the 13th and 14th centuries, according to the prevalent opinion, though asserted by some to be much earlier—that the Yakuts were driven from there to the north, and to the Middle Lena, where they settled down, displacing the earlier settlers, the Tungus, from those parts. The Tungus, incidentally, were partly assimilated by the Yakuts, who borrowed certain elements of taiga culture from them (hunting, etc.).

This conception of the origin of the Yakuts undoubtedly contains a grain of truth, since it is based on obvious facts; but it is clearly one-sided and oversimplifies the problem. The advocates of this theory underrate the complexity and originality of Yakut culture; in explaining the origin of some aspects of it which indeed link it with the nomadic steppes, this theory at the same time ignores other, equally important and abundant cultural evidence linking the Yakuts with their neighbors, the hunting peoples of the taiga. On the other hand, the actual penetration of pastoral-nomadic cultural elements into the Middle Lena (which is an undisputed historical fact) cannot be depicted, as used to be the case, in the form of the extremely unlikely simultaneous mass migration of an entire people 2500 miles through dense, practically uninhabited taiga into unfamiliar lands of the north.

Contemporary Soviet scholars (Okladnikov and Tokarev) do not deny the presence of southern elements in the makeup of the Yakut population and culture, but they attempt to find another explanation for them. First of all, it was only recently that due attention was given to the complexity and heterogeneity of Yakut culture. Anthropological data (those of M. G. Levin) show that there are at least two racial components in the Yakut population, one of which (the predominant one) is very close in type to the western Buryat, while the other is most likely related to the ancient population of the Siberian taiga. Ethnographic data show the existence of certain autochthonous taiga hunting elements in the Yakut culture, alongside the southern, pastoral elements. With regard to the Yakut language,

most of the vocabulary and the grammatical structure are undoubtedly Turkic in origin. At the same time, the language contains a considerable number of loan words from the Mongol and Tungus languages. Academician V. V. Radlov (1908) put forward the hypothesis that the vocabulary, phonetic structure, and even the grammatical structure of the Yakut language has a pre-Turkic, more ancient stratum of partly Mongol and partly indeterminate origin.

The latest research, admittedly, has not confirmed this hypothesis; hence the problem of non-Turkic elements in the Yakut language requires further study. Analysis of the names of the Yakut tribal-clan groups (known from 17th-century documents and also from later data) confirms that the Yakut population is further made up of immigrant groups from the south. To judge by the names, these include the present-day Batulins, Khorins, Tumats, Ergits, and some other clans and naslegs¹. It may be considered that pastoral groups, taking their nomadic culture with them, gradually infiltrated the Middle Lena Basin from the south, from the Baykal regions. One of the principal groups of these migrants from the south was evidently the Kurykans—a Turkic people inhabiting the western Baykal region in the 9th and 10th centuries. Since some of the Kurykans clearly contributed to the composition of the western Buryats later on, this explains many features of similarity in the culture of the western Buryats and Yakuts and the wide distribution of the same anthropological type among both of them.

The trek northwards was gradual and took a long time. In the Amga-Lena watershed, under conditions favorable for pastoralism, these newly arrived groups settled down, establishing contact with the local hunting-fishing population. In the process of economic and cultural contact, there was gradual absorption of the local population by the newcomers. A higher, pastoral type of economy and southern elements of culture, as well as the Turkic language, became predominant.

Such is the ethnogenesis of the Yakuts in the light of present-day knowledge.

Precise historical accounts of the Yakuts only date from the time of their first contact with the Russians, that is to say, 1620, and annexation to the Russian State. At that time the Yakuts were not a single political unit, but were divided into a number of independent tribes. Tribal relations were already decomposing, however, and there was a fairly clearly marked class stratification. The tsarist voyevods and soldiery took advantage of the intertribal strife to break the resistance of some of the Yakut population; they also took advantage of the class differences within it by pursuing a policy of systematic support of the ruling aristocratic clique, the princelings (toyons), whom they turned into their own agents for purposes of governing the Yakut district. From that moment on, the class differences among the Yakuts began to become more clearly marked.

The Yakut masses led a hard life. They paid tribute in sable and fox furs, had to perform a number of other compulsory services and were exploited by the tsarist soldiery, Russian merchants and their own toyons. After several unsuccessful uprisings (1634, 1636-1637, 1639-1640, and 1642), and after the toyons had gone over to the side of the voyevods, the Yakut masses could only retaliate against the oppression by sporadic attempts at resistance and flight from their native ulusy to outlying

¹A territorial and population unit; originally, the members of a single camp, now equivalent to the rayon.—Ed.

parts. By the end of the 18th century, the fur resources of the Yakut district were running out and the district itself had been partially devastated through the piratical rule of the tsarist authorities. At the same time, the Yakut population, which had migrated from the Lena-Vilyuy district for various reasons, appeared on the borderland of Yakutiya, where they had not been seen before—on the Kolyma, Indigirka, Olenek and Anabar right up to the Lower Tunguska Basin.

But even during those first few decades contact with the Russian people favorably influenced the economics and culture of the Yakuts. The Russians brought a higher culture with them; agriculture was already in evidence on the Lena by the middle of the 17th century; the Russian type of dwelling, Russian fabric clothes, new trades, new furnishings and domestic objects slowly began to find their way among the Yakut population.

It is an extremely important fact that the establishment of Russian authority in Yakutiya put a stop to the intertribal warring and looting by the *toyons*, which up to that time had been a great hardship for the Yakut population.

An end was also put to the arbitrary behavior of the Russian soldiers, who often fell out among themselves and tried to draw the Yakuts into their quarrels. The order established in 1640 in the Yakut country was better than the previous state of chronic anarchy and constant inter-neckle strife.

In the 18th century, by dint of the further penetration by the Russians to the east (the annexation of Kamchatka, the Chukchi peninsula, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska), Yakutiya played the part of a transit camp for new campaigns and the acquisition of more distant lands.

Between 1720 and 1740, the expeditions of Bering increased the importance of the Yakutsk-Okhotsk highway, which was used to transport a great deal of freight (this highway retained its importance up to the middle of the 19th century). All this drew Yakutiya into Russia's system of economic ties and thereby raised the general level of the productive forces of that territory.

The influx of Russian peasants (particularly along the Lena Valley on account of the construction of the mail route in 1773) created the right conditions for mutual influence between Russian and Yakut cultural elements. By the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, agriculture began to be practiced by the Yakuts, though at first it was a very slow business and Russian-type houses began to appear. Nevertheless, even in the 19th century the number of Russian settlers was comparatively small.

In addition to peasant colonization, of great importance in the 19th century was the system of convict settlements in Yakutiya. Together with the criminal convicts, whose effect on the Yakuts was negative, political exiles began to appear in Yakutiya in the second half of the 19th century; these were first the *Narodniks*², and later, in the 1890's, the Marxists, and they played a large part in the cultural and political development of the Yakut masses.

By the beginning of the 20th century, great strides had been made in the economic development of Yakutiya, at least in the central regions

² Literally, "Populists;" adherents of a political movement directed toward a radical reconstruction of the social order through the peasantry.—Ed.

(Yakutskiy, Vilyuykiy, and Olekminskiy Okrugs). An internal market was established and the development of economic ties speeded up the growth of national self-awareness.

Despite the cruel exploitation of the poorer Yakuts by the tsarist authorities and their own bourgeois-toyon hierarchy, the class struggle in Yakutiya up to 1890 was restricted to covert forms. But from this time the struggle of the ulus poor for land, possessed by the toyons, grew more and more intense. The growing discontent, however, was to some extent utilized by the toyons themselves, who were able by skillful maneuvering to direct the discontent away from themselves and toward the tsarist officialdom during the 1905-1906 revolution. In 1906 the toyons set up the Yakut Union—a bourgeois-nationalist organization, which did not last very long.

During the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the movement of the Yakut masses for liberation developed more deeply and widely. At first it was led predominantly by Bolsheviks (particularly in Yakutsk), but after the return of most of the political exiles to Russia (in May 1917), the counterrevolutionary groups of the toyons, who had joined forces with the Social-revolutionary-bourgeois section of the urban population, gained the upper hand.

The struggle for Soviet power in Yakutiya dragged on for a long time. It was only on June 30, 1918, that the Soviet regime was officially proclaimed for the first time in Yakutsk, and only in December 1919, after the liquidation of the Kolchak forces all over Siberia, that the Soviet regime was finally established in Yakutiya.

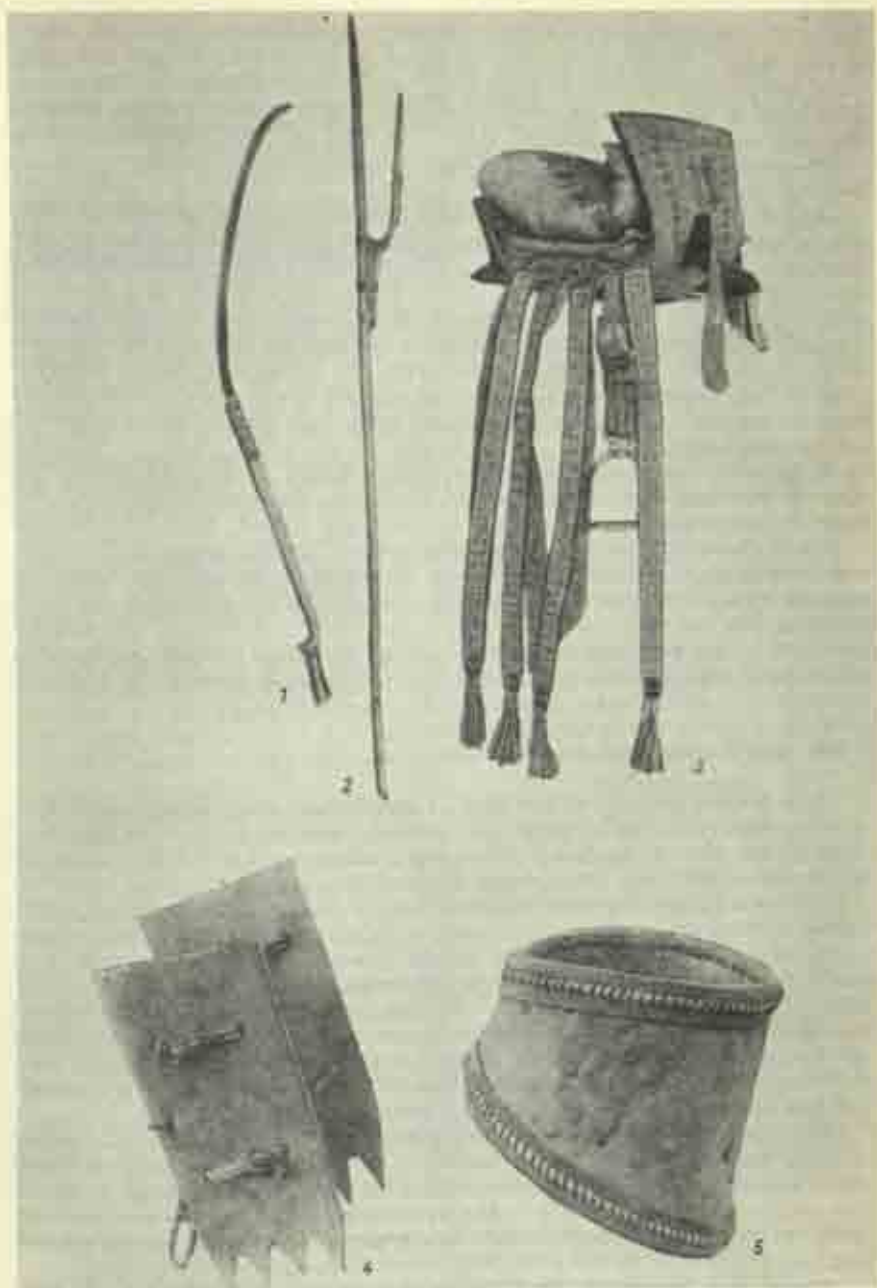
Pastoralism

Pastoralism has been the principal branch of Yakut economy for centuries, clearly distinguishing the Yakuts from the surrounding peoples. In Russian documents of the 17th century the Yakuts are sometimes called "the horse people." But both at that time and later, apart from horse-breeding, the principal form of Yakut economy was the breeding of cattle. These were distributed more evenly among the different classes of the population than horses, which were concentrated in the hands of the toyons.

During the 19th century, horse-breeding in Yakutiya gradually declined. At the end of the century, there were only 115,000-130,000 horses and 220,000-260,000 head of cattle. Apart from these types of livestock, the Yakuts also had dogs (both hunting dogs and watchdogs) and cats as domestic animals. In the northern regions, the Yakuts herded reindeer, like the Evenks. Other types of domestic animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, and also poultry were unknown before the arrival of the Russians, and were hardly to be found at all on Yakut farms right up to the Revolution.

With regard to methods of keeping cattle, the Yakuts had long practiced two basic systems—pasturing and stabling. The horses were left to graze both in the summer and (usually) in the winter; by no means was fodder always stored away for them and on many farms the horses had to dig it up with their hooves from under the snow throughout the winter. The Yakuts stored up hay as winter fodder for foals and cattle.

The Yakuts were familiar with mowing before the arrival of the Russians (the current opinion that the technique of mowing was acquired from the Russians is wrong), although it was evidently conducted on a smaller scale. Legend states that in ancient times bone scythes were used for mowing. But the Yakut scythe, which was retained until recently



Farming implements: 1—old-type hump-backed scythe; 2—wooden hay fork; 3—old-type saddle with metal inlay; 4—muzzle for calves made with boards with teeth; 5—birchbark muzzle for calves.

(up to the beginning of the 20th century), is a humped iron scythe with a short, curved handle with which the grass was rather hewn (left and right) than mown. Later on this scythe was replaced by the Russian Lithuanian-type scythe and is never used nowadays. The Yakuts mowed the grass in the alasy and river valleys, gathering the hay into small sheaves, in which it often became soaked and rotted away, hence the quality of the hay was not usually very high.

In the winter, the cattle were kept in cold, dark and crowded khotons, which were usually built under the same roof as the dwelling; the animals were usually herded into the khoton only at night, while in the daytime they were left outside, in the frost. When there was a lack of hay, the cattle had little to eat, and were watered with icy water from a hole in the ice. The austere conditions under which the cattle were kept and the cold climate made them hardy, but unproductive. The Yakut cow yielded an average of 60 buckets of milk a year, and for two or three months in the winter was left un milked. The mares were only milked in the summer, as a general rule.

Both the cattle and the horses were utilized in much the same way; they gave milk, meat, and hides, and served for transportation (oxen were usually harnessed to carts, while horses were ridden, or carried packs).

The predominance of pastoralism involved preservation of the semi-nomadic way of life. Until recently the Yakuts retained the custom of moving twice a year—round about May and October—from the winter to the summer camps, and back again. The winter dwellings were usually set up near the mowings, while the summer dwellings (which, incidentally, were comparatively close by the former) were built close to the pasture-lands.

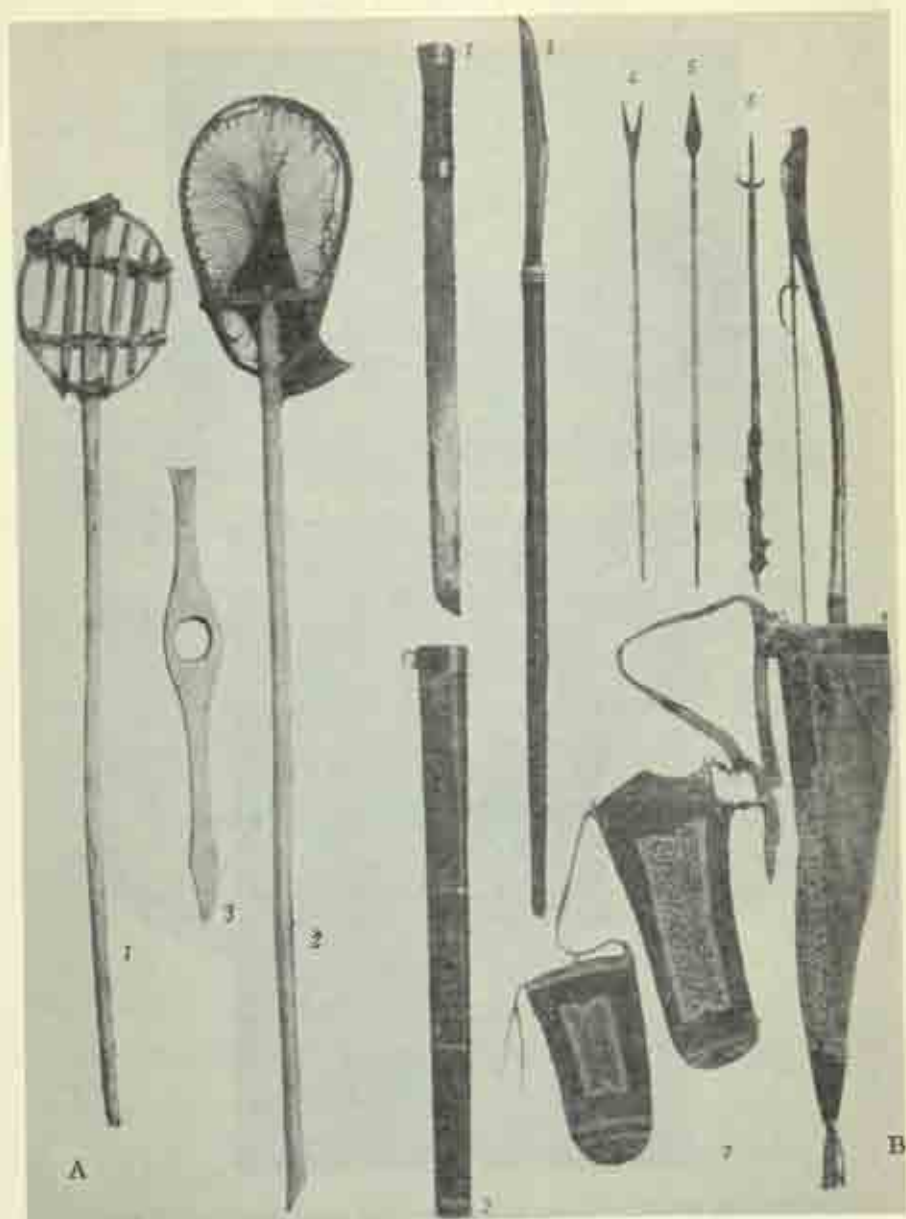
Fishing, Hunting and Agriculture

The second branch of economy in importance was fishing. There was a tremendous amount of carp and a small fish called mundu in the abundant lakes, and coregonus muksun, white salmon and so on were plentiful in the rivers. For the poor people who had no cattle, fishing had long been a main occupation; the expression balyksyt (fisherman) is used in documents of the 17th century in the sense of "a poor man." At the same time, there were actually complete tribal groups who seem to have lived chiefly by fishing. These were the so-called "foot clans" of the Yakuts (Osekul, Ontuls, Kokul, Kirihs, Kyrgydays and Orgots). These tribes, who were clearly a remnant of the very ancient prepastoral population, were first discovered in the 17th century by Russians on the Vilyuy. For the Yakut pastoralists, fishing was an essential subsidiary occupation and has retained its importance until our own day.

The fish were caught chiefly in the summer, but there was also fishing through the ice during the wintertime. Use was made of seines which were chiefly made of horsehair, smaller nets, and sack-nets, etc. In the autumn there was usually collective fishing with a large seine, and the catch was divided among all those taking part, in accordance with ancient custom.

There is a hypothesis (V. L. Seroshevskiy) that Yakut fishing was only recently borrowed from the Evenks and Russians. In actual fact, fishing is the oldest form of economy among the population of the Lena region, including the ancestors of the Yakuts.

Hunting is the third, though far less important, branch of Yakut economy. Just like fishing, it goes back to very ancient times. During the



A. Fishing implements: 1—scoop for removing ice from hole; 2—horse-hair net for catching lake fish; 3—stick with hole through which net is lowered through hole in ice.

B. Old-type weapons of 18th century. 1—sword; 2—sheath for sword; 3—pike; 4—arrow with iron forked tip; 5—arrow with spear-shape tip; 6—arrow with iron three-forked tip; 7—belt with quiver; holder for bow and arrows.



Processing grain: 1—removing ears from sheaf with butt of axe;
2—grinding in quern.

stage of initial contact between the Russians and Yakuts (17th century) the latter hunted both for meat and fur, but both forms took second place in relation to pastoralism. As time went on, and the fur resources of the region became depleted, the proportion of hunting decreased more and more. By the beginning of the 20th century, squirrel, fox, hare, Siberian ferret, ermine and bear, elk and other animals were hunted in winter for their fur in the central regions of Yakutiya, and there was also hunting of



Birchbark box. Embroidered with beads and horsehair.

aquatic and forest birds—duck, partridge, hazel-grouse, and so on. In the northern regions, the Yakuts engaged, and still engage, far more in hunting; for the Yakuts from these regions, just as for the Evenks, Evens, and Yukagirs, hunting is at times the chief means of subsistence. There, they chiefly hunt blue fox, hare, wild reindeer, elk, wild duck and geese, and so on.

The hunting techniques of the Yakuts hardly differed from those of other hunting peoples in Siberia. Instead of bows and arrows, guns (usually the flint type) came into use all over during the 19th century, and were used for squirrels, birds and other game; dogs were also used. A variety of traps and hunting equipment including blue-fox snares, bear-traps, hair nooses for hares and birds, and so on.

A purely Yakut method of hunting, unknown to any other people, is one in which an ox is used; the hunter skillfully approaches the game, hiding behind the ox, which he drives in front of him, then making the ox lie down, fires at the target from behind it. This method of hunting can be regarded as a modification of the well-known Tungus technique using a decoy reindeer as the bait; the modification is due to the transition from reindeer-breeding to pastoralism.

The Yakuts also had another method of hunting, unknown to the population of the taiga, which was a tradition among the steppe nomads; this consisted in driving the game on horseback, sometimes with dogs.

Gathering also played an important part as a subsidiary occupation, particularly among the poorer people. Pine sapwood (the inside layer of the bark) was usually gathered by women in the early spring and stored up for the winter in large quantities and in the dried form (from 10 to 100 poods per family, according to some sources).

In the northern regions where pines do not grow, they gathered larch sapwood, although it was not valued to the same degree, and various edible roots (lily, chékana) and green vegetables (wild onion, horseradish, sorrel, etc.).

Of far less importance in the economy of the Yakuts was berrying (blueberries, bog blueberries and so on).

The Yakuts only became familiar with soil cultivation fairly recently. At the time of the arrival of the Russians, agriculture was not to be found at all in Yakutiya, and even later it was only a few Russian settlers who engaged in it. Although in certain cases the Yakuts had been sowing crops since the end of the 17th century, it was only about the middle of the 19th century that agriculture became widespread in the Yakut economy, and this was chiefly due to the influence of the Russian peasants (particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug).

The overall development of commodity relationships helped to speed up the development of agriculture and here and there ploughing was enforced by the administration.

At the end of the 19th century, the political exiles and the exiled Skoptsy helped to spread agriculture among the Yakuts.

Nevertheless, right up to the Revolution there was comparatively little farming among the Yakut population. They sowed some barley and less wheat. The tilling techniques were always very primitive.

Crafts and Trades

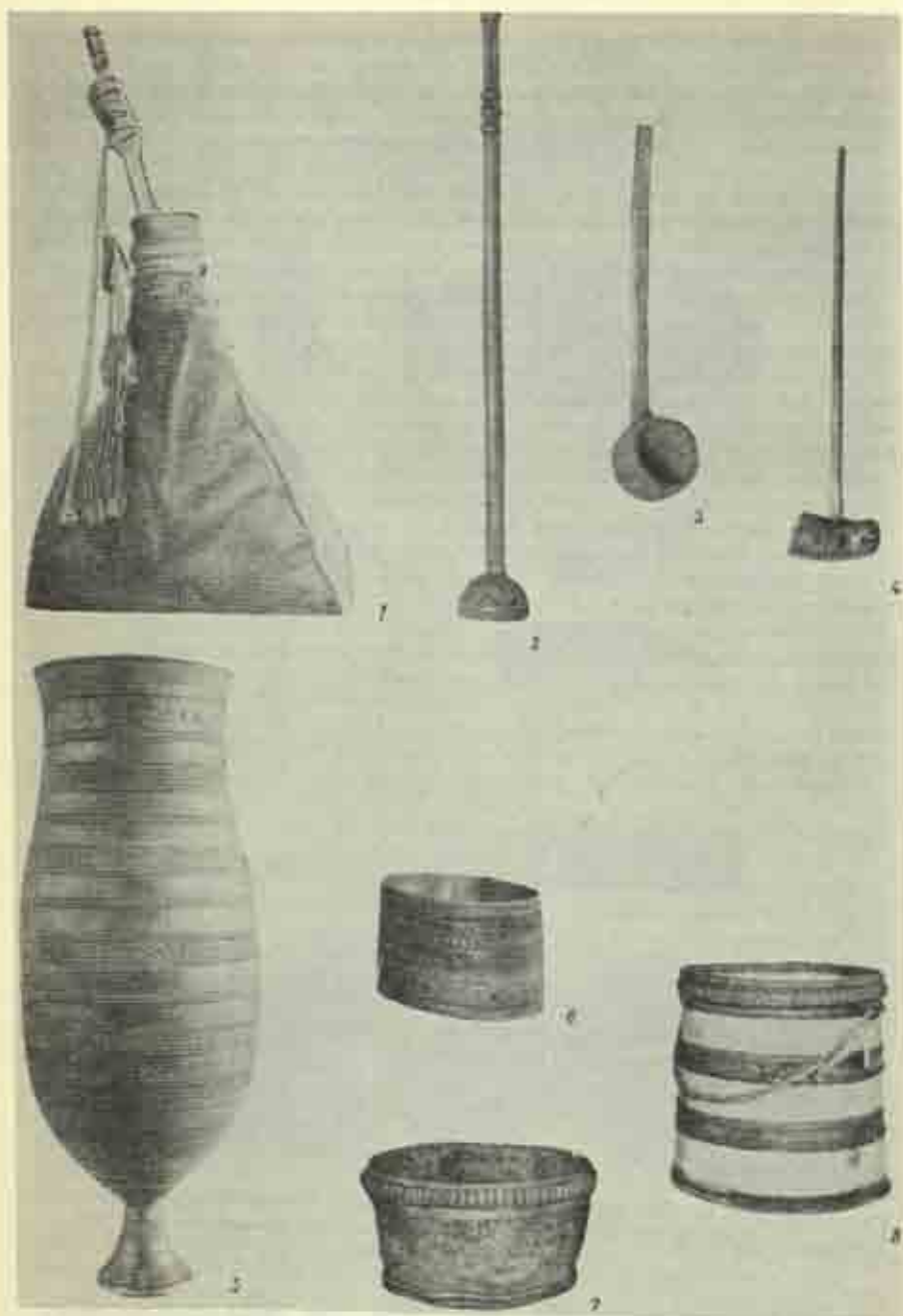
The processing of raw materials and the making of different objects among the Yakuts chiefly retained the nature of domestic production for personal needs and not commerce. Woodworking and the making of



Utensils: 1—clay pots; 2—pipe; 3—scissors; 4—curved knife for making wooden vessels; 5—wooden pipe; 6—wooden holder for teacups.

articles from birchbark take first place. The tools used for wood-working,—the axe, knife, drill, and so on—were improved and made more intricate under the influence of the Russians.

Wooden and birchbark utensils, crockery, furnishings and various other small objects were of great variety and were artistically and



Utensils: 1—leather bag for kumys; 2—wooden churn-staff for beating kumys; 3—wooden ladle for pouring kumys; 4—churn-staff made of cow's horn for churning butter; 5—carved wooden vessel for kumys; 6—wooden dish for kumys; 7—birchbark vessel for milk; 8—birchbark pall.

skillfully made; the wooden crockery was usually decorated with carving, while the birchbark objects were decorated with horsehair designs.

Fur-dressing and tanning were very common. The materials were made into a great variety of different things—clothing, footwear, and headgear; carpets, underlays (usually made of horse- or cow-hide, often sewn together from pieces into a checkered mosaic), blankets (from horse-skin); the leather vessels were made in a variety of sizes, ranging from the enormous *similir'* for *kumys* down to the tiny pail or *tursuk*; various parts of saddles, straps, nooses and so on. The actual working of the leather and fur was very primitive—the hide was smoked (in ancient times and even in the 17th century this was done in earth stoves), crumpled, smeared with oil or cream, and there was no true tanning. The manufacture of reindeer suede was evidently learnt from the Evenks and the Evens. The Yakuts themselves did not make any cloth, either from animal wool or vegetable fiber—and only used what was imported. They did not know about spinning, nor how to roll felt. On the other hand, horsehair was widely employed; it was used for the ornamentation of birchbark and other objects, particularly for braiding different kinds of lassoes, cord, laces and nets, loops, fans to keep flies away, stuffing pillows for saddles and so on. The Yakuts also wove horsehair for decorative purposes. The individual hairs were twisted into a thread by hand on a bare knee, without using a spindle.

Blacksmithery was the only trade among the Yakuts which had long acquired commercial importance, although normally it was not a separate trade from agriculture. In the 17th century the Russians found it to be highly developed among the Yakuts. The iron was obtained from marsh ore, of which there was a great deal, particularly on the Vilyuy. The ore was mined along the rivers Botoma, Amga, Sola and others. It was first smelted in primitive blast furnaces. But at the beginning of the 20th century the Yakut smiths were already working with imported iron. They forged it into a variety of implements and utensils, weapons and so on. Apart from iron, the Yakut smiths worked low-grade silver, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was partly obtainable by melting down Russian coins. This silver was made into various ornaments, linings for belts, whips, horse harnessing. The equipment used in the smithies was fairly unsophisticated—furnaces worked with bellows (portable), anvils, hammer and tongs.

The fact that they engaged in ceramics singles out the Yakuts from the people around them. They evidently retained pottery as a relic of the Neolithic stage. Nevertheless, it was very primitive. To the dark, viscous clay they used to add powder ground from old fired pots and then mold the clay mixture diluted with water into the walls of the pot with their hands (without a wheel), using a stone to smooth them out (on the inside) and a trowel (on the outside). The pots were fired in the hearth. The pottery varied in size and the shapes and designs were crude. In the last few decades, Yakut ceramics have been replaced by Russian ones.

Mammoth-ivory carving (*Yakutiya* is rich in mammoth skeletons), which was probably not begun before the 19th century, was not a common trade, although it was an interesting one. The ivory was carved into a variety of trinkets and small boxes.

These were the main types of production among the Yakuts prior to the Revolution. As a whole, the Yakut economy remained at a fairly low level of development, and by and large remained a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, the sale of homemade products acquired ever-greater importance towards the end of the 19th century. This was mainly the case



Saddle-blanket decorated with colored beads and metal plates.

with the toyons, particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug, close to the ulusy associated with the Lena gold mines and those lying near the town of Yakutsk. The toyons sold butter, meat, hay and other agricultural products at these markets.

Commercial relations then began to develop within the actual Yakut ulusy. Forged objects had long been manufactured for purposes of sale, and there were cases in which wooden, bone and other articles were made to order. Products from cattle-breeding, hay, firewood and building materials were also often sold and bought; the products of hunting—furs—were almost universally sold. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the Yakut economy was still a subsistence one.

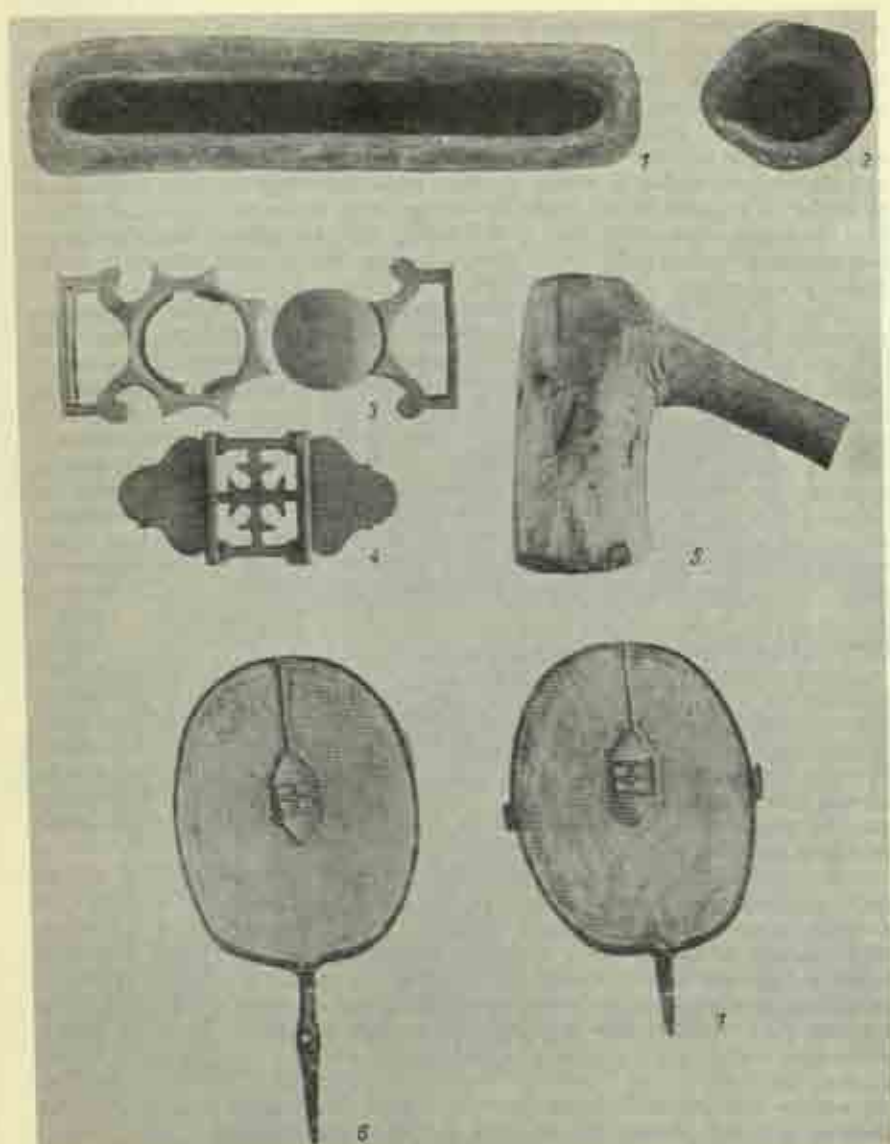
The division of labor within the family was traditional. Male and female occupations were sharply divided. Men and women looked after the stock but the former preferred to deal with horses (and even milk the mares), while women chiefly tended cattle. Everyone took part in the haymaking, but the mowing itself was a male occupation. Hunting and fishing were reserved for men. Woodworking, metalworking, and mammoth-ivory carving were male occupations, while the dressing of hide and fur, sewing clothes and footwear, making leather and clay vessels were reserved for women. Finally, it was the males who cut the timber and built the dwellings, while the women carried water, lit the fires and cooked the food. Hired workers, dependent poorer kinsmen, and, in ancient times, slaves in many cases performed both male and female tasks.

Means of Transportation

The ancient Yakut means of transportation were adapted to the barely passable taiga. Before the advent of the Russians, the Yakuts did not know of the wheeled carriage, and until very recently people in the more out of the way places had never seen wheels. Sledges and sledge harnesses were known; in the central regions the Yakut sledges were almost identical in shape to the Russian ones, but in the north they were straight-sided reindeer sledges.

In the old days, the Yakuts had their own particular type of sledge (*sillis syarga*); the runners were not bent, but made of a piece of wood with a rootstock and had a slight natural curve. Yakut sledges are mentioned in 17th-century documents as a means of transportation. The most primitive form of harnessing was a strap attached to the saddle of a horse. In other cases shafts were used in the same way as the strap. Oxen were more often harnessed to sledges than horses. The ox was harnessed to shafts with a yoke; the Yakut yoke (*бурзандык*, or *бурзандык* and *сүүрбэр*) is made in two pieces, very different from the Russian or Ukrainian ox-yoke, and like the sledge was evidently indigenous in origin. The Yakuts travelled on the sledges, and sometimes still do, both in winter and summer.

A more typical means of transportation was the horse (used both for riding and carrying packs). The Yakut packsaddle, the base of which was two wooden boards secured together at an angle, is similar in shape to the type used by the South Siberian pastoralists. The same thing can more or less be said of the riding saddle, except that in the case of the Yakuts it is higher, broader and thicker. The saddle frame was usually made of wood; the high, wide saddlebow was usually reinforced at the front with a stamped silver plate with a forged hook in the center for the reins; the low back was also encased in silver. Silver ornaments, incidentally, are characteristic of a later period and the older saddles (from excavations) are not adorned with this metal. The saddle frame was covered with a



Smithing and potting implements: 1, 2—clay crucibles for melting silver and gold; 3, 4—wooden templets for casting silver belt buckles; 5—wooden hammer for mixing potter's clay; 6, 7—two halves of clay mold for casting silver and gold objects.

pillow. Richly ornamented cloth and leather sweatcloths and girths were placed under the saddle at the sides and on the cruppers, while side flaps hung down from the sides; the stirrups were usually made of metal, although a flexible, narrow strip of wood bent in a circle was sometimes used.



Yakut sleigh.

Another means of overland transportation was the ski, which was lined underneath with horsehide and not reindeer suède. The Yakut boats were no different from the Tungus ones. They had a canoe (tyy) made of birch-bark or else flat-bottomed and made from planks. The larger vessel—the karbaz—had sails and was evidently borrowed from the Russians.

Settlements and Buildings

Until recently the Yakut settlements were very much scattered about. The prevalent type of populated point (yal) consisted of one, two or three yurts standing in a row; there were less than 20 people (according to the



Yakut woman with horse festively saddled.



Dwelling of poor Yakut.

1926 census) in 70% of the populated points of Yakutiya. This was predominantly at the winter camps (kystyk). The summer camps (sayylyk) were usually larger—from 5 to 10 or more dwellings together. The scattered nature of the settlement was primarily due to the terrain and the type of economy and also to the desire to exploit separate alasy and river valleys scattered about the taiga.

The predominant type of Yakut dwelling (d'ie) was the yurt or balagan. It was a structure with a square base made of erect poles slanting slightly inwards, with a very gently sloping double roof, the overall effect of which was a truncated quadrilateral pyramid. The framework of the yurt consisted of four thick vertical columns at the corners, inserted in the ground, and a horizontal frame of four beams resting on top of them. In most of the yurts, apart from the four corner columns, there were two, four or eight additional ones (in the middle of the walls) supporting the beams. The four sides of the yurt usually faced the four points of the compass, with the entrance facing east. Parallel to the entrance, in the middle of the frame, running from south to north, there was a thick main beam, or two thinner ones alongside. The ends of the thinner beams rested on the main beam, while the other ends rested on the eastern and western beams of the framework and formed a solid, gently sloping double roof. The walls were made of thinner, upright beams or poles, the lower ends of which were inserted into the ground, while the others rested on the top frame close together. Small rectangular windows were made in the southern and western walls, in which were inserted panes; in the old days these panes were covered in the summer with mica or sometimes white cloth, bladder, or bits of glass (the latter were inserted in the birchbark frame); in the winter, pieces of ice were put in the windows. In the eastern wall they made an entrance with a one-piece, slightly inclined plank door covered with cowhide or some other such material. Bark was placed on top of the roof beams and then covered with earth; on the outside the walls were coated with clay mixed with cow dung, the coating being repeated quite often, sometimes every autumn. Around the walls on the outside was a low earth embankment sometimes fortified with a wooden fence (central Yakutiya). The floor was usually made of earth, but the richer

people used wooden floors, under Russian influence. The size of the dwelling varied from 5×5 to 10×10 m, and in height was slightly higher than the head.

An essential part of every yurt was the hearth and the benches along the walls, as well as the simple uniform utensils. The hearth (ohokh) was usually built on the right of the entrance, close to the northeast corner. It comprised a low (about 25 cm, rectangular area made of clay inside a log frame; a cylindrical pipe, slanting slightly backwards, made of poles and coated on the inside with a thick layer of clay was built above the hearth; the bottom of the pipe was open at the front and acted as the mouth of the stove, while the top went through the roof and was almost always open (it was usually stuffed with something overnight); in the winter there was always a fire burning in the hearth to warm and illuminate the dwelling. The hearth was well ventilated and gave out a lot of heat as long as it was being fed with fuel, hence it used up a great deal of fuel.

The plank benches (oron), which were used for sleeping and sitting, stretched along all the walls, filling the gaps between the vertical columns and the bottom of the slanting wall. The benches were divided into different sections, each with its own name and purpose. The most respected bench was the one on the left of the entrance along the southern wall, from the middle to the corner, opposite the hearth—the so-called billirik; somewhat less honorable was the adjoining bench running from that corner along the western wall—the *бастын уга орон* (right-hand front bench); these two benches comprised the corner of honor. To the right was the head of the household's seat (*кэтэһэриин*). The other benches on the left-hand side of the dwelling were intended for the young men, for workers and for ordinary male guests; on the right-hand side (towards the hearth) was the female half of the dwelling, where the women of the family and visiting women sat.

The furnishings in the dwelling consist of a small, round or square wooden table (ostuol) in the corner of honor, and several chairs (olokh-mas) with the characteristic shape of a hollow cube with ribs made of flexible rods bent at a right angle and a seat made of a thin board; the furnishings also included various kinds of boxes and chests (made of wood and bound with leather), household utensils and so on; the quantity and quality of all the furnishings depended on the wealth of the householders.

A shed of the same design as the dwelling was usually built onto the northern side for the cattle, often under the same roof, though sometimes divided off from the living quarters by merely a thin wooden partition. There was a door leading from the dwelling to the cattle pen behind the hearth. The pen was built on the northern side so as to save some of the heat, but the close contact of the wintering cattle naturally increased the amount of dirt and made the air in the dwelling worse, where it was stuffy and dirty to begin with.

A small awning resembling a porch, and sometimes even a porchway (chaampy, *күүдэ*), was built outside in front of the entrance, particularly by the richer people.

The yurt was the ancient winter dwelling of the Yakuts; references to it can be found in 17th-century documents. In the 19th century the yurt also became the normal summer dwelling. The summer camp yurts were constructed in the same way as the winter ones, except for small differences (a light leather door on a frame and so on) and there was no cattle pen. Instead of the latter a summer calf pen (titik) was built



Hearth.

somewhere near the yurt, and there were also stalls for cattle, wattle pens for foals and so on.

In ancient times, however, the Yakut summer dwelling was different in type and was called the *urusa* or *uraha* (this type had practically disappeared by the end of the 19th century). The *urusa* was a conical construction made of poles covered with birchbark and was fairly spacious (4 to 6 m in diameter). The *urusa* differed from the conical birchbark *chum* of the taiga nomads by having a more solid structure; it had a square frame at the top made of beams which were attached to the top ends of four poles serving as the base; the birchbark was sewn together in strips in two layers, neatly and tightly; along the walls on either side were benches almost exactly as in the yurt; the *urusa* was heated by an open clay raised hearth. In the north this kind of dwelling (which was preserved much longer) was covered with turf instead of birchbark or on top of the birchbark; the rods of the frame in this case were more numerous and closer together. This earthen *urusa* or *kalyman* (*kholuman*) was a sort of intermediate form between the conical *chum* and the Yakut log dwelling.



Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Megin'skiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolym'skiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or *ostrozhki*, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636-1637, during the campaign against the Kangalast'sy, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: "... the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

The underclothing of the Yakuts in the old days consisted of leather shorts (*syald'yya*), which have remained in use to the present day and are the same for men and women. They are supplemented at the top by a fur stomach-warmer and below by leather leggings. The shirt (*yrbakhy*) appeared later, evidently through Russian influence; it was made from Chinese blue cotton cloth or some other fabric, was the same in cut for men and women, and differed from the Russian shirt only by having a turned-down collar. The commonest outer clothing, both for men and women, was the *son*, a kaftan like single-breasted coat with a straight vent at the front; there was a fur version for the winter; in recent times it has become usual to cover it with some kind of cloth, but before, it used to be lined with suede. The summer *son* was made of cloth, but among the poorer people it was made of horsehide or cowhide with the fur on the inside. It was made by sewing four similar tapered strips together with the wider part at the bottom and with extra pieces in the form of small wedges below the belt; the sleeves were wide, puffed at the shoulders and narrow at the bottom. The ancient outer costume (*sangyyakh*) was retained as the festive dress for women, and to judge by 17th-century texts, it was originally much more widespread and not confined to women. It was a very fine and richly ornamented long fur coat fitting at the waist with a long vent at the back, with fur trimming and various extra pieces sewn on. These fine garments were kept and handed down as a family treasure, predominantly among the *toyon* families; the cost of them at the end of the 19th century reached as much as 1000 rubles. The cut of the *sangyyakh* was close to the Altay *chegedek* (the Khakas *sigidek* and Buryat *tsegdek*) from which it differed by having sleeves. The very names "*sangyyakh*" and "*chegedek*" are etymologically related. It was the straight vent at the back which distinguished typical Yakut clothing from the double-breasted costume of the steppe nomads, which closed on the right side; the outer clothing of the Yakuts differed from the Tungus clothing in that the flaps came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between at the chest or stomach was covered with a chest-piece. The outer clothing of the men was usually girdled with leather belts; among the richer people the belt was ornamented from end to end with silver or copper plaques. A sheathed knife and a steel for making fire were usually hung from the belt. There were also belts with silver plaques and wide silk sashes.

The shape of the headgear was fairly varied. Leaving aside the types borrowed from the Russians, the following kinds can be distinguished. The ancient fur cap (in later times, made of velvet) was like a helmet with a sharp point and elongated sides in the form of earpieces; it was trimmed with squirrel or some other fur and was worn by both men and women. It was similar to the type worn by the Kazakhs. The festive women's hat, similar in style, though more dressy, differed from the previous type by having a high cloth top, flat at the front and back, with various embellishments, the chief of which was a silver-minted disk (*tuohakhta*); the part hanging down at the back of the neck was covered with some kind of expensive fur. These large ceremonial hats are typical only of the Yakuts. They also wore a typical Tungus-type cap made of reindeer fur. The most interesting of the summer hats was a wide-brimmed flat hat, undoubtedly an imitation of the Russian straw hat, but woven entirely of horsehair. In the summer, people very often wore Russian peaked caps, or else bound their heads (both men and women) with a kerchief. A characteristic feature of the Yakut winter clothing

was associated with the severe frost; this was a particular type of fur collar or mooyturuk made from rings of squirrel tails, so that the fur stood out on all sides; this collar was put round the neck in cold weather and covered both the nose and mouth; as the wearer breathed on it and the breath gradually froze, he kept moving it round so that there was always a dry spot opposite the mouth.

The Yakut heavy fur mittens were made with space for one finger and were attached by laces, by which they hung when taken off.

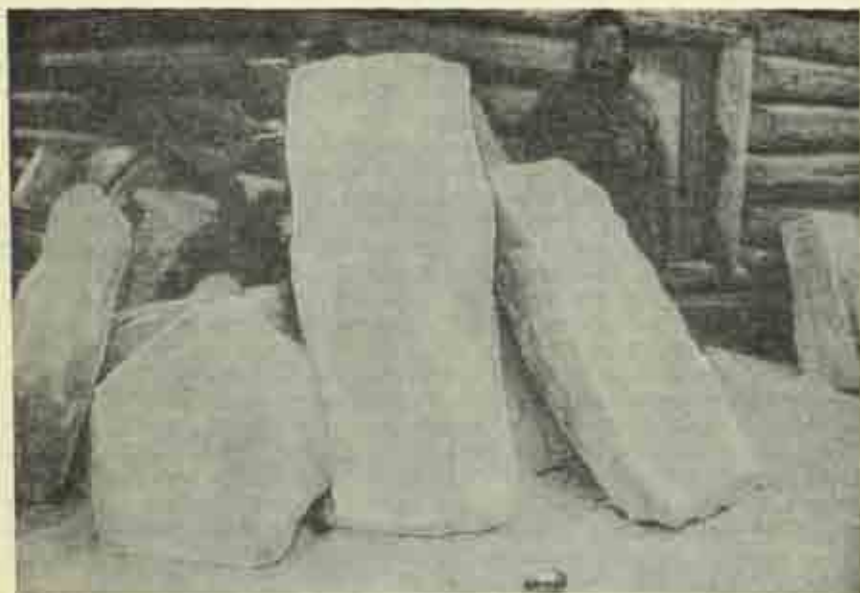
Typical of the footwear (eterbes) were high kneeboots made of undressed reindeer- or horse-hide, with the hair on the outside. The summer boots (saary) were made of soft leather with a soft sole; the top part was covered with cloth and in the case of women with embroidery; the tops of the boots were tied with laces. Underneath the top footwear they wore high stockings (keenche) made of fur, or, later, cloth made in the shape of the foot. Linings of dry grass were also put inside the boots, and frequently changed.

The decorations on the women's clothing were particularly lavish and varied. Apart from various types of embroidery, appliqué and trimming, women also wore metal (silver) adornments, including large pendants consisting of rows of interlinked parallel, patterned chains hanging from a semicircle (kyl'd'yy), silver earrings of the pendant type (*umapsa*), various patterned bracelets (*ögöx*), finger-rings (*öbhuasx*), silver crucifixes (Christian influence) on massive openwork chains and so forth; all these embellishments, chiefly possessed by the toyon women, were very skillfully made by the Yakut smiths.

As regards children's clothing, there was no special type. In the poorer families, the children ran about naked or wore rags; the children of wealthier parents wore the same kind of garments as the adults, except for the size and greater number of adornments.

Food

The diet of the Yakuts from the central ulusy before the Revolution consisted first of dairy products, second, fish products, after which came vegetable products, and, finally, meat. The variety, amount and quality of the food ranged between very wide limits in the various class groups. Dairy products were consumed mainly during the summer, and as far as possible stored up for the winter. Mare's milk was chiefly used to make kumys, a refreshing, nutritious and slightly intoxicating beverage, which the Yakuts drank readily and in large quantities. During the haymaking kumys was sometimes the staple diet; a great deal of it was drunk at summer festivals (*öbhuasx*—the kumys festival). Over the last few decades before the Revolution, on account of the decline in horse-breeding and the development of agriculture, the consumption of kumys dropped more and more. Mare's milk was not stocked for the winter. Cow's milk was not used very much in the fresh form, but was used to make a greater variety of products. First place among them was taken by the so-called suorat, or sora, a particular kind of thick sour milk with or without some cream added. In summer fresh suorat was the commonest food, but it was also used to make winter stocks; for this purpose it was kept in large birchbark vats, to which were added berries (blueberries), roots, bones (which dissolved in the lactic acid) and any left-over milk product, and as winter approached, the whole lot was frozen and kept in that form. The resulting tar was used in wintertime to make the drink butugas, to which was added, apart from the tar, water, a little flour, pine sapwood, roots, and so on. Cream skimmed from the milk was used in the fresh, whipped form; it was called *күөрүс*, highly



Frozen sour milk.

rated as a dish for guests or an accompaniment for other dishes; but most often the cream was churned into butter, also a favorite food of the Yakuts. Apart from normal melted butter, they made khayakh, a special variety of butter (made without removing the yuraga). Butter was readily consumed with the kumys, with bread, or simply without anything else in the liquid form; after frost or exhaustion, this drink quickly warms up the body and restores the strength; warm melted butter was sometimes drunk in large quantities at festivals, weddings, and so on. Naturally, the poorer people, and even the middle peasants, were only able to have such food on rare occasions. The Yakuts knew absolutely nothing of cheese or of the milk vodka known to the southern Siberian pastoralists.

The most important vegetable food for the poorer people had long been pine or larch sapwood. This not very nutritious substitute was made in the dry form for the winter and mixed with butugas, and was sometimes even the chief component of the latter. Greenery and berries were used as condiments for various dishes; the only berries not eaten by the Yakuts were raspberries, since they considered them to be unclean; nor did they eat mushrooms.

In the 19th century agricultural products, chiefly barley flour, began to come into use. The grain was processed by primitive methods. The flour was used to bake unleavened cakes which were eaten with butter or with kyurchakh (they were baked in the hearth on wooden spikes or in a frying pan); they fried fritters in butter and also consumed salamast, a thin porridge made of slightly roasted flour boiled in water with a little butter. Yakuts hardly knew about bread made with leavened dough. As regards vegetables, it was almost only in the Olekminskiy Okrug that they were known about and eaten.

A diet of fish was of exceptional importance in some of the northern regions where there were no cattle. In the central ulusy fish was eaten in

particular by the poorer people who had no cattle, although it was also a secondary diet for the wealthier groups in the population. In the summer, people used to eat fresh fish boiled in water or slightly fried (carp and other small fish), on spikes or in a frying pan (the scales were removed but the innards were left untouched). A great deal of fish was stocked up for the winter, pickled in bark-lined pits; the acidified and half-rotten fish—*syma*—was then frozen and used to make *butugas* as a substitute for milk tar. The more valuable types of fish, particularly sterlet, white salmon, and whitefish of various types, were consumed in the raw, frozen form.

With rare exceptions, meat was eaten only in the wealthier households. Most highly valued was horsemeat, but even among the rich it was not served too often. Beef was eaten more frequently. The meat of various other animals, especially in the northern hunting regions, was also eaten. It was usually boiled (though attempts were made not to overcook it), and sometimes roasted in the old manner on wooden spikes. Fat was specially highly valued. The carcasses of slaughtered cattle were kept for the winter in frozen form. The Yakuts did not eat certain types of wild animals and birds—beasts of prey, sea gulls, ravens, cuckoos and owls—and they refused to eat the brains of domestic animals. During the 19th century, under Russian influence, bread began to be eaten and later salt, sugar and tea became part of the diet of the Yakuts. Dealers brought in vodka to the *ulusy*.

Hygiene

The living conditions of the Yakuts before the Revolution were extremely unhygienic. As a result of the filth, overcrowding and stagnant air in the yurt with its earthen floor and cattle-shed right next door conditions were completely abnormal. Furthermore, the Yakuts, particularly in winter, rarely washed themselves, and the washing of clothes was practically unknown.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that there were frequent epidemics. Skin diseases were particularly rampant, and mange, ringworm, ulcers, and so on were due to the permanent contamination of the skin. Eye diseases (trachoma, etc.) were very common, particularly among the older people, a large number of whom lost their sight. According to the 1915 census, there were 110 blind people per 10,000 Yakuts. True leprosy existed in some of the damp, marshy regions; isolation shelters for lepers were arranged in out of the way spots. Tuberculosis was quite common.

Nervous disorders were widespread in the northern regions of Yakutiya, particularly among women, which was due to the difficult living conditions, exhausting work, and to a number of women's diseases, etc. The nervous disorders took such forms as Arctic hysteria, the so-called *menerik*, which is something like epilepsy; the sick woman throws a fit during which she shouts and raves until she falls asleep exhausted. Another, similar nervous disorder was *амыппаз*; the symptoms are an unconscious, involuntary imitation of anything which frightens or astonishes the sufferer.

The Yakuts had no rational method of treating these ailments. They often used primitive domestic cures such as cauterizing, licking the pus from sores and so on. It was usual during sickness to resort to quack doctors and shamans.

Social Structure

The social structure of the Yakuts, as it had developed by the time of the October Revolution, was a peculiar mishmash of complex forms of

developed class relationships and certain very archaic survivals of ancient times. By the time the Russians arrived in the first half of the 17th century, the Yakuts had divided up into independent tribes. The largest and strongest of these were the Kangalastsy and Nams on the left bank of the Lena, and the Megins, Borogons, Betuns and Baturustsy between the Lena and the Amga; these very large tribes (to judge by the Russian tribute registers) numbered from 2000 to 5000 persons each. The smaller tribal groupings, some of which were independent and some of which belonged to those mentioned above, were reckoned in dozens. In the Russian sources these tribes are called "volosts," but the Yakut name for them was evidently d'on or aymakh. These tribes often warred with one another, and sometimes banded together temporarily for joint operations. All members of one tribe were considered fellow clansmen, which, among other things, was indicated by the fact that the "volosts" were exogamic groups. In turn, the tribes divided into smaller clan groups. The bond between fellow clansmen showed up in the custom of mutual assistance and vendetta, which, incidentally, was often replaced by blood money.

At this period, however, the clan-tribal structure was already in a state of decomposition. The tribes and clans were headed by the military aristocracy—the tojons. These possessed large herds of cattle and employed the labor of slaves and dependent fellow clansmen on their farms; they were also the military leaders. Heading detachments of armed servants and junior fellow clansmen, the tojons raided each other's territory, and frequently looted the farms of the free members of the community, seizing their cattle and destroying their economic independence. These toyon wars and raids were one of the factors which speeded up the decomposition of the clan commune. The ruined members of the commune were reduced to the status of "balyksyts" (poor people without cattle, or fishermen), or else became the indentured slaves of the tojons. Most of the slaves (kuluts or bokans) originated in this way.

The system of slavery among the Yakuts was fairly peculiar in form, containing certain patriarchal elements. The number of slaves was small; even the richer tojons had no more than 15 or 20, and much more frequently there were one to three slaves for each master. The slave usually had his own family and often lived in a separate yurt. Slavery was hereditary. Some of the slaves—the adult males—were part of the armed band of the toyon. On the other hand, cases were known in which the slaves led a hard life and their masters treated them cruelly, and we also know of the manifestation, although embryonic, of class feeling against exploitation (flight by groups of slaves and so on).

The problem of whether or not there was feudalism among the Yakuts before the Russians arrived still remains unsolved in Soviet historical-ethnographic literature.

Some writers (S. V. Bakhrushin and O. V. Ionova) think that early feudal relations among the Yakuts began to form in the pre-Russian period; they consider the presence of groups of semidependent people "living close to" the tojons, as well as the custom of lending cattle for grazing (the later khahaas), to be signs of this. Tokarev considers that a feudal-type relationship only began to form among the Yakuts after they had been annexed to Russia.

As regards land ownership, the older communal-clan system was still in force just before the Russians arrived. The communal form of land use not only predominated in forest hunting grounds and pastures, but the fisheries and even the meadows were still by and large in common use. Nevertheless, the meadows and fisheries had already been taken over to

some extent by the toyons. The seizure of them was accompanied by a hard struggle since the communes resisted the toyon claims to their own land.

Such, in general terms, was the social structure of the Yakuts by the time the Russians arrived. Tsarist policy between the 17th and 19th centuries speeded up the development of social relations, so that Yakut society just before the October Revolution had already changed very much from what it had been three centuries ago. Nevertheless, many phenomena proved extremely stable and retained their archaic nature until recent times. Just before the Revolution the division of the Yakuts into strata according to the property they possessed was extremely marked. Most of the population did not even have enough cattle for the hunger norm (this norm, when the grade of the livestock was low, was considered to be two head of livestock per person), whereas in the few toyon households there were several dozen head of livestock per person. However, the unequal distribution of the livestock was by no means anything new for the Yakuts. But the question of land was different. The system which had grown up in the domain of land tenure was of comparatively recent origin. Since the arrival of the Russians in Yakutiya, the process of decomposition of the ancient communal-clan system of using the meadowland had been stepped up. The toyons were vigorously seeking to acquire the common lands. The development of private land ownership by the toyons continued to the 1760's, when certain measures introduced by the Russian administration gave it a new direction. In 1765, Yakuts were forbidden to buy or sell land, and in the next few years, through the activity of the Yakut Tribute Commission, the distribution of land in accordance with the so-called "sable" and "fox" taxes or parts of them was introduced among the Yakuts. Later on, in about 1820, this distribution of land assumed the form of the so-called "class system" of land usage, which legalized the extremely unequal distribution of the land, though, on the surface, it seemed to be something like common land usage. This "class system," which was later modified, had assumed the following form by the beginning of the 20th century.

The unit of measurement of land among the Yakuts was the "rick" (күрүк), a plot of land from which one hayrick could be mown (the size of the rick ranged from 10 to 30 cartloads, sometimes as many as 40 or 60). These allotments made up plots (өлбүгүс) which were extremely varied in size, depending on the "class," and there were three or four "classes." One first-class plot (бастык or улахан өлбүгүс) was equal to two second-class plots (ортон өлбүгүс) and three or four third-class plots (көннүкүлү өлбүгүс). The population was also divided into three or four classes: the toyon households belonged to the first class, and received a first-class plot, the middle households were usually assigned to the second class and the poorer people to the third and fourth classes, each receiving the corresponding clan plot. Thus, the system itself gave the toyons plots of land which were three or four times larger than those of the poorer people. It is true that in return for this the toyons had somewhat greater obligations, but the difference in their extent was extremely small. However, this inequality was by no means the only thing. The toyons actually possessed much more land, having seized it in a variety of different ways. For example, they had several plots, rather than just one, by registering them in the names of their children, workers and so on. It was also the custom to give officials (who were more often than not themselves toyons) additional plots of land, so-called *укаас-күрүк* (from the Russian word "ukaz" [edict]), for which, incidentally, there was no payment. The influential toyons also obtained extra plots called *ugayy* (or *kharyy*).

Furthermore, the toyons frequently enjoyed the right of possessing larger plots, sometimes through inheritance, cleared from the forest or formed at the site of a drained lake. The leasing of land was also common.

In the second half of the 19th century the custom of equalizing of the land each year in accordance with the yield of grass came into use. The harvest was evaluated by elected "deputies," and those whose harvest was poorer than it should have been in view of the plot had the right to an extra quota of hay, and vice versa. This was called *beblerke* (from the Russian word *poverka* [adjustment]). But in actual fact this custom did not reduce inequality, for the "deputies" always acted in favor of the more influential (toyon) section of the population, to which they themselves very often belonged.

Generally speaking, the toyons possessed a large proportion of the available land, and the best part, to boot. For example, in 1908 two-thirds of all the land in the First Ospetskiy Nasleg in the Dyupsyunskiy Ulus belonged to five toyon households. In the Suntarskiy Ulus the toyons, who made up only 7% of the total population, possessed approximately half the land. By 1917, 55% of all the usable land was possessed by the rich people. By owning land and livestock the toyons were in a position to exploit the needy masses of the population. The forms that the exploitation took were greatly varied; they included elements characteristic of capitalist relations and the older patriarchal-feudal forms, as well as hidden survivals of slavery. For example, it was the practice to hire laborers—*khamnachyts*—usually for a definite period, particularly for haymaking; they were hired to carry firewood, build yurts and so on. They were paid either in money or in kind; and the method used was usually the typical Yakut system of payment (remuneration in advance), which was called "to take a contract" from the toyon for this or that work. This system of contracting was very advantageous to the richer people, since they then had complete power over the laborers. In return for a paltry sum received in advance, the poor person was sometimes in the toyon's clutches for a long time to come.

The system of contracting was also applied in other cases; advances were paid by the toyons for the supply of a whole variety of products, ranging from butter and hay right down to wild duck eggs. This system was a form of extremely cruel exploitation. One observer (V. F. Troshchanskiy, an exiled member of *Narodnaya Volya*)² wrote outright that the "welfare of the population will not be improved as long as this system exists in its present form."

Another very common form of exploitation was the handing over of the milch cattle to the poor people by the toyons for their use and for feeding, the so-called system of *khahaas*. At an earlier stage (at the beginning of the 19th century) the livestock was taken over, usually for a year, from spring to spring, but at the end of the 19th century it was more common to take over the cattle for only the summer (the distribution of livestock for feeding during the winter—*uostur*—was a separate process). In return for use of the cow, the poor peasant had to pay the toyon, as was the custom, 30 pounds of melted butter and 12-15 poods of tar (frozen sour milk) in the autumn; sometimes this was replaced or supplemented by compulsory service for the benefit

² A revolutionary *Narodnik* organization.—Ed.

of the toyon. This custom was a very typical and often extremely cruel form of exploitation. The winter upkeep of the livestock was a still more burdensome, enslaving agreement; in return for a head of cattle, the toyon usually paid 1 ruble, 50 kopeks or 2 rubles for the whole winter, whereas in actual fact the upkeep cost at least 5 rubles, and so it was only the poor peasants driven by need who entered into such agreements.

A still more typical custom, the origin of which in ancient times was connected with mutual assistance between clan members, but which later became in fact one of the forms of exploitation, was kumalaanism. A kumalaan was a poor peasant, a disabled person, an orphan or sometimes all the members of an impoverished family, who were assigned by the whole community to live for a certain time with a rich man or wealthy kinsman who would maintain them. Officially, the adoption of a kumalaan was regarded as an act of charity, and a way of helping a kinsman in need. But in actual fact the custom concealed the cruellest exploitation of unpaid labor. In many cases it was a disguised form of slavery and lasted a long time.

Another form of disguised slavery was the sale of children, which flourished particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug. Parents who had reached the stage of abysmal poverty were often forced to sell their children, and well-off Yakuts sometimes bought them (when they had no children of their own) in order to bring them up, but more often in order to have unpaid labor. Their treatment of them was usually barbaric; they were half-starved and forced to do exhausting work. The demand for children was so extensive that in the Olekminskiy Okrug there were professionals (old women) who traded in children as an occupation.

There were also various forms of commercial exploitation, some of which, again, were inherent in the Yakut conditions. One such form for Yakutiya was the activity of the so-called "city-men." These were people, mainly from distant regions, who constantly made trips to towns where they had business contacts and sold and bought commodities on behalf of their fellow villagers in return for a commission from the latter. The city-men, apart from the agreed fee, could always obtain extra profits by speculating on the difference in prices, obtaining credit, and so on. Little by little the city-man began to trade in imported goods in his own ulus and turned into a full-fledged merchant. This was one of the ways in which the new Yakut commercial bourgeoisie formed side by side with the semifeudal tojons.

By the end of the 19th century, the Yakut commercial bourgeoisie was already a strong force. The Yakut merchants not only exploited their own fellow townsmen, but also penetrated into the taiga, into the Evenk and Yukagir hunting camps, where they gave the hunters liquor and enslaved them in usurious debt. In the trading regions, in the outlying parts of Yakutiya, Yakut (and Russian) trade capital enslaved the people in the most merciless ways.

As a result of all this highly varied and extremely cruel exploitation, the position of the masses of the Yakut population was lamentable. The poor people sometimes went hungry the whole year around, even in the summer, during the peak season when the hard work of hay-making needed a sound diet. "The Yakut does not take much notice of the fact that his children are always half-starved," wrote V. F. Troshchanskiy, "both because this is the normal state of affairs for the majority of Yakut children, and also because he himself, his wife, his very old parents, his livestock, his dog and his cat are half-starved

the whole of their lives, and only occasionally eat their fill . . . it is a country of systematic starvation."⁴ But the Yakut toiling masses were particularly badly off during the long and severe Yakutiyan winter. "The periods of hunger," wrote another observer, "when there is absolutely nothing to eat, when all the crumbs have been picked up and consumed, when the cows carrying calves are not milked, and nature, paralyzed by the cold, firmly resists all attempts to find food, are repeated every year and two-thirds of the Yakut population have to suffer for a fairly prolonged period on this account."⁵

On the other hand, individuals with fortunes of tens of thousands of rubles stood out among the wealthy Yakut hierarchy. The wealthy estates developed mainly through trade and various kinds of speculation, although the owners did not hesitate to apply the old patriarchal-feudal methods of exploitation in amassing their wealth.

Crushed by the omnipotence of the toiyons, the masses of poor people in the ulus hardly dared to protest or fight for their rights. It was only now and then that the toyon oppression gave rise to outbursts of protest, but these were sporadic and promptly suppressed. This was the fate of the revolt of Vasilii Manchara (1830-1850), hero of the Yakut legends.

Given the sharp class contradictions, it was extremely characteristic that certain very archaic survivals were retained in the Yakut social structure and left on it their own strange imprint. Some of these survivals were nothing more than form devoid of its original content.

Right up to the Revolution the Yakuts retained their division into clans (*amnyldo*). But the clans were purely administrative units legalized by the "Native Code" of 1822, although they were historically descended from the ancient clans of the clan-tribal stage.

At the head of these administrative clans stood elected elders (who were called in the old-fashioned Yakut language "princelings" (kinees, or *achchygyy* kinees—"small princeling"). Several clans banded into a *nasieg*, which was also governed by an elected elder (in actual fact often hereditary), known in the Yakut language as *ulakhan* kinees or "great prince," who together with the clan elders made up the "clan administration." A group of *nasiegs* formed an *ulus*, at the head of which there was an elected *ulus* head and a "native council." The *ulusy*, and also some of the *nasiegs*, and even the clans, were historically associated with the ancient Yakut tribes, whose names they continued to bear—for example, the Meginskiy, Borogonskiy, Baturusskiy, Namskiy, Western and Eastern Kangalasskiy and other *ulusy*, the Betyunskiy, Batulinskiy, Ospetakiy and other *nasiegs*.

At the end of the 19th century there were in all 17 *ulusy*, divided into 230 *nasiegs* and 934 clans in the Yakut district (in the four okrugs—Yakutskiy, Vilyuyskiy, Verkhoyanskiy and Kolymskiy, since in the fifth—Olekminskiy Okrug—the *ulusy* were replaced by *volosts* of the Russian type).

Only the terminology of the tribal structure was retained in this administrative system. In actual fact, the tribal administrations and native councils were only organs of power of the ruling toyon stratum.

⁴V. F. Troshchanskiy. *Nabroski o yakutakh Yakutskogo okruga* (Notes on the Yakuts in the Yakutskiy Okrug). Kazan', 1911, p. 17.

⁵V. L. Seroshevskiy. *Yakuty (opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniya)*, 1 (The Yakuts [Attempt at an Ethnographic Study]). St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 423.

(naturally, subordinate in turn to the tsarist administration); those who sat at the head of them, the elders and chief elders, were either toyons in origin, or mere servants who obeyed them implicitly. The clan and nasleg meetings (munnyakh), at which the poor people dared not say a word, played the same part.

Thus, the frequently expressed opinion that the clan structure was retained among the Yakuts right up to the 20th century is a profound error.

Just as erroneous is the opinion of certain ethnographers that there were elements of the matriarchate among the Yakuts. This view is based on the fact that there was a division of the aga-uus (paternal clan) into smaller groups, iye-uuha (literally, "maternal clan"). The latter do indeed figure in the 19th-century official documents under the name of "tribal clans." But, despite the Yakut name, these small groups were not genuine maternal clans; kinship and descent were not reckoned on the female but on the male side. The name "iye-uus" is evidently to be explained by the fact that these subdivisions were descended from one clan progenitor, though from different wives.

More direct, although also more or less modified, survivals of primitive-communal relations were retained by the Yakuts in certain characteristic customs, such as, for example, elements of collectivism in fishing. The Yakuts retained the custom of communal net-fishing in rivers and lakes belonging to individual naslegs and clans. The catch, which was often an extremely abundant one, was divided on the spot among those taking part as well as among the onlookers (though the latter received less, admittedly). In the north there was a similar custom for moulting geese, which were caught by tens of thousands.

The custom of mutual gifts (belekh) was also very archaic. The Yakut would visit a relative or friend, sometimes at a far-away spot, and receive a gift from his host, as though in gratitude for the visit; the gift would be a horse, saddle, a certain amount of meat, and so on, and in return, according to custom, he would invite the giver to visit him, although it might be a long time after, and present him with a gift of approximately the same value. These gifts were often timed to coincide with weddings, though they were sometimes presented independently.

The custom of hospitality was also observed. Hosts had to regale a guest visiting them, even though he might be a complete stranger, with the same food that they ate themselves. Since this custom clashed with the capitalist psychology, reared on commercial relationships, it was regarded in many cases as an inevitable evil which everyone tried to avoid in every way he could; this often resulted in comic episodes in which the hosts (more often than not wealthy people) hastily hid away the food they were about to eat when they saw a guest approaching, while the latter resorted to various tricks in order to find where the food was hidden. According to the old custom, the host was also obliged to invite relatives and neighbors whenever a beast was slaughtered and to offer them meat. Nonobservance of this custom gave rise to public censure.

Apart from these individual customs, the Yakut society admittedly retained the characteristic, half-conscious patriarchal ideology, which was clearly not a reflection of their true relationships, although it served the interests of the toyons, who knew how to make use of it. The toyons liked to style themselves the forefathers, heads and sponsors of their clans; they skillfully fomented various interclan quarrels (usually

over land), thereby sustaining the fiction of community of clan interests. A poor kinsman used to call a toyon who had robbed him of his possessions aga (father), and was expected to look upon him as his "benefactor."

Family Customs

The primary unit in the social structure of the Yakuts had long been the family (*kergen* or *yai*), which consisted of husband, wife and children, sometimes with the inclusion of other relatives living in the same house. The married sons were usually regarded as a separate household. The family was monogamous, but not too long ago (at the beginning of the 19th century) polygamy also existed among the wealthier section of the population, although the number of wives did not usually exceed two or three. In such cases the wives lived apart, each one running a separate household; the Yakuts explained this custom as a convenient way of looking after the livestock, which were distributed among several wives.

Marriage was preceded, sometimes for a long interval, by matchmaking. There were also traces of exogamy (known from the 17th-century documents); until quite late, males tried to pick their wives from a different clan, while the richer people, not satisfied with this, sought their brides as far as possible in other naslegs or even other ulusy. Having selected the bride, the groom or his parents sent their relatives as matchmakers. The latter, using special ceremonies and conventional language, sought to obtain the consent of the future bride's parents to the marriage, and on the extent of the bride-price (*khalyym*, or *suluu*). The consent of the girl herself was not asked at all in the old days. The bride-price consisted of livestock, but the extent of it varied considerably, from one or two to many dozen head; the bride-price always included the meat of a slaughtered beast. At the end of the 19th century there was a strong trend towards taking the bride payment in actual money. Some of the payment (*kurum*) was spent on the wedding feast (in the 17th-century documents, the word *kurum* sometimes meant the bride payment as a whole). The payment was considered compulsory, and a girl who married without it considered herself dishonored. The suitor was assisted by relatives, sometimes even by distant kinsmen, in arranging the payment, thus showing the ancient view of a wedding as an all-clan affair. The relatives of the bride also took part in distributing the payment obtained. On his side, the suitor received a dowry (*enn'e*), partly in livestock and meat, but more often in clothing and utensils; the value of the dowry averaged half the value of the bride-price.

The clan also played an important part in the actual wedding ceremony, which was attended by a large number of guests, relatives of the bride and groom, neighbors and so on. The festivities lasted several days and consisted of extensive feasting, different rituals and amusements, games, dancing, and so on. Not only did the bride and groom refrain from occupying the central place in all this festivity, they hardly took part at all.

In similar fashion to the wedding ceremony, the kinship terminology has also retained traces of the earlier forms of marriage. The name for the son—*uol*—actually means boy or youth; the word for daughter—*kyys*—means girl or little girl; father is *aga* (literally, "older"); wife is *oyokh*, but in some places the wife is simply called *d'akhtar* (woman), *emeekhsin* ("old woman") and so on; the husband is *er*, the older brother is *ubay* (*bit*), the younger brother is *in*; the elder sister is *ed'iy* (*agas*) and the younger sister is *balys*. The last four terms are also used to denote uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, and other relatives. Generally speaking,

the Yakut system of kinship is close to the systems used by a number of Turkic peoples.

The position of women both in the family and in public life was inferior. The husband, the head of the family, enjoyed despotic power, and the wife could not even complain of harsh treatment, which was a fairly common occurrence, if not at the hands of the husband, then at the hands of his relatives. A woman from another tribe, defenseless and lacking in all rights, was burdened with hard work when she became part of a new family.

The position of older people who were decrepit and no longer able to work was also difficult. Little care was shown for them, they were given little to eat and poorly clothed, sometimes even reduced to complete destitution.

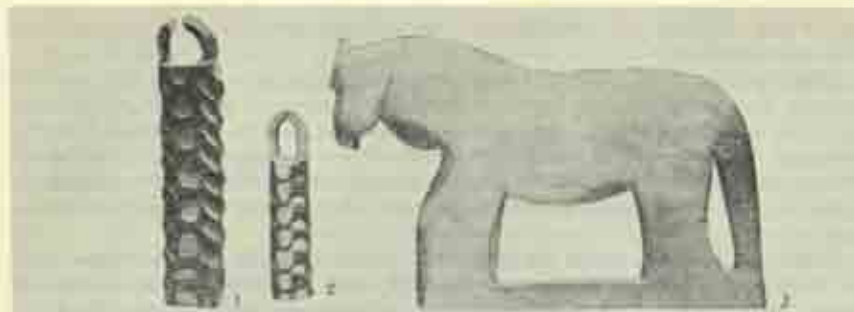
The position of children, despite the fact that the Yakuts loved their children, as pointed out by many observers, was also rather unfortunate. The birth rate was very high among the Yakuts and most families produced from 5 to 10 children, sometimes as many as 20 or even more. However, the bad living conditions, poor food and inattention resulted in very high child mortality. Apart from their own children, many families, particularly those in which there were few children, often adopted children, whom they often simply bought from the poorer people.

Newborn babies were washed by the fire in the hearth and rubbed with cream. This operation was repeated fairly frequently later on. The mother breast-fed her child for some time, as long as 4 or 5 years, although in addition the child received a horn of cow's milk. The Yakut cradle was a long box made of thin, bent pieces of wood, in which the wrapped baby was placed, strapped in and left for some time, without being removed. The cradle had a groove to drain away the urine. Older children usually crawled about the earthen floor together with the animals, either half-naked or completely naked, and were left to themselves; sometimes they were attached to the table on a long strap to prevent them from falling into the fire. The children of the poorer people were trained to work from an early age, and had to carry out work according to their strength—such as collecting brush in the forest, looking after smaller livestock, and so on; the girls were trained in domestic duties. The children of the *toyons* received more attention, were molycoddled and generally spoiled.

The children had few toys. These were usually wooden figures of animals, tiny bows and arrows, little houses and model utensils, made by the parents or sometimes by the children themselves; and the girls had dolls with model clothes, blankets, pillows and so on. The games of the Yakut children were simple and rather monotonous. The absence of noisy group games is characteristic: generally speaking, when the children of the poorer Yakuts grew up, they were quiet and sluggish.

Religion

Even in the second half of the 18th century, many of the Yakuts had been baptized, and in the 19th century all Yakuts were registered as Orthodox. Although the transition to Orthodoxy was motivated by and large by material considerations (various privileges and grants for those baptized), the new religion gradually became part of their everyday life. In the corner of their dwellings there hung icons; the people wore crucifixes (the large silver crucifix-type embellishments worn by the women are interesting), went to church and many of them, particularly



Wooden toys: 1—ox, 2—cow; 3—horse.

the toyons, were zealous Christians. Actually, this is understandable, since Christianity was far better suited than shamanism to satisfying the class interests of the rich people. Nevertheless, the old, pre-Christian religion did not entirely disappear, and the older beliefs, although somewhat modified through the influence of Christian ideas, still kept their hold; and the shamans, the ministers of the old cult, still enjoyed authority, although they were forced to some extent to conceal their activities from the tsarist administrators and Orthodox clergy. Shamanism and the animistic beliefs associated with it seem to have been the most persistent element of the old Yakut religion.

The Yakut shamanism was closest of all to the Tungus type. The Yakut shaman tambourine (wide-rimmed and oval) was exactly the same as the Tungus tambourine; the costume was also the Tungus type, except that the Yakut shamans officiated with uncovered heads. The similarity involved more than just their outward appearance; it also showed up in the more important details of the beliefs and rituals.

The Yakut shaman (oyuun) was considered the professional attendant of the spirits. According to Yakut belief, anyone chosen by the spirits to serve them could become a shaman, but the shamans were usually from the same families: "in a clan where a shaman has once appeared, he does not pass away," said the Yakuts. Apart from men shamans, there were also women shamans (*yūḡaḡan*), who were considered to be even more powerful. A sign of readiness to adopt the profession of shaman was a nervous ailment, which was interpreted as evidence that the person had been "elected" by the spirits; this was followed by a period of training under the guidance of an old shaman, and finally by a ritual public consecration.

It was thought that the spirit electing the shaman became his patron spirit (*emeget*), and that it was the soul of an important shaman who had died earlier. Its image in the form of a flat copper effigy was worn among the other pendants with the shaman costume; the image was also called an *emeget*. The patron spirit imbues the shaman with strength and knowledge. The shaman sees and hears only through his *emeget*. Besides the latter, every shaman has his own animal double (*iyē-kyyl*, "mother beast") in the form of an invisible eagle, stallion, bull, bear and so on. Finally, besides these personal spirits, every shaman was associated with a number of other spirits in human or bestial form when casting his spells. The different categories of spirits associated with the shaman's activity had their own specific names.

The most important and largest group of spirits were the *abaahy* (or *abaasy*), devouring spirits to whose activity certain diseases were

attributed. The believing Yakuts considered that the cure of disease by a shaman actually consisted in elucidating which abaasy had caused the disease, battling against them or offering them a sacrifice, and expelling them from the patient. According to shamanistic belief, the abaasy lived in tribes or clans partly in the "upper" and partly in the "lower" world, as well as in the "middle" world, the earth.

The spirits living in the "upper" world were offered sacrifices of horses, and those in the "lower" world of cattle. Close to the abaasy were the evil spirits, for the most part minor ones, who were the souls of people who had died prematurely or violently, and also the souls of deceased shamans, sorcerers and so on. The ability to cause people harm was attributed to these spirits, but they also lived in the "middle" world (on the earth and around it). The beliefs about them are very close to the Russian superstitions regarding "unclean" or possessed dead persons. Small spirits called kelens were considered to assist the shaman to do various tricks while he was performing.

Among the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon first place is taken by the powerful and awe-inspiring Uluu-Toyon, who was head of the "upper" world spirits and patron of shamans: "he created the shaman and taught him to fight against all evils; he gave people fire." Living in the upper world (on the western side of the third heaven), Uluu-Toyon was also able to come down to earth in the form of larger animals such as the bear, elk, ox or black stallion. Below Uluu-Toyon were other more or less powerful deities, each of which had its own name and epithet, its residence and its special interest. Examples of these are Ala Buiray Toyon (Arsan Duolay or Allara-Ogon'or, "the old man from underground"), head of the underground abaasy, creator of everything harmful and unpleasant, Aan Arbatyy Toyon (or Arkhakh Toyon), who caused consumption and so on.

The presence of the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon of the Yakuts distinguishes their shamanism from the Tungus type (the Tungus did not believe in the important gods to a very large extent) and brings it close to the shamanism of the Altay-Sayan peoples. Generally speaking, it is a feature of a later stage of the development of shamanism.

The main duties of the shamans were to "cure" sick people and animals and to "avert" all catastrophes. Their devices could be reduced to casting spells (accompanied by singing, dancing, banging of a tambourine, and so on), usually at night, during which the shaman worked himself into a frenzy and, according to Yakut superstition, his soul flew up to join the spirits, or else the spirits entered his body; his magic enabled him to overcome and chase out the wicked spirits, to learn about the sacrifices required by the spirits, to make them, and so on. On the side, during the ritual the shaman became a diviner, answering various questions put to him by the onlookers, and also showing various magic tricks which were supposed to increase his authority and make people more frightened of him.

In return for his offices the shaman received a fee, particularly if his spells were successful, which usually varied between 1 ruble and 25 rubles or more. Furthermore, the shaman was always given food and drink and allowed to eat the sacrificial meat, part of which he sometimes took home. Although the shamans usually had their own households, which were at times of quite a size, the fee for their magic constituted a considerable item of their income. The shaman's demand for a sacrifice was a great burden to the population.

The same kind of superstitious awe with which the shamans were regarded was also applied to the smiths, particularly hereditary smiths who were believed to have mysterious powers. The smith was considered to some extent related to the shaman. "The smith and the shaman are out of one nest." Smiths could treat illnesses, give advice and even make prophecies. The smith forged iron pendants for the shaman's costume, and this fact alone made him awesome. The smith had special power over the spirits for, according to Yakut superstition, spirits were afraid of the sound of iron and the noise of the smith's bellows.

Apart from shamanism, the Yakuts had another cult, connected with their livelihood. The chief deity in this cult was Bay-Bayanay, the spirit of the forest and patron of hunting and fishing. According to some beliefs, Bayanay had 11 brothers. They brought luck in hunting and fishing, so that the hunter exerted them to help him before he went out hunting, and after a successful hunt made them offerings of some of the catch by throwing pieces of fat into the fire or smearing the images of Bayanay with blood.

The belief in *ichchi* or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed *ichchi*, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The *ichchi* themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on, at various places—river crossings, mountain passes and so on—the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. The worship of certain animals came close to this cult as well. The bear was an object of great reverence and as a result people avoided calling it by name, were afraid of killing it, and considered it to be a transformed sorcerer. The eagle was also worshipped and called *toyon kyyl* ("mister beast"), and so were the raven, hawk and certain other birds and animals.

All these beliefs go back to the ancient means of livelihood of the Yakuts, and pastoralism also gave rise to its own set of beliefs and rituals. These comprised the cult of the deities of fertility, which was not preserved for very long and is therefore less known. Among these beliefs was clearly the belief in *ayyy*, benevolent deities who bestowed various benefits. It was thought the *ayyy* lived in the east.

First place among the benevolent spirits was taken by *Urun-Ayyy-Toyon* ("white lord and creator"), who lived in the eighth heaven, was kind and did not interfere in human affairs, hence there was apparently no cult of him. The image of this spirit was very much mixed up with features of the Christian God. According to a certain belief, still higher than *Ayyy-Toyon* was *Aar-Toyon*, who inhabited the ninth heaven. Below them followed a large number of other benevolent deities, who were supposed to bestow various blessings. The most important figure among them was the female deity *Aayysyt* (*Ayyysyt*), who bestowed fertility, patronized women in labor and gave mothers their children. Sacrifices were made to *Ayyysyt* during childbirth, and since it was considered that after the birth this goddess remained three days in the house, a special female ritual (to which men were not allowed to come) was performed at the end of three days in order to celebrate her departure.

The chief ceremony in honor of the benevolent deities, the patrons of fertility, was the *kumys* festival, *ubux*, in the old days. This festival was organized in the spring or halfway through the summer, when there was plenty of milk; it was held in the open air, in the meadows, and many people gathered together for it. The peak moment of the festival

was a ceremonial libation of kumys in honor of the deities, prayers to them, the ceremonial drinking of the kumys from very large wooden goblets (choroon). After this there was feasting, games of various kinds, wrestling and so on. The attendants of the benevolent deities, the so-called *sygy-oyuuna* ("white shamans"), were the masters of ceremonies at the festivities, although they died out among the Yakuts a long time ago, on account of the decline of this cult. By the end of the 19th century, there remained only legends of the white shamans.

In the cult of both the benevolent and malevolent deities, a part was played at one stage by the military aristocracy—the *toyons*; they were usually the organizers. In their legendary genealogies the *toyons* often derived their names from the great and powerful deities.

The ancient *ysyakh* retained elements of the clan cult, and according to legend they had been organized according to clan in former times. The Yakuts retained other survivals of the clan cult, but these were not very clearly marked. For example, they retained elements of totemism, pointed out in the literature of the 18th century (Stralenberg). Each clan had at one time its own patron in the form of an animal; the clan totems were, for example, ravens, swans, falcons, eagles, squirrels, and so on. The members of a particular clan not only refrained from slaughtering their patrons and eating them as food, but also avoided mentioning them by name.

Associated with the clan cult was the worship of fire, which is still retained by the Yakuts. Fire, according to Yakut superstition, is the purest element and it was forbidden to defile or dishonor it. Before each meal was started, pieces of food were thrown into the fire; it was splashed with milk, kumys and so on. All this was considered a sacrifice to the master of the fire (*Uot-ichchite*). There was often not only a single master, but as many as seven brothers. No images were made of them. The cult of ancestors among the Yakuts was poorly developed. Among the deceased it was only the shamans and certain outstanding people whose memory was honored, and whose spirits, for some reason, were feared.

Folklore

The folklore of the Yakuts was somewhat one-sided, but in certain regions it reached a high artistic level. Apart from the wealth of varied and deeply poetic oral folklore, singing was far less developed and instrumental music hardly existed at all; dancing was fairly poorly developed and monotonous. In the realm of graphic art, the Yakuts only developed the applied forms—finishing and ornamentation of articles in everyday use.

A whole series of different genres and forms stand out among the oral creation of the Yakuts. One of the most interesting is the epic poem—the *olonkho*.

This is a very ancient type of folk poetry and originated in the clan-tribal age. The language of the *olonkho* is archaic, and contains a large number of obsolete, almost incomprehensible words and expressions, though it is at the same time rich, colorful and imaginative; the vocabulary of the epic contains almost twice as many words as the everyday language. Consequently, these works are difficult to translate into other languages. The *olonkho* describes the exploits of mythical warriors (*bootur*) and their struggles against the evil spirits, the *abaasy*. There are whole cycles of these poems built round the images

of certain favorite heroes (Khan-Dzhargystay, Nyurgun Bootur, Bert-Khara, "The White Boy"); some of these cycles are so long that it takes several days on end to tell them. There were special storytellers called *osorokhym'u* to recite these poems. A good storyteller was much respected among the people. He had to possess a wonderful memory, since he had to know by heart hundreds of thousands of verses; he had to have a poetic flair and at the same time a good voice and a musical ear, since the poems were partly intoned. The performance of the poems was a subject of special study. It was the custom to be as hospitable as possible to the storyteller, and many people would gather to listen to him. Sometimes the poems would be declaimed by several storytellers together, who to some extent or other dramatized the story, dividing the main roles among themselves; one sang the role of the hero, another the role of his adversary, while the third undertook the narrative part of the poem. The knowledge and narration of these poems was fast declining by the beginning of the 20th century, and there were fewer and fewer good storytellers of this kind; the collective singing of poems died out almost completely.

Alongside the epic poem, there were various historical Yakut legends called *buturpu cahanap* ("Tales of Old Times"), or *osyo cahanap* ("Tales of Ancestors"). The themes in them dealt with genuine historical events and their heroes were historical personages; it stands to reason that both types were greatly modified and embellished with legendary motifs; the legends abound in anachronisms and it is impossible to relate them to any definite period without comparison with documentary sources. The latter show that there is usually a grain of truth in the legends. The best known are the stories of the "Yakut tsar" Tygyn (who was in actual fact a Kängälas toyon, living in the 17th century) and his rival Lëgëy (a Borogon toyon of the same period). There is most likely some historical truth as well in the widespread legends of the Yakut progenitors, Omokhoye and Elleye, who sailed by way of the Lena from the south; the legends, incidentally, are mainly to be found among the Yakuts from the Lena-Arnga ulusy and are less known on the Vilyuy and in the northern regions.

The Yakut fairytales in verse are also colorful and interesting, particularly those about animals (they are called *ostoruya* from the Russian word "istoriya" (history), or *kepsen*. As distinct from the epics, these fairytales are not sung, but narrated; their language is quite different, and is simpler and more down to earth.

We should also point out the numerous and highly varied proverbs, sayings (*oc zohoono*) and riddles (*taabryn*), which are at times extremely clever and neat. Here are some examples: "There is a silver dish floating in the middle of the sea" (the sun); "in the evening my mother gave birth, in the morning I gave birth to my mother" (freezing and melting of ice); "four children make the bed" (a horse's hooves); "it is said that snow falling on a tree stump does not melt" (gray hair); "two people are fighting with sticks on two sides of a little lake" (eyelids); "Mother roars and the little child runs away" (a gun and a bullet); "it is said that a giant thief stalks underground" (fishing net). Here are some examples of sayings and proverbs: "A hand does not move away from a sore place nor does one take one's eyes from one's beloved"; "a silent person is always regarded as a clever person"; "need whips the vine more painfully"; "the tree will not shake without the wind" (there's no smoke without fire); "a rich man is never satisfied with his own riches"; "this demon is only human in that he eats food" (said of rich people); and many others.

The Yakuts are very fond of eloquence. The ability to make a good speech at a meeting is highly regarded, and the speaker is greeted with cries of approval.

With regard to the songs (*yrya*), the melodies are simple and monotonous, but there are different genres, and the images are often artistic. It is possible to sing love songs (for girls and boys), dance songs, humorous songs, shaman songs, and so on, as well as improvisations, when a person tells in song what he has been doing or seeing. The motif of this kind of song is very simple and usually consists of two or three repeated notes.

The Yakuts did not have any other kind of music, apart from vocal. There were no musical instruments, leaving aside the shaman tambourine and the *khomus*, a small iron jew's-harp known to more or less all the peoples of the Old World.

The dances of the Yakuts are very original. Particularly interesting is a round called the *chyatui*, performed during festivals.

The dancers stand in a circle arm in arm and in time to the singing move with majestic steps to the left, in the direction of movement of the sun. There were variations of this dance in different localities. There were also various dancing games.

Ornamental art attained a high level of development among the Yakuts. The carving of wood and mammoth ivory; the casting and stamping of silver, copper and gold; the embroidery and appliqué of leather and fabric; fur appliqué and mosaic; the weaving of horsehair: all these were arts performed with materials available to the Yakuts and in which the craftsmen showed particular artistic taste and skill. Basically there was no graphic art for other than decorative purposes among the Yakuts, just as in the folk art of the past as a whole, if we disregard the animal, and human figures made by the shamans, and the later carved sculpture made in imitation of Russian examples.

The style of the Yakut design was original, although it contained Tungus, Mongol and other elements. Geometric motifs predominated, at times rather intricate ones. On the carved wooden vessels we find circular designs consisting of straight, serrated and wavy lines with points, dashes and so on, covering almost the entire surface. In the stamping, casting and birchbark carving, there predominate symmetrical, rounded figures, such as hooks, meanders, pincer-shapes, and so on, with linear squares, concentric circles and so forth. Very typical is a design found on scoops and saddlecloths; here one is struck by the central two-horned lyre—a purely Yakut motif.

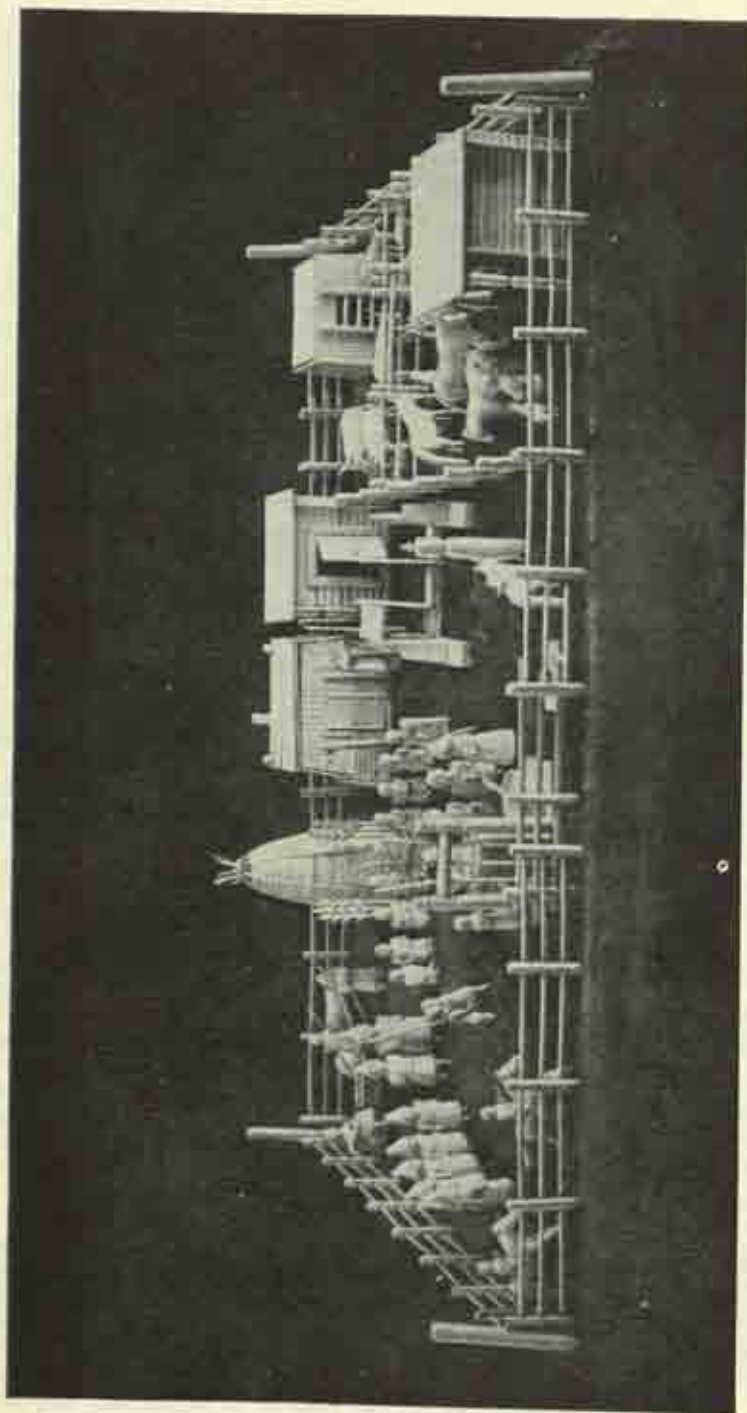
The darkening of silver, and the painting of wood and alder with a concoction of alder, were developed.

In the selection of colors, preference was shown for black, red and, to some extent yellow and blue. The same preference was shown in the selection of fabric of the appropriate color.

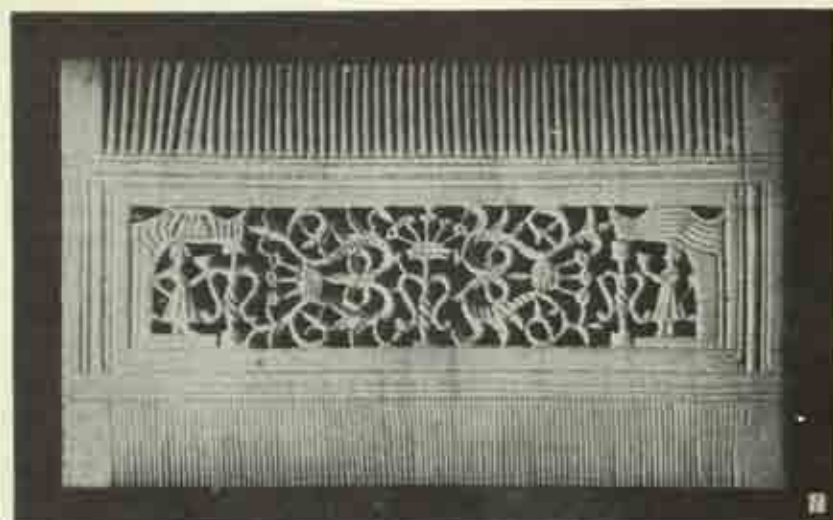
* * *

Such was the culture of the Yakut people up to the October Revolution.

Particularly important was the cultural assistance which the Yakuts obtained from the fraternal Russian people during the prerevolutionary years. In the 19th century it was mainly the political exiles, beginning with the Decembrists, who spread culture through Yakutiya. There were also other progressive Russian people who diffused the beginnings of a cultivated way of life among the Yakuts. In particular, they laid the

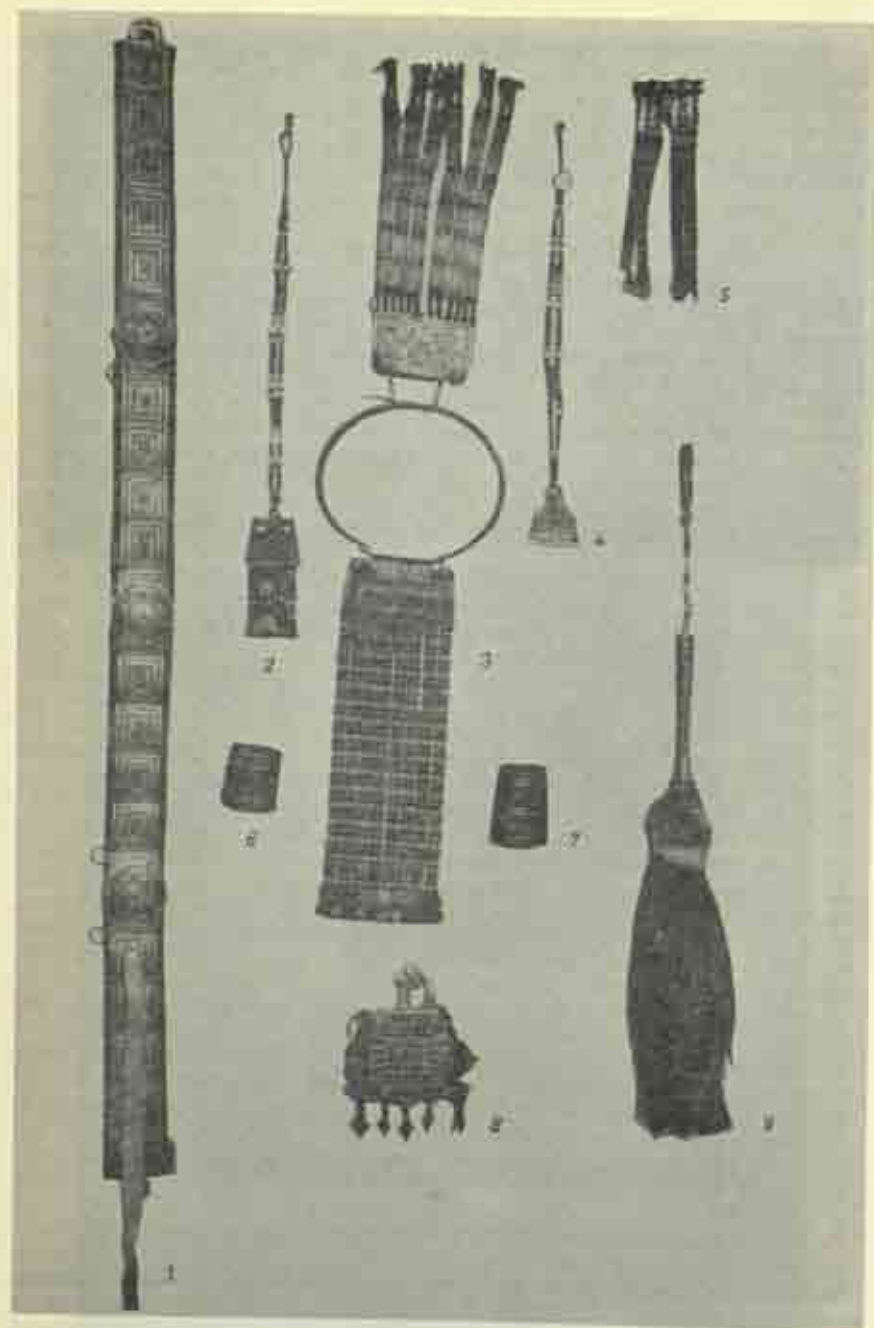


Yakut farmstead. Bone carving, 19th century.



Bone carving, 19th century. 1—comb; 2—horse; 3—cow.

foundations of the Yakut written language. Uvarovskiy, a Yakut by birth, wrote down several Yakut texts in Russian characters, and on the basis of them Academician O. N. Boethling made the first scholarly analysis of the Yakut language. At the prompting of the eminent I. Ye. Veniaminov (a former missionary in the Aleutians), the priest Dmitriy Khitrov published in 1958 the first "Brief Grammar of the Yakut Language." A



Silver ornaments: 1—silver belt; 2—embellishments for braids;
 3—necklace; 4—women's tinder steel; 5—pendant for braids;
 6, 7—bracelets; 8—women's bags; 9—fan.

number of (ecclesiastical) books were published in Yakut. After the 1905 revolution, artistic and journalistic literature in Yakut began to appear.

Nevertheless, education remained on a low level among the broad Yakut masses. There were no Yakut national schools. Russian church and state schools began to appear in Yakutiya in the 18th century, but there were very few of them. Even in the early 1900's, there were only 11 rural primary schools in all of Yakutiya, and 57 parish and literacy schools. The masses had little access to these schools, and still less to the secondary schools; there were only 5 of these, and they were located only in cities. Of the Yakuts, it was mainly the children of tojons who could get into them.

Nevertheless, even at the end of the 19th century, a small Yakut intelligentsia began to appear—teachers, officials, lawyers and doctors, who had chiefly received education at Tomsk University. From among this intelligentsia there emerged individual amateurs of local history and folklore—the first Yakut ethnographers and collectors. But by their class affiliation and ideology, these first Yakut intellectuals were inclined to the toyon camp, and were infected with nationalism. Alongside this bourgeois-toyon intelligentsia, there appeared in the last years preceding the October Revolution, under the influence of Social-Democratic and Bolshevik propaganda by political exiles (particularly in the circle led by Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy), a small nucleus of progressive Russian cultural workers.

Socialist Reconstruction

Formation of Yakut ASSR

In Yakutiya, just as throughout the country, the establishment of the Soviet regime involved a fierce struggle against internal and external enemies. In the autumn of 1918 power was seized in Yakutsk by the followers of Kolchak with the help of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries.⁶ Hardly had the Yakutsk workers had time to overthrow the counterrevolutionary regime of Kolchak (December 15, 1919) when there flared up, particularly in the autumn of 1921, the kulak and White Guard revolts, led by tsarist officers and Yakut tojons who had been hiding in the remoter areas.

On February 16, 1922, the Presidium of the VTsIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) adopted a resolution on the formation of the Yakut ASSR. On April 27, 1922, the Presidium, with M. I. Kalinin in the chair, reviewed this question again and decreed as follows: "To form a Yakut Autonomous Soviet Republic as a federal part of the RSFSR with its administrative center in Yakutsk."

In the autumn of 1922 the young Yakut Republic was faced with a serious threat: the American and Japanese imperialists had moved up General Pepelyayev's troops into Yakutya from Manchuria. The General received half a million rubles in gold from the American firm of Olaf Svenson and the British Hudson's Bay Company. The Americans and Japanese equipped Pepelyayev with weapons, ammunition and equipment. Food supplies and weapons were the responsibility of the Japanese

⁶ The Mensheviks were a dissident wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP), which was also the parent organization of the Communist Party. The Social Revolutionaries (SR's) were moderate agrarian socialists; they participated in the government during the first months after the October Revolution.—Ed.

firm Aral Gumi. The Yakut people took up arms in defense of their young Republic. In March 1923, with the help of the Red Army units, General Pepelyayev was crushed.

Even while the struggle against the Pepelyayev bands was still at its height, in December 1922 there was held the first All-Yakut Constituent Assembly of Soviets; this conference elected a Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the YaASSR. In 1923 the Constitution of the YaASSR was adopted at the Third All-Yakut Congress of Soviets. In 1937 a new Yakutian Constitution was drafted and on March 9 of the same year it was adopted.

Industry and Transportation

During the Five-Year Plans a major socialist industry was developed in Yakutiya. At the present time, in addition to the gold, nonferrous metal and mica industries, there are coal, shipbuilding, building-materials, printing and also fish and dairy industries in Yakutiya.

Gold was first mined in the regions bordering on Yakutiya (Vitim and Olekma Basins) more than 100 years ago. But in Yakutiya itself the gold was only mined in very small quantities. In 1923 a prospecting party fitted out by the Yakutian government, with the help of Yakut guides, discovered the huge gold deposits on the river Aldan. The Aldan immediately became a major gold-mining area. All around the Aldan there arose settlements, mines, and power stations. At the present time the Aldan mines use powerful electrodrifts, conveyors, compressors, excavators and haulage machinery.

The salt reserves of Kempendey along the tributary of the Vilyuy are being exploited on a wide scale.

Extensive prospecting has resulted in the discovery of dozens of new coal deposits. There is now a coal industry in Yakutiya. An example of the rapid development of the coal industry in Yakutiya is the Sangarskiy area. Gold was first mined in Sangary in 1928. During the first year of the mine's existence only 15 tons of coal were brought up, operations being conducted entirely by hand. Nowadays the mine is a large, well-equipped industrial enterprise. A mechanized system for loading the coal onto barges has been installed. The construction of houses and cultural facilities on a large scale has begun in the coal-mining regions. Sangary itself has become a miners' settlement and an industrial corner of Yakutiya.

Before the advent of the Soviet regime the very rich forest reserves of Yakutiya were hardly touched. The timber rotted where it stood, or else was destroyed by forest fire. At the present time forestry is a leading branch of the Yakut economy. Advanced Soviet machinery is used on a wide scale at the lumber camps. There are mobile power stations, and electric saws with power units. The forestry organizations have been provided with dozens of hauling tractors and trucks. Fully mechanized sectors have been set up. The timber is floated downriver by means of mechanical traction. Sawmills have been built.

Hundreds of industrial plants have been set up in Yakutiya during the Soviet period. The manufacture of glass, bricks, building materials, refractory materials, furniture, leatherwares and footwear, provides for local needs.

In accordance with the planned development of the economy the Yakut region has been divided up into specialized regions—coal mining in the

southern regions, agriculture and the processing industry in the central part, and reindeer-breeding and trapping in the northern regions.

Particular attention is given in Yakutiya to transportation. The socialist reconstruction of the new Republic began with almost a total lack of roads. The chief means of transportation was always and is still by boat. During the Five-Year Plans the transportation system has undergone a radical reorganization. Whereas in 1917 the entire Lena fleet consisted of 37 out-moded steamers and 113 barges, by the beginning of World War II the Yakut Republic had 127 steamers and more than 500 barges.

Before the Revolution steamer traffic was restricted basically to the upper and lower regions of the Lena as far as the mouth of the Vilyuy. At the present time steamers sail the whole length of the Lena, Vilyuy, Aldan, Olekma, Amga, Chara, and Maya, and all the other major northern rivers.

The development of the Yakut rivers is directly connected with a very important measure adopted by the Soviet government, namely, the opening up of the Northern Seaway, which through the heroic efforts of polar explorers, sailors and fliers has been turned into a permanently operating route. In the 1920's the Vladivostok-Kolyma routes were reopened. In 1932 the icebreaker *Sibiryakov* made a historic journey by sailing directly and without a stop from Archangel to Vladivostok. The heroic trip made by the *Chelyuskin* (1933) proved the navigability of the Northern Seaway for conventional-type steamships. In 1936 there was opened a route along the river Yana, in 1937 the Anabar, and in 1938 the Olekma and the Indigirka. The opening up of the Northern Seaway sharply stepped up the carriage of freight to the northern regions of Yakutiya.

The opening up of navigation in northern Yakutiya helped the economic resuscitation of this region. From that time on, the mining and fishing industries began to develop and strengthen. Commodity turnover increased sharply as a result. Coal, timber, salt and food products were delivered to the lower regions of various rivers from Yakutiya. The river routes now being exploited stretch more than 9000 kilometers—almost a quarter of the circumference of the globe.

River traffic has also speeded up. Comfortable double-decker ships of the Volga type run from Osetrovo to Yakutsk, a distance of about 2000 kilometers, in only 5 days.

In 1952 the Lena River Steamship Line acquired new powerful diesel ships of the latest Soviet type.

The Lena River route is now linked to the Siberian Sea artery by a direct railroad line (from Tayshet to Osetrovo docks).

The construction of overland roads has become a matter of nationwide interest in Yakutiya. About 2500 kilometers of permanent highways with winter road camps have been built. The construction and operation of highways have involved tremendous difficulties, such as coping with snowdrifts, ice floes, and ice-covered snow. Of the motor highways linking Yakutiya with the outside world, a particularly important one is the Amur-Yakutsk Highway which connects Aldan, and in winter Yakutsk, with the Ussuriysk railroad.

At the present time freight is brought into Yakutiya by four different routes: The Upper Lena wharves (Kachug, Zhigalovo), the Osetrovo wharf, the Amur-Yakutsk Highway, and the Northern Seaway.

Aviation routes connect Yakutsk with Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk and Moscow. The local lines in operation are Yakutsk-Aldan, Yakutsk-Bulun-Tiksi, etc.

The centuries-old isolation of this region from the chief centers of the country is now a thing of the past. Extensive development has also

taken place in such forms of communication as radio, telegraph and telephone. Compared with 1940 the number of radio points in 1952 was more than doubled. By this time communication had been established between Yakutsk and rural localities and machine-tractor stations, and 225 nasleg soviets had been linked by telephone. Many rayons and nasleg soviets are now equipped with radios.

The extent of the postal routes is 65,000 kilometers, practically twice the length of the equator.

Towns and Cities

The capital of the Yakut ASSR is the city of Yakutsk, which used to be the oblast center. Here are concentrated the most important Yakut Republic offices, ministries, banks, scientific institutes, and higher and secondary schools. During the Soviet period Yakutsk has been turned into a major industrial center. The water system laid in Yakutsk has the deepest water-intake point in the world. The problem of obtaining subsoil water for this water system was an extremely difficult one because of the permafrost. Engineers worked hard to solve this problem even before the Revolution, though never successfully. Soviet technicians and working people have solved it. Subpermafrost water is now fed into the main water supply. Stone bathhouses, mechanized laundries, barbershops and other such enterprises for the personal use of the population did not come into being until the Soviet regime. The streets of the city are paved with wood blocks and sidewalks have been constructed. Yakutsk is rapidly developing.

Over the last few years Yakutsk has been changing from wooden buildings to brick and sometimes reinforced concrete buildings. Bus routes between the city and neighboring regions are now in operation.

In Yakutsk there are 22 secondary, seven-year and primary schools. They are attended by about 9000 children. In the city there are 16 tekhnikum, various courses, and a pedagogical institute, a Yakut Theatre of Music and Drama, a Russian drama theatre, two movie houses and seven clubs. The Pushkin Science Library, the Yaroslavskiy Yakutsk Regional Museum and the Yakutsk Museum of Fine Arts are great favorites with the citizens.

There are hospitals in the city and it is also there that the research institutes and laboratories are to be found. In 1947 a research base of the USSR Academy of Sciences was opened there, and in 1949 it was turned into the Yakutsk branch of the Academy. In the same year there was opened a Yakutsk branch of the Tuberculosis Institute of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

Agriculture

In pre-Revolutionary Yakutiya the poor and middle peasant families totaled more than 80 percent of all households. One-seventh of all the households were entirely without sowings, and many were only able to sow a few hundredths of a hectare each. Most of the households (97 percent) had to do without factory-made agricultural implements. Stockbreeding produced extremely poor results. The owners of large areas of land and abundant livestock i.e.,—the kulaks and toyons, grew rich, but not so much by raising the level of land cultivation and animal husbandry as by exploiting the poor and middle peasants.

During the first two years of the Soviet regime the situation hardly changed for the better. There was redistribution of the land in 1923-24, but the reform only partly cut down the amount of land used by the tojons and virtually made no difference to the burdensome state of the poor people. For example, the nonrepartitional land expropriated by the tojons on the basis of their "clearing right" was left in their possession. It was only the second land reform of 1929 that put an end to tojon coercion and created a situation in which the agriculture of Yakutiya could be improved. About 150,000 hectares of the best land, formerly owned by the tojons and kulaks, then passed into the hands of the working peasantry.

A collective-farm movement among the Yakut workers began in about 1930. In 1929 only 3.6 percent of the households were collectivized; by 1932 the figure was 41.7 percent, and by 1947 collective farms united 98.7 percent of all the households in the Yakut Republic. Collectivization gave a powerful impetus to the development of land cultivation, which prior to the Revolution had only advanced at a snail's pace. The sown area in Yakutiya had increased to 92,000 hectares by 1946, as opposed to 37,000 in 1917. Machine-tractor stations provide great assistance to the collective farms. Several hundred tractors, many combines and trucks are now at work in the fields. More than 20,000 agricultural machines are in operation. Trained teams of Yakut tractor-drivers, combine-operators, drivers and mechanics have begun to appear. Great advances have been made in the field of agricultural techniques. Particular attention has been given to retention of the moisture in the soil. The climate and soil conditions of Yakutiya make agriculture particularly difficult. In addition to the frequent droughts and spring frosts, some of the lakes dry up and deprive whole settlements of water. Over the last few years the Yakut collective farms have worked very hard to organize irrigation and flooding.

Many farms use water wheels and pumps to water their gardens. In 1952, more than 300,000 hectares of land, chiefly green meadows and pastureland, were irrigated by means of both permanent and temporary installations. The first specialized meadow-reclamation station had been set up in the Gorniy Rayon.

In 1952, M. G. Yegorov, member of the New Life collective farm in the Megino-Kangalasskiy Rayon, was awarded a Stalin Prize for the introduction of more modern methods in vegetable-growing on Yakutiyan collective farms. In the rigorous Yakutiyan climate Yegorov had been gathering 300-350 tsentners of cabbage, 180-190 tsentners of cucumbers, 170 tsentners of carrots, and 130 tsentners of tomatoes each year per hectare. In 1956 he was awarded the Order of Lenin.

Nevertheless, animal husbandry is still the chief branch of agriculture in Yakutiya. Poorly productive livestock was a legacy received by the collective farms from the past. The milk yield per cow averaged only 600 kilograms of milk per year. The Yakut farmers struggled hard for complete reorganization of their animal husbandry. The productivity of the cattle was improved throughout the Republic by crossbreeding. Techniques for the maintenance and pasturing of cattle were radically changed. Many standardized cattle-yards of an improved design were built. The work of the milkmaid was mechanized on many collective farms. On account of the extensive clearing of meadowland, the farms are in a position at the present time to provide their cattle with coarse fodder, although they still do not have enough concentrates.

An important part has been played in the development of animal husbandry by veterinary-zootechnical work. The rate of malignant anthrax among cattle has been reduced to nil. Precautionary measures in this

field have been of tremendous benefit. Many hundreds of specialists are now at work in the field of agriculture and among them there are quite a few veterinary surgeons and technicians with higher education. Horse-breeding is also being successfully developed.

The income received by collective-farm members is an indication of the considerable progress made in the collective-farm system. For example, in 1955 the Yershov family from the Red Partisan collective farm in the Churapchinskiy Rayon, consisting of four members, completed 22,500 labor units¹ and in the final accounting received 100 poods of grain, 48 poods of meat, 69 poods of oil, more than 30 poods of vegetables, 2 foals and more than 5500 rubles in cash.

For each labor unit completed at the Red Star collective farm in the Aldanskiy Rayon in 1955 the farmer received a payment of 32 rubles and 50 kopeks.

High incomes are also received by cattle breeders in the northern regions. On the Victory collective farm in the Olenekskiy Rayon, 808,000 rubles were spent in payment for labor units in 1954. For each labor unit the payment was 16 rubles in cash and 210 grams of meat; each household received an average income in cash of 11,400 rubles.

Trapping, Fur-Farming and Fishing

There are 22 species of fur-bearing animals in the Yakut ASSR. Trapping is one of the main occupations of the population of northern Yakutiya. On account of the indiscriminate extermination of the reserves of fur in Yakutiya many species of animals such as the otter, sable, and dark-brown fox had almost entirely disappeared by 1917. The Revolution put an end to the extermination of these fur-bearing animals. It also did away with the centuries-old enslavement of the hunting and trapping population in debts by commercial capital. One of the first steps taken by the Soviet authorities was to annul the debts to merchants on the part of the hunters and to prohibit the private buying up and resale of furs. Hunting seasons were introduced and the hunting of declining species of fur-bearing animals was prohibited or restricted. The reconstruction of hunting led to Yakutiya's becoming one of the chief suppliers of furs. Over the last few years the Republic has provided 20-25 percent of the All-Union output of furs. An important part in development of planned hunting has been played by the hunting-trapping stations (POS) set up from 1931 to 1933. These stations instructed hunters and trappers in new techniques of hunting and fitted them out with the necessary equipment. The chief hunting weapon is the small-caliber rifle and carbine. Use is made of imported traps and local self-trapping devices. Use is made of improved self-operating devices which prevent the pelts' being damaged, for example, the "trough-fall." The collective farms equip hunters with means of transportation, tents, stoves, and ammunition. The weapons are usually the hunters' personal property. The advanced trappers in the polar-fox regions have at their disposal 200-300 traps each and 100-150 springtraps of improved design. Many squirrel-hunters have from 400 to 500 fall-snares. During the

¹ The labor unit (trudoden') is the standard of unit of payment on collective farms. It is set at a fixed rate in cash and produce for each farm but may vary from year to year. Different jobs are rated differently as to number of labor units for an actual day's work.—Ed.

trapping season brigades of hunters are equipped with food and ammunition while actually in the field. Traveling agents from the Rural Consumers' Society take the hunters everything they need in the hunting grounds and collect the pelts from them on the spot.

Over the last 20 years a great deal of work has been done to supplement the animals hunted and trapped in the Yakut ASSR. Between 1930 and 1932, 118 specimens of the muskrat, a valuable animal, were brought into the Tokkinskiy Rayon of Yakutiya. It is now found in 32 rayons and has even become acclimatized beyond the Arctic Circle. Over the last few years muskrat shooting has been begun on a systematic basis.

Steps have been taken to replace the reserve of sable. At the present time more than 600 Barguzina sables have been let loose in the forests of Yakutiya. In many parts of the tundra the polar fox is supplied with additional fodder. In the summer, trappers and trapping industry experts carry out careful observation of the conifer harvest and the migration of fur-bearing animals so as to be able to give collective farms an indication of which particular type of hunting they should engage in. The farms make certain that their traps are closed for the summer to prevent needless loss of animals.

In Yakutiya there is also hunting for wild reindeer, elk, wildfowl and waterfowl as a source of food. Hunting is the most profitable commercial branch of the economy in the northern regions. From year to year the material standard of the collective-farm members is increasing, and the high income received from hunting and trapping enables the farmers of the North to supply themselves with food, factory-made clothing and footwear, and, in addition, to acquire commodities of everyday and personal use. Women hunters and trappers have begun appearing in Yakutiya, which is an innovation.

At the present time furs are not only obtained by trapping. Within the Yakut socialist economy, just as in the other regions of the Soviet North, a new branch of economy has sprung up—the breeding of fur-bearing animals in captivity (and, clearly, the most valuable ones). This experiment was begun in the Republic in 1936. Silver-fox farms were set up in Kitcha and Pokrovskoye. In 1956 there were 8 cooperative and 167 collective fur-farms specializing in silver fox in Yakutiya. Hundreds of pedigreed forest animals are kept on the cooperative farms.

The Yakut fish industry began to develop in the 1920's. The Tusbalyk ("salt fish" in the Yakut language) Trust was set up in 1928. During World War II the Yakutgosrybtrest (Yakut State Fish Trust) was set up, combining all the fisheries. Seines, 500-700 meters long, hauled by tractors, appeared at the fisheries. Around-the-year fishing was organized on the lower reaches of the Lena and Yana. A large quantity of fish is procured by the population for personal use. The northern fisheries supplement their equipment during the year by acquiring new seines and barrels and add new ships to their fleets. At the mass-scale fisheries the needs of the workers are provided for by cultural stations. The income of the collective fishermen is increasing. Although local methods of fishing (by boat, by barricading rivers, etc.) are still used, they are becoming more and more amateur methods and are being replaced by modern mechanized techniques.

Collective Farms

Typical examples of the Yakut collective farm are the enlarged Stalin collective farm in the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon of the Kachikatskiy Nasleg

and the Stalin farm in the Megino-Kangalasskiy Rayon. The first of these barely numbered 10 households in the 30's when first organized, but now unites 265 individual households. This collective farm has many different branches. It has 1200 hectares of ploughland, 3000 hectares of meadowland, 2700 hectares of pastureland, and upward of 3000 head of livestock. The collective farm has seven subsidiary farms for dairy-farming, horse-breeding, reindeer-breeding, poultry and pigs. Since 1953, fox and rabbit have been reared on it. The farm has two power stations. The electricity is used for purposes of illumination, threshing and cleaning the seed, grinding grain and sawing wood. An electric milking system for the cows is being introduced.

Well-designed houses, schools and hospitals have been constructed in the collective-farm settlement. It has its own club, library and radio-relay station. A park has been made near the settlement, and there is also a stadium. Films are shown regularly and amateur concerts are often organized.

The Stalin collective farm in the Megino-Kangalasskiy Rayon became the largest collective farm in the Republic as soon as the neighboring collectives merged with it. By government decree, it is the possessor of 67,000 hectares of land, of which 2798 hectares are ploughland, and almost 11,000 constitute meadowland and pastures. The remaining land is taken up by forests. The collective farm sows almost 800 hectares of wheat, 720 hectares of spring and winter rye, more than 250 hectares of oats and barley, and 55 hectares of vegetables and potatoes. In 1955 there were about 3500 head of cattle on the farm, more than 1200 horses, 250 reindeer, and more than 100 pigs; furthermore, the collective farm has a subsidiary poultry farm and a section for breeding fur-bearing animals.

At the present time the collective farm has three small power stations with a total output of 125 kilowatts. The electricity is used for threshing grain, driving a sawmill and operating lathes. In view of the increased generation of electricity the farm has mechanized the delivery of fodder to the byres. There are more than 500 different types of machines, 6 trucks, 2 passenger cars and 12 engines on the farm.

In 1955, the farm's income was 2,700,000 rubles. The material status of the farmers has been considerably improved.

At the same time their cultural standards have increased.

There is not one single illiterate person on the farm: 120 farmers have a secondary education or higher, 10 of them are studying at universities and 165 in *tekhnikums* and secondary schools. Many of the collective-farm members return to their own farms after receiving their education.

Great progress has been attained by the northern farms of the Nizhne-Kolymskiy, Bulunskiy, Olenekskiy, Anabarskiy and other rayons. Their achievements are due to the overall reorganization of reindeer-breeding and the trapping industry. On many of the farms there are Yakuts, Evenks, Chukchi and other minorities all working together.

Socialization of the reindeer and the creation of large herds has made it possible to introduce such veterinary measures as stage-by-stage nomadizing based on the rotation of pastureland, inoculations, and day and night guarding of the herds. In the past Yakutian reindeer-herders never made use of dogs, which, for example, among the Nentsy make the work of the herdsman easier. Nowadays reindeer-herding dogs are used extensively in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy, Allakhovskiy and Bulunskiy Rayons.

The northern collective farms have not confined themselves to the traditional branches of economy, namely, reindeer-breeding, hunting and fishing, and are courageously developing new branches. On most of the

reindeer-breeding collective farms there are now dairy and horse-breeding sections.

The Stalin Even-Yakut collective farm in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon (formerly known as the Sutanya-Udëran) is successfully developing reindeer-breeding alongside horse-breeding, fishing and hunting. The collective contains more than 17,000 reindeer. In 1955 more than 850 tseñners of such important species of fish as whitefish and baranatka were caught. In 1955, 215,000 rubles worth of furs were delivered to the State. The gross monetary income of this collective farm was 2,430,000 rubles; 1,423,000 rubles were distributed to the collective-farm members for labor units, and for each labor unit the payment was 17 rubles cash, 1.04 kg of meat and 720 g of fish. The monetary income per household averaged 24,000 rubles.

Despite the fact that the chief branches of industry of the northern farms have required periodic migration on the part of the population, all the farms have constructed settlements or collective-farm centers. As an example we can take the settlement of Kolymskaya, the center of the Turvaugin collective farm. This center contains the headquarters of the farm administration, an incomplete secondary school with boarding facilities, a hospital, a shop, a house of culture with a library, a trading station, a power station, bathhouses, a dairy farm, and 50 standard farmhouses. The farm recently acquired an S30 tractor, a launch and two motorboats. In ethnic composition the Turvaugin collective farm is multinational and consists of Chukchi, Yukagirs, Yakuts and Evenks.

New Way of Life

A considerable obstacle in the way of the implementation of cultural and public-health program in Yakutiya between 1920 and 1930 was the scattered nature of Yakut settlements due to the ancient occupation of pastoralism. One, two or three yurts together was the predominant type of "settlement." The combining of them into larger units was further required by the everyday farming needs of collective farms.

The construction of settlements under Yakutian conditions was a major achievement in socialist reconstruction of the Yakutian countryside. It provided an opportunity for installing radio and telephone on the farms and providing them with medical and cultural-educational institutions. In 1950 the construction of settlements in southern Yakutiya was by and large complete. The farm settlements are usually located on elevated riverbanks or by the shores of lakes and consist of several parallel streets. Generally speaking, timber houses rather than yurts are built in these settlements. The center is reserved for the school, collective-farm administrative offices, medical center and club. On many farms yurts are used as work premises. There are quite a few settlements with power stations. In the Megino-Kangalasskiy Rayon alone there are 14 farm power stations with a total output of more than 510 kilowatts. Radio-relay systems have been installed in many of the new settlements. The farmers live in the settlements when they are not out working.

Although several types of farmhouses have been developed, they are still far from perfect. The rigorous climate makes particular demands upon the housing construction in Yakutiya. Special forms of heating are used in the new houses, such as triple frames—the first frame is a single one, while the second is inserted during the winter and has two panes of

glass, tambours (extra doors with an air lock in between) and zavalinkas (mounds of earth around the house). A common practice is to ice over the house for the winter with a mixture of snow and water. Double ceilings, double floors, horizontal flues and shutters are still used, although rather rarely. The brick or tile stove is sometimes combined with the traditional Yakut fireplace. In many houses there is an extra iron stove in addition to the brick stove.

The internal appearance of dwellings has also changed. The furniture known before to the Yakuts (tables, stools and benches) has become less massive and more varied. We now find bookshelves, chairs, small dressing-tables and mirrors. Factory-made crockery and utensils are encountered in every home. Clocks (including alarm clocks), writing materials, and books have become common, and phonographs are also sometimes found. In most houses the walls are adorned with posters, pictures of Communist Party leaders, photographs, bookshelves, and over the bed there is usually a rug made of skin from the reindeer's head, bead-embroidered saddlecloths, or else the walls are covered with cloth. The windows have curtains.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the way of life of the Yakuts. Many collective farms now have electricity and radio. Clean clothes, hot baths, and attention to their personal appearance are typical of most of the collective-farm members. There has been a change in interests, habits and way of life. The outlook of the population has broadened. Books can now be found in every house. In the settlements people enjoy movies, and attend lectures and discussions in the reading rooms. Young people take part in ski-races, chess and other sporting events. Amateur song and dance groups in the clubs are usually of interest to the whole settlement. The families are no longer isolated and no longer keep to themselves.

A typical innovation for city children is toys, such as figures of horses and cows, rubber dolls, rattles, clockwork trucks, and so on. In addition to these, we commonly find delicately carved wooden animals and tiny bows and arrows. In the schools and boarding facilities children amuse themselves with the most popular table games. In the spring and summer they play various games, including hide-and-seek and blind man's-buff.

A great deal has changed in the Yakut diet, as well.

It should be remembered that before the Revolution Yakutiya was a country of chronic famine. Most of the Yakut population suffered from starvation every year, particularly at the end of the winter and in spring. Bread has now become a normal food not only in the southern but also in the northern areas. Groats and macaroni are now part of the staple diet. The consumption of vegetables and potatoes has also considerably increased.

In many regions the collective farms grow cucumbers, radishes, cabbages, onions and beets. Vegetables are imported in the dehydrated form. Everywhere the population is amply provided with tea, sugar, and tobacco. There are bakeries at trading points in most settlements. Meat and fish are consumed by the Yakuts in large quantities, particularly in the northern regions, where they are the staple diet. In the southern regions an important part of the diet is dairy products. On account of the overall improvement in the living standards of the people, sapwood is no longer consumed as food. Nor do they eat pickled fish any more. Local traditions are still retained in the cooking of dairy products, meat and fish. In the northern regions meat is commonly undercooked. Milk is made into some curious dishes such as suorat, khayakh, chokhoon, *кабыр* and so forth. In a number of regions reindeer gristle is still eaten in the raw state as a delicacy, and so are the liver and bone marrow of this animal. Many families eat freshly

frozen fish in the winter. In some parts in the North fish is made into yukola. The fish is slightly smoked over a fire and then dried in the sun; it is also customary to salt and smoke fish. In the central regions people catch large numbers of hares, and partridge, geese and duck serve as a subsidiary part of the diet of the people in the north.

At the present time the outer fur clothing of the Yakuts (short coat, fur trousers, and kneepieces) is only retained for working. In the winter it is common to wear padded coats and trousers in the settlements. Throughout Yakutiya the local style of winter footwear made from reindeer skin (eterbes) and fur stockings (keenche) have been retained. These are also worn by travelers visiting these regions. Felt boots are worn in the settlements and towns in the winter.

The soft summer boots have not been replaced by factory-made footwear either. In the settlements people wear knee-boots, ankle-boots and shoes. For fishing use is made of rubber knee-boots. For hunting during summer in the taiga, preference is given to ichigi.

Whereas the high-pointed hats have fallen into disuse and are not made any more, the bonnet-type hat covered on top with cloth and trimmed inside with fur is still used, chiefly in most northern regions. At the present time hats with flaps with the fur outside are often made. The shawl made of squirrel-tails is rarely found and has been replaced by the normal type of scarf. Wide-brimmed summer hats made of horsehair have also fallen into disuse.

In the towns and villages men's and women's clothes are close in style to modern urban apparel. Cloth clothing has ousted suede shirts throughout. It has become customary to wear underclothing and use bed linen. Prior to the Revolution many Yakuts never washed their clothes, supposing that it would help to make them last longer. Underwear is now regularly washed.

Position of Women

The position of women in Yakutiya can be said to have radically changed. In Yakut families women used to occupy an inferior position (with fewer rights than among many other of the Siberian peoples) and took no part in public life.

M. D. Nartakhova, the daughter of a poor Yakut, has become a prominent figure in Yakutiya. She was educated at the Irkutsk Workers' University, after which she became a teacher, then worked as a political affairs instructor for the Central Executive Committee of the Yakut Republic, a Rayon Soviet chairman, an Obkom Party instructor, Rayon Committee Secretary of the Communist Party and since 1947 has been Social Security Minister for the Yakut ASSR. At the present time Comrade Nartakhova is chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR.

In 1952, 44 women were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR and 3 women were made deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and RSFSR, while more than 2000 women (34.5 percent of all those elected) were members of the local soviets. Yakut women at the present time, occupy a great variety of posts. They are to be found as chairmen of the collective-farm administrations, chairmen of the nasleg soviets, and in administrative posts in the Communist Party and Komsomol. Many Yakut women have become teachers, doctors, nurses, and cultural officials. 1756 women work in education, 500 are doctors and 24 are scientists. In

1949, 55 women were working as rural soviet chairmen. About 500 girls from Yakutiya are studying at different universities in the country. In the northern regions there were once hunters who used not even to mention the word "hunting" in front of women because of superstitious belief, but now there are even women hunters; the present figure is as many as 1000 women hunters and fishers. Many of them have gained the title of "advanced hunter."

Education

During the tsarist regime hardly any Yakuts were literate.⁸ As soon as the Soviet regime had been consolidated, school construction was developed on a wide scale, as shown by the following table:

Schools	1917	1948
Primary	164	424
7-year	5	149
Secondary	4	30
Total	173	603

In 1917 there were 4660 children at school, but by 1948 the number was 62,942.

In the 1951-1952 academic year there were more than 600 schools functioning in the Yakut Republic, attended by about 66,000 pupils. In the 1955-56 academic year there were 20,000 pupils living in dormitories. When Yakutiya received its autonomy by a decision of the Council of Ministers of the Yakut ASSR, instruction in primary schools was changed to the Yakut language. This made it easier for Yakut schoolchildren to master their subjects. From 1933 on, the teaching of all subjects in the 5th to 7th classes was switched to the Yakut language.

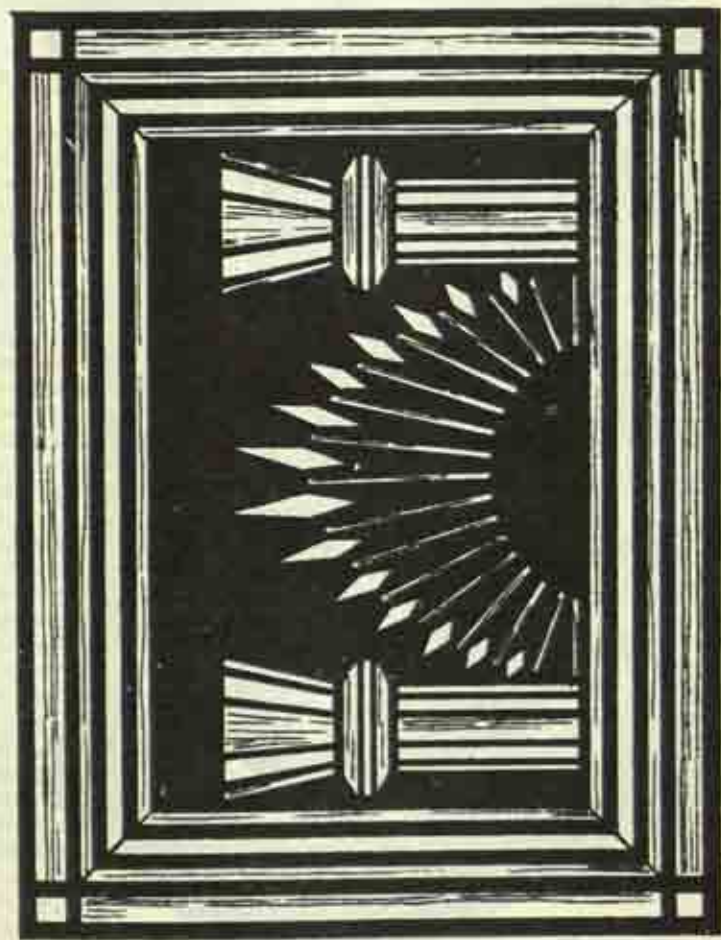
The teaching of main subjects in schools in the vernacular not only helped the pupils to acquire knowledge, but also furthered the rapid development of the Yakut language and the solution of problems of terminology and orthography. From 1933 to 1947, about 400 book titles were published in the Yakut language in overall editions of several million copies.

Three teacher's schools and one pedagogical institute turn out trained teachers for the Yakut Republic. In 1955 there were more than 4500 teachers, which was 15 times more than in 1917. The 17 tekhnikums and special secondary schools are attended by more than 3000 students. These academic establishments train teachers, agronomists, ship mechanics, lawyers, technicians, etc. A 2-year Communist Party School has been opened in Yakutsk and a Marxist-Leninist University. More than 1000 Yakuts are studying at universities of Moscow, Leningrad and Irkutsk.

Yakutiya has also trained its own scientific personnel. About 70 scientists have the degree of Candidate in Science in the fields of history, pedagogy, philology, agriculture, and other subjects. There are also doctors of science.

In 1942 Yakutiya celebrated the end of illiteracy among the adult population. Over the years of the Soviet regime more than 155,000 illiterate

⁸ This conflicts with other data indicating the existence of a pre-Revolutionary Yakut intelligentsia of some dimensions and influence.—Ed.



Appliqué made from straw and colored paper on lid of wooden box.



Saddlecloth embroidered with colored thread.

people have been taught to read and write. Work continues with those who are only partially literate in the network of adult schools.

In 1917 there were only two clubs, three small libraries and one museum in Yakutiya. In 1951 the Republic had more than 1000 educational-cultural establishments, among which there were about 500 reading rooms, several hundred libraries and 5 museums. At the present time there are Party schools in all rayons. In 1948, 986 amateur music and entertainment groups were functioning in the various clubs. There are regular amateur art exhibitions in the clubs and houses of culture. In the north, e.g., the Anabarskiy, Olenekskiy and other rayons, — Red tents with mobile film units have been set up for the population of the tundra.

Public Health

Planned medical assistance was not provided for the population of Yakutiya until the coming of the Soviet regime. By 1927 there were 37 hospitals, 50 medical-assistant points with 627 beds, and 20 outpatient clinics in the Republic. Over the years of the Five-Year Plans the medical network has been greatly increased. There are now more than 630 medical establishments in the Republic, which employ 500 doctors and more than 2500 personnel with intermediate medical training.

An important health center has been created in Yakutsk. The Republic hospital with 500 beds consists of several large standard blocks. It is fitted out with the latest medical equipment. There are also a number of specialized hospitals in Yakutiya. The 33 epidemiological stations and bacteriological laboratories are working hard; more than 500 clinical laboratories have been set up. Vaccination against measles, tularemia, etc. is carried out at a number of laboratories. Since 1940 medical assistance has been given to the population of the most remote parts of the Republic by aircraft. Flying surgeons performed 183 operations in the year 1951 alone.

The Yakuts have made great progress in safeguarding pregnant mothers and infants. In 1924 the first obstetric consultation office in the Republic was opened. In 1940 there were 9 state-owned maternity homes, 37 collective farm maternity homes and 37 permanent nurseries in service. In 1952 the number of nurseries had been raised to 82, with accommodation for 2644 children.

Particular attention has been given by the Yakut government to the campaign against a legacy of the past, i.e., such social diseases as tuberculosis and trachoma. A wide network of medical and disease-prevention establishments has been set up. Every man, woman and child undergoes tests for tuberculosis, and practically all the regional hospitals are equipped with X-ray apparatus. Antitubercular inoculation is normal practice.

In 1924 a special brigade was sent to Yakutiya from the center to make a study of different parts of the Yakut ASSR on the prevalence of trachoma. In 1945 the first trachoma clinic was opened. The incidence of trachoma has sharply declined as a result of tremendous work in preventive medicine and hygiene education; blindness due to trachoma has been reduced to nil. In many places there have been set up interrayon centers where specialized medical aid can be obtained. There are two mudbath resorts in Yakutiya.

The number of medical officials has sharply increased. In 1952, as compared with 1922, the number of doctors had increased by a factor of 30, while there were 26 times more personnel with intermediate medical training.

The Press

The printing of books in Yakutiya followed the decision of the Yakut government to introduce the Yakut language into schools in 1922. The next year a Yakut-language paper, *Kyym* (The Spark), began to come out and was later made into the oblast daily paper.

At the present time 25 regional newspapers are published in the Republic, of which 17 are in the vernacular.

The State Yakut Publishing House was set up in 1926. In its 25 years of activity it has published 2735 different books. The total number of copies amounts to more than 14,000,000.

Scientific Research

A tremendous amount of research work has been carried out in Yakutiya during the Soviet period. The USSR Academy of Sciences and a number of ministries concerned with industry have taken part in studying the natural resources of the country.

At the present time there are in Yakutiya 12 research establishments and a Pedagogical Institute which also conducts research. A tremendous amount of work has been done in the field of the hydrometeorological study of the Yakut ASSR, study of the permafrost and the fish and fur resources, agrotechnology under Yakutiyan conditions and so on. Extensive work has been carried out in the field of the arts as well. The Research Institute for Language, Literature and History of the Yakut ASSR was opened in 1935 and has continued the work of the local studies association. During the last war the Institute switched from collecting research material to conducting major studies in Yakut history, folklore and language. The Yakut branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, part of which is the Language, Literature and History Institute, has a well-stocked collection of folklore, numbering about 10,000 texts. A great deal of work in collecting material on folk music has been done under the guidance of the first Yakut composer, the late M. N. Zhirkov. For a number of years Professor A. P. Okiadnikov has been engaged in a systematic study of Yakut archaeology. The results of this study are summed up in the first volume of "The History of Yakutiya".

Folk Singers and Storytellers in Soviet Yakutiya

Following the Socialist Revolution, profound changes occurred in the oral folklore of the Yakut people. Many genres of the traditional folklore, such as shaman spells and chants, fell into disuse, while others continued on in a completely different form (singing at the *ysyakh-kumys* festival.) The heroic tales—*olonkho*—have remained the favorite form of oral folklore; they are frequently sung on the radio and at club concerts, and are included in other performances. The talented narrators of these epics, or *olonkhosuts*, are very popular among Soviet audiences. Many of them are members of the Union of Soviet Writers. There are now more than 400 such storytellers on the registers.



Dance of girls with chorons (kumys pitchers). Amateur performance at collective farm.

Theatre

During the time of the Soviet regime a Yakut national art with new forms completely unknown in Yakutiya in the pre-Revolutionary period has blossomed. Before the Revolution Yakuts did not know about the theatre, and music and singing were only found in their most primitive form. In 1925 members of the drama group attached to the People's Russian Theatre in Yakutsk was formed into the Yakut National Troupe, and in 1930 a Yakut National Theatre Studio was set up. From the very first years of its existence the actors set themselves the task of a realistic portrayal of Yakut life, denunciation of the merchants and toyons, and demonstration of the greatness of the Socialist Revolution. The theatre gradually attracted young Yakut actors and actresses who had graduated from the Central Theatre School and Studios. They performed works by Soviet-Yakut dramatists with great success.

Art

For centuries Yakutiya has been known for its applied ornamental art, but professional artists only began to appear in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Bone-carving is the ancient art of the Yakuts. Bone-carving, wood-cutting and embossing silver still exist at the present time. Bone is widely used for bas-relief portraits.





THE ALTAYS

L. P. POTAPOV *

General Information

Before the October Revolution, the indigenous Turkic-speaking population of the Russian Mountain Altay was divided into the following tribes and territorial groups: 1) Altays, or as they call themselves Altay Kizhi; 2) Telengits; 3) Telesy; 4) Teleuts; 5) Kumandins; 6) Tubalars; 7) Chelkans. They were already known in Russian scientific literature at that time under the general name of "Altays," since that was what the majority called themselves. For a long time, however, there was confusion regarding this correct name. For example, in official Russian documents of the 17th and 18th centuries and in descriptions by travelers in the 19th century the Altays figure under the name of "Borderland Kalmyks," "White Kalmyks" (this usually meant the Teleuts), and, finally, "Altayan" or "Biy Kalymks," "Mountain Kalmyks." The misnomer of Kalmyks came about because the local tsarist officials, unable to speak the Altay tribal language, called them Kalmyks on account of their outward similarity to the Kalmyks or Dzhungars, with whom the officials were constantly coming into contact. In actual fact the Altays and Kalmyks differ sharply in ethnic origin and language. The Kalmyks or Western Mongols (Oyrats, Dzhungars) speak a Mongolic language and belong to the Mongol group of peoples, while the Altays speak a Turkic language and belong to the Turkic group.

In ethnic origin, language and past culture, the Altay tribes divide into two groups: the Northern Altays, consisting of the Tubalars, Chelkans, and Kumandins, and the Southern Altays, consisting of the Altays proper, or Altay Kizhi, Telengits,¹ Telesy and Teleuts.

While the Southern Altays used to be misnamed Kalmyks, the Northern Altays, who are quite different in physical type from the southerners, used to be called Tatars just as arbitrarily. More often than not they were all given the general name of "back-country Tatars" on the basis of their residence on the "back-country" or "uncivilized" regions of the Altay. Most of the Altays proper lived in the valleys and basins of the Katun', Ursul, Charysh, Kan, Peschanaya, Lena and Mayma Rivers, in Ongudayskiy, Ust'-Kanskiy, Ust'-Koksinskiy, Elikmonarskiy, Shebalinskiy and Mayminski Aymaks in the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast.

¹In 18th century Russian documents and in old literature the Telengits were sometimes wrongly called Uryankhays or Uryankhay Kalmyks.

The Telengits lived in the Chuya and Argut valleys in Kosh-Agachskiy and, to some extent, Ust'-Koksinskiy Aymaks. The Telesy settled in the Cholushman, Bashkans and Ulagan system of rivers, in Ulaganskiy Aymak. The Tubalars lived by the Great and Little Isha, Sary-Koksha, Kara-Koksha, Pyzha, and Uyem' Rivers, in Choyskiy and Turochakskiy Aymaks, while the Chelkans lived along the valley of the River Lebed', particularly its tributary, the Baygol, in Turochakskiy Aymak. The Kumandins populated the right-hand bank of the Biya in Turochakskiy Aymak, but most of them were to be found in Staro-Bardinskiy and, to some extent, Soltonskiy Rayons of the Altay Kray. Within the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast the Teleuts lived to some extent in Mayminskiy Aymak as well as in the Cherga River basin in Shebalinskiy Aymak, though most of them are concentrated along the Great and Little Bachat in Belovskiy Rayon of Kemerovskaya Oblast.

Thanks to the common economic and cultural life, the common possession of a common territory and administration, the expansion of ways of communications and the development of a single literary language, the division of the Altays at the present time into tribes and territorial groups within the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast has lost all practical significance and is merely an historical fact.

The early development of culture in the Altay Mountains is known from Bronze Age relics of the Afanas'yevo, Andronovian and Karasuk types.

Throughout the long period of prevalence of the primitive-communal system the Mountain Altay was inhabited by people who in anthropological type had ancient Europeoid features. The chief occupation was the hunting of wild animals and there was an embryonic form of pastoralism. Work tools were made of bronze.

In the First Millennium B.C., the chief occupation in the Altay Mountains became nomadic pastoralism. This gave rise to the original culture of the early Altayan nomads, known from the burial-objects found in large stone barrows relating to the period from the 5th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.

The archeological relics show us that there were cultural ties and a form of barter between the early Altayan nomads and the East and West. This is shown by finds in the barrows, such as silk fabric, lacquered articles, furs, bronze and so on, which reached those parts via the Huns, who were closely associated with China and ruled over the Altayan tribes.

Ties between the early Altayan nomads and the Huns are clearly to be seen from the relics of art, particularly the burial ritual of that time.

Contact with the peoples of Central Asia was part of the southwestern ties of the Altayan tribes. During the contact between the nomadic tribes and Central Asia, both the pillaging raids by Altayan nomads on the cultured regions of Central Asia and penetration into the east by certain Central Asian tribes brought about the appearance in the Altay of objects of highly developed culture for that period, made by the Central Asian peoples. This is shown particularly clearly by the burial objects found in a group of large barrows in the Altay, known as the Pazyryk barrows. This explains the clothing and objets d'art, characteristic, for example, of Persia during the Achaemenian Dynasty, which were found in them.

From the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. a population with a Mongoloid cast began to appear in the Southern and Northern Altay. Judging by the archeological relics, they arrived there from the Transbaykal and began to mix with the indigenous Altayans—an ancient Europeoid type. This Mongoloid population, new to the Altay, seems to have been forced to migrate there through Tuva and northwestern Mongolia on account of the rise of the Huns, the formation of their barbaric state, or, to be more exact, of the temporary

Hunnish military-administrative union, and the spread of its political power. The ethnic bearers of the new anthropological type in the Altay were Mongolic-speaking, though it was mainly the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes who subsequently formed a new temporary military-political union (the so-called Turkic Khanate) which for a brief period reigned supreme in Central Asia.

During the period of the Turkic Khanate (6th to 8th centuries) and later as well, the Mongoloid type began to prevail in the Southern Altay. Among the Northern Altayan tribes it continued to exist, as during the Hun period, though mixed with the ancient Europeoid type. The Orkhon-Yenisey monuments and Chinese chronicles provide us with accurate data on the ethnic composition of the Turkic-speaking population of the Altay from the 7th to the 10th centuries, when such Turkic-speaking nationalities and tribes as the Kypchaks, Telesy, Tyurgeshy, Tuba and others were coming into prominence. The tribal and clan names of the present-day Altays, just as a number of elements in their pre-Revolutionary culture, point to their historical bonds with these tribes. During this period of successive domination by the Turkic Khanate, the Uygurs, and the Yenisey Kirghiz (6th to 10th centuries), there was Turkicization of the language spoken by the various Samoyedic- and Ketic-speaking tribes and clans inhabiting the northern part of the Sayan-Altay Plateau. This is shown by the morphological, phonetic and lexical aspects of the present-day Northern Altay dialects, which reflect features of the language of the ancient Altayan Turks, Uygurs and Yenisey Kirghiz. The dialects of the Northern Altays, for example, contain such words as *aday* (dog), *kanga* (cart) which clearly are Uygur words, as distinct from the Southern Altay names, *it* and *abra*, typical of the language of other Turkic-speaking tribes. Right up to the Revolution, the Northern Altayans retained their worship of the patroness of children, *Umay* or *May-ene*, known from Orkhon-Yenisey monuments, and so on. The Turkicization of the remnants of the Samoyedic- and Ketic-speaking groups (Yenisey Ostyak) in the northern part of the Sayan was not complete until the 18th century.

The subsequent history of the Altayan tribes involves temporary domination by the Karakitays or Kidans, and by the end of the 12th century the Mongolic-speaking Naymans, who lived between the Khangay and Altay Mountains, and to some extent on the Altay spurs. The Naymans, who ousted the Karakitays, formed a powerful alliance of hordes and tribes, who made the Irtysh their western boundary and Eastern Turkestan their southern boundary. From that time on until the 13th century the population of the Altay maintained contact with the Mongols and was ruled by the Nayman wang-khans, to whom it paid tribute. The distant descendants of the Naymans, who were assimilated into the Turkic-speaking Altay tribes, can be found in the Altay to this day. The term Nayman can be found in the names of certain present-day Altay clans, just as can the name of the Merkits, who were a large people in the 12th century, and lived in the northern part of present-day Mongolia.

The political and economic domination of the Altay tribes by the Mongols reached a peak under Genghis Khan. The Telesy and Telengits were ruled by an old comrade-in-arms and noyon vassal of Genghis Khan, Khorchi (from the Barin tribe), to whom they were subordinate.

The Altayans remained under the rule of Genghis Khan and his descendants for a long time, until about the end of the 14th century, and their culture was adversely affected thereby. The reason for this was the predatory policy pursued by the Mongol Khans with respect to the peoples they conquered. The Mongols established a regime of systematic

savagery accompanied by looting and killing, a direct result of which was a cultural decline on the Altay, as shown by the archaeological relics.

The period of Mongol domination, from the end of the 12th to the 15th centuries, was an important phase in the ethnogenesis of the Altays. First, it involved active participation by the Mongolic-speaking tribes in the ethnogenesis, and, second, it was bound up with the overall process of the formation of Turkic nationalities, which was going on at the time in various regions of the vast steppes stretching from the Altay to the Crimea and the Danube. The Turkic Khanate promoted the westward movement of the Turkic-speaking tribes to a tremendous extent. From the Altay came the Karluks, who gained prominence in the 7th century and were the rulers of the Semirech'ye after the decline of the Turkic Khanate (in the second half of the 8th century). The Kypchaks, who also used to inhabit the Altay, later spread far to the west. Some of the Turkic tribes belonging to the Khanate were subsequently important in the formation of the Kirghiz and Turkmen peoples. The steppes of Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Northern Urals and the Caspian, the Southern Russian steppes right up to the Black Sea, Crimea and Danube inclusive fell under the influence of the numerous nomadic Turkic-speaking tribes. The alliances of Turkic tribes in the Ural and Caspian steppes, headed by the Pechenegs (10th to 12th centuries) and particularly the Kypchaks in the Southern Russian steppes, proved to be the strongest for a short while. The Kypchaks, known during the Turkic Khanate on the Altay, and in the middle of the 11th century from Moslem sources (Gardizi) on the Irtysh, emerged in the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries as a short-lived, though major, political force. In Moslem sources, the vast expanses of steppeland over which the rule of the Kypchaks was spread bore the name of Desht-i-Kypchak. The Kypchaks themselves, at this time, were becoming known in Russian sources as Polovtsy, and in Byzantine sources as Komans. The temporary union of the Turkic-speaking nomads under Kypchak hegemony helped to create a common culture and way of life for these tribes which were at more or less the same stage of development. The political domination of the Kypchaks was brought to a close by Genghis Khan's Mongol State. In the 30's of the 13th century, the political masters of Desht-i-Kypchak were the Mongols. During the dissolution of Genghis Khan's empire, Batu, his nephew, founded a new state which gained the name in eastern sources as the Juchi Ulus, after Genghis Khan's eldest son, and was known in Russian sources as the Golden Horde. The emergence of the Juchi Ulus complicated the formation of the Turkic peoples by adding strong Mongol influence. As before, however, it was based on different groupings of Turkic tribes, although they were basically associated with other, primarily Mongol, tribes. This is also borne out by the fact that the literary language in the Juchi Ulus was Turkic with Kypchak linguistic elements, while the dialects of the nomadic tribes populating the steppes contained a preponderance of the Kypchak elements. The Altay tribes made up the eastern part of the Juchi Ulus, which was known as the White Horde and occupied the territory from Western Siberia to the Volga. After Batu's death in 1255 the eastern part of the Ulus was divided among his sons Orda and Sheyban. In the first half of the 15th century, the political fragmentation of the Juchi Ulus brought about the disintegration of the White Horde into a number of isolated, feuding ulusy. Thus there arose the Nogay Ulus (headed by Yedigei and his descendants) in the steppes between the Volga and the Yaik; the Sheybanid Ulus, the summer camps of which were located in the upper regions of the Yaik, Irtysh and Tobol, and the winter quarters on the lower reaches of the Syr-Dar'ya; and the Siberian or Tyumen' Ulus with its

dynasty of Sheybanids. The dissolution of the Golden Horde gave rise to the formation of new groups of Kypchak Turkic-speaking tribes which, mingling with the Mongols, laid the ethnic bases of such present-day peoples as the Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Nogays, and many of the Southern Altays, particularly the Teleuts, and which added another component to the closest historical ancestors of the present-day Kirghiz and Uzbeks. This explains the fact that in the clan-tribal composition of these peoples, living for many centuries at great distances from each other, we find the same names (Kypchak, Nayman, Merkit and so on), while the epic poetry of the time of the Juchi Ulus (for example, the Tales of Yedige, Chara-Batyy and Takhtamysh) preserved among the Nogays in the Northern Caucasus, the Kazakhs and different groups of Siberian Tatars is also known in the Altay region. Hence the closest historical ancestors of the present-day Southern Altays were the Turkic-speaking Kypchak tribes, also of complex ethnic composition, who were to be found in the Altay both during the Turkic Khanate and after the dissolution of the Juchi Ulus. In the Altay they continued to intermix with the descendants of the ancient Turkic-speaking Altayan tribes (Telesy, Turgeshy and so on) as well as with those from Western Mongolia.

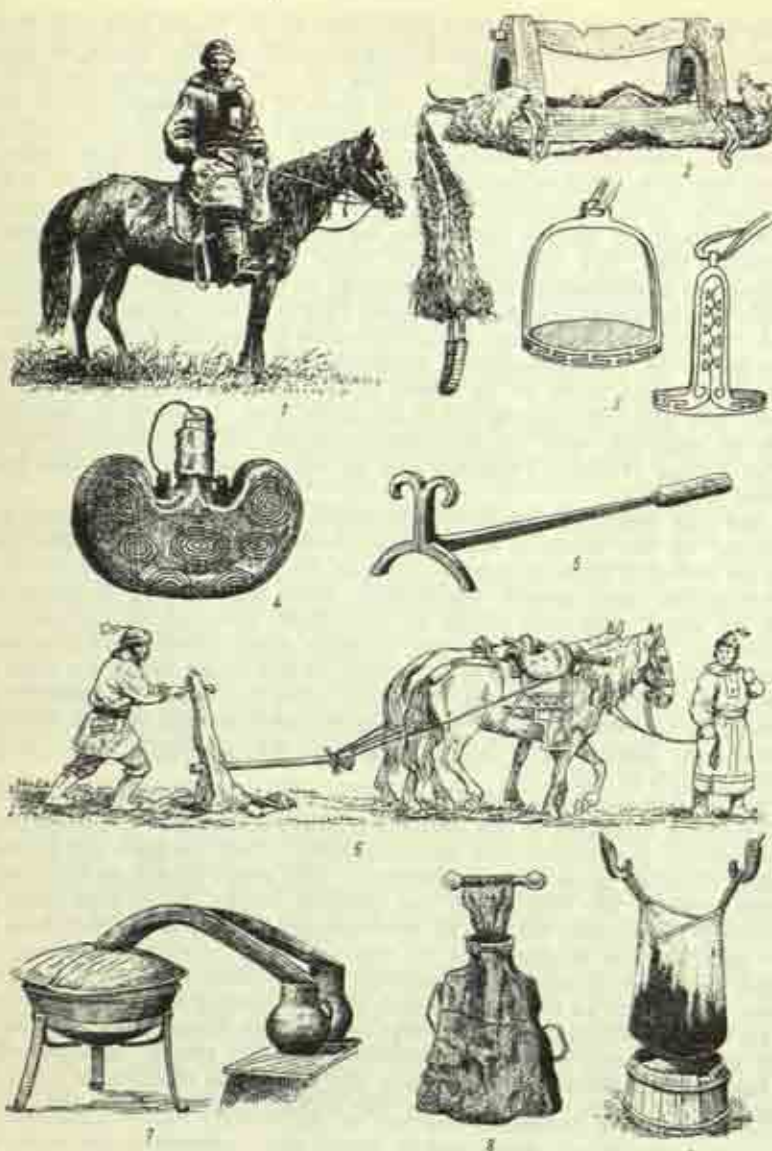
In the 15th century the historical development of the Altays was strongly influenced by the Western Mongols or Oyrats, this influence continuing up to the defeat of Dzhungariya by China in the middle of the 18th century.

Throughout this period the Altays were the vassals of the Oyrat khans, to whom they paid alman in kind (furs, livestock or various iron implements) and to whom they had to make other compulsory payments in kind. The culture of the Altay tribes at this stage reached a state of complete decline and stagnation. The hard lot of the Altays in Dzhungariya was further aggravated in the middle of the 18th century when it became the scene of feudal strife and a target for the aggressive policy of the Manchu dynasty in China.

When the emperor's soldiers poured into Dzhungariya, in 1756, twelve Altay zaysans appealed to the Russian frontier authorities for immediate protection for themselves and their subjects. Their request was granted and they were all made Russian subjects. This event played an extremely positive part in the history of the Altayan tribes, for it gave them an opportunity for further historical development. At the time there was no other path for the advancement of their culture, as within Dzhungariya it would have been impossible on account of the above-mentioned circumstances. Nor would an independent path of development have been possible in view of the extremely low cultural level of the Altay tribes, who were widely separated and constantly subjected to outside attack. Incorporation into the Russian State was their best way out of the intolerable position in which centuries of domination by the Mongol exploiters had put them.

Economy

During the time they were part of Tsarist Russia, the chief occupations of the Southern Altayans were nomad and seminomadic pastoralism. The herds of livestock, particularly cattle, greatly increased in number. Open pasturing of the livestock throughout the year was now supplemented with procurement of hay. In the 60's of the 19th century Russian peasants brought the humped-back scythe to the Altay, and later the improved Lithuanian scythe. Labor productivity during haymaking improved tremendously, compared with the still-preserved older method of pulling up



Everyday life and activities:

- 1—horseback riding; 2—packsaddle; 3—stirrups; 4—skin for liquor; 5—brand for branding livestock; 6—old method of ploughing with andazyn; 7—still for arak; 8—leather vessel for making sour milk; 9—bag with curds.

the grass by hand. As a result, stocks of hay were sharply increased and new implements were needed to gather the harvest in the Russian style. By the end of the 19th century, many of the wealthier households had begun to use horse-drawn mowers and rakes, and by exploiting the labor of poorer people dependent on them were able to stock up hay on a large scale.

Hay became a commercial item and a means of enslaving the rank-and-file pastoralists who pastured their livestock during the winter. Some of the Altays began building simple covered pens for the livestock, having learned the technique from the Russian peasants. Despite all this, the Altay pastoral economy was still very backward and very much dependent on the forces of nature. There was no veterinary treatment, and the various epizootics plus the heavy snow of the winter and the long cold spring caused mass cattle plague and ruined the poorer breeders.

The Altay economy, however, was somewhat improved and strengthened by the development of agriculture and certain crafts, the products of which were sent to market. Half the Altay households had small barley sowings (according to data for 1897). In regions where there was permanent contact with the Russians, the Altays tilled the soil with a wooden plow or even an iron plow, harvested with a sickle and threshed the grain by driving horses through the sheaves. But in many regions in which Russian popular culture had difficulty in penetrating, primitive techniques prevailed in agriculture. To loosen the soil there were two implements, the *abyt*, a hoe for manually tilling the fields, and the *andazyn*, which was something like a wooden plow and was attached to the saddle of a riding horse. Harrowing was done with dry branches with stones placed on top to give them weight. The seed was broadcast and the fields were fertilized by spreading them with pine twigs which gradually rotted; sometimes there were sowings at the site of winter camps. The Altays in some places reaped with knives, threshed with short sticks and kept the whole of the tiny yield of grain (barley) in leather bags in their dwellings. The barley was ground into flour and groats in querns and in wooden mortars.

In the wealthier and bay households, agricultural techniques approached those of the kulak peasant farms (iron plows and harrows, reapers, hand threshers and winnows). Extensive use was made of vassalage or hired labor.

The Altays were indebted to the Russian peasants for the development of vegetable gardening which became common during the second half of the 19th century, and particularly at the beginning of the 20th century. The population of many different regions grew vegetables, mainly potatoes (which considerably improved their staple diet); as for trades, the most important ones economically were hunting animals for fur (which was considerably promoted by the widespread use of a muzzle-loading gun) and collecting cedar nuts. Beekeeping, acquired from the Russian peasants, appeared in the northern regions. Despite definite development and improvement, the Altay economy still did not in most cases go beyond the limits of subsistence; there was a total lack of industry. In the pastoral regions there were only a few poorly developed trades, for example, the manufacture of felt and saddles.

Not very many Altays were familiar with spinning or weaving and it was only the Chelkans and the Kumandins who had small looms with which they wove a coarse linen from hemp fiber. They also wove belts from dyed woolen thread, which they ornamented, and also stockings and mittens.

The chief means of transportation in the pastoral regions was the horse; in the *talga* region, people went on foot in summer and on skis in the winter. Carts and sledges were only used in regions where there was contact with the Russian population, predominantly in the northern and central parts of the Altay. For carrying loads the predominant cart was the so-called *taratayka* (*abra*) which had two low wheels. The horse was harnessed to the *taratayka* by means of a horse collar, shaft-bows and a shaft. Instead of a seat there was an ordinary riding saddle for the carter



Threshing grain with a foot mortar.

to sit on. The loads were usually secured to a wooden packsaddle (yngyr-chak). The load to be carried was put into two leather sacks, which were slung across the saddle and secured with cord. Sometimes the load was carried on a riding horse by means of a frame with two long poles, the front ends of which were tied together and slung across the saddle. In the



Two-wheeled cart.



Processing leather:

1—scraping with the fingernails; 2—scraping with a hook; 3—softening the skin; 4—cutting the leather on the ground.

winter, the Northern Altays carried their hunting equipment and game on wooden sledges, or simply wrapped in a piece of horsehide (surtke) and dragged along behind in the snow. Hunters who were hunting on snow-encrusted mountainsides and firn fields attached semicircular plates with iron studs (put takkazy) to their feet to make it easier to walk. When climbing trees to gather nuts they used to fix iron claws on their feet (takka).

Settlements and Dwellings

A characteristic feature of the Altay settlements was that they were always spread out and sparsely populated. A settlement consisted of a small number of dwellings, not usually more than 10. They were located in valleys, on the banks of rivers. The best valleys were seized by the richer bays and Russian kulaks. Around the bay dwellings were grouped the yurts of the Altays dependent on them. In the northern, hunting regions, where the Tubalars, Chelkans and Upper Kumandins lived, the settlements were larger and closer together, also being located on river banks.

The most primitive were the dwellings of the poorer Tubalars and Chelkans. The latter built tents (aylu or chaylu) of poles and planks set up on end, covered them with bark, and sat frozen by the fire kindled in the middle almost the whole year round. These dwellings had neither stoves nor windows. The floors were made of earth. The smoke escaped through a hole at the top. There were hardly any furnishings inside. The wealthier Tubalars and right-bank Katun' Altays lived in four-, six- and eight-cornered wooden yurts constructed with thick logs (agashan) with a wooden floor. The roof was conical in shape and covered with birchbark. The bays lived in well-furnished, sometimes two-storied houses, roofed with wood or iron. The Kumandins lived by and large in small four-walled cottages of the Russian type with a stove and windows. The dwelling of the working Altays in the southern regions were of two types: 1) a conical tent-like structure made of poles set in a circle and covered with birchbark or larchbark (alanchik, chadyr), and 2) a round felt yurt (kerege) with a dome-shaped roof. The framework was made of a wooden lattice consisting of several links (kanat). The roof was made of thin sticks (uk) which were secured at the bottom to the top of the lattice and inserted into a wooden ring at the top; the ring was used to let out the smoke. The roof was also covered with felt. In the summer the bays lived in spacious dwellings well-protected from the wind, the floor of which was spread with felt, sometimes embroidered with designs. The Altay dwellings usually had their doors facing the river. There was a women's side (the right-hand side of the entrance) and a men's side (left-hand side) in the dwelling. Opposite the door, behind the hearth, was the front, honorary corner (tor). By the entrance on the women's side were the kitchen utensils and wooden cylindrical or leather bottle-shaped vessels containing chegen (curdled milk from which liquor was distilled). The saddles, guns, and so on were kept on the men's side. Close to the wall on the right-hand side, reaching all the way into the front corner, was the owner's bed. The front corner in the wealthy dwellings was filled with leather bags containing various goods owned by the bays (expensive clothing and so on). Above the front corner hung images of the deities. The owners received guests (women on the women's side and men on the men's side) while sitting on the floor on felt rugs (in the richer houses) on calf- or goat-skins or on pieces of birchbark (among the poorer people). The little tables were

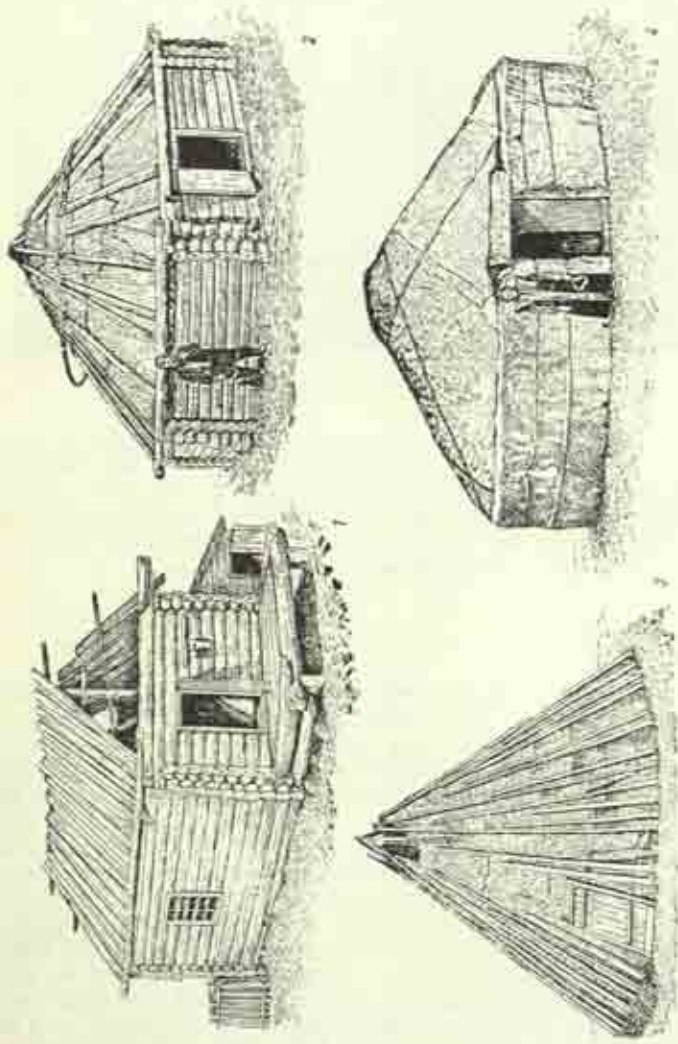


Inside the yurt.

four-sided or round with three or four short legs. In the northern regions, where contact with the Russians was especially close, the Russian timber-frame house with a wooden or earthen roof, with a ceiling, floor, windows, Russian-style stove, though usually without a hallway, was taken over by the Altays. In many places the Russian dwelling completely ousted the yurt, or else turned the latter into a summer or farm building.

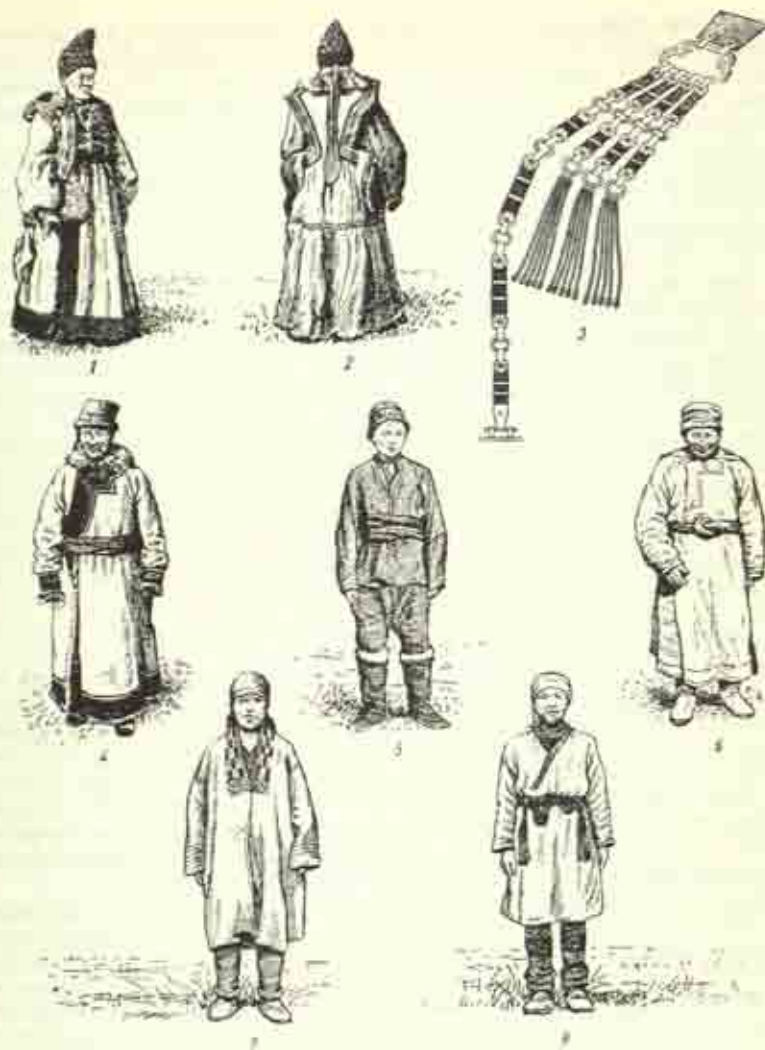
Clothing

The clothing of the Altay tribes differed according to social status and according to region. The male clothing consisted of a long shirt (made of daba or calico) with long sleeves, a diagonal open collar with one button and wide trousers coming slightly below the knee, made of daba, thick linen or deerskin. The trousers were held up by a cord which was tied at the front and hung down on the outside. There was no under-clothing. On top of the shirt the Altays wore a robe (chekmen') made of cloth, nankeen or daba with wide sleeves and a large red or blue turned-down collar. The robe was belted with a sash (made of daba). Rich people wore clothes of the same cut, except that they were made from more expensive material. Furthermore, the rich people in the southern regions wore expensive Mongol-style clothing. As regards outer clothing, we should mention the overcoat, retained to the present day, which was usually made of sheepskin (white fur preferred). These coats had long sleeves, very wide at the top and sharply narrowing at the bottom. The overcoats of the rich people were lined with Chinese silk (torko ton) and had straight, turned-down collars made of expensive fur. Men's and women's hats were made of black lambskin with a top made of yellow, black, orange or red material. The hat had a high brim (made of lambskin, or, among the rich people, sable or fox) gradually narrowing at the back. At the back the hat had two (usually red) ribbons, which if necessary could be used to secure the brim, pulling it down to cover the ears. Hats of another type—round with a colored



Dwellings:

1—log hut with extra part built on; 2—8-cornered log yurt; 3—bark yurt; 4—felt yurt.



Altay dress:

1, 2—women's dress, Altay Kizhi; 3—decoration for braids; 4—men's clothing in winter, Altay Kizhi; 5, 6—men's summer clothing, Altay Kizhi; 7—women's clothing, Kumandins; 8—women's clothing, Chelkans.

tassel on top—were also worn. They were made of cloth lined with sheepskin and had a fur band. The rich people made these hats from expensive fur (sable, otter, fox-paws and so on). Generally speaking, men's and women's hats were the same.

Among the altays women's clothing was the same as men's, except for the outer garments. A special garment for married women was the chegedek, a long sleeveless coat with slits for the arms, which could be worn on top of any other clothing. It tapered at the waist and was made

of dark cloth (silk and velvet among the rich people); it was trimmed with red or yellow cloth around the armholes and collar, back and hem. It was worn both summer and winter. Many men, particularly among the poor people, wore an overcoat in summer with nothing underneath, and slipped it off their shoulders in intense heat.

Footwear consisted of leather knee-boots with soft soles. The boots had pointed toes and no heels. Felt stockings (uk) were worn inside them and protruded from 3 to 5 cm above the top. The upper edge of the stocking was embroidered with cloth (among the rich people with colored velvet) and shot with thread. In winter they sometimes wore fur boots made from deer legs with the fur outside. For reasons of economy, the poor people made the tops of their boots from cloth, tying them under the knee, and instead of felt stockings, they bound their feet with dry grass (oyongot—a type of sedge). The trousers were always tucked inside the boots. The men carried a pipe with a long stem and a long leather tobacco-pouch behind the top of the left boot between the boot itself and the stocking. The women carried the pipe and pouch in the belt. The Altays had no festive clothes. While at home in the summer the men wore just a shirt and went barefoot, and when they went visiting put on their boots, robe or fur coat and hat. It was only the rich people who had special festive clothing. Changes in the clothing of the Southern Altay reflected the penetration of Russian factory-made cloth and Russian styles, which were sometimes adapted.

The Chelkans and Kumandins made their shirts and trousers from homespun hemp (kendyr') or wild nettle. The men's shirts reached to the knee or below it. Men and women wore robes without buttons, with an open collar and belted with a sash. The collar of the robe was embroidered with colored thread of either hemp or wool. Women and girls often had the hems and sleeves embroidered with thread. The women did not wear the chegedek or any hat, but went about in kerchiefs with the ends tied behind. At the beginning of the 20th century (particularly among the Kumandins and Tubalars) Russian peasant clothing became normal. In the Northern Altay there was a hunting costume consisting of a felt jacket and hat faced with a coarse gray cloth, and fur trousers (usually calfskin).

Adornments consisted of simple rings (copper, silver or gold) worn on the finger, and also earrings (copper or silver wire), pendants made of pieces of metal or buttons. Women wore earrings in both ears, while girls usually had them in one ear. In addition, beads, buttons, pieces of metal, cowrie shells (*Cyprea moneta*), keys, little sticks of wood and so on were worn in the braids as decorations. Women had two braids, which were brought forward over the bosom when they were greeting guests. Girls had only one braid. The national hairstyle for men among the Southern Altays was a short pigtail (kedege) worn on top of the shaven head. Buttons, shells and so on were used to embellish the pigtail. The Northern Altay men had long hair trimmed into a ring.

Food

The first thing to be noted about Altay food was the distinction according to the social status of the population. The bays had meat and bread every day, an abundance of various dairy products and purchased confectionery. Bread and meat were the least available foodstuffs for the poor people. Bread was unattainable on account of the high cost and poor development

of agriculture in the Altay. Whenever a bay slaughtered an animal, his poorer neighbors were only able to enjoy the leftovers, to get which, we are told by a traveler, they had to fight the dogs which collected from all round at the site of the slaughter. The middle strata lived predominantly on a milk diet. They did not drink fresh milk, but poured it into tea, which they drank with barley porridge (talkan) and sour, smoked cheese. The poor people ate wild roots such as adder's-tongue and day lily, the leaves of the wild rhubarb, and the leftover bones from the richer people's tables, which they boiled several times over. Instead of tea, they had an infusion of *Bergenia crassifolia* leaves with milk or salt.

Apart from the preserved roots of edible plants, the poor people in the pastoral regions ate oatmeal, barley groats (kurmach) and cheese (kurut) made from fermented boiled milk. The barley sowings were so small that the yield did not last a poor man's family for even six months. The cheese was made in the summer while they were able to milk the bay's cows which they pastured (polysh), and was stored up for the winter. In order to do this, they poured the milk into a leather bag (arkhyt) or a high wooden tub (chapchak), fermented it with a sheep's stomach and horse's coccyx. The sour milk (chegen') was poured into a bow-shaped iron cauldron and distilled into wine (aryki). After this the contents of the boiler were poured into a bag, the whey was squeezed out and the curds were made into kurut, which was smoked or dried in the sun. The whey was also used as food. The yield of milk from one cow over the whole season made about 50 cheeses, which lasted a family of 3 or 4 people not more than one month. Thus, the upkeep of one cow did not provide food for the Altay family, and other sources had to be sought. The Altays used to hunt all kinds of animals, even the weasel and Siberian ferret, and here and there (Ulagan) even dug up mouse burrows in the hope of finding edible roots inside, stocked up by the animal for the winter. The roots were usually boiled before eating. Mealy adder's-tongue roots were also stored up for the winter.

The digging up and procuring of roots by means of a digging stick (ozup) fitted with an iron tip was performed by women.

In regions where the Altays lived together with the Russian peasants, their food was more varied and incomparably more abundant. Agriculture and vegetable-gardening, stabling of cattle, and particularly the baking of bread which the Altays learned from their neighbors, greatly improved their food supplies in these regions.

The following specific Altay dishes should be mentioned: two types of cheese (sour cheese smoked or dried in the sun—kurut—and fat fresh pyshtak, which was constantly eaten in the bay families) and cream skimmed from boiled milk (kaymak); among their drinks were chegen' (from soured cow's milk), kymys (from mare's milk) and brick tea which was boiled with milk, salt and small pieces of sheep-fat, and drunk together with barley porridge (talkan) in a cup. Among the Northern Altays the specific drink was beer (abyrtki) brewed from barley or adder's-tongue. Among the meat dishes were blood (kan) with the addition of milk and fine lumps of fat cooked in the intestines of sheep, small sheep intestines intertwined with abdominal lard (tyurga), intestines stuffed with the viscera and groats (kyyma).

The vessels in the pastoral regions of the Altay were made of hide (for liquids) or wood. Wooden vessels predominated in the Northern Altay (made of bark, cedar or poplar), and also birchbark vessels. Metal or glass vessels were brought. The bays usually bought their vessels.

Social Structure

As regards administration, the Southern Altays were divided into seven dyuchinas (groups of clans) at the head of which were the zaysans² and their assistants (demichi), to whom were attached a clerk who attended to office matters, and also tax-collectors. Among the Northern Altays the administrative unit was the volost, headed by a zaysan (Tubalars and Kumandins) or a bashlyk. The dyuchinas of the Southern Altays were not territorial units, but consisted of a group of clans (seoks) ascribed to a certain zaysan, regardless of where the representative of the clan resided. The power of the zaysan was officially restricted to collecting taxes and settling minor disputes. He was subordinate to the police chief who resided in the town of Biysk, and to his assistant, a separate Altay assessor who lived in the village of Ulala in the Altay Mountains. In practice, the power of the zaysan was unlimited.

The most unpleasant manifestation of tsarist policy was the looting of land from the Altays. The tsar's edicts of 1747 and 1882 declared the land of the Altays Crown property. The Native Code issued in 1822 gave the nomads, in Article 28, the right of tenure (though not of ownership) of the land which they actually occupied. A great deal of land was seized by the Altay Church Mission. The colonization was intensified with the passing of the "1879 Laws" which allowed the Russian population to settle among the Altay pasturelands. The tsarist government aimed at populating the Altay with kulaks who were supposed to settle on separate farmsteads wherever they chose.

A land-reform law was passed in 1899. Under it Altays were supposed to receive an 18 desyatine allotment per head. More than 6,000,000 desyatins of land were "freed" in accordance with this law (as calculated by the tsarist officials) and the land was leased by the Crown. The law had a very adverse effect on the interests of the Altay pastoralists, whose extensive economy required a large amount of territory. The miserable allotment meant that the toiling Altays had to lease extra land. Furthermore, in actual fact, the law deprived the poorer Altays of the few privileges which they had previously enjoyed as "natives" under the tsarist government, since it now put them on the same level as the Russian peasants, thus radically undermining their conventional way of life.

The social relations of the Altays were marked by fairly clear-cut social class divisions. The ruling class were the zaysans and bays, who made up a small elite. The majority of toiling Altays, whose economy was independent pastoralism, were exploited by this elite. A considerable number of Altays did not have their own households, but lived as house-slaves (kuly) or indentured laborers (aybachi, etc.). From the time that the Altay lands were declared the property of the Crown (Decrees of 1747 and 1822), certain changes took place in the land relations of the Altays. Legally the zaysans were no longer the feudal owners of the pastureland. But in actual fact they continued to possess the best farmland. The situation was made easier for the zaysans by the fact that according to the Native Code of 1822, the Altay territory was given over to the Altay zaysans, although the land was developed on a communal basis.

According to the Decrees, the zaysans could not sell or rent the land themselves, although in practice they managed the pasturelands and did lease them to Russian peasants on behalf of this or that Altay community.

²A Mongol feudal title of Chinese origin.—Ed.

A new feature in land relations among the Altays was the fact that the zaysans no longer had the monopoly of the pastureland and cattle of the Mountain Altay. The land handed over in tenure to the Altays began to be concentrated both in the hands of the older zaysan owners, and in those of the bays, who rose up from the rank-and-file nomads. They too, like the zaysans, appropriated the best pastureland for themselves. As a result, the largest and best part of the pastureland and meadowland of the Altay was concentrated in the hands of rich pastoralists, some of whom had herds numbering as many as 10,000 to 25,000 head. The land seized by the zaysans and bays was inherited by their children.

Communal land-tenure, officially proclaimed, was an extremely convenient way for the zaysans and bays to gain possession of the meadows and pastureland. The ordinary Altay pastoralists lived in small groups, and use of the pastureland and meadows not seized by the zaysans and bays was communal. Hence it can be said that among the Altays under these historical circumstances there was a nomadic or seminomadic village commune, the economic basis of which was extremely close to the rural or neighborhood commune. A characteristic feature of the village (all) commune among the Altays was the combination of private ownership of the livestock and communal use of the Crown land which covered pastureland, nomadic territories and hayfields. The composition of the Altayan commune was not constant. The settlements were not associated with any particular territory and sometimes moved in and out of different valleys.

Alongside the bays and zaysans who had herds consisting of thousands and tens of thousands of head of livestock, there were households which did not have livestock at all or only a paltry number.

This economic inequality in an economy based on nomadic or seminomadic pastoralism also gave rise to peculiar forms of exploitation. Since a subsistence economy was prevalent and the technical level was low (hay-making and harvesting machinery was not yet commonly used), there were no large dairies or other establishments for processing the products from the pastoral economy, and the bays were unable to make use of the opportunities inherent in large-scale stockbreeding. For example, although possessing a herd of several hundred cows, a bay could not make use of one-tenth of the milk which was produced by that herd each day, for there was no way of keeping or processing this amount of milk by domestic methods. Furthermore, in order to provide shepherds, milkmaids and the like for such a large herd, the bay had to keep a large number of hired laborers, the payment and feeding of whom was clearly disadvantageous under the subsistence economy. Hence the bays preferred to distribute a large number of their livestock to the poorer peasants and more modest households for pasturing under enslaving conditions. This is why the widespread form of exploitation known as polysh (literally, "assistance") existed among the Altays. Milch cows were distributed particularly extensively under this system. The bay gave a cow to a poor peasant "free" for a year or longer. In return for the right to have the cow's milk the poor peasant was obliged to feed it the whole year around, to make certain it produced calves, to keep the latter and to return the cow to the bay when he demanded it back. Furthermore, the poor peasant was obliged to work on the bay's farm in return for the "assistance" and had to mow, gather hay, cut wood and so on. In this way, the polysh system gave the bay unpaid shepherds and laborers.

Horses and sheep were also distributed under this system, and sometimes the bay used to give a sheep to a poor peasant for grazing solely

in exchange for use of the dung for fuel (Kosh-Agachskiy Aymak). Apart from polysh, there were other forms of payment by work. The assignment of the Altays to certain zaysans without the right to transfer from one to another, the tying of the Altays to the Crown land, the tributes and taxes which they had to pay to the treasury were the main forms of coercion outside the limits of the economy. For example, the zaysan could do anything he wished with the property and labor of those assigned to him. He could pass judgment on them, impose fines, flog them, make them work for him personally, and so on. A certain category of laborer was partly owned by the zaysans and bays. In some regions these laborers bore the name of kul, or slave (Ongudayskiy and Ust'-Kanskiy Aymaks), and aybachi in others (Kosh-Agachskiy and Ulaganskiy Aymaks). The bays and zaysans had several dozen slave families each. They could not kill the slaves, but they could give them (and did) as dowry to their daughters or as bride-price when their sons married.

Hence, the commonest form of production relations were patriarchal-feudal relations, i.e., that is to say a relationship which was still not free of the patriarchal, clan bonds. Survivals of the primitive-communal, clan relations still played a large part in the lives of the Altays. They also had an effect on the organization of production. This was especially true of the northern regions, where the main branch of the economy was hunting. Here and there survivals of clan ownership of the hunting grounds were still retained. The members of the same seek hunted in the valleys of certain rivers, the territory of which was considered their own and from which they would drive away non-clan-members. As we have seen, the clan survivals were skillfully exploited and maintained by the ruling clique.

The rank-and-file Altay was subject to 12 different taxes and compulsory payments each year, which had an extremely burdensome effect on his material situation. The burden of the different taxes and payments was made several times worse by the fact that the collection of them by the tsarist officials and zaysans was not inspected. The zaysans and their assistants (demichi) were exempt from taxes, while under the system of equally apportioned per capita tithes, the bay paid the same as any poor peasant. The tsarist officials and zaysans made particularly high profits from the collection of the tribute paid in the form of furs; they declared the best and most expensive furs to be unsuitable and kept them for themselves. Commercial exploitation and usury were just as ruinous. Apart from the Russians and Altay professional traders, the tsarist officials also engaged in this.

Family relations showed traces of the patriarchal-clan type. Altays who belonged to the same seek (clan) called each other karyndash (literally, "from the same womb"). Exogamy was observed in marriage. Traces of the matriarchy were retained: for example, the avunculate (a number of customs showing the outstanding importance in the life of the Altays of the uncle on the mother's side). The classificatory system of kinship among the Altays reflected family marriage relations existing in the past. The Altays used one term to designate a number of blood relatives or affinals. Blood relatives were called by different names according to whether they were on the father's or mother's side (for example, a maternal uncle taay, and a paternal uncle abagay). The terminology reflects the merging of the direct and lateral genealogical lines. For example, the word aka was used for the father's younger brothers and his older brothers and cousins and more distant relatives on the father's side. In a number of cases the same terms were used to designate blood and affinal kinship. By the advent of the October Revolution, the

monogamous family predominated among the Altays. Marriages were contracted by preliminary matchmaking, but the system of abduction (kidnapping) of the bride was also practiced. Marriage was accompanied by the payment of bride-price to the parents or brothers of the bride. The woman occupied an inferior position in the family and was completely dependent on her husband and his relatives. The social position of women, marked by complete lack of rights, was even worse.

In addition to the patriarchal-feudal relations, the Altays also had embryonic capitalist relations. According to data for 1897, 14% of the Altays worked on other people's farms. A category of hired workers or rural laborers appeared among the Altays. Such were the shepherds (malchy), day laborers (kun'ish), carters who used their employer's horses, the agricultural laborers (yalchi, yoktu-kizhi, etc.) and so on. The decline of the economic position of the poor pastoralists is shown by the fact that many of them used to hire out their last livestock to employers in return for money, not being in a position to feed the animals, while they themselves, "freed" from their farming, became laborers, often working purely in exchange for food and clothing. At the beginning of the 20th century, a number of bay farms were developing on the basis of commercial relations. The bays began trading in livestock, hide, hair, furs, nuts and so on. The bay Argymay Kul'dzhin bred trotters. He visited Britain and Germany to study horse-breeding, and went many times to St. Petersburg; this same bay built a dairy and employed several hundred hired workers. Manzhi Kul'dzhin began breeding Orel racehorses, set up a dairy and wool plant, and procured a large amount of hay by means of machinery operated by hired laborers.

Literacy and Education

As a result of the above-described historical development, by the time the October Revolution broke out the Altays were extremely backward economically and culturally. They did not have their own writing or any form of developed art. There was not even a single spoken language and each tribe or territorial group had its own dialect. The Altay Church Mission, organized in 1868, attempted to create a literary language on the basis of the Teleut dialect. The Mission printed religious literature in this dialect but the Altays found it difficult to understand both linguistically and from the viewpoint of content. The several dozen missionary schools scattered through the Altay were taught in Russian and were by and large only open to children from the wealthy elite. But even in these overwhelmingly single-class schools, the education was mainly a question of learning prayers by heart. There were considerably more churches in the Altay than missionary schools. For example, in the Ulaganskly Aymak there were 13 churches and 1 school by 1917. Hence, literacy among the Altays (together with the settled section of the population) at that time was about 6%, while among the nomadic population it had not even reached 2%. The zaysan and bay elite were not satisfied with only sending their children to the primary missionary schools. Children were also sent to the Biysk Seminary where they were trained for various grades of priesthood. It was only a few persons among the hierarchy who managed to gain secondary secular education.

Folk Art

There was a great deal of oral folklore among the Altays. Heroic tales and different types of songs connected with everyday life were



Playing the kobys.

common and popular genres of Altay folklore. The poems are marked by their color, vividness and detail in describing nature, the heroes, the settings, and so on. No matter how rich these epic tales are in poetic fancy, they contain a true picture of the former life, hopes and aspirations of the Altay people, and are therefore a valuable source for studying their history. In the epic tales the warriors fight numerous enemies and perform miraculous deeds for the happiness of their people. Their cherished dreams of a free, untroubled life were embodied in the images of the heroes. The epic poems often describe how the poor people struggle against the rich bays, the zaysan administrators and the evil extorting shamans. The sympathies of the people are always with the poor person. The latter always wins against the shamans, zaysans, and bays through his valor, strength or resourcefulness. The oral folklore was of great educational importance in the life of the Altays, who had no written literature. The epic tales were either intoned in a low voice or to the accompaniment of a two-stringed wooden topshur,³ with strings made of horsehair. Apart from the topshur, the Altays had a jew's-harp (temir-kobys), a musical instrument consisting of a semi-circular metal plate with a tongue. The kobys was placed in the mouth and produced sounds when the tongue was vibrated; the mouth of the player acted as the sound

³A lute-like instrument.—Ed.

box. Furthermore, they had flutes made from umbellate plants. The art of dancing was unknown to the Altays.

Among other forms of folk art, the Altays had primitive wood-carving, leather stamping and more highly developed felt appliqué. Present-day Altay designs have retained a link with the ornamentation of the early nomadic period, although the graphic art declined sharply during the Mongol period. Figures of wild animals are a frequent subject for ornamenting wooden and leather articles. But the portrayal of these animals is very close to the primitive style characteristic of the Altay rock drawings, and has nothing in common with the "animal" style of the early nomadic stage.

Religion

In religious outlook most Altays were shamanists and believed that the whole world was populated by good and bad spirits and that the well-being and life of a human being depended on the will of these spirits. The middlemen between the spirits and human beings were the shamans, who extensively exploited rank-and-file Altays by taking advantage of their profound cultural backwardness and encouraging their wild, ignorant beliefs in every way they could. A characteristic feature of the cult was the sacrifice of a horse to the highest benevolent deity, Ul'gen', or to the evil master of the underworld, Erlik. The meat of the horse was eaten by those taking part in the ceremony and the skin was hung up on poles attached to the sacrificial birch. The shaman officiated in a special costume symbolizing a bird, and carried a tambourine. The tambourine was stretched with hide which was then covered with drawings; inside was a wooden handle carved in the form of a human being. In the religion of the Altays, a large part was played by the ancient clan cults (for example, the cult of the fire which reflected the ancient community of the fire, or the cult of the mountains reflecting the common ownership of clan territory in the past), and various early religious beliefs.

A considerable number of Altays were converted to Orthodoxy by the missionaries, although most of those baptized only assimilated the superficial, ritualistic side of Christianity. It was mainly the poor people who were baptized from need (they obtained some small privileges thereby), or else rich people who hoped to gain allies among the tsarist colonizers—the officials, traders and missionaries—via the Orthodox Church. After 1904 some of the Altays in the pastoral regions became followers of the Burkhanist cult, which was a modification of Mongol lamaism coupled with traces of Altay shamanism.

Altays in the Soviet Period

Civil War, Consolidation of Soviet Regime and Formation of Autonomous Oblast

A new stage in the history of the Altays, a stage of free national development, was precipitated by the Socialist Revolution. In Tomak, Novosibirsk, Barnaul and Blysk, with which the Mountain Altay was linked both economically and administratively, the Soviet regime was established at the end of December 1917. By this time, the remnants of the defeated White Guards had found their way into these regions. The Social Revolutionaries, Siberian localists and various other counterrevolutionary groups, hand in

glove with the Altay bourgeois nationalists, made every effort to prevent the consolidation of the Soviet regime in the Altay.

At the end of February 1918 (old style), they were successful in organizing a Constituent Mountain-Altay Congress in the village of Ulala under the banner of self-determination. In actual fact, however, these people were nothing but a crowd of reactionaries led by the Social Revolutionaries and localist intellectuals—the inspirers of the counterrevolution—the most important bays and zaysans, nationalists, Russian kulaks, missionaries, later leaders of bandits, officers and punitive troops.

The partisan movement reached the Mountain Altay in 1919. Bolshevik workers who had escaped arrest organized secret Bolshevik cells in the villages and squatters' territories. In December 1919 partisan detachments joined up with Red Army troops in the region of the Chuy Highway. A Soviet regime was established in the Altay. By a resolution adopted by the Altaya Guberniya Executive Committee, the Mountain Altay was divided up into three rayons—Ulalinskiy, Shebalinskiy and Uymonskiy, with their center in the town of Blysk. A Revolutionary Committee was set up in each rayon. In February 1920 the first local organizations of the Communist Party and Komsomol came into being in Ulala. In the spring of 1922, regular Red Army units and Special Detachments (ChON) wiped out the White Guard movement in the Altay.

As soon as the banditry had been crushed, the peoples of the Altay set about political, economic and cultural reconstruction. In accordance with the wishes of the working people, the VTsIK of the RSFSR passed a decree on June 1, 1922, proclaiming the formation of an Autonomous Oblast. By this law, which was a practical implementation of the Soviet nationality policy, the Altay working classes were provided by the Soviet regime with a complete solution to the nationality problem in conformity with their interests. The Autonomous Oblast, due to the influence of nationalists, was first called the Oyrot Oblast.⁴ By falsifying history the bourgeois nationalists were seeking to force the people to recognize an historical affinity between the Soviet Autonomous Oblast and the feudal state of the West Mongolian (Kalmyk) Khans, which in historical sources was known as the Oyrot or Dzhungarian State. Striving to separate the Altay from the Soviet State, they built up an idealized picture in their Pan-Mongol and Pan-Turkic propaganda of this extremely oppressive period in the history of the Altays as the "Golden Age" and a period when they allegedly had an independent state. Obviously, this name for the oblast was alien to the working people of the Altay and was changed at their wishes by a Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR dated January 7, 1948. This was in fact official recognition of the historically correct name for the people, and from then on the Autonomous Oblast became the Gorno-Altayskaya Autonomous Oblast.

Economy

The basis of the socialist economy of the Altay people is agriculture. Local climatic conditions made the development of highly productive and profitable socialized animal husbandry a sound project in those parts, and this has, indeed, become their chief branch of agriculture. The lush

⁴This name was subsequently adapted to Altay phonetics and was spelled and pronounced "Oyrot."

meadows and pastureland of the Mountain Altay, which stretch for hundreds of thousands of hectares, have been turned over to the permanent use of the collective farms and constitute a sound base for the development of socialist animal husbandry with an economic importance far exceeding the boundaries of the oblast itself. The Soviet government has equipped the Altays with advanced methods and techniques for feeding and breeding livestock, and for improving and developing their productivity. The huge herds of cattle in the oblast are concentrated on the collective and State farms. Some of the livestock are the personal property of the farmers. Modern socialist animal husbandry differs sharply in all respects from the original seminomadic pastoralism typical of the pre-Revolutionary way of life. It is distinguished by the predominance of socialist methods with subdivision and specialization in forms of labor, resulting from the collective method of farming and the personal incentive to the Altay farmers in increasing the size of the communal herds. As regards technology, it is distinguished by extensive use of scientific methods of keeping, feeding and breeding livestock, as well as improving and stepping up their productivity. In most parts of the oblast the Altays have changed to stall-type maintenance of the cattle with an incomparably better technical basis than existed in pre-Revolutionary Russian peasant farming. The collective-farm cattle are usually kept in winter in heated sheds with wooden floors, glass windows and various gadgets for automatically feeding and watering the animals. From the moment they are born, calves and lambs are kept in special, heated stalls set aside for them, as opposed to the old days when they were put by the fire inside the tents next to the inhabitants, or else were placed in special pits (*kurke*) where they kept warm by huddling together. Their fodder consists of hay and highly nutritious, concentrated cattle-cake, fodder-grass, edible roots and silage. A strict diet is followed for the cattle and specially selected personnel make sure that this is carried out. Tending the livestock is a job entrusted to well-trained farmers versed in scientific agriculture, many of whom are making their own improvements to this important job, with benefit to the productivity of the cattle. The modern Altay cattle-breeder can no longer make do with the experience handed down from generation to generation of nomadic and seminomadic stockbreeders.

He extracts the knowledge required for his job from specialized literature published in numerous editions, or else takes courses or seminars on animal husbandry, organized in the oblast. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the Altays do not make use to some extent of experience gained by the older pastoralists. It is utilized in those regions of the Mountain Altay where open-pasture maintenance of the cattle is still retained throughout the year. This applies to some of the highly mountainous regions (for example, the Kosh-Agachskiy, Ongudayskiy and Ust'-Kanskoy Aymaks) where the abundance of cattle (some collective farms have tens of thousands of head) and the inadequacy of the hayfields make this method efficient even nowadays. Modern open pasture herd-type animal husbandry among the Altays is based on efficient and wide-scale utilization of pasture fodder throughout the year; this method greatly improves the economic value of the enormous and, it might seem, useless territory, and cuts down labor consumption and the expenditure of collective-farm funds (required for the construction of heated cattle sheds and buying huge amounts of fodder).

At the same time, even under this method of maintenance the cattle are also protected against the chief calamities of the past, such as the lack of fodder, icebound terrain, protracted spring, and various epizootics, which

used to prevail in the old days. Those Altay collective farms which keep the cattle grazing throughout the winter build up stocks of different fodders as extra food for the herd in general, and in particular for cases in which the fodder from the natural pastures becomes for some reason or other unavailable to the livestock. These emergency supplies plus constant veterinary inspection and assistance, the study and planned use of natural pastureland throughout the year make this form of cattle-breeding stable and economically promising. Here we find application of the local experience and knowledge of Altay herdsmen regarding the behavior of livestock in different kinds of weather (i.e., thunderstorms, rain and so on), the ability to select suitable spots for feeding and sheltering the animals, the formation of herds, knowledge of methods of driving livestock over long distances, etc., etc. In this connection we should also mention the change in the living conditions of shepherds, herdsmen and the entire brigades of cattle-breeders as a whole, to whom the farm entrusts the responsible and complex task of maintaining and safeguarding the livestock on the winter pastures. Well-designed houses (both permanent and portable) at various places near the winter pastures, warm clothing, good food and cultural-educational facilities have greatly helped to solve the problem of safely wintering the livestock, bringing them out again in spring and looking after the young. An important feature of Altay animal husbandry is the extensive use of women in the brigades. Their work in socialist animal husbandry is not confined to the duties of milkmaid, as was once the case. Women work as herders, shepherds, managers of meat and dairy sections, zootechnicians, veterinarians, and so on.

The storage of fodder for the winter, particularly for stall-type maintenance, is a very important and responsible, laborious job, for which the farms prepare well in advance. Socialist competition is widely developed to see who can overfulfill the set norms in various haymaking jobs. An active part is taken by the young people on the farms, who greatly enjoy this collective work and participate in it enthusiastically.

The wide-scale use of mowing machines and silo storage of green fodder are typical of the present-day system of storing fodder for the livestock. The ancient methods of pulling up grass by hand or cutting it with a knife, then weaving it into coils (tolgok) and hanging it up on the branches of a tree have completely disappeared; only the older generation can remember them.

In their collective-farm animal husbandry the Altays are concentrating on an improvement in the productivity of the livestock. This they are achieving by introducing a special type of fodder, improving the local breeds of cattle and also introducing new, highly productive breeds. They aim at developing thoroughbred horses, sheep and cattle, which were extremely few in number in the pre-Revolutionary period. They were only found on a few private farms. The work of improving the pedigree of the herds is conducted first and foremost in the oblast's specialized scientific institutions: the Oblast Combined Agricultural Station and the State Stud Stables. These establishments conduct research and try out the results in socialist animal husbandry. Of great importance are the artificial insemination points attached to a large number of collective farms. These are centers for the application of advanced scientific techniques in animal husbandry and are very popular among the Altays. The old-fashioned method of milking cows in which the calf sucked out most of the milk is falling into decline and primary processing methods for milk have also been changed. The Altays sell most of the milk to state-owned dairies and cheese factories. Many farms prefer to process the milk on the premises and sell the cream, which is easier to handle. Nowadays the Altays rarely make cream by leaving milk to stand in large cup-shaped pots, as used to be done under the single-holding method



Mobile cheese-making dairy.

of farming. Nor is butter made very often by the home method. On the other hand, sour cheese (kurut), which is still a common national dish, is still made at home by the old method. Most of the butter and high-grade cheese for which the Mountain Altay is famous is made in mechanized dairies built over the last 25 years. Mobile cheese-making plants are even dispatched during the summer to some Altay farms with large herds of livestock a long way from the nearest dairies. The dairy farms on many collective farms produce hundreds of thousands of litres of milk during the milking period. To avoid transporting this amount of milk by mountain road from the summer pastures, "nomadic" cheese factories are sent to the spot instead; all the equipment and personnel of the factories are carried by a large truck and a trailer. The cheese pots, the laboratory and the milk-receiving points are all set up in a large tent. A simple type of timber cooler is built by the side of the nearest mountain stream for the finished product. These factories, which maintain a daily output of several dozen tons of milk, begin operating from the moment they arrive and make full use of local wood as fuel.

A very substantial part in the national economy of the present-day Altays is played by field agriculture. Its development has been necessitated both by the needs of animal husbandry—since it is an essential condition for the intensive development of it—and by the tremendous importance of field agriculture in providing consumer goods for the population of the Mountain Altay, which is not yet linked by railroad to the grain-producing regions of Siberia. Without going into an analysis of its economics or a description of agrotechnology, we should at the same time point out a number of facts of great importance indicating the development of field agriculture among the Altays.

At the present time Altay field agriculture is mechanized. Tilling of the soil with a hoe or andazyn (saddle-plough) with dwarf-sized sowings and archaic techniques has disappeared completely. The progress made by the Altays along these lines is not only such that the present-day mechanized

agriculture is the predominant type, but also that it has come to play an important part in the overall economy of the Altays. During the existence of the Autonomous Oblast the sown area has been greatly enlarged, compared with the pre-Revolutionary period, and can be reckoned in tens of thousands of hectares. Harvests of such crops as wheat, oats and barley exceeding 100 poods per hectare are by no means rare on the Mountain Altay. A few facts and figures should be quoted to show the scale of the changes. Under hoe cultivation an Altay family of two or three members could not hoe more than one hectare over the whole of the spring. Nowadays a tractor can plough several hundred hectares in the course of the sowing season. Under the extremely primitive system of harvesting, in which the ears were cut with a knife or plucked by hand, the Altay farmer, with all his family to help him, had to spend a week on harvesting one hectare. He spent more than 10 days on threshing the harvest. Again, under the Altay system of manual winnowing, an experienced adult could only winnow slightly more than a tsentner in the course of a day by shaking the grain up and down on a birchbark or wooden tray. If we now compare the conventional collective-farm harvesting norms for combined harvesting, it is not difficult to see what changes have occurred in Altay field agriculture, which only recently was still a living relic of a primitive culture.

Obviously enough, the Altays have changed from grain consumers to grain producers. This also applies to such animal husbandry regions as the Ongudayskiy, Ust'-Kanskiy and Ulaganskiy Aymaks, where the proportion of field agriculture on the animal farms is fairly high. This development of agriculture has only been made possible through the unification of the holdings into collective farms.

Industry

Without touching on the different trades and crafts we will merely point out the socialist industry as a new phenomenon of Altay culture. The industry is represented by hundreds of dairies, cheese factories, tanneries, saw-mills and other industrial plants. Some of them are of importance to the whole Soviet Union as well as the Republic. The mining industry produces gold, mercury, tungsten, molybdenum, marble for ornamenting the Moscow Underground Railway, and so on.

The industry in the Mountain Altay is managed and operated by both Russian and Altay personnel. While pointing out the leading part played by Russian workers, we should also mention the appearance of Altay workers. This goes back to the beginning of the 30's. Even by 1932, according to figures for the oblast plan, 6.3% of the working class of the oblast was Altay. Despite the fact that the Altay workers constitute only a small proportion, as compared with other social categories, even now the presence of workers of Altay origin is of great sociopolitical and cultural importance in the life of the people.

While speaking briefly of industry, we should mention the appearance in the Mountain Altay of electric power, which the Altays are now using both in industry and in farming, and also in domestic life. Several dozen power stations, mainly belonging to individual farms or rayons, most of which have been built in the postwar years, are an important source of power for further development of the national economy. The fact that these power supplies have been constructed and set in operation by the Altays themselves is, on the one hand, an important indication that their cultural level has risen, and, on the other, provides an incentive for the rank-and-file collective-farm members to further their own cultural development.

Transportation and Communications

All the 10 vast aymaks (rayons) of the oblast are connected both with each other and with the nearest outside railroad points and to the wharfs in Biysk by road; it is this form of transportation that is most used to carry passengers and freight. The most important artery passing through the oblast is the Chuy Highway. This road links four rayons both with each other and with the center of the oblast, the town of Gorno-Altaysk, and with the town of Biysk. Another five rayons are interconnected and also linked with the oblast center and the town of Biysk by feeder roads. It is only the Turochakskiy Rayon that is isolated from the oblast (by the river Biya) in point of freight traffic.

Apart from the highly developed road communication, the oblast center, the individual rayons of the oblast and Biysk are all linked by telegraph, telephone and radio. Thus, the remote rural regions of the Mountain Altay, isolated in the past through lack of roads, with pony tracks as the only means of communication (used by pack animals as well, for occasional freight), or in some cases a road through the taiga, are now closely connected by various forms of modern communication. The practical importance of this revolutionary change becomes particularly clear if it is remembered that it used to take about a month to move a caravan of packhorses from Gorno-Altaysk to the farthest outlying aymak center—Kosh-Agach, whereas a truck with a load-carrying capacity several times greater than the whole of the ordinary Altay caravan covers the distance in 24 hours. Instead of passing on news by word of mouth (*ne tabysh*) during chance encounters on the pony track, Altays spread out over long distances now employ all modern forms of communication, including radio and aircraft. On account of these improvements, Altays are now in contact with the whole of the Soviet Union and hear about important news and events on the same day as the citizens of Moscow and Leningrad. Many rural soviets and collective farms are connected with their rayons by telephone.

Draught animals and riding horses are still considered an important addition to mechanized transportation. Many collective farms with their own trucks make great use of horses, particularly saddle horses, within their own rayons for crossing mountainous terrain. The draught horse is still of great importance in Altay farming. For a short trip, particularly somewhere through difficult mountainous terrain, the horse is used on a wide scale to this very day for hunting and gathering nuts, and for contacting the population living in spots lying some way from highways. Once again the ethnographic features of Altay life come to the fore, reflecting centuries of living in mountainous country and the experience passed on by many generations of nomads. They are manifested by the methods of saddling and loading horses, the design of the pack and riding saddles, adapted in the best possible way to mountain conditions. The oldtime Russian population of the Mountain Altay has long been aware of the value of these techniques and has learned them from the Altays, teaching the latter in turn to use the cart and sleigh, which they did not know about earlier, and for which there were no words in the Altay language. The number of sleighs and carts on Altay collective farms nowadays number several thousand.

In wintertime skis are still used by Altays, particularly in the north. The skis, which are lined with skin taken from the legs of the horse, Siberian stag or roe deer, are one of the great achievements of local skill since they are well suited to moving over mountain terrain. The Russian population of the Mountain Altay has gone on using this type of ski to this very day.

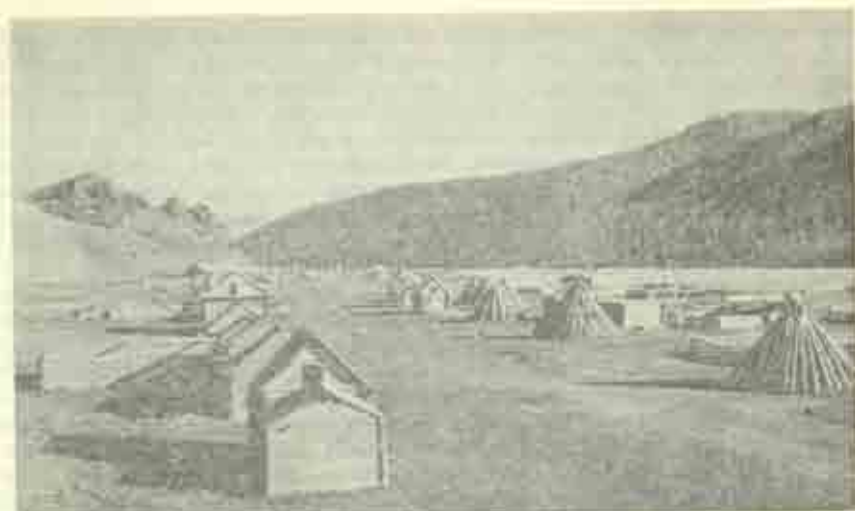
Settlements and Dwellings

The main economic and cultural center of the oblast is the town of Gorno-Altaysk, located on the site of the dirty and decrepit pre-Revolutionary village of Ulala, founded in 1830 as a missionary station near one of the Altay encampments. This town with its dozens of industrial plants, transportation system, wealth of shops and marketplace, with its numerous educational facilities (including pedagogical and teachers' institutes), libraries, museum, hospital and polyclinic, with a number of scientific research establishments, is also the administrative center of the oblast. After this come the regional administrative, or aymak, centers. In these towns, which are also large, we find the full and partial secondary schools, houses of culture, libraries, movie theatres, regional hospitals, dispensaries and drugstores.

The new living standards have greatly altered the domestic life of the Altays as compared with the pre-Revolutionary period. Although the Russian timber house was certainly quite common among the Altays before the Revolution, most of the Southern Altays were unable to afford one, partly because of their nomadic or seminomadic way of life. The assistance given the Altays by the Soviet government in the form of building loans and the improvement in the material well-being of the Altay collective farms are now economically and organizationally consolidated; the problem of providing warm, well-designed houses for the Altay masses was completely solved in a very short time. As a result the number of old yurts, used for centuries before, sharply declined, and, more important, the function of these archaic dwellings was changed. In the southern cattle-breeding regions the conical tent or skin yurt (Kosh-Agachskiy and Ust'-Koksinskiy Aymaks) is only found as a temporary summer dwelling. It is sometimes used in summer as a kitchen where the members of the family cook their food and pass the evening by the fireside, according to the old custom. The old types of dwelling are now used as farm buildings (barns, sheds, etc.). Altays now live in timber houses with windows, wooden floors and a stove. Naturally, you may still find old-type and new-type dwellings side by side, without a surrounding hedge, without a yard, set higgledy-piddled either a long way apart or else packed tightly together, but it is the collective-farm settlements with proper streets that predominate. Houses often interspersed with yurts, schools, local government offices, hospitals, clubs, veterinary and medical points, public bathhouses, consumers' cooperative shops, dairies, barns, storehouses, garages, cattle-yards and other structures give the present-day Altay settlements a new appearance that has nothing in common with the old villages stretching for several kilometers with their solitary yurts spaced widely apart.

At first the timber house which ousted the old type of dwelling in these regions often had an unfinished look about it. The absence of a plank roof, porchway and certain other features made it inferior to the type of house commonly found in regions where there had long been contact between the Altays and the Russians. This was mainly due to the wide-scale and comparatively sudden transition by Altays to the construction of timber houses. The situation gave rise to various difficulties (lack of skilled carpenters and sawn timber, etc.) etc., which it took some time to overcome.

A characteristic feature was the lack of Russian stoves. Instead, there was a small portable stove made of sheet iron. The strength of tradition built up over many centuries by many generations through living in the yurt was also clear from the small amount of furniture with which the Altays equipped their new dwellings at the very beginning. Tradition can also explain the custom of sitting on the floor by the stove, even while eating,



Street in D'an'y d'ol collective-farm settlement.

regardless of the table and bench or stool in the room. A certain sequence in the gradual furnishing of the dwelling was also observed. First of all came beds and shelves for utensils, then tables, benches, stools or chairs. This sequence is due to a natural desire to first transfer the more familiar elements of the old surroundings to the new conditions. After this the Altays accepted and began acquiring those items of new furniture which fitted in with their old customs and habits, and represented a logical succession to them. First came a bed in the house, because it was like the benches along the walls in the front corner of the yurt. A little short-legged table at which they ate their meals while sitting on the floor with their legs tucked under them had been known to the Altays for a long time. It was not difficult to go on from that to the use of a proper table, once they had learned to sit on a bench or a stool. In the yurts, shelves for utensils were an essential item of furniture for the women's half, where the kitchen was also located. At first, shelves were therefore placed in the same spot in the timber house.

The single-room timber house was an intermediate type of dwelling between the yurt, or conical tent, and the better designed and more spacious wooden house typical of the new dwellings on Altay collective farms during the time of the first postwar Five-Year Plans. This type of house has one or more rooms (with a kitchen), a peaked wooden roof, a porchway or small verandah, a pantry, and so on. Apart from the Russian stove, it is heated by means of a range or hearth. The furnishings are more varied. The inhabitants have acquired iron bedsteads, chairs and cupboards. Dining tables, desks, chests, framed pictures or photographs on the walls, window curtains, and flower boxes on the window sills are typical of the furnishings of these houses. The walls, wooden chests, and floors are often covered with felt carpets with appliqued designs typical of the old nomadic way of life, particularly among the Southern Altays. Ethnographic features of the old Altay way of life also show up in the furnishings themselves (felt carpets, leather saddlebags, etc.), as well as in the way they are arranged. The acquisition of iron bedsteads and bed linen by modern Altays should be particularly noted because the previous generations always went to bed without undressing, beside the hearth or on top of wooden benches, on a felt underlay

and a leather pillow (stuffed with felt or wool) and covered themselves with a fur coat instead of blankets. Shop-bought vessels such as kitchen utensils and crockery, with all the great variety available in the local shops, also came into fashion very rapidly and on a wide scale. People began washing the new crockery, which was something they had never done in the case of the old wooden or leather vessels. Of the old-type utensils, only the larger leather ones used to make *chegen'*, and attractive leather bottles (*tashaur*) for *arak*, with embossed designs, were retained. The preference sometimes shown to the older type vessels is due to the fact that they are better able to preserve the taste of the product (sour milk).

Living in houses, even if only in the winter, quickly led to the acceptance of other aspects of domestic life, now developing along the lines of urban life. The process was greatly facilitated by the force of example created by the rural and regional intelligentsia and stimulating a desire in the rank-and-file Altays to share in the new domestic comforts. Increased communication between Altays living in the villages and in the rayon centers plus the educational work carried out in the oblast also helped to create a new way of life. We need only refer to the work and importance of the Altay Women's Clubs, purely Altay establishments that provided Altay women with combined primary education. For three months the Altay farm women stayed in the clubs, living at a high standard, and studied not only reading and writing but also modern home economy, i.e., the baking of bread, the making of clothes in the new styles for different purposes, the washing of linen, etc., etc. The women were taught the basic rules of personal, family and social hygiene, how to look after children, and so on. To this we should add the work of the mobile tents, clubs, and reading rooms, where instruction, popular literature and films have an educational function, also intended to improve the present-day life of the Altays.

What has been said with regard to Altay dwellings and their furnishings by no means exhausts the complexity of the gradual change from the older type of dwelling, which was not so much a characteristic of national Altay culture as of the archaic culture common before the Revolution to a wider group of Sayano-Altayan mountain tribes. In actual fact, the process involved an even more complex intermingling of the old and new ways of life than is described in this generalized account.

Clothing

A characteristic feature of modern Altay clothing is, first, that it is made of factory-made cloth, such as cotton, wool or silk, and, second, that ready-made clothing is widely purchased. This is because factory-made fabrics and readymade clothes are now available to every Altay. Prior to the October Revolution, the ordinary Altay could only afford to buy a very small amount of cloth, since his economic status was extremely low and, furthermore, cloth was sold only by Chinese, Mongol and Russian traders, who demanded inordinately high prices. Hence many of the Southern Altays, for example, went without shirts in the summer, and in the evening when it became cool, or in winter, wore a sheepskin coat with nothing underneath. For the same reason a cloth shirt was worn until it literally fell off the wearer. Readymade clothes were not obtainable in the Altay in former times. Nowadays the oblast receives supplies of cloth and readymade clothes, which are sold at state-controlled prices in the rural and urban shops. It is simpler, more advantageous and more convenient to buy readymade clothes, rather than make them by hand, as used to be done (it is only now that the sewing machine is commonly found there). Because of the

Altayan climate fur coats are still the principal type of outer clothing, and they also retain, generally speaking, their national form. They are still made in the Mongol style and button left over right, as among all nomads. The old form of Altay fur coat has changed slightly. Those worn by the farmers in the Ongudayskiy and Ust'-Kanskiy Rayons are now shorter than they used to be, and the characteristic projection of the left-hand flap is now embroidered with silk and wool thread. The coat has been shortened because of the change of the way of life of the Southern Altays. The people of these regions used to spend a large amount of time on horseback and longer clothing was more comfortable, whereas now, with the emergence of a settled way of life and the great amount of agricultural work, long clothes are inconvenient and cumbersome for working and walking. The desire to make the coats neater and tidier reflects the increased material and cultural standard of the ordinary Altay.

A new feature of the present-day men's clothing among the Altays is the wearing of light outer clothing bought off the peg, preference being given to army type clothing (tunics, breeches, and so on). The Altay style of men's shirt and trousers is encountered rather rarely, and usually in cases where they make the clothes themselves. Nonetheless, if we take the men's suit as a whole, it must be admitted that it does retain certain national characteristics that have evidently become entrenched in the modern way of life as well. This not only applies to the fur coat which we have mentioned, but also to hats and footwear. The typical Altayan sheepskin cap, which is round and has a tassel made of silk thread at the top, is still worn to this day both winter and summer. It is even worn nowadays by the women. It has come into fashion among the local Russian population as a men's hat, and in popularity in the Altay can only compete with the kubanka (fur forage cap), having completely replaced the high, black, dome-shaped lambskin hat found there at the beginning of the century.

We should also note the partial retention of leather knee-boots with a flared top, two seams (one at the back and one at the front), a thin sole and studs instead of a heel; these features are typical of the Southern Altay. In winter people also wear leather knee-boots made from the legs of the horse, Siberian stag or roe-deer, with the wool outside and with a soft sole, without a heel or studs. They are worn with a felt stocking. The Altay fur knee-boots became very popular with the Russian population under the name of "kisy." All the same, among Altays from both the north and south, Russian knee-boots are now commoner, and also to some extent Russian valenki (felt boots) which can be bought through the shop network.

The old national forms of men's clothing are still retained for work, since they are better suited to local conditions.

Women's clothing has retained the national features to a greater extent, despite the introduction of factory-made fabric and readymade clothes of the conventional urban style. This relates not only to the fur coat, but also to the outer summer dress. Nevertheless, women's clothing among Altays has still tended to merge with the urban type, which can clearly be seen, for example, among the younger people. An important aspect of women's attire is ornamentation. Despite the simplicity of the ornamentation, it adds style and color to the clothing. The large turned-down collar of the tunic is shot with colored silk thread and adorned with rows of mother-of-pearl and colored glass buttons, or else with beads, usually blue and white. Women still wear a wide sash made from one complete piece of material and attach various pendants to it by means of belt loops. Among girls one can find a pendant (shishirgek) made of pressed profiled copper with rings from which are hung threads of beads and cowrie shells. For married women this form of

decoration (pel' or pel'dush) also consists of profiled copper with threads of beads suspended from it, and hung at the very end with ordinary keys from boxes or drawers in their charge. An original and commonly found decoration is copper rings, or blue and white beads, shells and sometimes silver coins hung from the braids. These are worn by women, who usually have their hair divided into two braids, and also girls if they braid their hair in the old style, that is to say, in a number of fine pigtails. Earrings and finger rings complete the ornaments of the modern Altay woman. The short, factory-made necklaces, which are easily bought by women and girls in shops, are an innovation.

Food

A large part in the diet of both Northern and Southern Altays nowadays is bread. This is indeed a major advance for the Southern Altays who, prior to the Revolution, subsisted in the chief pastoral regions mainly on dairy products. Meat and talkan (crushed barley) served as additions to the small cheeses and various types of sour milk consumed by the ordinary Altay. At the present time, even on purely Altay animal farms, where the manufacture of products from sour milk is extremely common and talkan is made, bread has become part of the daily diet of the ordinary people. Still typical of the Southern Altay food are seasonal differences: from spring to late fall, dairy products predominate, while the consumption of meat increases in the winter. Bread, however, is eaten the whole year round because of the development of field agriculture and also cooperative and state-controlled trade, through which bread is made available even to the remotest regions. The material standing of the ordinary Altay and the availability of supplies have completely solved the problem of obtaining bread in regions of the Altay where the land is not cultivated at all.

One other overall feature of the diet that stands out among the Southern Altays is the variety of their food. This has been made possible by the introduction of farinaceous dishes, groats, vegetables, eggs, sugar, confectionery, and soon, as well as by changes in cooking procedures for the meat and the consumption of new kinds of meat (pork, domestic poultry). The nomads usually ate their meat boiled and without condiments. The transition to roasting meat and the consumption of different condiments with it has added variety to their diet. They have taken over a large number of dishes using a large amount of milk, vegetables, meat and farinaceous products normally cooked by the Russian population of the Altay. Among these we should mention, first and foremost, stock with different spices, roast meat and potatoes, noodles, pel'meni (meat dumplings), a variety of turnovers, pancakes and various sorts of porridge. The Altays have learned about certain types of groats (such as semolina, pearl barley and rice) and buy them in their rural shops. Another innovation was the art of salting cucumbers, cabbage, and broad-leaf garlic (known locally as kalbu) and of making jam from the berries abounding in the Altay. At the same time the Altays have retained a number of specifically native dishes, drinks and methods of cooking food of great antiquity, and they are now part of the legacy of nomadic culture passed down for many centuries. These include certain types of dairy products, first and foremost, chegen', fresh and sour cheese (kurut and pyshtak) and cream (kaymak) obtained by leaving boiled milk to stand. The meat dishes which are typically Altay and are still retained, even by the local Russian population, include blood sausage, popular to this very day, and shashlyk made from kidneys and mutton cooked the Altay way; as regards other types of food in this category, there is talkan

and fine-ground barley, prepared by the Altay method and used to prepare *kocho*, an Altay soup.

Something new and important in the everyday life of the Altays is the development of public catering in villages, on collective farms and at field camps. The appearance of canteens and tearooms has considerably improved Altay domestic life.

The Family

The principal feature of everyday family relations is clearly the virtual equality between men and women. Before the Revolution, under customary law an Altay woman could not inherit property, nor did she have the right to vote at gatherings of kinsmen; she could only be the plaintiff or witness in a *zaysan's* court if her husband were not present to take her place. She was deprived of all rights, even the selection of her own husband. Her children belonged to her husband and his relatives. Soviet legislation has had a tremendous effect on the Altay family in breaking through those patriarchal customs reflecting the inferior status of Altay women in society and in the family. Even before World War II, such old family institutions as polygamy, the marriage of girls to underage boys, abduction, bride-price, the levirate, a taboo on referring to her husband or his older relations (in the male line) by name, and a taboo on any association between the bride and her father-in-law or her husband's elder male relatives⁵ had completely died out in various parts of the Altay. And such clan characteristics as exogamy or a clan name showing adherence to a particular *seok* (clan) had lost virtually all importance and only a few traces were still to be found. Yet only 20-25 years ago all these things were to be observed in everyday life.

A direct consequence of the new family relationship and improvement in the status of women on a domestic level is the wide-scale incorporation of women in agricultural production and public work. The Altay woman not only looks after livestock, milks cows, shears sheep, sows and gathers crops and mows hay, she can also be seen at the wheel of a car or a tractor, or operating a mowing machine or harvester, or even a complicated thresher. The Altay woman studies at school and can be found in the job of Soviet Chairman, State or Party official in the rayon and oblast offices, or as a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Among Altay women are some who have higher education, university degrees, some working as teachers of their own language and literature and various other subjects taught in secondary schools, in teachers' institutes, and so on. There are Altay women doctors, technicians, agronomists, and so on.

Education

The strictly national form of Altay socialist cultural development is characterized by more than a material way of life tending toward urban culture. It is chiefly manifested in the extent of education and enlightenment, school construction, the development of secondary and higher education, the development of the language, national alphabet and literature, the press, in the

⁵ According to an investigation carried out by S. P. Shvetsov (1897) 2% of the Southern Altays were polygamists, and 2% of the men of premarital age were married to nubile girls. (See S. P. Shvetsov, "Obychno-pravovyye vozzreniya altaytsev i kirgiz. Brachnyye i semeynyye otnosheniya" (Customary-legal views of the Altays and Kirgiz. Marital and family relations). Zapiski Zapadno-Sibirskogo Otdeleniya RGO, Book XXV. Omsk, 1898.

expansion of scientific and cultural establishments, in the blossoming of certain types of folk art, and many other things. Most vivid of all are the advances made in the field of education.

We can only speak of the literacy of the Altays now that they have compulsory education; now that literacy has become part of their way of life and a mass-scale phenomenon. There are more than 100 Altay and mixed [Altay-Russian] schools in the oblast. For children living in barely accessible or sparsely populated parts where there are as yet no schools, boarding facilities have been constructed at the nearest schools and more than 1500 Altay children are given board, lodgings and instruction in them at state expense. More than half the yearly oblast budget is spent on education. The budget is continually increasing. Whereas 177,000 rubles were assigned for education in 1922 (the year of the formation of the Gorno-Altayskaya Autonomous Oblast), in 1946, on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the oblast, the figure had risen to 20,000,000—more than 100 times more. But even these figures are not up to date because of the continual development of schools and educational services.

Primary schooling for Altays is conducted in the vernacular. By the 25th anniversary of the oblast there were 7500 Altay children studying in their own language. The Altays have trained their own teachers. There are already more than 400 Altay teachers at present. This is a large cultural force for a small people, only a few tens of thousands strong. Among the Altay teachers there are many who have undergone special higher education in one of the best pedagogical institutes in our country.⁶ The training of national personnel takes place in the oblast itself, where there are pedagogical and teachers' institutes, a national workers' faculty, a pedagogical school, secondary schools, veterinary tekhnikums, a medical-assistant and midwifery school, and a cooperative trade school. Furthermore, young Altays study at various universities in the USSR (Moscow, Leningrad, Barnaul, Tomsk, Blysk, and so on). In some of the universities and institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Leningrad) there are Altays studying for higher degrees in science. Among them are the first scholars to have gained degrees on the basis of their dissertations, and to have published the results of their studies. Scientific research is being carried out by Altays in the Zonal and Oblast combined fruit and berry agricultural stations, in the State stables and stud farm, Altay game reservation, and Oblast Museum, and also in departments of the pedagogical institute. The national schools play an important part in the creation of a socialist culture and life for the Altay people.

The formation of a new outlook on life and the improvement of cultural standards has been facilitated by the work of the reading rooms, mobile tents, dozens of permanent and mobile film-projection units. This great network, numbering more than 200 different institutions, is of tremendous assistance in improving the socialist culture of the Altays by its everyday work. Even those Altay collective-farm members who spend the summer and winter with their herds in distant pastures are not forgotten when it comes to cultural and educational work. Spacious mobile tents made of felt, with trained personnel, organize the public reading of newspapers and listening to local news in the Altay language; and articles and discussions, lectures, news of international events, concerts, etc., etc., soon follow after them.

⁶This refers to four graduating classes of Altays who completed the Lenin State Pedagogical Institute in Moscow, Department of Altay Language and Literature.



Collective farm receives a new film, Ongudayskiy Rayon.

Literature and Soviet Folklore

The maturity and originality of Altay culture can be judged by the creation during the Soviet period of a national literature, theatre and press and a single literary language, on the basis of the Central Altay dialect. Ascertaining how the literary language has grown up under the Soviet state system and socialist society and the path that the development has taken is the job of the relevant specialists, but we should nevertheless state that the literary language is a powerful means of cultural progress for Altays, although its development has lagged behind the rapid progress of their economy and culture. Of great practical importance in improving Altay culture and education is the study and mastery of Russian. The superiority of the Russian language, in which the greatest achievements of modern culture have been written and printed, is so obvious to all Altays that the majority of them, in addition to their own language, make extensive use of Russian, studying it by themselves (with the exception of school children who learn it in school). In this respect, it is very important that the Altays have acquainted themselves with the treasury of world literature, which they can do either in their own language or in Russian, and the interest in this and the desire to learn among modern Altays is exceptionally great. Generally speaking, the Altay intelligentsia is bilingual.

Alongside the written literature, the ancient folklore is still developing. Altay folklore, known in our country from individual publications as well as from the work of the famous storyteller, Nikolay Ulagashev (1861-1946), is being supplemented with new talented works. A distinguishing feature of them is the switch to present-day topics of interest to the people.

V. Yabikov, a young storyteller, has recorded his Tale of Temir-Bek, describing in conventional folk imagery the events of the Civil War in the

Altay and the guerrilla war for the Soviet regime.⁷ There are similar works dealing with World War II. The Altay storyteller-poets can be found in every region. Recitations are part of concert programs organized by the National Theatre artists and amateur song and dance groups in different regions and on different farms. Folksongs occupy the principal part in present-day Altay folklore; with mirror-like accuracy the new folklore describes major political and public events in the Soviet Union and all stages of the development of Socialist construction among the Altays. Present-day Altay folklore can be called a true chronicle of people living under the Soviet system. It is not only a monument to national creation, but also a valuable historical source of information.

Public Health

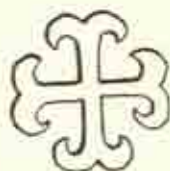
Among the Altays medical aid takes the conventional Soviet form (free treatment at medical points, outpatient clinics, hospitals, polyclinics, etc., etc.). It has rapidly become standard practice and is extremely popular. Even old men and women, who represent the most conservative sector of the Altay population, willingly apply for medical aid. This is of particular importance because genuine medicine is a completely new thing in Altay life and, what is more, something that collides with the realm of religious belief. Although prior to the Revolution there was a missionary hospital at Ulala, run by a doctor's assistant, its practical importance to the Altays was negligible, since it was the only hospital in the whole of the Mountain Altay, the territory of which is big enough to hold several West European countries. Altay nationals are now beginning to appear in the lower and middle echelon of medical workers. Party, government and local authorities are leaving no stone unturned to organize medical assistance among the Altay people. The Soviet State assigns large amounts of money for this purpose, as clearly shown by the intensive increase in the health budget which over the last 25 years has become 208 times greater, and now amounts to tens of millions of rubles. By the 25th anniversary of the oblast there were 24 hospitals, 23 outpatient clinics and polyclinics, 5 dispensaries, 36 medical-assistant points, 4 dental prosthesis centers, an X-ray point, etc., etc., in operation.

Socialist Culture Among the Altays

It is only now that we can speak of a true national self-awareness of the Altays, regardless of their tribal affiliation and differences in culture prevailing before the Revolution. The awareness of national unity, reflecting the process of national consolidation, shows up particularly clearly among those Altays who, prior to the formation of an Autonomous Oblast, did not call themselves by that name. We refer to the Tubalars, who call themselves *yish kizhi*, that is to say, "forest people," or "taiga people," chiefly populating the Choyskiy Aymak. The same applies to the inhabitants of the Mayminskiy and to some extent the Elikmonarskiy Aymaks, where the population usually call themselves by the name of rivers (*Mayma kizhi* or *Mayma-lary*), or clan (*seck*), and so on. But nowadays in these parts you can very often hear the phrase "*bis onchozy altay kizhi*" ("we are all Altays"). Hence, their awareness of national unity is manifested by the

⁷ *Altayskiy epos Kogutey* (Altay Epic of Kogutey), USSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1935. N. Ulagashev, *Altay Buchay*. Novosibirsk, 1941; *Malchimergen*. N. Ulagashev, *Altay Buchay*. Novosibirsk, 1947. (Both books are edited by A. L. Koptelov.)

sharing of the name. When applying for identity papers, when filling in different forms and local statistical lists, the population of all parts of the oblast call themselves Altays. The national self-awareness is also manifested by the wide-scale interest of the Altays in their own history and folklore, in the development of their language, literature, theatre, and other aspects of their national culture.





THE KHAKASY

L.P. POTAPOV

General Information

The Khakasy Autonomous Oblast lies in the southern part of Krasnoyarskiy Kray in the Minusa Basin. The terrain can be divided into plains and elevated regions changing to mountainous (southwest). The northeast region consists of hilly terrain with small elevations and fertile black earth. The southwest part stretches from the Sayan Ridge, bordering on the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast, and includes a mountain chain running from the Saylyugem Ridge and continuing in a northeasterly direction as far as the upper reaches of the river Tom', known as the Abakan Ridge, and in the northwest as far as the Kuznets Alatau.

The chief rivers flowing through Khakasiya are the Yenisey and its left tributary, the Abakan. In the north of Khakasiya we find the Black and White Iyus Rivers, forming the Chulym and Saraly, while in the northwest region both fresh and bitterly salt lakes are to be found. In most of the oblast, except for the territories in the mountainous or taiga areas, the climate is suitable for agriculture. There is a great variety of vegetation in the steppes of Khakasiya. The flora is characteristic of semi-desert stony steppes and forest-steppe meadowland, though grass-steppe predominates. The vegetation of the meadows (basically irrigated and floodland) consists mostly of cereals and leguminous plants. The vegetation of the mountainous regions consists of thick forest (in the lower belt), both mixed and coniferous, with the cedar predominating. The larch predominates in the foothills of the Kuznets Alatau. The Khakasiyan forests teem with wild life, particularly fur-bearing animals, the hunting of which is of great importance to the population. Khakasiya is rich in mineral deposits and a large-scale industry has been developed to exploit them.

Up to the October Revolution, the Khakasy were known as the Minusa, Abakan, and sometimes Yenisey, Tatars. This general name covered five Turkic-speaking groups, differing greatly in ethnic origin as well as in culture and everyday life. These were the Kachins (Khaas), Sagays, Bel'tirs, Kyzyls and Koybals.

The distribution of these groups just before the Revolution was as follows. The Kachins occupied the vast steppeland on the left bank of the Yenisey, the Uybat (left bank), Koksa, Bidzha, Uzunzhul, and other rivers. The region through which they nomadized was bounded on the south by the lower course of the Abakan (up to the point where it flows into the Kamysheta), in the west by the White Iyus and Kuznets Alatau spurs, in the north by the upper course of the Chulym, and in the east by the Yenisey.

A small number of Kachins lived along the river Kacha near Krasnoyarsk, and in the Kanskiy Okrug, where they had settled long before and had been almost entirely absorbed in the Russian population. The Sagays populated the steppeland bounded in the west by the Kuznets Alatau spurs, in the east by the rivers Kamyshka and Abakan (valley of the Baz and right bank of the Uybat, Askyz, Tëya, Nenya, the Great and Little Syra and so on). The Bel'tirs lived along the left bank of the middle course of the Abakan, and on both sides on the upper course (from the village of Monok to the mouth of the Kendyrlyya), and along the Kendyrlyya, Arabat, Tëya, Yes', Sos and Monok. The Koybals lived in the steppes and to some extent in the Abakan steppes (bounded in the south by the Sayan foothills, in the northeast by the Yenisey, and in the northwest by the Abakan), along the right bank of the middle course of the Abakan, and along the rivers Beya, Ut and Yenisey. The Kyzyls settled the basins of the White and Black Iyus, the rivers Serezh, Pechishcha and Salbat, the upper course of the Uryup, and the environs of Bozh'ye Lake.

Archeological relics show that the Sayan region (Minusa Basin) was populated in very ancient times. Finds relating to the Paleolithic and Neolithic indicate that the population of that time engaged in hunting, fishing and gathering, knew about fire, fashioned tools from stone and bone, and made clothing from the skins of wild animals. During the period of transition from stone to bronze, pastoralism began to develop, but the main occupations were still hunting and fishing. The earliest traces of stockbreeding go back to the Third and the beginning of the Second Millennium B.C., and are known from the bones of domestic animals (sheep, oxen and horses), found in the Afanas'yevo graves (see Chapter I). At this time there was very little pastoralism. The population lived a settled life, as shown by their knowledge of building with timber (the arrangement of the wooden log constructions with beamed ceilings in the graves), and bits of large clay vessels unsuitable for a nomadic way of life involving constant migration. These facts show that the early pastoralism of the population of the Minusa Basin was not nomadic, and that the small herds of livestock bred were grazed on neighboring pastures. The metal tools, few and far between, were usually made of copper. The vessels were shaped by hand, poorly fired and decorated with extremely simple designs. The people also knew the spinning of wool and the working of wood and bone. The physical appearance of the population, to judge by skeletons found in the Afanas'yevo graves, was not what it is among the present-day Khakasy. At that time the people were taller, with Europeoid features, an elongated skull and face, and a fine, straight or hooked nose. Pastoralism was further developed, and together with hoe agriculture (which probably also began to develop in the Afanas'yevo Period) became the main form of economy of the ancient Minusa people at the following stage of cultural evolution (17th—12th centuries B.C.), which is characterized by Andronovian-type sites (see Chapter I). This is shown by the discovery of a huge number of domestic animal bones, particularly sheep and cattle, and bits of woollen articles in some of the graves (Orak Ulus and the village of Andronovo).

The cultural progress of the population was manifested especially strongly in the field of metallurgy. Metal tools were now cast from bronze, and were greatly varied in shape. The technique of mining ore was also developed.

The next stage in the ancient culture is characterized by the Karasuk-type monuments, which date from the 12th to the 7th centuries B.C. Pastoralism continued to develop, with specialization in some of its

branches. Sheep began to be raised for their meat. The extensive breeding of cows helped the development of dairy farming. The pastoral belt was widened through assimilation of the arid steppes along the left bank of the Yenisey. By the end of this period, the horse was being widely used as a draught animal. Agriculture also developed, largely along the right bank of the Yenisey, as is shown by the frequent finds of bronze sickles. The development of metallurgy and casting added to the variety of bronze tools and weapons that were made (knives, spear-heads, battle-axes and so on).

The further development of pastoralism as the main branch of the economy was due to the transition from the settled, open-pasture to the seminomadic type. This system made possible the settling of the arid Minusinsk steppes. This took place roughly between the 7th and 2nd centuries B.C. and is borne out by the remains of the Tagarian culture (see Chapter I). Apart from grazing their cattle close to their permanent dwelling place, in the summer the pastoralists drove the animals out to pastures a considerable distance from their winter dwelling, and lived there in temporary dwellings, returning to the winter camps when winter came. The transition to the seminomadic form ensured further fodder supplies for the cattle and made it possible for more livestock to be reared.

The physical cast of the population was Europeoid. At this time the name and appearance of the bearers of this particular culture become known from Chinese written sources. The Chinese called them Ting-lings and reported that the Ting-lings were blond, blue-eyed and had straight noses with a slight hook. The Chinese chronicles describe frequent clashes and wars between the Ting-lings and the Huns, to whom they paid tribute. The Ting-lings undoubtedly intermingled with the Mongol and Turkic elements making up the complex tribal composition of the Huns.

The Tagarian cultural monuments (which correspond to those of the Scytho-Sarmatian period in Eastern Europe) indicate a highly developed local metallurgy for that period. At this stage there also appeared such means of transportation as the four-wheeled cart, and sleigh, which can be seen from drawings on the gravestones. Hoe agriculture was still important in the economic life (bronze sickles and millet grains have been found in the graves). Among the rock drawings we find the figure of a man with a hoe. Nevertheless, hunting and fishing still continued to play an important part. Hunting was the main occupation among the taiga and near-taiga tribes. The development of barter in this period is shown by archeological discoveries of imported articles.

The archeological sites of the Tashtykian type (see Chapter I) (last few centuries B.C. and first few centuries A.D.) suggest the following stage of cultural development relating to the period of prevalence of iron objects. They show the presence of two clearly distinct types of economy—semisettled agriculture plus the breeding of livestock, and nomadic pastoralism. The burial objects of the nomads contained elements of the same cultural pattern shown in such detail, so finely drawn by study of the burial objects of the ancient Yenisey Kirgiz or "Khyagasy" of the Chinese chronicles. The tribal composition of the population is indicated by the Chinese sources. They mention a Kirgiz or Khyagasy people who had lived for centuries (or at least since the Tashtykian Period) on the Upper Yenisey. The Kirgiz, according to the chronicles, intermingled with the Ting-lings. Describing the appearance of the inhabitants of the Kirgiz State, the Chinese chronicle points out that

"The inhabitants are generally tall, with red hair, red faces and blue eyes (black hair was considered a bad omen): those with brown eyes were revered as the descendants of Li Ling" (a Chinese military leader).

Apart from the Chinese sources, the plaster-like burial-masks from Tashtykian burials enable us to assess the outward appearance of the ancient Kirgiz. The masks portrayed the face of the person buried and attempts were made to ensure a close likeness; hence the masks give convincing evidence of the intermingling of Ting-ling and Mongoloid elements. Some of them skillfully portray the Ting-ling type as described by the Chinese, while others represent the Mongoloid type, and yet others reflect features of both types in one cast.

From the political standpoint, the ancient population of the Minusa Basin during the Tashtykian Period was dependent on the Huns, under whose rule it had come during the Tagarian stage. Hunnish domination was replaced by the rule of Hsiang-pi (2nd-4th centuries), then by the Ju-jang, whose regime was overthrown in the 6th century by the Turkic-speaking Altay tribes (the Turkic Khanate). Finding themselves vassals of the Turkic Khans, the nomadic, semisettled and hunting tribes of the Minusa Basin, fairly diverse in ethnic origin, continued to intermingle. By this time, the Turkic ethnic element had been especially strengthened by the northern Uygur tribes which occupied the Selenga Basin and the upper reaches of the Yenisey at that time. The northern Uygur and Altay tribes not only subordinated the tribes in the northern part of the Sayano-Altay Plateau, who spoke the Samoyedic languages, as well as a tongue related to the present-day Yenisey Ostyak or Ket' language, but also Turkicized them linguistically. Traces of this process show up in the dialects of the present-day Khakasy and Shors, which have retained their affinity with the language of the ancient Altayan Turks and Uygurs.

In 745, the Kirgiz became vassals of the Uygur Khans (who replaced the Turkic Khans) and began a long struggle with the Uygurs which ended by the middle of the 9th century with a Kirgiz victory and their domination of the eastern area of Central Asia. The head of the Kirgiz Khyagasy, who bore the title of azho, transferred his center to the Selenga, established relations with the Chinese Imperial court and overran the west to the steppes of present-day Kazakhstan, and in the south as far as Tibet. It was at this point that the Kirgiz established trade relations with the Arabs, Tibet, China and the Karluks. The Arabs brought them cloth. The Kirgiz exported a great deal of musk and fur from their country, and to the Imperial court in China they sent high-grade iron weapons which they had used before to pay tribute to the Turkic Khans.

The Chinese dynastic chronicle T'ang-shu (618 to 907) contains comments on the everyday life and economy of the Kirgiz: "Sable and fox-fur are valuable clothing. In winter the azho wears a sable hat and in summer a hat with a gold rim, a conical top and a curved bottom. Others wear white felt hats. Generally they like to wear a whetstone (for sharpening knives—L.P.) in their belt. The lower orders dress in sheepskin clothing and go without hats. The women wear clothes made of woolen and silk fabrics. In winter they live in huts covered with tree-bark. They eat meat and drink mare's milk." The chronicle goes on to say: "They sow millet, barley, wheat and Himalayan barley... the flour is ground in querns. They never have fruit or vegetables. The horses are big and fat. They have camels; cows and sheep; the cows are the most numerous; the rich farmers have as many as several thousand." The Kirgiz continued to develop the same branches of agriculture which the population of the Minusa Basin had switched to back in the second half of the first

millennium B.C. The Kirgiz pastoralism was of the open-pasture type, and the whole year round the animals were driven from one pasture to another, according to whether or not grass and water were available. The migration became permanent and resulted in the appearance of the portable felt kibitka¹

The land was no longer tilled with hand hoes, but with wooden ploughs with iron ploughshares which required draught animals to pull them. Plough cultivation was extended to the arid regions, where use was made of irrigation systems; traces of the latter have been preserved to the present day; coupled with the remains of stone-paved highways, these show the high level of the building techniques of the Kirgiz. Some of the population living in the mountainous taiga and along the larger river valleys engaged in hunting and fishing, as is shown by the archeological relics and Chronicles.

A prominent place in the Kirgiz-Khyagasy economy was occupied by various trades, particularly smithery. Abandoned iron mines, the so-called "miracle pits," remnants of blast furnaces and piles of slag are evidence of this. The Kirgiz smiths were famed for their skill in making iron weapons, the high quality of which was greatly valued by the Imperial Chinese court, which received supplies of them. The Kirgiz forged iron into a variety of agricultural implements (ploughshares, sickles), military equipment and weapons (armor, pikes, sabres and so on), and numerous objects of everyday use. Kirgiz trades were not restricted to forging. They also developed techniques for minting and casting beautiful silver and gold dishes, goblets, cups and other vessels, harness embellishments and so on. The design on these articles found in Kirgiz stone burial mounds are strikingly elegant and daring in composition, in the variety of themes, the realistic treatment, for example, of the hunting scenes. The Kirgiz also knew about pottery and used the potter's wheel.

A great achievement of Kirgiz culture was reading and writing. The Chinese chronicle compared their script with the Uygur. This undoubtedly means the Turkic runic script, which has come down to us in the form of epitaphs on gravestones, particularly those of prominent Kirgiz (the Yenisey inscriptions), and petroglyphs, containing valuable information on the life and culture of the Kirgiz, as well as in the form of brief inscriptions on a number of everyday objects (gloves, jugs, belt plaques) discovered by archeologists in the wealthier Kirgiz burials. Relics of the ancient Turkic runic writing have been found in the regions inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Khyagasy—the Yenisey Kirgiz of the 17th century—that is to say, in the upper reaches of the Chulym (White and Black Iyus Rivers, in the valleys of the Uybat, Tasheba, Tuba, and Oya, and in the Koybal and Abakan steppes. The Turkic language could be heard all over these parts, at least until the 7th or 8th or 8th centuries, and ancient Turkic writing was widespread. The Kirgiz knew about the twelve-year animal cycle, in which each year was designated by the name of an animal (the Year of the Hare, the Year of the Horse, and so on). The chronicle tells of some of the Kirgiz customs, for example, bride-price, and so on.

In religion the Kirgiz Khyagasy were shamanists. When making offerings to the spirits they requested that their pastures be amply endowed with water and grass. The dead were buried in barrows and the rich were cremated.

¹ A tent set up on runners, to be dragged along on runners.—Ed.

Among the Kirgiz there was economic inequality, reflecting the advanced decomposition of the primitive-communal structure. The aristocratic elite exploited their fellow tribesmen and the conquered tribes and peoples. Socioeconomic inequality was clearly marked in the burial rites. A rank-and-file Kirgiz was buried with a horse. Some modest weapons, for example, a sabre, iron arrows, birchbark quivers, an adze and various bits of a horse's harness were buried with him. The adornments on the dead man's clothing and harnessing were simple bits of copper and iron, buckles, clasps and so on. The burial food was lamb or beef and the drink, evidently some kind of milk product, was placed in a crude handmade clay vessel.

In the barrows of the rich Kirgiz aristocracy, the deceased was buried under a large stone mound together with the elaborate harnessing and belt adornments made of gold and silver, artistic gold and silver goblets and dishes, and many other valuable items of everyday use testifying to the luxurious way of life of their owners. The exploiting elite collected tribute in kind from their vassal tribes. The tribes living in the mountainous taiga of the Sayano-Altay Plateau paid tribute in furs (squirrel and sable). The burdensome lot of the tribute-payers was further aggravated by the fact, as the Chinese chronicle bears witness, that the Kirgiz used to capture them and make them work in their households. Among the Kirgiz were rich households with herds of many thousands of head of livestock. These households were run on forced labor by tribute-payers. It seems that the extensive irrigation systems were built and stone-paved roads were laid in exactly the same way, i.e., by means of slave labor. Obviously, there was also exploitation among the Kirgiz themselves, where property inequality was far advanced, but it showed up in early, patriarchal-feudal forms, for the patriarchal clan customs at that time were still very much alive. Social relations among the Kirgiz took on a class content in the form of slavery and patriarchal-feudal relations.

The rule of the Kirgiz was short-lived. At the beginning of the 10th century they were conquered by the Kidaneans, whose dynasty was located in Northern China. In 1207, the Kirgiz ruling clique voluntarily brought the Kirgiz under Genghis Khan's domination and presented his son Juchi with white geldings and sables as a sign of their subservience. As a result of the policy of plunder and oppression pursued by the Mongol conquerors, risings flared up among the rank-and-file Kirgiz from time to time, though they were cruelly suppressed. During the rule of Genghis Khan, the Kirgiz continued to sow wheat and mine iron. A large number of Chinese craftsmen lived in Kirgiz country and engaged in the "weaving of silk materials, crepe, brocade and colored cloth" (report by the monk Ch'ang Ch'un, 1223).² Later on, when the descendants of Genghis Khan had overrun China as well (the Yuan Dynasty, 1260-1368), the Chinese craftsmen continued to live and work in the Kirgiz territory, particularly during the reign of Kublai (1259-1294). After Kublai's death, a fierce struggle developed among the descendants of

²"Puteshestviye na zapad monakha Chan Chunya opisano uchenikom; yego Chzhen'; Chan-tszy po imeni Li Chzhi-chan." Trudy chlenov Rossyskoy duknovnoy missii v Pekine. ("The journey to the west made by the monk Ch'ang Ch'un as described by his pupil, Chen Ch'ang-tzu, Li Chih-ch'ang by name," Proc. Members of Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Pekin). Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 339.

Genghis for the throne of the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty. The Kirgiz were drawn into internecine wars, which made living conditions even worse for the majority of them.

The culture of the Kirgiz began to decline under the yoke of the Mongol feudal lords. Developed agriculture gave way to extensive pastoralism, trades gradually disappeared and the written language was lost. The fall of the Mongol Dynasty and the expulsion of the Eastern Mongols from China (1368) gave rise to a fierce struggle between the Eastern and Western Mongols, resulting in the short-lived domination by the Western Mongols or Oyrats (middle of the 15th century). But after the death of the Oyrat Khan, Esen', in 1453, the Western Mongols lost their position as masters. Internal strife and the accompanying process of political fragmentation led to the formation at the end of the 16th century of a briefly existent state ruled by the Altyn Khans, whose territory lay to the west of the upper reaches of the Selenga and Lake Kosogol to the upper reaches of the Irtysh, with its center near Lake Ubsa-Nur. The political influence of the Altyn Khan state stretched as far as the Minusa Basin—i.e., to the Yenisey Kirgiz—and to some extent (after the fall of the Siberian Khanate) to the Teleuts who nomadized in the region between the Irtysh and Ob'.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Russians appeared on the Yenisey. The Yenisey Kirgiz at that time were few in number. A document going back to 1616 states that "there were 300 Kirgiz, and about 1000 black tribute-paying men, called Kishtyms in the Kirgiz language."³ According to N. Spafariy, who passed through Siberia in 1675, "there are about 1000 Kirgiz, but they are very aggressive and their language and religion is Tatar."⁴

During the first half of the 17th century, the Kirgiz nomadized all over the vast territory of the upper course of the Chulym, including its tributaries, the White and Black Iyus. When the Meletskiy Fortress was built in 1621, its site was considered to be "in front of Kirgiz territory." The headquarters of the Kirgiz princes was to be found on the White Iyus, where they had a "stone encampment." In the second half of the 17th century, the boundaries of the nomadizing territory was shifted along the Yenisey to the south, right over to the Sayan Range.

The Kirgiz were typical steppe pastoralists who reared horses, sheep, cattle and camels. They lived in portable felt yurts. They had lost the ancient Turkic writing and in dealings with the Russians their princes used the Kalmyk script. They lived a patriarchal-feudal life. At the head of all Kirgiz stood a prince to whom all the others were subservient. The Kirgiz princes cruelly exploited their tribute-payers (kishtyms). The chief ulusy of the Yenisey Kirgiz in the 17th century were the Yezerskiy and Altysarskiy Ulusy. In the second half of the 17th century these were supplemented by the Altyrskiy Ulus, which is sometimes called the "Upper Kirgiz" in Russian documents. The seat of the Altysar princes was located on the Nina, a tributary of the Uybat. They considered the Kizyls, Basagars, Achins, Arguns, Shustys, Kamlars and other tribes inhabiting the Chulym Basin as well as the Arins, Yastyns,

³ TsGADA (Central State Archive of Ancient Documents) file 214 Siberian Bureau, column 126, sheet 46.

⁴ Zapiski IRGO po Otdeleniyu Etnografii (Papers, Bulletin of Russian Geographical Society, Section of Ethnography), Vol. X, No. 1, 1882, p. 85.

Tintsy, and Kachins living close to Krasnoyarsk to be their tribute-payers. The Sagays, Bel'tirs, some of the Sayans and Tubins, and also the Shors were their kishtyms. It is customary to include the Tubinskiy Ulus among the Kirgiz ulusy, although the Tubins were not Kirgiz; they were basically Samoyedic-speaking tribes and clans, while their princes only had a coalition with the Kirgiz princes against the Russians, being related to the Kirgiz solely through intermarriage. The kishtyms of the Tubins were the Kotts, Asans, Mators, Koybals, and so on.

The appearance of the Russians on the Yenisey was followed by the gradual incorporation of the various smaller clan-tribal groups dependent on the Altyn Khans and Yenisey Kirgiz into the Russian State.

The political atmosphere was just right for this. The important West Mongolian feudal lords, the Altyn Khan and the Kirgiz princes were mutually antagonistic and permanently in a state of war with one another. The various tribes, clans and territorial groups of the population mentioned above, subjected to the Kirgiz feudal lords, were constantly overrun and pillaged by the warring sides. The multiple tribute paid by the population was the most pernicious way in which they were robbed and ruined. This is probably why the Russian Cossacks reaching the Yenisey Basin found it so easy to obtain their allegiance to the Russian State (with compulsory payment of the fur tribute). The protection of the Russian State freed them first and foremost from the multiple tribute accompanied by pillaging, and offered them the opportunity of a peaceful working life. The smaller tribes and clans were also interested in organizing barter with the Russians, in selling livestock and furs, and in acquiring a variety of Russian commodities. In 1608, the Arins, who lived down the Yenisey between the mouth of the river Kacha and the rapids, agreed to become subjects of the Russian State and to pay the fur tribute. The area they inhabited was called by the Russian officials Tyul'ka's Country, after the Arin princeling, Tyul'ka. In 1609, the Mators, Tubins and Dzhesars (Yastyns) and in 1620 the Sagays all gave their consent. Nevertheless, throughout the 17th century some of the former Kirgiz and Mongol kishtyms who had sworn allegiance to the Russian State were termed "unpeaceful" in documents, as they frequently failed to pay the fur-tribute. The reason for this was partly the pressure brought to bear by the tsarist voyevods and their associates, but mostly it was coercion or incitation on the part of the Kirgiz, Mongol and Dzhungariyan feudal lords who were fighting the Russians for the monopoly of exploiting their kishtyms. The Russian Cossacks built a whole series of fortresses, including the ones at Krasnoyarsk (1628), Kan (1629) and Acha (1641). During the 17th century the Russian towns and settlements were continually under attack and were constantly sacked by the Kirgiz and Dzhungariyan feudal lords operating in large bands; the kishtyms were often forced to take part. This state of affairs lasted until the beginning of the 18th century, when in 1703 a large number of Kirgiz were led away by the Dzhungariyan zaysans to Dzhungariya, where they settled along the rivers Ili and Talas. A period of calm now settled on the Yenisey and the Russians finally assimilated the Minusa Basin. The Abakan Fortress was founded in 1707, and the Sayan Fortress in 1709. The Dzhungariyan Kon-tayshi (feudal title) even after this continued to think of the Sayan-Altayan tribes as his tribute payers and went on sending them collectors. It was only the fall of Dzhungariya in the middle of the 18th century that finally put an end to the multiple tribute system of the Sayano-Altayan tribes.

The closest historical ancestors of the present-day Khakasy were the above-mentioned Kirgiz kishtyms of the 17th century, i.e., the various Turkic-, Samoyedic- and Kettic-speaking tribes⁵ and territorial groups (mentioned above as part of the Kirgiz ulusy) plus the few remaining Yenisey Kirghiz (descendants of the medieval Kirgiz). The territory populated by them in the 17th century was part of the Krasnoyarskiy Uyezd, forming the following "lands" (zemlitsy): Arin, Kachin, Yarin, Kamasin, Kan, Bratsk (near the Uda Fortress), Tubin, Sayan, Kaysot (near Lake Kosogol). The Kettic-speaking group, the largest in number, consisted of Arins, Kotts, Asans, Tintsy, Kaydins, Yarins, Baykotovs and others, who were part of the Arin, Yarin, Kan, Tubin and Uda "lands." The second largest group (not counting the Kirgiz proper) in the Krasnoyarskiy Uyezd was a Turkic-speaking group populating the Kachin, Yarin, Kamasin, Sayan, Kaysot and Uda "lands." Most of the Turkic-speaking population (ancestors of the present-day Khakasy) living in the basin of the Chulym and White and Black Iyus were part of the various lands and volosts of the Tomskiy and Kuznetskiy Uyezds (Achl, Kamlars, Basagars, Kizyls, Sagays, and Bel'tirs). Next came the Samoyedic-speaking group which settled in the Kamasin, Tubin and Uda "lands." These included the Mators, Tubins, Kamasins, Horse Kashins and so forth. The Khakasy with their variegated ethnic origin were basically Turkicized in the first half of the 18th century as far as language was concerned. Nevertheless, some of them still remembered their former language (Kettic or Samoyedic) even in the first half of the 19th century.

In the 18th century, administration of the Khakasy was divided between the military chanceries of the towns of Krasnoyarsk and Kuznetsk. The Khakasy under the command of the Krasnoyarsk voyevod were divided administratively into the Kachin, Koybal, Yarin, and Kaydin lands and though subordinate to the Kuznetsk voyevod and to the Sagayskaya, Bel'tirskaya, Kamashinskaya, and Udinskaya Volosts⁶ the "lands" and volosts were headed by bashlyks or princelings. The "lands" were subdivided into ulusyor aymaks headed by princes who were elected for an unspecified term and even handed down their ranks. The princelings had assistants, called yasauls, who collected the fur tribute and performed minor police duties. The princeling held trials in which the "best people," i.e., the most influential and richest kinsmen, also took part.

With the introduction of the "Native Code" of 1822 the Khakasy became part of the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya (Achinakiy and Minusinskiy Uyezds). They formed their own Steppe Dumas—the Kyzyl Duma in the Achinskiy Uyezd and a дума of associated tribes or the Sagay (later Askyz), Kachin and Koybal Dumas in the Minusinskiy Uyezd. The Duma carried out administrative control and consisted of certain administrative clans or ulusy. In 1858, the Koybal Duma was dissolved and its population was assigned to the Duma of associated tribes with the functions of an administrative clan.

Later on (1880's) these dumas began to be called native administrations—Kyzyl, Abakan (Kachin), Sagay or Askyz. In 1913, after the land reforms, the native administrations or vedomstvos were transformed into the Kyzyl'skaya, Ust'-Abakanskaya and Askyzskaya Volosts.

⁵Speaking a language close to that of the present day Kets (Yenisey Ostyaks).

⁶The zemlitsy and volosts of the 18th century were not territorial units but combined a certain number of people who were ruled by their own clan-tribal princelings.

Prior to the Revolution, the Khakasy did not have a general name for themselves. They usually called themselves after their seek or clan. In some of the Dumas, however, the population was so conscious of itself as a community that this resulted in such general terms as "Kachins," "Kyzyls," or "Koybals." In the Askyz or Sagay Duma the Bel'tirs made themselves into a special, related group. Only those belonging to the Sagay clan called themselves Sagays, while the rest called themselves after their seek. The use of the term "Khakasy" for everyone only came in after the October Revolution and was an indication of the attempt made by the Khakasy intelligentsia to stress the fact that the present-day Khakasy were descended from the ancient population of the Minusa Basin, that is, the Khyagasy of the Chinese chronicles.

Within the framework of the administrative division established after the 1822 reforms, there gradually became established a certain common culture and way of life among these Khakasy groups, although there also developed characteristic features distinguishing one group from another. In the early writings on the subject these features were wrongly and indiscriminately explained away as tribal peculiarities, which accounts for the misguided view that there were five Khakasy "tribes"—the Kachins, Kyzyls, Sagays, Koybals and Bel'tirs. In actual fact few of them were tribes in the true sense of the word, since they were not formed through the natural development and growth of blood relationships, but purely through historical development, that is to say, through fragmentation and intermingling of clan-tribal groups completely different in origin and language. Such, for example, is the origin of the Sagays and Koybals, who represented a conglomeration of fragments of different tribes and clans varying tremendously in ethnic origin and language, in which one or another Turkic language predominated. We will now give a brief ethnographic description of these territorial-administrative groups, so complex in their ethnic composition.

Kachins

When the Kachin Steppe Duma was formed, it contained 11 administrative ulusy or clans: 1) Abalakovskiy; 2) Shaloshin of the first half; 3) Shaloshin of the second half; 4) Yarino-Yastynskiy; 5) Mungatovskiy; 6) Aboltayevskiy; 7) Tatarovskiy; 8) Tinskii; 9) Kubanovskiy; 10) Tubinskii; 11) Tatyshevskiy. According to the fur-tribute records for the Krasnoyarskiy Uyezd and other documents of the 17th century, the Tatyshevskiy, Yarino-Yastynskiy, Abalakovskiy, Tinskii and Aboltayevskiy clans in the 17th century were part of the Arin and Yarin "lands" and comprised the Kettic-speaking Arins and related Yastyns, Yarins, and Tintay (a part of the Yarins). The Shaloshin (both halves), Mungatovskiy, Tatarovskiy, Kubanovskiy and Tubinskii clans in the 17th century were entered under the same names in the Kachin suburban Turkic-speaking "land" and included some of the Yenisey Kirgiz of the 17th century (the Mungatovskiy Ulus included the Izyr-Aymak, and the Tatarovskiy Ulus included the Byuryut-Aymak). According to Pallas, in the 18th century the Kachins included the originally Turkic-speaking population of five ulusy, or aymaks (Shulosh', Kuban, Tatar, Mungat and Tuba), and the Kettic-speaking population of the Yastyn, who were the descendants of the 17th-century Arins. At the end of the 1880's the Kachin Steppe Duma was re-formed into the Abakan Native Administration. On this account a new administrative division was made, as a result of which there remained eight administrative clans formed on a territorial basis. According to this division, the Kachins were

composed of the Salbino-Koybalskiy clan which predominantly unified the descendants of the Kettic-speaking population of the 17th century.

The old literature describes the division of the Kachins in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries into the following clan subdivisions (seoks): 1) Kaska (Taydzhan, Paratan and Oyrat Kaska); 2) Kyrgyz; 3) Pyuryut; 4) Yzyr; 5) Soko (Sakha); 6) Chastykh; 7) Tuba; 8) Ara; 9) Tiin; 10) Saryg; 11) Chil'dak; 12) Oyrat. However, it is difficult to regard these subdivisions as genuine blood-related clans (although some of them were exogamous), since the names of most of them (Kyrgyz, Pyuryut, Yzyr and Tuba) indicate broader associations than just a clan. Most likely, they are later associations of groups related in origin, in which were reflected the traditions of an earlier clan age when the population really was divided into blood-related clans. But these, one might say, secondary seoks or clans retained the names of the administrative ulusy and "lands" of the 17th century in their appellations (Chastykh, Tuba, etc.), and their heterogeneous ethnic origin (Ara, Tiin, Tuba, Kyrgyz, and so on). Thus, the Turkic-speaking Kachin nucleus, which comprised the descendants of the Yenisey Kirgiz and Siberian Tatars, who came according to the Kachin legend from the Tobol, also included descendants of the Kettic- and Samoyedic-speaking population of the 17th century inhabiting the Krasnoyarskiy Uyezd.

The main occupation of the Kachins before the Revolution was pastoralism. In the 18th century it was nomadic, but from the 19th century onwards it became seminomadic, with the breeding of cattle and sheep predominating, while the rearing of herds of horses was concentrated in the hands of a few rich people. Permanent nomadism became restricted to moving from winter to summer pastures; the cattle were now kept in closed pens and farmyards, after the fashion of Russian peasant stockbreeding, and procurement of hay using mowers and horse-drawn rakes on the bay farms became developed. Studies made in 1909 established the spread of agriculture—28.5% of the Kachins had sowings (wheat, oats, barley, winter rye). Agricultural techniques were taken over from the Russian peasants, but artificial irrigation was still in use.

The main types of Kachin dwellings were the tent, conical in form and composed of poles (alachykh) covered with bark (used by the poor people as a winter dwelling as well); a tent with a framework of four columns, walls made of vertical planks and short poles, with a dome-shaped roof covered with bark; a portable round lattice yurt (kilsib) with birchbark or felt covering (the former among the poorer people); a polyhedral (6 to 14 corners) timber-frame yurt (agas ib) with a bark, wooden or even iron roof (this type of dwelling became common in the second half of the 19th century); a timber-frame cottage or house (tura) borrowed from the Russian peasants. By the beginning of the 20th century, the increase and entrenchment of a settled way of life led to the prevalence of the timber-frame dwelling. In 1909, 43.4% of the Kachin structures consisted of yurts (predominantly summer ones). The yurt was divided into a men's and women's half. The fire was kindled in the middle, on the earthen floor. A feature of the internal arrangement of the Kachin yurts was a large number of shelves stacked with crockery and utensils, stretching all the way along the walls.

Food consisted of dairy, meat and vegetable products and bread. In the summer the Kachins, as typical steppe pastoralists, subsisted chiefly on food made from milk, except for the rich people who had meat and bread the whole year round. The commonest type of food was ayan—sour, fermented milk. It was distilled into milk vodka so as to obtain a curdy



Dwellings:

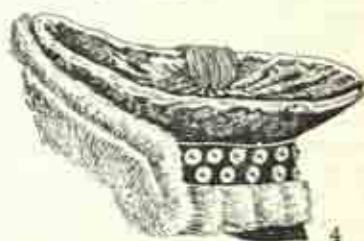
- 1—bark dwelling for poor people, Sagays; 2—round birchbark yurts, Kachins; 3—polyhedral log yurts, Kachins; 4—farm, Kachins.

mass (archy), which was then dried and stored away, but also made into sour cheese (khurut). Fresh, boiled milk was made into sweetish cheese (pyzlakh). From milk the Kachins made cream, sour cream, butter and other products. The ordinary Kachins used to eat more meat in winter, mostly horsemeat, considering it more filling and nutritious. A typical dish was meat soup (urge) with barley groats (koche) seasoned with dry curds. The poor people made their soup without meat. Sausage made from



Inside view of Kachin dwelling:
1—cooking corner; 2—corner with crockery.

blood (kan) and chopped meat (kyyma) was also a typical dish. The everyday drink was brick tea with milk, while the poor people drank substitutes (*Bergenia crassifolia* and yarrow). In addition to this, Russian dishes were common and so were Russian ways of preparing food. This applied particularly to food made with flour. Baked bread, different types of turnovers, rolls, unleavened cakes, noodles and soups, roast meat and many other things were taken over by the Kachins from the Russian peasants in Siberia. The specific features of the domestic life among the Kachins were most marked in their clothing (particularly women's clothing). Men's



Clothing

- 1—Kachin woman in old-type clothing with horse festively harnessed;
 2—women's dress, Sagays; 3—men's shirts, Kachins; 4—bride's
 hat, Kachins.

shirts were made of brightly colored cotton, were long and wide (the circumference of the hem was about 3 m) and this effect was achieved by inserting wedge-shaped panels in the back. The shirt was gathered into fine pleats at the back and front. A feature of men's shirts was the shoulder pieces and the trimming (*koltykh*). The collar was turned down and had long ends fastened with one button. The sleeves had cuffs, which, like the shoulder pieces and collar, were made of cloth of a different color. The women's shirt, which reached to the ground, was similar in cut. The rich people also had shirts made of silk. Trousers were made of thick cotton and winter ones from sheepskin (with the wool inside) or leather (calf, foal or deer). The light outer clothing consisted of a cotton *sikpen*, close in cut to the Russian *armyak* (peasant cloak). By the beginning of the 20th century, the *sikpen* was fast giving place to the Russian *azyam* (a kaftan-like outer garment). The winter coat was made of sheepskin, was wide at the hem and had a thick fur collar which lay flat. It was buttoned on the right with the left edge uppermost and belted. A special feature of the cut was the back, which had from three to seven wedge-shaped panels sewn into it. The winter coats of the rich people were faced with plush or silk, and the collar and cuffs were made of expensive fur. In style, the women's coats were similar to the men's (with four panels at the back). There was colored embroidery at the back of the women's *sikpen*, and also silk tassels. The sleeves were long, with cuffs, and the armholes reached to the waist. The turned-down collar was embroidered, just as the cuffs, with colored silk thread. The women's sheepskin coat was made in two styles. One of them was the same as the men's, while the other (*idektyg ton*) had a straight back without any wedge-shaped panels, but had a rectangular projection at the top and a tuck near the knees from the sides and back forming a gathering around the skirt. This fur coat was considered the older kind and kept for marriages. The rich Kachin women faced it with expensive silks (with colored patterns) and trimmed the hem, cuffs and upright collar with beaver or sable. A special garment for married women was the short, sleeveless *sigidek*, embroidered with silk thread and worn over the coat. The women's festive hat (*tyulkyu pyuryuk*) was made of fox-fur, and had a high band similar to a *kokoshnik*[†]. The crown was round (silk or brocade) with a silk thread tassel, and was hidden from view by the band. The girls' hat (*tagayak*) was made of otter-fur and lined with lambskin. It had a high jutting band, in which there was an oval-shaped hole for the face. In profile the front formed a step-like opening and lay close to the nape of the neck. The brocade crown was decorated with large mother-of-pearl buttons and a silk tassel. Footwear was made of leather or fur, sheepskin or roebuck, horse or elk-foot. In the 19th century another type of women's headdress, which the Kachins considered to be ancient and to have been brought from the Tobol by their ancestors, went out of use. It was a kind of long nightcap (*ak pyuryuk*) knitted from white thread with a tassel on the end. It was pulled tightly onto the head and formed a fold on the forehead (decorated with a knitted pattern of blue and red thread), while the end hung down behind as far as the waist. The old-type leather knee-boots had a multilayer sole and a turned-up-toe without a heel (these disappeared in the 19th century), while the second type had a heel and a narrow turned-up toe. The commonest footwear was the leather knee-boot with a high, wide top, a thin sole

[†]Old-style Russian peasant women's bonnet, with an embroidered semicircular plaque above the forehead and a ribbon at the back.—Ed.

without a heel and a fairly square toe. Women's fur boots made of white sheepskin (with the wool turned inwards) were embroidered with colored silk along with the mittens. A typical women's adornment was the pogo, which was worn on the chest over the coat. It was made of a piece of tanned leather, semielliptical in shape and adorned with solid rows of buttons, coral, shells and beads.

The chief means of transportation was the riding horse. During the 19th century the Russian-style harness (carts and sledges) became common. Dugouts (hollowed-out trees) and rafts were used on the rivers.

Traces of the clan (patriarchal) system survived in the family-marital relationships. The wedding was accompanied by a fairly intricate ritual. Matrimony involved stealing the bride, but with her collusion. Bride-price and dowries were paid. The kinship system retained class features. The family was monogamous, although there was also polygamy, which was usually the privilege of the rich.

Until she was married, a girl was completely dependent on her parents, and as soon as she married, on her husband and his relatives. By custom a widow was passed on to one of the male relatives of the deceased.

Graphic folk art took the form of embroidering with colored silks, ornamental carving on wooden household objects (beds, cupboards, etc.), and leather and felt applique; the forms of musical expression were playing the chatkhan and komys and singing. The chatkhan was a long, narrow box with 5-9 metal strings stretched along it. It was tuned by placing sheep's anklebones (kazykh) underneath the strings and moving them up and down. The komys was a two-stringed instrument similar to a dombra. Its strings were made of horsehair. The Kachins used to recite and sing epic poems to the accompaniment of the komys. Of all the Khakasy, it was the Kachins who were especially good at melody. Their oral folklore contained a variety of genres (heroic tales, special lyrical eight- or four-lined songs called takhpakh, sayings, proverbs, and so on). The Kachin elite strove to utilize the folklore for purposes of strengthening their hold on the ordinary pastoralists; certain of the bays kept their own storytellers, whose job it was to glorify them. Those unsubmitive people who expressed, democratic ideas directed against the exploiters in their song, were cruelly dealt with by the bays. The Kachin bay, Kartin, for example, put his storyteller to death for exposing the oppression of the bays in his songs and tales.

From the 18th century, most of the Kachins were officially considered to be Christians. But in actual fact, the early forms of religious belief and the shamanistic cult were still common among them. Typical of the Kachins was public praying (tayykh) both with and without the presence of a shaman, and rituals of dedication to the spirits who patronized domestic animals (izykh), the worship of some patron spirits (clan spirits in the past), in whose honor people made images (tös). Among the public prayers at the beginning of the 20th century were prayers to the sky (tegir tayykh), to the mountains (tag tayykh), to the water (sug tayykh), and to the birch-tree (kazyng tayykh). In the Abakan steppes, prayers to the sky were held each year on Saksar Mountain (on the right-hand bank of the Uybat). The aim of them was to ask the sky for a good harvest of grass and crops. The prayers were recited by elected old men. Women and girls were not allowed to be present. As the sacrifice from 5 to 15 white lambs, whose heads had to be black, were slaughtered. The prayer to the mountains was of purely local character and was organized by individuals. The aim of it was to ask for rain. The prayer was said by a shaman, but not in special shaman clothing, and without his tambourine, but with a chal'bek (a birch twig to which were attached two pieces of red and blue cloth, square in shape). The prayer to

the water was only performed by the inhabitants of the Abakan banks ("so the people would not drown and that the crossings and fords might be safe"). A young black bull (kazra) was offered as a sacrifice. It was trussed up alive, put on a raft and floated downstream. Women could be present at this ceremony, which was conducted by a shaman, though again without his costume and tambourine. The prayers to the birch-tree were infrequent, usually held as directed by the shaman when somebody had been ill in the family for a long time. The prayers took place at the birch-tree worshipped by the "family" (in earlier times the clan). If they did not have one, a young birch was selected, colored ribbons were tied to it, and from that moment on it was considered to be a very sacred object for the family. The Kachin prayers, which in the past had been clan prayers, reflected the ancient cult of nature. The Kachin cults of the izykh and the tös show a clan character. The cult of the izykh in the later form, in which it disappeared from use among the Kachins after the Revolution, was the dedication of a horse by its owner to the spirit Izykh-Khan, who was known as the "master of the cattle" (mal ezi). This ceremony always took place in the summer. A gelding of a set color, from 3 to 9 years of age, was selected for the purpose. The dedication ceremony was conducted by a shaman in full regalia and with a tambourine. After the prayers, the horse was let loose with a colored ribbon plaited in its mane. No one but the owner was permitted to ride the horse. The women were not even allowed to touch it. The horses were consecrated so that the owner would be able to keep his livestock properly and so that "no one in the family would fall ill." Twice a year, in spring and in autumn, the owner washed the mane and tail of his horse with milk and changed the ribbon. The horse's color was the same for the whole seok. The Kaska seok consecrated brown horses (kyureng), the Kyrgyz seok consecrated gray ones (kok) and so on. In the past the whole seok had the same izykh. The worship of the tös was also at one time on a clan basis. For example, the Pyuryut seok had an "Ak-Tös" whose image contained the head of a white (winter) hare. The Kachin shaman's costume symbolized a bird and the tambourine had drawings typical of the Kachins nine young men in arm—"togus ool"—and some girls, "chettikys"). The burial ceremony, which was performed according to Orthodox canons (the coffin with the deceased was buried in the ground and a cross was set up on the grave) was accompanied in the middle of the 19th century by the compulsory ritual slaughter of the dead man's horse.

Kyzyls

The Kyzyls belonged to a large territorial Turkic-speaking group living in the Chulym Basin (at least from the end of the 16th century). In the older ethnographic literature, the part of this group living on the upper reaches of the Chulym was known as the Kyzyls, the part living on the middle reaches was known as the Meletskiy, and those living on the lower reaches were known as the Chulym Tatars. In the 17th century they are mentioned in documents as Kyzyls, Millisy, Shusy, Achy, Basagars, Arguns and so on, and at the same time are part of the Kyzyl and Achin "lands" (or volosts—Kamlar, Basogor, Shuy, Achin, Kurchik, and so on) of the Tomskiy Uyezd. With the formation of the Kyzyl Steppe Duma the descendants of this population formed 12 administrative clans which retained their name from the 17th century. These clans were the following: Kyzyl'skiy (Kyzyls), Shuyskiy (Shusty), Meletskiy of the first and second halves (Millisy), Maloachinskiy and Bol'sheachinskiy (Achy), Maloargunskiy (Arguns), Kurchikovskiy, Basagarskiy of the first and second halves



Old-type women's festive dress:

1—headress of colored brocade; 2—coat of colored silk trimmed with fur; 3—breast decoration with design made of mother-of-pearl buttons; 4—belt decoration; 5—mitten.

(Basagars), Iginskiy and Kamlarskiy (Kamlar Volost). The link between the Kurchikovskiy and Iginskiy clans on the one hand and the population in the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries on the other can be shown by analysis of the surnames which the Kyzyls bore in the 19th century, and have kept to this very day. Documents related to this time describe, for example, the princeling of the Kyzyl Volost, Aguchek or Uguchek, and the princeling of the Achin Volost, Mayryk. Among the Kyzyls making up the Kurchikovskiy clan we find the name Uguchekov, and among those belonging to the Iginskiy clan the name Mayrykov, and so on. The same connection between the present-day surnames of the Kyzyls and the names of the princelings by whom they were ruled in the 17th and 18th centuries is perfectly clear from the population of the Shuyskiy, Basagarskiy and other clans. In the 17th century most of these groups of the population were Turkic-speaking, with the exception of the Kettic-speaking Shusty, who were related to the Arins. The Chulym Tatars included the Yenisey Kirgiz, the Teleuts and the Tatars, who had moved there from the Tobol after the fall of the Siberian Khanate. The Kyzyl legends tell that they used to live along the rivers Ishim and Tobol and that they had a khan called Kochzhum (Kuchum) and that some of them were descended from Kuchum's son, Kyzlakh. Even in the middle of the 19th century Kyzyl women, like Kachin women, wore a white, soft cap characteristic of Tobol'sk Tatars. Teleut traces in the ethnic composition of the Kyzyls are shown by the name of the Kalmakh clan, which the Turkic peoples used for Western Mongols, but here the term means Teleut, since in the 16th and 17th centuries they were part of the Dzhungariyan Kalmyks. There is no doubt that the "Chulym" were mixed with the Sel'kups and the resident Russians. The language of the present-day Kyzyls is identical with Kachin. In 1835 both Melesskiy clans were combined into an independent Melesskiy Administration.

Most of the Kyzyls lived a settled way of life in permanent villages. By the second half of the 18th century they had sown a small amount of grain (following the Russian example) and began hunting and fishing. They did not keep very much livestock. Pastoralism was more developed among the southern Kyzyls, where there were winter pastures, although there, too, the trapping and fishing were the main forms of their economy. During the 19th century, the Kyzyls switched to more advanced forms of economy and everyday life which they learned from the Russians. Farming with ploughs became the main occupation for half the Kyzyls. Stockbreeding became fully settled with cattle and sheep acquiring greater importance.

Pig-breeding, poultry-farming and beekeeping came into existence. Vegetable-gardening began to spread. Of the occupations, fishing was still important, and to some extent so was squirrel-hunting. Despite the good influence of Russian popular culture, the socioeconomic living conditions of the Kyzyls were such that half the men were forced to hire themselves out as laborers to the bays and Russian kulaks.

The domestic life of the Kyzyls had acquired the characteristics of the Russian peasant life by the beginning of the 20th century, only retaining a few traces of its originality. The predominant type of dwelling among the Kyzyls was the yurt, while the Melets group used the timber-frame house exclusively. The felt yurt disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. The wooden timber-frame yurts were similar in type to the Russian cottage. They were rectangular in shape, with windows, a wooden floor, and a flat or dome-shaped roof (without a chimney). Inside, to the right of the entrance, there were two brick stoves side by side, coated with clay and whitewashed. One of them (a cube-shaped stove) had a boiler built in at the top for baking bread, and the second (shaped like a grate) with a straight

pipe was used for heating and illumination. The polyhedral yurts were not built after the middle of the 19th century. The birchbark yurt and sher ib, a dwelling kept warm with earth, also went out of use during this century. The latter were of two types: 1) a wooden tent made of stakes and planks with sloping walls dug into the ground and banked up with earth along the sides; 2) a small type of hut with windows and a door, and walls made of double birch wattling filled with earth. Planks were placed vertically against the wattling on the inside. There were benches along the wall, alongside one of which was the adobe hearth, the chugal. The dwelling was entered through a small covered wooden doorway.

Russian national styles predominated in the clothing. In the 19th century the Melets group used to wear a peculiar kind of work clothes. They consisted of a shirt (khabat) of crude linen with round collar embroidered with material, and canvas trousers. The women, who in the 18th century had still worn trousers and footwear made of burbot-skin, began wearing the Kachin type of clothes in the 19th century (including wedding regalia). The everyday headwear was the kerchief. Married women tied it with a large fold on the forehead, and widows tied it without the fold. Girls made a narrow fold, but the ends of the kerchief were not bound at the neck, but under the chin.

The Kyzyls used to eat a great deal of fish (boiled, dried, fried and salted), and strips of frozen meat. Most of the dishes were made in the Russian style and only some of the milk-food and meat dishes were cooked in the Kachin way and had Kachin names. The main means of transportation were boats and horses (which were ridden or harnessed). The family was monogamous and the man was the head of it. Marriages were contracted by match-making, after which there was a wedding ceremony in the Orthodox Church style. After the church ceremony there was a wedding ceremony in the old style which involved the ancient custom of homage to the sun (kun'ga badzhir). On the morning after the wedding night, female relatives of the newly wed bride came into the yurt and led her out under a blanket. She had to go to each of her husband's relatives' dwellings and bow to the sun. Bride-price was considered compulsory and the dowry was in a way voluntary.

Graphic art took the form of the embroidery of clothes with Russian and Kachin designs and the ancient art of inlaying iron with silver (saddle and harness decorations). The chief and most ancient design (in embroidery or inlaying) was the flat spiral and double volute. The oral folk art consisted of tales of warriors, fairytales, legends, songs (takhpakh) and so on. The epic works of the Kyzyls were similar in theme and name to the Teleut and Kachin ones.

Despite the fact that from the middle of the 18th century the Kyzyls became Christians, they still retained their earlier shamanistic beliefs right up to the Revolution. Characteristic among these was the cult of *tös*, which meant the fashioning of images of various patron spirits, feeding them in order to be rid of ailments, misfortunes, to ensure a good harvest, and so on. Right up to the 20th century, more and more *tös* appeared—a fact which shows the tenacity of the cult. The Kyzyls replaced the ancient *tös* with Kachin ones. The Kyzyls usually preferred to deal with the Kachin shamans, bringing them in from tens and even hundreds of kilometers away. The Kyzyls had few of their own shamans and they were not considered as strong as the Kachin shamans.

Sagays

In the literature the Sagays were a large Turkic-speaking group, heterogeneous in ethnic composition and origin. This is shown as well by their

initial official name—the Steppe Duma of Associated Tribes—given them in 1823 (later changed to the Sagay Steppe Duma). At first the Duma consisted of 10 administrative clans—the Bel'tirskiy, Kazanovskiy, Sagayskiy of the first and second halves, Blizhnekarginskiy, Dal'nekarginskiy, Kivinskiy, Karacherskiy, Kyzylskiy and Klyskiy. The majority of these administrative clans (with the exception of the Bel'tirskiy and both the Sagayskiy) consisted of people dwelling in the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries in the Mrassa, Upper Tom' and Kondoma Basins, who were part of the Kuznetskiy Uyezd. Migrants first appeared in the Abakan Basin in the 17th century (as kyshtyms of the Kirgiz) and most of them settled there at the beginning of the 18th century, and some even about the middle of the 19th century. The latter were the ancestors of some of the present-day Shors. From 1834, the Izusherskiy Administrative Clan (also Shor in ethnic composition) was included in the Duma, and in 1858 so was the Koybalskiy, in connection with the abolition of the Koybal Steppe Duma. The population of the Sagay Duma retained, alongside the names of the administrative clans, the names of the seeks or blood-related clans, right up to the 20th century, which helps us to pinpoint the complex ethnic composition of this mixed territorial group. The following 19 seeks have been established (the names are the ones they themselves used): Sagay (with subdivision into Yus-Sagay and Tom-Sagay), Turan, Ichige, Saryg, Irkit, Choda, Pyuryut, Kyrgyz, Sebechin, Sain, Aba, Chetti Puru (Chettiber), Kobyy, Kyzylgaya, Karga (fag Karga and Sug Karga), Sor (Shor), Kyy, Tom, Tayas. Eleven of these seeks (beginning with the Sebechin) are Shor in origin. The Kyrgyz seeks (in common with the Kachin) and the Pyuryut (which was also part of the Kachins, Teleuts and Altays) are descendants of the Kirgiz who remained on the Yenisey since the 17th century. The Choda seek were the ancestors of some of the present-day Tofalars (this seek is also part of the Tuvins, Karagasy, Koybals, Altays and Kumandins). The Irkit seek was composed of the descendants of the Irkits, Kirgiz kyshtyms, who composed the ancestors of the Tuvins and Altays. The Ichige, according to legend, lived in ancient times on the river Iyus. The same thing has been learned from historical documents of the 17th century with regard to the Sagay seek, of which there was a subdivision, Yus-Sagay, in the 17th century as well. The ethnic variegation and intricacy of the Sagay Duma were increased still more when the Bel'tirs and Koybals were included.

While the Sagay group was part of Tsarist Russia, the population, under the influence of Russian popular culture, changed over from hunting and fishing to farming—stockbreeding and plough agriculture, which gave rise to new forms of agriculture in everyday life. By 1917, 86.7% of the households were engaged in agriculture. The sown area increased from 326 desyatinas in 1839 to 19,413 in 1917 (although over this period the population had only increased by 60%). Agriculture not only supplied food for most of the population; in the middle and particularly the wealthier households some of the grain was marketed. The increase in agriculture is shown by the development of irrigation. Irrigated ploughland comprised more than half the sowings and considerably increased the use of wasteland for farming. The economic interest of the population in agriculture was such that tens of thousands of rubles collected from the population on a pro rata basis was spent in building irrigation canals. An idea of the irrigation system can be gained from the example of lands on the upper reaches of the Askyz. A publicly owned ditch (chon koby), about 3 m wide, was begun near the Ar Mountain (near the Iresov Ulus) and went as far as the Sidorov Ulus. Three or four persons (sug pazy) were elected from among the most influential inhabitants each year to look after the cleaning, maintenance and utilization

of the water by the ulusy, and a paid "master of the water" (sug yeyezi) was also chosen during the flooding. At an interulus meeting, two rosters were drawn up: one for people using the top of the canal and the other for those using the bottom of it. In both cases owners of ploughland took water for one or two days (according to the amount of land), also in turn. The flooding began at both sections of the canal at the same time. At the lower end the turn moved upwards along the canal and at the top end it moved downwards. The "master of the water" made certain that the roster was observed by settling conflicts or referring them to the sug pazy for consideration. Despite the apparent democracy of this system, the utilization of water was the monopoly of the wealthy bay clique, who grabbed more water in practice, usually without regard for the sequence established.

Stockbreeding was of prime economic importance and was much more developed than among the Russian peasants. For every 100 desyatinas of sowings, the Russian peasants had 402.8 head of livestock, while in the Sagay Duma the figure was 1286.9. Cattle, particularly bulls (for market), and sheep were given preference. The livestock grazed on pastures (to some extent in the winter as well) and were kept in stables, as was the Russian custom. Hay was mown on natural and irrigated fields. In the near-taiga and taiga ulusy, agriculture (sometimes with the hoe) was combined with hunting. One of the occupations was looking for wild bees and stealing their honey. The bees were found by means of mossy solonetz soil soaked in human urine, the smell of which attracted them.

In the development of dwellings, the archaic forms were giving way by the beginning of the 20th century to the timber-frame cottage and house. The only old types left during the 19th and early 20th centuries were the conical pole tent covered with bark, and the birchbark yurt (charga ib) with a frame of stakes inserted into a ring. The frame of the yurt roof was four thin poles made into a cone and secured at the top, and thin sticks, one end of which was inserted into the hoop of the smokehole, while the other was secured to the frame. The covering consisted of a double strip of steamed birchbark sewn with horsehair. The roof was attached by hoops made of birch twigs and bird cherry or cord and rope. Also known were: the bark tent (at ib) based on the Shor odaga; the felt lattice-framed yurt; the wooden yurt (eight- or twelve-cornered); and the timber-frame yurt, which was no different in appearance or furnishings from the Kachin yurt. This type of dwelling was the commonest. At the beginning of the 20th century, clothing was no different either in style or name from the Kachin types. However, older people can still remember that it was preceded by shirts and trousers made of dressed deerskin.

The shirt (kyrna kognek) had no collar, but merely a slit through which the head was inserted; the trousers were held up by a cord and had no vent. In winter the Sagays wore sheepskin trousers with the fur inside and a sheepskin coat over the naked body, without a shirt. The women's shirt was long, with an upright collar and without shoulder pieces. Festive footwear was made of leather and fur (chik solgany oduk) and was decorated with beads sewn on with sinew thread. Stockings were not worn and the feet were wrapped in dry grass.

Apart from the Kachin dairy and meat produce, the Sagays ate bread, which they baked, following the example of the Russian peasants, and turn-overs; they made noodles and so on, dried the meat of hunted animals and cooked tutpach. Dried lily-root and peony were ground up and baked into unleavened cakes. The specific local types of food were frozen meat loaves (kyyma) made of finely chopped meat and onion, which were boiled in water or fried; the frozen abdominal fat of the horse ground up in a wooden mortar

together with slightly roasted barley grains (kyzy); barley gruel (talkan); barley beer (abyrtky); ground bird cherries or hawthorn berries mixed with honey and frozen; these were sliced with a knife and eaten as a sweetmeat. The diet of the rich people contained a large amount of meat, dairy produce, bread, flour dishes and sweetmeats (honey, sugar and jam). The poor people used to eat wild herbs and the meat of small animals.

Apart from riding and harnessed horses, the means of transportation included skis, lined with deer-suede, and hand-drawn hunting sledges.

Marriages were concluded, as a rule, through abduction, although often with the preliminary consent of the bride. The first part of the marriage ceremony was the *sas-toy*, the arrival of the abducted bride at the bridegroom's ulus and the braiding of her hair in the nuptial house, the *alychakh*. Then followed the *surgunchi*, or the arrival of the pursuers and the match-making, and then the *kamchy-charazy*, the peaceful settlement with a thrashing for the matchmakers in the house of the bride's parents and the payment of bride money, and then the *ortyn charas*, the middle (second) agreement and the third agreement. The whole ceremony was completed with the *ool toyy*, a feast at the bridegroom's house, and a *kys toyy*, a feast at the bride's house. In the husband's house the new bride had to worship the fire (*chagu*) after the wedding, repeating the procedure during the birth of her first child. A year or two later, the young girl was brought her trousseau (*yenchi*). The woman occupied an inferior position in the family and was considered the property of her husband and his relatives.

The oral folk art and graphic art of the Sagay Duma population shows great similarity with the Kachin and Shor forms. The same thing can be said of their shamanistic beliefs, although officially they were all considered to be Christians. The clan prayers to the mountains, the consecration of animals and the shaman's costume and tambourines were very similar to those of the Kachins. A peculiar rite was the archaic *uren kurtu taykh* aimed at protecting the sowings (from becoming worm-eaten), which consisted in communal brewing and drinking of wine on the ploughland when the spring sowing was over and feeding of the "spirit masters of the taiga" with food and drink. The whole system of taboos and superstitions, including the ritual of the killed bear, also distinguished the Sagay beliefs from the Kachin beliefs, showing at the same time their closeness to the Shor beliefs.

Bel'tirs

The Bel'tirs was the group name (meaning "river-mouth people") for the seeks of the Sagay Duma, which made up a large administrative clan within it. Up to the reform of 1822 the Bel'tirs were part of the Kuznetskiy Uyezd. According to legends told among the Sagays, the Bel'tirs originated from the Tuvin, to whom they still consider themselves to be related, while the Tuvin, for their part, are especially well disposed towards the Bel'tirs. The vocabularies of the Bel'tir and Tuvian languages contain many words in common, unknown to the Kachins and Sagays. Their common origin with the "Sayans" who were ascribed to the town of Kuznetsk at the beginning of the 17th century is beyond doubt. In the middle of the 18th century, the Bel'tirs made up a special *volost* (including the territory of the rivers Tëya, Yes' and Tashtyp) which came under the administration of the town of Kuznetsk. The Dzhungariyan Hun *tayshas* considered them their vassals and even in the 1740's cruelly oppressed them and pillaged them in the guise of collecting tribute. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Bel'tirs were famed as trappers and smiths who were able to forge and work iron. They were also able to dress skins very well. In the 18th century they had a large amount of

livestock, learned to procure hay, and changed from hoe agriculture to the use of metal ploughs, which they borrowed from the Russian peasants. By the end of the 18th century, rich stockbreeders began to stand out among them; these ran their farms by exploiting the labor of impoverished and indentured kinsmen. In the first half of the 19th century, stockbreeding and agriculture among the Bel'tirs was further developed on the basis of Russian techniques. At the beginning of the 20th century, irrigation-based agriculture was carried out on a considerable scale. The domestic life of the Bel'tirs combined Kachin and Russian features, and by that time hardly retained anything at all of the former, primitive life of the trappers. Even in the middle of the 19th century, the large family commune was still prevalent. The father and the married sons had a common economy (cropland and livestock breeding) although they lived in different dwellings. They took meals communally. Food for all of them was cooked in turn by the women. All income and expenses were looked after by the father or (after his death) by the oldest brother. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the large Bel'tir family split up. A nuptial alachykh was built for the married son to the north of his father's yurt, and then wooden dwellings were built at the same spot and the son's household became an independent one.

Characteristic of the religious views of the Bel'tirs were prayers to the sky (tegr tayykh), which were performed at the beginning of every summer on a high hill, at a ceremony for the whole clan. The shaman did not take part in the ceremony (it was conducted by one of the older men), which was accompanied by the sacrifice of lambs. Among the Bel'tirs, the shamans were mainly concerned with "curing" of the sick, and with divination.

Koybals

The Koybals were not a tribe in the ethnographic sense, either, but represented a territorial group (Turkicized in language by the Kachins) governed by the same administration. Their name goes back to the proper name of the princeling Koybal, who in the 1650's headed one of the groups (possibly a clan) of Samoyedic-speaking "stone Maters" who engaged in trapping up the rivers Kazyr, Amyl and Oya, as well as in the Kan Basin. The Russian tax-collectors entered these people in their registers under the name of Koybal Ulus. The Koybal "land" figures in documents in the 18th century, after the Kirgiz had moved on to Dzhungariya, and after the 1822 reform we see the formation of the Koybal Steppe Duma composed of seven ulusy—the Tarazhak, Kol'skiy, Abugachay, Malobaykovskiy, Bol'shebaykovskiy, Kandyk and Arsh. All these ulusy are found in the list of ulusy of the former Kirgiz and Tubin kishtyms in 1703. They existed under the same names in the 17th century as well, before their population had been Turkicized and when they still spoke Samoyedic and Kettic languages. At that time, of the ulusy listed above the Baykovskiy, Kol'skiy, Abugachay, Arsh, Tarazhak (it was first called Koybal, then the Turochak and Tarazhak, and also the "Mator") were part of the Tubin "land," while the Kandyk (also called the Kaydyk or Khaytok) clan was part of the Yarin. The population of the Baykov, Kol'skiy and Kandykov clans in the 17th century were Kettic-speaking, while the remainder of the clans spoke Samoyedic languages, and originated from Maters and related clans. The Turkicization of the Koybals was completed, by and large, after the Kirgiz left, in the first half of the 18th century. When the Koybal Duma was abolished in 1858, five of its clans (Tarazhakov, Bol'shebaykovskiy, Abugachayev, Kol'skiy and Arshi) were combined into the one Koybalskiy clan and assigned to the

Sagay Duma, while the Kandykov and Malobaykovtsovskiy clans (populating the rivers Tuba and Salba) were made into the Salbino-Koybalskiy clan and assigned to the Kachin or Abakan Duma.

The 18th-century Koybals were split into hunters who hunted along the Tuba, Salba, Oya, Amyl, Kazyr, Kandak, and Shadat, and pastoralists who lived between the Abakan and the Yenisey. They also engaged to some extent in agriculture. The land was ploughed with a Russian wooden plough. The livestock was grazed on pastures and it was only for the rams that they stored up a little hay for the winter.

By the end of the 18th century the Koybals had all been baptized, although they kept to their shamanistic beliefs, and the dead were buried in trees according to the old custom. Their entire way of life was now settled and bore Kachin characteristics. It was only a few of them who adopted headgear of the Mongol type, by way of contact with the Tuvins. During the 19th century, the Koybals adopted the Russian peasant way of life almost completely, except for the Kachin language.

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It can be seen from this brief survey that the development of the forms of culture and everyday life of the Khakasy prior to the Revolution was closely interwoven with the Kachin forms, although there was a predominant trend towards the assimilation of the more advanced Russian culture and way of life. In content, the Khakasy culture was also heterogeneous, for it reflected the class distinction among the Khakasy. The culture of the wealthier pastoralists, rich bays, "clan" and ulus princes, trader-usurers, who strove to extol the older nomadic life with its relics of clan relations which were advantageous to them, was the culture of an exploiting class. It differed sharply from the democratic tendencies manifested in the culture of the Khakasy masses.

Social Structure

According to the tsarist legislation ("Native Code" of 1822), the ultimate owner of the land, which was for the Khakasy the chief means of subsistence, was the state, which handed the land over to the Khakasy at the points where they were settled and received in turn a number of taxes and obligatory payments. The land that was handed over was subject to use according to "custom," that is to say, in accordance with the norms of land tenure which had developed. Since the true state of affairs in land relations among the Khakasy was never investigated, they can only be described in the most general outline. There is reason to believe that during the 17th century, when the vast territory of the Minusa Basin was completely in the hands of the Kirgiz feudal lords and the main occupation of the population was nomadic pastoralism, there predominated feudal ownership of the pastures and nomadic lands in its earlier, patriarchal form.

The nomads belonged to a feudal lord, making up his ulus—not in the sense of a populated point or definite territory, but in the sense of people owned by a feudal master. Every feudal lord had a set territory within which he nomadized together with his ulus. He was the full possessor and administrator of the pastures on which the ulus or people belonging to him lived and farmed. The feudal lord also had complete control over the fate and possessions of the population in his charge.

With the departure of the Kirgiz feudal lords for Dzhungariya and the removal of most of the ordinary Kirgiz, the territory of the Minusa Basin

together with the few people remaining—these were predominantly former Kirgiz tribute-payers—were incorporated into the Russian State, and it was reassimilated as an unsettled territory. From that time the assimilation of the Minusa Basin took the form of simple seizure. In this way, there was no private ownership of the land right up to the beginning of the 20th century. The land was normally used on a communal basis for the whole tribal or territorial group. However, this did not preclude, but rather presupposed, a long period of the use of the best ploughland or pastures by the rich Khakasy pastoralists or wealthy Russian peasants (with the right of inheritance) in violation of the interests of the ordinary toiling population making up the territorial group. When, after 1822, the Khakasy were formed into Steppe Dumas, the population of which was divided into administrative clans (which did not coincide with the concept of a clan consisting of blood relatives), the lands occupied and located within the regions inhabited by the clans making up the Steppe Dumas were considered the joint property of each duma; however, the land lying between the dumas was not officially delimited at all. Joint ownership of the land in the Steppe Dumas was legally recognized, in actual fact, though, it was split up among the smaller ulusy, although these were now ulusy in the sense of populated points, and not in the sense in which the term was used during the 17th century under the Kirghiz.

By the time of the Revolution, the class stratification of the Khakasy had become very highly developed. The predominant importance of pastoralism in the economy resulted in clear-cut differentiation in ownership of the livestock. According to an inquiry made in 1909-1910, 5.8% of Khakasy farms had no cattle at all. The bulk of this cattle was concentrated in the hands of the bay clique, which made up only 3.2% of all the farms. The same state of affairs applied to horses. The number of farms without horses was 6.2%, those with one or two horses 25%, while the herds belonging to the bays made up 2.2% of the farms, and included many thousands of these animals.

Exploitation was rampant among the Khakasy because of the rank inequality of property. The commonest form was the handing over of livestock for pasturing and foddering in return for the right to milk them, use their wool and so on. During the statistic-economic investigation of 1910, the expeditions were able to record (though far from fully) the following figures for foddering for all the Khakasy administrative vedomstvos. This table shows, first, that the chief animal handed over by the bays to the poor people was the cow, and, second, that the distribution of the animals was most characteristic of the Kachins, who were typical pastoralists, nomads and seminomads among the people making up the Abakan vedomstvo.

Vedomstvo	Distributed for feeding		
	horses	cows	sheep & goats
Kyzyl.....	25	203	111
Abakan.....	23	3308	736
Askyl.....	1	891	273
Total.....	49	4402	1120

This form of exploitation was called *sapis* by the Kachins (literally, "milk and drink"). It must be admitted that distribution of the livestock to the

poor people was also a commonplace occurrence among the so-called Sagays in the Askys Vedomstvo. Both among the Sagays and the Kachins, it was only their own bays who apportioned the livestock to the poor people; the Russian kulaks never did this. Fundamentally, sapis among the Khakasy was the same as polysh among the Altays. Among the Kachins, for instance, the bay used to hand over a cow for pasturing, i.e., for milking, in return for which it would be fed, together with its calf, the whole year round. If the calf died, the person who was using the cow had to pay by working, not in money. Apart from the fact that the poor man fed the cow and its calf the whole year round, though he could only milk it in the summer months in practice, he was further obliged to "help" the bay with the haying (he usually had to mow the bay's hay for one or two days). This situation continued right up to the October Revolution.

Among the Sagays living on the upper course of the River Tëya, a poor man who had taken a bay's cow for its milk had to feed both the cow and its calf for a year, and work two or three days for the bay at his request. The wife of the man, provided the cow had been borrowed from a bay of the same ulus, usually went each day to the bay in the summer and milked his cows. The Sagay bay allowed the poor people to use his cows for milk and in return their wives acted as his milkmaids. Apart from this, the bay handed over a cow, in return for which it was fed, without any additional work. If the cow stopped giving milk, the borrower still went on feeding it. On the upper reaches of the Tëya, it was usual for the bays to loan horses for riding in return for foddering and compulsory work. In these cases, the person borrowing the horse would say "Chalga alcham azrap munerge," which means "I am borrowing it to feed and ride." Just before the October Revolution, horses were hired out for riding purposes, not only in return for foddering, but also for money instead of the usual compulsory work.

The peculiarity of this type of patriarchal-feudal relationship lay in the fact that the exploitation of the Khakasy was camouflaged as family "mutual assistance." Hence, the bays were often thought of as benefactors (nymzak-bay, i.e., "gentle, good bay," among the Kachins and magat-bay among the Sagays). Alongside the various forms of compulsory work, the bays commonly hired laborers for money (sometimes they paid them in kind).

Capitalist relations sprang up among the Khakasy in the middle of the 19th century in connection with the tempestuous, though brief, development of the gold-mining industry in the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya, including the Achinskiy and Minusinskiy Uyezds. The poor Khakasy were hired at the mines as laborers, carried freight in the winter on skis and sleds, built roads, constructed mine-buildings and so on. In the 1890's the Khakasy comprised 8.6% of the total contingent of mineworkers. Working conditions were extremely hard: low wages and a 15-hour working day. Some of the wealthier Khakasy, on the other hand, rapidly became contractors of a sort, and supplied the mines with hay, meat and so on, and also transported freight. At the beginning of the 20th century, some of the poor Khakasy were cruelly exploited at coal-mining enterprises (the Chernogorsk diggings). Capitalist relations did not develop in Khakasy farming until the end of the 19th century.

The colonial policy of tsarism took the shape of various taxes and obligatory payments, the seizure of land, colonial trade, enforced Christianization and Russification. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the ordinary Khakasy was paying the following taxes: a) a per capita tax; b) a payment in kind (yasak); c) a boundary tithe; d) a guberniya tithe; e) a tithe of personal obligation. Apart from the official payments, money was extorted for the upkeep of the administration or the дума, for maintenance

of the ulus, clan elders, yesauls [administrative deputies—Ed.], clerks and so on. Then there were burdensome payments in kind (work on the road and so on). Expenditure on the maintenance of the Steppe Dumas and payments in kind were greater for the Khakasy than for the neighboring Russian peasantry. In addition, the tsarist colonial apparatus forced the Steppe Dumas to extort money from the Khakasy as "charity" for the upkeep of churches (In Krasnoyarsk, St. Petersburg, and so on), for the erection of monuments, for "the ransom of Ivan Satyr, inhabitant of Macedonia,"⁸ and so on. All these numerous payments had to be made in money. More than the set payment was actually demanded during collection by the officials; they abused their positions and their activity was uncontrolled. In 1908 "a land reform" was put into effect, through which the Khakasy received an allotment of 15 desyatinas per capita for males (provided they paid their taxes). In actual fact this quota varied between 11 and 13 desyatinas and was a negligible amount, since there was a great deal of unusable land in the regions inhabited by the Khakasy. The vast forest massifs were also taken over from the Khakasy for the Imperial treasury, although the Khakasy were allowed to hunt there. After the "land reform," the Steppe Dumas or Administrations with their administrative clans were abolished and replaced by territorial volosts (Askiz, Abakan and Kyzyl) and rural communities. At this stage the rural commune became the predominant type, having completely ousted the clan commune.

The economic exploitation was further augmented by national oppression on the part of the tsarist government, as shown by the restricted development of schools, suppression of the Khakasy language, and the creation of conditions in which education and national culture were unthinkable. The entire system of "enlightenment" on Khakasy territory was confined to 13 parish-church schools which were attended by some of the Khakasy children, mainly those of the bay aristocracy. Hence, in the past, literate Khakasy were few and far between. While keeping them in darkness and ignorance, the tsarist government pursued a policy of assimilating the Khakasy. In this respect no small role was played by the Church mission which set up several missionary centers for spreading Christianity among the Khakasy. The missionaries included some Khakasy as well. Most of the missionaries among the Khakasy, as distinct from the Altays, did not know the local language. Conversion to Christianity was conducted on a mass scale through coercion and threats. In 1876, about 3000 people were all baptized at the same time in the river of Askiz, having been sent there by the heads of the Steppe Duma to await the arrival of the Bishop of Krasnoyarsk. During the ceremony all the men were given the baptismal name of Vladimir, and all the women Mariya. It sometimes happened that the same Khakasy was compelled to be christened twice ("with two churchmen") and given two Christian names.

Under the social and economic conditions described above, it is quite natural that the first Russian Revolution in 1905 had a tremendous effect on the political atmosphere among the Khakasy. No matter how little studied with respect to the Khakasy this question has been, no matter how few the documents brought to light so far on this problem, there is still reason to believe that the different classes of Khakasy reacted differently to the revolutionary events. The toiling Khakasy reacted by taking as great a part as possible in the struggle against tsarism. In the wake of the Russian peasants, they refused to pay the taxes and cut down the forests belonging to the Imperial treasury.

⁸ I.e., for ransoming Christians in slavery to the Turks.—Ed.

The Khakasy bays were not inactive either. On November 1 and 2, 1905, the Khakasy bays met in the village of Askysz at a "native gathering" at which they adopted a plan for a new administration for "natives," the basis of which was the program compiled on August 22, 1905, by the Buryat congress of Irkutskaya Guberniya. The "Draft for a new Steppe Land Code," devised by the Khakasy bays, is a vivid document reflecting their class interests. The bays tried to remove all control over the Khakasy by the tsarist authorities, but at the same time tried to prevent the rank-and-file Khakasy from taking part in the administration. The bays tried to use the weakening of the tsarist regime by the 1905 Revolution for their own, mercenary purposes, and to adapt the 1822 reform to their own ends. This was to be achieved by complete transfer of power to the "National Zemstvo" Organizations" based on a "clan" principle. This meant that the rich Khakasy would have been the complete masters of the ulusy. Obviously, as soon as they had suppressed the Revolution, the tsarist authorities refused to accept the bays' reform.

The Khakasy Since the October Revolution

Kolchak and his rabble interrupted the work of the Soviet authorities among the Khakasy until September 1919, when, after Kolchak had been driven away, the Soviets were restored. In August 1922, the Minusinskii Uyezd Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held a conference of Khakasy peasants at which it was recognized as essential to separate the Khakasy into a national region with its center in Ust'-Abakansk. Officially the Khakasskiy Uyezd was first formed at the end of 1923. In 1925 it was transformed into the Khakasskiy Okrug with renaming of the center, Ust'-Abakansk, as Khakassk. In 1930 (October 20th) the Presidium of the VTIK decreed that the Khakasy Autonomous Oblast should be formed and should have the same center, but with the new name of Abakan.

At the present time, the Khakasy population is represented by two classes—the workers and peasants. There is also a considerable element of intelligentsia. The group is the collective-farm peasantry. Then come workers employed in different branches of industry. The entire agricultural population of Khakasiya (excluding the State Farm workers) has been merged into collective farms since 1930.

Most of the rural Khakasy population is concentrated in the Askyszkiy and Tashtypski and to some extent in the Ust'-Abakanskiy Rayons. In addition there are Khakasy collective farms in the Altayskiy, Beyskiy and Saralinskiy Rayons, where they are interspersed with Russian collective farms.

The basis of Khakasy agriculture is Socialist field agriculture and animal husbandry. On most farms animal husbandry is somewhat superior to field agriculture as a source of income.

Animal Husbandry

The Khakasy breed sheep, goats, cattle and horses. In numbers first place is taken by sheep and goats, of which there are hundreds of thousands,

⁹ A system of rural self-government introduced in 1864, with very limited resources and powers, considered "bourgeois-aristocratic" by Soviet historians.—Ed.

and the second place by cattle, then horses and last but not least, pigs. A great deal of work is being done to improve the breed of all the livestock and to improve its productivity.

The collective-farm members concentrate on increasing the head of fine-fleeced sheep and improving the local breed of cattle so as to increase the milk yield and live weight, as well as on producing new breeds (on the basis of local ones) and raising pedigreed horses.

The improvement of pedigrees, particularly at the present time, is constantly on the minds of Party and communal organizations in the Khakasy Autonomous Oblast. Pedigreed livestock occupy a prominent place in the total farm herds. It should be mentioned that as regards sheep-breeding Khakasy farmers have produced particularly good results. By introducing advanced scientific methods into the sheep-breeding, which is aimed at the production of meat and wool, they have been able to produce a breed of ram, for example, that combines high productivity in both meat and wool.

Khakasy farmers have been able to take advantage of the wealth of experience in breeding livestock passed down from generation to generation. This relates particularly to ways of pasturing the animals in summer and, wherever natural conditions allow, on distant winter pastures. Pasture-type tending of large numbers of cattle requires a great deal of experience and skill on the part of the herder. When pasturing animals on the dry steppes in summer, the Khakasy shepherd must not try to bring the herd more than 5 kilometers away from a water supply. In the autumn when the first snow falls, shepherds keep moving across the pastures until the snow begins to harden. When this happens the animals are driven to a forest terrain or mountains where there is less wind and the snow is softer. A shepherd must show great skill in driving the cattle to winter pastures, sometimes covering dozens of kilometers. He must choose the route correctly, keeping in mind the necessity of fodder on the way. This is why shepherds very often take their stock by longer routes rather than make short cuts, being careful that the journey does not exceed 7-9 km a day, and carefully selecting points to pass the night where there is first and foremost shelter from the wind. Khakasy shepherds know a tremendous amount about the behavior of all types of stock in different kinds of weather. They know, for example, that in winter during blizzards horses race along with the wind, while in summer, on the other hand, they like to run into the wind so as to escape the troublesome insects. They take into account such factors as the terrain, contour (the direction of mountain slopes and basins), the weather, the direction of the wind, the position of watering points, grass and so on. Knowledge of local sources of fodder and water, the ability to find natural shelter for the livestock from bad weather in a hurry, the ability to round up animals frightened by a storm or by wolves, knowledge of how to herd horses, flocks of sheep, and other animals and to keep control of them on the move and when grazing, etc., and many other things are valuable attributes of the Khakasy cattle-breeders acquired through many centuries of local experience. The combining of this experience with the scientific knowledge made available to them by special zootechnicians working on the farms and in regional centers as well as through the system of stockbreeding courses enables socialized animal husbandry in Khakasiya to develop on the basis of advanced scientific methods.

The maintenance of different types of stock on the Khakasy collective farm is a combined one: either the stall-type or the open-pasture type system is used according to the season, the breed of animal, the size of the herd and so on. Stall-type maintenance usually predominates in wintertime for cattle, although it is also extended to sheep and goats and horses,

particularly the young. The open-pasture type system prevails from spring to the fall. At the same time it is quite usual to pasture sheep and horses on winter pastures (wherever possible), since this is of advantage to large-scale Khakasy collective animal husbandry both economically and from the point of view of breeding physically healthy animals. In the wintertime the Khakasy now feed their cattle on a wide scale with both coarse and juicy fodders including silage and also concentrated fodder. This fact has a great effect on the condition and productivity of the livestock. Just as everywhere else, the animal husbandry is looked after by farmers specially assigned to the job, who carry out the duties of shepherds, milkmaids, calf maids, swineherds, grooms and so on.

Procuring fodder is a very important branch of animal husbandry. The chief type of fodder procured is hay from flooded and natural meadows. But hay alone cannot satisfy the requirements of rapidly developing animal husbandry either in quantity or in quality. Hence the Khakasy farmers procure silage and also sow fodder grass and root crops. Silo towers and lined silo pits have been built on a number of farms in the Ust'-Abakanskiy and Askyskiy Rayons. The growing of cabbage and root crops as fodder is also of importance in Khakasy husbandry.

Generally speaking, the Khakasy procure hay with a new type of hay-making and harvesting machinery.

Great attention is being given to milking techniques. The old method of allowing the calf to suck the milk can only be found as a survival. It is now customary to milk cows by means of electricity. Electrification of this laborious process, just as of other operations (i.e., watering or shearing sheep), improves the productivity of labor among the farmers engaged in animal husbandry. An important achievement is the well-organized veterinary help. Animal diseases in which hundreds of thousands of head of livestock were lost during pre-Revolutionary years have disappeared completely at the present time in Khakasiya, and with them have gone many harmful customs and superstitions detrimental to the old stockbreeding.

Field Agriculture

The second principal branch of agriculture among the Khakasy is field crops. Khakasiya sows more than 1,000,000 hectares each year and the sown area continues to increase, particularly through irrigation. Over the years 1954-1955 alone Khakasiya brought under cultivation more than 1,000,000 hectares of virgin and fallow land. The cultivation of virgin land and the spread of field agriculture are fostered by the use of artificial irrigation. As is known, Khakasiya has made a considerable contribution to the development of methods and techniques of irrigated cultivation in our country. The growth rate of the sown area can be judged from the example of the Khakasyan collective farms alone. If we take the sown area in 1946 as 100%, by 1950 it was already 177.3%. Even before the Revolution, land cultivation among the Khakasy had made considerable advances due to cultural ties with the Russians. It is only now that the Khakasy are developing field agriculture properly.

Large-scale mechanized field agriculture is based on the powerful machinery available at state-run machine tractor stations. These play not only a revolutionizing part in the development of agricultural production, but also in the sphere of culture and everyday life of the local population. The machine tractor stations being built at the present time are becoming important centers of socialist culture. Such, for example, is the Yes' MTS

in the Askyszskiy Rayon which has been recently constructed in the steppes through which the River Yes' (a left tributary of the Abakan) flows, literally on a bare spot. In the 17th century the "Upper Kirgiz" used to nomadize there, but by the middle of the 19th century there were only a few yurts belonging to nomad Sagays to be found. In the first two years the grounds of the MTS appeared and then came a workers' settlement. The machine tractor station buildings (repair shops, garages for cars, tractors and combines, power station, water tower) are built of brick and usually covered with slate. The workshops are equipped with the latest lathes operated by electricity. The settlement with its neatly planned streets consists of urban-type houses belonging both to the station and to the workers and white-collar employees who have built them with their own money as private construction. The houses of the machine tractor station have four apartments while the ones built privately have an apartment with a plot of land attached. The settlement also has a two-story dormitory, a public dining room, a bathhouse, a post office, a radio station, and so on.

Industry

An important feature of the Khakasy national economy is industry, which employs a large number of Russian and Khakasy workers. The proportion of industry in the national economy is quite considerable. State-owned and cooperative industrial plants controlled by Republic, regional and local administrations produce a wide variety of different commodities for both local and nationwide requirements. The mining of coal and different metals including gold, the timber and processing industries in Khakasiya are of importance to the whole of the Soviet Union. Khakasiyan butter and cheese are found in markets all over the country. Furthermore, the Khakasiyan food industry produces bread and cakes, sausage products, wines and spirits, and certain other commodities. We should also mention the manufacture of garments, footwear and furniture. The production of building materials (sawn wood, bricks, plaster and so on) and various commodities for collective farming plays an important part in the economic life of Khakasiya. The overall number of Khakasy workers employed in all industries amounts to many hundreds.

The present-day Khakasy workers, as distinct from their predecessors, who were mainly employed in the gold-mining and coal industries to do the hardest and dirtiest work, study and acquire skill in the complex trades of Soviet industry. The development of many trades has gone far enough to gradually remove the contradiction between physical and mental labor. Khakasy workers play an important part in the coal industry of Khakasiya and have been awarded high government decorations and honorary titles as miners. Khakasy workers live in Abakan and the workers' settlements of Khakasiya, and their domestic life is hardly different from that of the town dwellers among the other nationalities.

Economic Centers

Transportation and Communications

The development of the most important branches of the national economy in Khakasiya has given rise to local economic centers. These include, first and foremost, the cities of Abakan and Chernogorsk, a number of workers'

settlements and rayon centers in the oblast. The largest national economic-cultural center is Abakan. Abakan is linked to the trans-Siberian railroad by a branch line and by river-boat communication on the Yenisey, and to the different regions of the oblast by highways and air routes. It is also joined to the town of Chernogorsk, the center of the coal industry, and Lesozavodsk (Ust'-Abakan) by a railroad. The power station, railroad depot, grain elevators, cannery and different factories, plus about 100 food and consumer-goods shops, show the importance of this vital economic center at the present time. The colossal natural resources of Khakasiya, many of which are located close to Abakan itself, promise it a great future in which no mean part will be played by the railroad joining Abakan to the center of the Kuzbass, the city of Stalinsk. The southern regions of Khakasiya are joined to Abakan by a railroad, apart from the highways.

The development of the Khakasian economy has brought about industry even in the remote taiga region of Khakasiya and there are now worker settlements of semiurban type there (Kommunar, Balakhchino, Ordzhonikidzevskiy, etc.) which later on will be turned into a town.

The growth and extension of economic ties between the different parts of Khakasiya are essentially promoted by communications and different forms of transportation. In this respect the greatest achievement is the laying of a railroad passing through the whole of Khakasiya from north to south. In summer there is river communication through Khakasiya. Steamers carry freight and passengers down the Yenisey from Minusinsk (via Abakan) to Krasnoyarsk. This major waterway is of great economic importance to the oblast since the Yenisey passes through 4 of the 8 rayons of Khakasiya. The river transport is represented by modern improved steamers, launches, self-propelled barges and so on. Apart from railroad and river communication there is also regular air communication from the Abakan airport to various parts of the oblast, the Tuvin Autonomous Oblast over the Sayan Range and Krasnoyarsk, which is on the major air route between Moscow and Vladivostok. Aircraft carry freight in addition to the passengers and mail. Widely developed and very popular among the Khakasy is the truck service connecting the Khakasy and Tuvin Autonomous Oblasts (via the Us Highway) and also interconnecting different parts of Khakasiya. Special buses are in operation to take passengers to their destination. The development of modern mechanized transportation has sharply reduced draught animals and practically done away with saddle horses. As a means of transportation the horse is only of importance within collective farms. Radio, telegraph, telephone (including long-distance calls) and airmail systems are standard in the Khakasy way of life.

Dwellings, Clothing, and Food

The new social and economic conditions had a marked effect on the domestic life of the Khakasy and their family relations. The dwelling most commonly found nowadays is a house consisting of several rooms—a kitchen, a pantry, a closed hallway, a porch; the house rests on foundations and is covered by a plank roof laid over rafters. The house has a large number of big windows, a wooden floor and a Russian stove; the walls on the inside are lined with clay and whitewashed. This type of house is ousting the single-room house with an earthen roof, and adobe Russian stove without a chimney, or else with a small portable iron stove, which used to be found before the Revolution and during the first few years following it. In this type of house the floor is also wooden but is laid directly on top of the ground



Ye. P. Borgoyakova, Hero of Socialist Labor,
Stalin Collective Farm.

and the walls are whitewashed. Sometimes the house has a beamed hallway with an earthen floor and a hearth in one corner for cooking food in the summer. In the southern regions of Khakasiya it is still possible to find the old-fashioned yurts, both of the archaic type (bark tent, *odag* or *at-ib* in the taiga *ulusy*) as well as the later version with 6-8 timbered walls and a bark roof. The bark tents are used by brigades of hunters who go hunting in the taiga or by guards on the melon fields during summer. The yurts are used as work premises, for keeping various utensils not required in the house, food products, and in summer the residents cook the food in them, and sometimes use them for sleeping.

The internal decoration and furnishing of the present-day Khakasy house consists mainly of bought furniture and crockery, and is close to the way of life of town dwellers. Tables, chairs, iron bedsteads, different-sized cupboards, chests of drawers, mirrors, bookshelves, window boxes and window blinds, tablecloths, pictures and photographs on the walls, all kinds of modern utensils and so on have become part of the Khakasy farmer's way of life. The furnishings of the single-room house, now falling into disuse, are simpler and scantier because of the limited living space.

The same trend towards urban culture is clearly to be seen in the Khakasy clothing as well. This applies not only to the town dwellers but also to those Khakasy living in rural localities. The extensive development of Soviet trade with its large variety of readymade clothes, the level of prices

and the material position of the collective-farm members and convenient communication between the ulusy and the towns are all helping to spread urban clothes. This relates first and foremost to underwear (for both sexes) and light outer clothing, particularly for men. Light military and civilian outer clothing has completely replaced the old Khakasy costume for men. The women's national costume is still preserved not only among women in the farm ulusy and railroad towns, but also among certain town dwellers as a light dress with the old wide, loose cut, with shoulder pieces, a turned-down collar and cuffs of bright-colored cloth different from the dress, although the Khakasy girls of today wear urban-style dresses and readymade clothing. The same thing applies to winter outer clothing, of which Khakasy sheepskin coats are to be found, although they are narrower and have shorter skirts. The old-fashioned heavy fur coats with copious adornments have been relegated to the family chest as relics. Out of place in the new way of life, they could not but die out of use along with the nomadic way of life from which they originated, and which required people to be comfortable on horseback and living in a cold yurt in winter. Only certain elements of the old Khakasy dress have survived (for example, pretty silk and thread embroidery).

In the type of food and the assortment and methods of cooking certain dishes, we observe an improvement and added variety. Milk food has ceased to be seasonal, since Khakasy cows are now milked the whole year round on account of their stall-type maintenance. Bread, groats, vegetables (potatoes in particular) have become part of the daily diet, just as have different kinds of fat and sugar. Meat is more typical of winter for the farmers who eat at home. Apart from foodstuffs obtained by the farmers as part of the distribution of collective income (bread, butter, meat, honey and so on) and what they grow themselves (milk, vegetables, eggs, poultry, meat), they can buy food in the shops (groats, macaroni, sugar, confectionery, canned preserves, sausages and so on). Hence, methods of cooking food and the variety of food products among the present-day Khakasy collective-farm members have been greatly increased, and in this respect come near to the urban type. The narrowing of the gap between them has been brought about by the introduction of the Russian stove and various kitchen utensils. The home-cooked food of town dwellers (both Khakasy and Russians) and of the collective-farm members hardly differs at all. Of the old Khakasy dishes necessitated for the most part by the poverty and peculiar character of nomadic life almost nothing is left at all. It is only in certain spots that sour milk or ayran made by the old method can still be found. When a sheep or a cow is slaughtered, blood sausage (*kan*) is still made, and the stock is mixed by some people with barley grains, as used to be done before the Revolution. Public catering in dining rooms and tearooms is becoming an ever more important part of Khakasy farm life.

Thus the everyday life of the present-day Khakasy is being reconstructed on the Soviet urban model. The Socialist home life of today which has replaced the difficult way of life of the past is greatly fostering the rapid cultural development of the Khakasy particularly of women, who carried most of the burden of home life before the Revolution. The Khakasy woman under the Soviet system has attained virtual equality in all fields of public, working, and cultural life, as well as in the family. Family relations among the Khakasy have now undergone a radical change. Marriage is contracted on the basis of voluntary choice and marriage by the old custom has been suppressed. Such aspects as coercion or financial gain typical of marriages in the past have disappeared through the altered socioeconomic conditions. Also, a thing of the past is the old-fashioned marriage ritual which

not only reflected but also reinforced the subordinate and dependent position of the woman in her husband's family. Female labor has taken a firmly entrenched and very important place on the farm, in industry and in different spheres of intellectual work. During the difficult years of World War II, women in Khakasiya were a decisive force in attaining the necessary level of production. This does not mean that the importance of the woman in the family has declined among the Khakasy. The socialist transformation of everyday life has created conditions easing the domestic duties of the woman and has given her extra time and energy which before she was only able to devote to family affairs. Collective-farm and State Farm kindergartens and nurseries relieve the Khakasy woman of the need to care for her children while at work. They provide the children with greater attention, food, amusements and education than conventional home conditions. Khakasiya now has universal compulsory education.

Many women have been elected to the Krasnoyarskiy Kray and the Khakasy Oblast Soviets. Hundreds of Khakasy girls are being educated in the Abakan Teachers' and Pedagogical Institutes. Women comprise an impressive force among the numerous Khakasy teachers. Khakasy women are studying at different universities throughout our country. They can be found as students of the Krasnoyarsk Medical Institute, the Krasnoyarsk Forestry Institute, the Tashkent Textile Institute, Moscow University and the Moscow Pedagogical Institute, Tomsk University and other establishments of higher learning. Among Khakasy women there are doctors, agronomists, veterinarians, zootechnicians, jurists, actresses and so on.

National Writing and Literature

In the national form, Khakasy socialist culture shows up most in the sphere of language and literature, national schools, the press, theatre, scientific and cultural organizations. The Khakasy alphabet was first introduced in 1924 and 1925 with Russian letters, and the first textbooks in the Khakasy language were published at the same time.

Instruction in schools in the Khakasy language began in 1926. During the first year of the program more than 100 schools (primary grade) were in operation and more than 6000 Khakasy children attended them. During the first 5 years of Khakasy writing, apart from a large amount of academic literature, a considerable amount of translated matter (political, belles-lettres, agricultural and so on) was published as well. The development of Khakasy writing was brought to a sudden stop between 1929 and 1938 in connection with the change to a Latin alphabet and it was only in 1939 that, at the request of the working people, Khakasy writing was retranslated into a Russian-based alphabet. Since that time the development of Khakasy writing has been speeded up. The Oblast National Publishing House has put out several hundred different books of academic, belles-lettres, political, technical, and other literature, with an overall edition running into hundreds of thousands of copies.

Alongside the development and growth of Khakasy national literature we find the development and improvement of the Khakasy national literary language, the bases of which are the Kachin and Sagay dialects. The Khakasy scholars (N. Domozhakov and A. Inkizhekova) have written and published grammars and textbooks of the Khakasy language. They have compiled an orthographic dictionary of the language and a Khakasy-Russian dictionary.

Public Health

The scope of national school construction among the Khakasy has reached imposing proportions, as a result of which it is now possible to conduct universal compulsory education and to attain almost complete literacy among the people. The Khakasy Autonomous Oblast is covered by a dense network of schools (about 400), of which 79 are national schools, i.e., schools taught in the Khakasy language, attended by more than 5000 Khakasy. Among them there are more than 10 seven-year and 2 secondary schools. The Khakasy secondary school in Abakan is a large academic institution in which about 300 young Khakasy receive education. There is also a secondary national school in the regional center of Askiz. The fact that there are national secondary schools is clear evidence of the rise in cultural standards of the Khakasy. In Khakasiya there are specialized secondary schools such as the pedagogical academy, an agricultural tekhnikum, a medical-assistant and obstetrics school and a mining tekhnikum (in Chernogorsk) which is attended by a large number of Khakasy. The town of Abakan has a teachers' and a pedagogical institute in which young Khakasy make up a large percentage of the students. Higher education is no longer the exception among Khakasy as shown by the large number of Khakasy students, who number hundreds. Just as indicative of the socialist culture of the Khakasy is the increase in teachers among the Khakasy themselves.

Research Establishments

Of the Khakasy research establishments we should mention first and foremost the Khakasy Research Institute for Language, Literature and History, set up in 1944. The organizer and director of the Institute during the first 10 years of its existence was the Khakasy scholar N. G. Domozhakov. This institute has become a center of research in the field of Khakasy language, literature and history. The institute is in close contact with a number of corresponding institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its activities include sending out expeditions and publishing results. The institute has established a group of correspondents in regional centers and on some of the collective farms, whose job is to collect folklore. Scientific conferences and sessions of the language and literature sectors are attended by Khakasy writers. The sectors prepare the works of Khakasy writers for the press, compile textbooks and make translations from and into Khakasy and Russian.

A great deal of research is done by the Khakasy Central Station for Irrigated Agriculture. Its work is of great practical importance both for the national economy of Khakasiya and for many other parts of our country. The experimental station has developed new techniques for irrigation using temporary irrigation canals instead of permanent ones. It has designed certain types of horse-drawn and tractor-drawn furrowers and strip-makers for building temporary canals. The decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Changing to the New System of Irrigation" published on August 18, 1950, was also based to some extent on the experience gained by Khakasy collective and State farms and the Khakasy experimental station.

Public Education

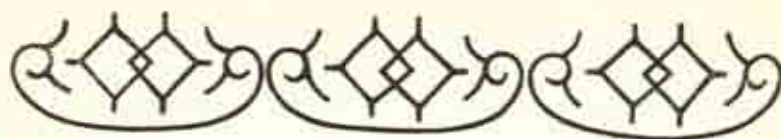
Before the Revolution, the Khakasy had no idea of scientific medical aid. They either resorted to the services of ignorant and bogus shamans

or else applied primitive folk cures. During the first few years of the Revolution when scientific medicine came to Khakasiya, many of the people could not bring themselves to trust the doctors. At the present time, however, it is not only impossible to find a Khakasy hostile to the doctor of today, but there are even medical workers among the Khakasy themselves. The Khakasy can be found at all levels of medical personnel up to and including doctors. Some of the Khakasy doctors are in charge of medical establishments both in rural and regional centers, as well as in the oblast center.

Khakasy doctors obtain their training in various medical schools in the Soviet Union. The oblast has a highly developed network of medical institutions: several dozen hospitals, several dozens of dispensaries and polyclinics, and more than a hundred medical points (assistants' stations, obstetrical stations and so on).

All these establishments have modern medical equipment and supplies and are run by qualified personnel. Medical attention for the population is free. Apart from treating patients, the institutions also do a great deal of work in preventive hygiene and educational hygiene.





THE TUVANS

L.P. POTAPOV

General Information

The Tuvans¹ are a small Turkic-speaking minority making up most of the population of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast, which is part of the RSFSR. The ethnic composition of the Tuvans is rather complex and no special studies have been made of it. We know that the Tuvans stem from Turkic-speaking, to some extent Mongolic-speaking, Samoyedic-speaking and Kettic-speaking (Northeast Tuvans) ethnic elements. They comprise some Turkic-speaking clan-tribal groups, known from the Chinese chronicles of the first few centuries A.D. and from the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions on stones dating from the 7th and 8th centuries (for example, Telengit, Kirgiz, Uygur). The language of the present-day Tuvans retains links with the languages in which the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions were written. The present-day Tuvan toponyms contain some of the geographical names figuring in the Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions, for example, Utugen (the name of a range in the Todzhinskiy Rayon).

It is possible to trace among the present-day Tuvans certain ethnic elements known in the Sayano-Altay Plateau from Russian 17th-century documents. Among the latter we should mention the clan-tribal groups of the Yenisey Kirgiz (Saryg and Kirgiz), as well as the Orchaks and Kuchuguts. The Orchaks nomadized together with the Teleuts over the plains lying along the right bank of the Ob'. The Kuchuguts are mentioned together with the Black and White Kalmyks, Kirgiz and other "hordes" who "adjoined" the town of Tomsk and the Kuznets Fortress, i.e., who nomadized along the northern side of the Sayan Mountains. The descendants of these groups are contained in the composition of the Tuvans in the 20th century under the same name (Oorzhak and Kuzhuget). The tribes mentioned in the Russian historical sources of the 17th century include as well the so-called Maads, who lived in the Bly-Khem Basin and in other parts of Tuva. At the beginning of the 17th century the Maads nomadized fourteen days' ride from Tomsk, in the Minusa Basin. In 1609, they became Russian subjects, began paying their tribute, although, as the Russian expeditions report, "they first paid tribute to Altyn-Tsar." Soon after, they traveled beyond the Sayans to the Kemchik and Ulug-Khem, to the regions adjoining the nomadic lands of Altyn-Khan. Envoys of the Russian government to Altyn-Khan (Tyumenets and Petrov) visited them in 1616 and described their life and some of their customs. The

¹Also called Tuvins, Tuvintsy, or Tuvinians.—Ed.

ambassadors also spoke of the tribe of Sayans who reared reindeer. The Sayans nomadized in the 17th century together with the Tochi (Todzhans) along the sides of the Sayan Mountains and even reached the Altay. At the present time their descendants make up part of the Tuvans and some of them (Terekhol'skiy Rayon) remember their former clan-tribal adherence (Kara-Sayan, Ak-Sayan). They still engage to some extent in reindeer-breeding. Among the Tuvans there are descendants of the population which in the past belonged to the Samoyedic-speaking groups Modor and Koybal, to the Kettic-speaking clan of Köi', and the Mongolic-speaking Tumat, Mungat and so on. The ethnic composition of the Tuvans includes clan-tribal elements also possessed by and related to the Altays and Khakasy.

The bulk of the Tuvans live on Tuva territory. Some of them emigrated to the Altay where, according to the 1897 census, there were more than 700 of them. A small group of Northeastern Tuvans—the Todzhans—numbering several hundred, live at the present time in the Irkutskaya Oblast, in the taiga belt (Tofalarskiy Rayon) where they are known as Tofalars (they call themselves Tuba and in the plural Tubalar). The Tofalars are splendid hunters, and like the Tuva Todzhans breed reindeer. Tuva is situated on the upper reaches of the Yenisey in a huge basin bounded on the north by the Eastern and Western Sayan Ranges and in the south by the Tannu-Ola, and is practically in the middle of the Asian Continent between 50° and 54°N. Administratively, the oblast is divided into 14 rayons. Each rayon is divided into a number of sermons, or rural soviets.

From the point of view of climate, Tuva has considerable variety, and before the Revolution this fact had a very great influence on the economic activity of the people. The difference in climate is most marked between the northern and northeastern rayons (for example, the Todzhinskiy Rayon) adjoining the Sayan Mountains, which abound in moisture, and the southern and southwestern rayons (Mongun-Tayga, Ovyurskiy, Tes-Khemskiy) which border on the arid sandy wastes of Mongolia. Central, western and southern Tuva with its arid steppes was the center of nomadic pastoralism. Hunting and breeding reindeer for purposes of riding prevailed in the northeastern region, but pastoralism was also known. Agriculture was conducted on an extremely modest scale and was confined to the central and western regions. This was not so much the direct result of the natural conditions, as that of the low level of the productive forces among the Tuvans.

The Status of Tuva Before the National-Liberation Revolution

Historical Background

The very early periods of Tuvan history have not been studied, since its archeological relics have not yet been discovered. Preliminary investigation, however, shows that in outward appearance the Tuvan archeological relics are extremely close to those from the Altay. This refers both to the large stone barrows of the Pazyryk (Altayan) type as well as the four-cornered stone fences with chains of stones and the stone sculptures of the Turkic Khanate period (6th-8th centuries). At the same time, the Tuvan relics differ sharply from those found in the Minusa Basin, where the similar Tuvan stone carvings are absent. The ancient Turkic (Yenisey)

runic inscriptions on stones, dating from the 7th-8th centuries, and the rock drawings found in Tuva and Khakasiya bring these territories closer together.

The anthropological material dug up in Tuvan burials shows only slight variation. The Europeoid type in Tuva, typical of the early nomadic period (first millennium B.C.), was also very common during the later Neometallic stage and made up a larger proportion than among the population of the Minusa Basin or the present-day Tuvans. Conversely, in the Altay and in the Minusa Basin there is a marked difference between the early and later relics of the neometallic period, which is an indication of the replacement of the Europeoid by the Mongoloid type. Thus, we observe an anthropological and cultural similarity between the population of the Tuva and Altay during the Hunno-Sarmatian period when both these regions were politically dependent on the Huns, and there was evidently intermixing of the Europeoid (Ting-ling, as the Chinese chronicles call them) and Mongoloid ethnic elements in the territory.

During the Turkic Khanate (6th to 8th centuries) Tuva was inhabited by a Turkic-speaking population related in language to the Yenisey Kirgiz and ancient Altayan Turks. This can definitely be said as regards the Turkic-speaking nobility who ruled the population of these regions and recorded their language in the stone inscriptions. But it cannot be said with the same certainty that during this time the population of Tuva and the Minusa Basin was a single ethnic unit, which it has become customary to call the Yenisey Kirgiz (the Khyagasy in the Chinese chronicles). This does not accord with the marked external difference in the corresponding burial relics and stone carvings of Tuva and Khakasiya.

The Chinese chronicle which speaks of the Khyagasy of the middle of the 7th century states that in their country there was a fish "smooth and boneless, with its mouth under its nose." The fish in question is the sterlet which is found in the Yenisey only as far as the Great Rapids, and no higher. This, incidentally, can serve as evidence of the boundary of the Khyagasy-Kirgiz territory. The Upper Yenisey, which flows through Tuva territory, did not enter the Khyagasy country, to judge by this fact. At this time, in Tuva the east Sayan taiga region was inhabited by the Dubo tribe, which was split up into three aymaks. The ethnonym of this tribe was reflected in the names "Tuba" or "Tuva." The Chinese chronicle reports that the Dubo "lived in grass tents and did not breed cattle or plough the land. They had much lily-root; they gathered it and made it into porridge. They caught fish, birds and animals and consumed them. They dressed in clothes made of sable and deerskin, while the poor people had clothes made of bird feather. When there were weddings the rich people gave away horses, while the poor people brought deerskin and lily-roots. The dead were placed in coffins which were attached to trees in the mountains. There were no punishments nor fines." In 630, due to the defeat of the Eastern Turkic Khanate by China, the population of Tuva together with the Yenisey Kirgiz and the people of the Altay came under 50 years of rule by Imperial China. This was followed by liberation of the Turkic peoples from the Chinese yoke, the formation of the Second Turkic Khanate (682) and its fall through the victory of the Uygurs in 745.

The domination of the Tuvan population by the Uygur Khans lasted until 840 when the Uygurs were defeated by the Yenisey Kirgiz, whose political hegemony continued until the beginning of the 10th century. It can evidently be taken that the ruins of a fortress on Lake Teri-Nor (Tere-Khol' in the Tuvan language) are Uygur relics. Still more important proof of this is the name "Uygur," retained among the present-day

Tuvans, for a population group which lived on the river Kemchik (Khemchik in Tuva) as late as the end of the 19th century. According to legends these Uygurs (Ondar Uygur) are descendants of the ancient Uygurs who lived by the rivers Ulug-Khem and Kemchik in ancient times and most of whom migrated to Tybat (Tibet) in the south. Of great importance in the subsequent development of Tuva was Mongol domination. The detachments of Cho-Ch'ih (Juchi—Genghis Khan's eldest son) appeared in Tuva on the River Shikhshilt (a tributary of the Kaa-Khem) in 1207, having been led there by the Oyrat prince, Kuduka-Beki, who surrendered to the Mongols. The Tuvans became tributaries of Genghis Khan. Among the Tuvan tribes in these parts were the Keshdims, Baits, Teleks and so on. The Mongol conquerors set up a cruel, plundering regime, on account of which there were sporadic risings among the Tuvans.

With the establishment of the Mongol (Yuan) Dynasty in China, (1260-1368), Mongol military detachments were stationed both in Tuva and Khakasiya and the cost of their upkeep was borne by the toiling Tuvans. The Mongols set up military-farming settlements for the supplying of food to these detachments. There were also Khakasy, Tuvans and to some extent "Southerners," that is to say, Chinese, living in them. By the orders of the Chinese emperors, they were supplied with Chinese agricultural implements, in particular, ploughs with cast-iron ploughshares and moldboards. The moldboards of some of these ploughs found in 1949 near the town of Turan² show the hallmarks of the Chinese dynasties. They are dated 1286 (23rd year of the reign of Kublai Khan). The fall of the Mongol Dynasty in China and the division of the Mongols into Eastern and Western branches meant that Tuva became dependent on the Western Mongols, or Oyrats, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century.

From the end of the 16th century practically for a hundred years Tuva was part of the small state of the Altyn Khans, founded by the Mongol military leader Sholoy Ubashi, who bore the title of Khan-Taysha. Sholoy, who was famed for his campaigns against the Oyrats, came from a princely family which held Northern Mongolia. The Yenisey Kirgiz, Oyrats and the Russian historical documents mention him as Altyn-Khan. His possessions included the whole region of Lake Ubsa-Nur and the river Tes. The northern boundary was the Sayan Mountains, over which his detachments passed when collecting tribute from the Yenisey Kirgiz and their tributaries. In the east the boundary of his territory was Lake Sangin-Dalai and the river Delger-Muren, in the west the Altay and in the south the Mongolian Altay foothills. The son and heir of the first Altyn-Khan, Ombo Erdeni, voluntarily accepted the patronage of Russia together with the whole of his people, including the Tuvans, during the first half of the 17th century, and duly swore allegiance to the tsar. Later on, however, he and his son, Luban, kept violating their oath of allegiance and trying to take advantage of the Russian patronage for their own, selfish interests in the internecine conflicts between the Mongol princes. The Tuvan pastoral peasants (arats) lived in hard political and economic circumstances, oppressed by this Mongol ruler. The state of Altyn-Khan declined through internecine strife between the Western Mongols (Oyrats) and the Dzasaktukhan Aymak of Mongolia. On account of this the Tuvans and the Altays fell under the yoke of the Oyrat Khans who formed the Dzhungariyan state in the first half of the 17th century. The last ruler of the dynasty of the Altyn-Khans fled

²The moldboards were handed over to the Tuvan Regional Museum in the town of Kyzyl.

to Mongolia, and later to China where he ended his days in 1696 in the entourage of the Manchu emperor of China.

The rule of the Dzhungariyan (Western Mongol) Khans, which lasted right up to 1755, covered the whole of the Sayano-Altay Plateau. During this period, which was rife with feuding and wars, the Turkic-speaking tribes and clans of the Sayano-Altay Plateau split up, separated, intermingled and interbred. Some of the Todzhans, Sayans and Mingats, for example, who nomadized on the upper reaches of the Yenisey and along the river Kemchik, turned up in the Altay, along the river Katun' together with the Telesy in the domain of the Mongol prince Matur Taysha, in the middle of the 17th century (1651). The Altayan Telengits settled in Tuva on the Kemchik and Barlyk and also in the region of Bay-Tayga, which the present-day Tuvans still recall from their oral traditions. Some of the Yenisey Kirgiz and other close historical ancestors of the present-day Khakasy from the Minusa Basin reached Tuva in 1703 during their forced eviction by the Dzhungariyan zaysans in the Semirech'ye. Settling down in Tuva, these migrants became the ancestors of the Tuvan groups who up to the Revolution belonged to the Kyrgyz and Saryglar clans and sumons. Having crossed the Sayan Range from south to north, some Tuvan groups found themselves on the upper reaches of the Abakan, where they became known (at least from the 18th century) as the "Bel'tirs" (the Tag-Kakpyn, Sug-Kakpyn, Ak-Chystar and Kara-Chystar clans). The memory of the blood relationship between this group of Tuvans and Khakasy is still alive to this very day, and the languages of the contemporary Tuvans and Bel'tirs contain words in common, which are not found among the Kachins or Sagays comprising the majority of the Khakasy.

With the fall of Dzhungariya (in the middle of the 18th century) Tuva was subjugated by the Manchu (Tai-ch'ing) dynasty in China, whereas the Altayan tribes willingly became part of the Russian State. The genealogical and protracted cultural-historical connection between the Western Tuvans, Khakasy and Southern Altays was broken for almost two centuries. Also split up were the Northeast Tuvans-Todzhans. A large number of them remained in the Russian State—on their nomadic grounds in the Eastern Sayans, where they became known as the Karagasy, and after the October Revolution, as the Tofalars. The Bel'tirs became isolated from the groups related to them, the latter remaining in Tuva. The Tuvans were left to nomadize on both sides of the Tannu-Ola Range, from the Altay to the upper reaches of the Yenisey in the east. They were split up into a number of khoshuns, which were formed into military-administrative units by the ruling Chinese dynasty, on the basis of reapportionment of the former princedoms of Mongolia and Tuva. According to the Code of the Chinese Bureau of Foreign Relations, the minor Tuvan rulers (novons) were put under the charge of the commanders of those regions within which they nomadized. Certain parts of Tuva were given over to some of the Mongol princes in return for the help they gave the Tai-ch'ing Dynasty in its war against Dzhungariya. Tuva became a distant province of China, with a feudal structure. It was divided into the following khoshuns: 1) Khasut; 2) Tozha; 3) Salzhak; 4) Oyunnar; 5) Shalyk; 6) Nibazy; 7) Davana or Mady, and Choodu; 8) Beyse; 9) Khemchik. The Tozha, Oyunnar, Salzhak and Kemchik khoshuns, whose rulers were hereditary Tuvan princes (Uger-Daa or Daa-Noyons) were united until 1911 in one aymak administrated by the Amban'-noyon (the ruler of the Oyunnar khoshun) who was subordinate to the Chinese ruler, the Governor General, Chien Chiung, in Ulyasutay. The Beyse, Mady, Choodu and Shalyk and certain other khoshuns were directly subordinate to their rulers,

Mongol princes living in Mongolia and sending Tuvan officials (targa) to collect the tithes and settle disputes. The prince of the Khasut khoshun was directly subordinate to the Chinese ruler. The khoshuns were divided into sumo, which were governed by officials (changy), while the sumo were divided up into arbans, taxation units consisting of 10 or more small households. The administrative apparatus in Tuva, up to the Revolution, was very extensive. For example, the administration of a sumo involved seven posts: 1) changy (head of the sumo); 2) chalan (special duty official); 3) khundu (assistant to the head); 4) sumo-targa (head of the tax collectors); 5) boshko (tax collector, one for each arban); 6) arban-targa (junior official in charge of all arban affairs); 7) bizheechi (clerks and secretaries). Even larger was the complement of officials attached to the khoshun administrator, not to mention the Amban'-noyon. The whole of this extensive clique of feudal officials was maintained at the expense of the rank-and-file Tuvan population. The Tuvans were obliged to supply the officials with foodstuffs (particularly mutton) to such an extent that the khoshun ruler, for example, was able to keep numerous servants who were recruited under the system of compulsory duties to work on the feudal lord's farm (prepare fuel, pasture and milk the livestock, prepare dairy produce, shear the sheep, and so on). Whenever they traveled around their territory, the Tuvan officials, even the lowest ranks, were accompanied by a retinue. At every settlement (örteel) it was the custom for the ordinary population to present them with horses, dwellings (together with firewood and water) for resting or spending the night, and mutton to eat. At times the officials demanded payment in silver instead. Even more burdensome for the ordinary Tuvans were the visits by Chinese officials. The arrival of an official from Ulyasutay was regarded by them in much the same way as the pestilence or plague, so ruinous it proved to be. When, in 1908, Chien Chiung passed through Tuva with his retinue and bodyguard, each postal station had to provide him with 222 horses, 43 camels, 64 guides, 19 dwellings, 3 tents and a tremendous amount of mutton as provisions. The official passed through three stations a day. This entire burden had to be borne by the Tuvans, who were sometimes ruined by just one visit from the Chinese mandarin. Apart from the taxes and tithes, the Tuvans paid a state tax (alban) in valuable furs to the officials each year. This tax comprised roughly one-third of the yearly income of the rank-and-file arat (pastoral peasant). Further, there was a duty payable by the Tuvans called unduryug, which was intended as a bribe for the Chinese officials in Ulyasutay, to stop them from rejecting the furs as unsuitable. In addition, the khoshun rulers took money from the Tuvans to cover various expenses (bribes, wedding expenses).

The basis of the feudal relationships among Tuvans was the ownership by the feudal lords of the nomadic territories and pastures. The lords had possession of the arats who were not allowed to change from one owner to another. The attached arats had to perform a number of obligatory duties for their feudal masters. It was he who judged them and meted out retribution. Living on their feudal master's land, the arats wandered about in small groups. The best seasonal pastures in the khoshun or sumon were occupied by the feudal lord himself and those close to him. The remaining land was put at the disposal of the arats for communal use. The Tuvan serfs had to supply from each sumo one family a year, with dwelling (medee) and unmarried males to work on the noyon's farm. Apart from the secular lords, the Tuvan arats were also the serfs of the lama clergy living in the monasteries (khure). The lamas collected money from the arats for the construction and upkeep of the khoshun

monasteries and for religious services, and forced them to supply workers (medee) to farm at the monasteries. The visits made by the clergy were just as ruinous for the arats as those made by other officials. In the event of illness or death of an arat, the lamas came in crowds to his dwelling to perform religious rites and completely cleaned out the dead man's farm. The working people were further ruined by extortion on the part of the shamans. A fairly widespread practice was exploitation of the working Tuvans by the feudal lords who gave out their livestock in return for compulsory work, similar to the polysh among the Altay and saun among the Kazakhs.

Another heavy burden for the Tuvan peasants was the Chinese and Russian traders who fleeced them, particularly through the "debts" incurred through buying commodities on credit at an exceptionally high interest. The greatest evil in this respect was the Chinese traders, who sold commodities at twice the price of the Russian commodities, despite the fact that the Russian traders gained as much as 200% profit on their goods. Under these circumstances, the rank-and-file Tuvans preferred to deal with the Russian traders.

Before the National-Liberation Revolution, the basis of the Tuvan economy was backward, nomadic pastoralism, with low productivity of the types of livestock reared. The feudal lords, in the form of the noyons and clergy, accumulated not only the best pastures, but even 40% of all the livestock. Agriculture was of a subsidiary nature and was characterized by primitive techniques and low productivity. Among the feudal lords there were a few literate people who used the Mongol and Tibetan scripts. The feudal lords wore expensive Chinese fabrics, clothes of the Mongol-Chinese style, lived in well-heated and lavishly furnished felt yurts, used imported crockery and utensils, acquired from Chinese traders, and spent their time in amusements and idleness. Among the ordinary Tuvans there were no literate people, their nomadic way of life was primitive and poor; they lived in cold, smoky dwellings, using home made wooden utensils and skins, wore either home made (skin) clothing, similar in style to the Khakasy clothing, or else dressed in Russian cloth, which was the cheapest. F. Kon, who studied the life of the Tuvans at the end of the 19th century, wrote: "... while Russia dressed the poorer people, China supplied material for the clothes of the rich."³

The Russians began to penetrate and to some extent settle in Tuva, particularly in the Usa Valley, back in the first half of the 19th century. The well-known Russian scientist (a Khakas by nationality), N. F. Katanov, who visited Tuva in 1898, stressed that the Tuvan people divided into two mutually hostile parties: the poor who were attracted to the Russians by their own interests, and the notables and lamas who relied on the Chinese and Mongol officials in the country.⁴

The British traveler Carruthers, who visited the Tuvans in 1910, wrote: "Here the rich man oppresses the poor and the strong humiliate the weak, and this means in the long run that in the country there is an ever-increasing tendency in the population to turn their eyes ever more

³F. Ya. Kon. *Predvaritel'nyy otchet po ekspeditsii v Uryankhayskuyu zemlyu* (Preliminary report on an expedition to the Uryankhay Land). *Izv. Vost.-sib. otd. Russk. Geogr. obsch.*, 1903, No. 1, Vol. XXXIV, p. 27.

⁴N. F. Katanov. *Opyt issledovaniya uryankhayskogo yazyka* (An Experimental Study of the Uryankhay Language). Kazan', 1903, p. 435.

frequently towards Russia." Carruthers asserts categorically that the natives there looked upon Russian patronage very favorable.⁵ On account of the unbearable living conditions, considerable groups of Tuvans fled to Russia and settled in the Mountain Altay or Khakasiya among their fellow tribesmen, their genealogical connection with whom was remembered for a number of generations. A statistical survey of the Mountain Altay in 1897 recorded 742 Tuvans who had emigrated from Tuva. The crossing of the border, like the flights from feudal lords, should be regarded as one of the forms of the class struggle of the peasants against the feudal lords, which under Tuvan conditions was characterized by spontaneity and fairly primitive forms.

The latter included driving off the feudal lord's livestock, temporary seizure of the pasture, the burning down of a dwelling or even the murder of the exploiter, nonpayment of taxes and flight from the master. In addition to this, minor armed uprisings against the feudal lords, both local and foreign, were known in the pre-Revolutionary history of Tuva. The greatest fame in the memory of the present-day Tuvans is enjoyed by the "60 fugitives" (aldan durgun) or, as they are still known, the "60 warriors" (aldan maadyr) who appear to have revolted in the middle of the 1880's. A more serious uprising among the Tuvans occurred in 1911, and was of the nature of a national-liberation movement. In 1911, as a result of the Chinese Revolution, Mongolia was proclaimed independent and the Chinese governor in Ulyasutay, Chien Chiung, was forced to surrender to the Mongols. As the power of the Chinese officials of the Manchu Dynasty declined, a national-liberation movement, directed first and foremost against the Manchu-Chinese oppressors, sprang up among the rank-and-file Tuvans. Despite the spontaneity of the movement, the insurgents had soon liberated almost all of Tuva and thereby rid themselves of the crippling taxes and compulsory payments, and the innumerable debts. The insurgents destroyed the Chinese traders' shops, seized their goods, and took back the livestock stolen by the oppressors in return for so-called "debts." But during all this the Tuvans did not touch the shops of the Russian traders, apparently hoping for the support of the Russian people in their drive for freedom. At the same time, the rank-and-file Tuvans almost ceased to recognize their own rulers, the henchmen of the Chinese colonizers. The political activity of the peasants seriously alarmed the Tuvan feudal hierarchy. The noyons and bays could not hope to cope with the revolutionary mood and actions of the people by themselves. A complicated and contradictory situation arose in which the interests of the different classes clashed. Economically and politically impotent Tuva with its small population, halfway between capitalist Russia and feudal Mongolia, could not count on independence or political self-government. Most of the noyons and the chief representatives of the Tuvan feudal class then turned to the possibility of union with feudal Mongolia, since almost half the noyons were Mongol princes who lived in Mongolia, while the rest were associated with Mongol princes by very close ties, common class interests, common culture, everyday life and religion. These noyons and their henchmen and agents, particularly the lamas, agitated among the peasants for transition to Mongolia which had now split off from China.

⁵D. Karruthers (Carruthers). *Nevedomaya Mongoliya*. T.I. Uryankhayskiy kray (Unknown Mongolia. Vol. 1. The Uryankhay Territory). Petrograd, 1914, p. 176 et passim.

On the contrary, the tolling masses of Tuvans (pastoralists and hunters) hoped for incorporation into the Russian State and reunion with the Khakasy and Altay groups, related to them in origin, language, culture and way of life, who had been separated from them through the predatory policy of the Manchurian Dynasty.

The complexity of the political situation was further accentuated by the fact that within the noyon elite there was no unity in the assessment of the developing situation, and a struggle for power and influence was flaring up. Furthermore, the higher secular and clerical powers in Mongolia, like the tsarist government in Russia, were by no means indifferent to what was going on in Tuva, and meddled in the events in every way they could, seeking to turn them to their own advantage.



Old Russian settlement of Saldam. Todzha.

Under these circumstances, the weakest and smallest section of the noyon elite, led by the Amban'-noyon, not able to count on its own forces in the struggle against the more powerful coalition of noyons associated with the Mongol feudal lords, turned to the tsarist government in Russia. The Amban'-noyon appealed to Russia to take Tuva under her patronage, and even asked for troops to be sent to Tuva, supposedly fearing reprisals from the ruling Chinese dynasty. In contrast to the working population, radically interested in incorporation into the Russian State, this group of noyons hoped to use Russian patronage for its own selfish purposes, as a temporary expedient in the political game. These noyons and those close to them hoped to seize power in Tuva with the help of the tsarist government and then, by entering into agreement with it, ensure their monopoly in exploiting the Tuvan arats. In effect, they repeated the attempts frequently made for personal gain by their predecessors, the Altyn-Khans, in the 17th century.

Annexation to Russia

Observing a certain caution, the tsarist government in 1914 appointed its own "Commissar for the Affairs of the Uryankhay Territory." The Commissar busily began drawing up and implementing plans to turn Tuva into a tsarist colony. The plan was thwarted by the February Revolution in 1917.

The Soviet government, from the very first month of its existence, began helping the Tuvans in their struggle against their enemies. After the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia, the struggle to set up a Soviet regime continued in Tuva. But on account of the seizure of power in Siberia by the White Guards, and the establishment of Kolchak's bloody regime, it was almost four years before the fierce civil war ended with the complete defeat of the White bandits and interventionists through the assistance of the Russian people and the Red Army (middle of 1921).

In 1921, as a result of the victory of the national-liberation revolution, the Tuvan People's Republic was proclaimed, and adopted its first constitution. In the Constitution it was stated that in international relations the Tuvan People's Republic was a protectorate of Soviet Russia.

During the 23 years of its existence, the Tuvan People's Republic adopted five Constitutions, expressing not only the gains of the national-liberation revolution, but also containing from time to time a program for the development of Tuva as well as a reflection of the rapid increase in political activity of the Tuvan peasants under the guidance of the Tuvan National-Revolutionary Party. After the attack on the USSR by the Hitlerite invaders, the Tuvan People's Republic immediately made known its decision to participate in the war against Fascist Germany and began sending help to the front.

Tuvan People's Republic

The political, economic and cultural reconstruction of the Tuvan People's Republic began and continued under difficult circumstances and in an atmosphere of acute class war between the working Tuvans and the feudal-bay and lama elements. The feudal-bay class was still active among the Tuvans after the formation of the People's Republic in 1921. Although it had lost political power, this class was still in possession of the principal means of production, namely, pastureland and livestock. The pastures and nomadizing grounds, just as the land as a whole, were made the legal property of the people after the proclamation of the Tuvan People's Republic. But, in actual fact, the feudal bays continued to own the vast pasturelands on which their enormous herds grazed. It was only in 1930-31 that the feudal-bay elements, including the clergy, were disenfranchised and their herds were confiscated and distributed among the poorest people.

The Tuvan People's Republic set about national-cultural reconstruction with a devastated, primitive economy. It lacked finances, trade and industry; it had no roads, transportation, nor were there any hospitals. The Tuvan peasants, exhausted and devastated by many centuries of oppression and civil war, and extremely backward in a cultural sense, needed a great deal of help and needed it quickly. This help was rendered systematically by the Soviet state. But the rate of development and the prospects for it in the People's Republic were far from satisfactory. Liquidation of the political,

economic and cultural backwardness of the Tuvans dragged on and on and only got going in the proper way when the Tuvans had become part of the USSR.

Stockbreeding

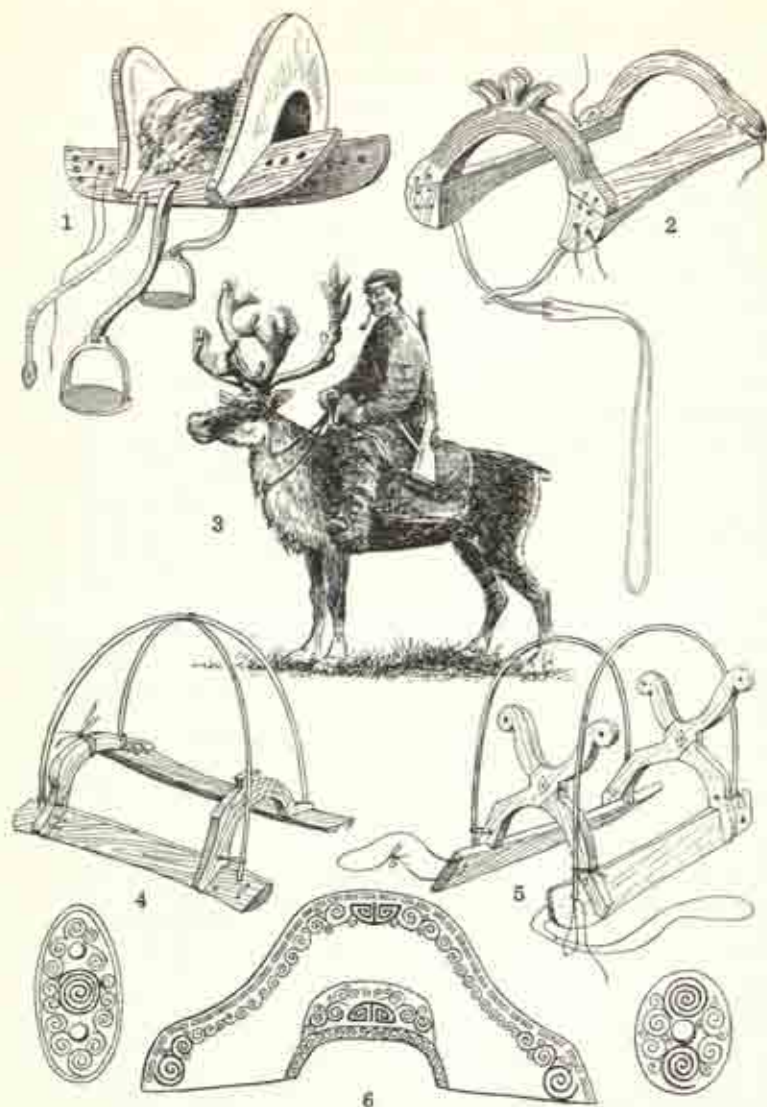
At the time the Tuvans joined the USSR, the main branch of the economy was stockbreeding. The bulk of the livestock belonged to stockbreeding peasants. In 1943, they owned 93.5% of all the cattle. However, the peasant farming was based on single holdings, and only 6.5% of the herds were found on the State Farms and collective farms. By the time Tuva became part of the USSR there were 123 land cooperatives and 21 collective farms. The simplest production associations among the peasants emerged there between the years 1929 and 1932 in two forms—1) associations for joint cultivation of the land, i.e., TOZ, and 2) associations for improving animal husbandry, i.e., TUZh. In 1940–41, these were converted into land cooperatives in view of the fact that the development of animal husbandry and that of field agriculture among the Tuvans were closely interlinked. The land cooperatives constituted a rather weak primary form of transformation of the economy and reeducation of the Tuvan peasants in the spirit of socialism, since communal ownership of the principal means of production was not predominant. They did not provide a solution to the fundamental task of collective farming—the proper combination of the communal and personal interests of the Tuvans. However, in the Tuvan People's Republic these very simple production associations were necessary at the time and played a positive part.

The outstanding features of the single-holding farming system were its small scale, low level of profit, and extremely backward technology based on pasture-type maintenance of the cattle the whole year round. The development of this kind of farming had no economic promise. Because of the low productivity of the livestock in nomadic one-man farming in which the cow was milked for 5 or 6 months a year and only produced 400 or 500 litres of milk over this period for a family of 5 or 6 people, large herds were necessary, since with the poor development of field agriculture among the peasants it was of vital importance to stock up with various milk products during the milking period. Some of the herd had to be grown each year to supply the family with meat, although this was kept to a minimum. Hence, the single peasant could only subsist if he had a herd of several dozen head of various stock. Nor was it possible to provide hay for a large number of cattle in the winter even if the family contained two or three able-bodied members. A small single farm was never in a position to acquire hay-harvesting machines. Hence, the single-holding system of the Tuvans retained the old-fashioned and backward technology of rearing and keeping livestock, and as a result production was very low. The Tuvan single farmer fed his livestock only around pastureland. To do this he had to move about the whole time, covering enormous distances, particularly in winter since 8–10 hectares of winter pasture (of average grade) are needed to keep one head of cattle. Hence, towards winter, he changed pastures two or three times. Prior to the national liberation the ordinary peasants were unable to supply extra fodder for the livestock even during the severest and coldest winter months, nor were they able to erect warm sheds at the winter camps, as a result of which the state of the herd was greatly affected and many cattle died. A slight improvement in the upkeep of cattle was noted after the formation of the People's Republic. By the time the Tuvans joined the USSR, they already had more than 50,000 heated cattlesheds. However, with a few exceptions, they were primitive structures belonging

mainly to single peasants. These sheds were of a certain amount of use, but later become intolerable under conditions of socialist animal husbandry. They were low, timber buildings for calves, lambs, sheep, cows, with a flat roof made of bark, bushwood, dung and so on. The tiny lamb sheds were sunk into the ground (2 or 3 rows of logs rose above the surface) and the entrance to them was through a hole. The sheds for calves were slightly larger and higher. The cowsheds were made of thin logs, while the open pens for horses were made of poles. These primitive winter structures for cattle were built by the peasants at spots protected as much as possible from the wind, where they set up their own dwellings as well, usually portable ones. Pasture-type maintenance of cattle the whole year round forced these single Tuvans to lead a nomadic life with its characteristic deprivations, difficulties and inconveniences, and was an impediment to the development of their culture. The result of insufficient fodder and primitive tending of their cattle was the extremely high proportion of barrenness (up to 50%) and death of the young animals. This fact was one of the major causes of the lack of increase in the herds. The fact that male and female animals were not regularly paired off or fed up at the right time, and the conditions under which they were kept, had a very bad effect on the quality of the young and caused a great deal of loss. Over the winter period the young animals hardly grew or increased in weight at all. During the summer they hardly did so either, probably because of the custom of not raising the young animals on good (fenced-off) pastures, but keeping them tethered near the yurt.

Even more primitive was the reindeer-breeding of the single Tuvan peasants. Throughout the year the reindeer were pastured on natural pastures. During the summer they were driven high up into the mountains towards the snowy peaks, more than 100 kilometers from the winter camps. Towards September the reindeer-breeders came down again to the winter pastures and went off on reindeer, back to trap squirrels. In October and November, the reindeer were mated and some of them were castrated, which was also practiced in the spring. The young were born in April. The reindeer were kept in the open without any fences. The reindeer calves were tethered for the whole day near the yurts. The does were allowed near several times each day. The Tuvans milked their reindeer three times a day, tethering them to poles near the camp during the operation. Overnight the calves and the mothers were let out onto the pasture. The animals did not stray very far and usually came back by themselves in the morning. In bad weather they had to be rounded up on reindeer-back. Smudges (yshtaar) were built at the camp site in the form of conical tents made of poles without any covering, inside which a bonfire was built of rotten wood. The reindeer were only used for riding (from the age of 3) and were saddled like horses with the same saddles. The value of the Tuvan reindeer as a farm animal and for transportation is rated rather highly. The reindeer-breeders wandered the whole time and almost every peasant had one or two horses which he used for long journeys in summer. Under the single-holding system the development of reindeer-breeding was an extraordinarily slow process.

Under the system of stockbreeding the herds often perished through exhaustion, lack of food, a number of illnesses, attacks by wolves, and so on. The proportions these disasters assumed can be judged by official figures for the period July 1, 1941, to January 1, 1943. Over these 1-1/2 years the Tuvans lost 139,000 head of cattle through disease (amounting to 25% of the offspring), 26,000 from malnutrition, and 45,300 through attacks by wolves.



Reindeer-breeding for transportation.

1—Wooden riding-saddle; 2—packsaddle; 3—riding a reindeer; 4—pack-saddle adapted for carrying a cradle; 5—special saddle for carrying a cradle; 6—ornamentation on front pommel of riding-saddle and silver plates attached to saddle leather.

Field Agriculture

The instability of small-holding system and its low productivity forced the single Tuvans to sow small parcels of land (usually with millet) so as to supplement their food supplies.

The only type of tillage was spring ploughing. The old-fashioned wooden plough (andazyn) was often used as the implement; it was attached to the saddle of the riding horse. There was also a drag-harrow made from pea-tree branches (karagan-iliir). Russian sickles only appeared in the beginning of the 20th century, and prior to this the ears were cut with a knife or else pulled off by hand.

During the period of existence of the People's Republic, through the assistance rendered by the USSR the technical equipment used in field agriculture was considerably improved. In 1944, Tuva had more than 6000 horse-drawn iron ploughs (more than 4000 of them on single holdings) more than 5000 iron harrows (more than 2000 of them on peasant holdings), 42 tractors, 205 harvesters, 220 binders, 18 tractor-drawn threshers, and 52 horse-drawn threshers. The sown area in 1943 was about 55,000 hectares, of which more than 30,000 were cultivated by the single peasants, predominantly nomads (over 23,000 hectares). The Soviet Union's aid consisted also in the supplying of seed. The harvest yield, particularly on the single farms, was still very low, although it was better than before the Revolution, when only 20 or 30 poods of grain were harvested per hectare. Tuvan agriculture is predominantly the flood type. The peasants irrigated their own small fields by simple flooding, pulling down the temporary open dam across the distributing canal, which usually became clogged up with mud and overgrown. Higher areas were flooded by means of small ditches or small reservoirs. This flooding technique resulted in lack of water, and the fields were irrigated fewer times than required. The single farmer, forced to keep on the move so as to be able to pasture his livestock, had no chance of giving proper attention to and looking after his sown area, which territorially speaking was always a long way from the summer pastureland. All this had a bad effect on the state of the harvest. An area was usually cultivated for 3 or 4 years and then left until its fertility returned. The ancient irrigation network, which had been preserved here and there, was also sometimes used. During the existence of the People's Republic, more efficient canals with some hydrotechnical installations were constructed for the first time. The trampling of the sowings by livestock also affected the harvest yield. The fact that in late spring sowings were left and returned to within a short time of the harvest, the lack or inadequacy of fenced pastures, etc., made damage by cattle to the field a normal occurrence.

Hunting and Fishing

The hunting of wild animals was of great importance in the life of the Tuvans, particularly in the northern and eastern regions. Guns were used for hunting, predominantly the muzzle-loading type. The word for bullet, ok (literally, arrow), and the belt with its set of small hunting gear (powder-box, bullet pouch, and so on), saadak, meaning "quiver," show that the gun replaced the bow and arrows. Bows and arrows as a hunting weapon were commonly used by the Tuvans even at the end of the 19th century. The arrows had different kinds of iron tips depending upon the type of hunting, had triangular feathering on the end, and were carried in a quiver made of leather with a felt lining. When hunting small fur-bearing animals such as squirrels use was made of arrows with a blunt point carved from reindeer horn. They also hunted with whistling arrows the iron points of which, rhomboid in shape, were fitted with a horn whistle. Bows and arrows were also used for wild fowl. Nooses made of hair were also used. Little

animals, particularly hamsters, were sometimes caught in homemade traps. The word for a gun—*boo*—shows that the gun reached the Tuvans from Mongolia. Foxes and wolves were sometimes hunted on horseback by battue with guns and whips, and at the beginning of our century, by means of the *uruks* (a leather noose on a pole).

The Tuvans were also fishermen. In the Todzhinskiy Rayon fish were commonly caught in the lakes in spring and autumn (ide, perch, pike and salmon-trout). Fish were caught by means of nets, woven from thread or horsehair. These nets (up to 15 m long and about 2 m wide) were fitted with wooden or birchbark floats by means of a hair rope passing all the way along the top edge of the net, and with pebbles as weights secured to the bottom edge of the net by bast. The fishermen usually took hold of the ends of the net and drew it into the lake on little rafts, after which they united, pulled the net together, crossed the ends and pulled it out. Sometimes the fishermen dragged the net towards the bank on rafts (or on horseback) like a seine. Nets used to be set up in the lake attached to poles stuck into the bottom. Apart from this, fish were also speared or caught with fishing poles. Before the Revolution, wooden hooks made of birchbark or spruce were used for this purpose. Pike were caught with a hair noose on hot days when the fish came up to the shore and hid in the sedge; they were also shot with guns. Sometimes a barricade of stones was erected in a little river and a "muzzle" was left in the middle. On the Yenisey and some of the lakes the fish were sometimes caught in the winter through holes in the ice at points where small streams joined the lake (using nets, hooks or scoops). The fish caught in the Yenisey, Kemchik and other rivers were the grayling, lenka (salmon family), salmon-trout and others.

The gathering of wild plants was common in the taiga regions for consumption purposes as well as a subsidiary source of food. The highly nutritious roots and tubers of the adder's-tongue and lily and the stems of the broad-leaf garlic known for their valuable nutritive and antiscorvy properties were the ones usually collected. Adder's-tongue and lily-root were stored up for the winter in large quantities. The adder's-tongue was gathered up in May and the lily-root at the end of August and the beginning of September; it was usually the women and children that performed this task. The dug-up roots were boiled, dried and kept in sacks. This can be regarded as a kind of taiga potato since the tubers (particularly the adder's-tongue) are rich in starch. Cedar nuts were procured to some extent by hanging on the trunk of the tree with wooden mallets, making the nuts fall off. The collection of this valuable product of the taiga was not very widespread nor of commercial importance.

Domestic Occupations and Industry

Among the domestic occupations of the Tuvans were the manufacture of felt, blacksmithery, and woodworking. Felt was very important for the nomadic way of life. First and foremost it was required for covering the portable dwelling, for bedding, rugs, around the legs, and sweat cloths for horses and so on. Hence its manufacture was one of the current occupations of every family leading a nomadic way of life. The wool used to make the felt was washed in hot water, beaten with long sticks, spread out in an even layer, and rolled around a wooden shaft. By means of wooden loops on the ends, the shaft was attached to ropes secured to the saddle of a horse and rolled along even ground until the felt became thick enough.

There had been smiths among the Tuvans long before the Revolution. They used to make bits for bridles, buckles and saddle-girths, stirrups,

iron griddles, flints, adzes, and so on. Among the single peasants there were smiths with a small set of the old-type tools adapted to the nomadic way of life (small anvil, several hammers, tongs, hone and so on). The small homemade bellows (khuryuk) are rather unusual in style. They are made from goatskin (with the hair outside) with tendon thread and look like a pair of trousers. Each side of the bellows tapers at the bottom and is threaded onto a wooden fork (hollow inside) to which it is attached by straps. The wide ends are sewn together but a hole is left in the middle.

Woodworking had also been known among the Tuvans for a long time. They attained great skill in it, although they usually used a primitive set of instruments (knife, various types of adze, awl and so on).

Prior to the Revolution, the variety of wooden items was confined to the small number of objects used in the house (wooden parts of the yurt, various utensils, saddle-frames, cupboards, carved toys, chessmen and so on). Individual farming retained the old techniques of home-dressing the skins of wild and domestic animals. When the skin had been removed, it was cleaned free of meat and fat with an iron scraper (khyrgy), the hair was shaved off with a knife, after which the pelt was stretched out on the ground with the aid of wooden pegs at the edges and a semiliquid mass made of rotten birch or spruce wood dissolved in water was smeared all over the flesh side (for dressing reindeer and goat skins) or with the same mixture dissolved in reindeer milk (for the Siberian stag and the elk). The skin was then rolled up and tanned for a day and night. It was then softened with a wooden stick (ediree) covered with notches, the skin being placed on a board, whose edge was lifted during the work and supported with the chest, and the stick was moved up and down with both hands. This laborious work was usually done by the women, who spent two or three days on dressing one



Working reindeer skin.

hide, after which it was smoked over a hearth in the yurt. In this way skins were dressed for the winter covering of the yurt and for clothes (mostly the Tuvan reindeer-breeders). When dressing horse or cowhide, the hide was again cleaned with a scraper, soaked for three or four days in the river, rubbed with lard and pummelled on a manual leather-pounder (made from a large wooden fork with a pole. For sheepskins, the flesh side was smeared with sour milk, rolled up and softened with a stick.

Industry appeared for the first time as part of the Tuvan national economy. By 1941, apart from the mining of gold and coal there were several small factories and plants (a sawmill, brick works, vehicle-repair shop, food factory and sewing combine) for local consumption, and also one or two small power stations; the making of leather and wool and the manufacture of hardware were started up. Naturally, this was a great achievement in the development of the Tuvan national economy, when one takes into consideration the recent past. Nevertheless, the industry of the young Republic was poor and developed only very slowly, despite the assistance rendered by the Soviet state, since the overall economic and cultural backwardness of the country and its lack of its own finances were a serious obstacle in the way of the development of this branch of the Tuvan economy.

Dwellings and Clothing

The above-given reasons slowed down the reorganization and development of the everyday life and the culture of the working Tuvans. The domestic life of the peasant, despite improvement in the overall political, economic and cultural living conditions when the People's Republic came into being, still retained most of the old features. The chief type of dwelling was still the felt yurt, which here and there can be found to this very day. The framework consisted of 6 or 8 sections of wooden lattice placed in a circle. In the summer the lattice, which was about 1-1/2 meters high, was attached to pegs planted at the joining point between sections so as to give the yurt the necessary stability in strong wind. The roof was spherical in shape (as among the Mongols). It consisted of sticks (ynaa) attached by one end to the top of the lattice and inserted at the other end into the wooden ring (kharaacha or doona) to let out the smoke. The felt covering of the yurt consisted of 7 parts. Four of them were at the bottom (adaky), covering the lattice and reaching in part into the dome; two parts were used as outer covering and were known as deevir (this should not be confused with the word for iron, which in the Turkic languages is *tevir* or *temir*) covering the dome, and one small part (örege) covering the smoke outlet. It is a curious fact that the words for the wooden part of the yurt are Mongol, while those used for the felt covering are Tuvan. This is because the Tuvans bought the wooden parts readymade from the Mongols, and in that way borrowed the names for them, whereas they made the felt coverings themselves. The coverings for the yurt had 3 or 4 woolen bands (bag) on the ends by which they were fastened to the yurt, passing all the way around. To make the yurt more stable in the wind, tapes (bazyryg) with stones attached to the ends were slung across it. The lattice framework was drawn together with white woolen tape (ishtiki kur). On the outside, on top of the felt there was an outer strip running right around the yurt (dashyky kur).

In the middle of the Tuvan yurt was a little round iron stove, its top covered by an iron sheet that was removed when a large bowl-shaped pot was placed on it. The stovepipe, also made of iron, was led out through the smoke outlet. To the right of the entrance of the low wooden door were

the kitchen utensils: various pots and pans, mostly bought, wooden tubs for sour milk, painted Tuvan cupboards with doors for crockery and food. Along one of the walls of the yurt was a wooden bed with carved or painted designs. A piece of felt was placed on the bed and served as a mattress and there was a narrow elongated pillow made of felt or grass upholstered in leather with ornamental buttons down the side. Next, along the wall were chests and leather sacks with various domestic effects, placed in the front corner (*dër*)—i.e., along the wall opposite the entrance. The lattice walls of the yurt were decorated with photographs, portraits and posters; mirrors



Felt yurt:
1—external view; 2—frame.



Bark dwelling:
1—conical; 2—four-sided, Todzha.

could also be found, and on the chests were piles of books and papers and a sewing machine. Saddles, harnessing, hunting guns, and various other modest accoutrements were kept alongside the left-hand wall from the entrance. The floor on which the inhabitants sat and ate was covered with quilted felt.

The Tuvans of the Todzhinskiy Rayon who hunt and are reindeer-breeders have retained a still more archaic type of dwelling made from poles in the form of a conical tent, which they covered in the winter with dressed reindeer-skins and in the summer with birchbark and larchbark. This type



Utensils:

1—wooden vessel for milk; 2—iron stand for pot; 3—coal tongs; 4—mallet made of tree stump for grinding cooked lily-roots; 5—digging-tools for roots; 6—wooden sieve with net woven from straps; 7—grinding grain in mortar; 8—copper jug for tea; 9—birchbark pail; 10—leather vessel for arak.

of dwelling can occasionally be found even now for work purposes among the Tuvans.

The summer covering was made of strips of birchbark 2 or 3 meters long and 0.75 m wide. There were usually 12 of these strips and they were placed in four rows on the framework so that the top row lay on the bottom one, and were held in position on the outside by poles. The entrance to the dwelling was on the southern side. The birchbark is worked in a special way; it is rolled into a tube and steamed in a cauldron of water for two or

three days, after which it is cut up and each section of the covering is made from three strips. Thread made from sheep's wool is used to join the pieces.

In design the winter dwelling was no different from the summer one. It was also covered with skins. The covering was a triangular section of elk-skin. It was placed over the framework and attached on both edges by straps to the poles marking the entrance. The gap forming at the door was covered with a separate piece of hide. The section of covering (*chyvyg*) was cut from 12-18 skins sewn together with sinew thread. On the outside it was held in position, like the summer dwelling, by poles. The covering lasted many years. The dimensions of an average tent were about 5 m in diameter and as much as 3 m in height.

The stockbreeders of the Todzhinskiy Rayon had yet another type of dwelling—the *alachög*—which was similar to the reindeer-breeders'. It was the same conical tent with a pole framework (*alazhy*). Birchbark was, however, used to cover the top part; the bottom was covered with pieces of larchbark (*shanda*).

As regards the inside, both the summer and winter dwellings of the reindeer-breeders were the same. In the middle was the hearth, or, to be more exact, a place for the fire, or else an iron stove. A cauldron (*pash*) with two handles was suspended from wooden hooks on a hair rope from the apex of the roof. The furnishings were extremely simple. Around the walls resting on the poles were saddlebags (*barba*) and pack and riding saddles. On the right-hand side birchbark vessels and pans, round birchbark pails (*so*), skin bags (*khap*) for tea, salt and flour, leather sacks (*ögeer*) for milk, cloth bags for cheese (*pyishtak*) and so on were hung from hooks made of deerhorn or wood (*asky*) attached to the pole. The right-hand side of the dwelling was for women, and it was there that the women did their work. Utensils were set out around the hearth, including birchbark bowls (*odush*) of various sizes, wooden homemade cups (*ayak*), a stone or wooden block on which brick tea was broken up in a leather bag with the handle of an axe, and a trowel for digging up lily-root (*ozuk*) could also be found.

On the right-hand side, if there was an infant in the family, the Tuvans suspended a cradle (*khavay*), a small birchbark trough attached by straps to the tentpoles. There were no beds. The owner and his wife usually slept on the floor on the right-hand side, while the other members of the family slept anywhere; skins, saddlecloths were spread out on the ground and the people covered themselves with the fur coat they had taken off. The area by the wall opposite the entrance was considered a place of honor. It was there the Tuvans usually hung up Shaman images of the spirits (*eeren*). Lama cult objects were rarely found among the reindeer-breeders.

Over the period under consideration the clothing of the peasants was the same in cut and style as before the Revolution, but factory-made fabrics brought from the USSR became very popular and were available to the masses of the population.

Tuvan food, like the clothing, has retained its national characteristics even to the present time.

Means of Transportation

The principal means of transportation among the Tuvans was the riding and pack horse, and in certain localities (Todzhinskiy and Terekhol'skiy Rayons) the reindeer. In the southern and western regions people also rode oxen and yaks. The riding and pack saddles of the Tuvans were well adapted to local conditions. The packsaddle (*yngyrchak*) has only a wooden base over which the pack is slung. In the riding saddle, the saddle-cushion

is made of felt and upholstered in leather. It has a high, almost vertical forward pommel and a lower rear pommel, slanting backwards. The shaft bows are lined with tin. Apart from the stirrups, a pair of long straps is attached to the wooden rib of the saddle (at the back and front), for attaching the load. A characteristic of the Tuvan saddle is the shelves (tepse) in the form of leather rectangles (often with rounded edges) covered with embossed design projecting from under the cushion and covering part of the stirrup strap. They prevent the leg from rubbing against the stirrup and are also used for ornamentation for the saddle. A thick felt sweat cloth is put beneath the saddle. The cloth is covered with a long leather saddlecloth hanging down below the stirrups; the saddlecloth covers the saddle girths. The reindeer saddle (both for riding and carrying packs) is modeled on the horse saddle and is an adaptation for the reindeer of the method of saddling and loading horses. The load is carried in a leather bag made of dressed foal skin or reindeer hide with the wool outside. The packsaddle for oxen was the same as for horses and reindeer but shorter. It consisted of two wooden boards, had pommels the tips of which were joined by a round stick (crosspiece). The bridle, tailstrap, breastplate and girths were usually made of leather straps. The bridles and reins were also made of hair. Among other means of transportation the Tuvans used (and continue to use) skis and rafts. Just as nowadays, skis were most commonly found in the Todzhinskiy Rayon, usually for hunting but also when the snow was thick and the cattle were being rounded up. The skis were made of spruce, were lined underneath with skin from the legs of elk, reindeer or horses. The length of the skis was supposed to be a quarter as much again as the height of the skier. Sticks (tayak) were used for skiing. Journeys up and down rivers and on lakes were made on rafts (sal) quickly put together from round felled tree trunks bound with birchbark or willow, and this is done even at the present time.

Such, in broad outline, was the domestic way of life of the Tuvans before they joined the USSR. We should add that the pre-Revolutionary customs were retained to some extent in family relations. Despite the fact that the laws of the People's Republic proclaimed the emancipation of women, and that the gradual incorporation of the Tuvan woman into the economic and public life was greatly fostered both by her legal and actual emancipation, the old customs and rituals continued to exist in many families (in the wife's relations with her husband's relatives, in the marriage ritual and so on), reflecting the former subjugation of women in the family.

Public Education

The Government of the Tuvan People's Republic and Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party devoted great attention to the development of culture and, in particular, education of the working people, since before the Revolution literacy among the Tuvans was not more than 1.5% and even that included the lamas, officials and other feudal hierarchy who knew how to read and write the Mongol script (the Tuvans did not have their own script). The working Tuvans were in complete political and economic and also spiritual dependence on the feudal and theocratic aristocracy. More than 5000 lamas employed in about 30 khure (lamseries) and more than 1000 shamans were the "teachers" and "tutors" of the working peasantry. Secular education began in the vernacular among the Tuvans and brought the first good results during the People's Revolution. In 1930, with the help of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a Tuvan script based on Latin characters

was created. But the Latin graphic basis proved to be impractical. It slowed down the development of literacy to a great extent. And it was only the switch from the Tuvan to the Russian alphabet in 1943 that overcame this obstacle. On the eve of Tuva's accession to the USSR there were 86 schools with 4152 pupils in attendance. From the moment it arose the Tuvan school developed as a boarding school, for, given the nomadic way of life of most Tuvans, it was this type of school that proved the most practical, since it enabled the pupils to spend the whole academic year in one place. Attempts were made to set up nomadic schools. Between the years 1934-1939 there were 42 of these. They were open in the summer only (from May through August), classes were held in tents, and schools moved together with the peasants. The subjects taught were the vernacular, arithmetic, natural science, drawing, singing and gymnastics. These schools were of some use in the distant and inaccessible regions, where it would have been difficult to build boarding schools. However, as time went on they were reorganized into boarding schools with a normal period of education, since they could not provide pupils with adequate knowledge and gave the nomadic peasants the wrong idea of the point of schooling, since many of them found a summer school with a short term more convenient than permanent schools which required removal of a child from its family for a long time. The opening of permanent primary schools for the Tuvans involved tremendous difficulties at first because of the lack of settlements, particularly buildings. Here and there the schools were first housed in two-roomed huts, where the teachers lived in one room and the pupils in the other. There were not enough schoolbooks or furniture and the beginning and end of the school year were not fixed. To overcome these difficulties, the construction of special buildings for boarding schools and apartments for the teachers was begun. Over the period 1930 to 1940 more than 200 buildings were completed. It should be mentioned that most of the schools were built by Tuvan labor.

The development of the working Tuvans' culture over this period is shown by the birth of a national literature, the creation of a press, publishing houses, the appearance of science and art and medicine. The population of Tuva laid eyes on newspapers and journals in their own language for the first time. Some of them were published in Russian as well. In 1930, the Tuvan Scholarly Committee was set up and founded the State Archives, Library and Museum. The Committee took an active part in creating the Tuvan national script, in the publication of national textbooks, the training of teachers and the elimination of illiteracy. 1933 saw the founding of the Tuvan Experimental Agricultural Station. In 1940 the Tuvan Theatre Studio founded Tuvan professional music and theatre, which grew up from the activity of amateur groups.

Prior to the national-liberation revolution the Tuvans had no scientific medicine, and sick people resorted to ignorant shamans and lamas who only worsened the patient's state and fleeced him into the bargain by demanding payment in livestock, foodstuffs, cloth and so on for the "treatment." Many lamas posed as Tibetan healers (emchi). Partly using herbs of different kinds, the lamas usually performed magic acts based on exploitation of the crude and ignorant religious views of the Tuvans. We need only recall the amyn choiku applied to the seriously ill by the lamas. The lama made a doll which he dressed in the sick person's best clothing, set it on the best horse belonging to the sick man and led off the horse to a distant place, telling the family of the patient that the spirit of the illness had thereby abandoned the patient. Obviously he took the horse and clothing for himself.

Medicine first reached Tuva after 1909, when Russian doctors and medical assistants began making trips there to visit the Russian traders and gave medical aid to the Tuvans as well en route. However, cases in which the Tuvans appealed to the Russian doctors were rare, since it was forbidden by the lamas, shamans and administrative authorities. Systematic scientific medical attention only became available to the Tuvans after the Revolution, when the USSR government organized special expeditions from the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the USSR. Qualified medical workers went from the Soviet Union to Tuva, taking the latest instruments, equipment and drugs. Over the first 10 years of the introduction of medicine in Tuva 13 hospitals were built, of which the Kyzyl and Chadan Hospitals had surgical wards. In 1929 a maternity ward was added to the Kyzyl Hospital for the first time, after which similar institutions went up in regions where, taking into account the specific way of life of the nomads, "expectancy institutions" were built for pregnant women. The women went into these institutions about a month before the child was due and were taught personal hygiene and child care under proper conditions and under medical observation. When the child was about to be born the woman was moved to a maternity ward of a hospital and given a sum of money for the child when she left. From 1936 on, the Tuvans began to have their own trained medical workers such as midwives, nurses, pharmacists, and from 1941 on they had their own medical assistants and doctors who had been trained in the medical school at Kyzyl and some of the higher educational establishments of the USSR.

Tuvan Autonomous Oblast⁶

The chief branch of the national economy of the present-day Tuvans is agriculture, predominant within which is animal husbandry. However, land cultivation is being developed at the same rate and its contribution to the economy of the oblast is growing so quickly that it is also becoming a very important part of and the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

The Tuvans rear sheep, goats, horses, cattle, camels, reindeer, yaks and pigs. Sheep-breeding plays a leading part. Soon after the establishment of the Soviet system the working masses of peasantry began organizing collective farms, and for the first 10 years of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast more than 95% of the peasant holdings joined into agricultural cooperatives. This was a real revolution in the life of the Tuvan peasantry. We will cite several collective farms as an example. The "Chyrraa-bazhi" collective farm was set up in 1948 in the locality Chyrraa-bazhi in the Dzun-Khemchikskiy Rayon and originally combined 63 nomadic households. Prior to joining the collective farm, all these households wandered separately throughout the year, changing the pastures for their livestock. In

⁶ In the past few years, a number of special works devoted to Tuva have appeared: Kh. M. Seyfulin, *Obrazovaniye Tuvinskoy Avtonomnoy Oblasti (The Formation of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast)*, Kyzyl, 1954; L. V. Grebnev, *Perekhod Tuvinskikh aratov-kochevnikov na osedlost' (The transition of the Tuvan Nomadic Peasants to Settled Life)*, Kyzyl, 1955; V. V. Osipova, V. A. Sokolov, A. P. Glotov and G. M. Tapkhanakov, *Kolkhoz "Put' k kommunizmu" (The "Road to Communism" Collective Farm)*, Kyzyl, 1955; N. A. Serdobov, *Narodnoye obrazovaniye v Tuve (Public Education in Tuva)*, Kyzyl, 1953.



Harnessing for riding horses;
1—horse with one saddle; 2—horse with two saddles.

view of this each farmer changed his residence several times a year and lived with his family in a felt tent.

When they joined the collective farm the peasants settled down and began to till the soil in addition to their age old stock-breeding. More than

15,000 hectares of land, including 550 hectares of ploughland, were put at the disposal of the collective farm on a permanent basis. In 1949, the sown crops occupied an area of 300 hectares. The socialized herds numbered 1000 head. More than 500 hectares were used for meadowland. The collective farm immediately erected a school, an administrative office, a clubhouse, five stables and one cowshed (for 78 cows), four sheepfolds (for 800 sheep), four grain stores, a calf-shed and so on. The immense construction of houses for the farmers was also organized. The collective farm owns machinery consisting of 1 truck, 15 horse-drawn ploughs, 7 mowers, 2 self-operating harvesters, 2 threshers, horse-drawn winnowers, 2 grain sorters. This collective farm, just as the other Tuvan farms, uses the services of a machine tractor station for the most laborious agricultural work. In 1948, a sum of 2 rubles 70 kopeks was paid for each labor unit, plus 2.8 kg of grain, 100 kg of hay and 2 kg of straw. This material security gained by the peasants through joining the collective farm from the very first year could never have been attained from their individual holdings, nor even dreamed of.

An important stage in the further development of this collective farm was its enlargement, after which it was renamed "The Road to Communism." Over the 6 years of its existence the farm grew and turned into a well-organized multibranch farm. The socialized herds number almost 5500 head of stock including about 4000 sheep and goats, while the sown area is more than 1000 hectares. The laborious fieldwork is carried out on behalf of the collective farm by the Chadan machine tractor station. In 1954 the gross yield of wheat was 20-25 tsentners per hectare and 18 tsentners for wheat and barley. On account of productivity and the increased harvests, the value of the labor unit is increasing. In 1954, collective farmers obtained as much as 7 kilograms in grain alone for a labor unit.

This means that collective-farm members who have completed from 300 to 400 labor units would received 2 or 3 tons of grain. Since many of them still have grain left from the 1953 harvest, they all sell considerable amounts of the grain obtained from this distribution to the state. The productivity of animal husbandry has appreciably increased on the farm as well, and the 1954 income was more than 500,000 rubles. They have now begun to shear approximately 2 kg of wool from each sheep, whereas before, under the single-holding method of farming, only 500-600 grams were obtained per sheep. The productivity of animal husbandry has also begun to increase on account of improvement in tending the stock, and the rearing of highly productive breeds (karakul sheep, Simmenthal cows and so on). The collective farm has erected a number of standard buildings for the cattle and has transferred most of the herd to stall-type maintenance. Ensilage, straw and concentrated fodder are used apart from hay for feeding the stock. The old-fashioned method of rearing calves by suckling is gradually going out; it used to be one of the most serious causes of the low milk yield.

Apart from their basic income from distribution of the collective-farm produce, the farmers also receive an income from their own personal farming, since each collective-farm member possesses one or two milch cows, sheep, pigs, poultry, and a vegetable patch. It should be said that the garden crops are becoming more and more common every year. The "Road to Communism" collective farm grows potatoes, cabbages, cucumbers, and tomatoes, which was not possible under the former nomadic way of life.

By 1954 the collective-farm settlement of "The Road to Communism," with its straight streets, was already to be seen, and contained more than

200 structures.⁷ Most of the space is taken up by the collective-farm members' houses built by a building brigade from the farm. These well-designed houses are not only built for farmers living permanently in the settlement, but also for shepherds pasturing their flocks on distant pasturelands, for milkmaids in the dairy section of the farm. Each collective-farm family lives in a timber house consisting of 2 or 3 rooms, a kitchen with a verandah and a small front yard.

There are brick stoves inside these houses, and also ranges. Nothing has been left of the old and nomadic way of life in these warm and light houses, except perhaps for one or two objects. The rooms are furnished with bought furniture, including good metal bedsteads. The walls are adorned with reproductions of Repin, Surikov, Aivazovskiy, and other painters which the collective-farm members eagerly buy in the shops. The windows have curtains, and rugs are hung on the walls, particularly near the beds. The houses are electrically lit. There are radios. The collective farm has erected its own 25-kilowatt power station and laid a telephone line. In the center of the collective-farm settlement there is a clubhouse with a film projection unit. The collective farm has its own seven-year school, a medical point, a maternity home, a nursery, a bathhouse, a bakery, a shop and a small hotel. The farm children, having completed their seven-year education, go to secondary and higher educational establishments in Kyzyl, Abakan, Moscow or Leningrad. The collective farm has already produced its own Tuvan intelligentsia and there are specialists in different branches of the economy—veterinary surgeons, zootechnicians, accountants, tractor-drivers, a carpentry-shop manager, branch-farm managers, and drivers and so on. The chairman of the collective farm, Comrade Nastyk-Dorzhu, was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The "Stalin" collective farm of the Tandinskiy Rayon has a more complicated history, which exactly reproduces the path of development of the Tuvals after the October Revolution. The collective farm was founded in 1931 through the organization of a land cooperative. The collective farming and cultural standard of the farmers began to improve properly when Tuva became part of the Soviet Union. The process developed more intensively when the collective farm was enlarged in 1951. Under its present name the collective farm combines three smaller collective farms in the same rayon. Through this merging, the production potential of the farm was sharply increased. The sown area is now more than 1600 hectares, which makes it possible to switch to profitable large-scale mechanized agriculture with the help of a machine tractor station; in 1954 the sown area exceeded 2000 hectares. A number of harvesting jobs have now been electrified (the operation of the mechanical sower and winnowers); the machine saws, lathes, two mills and so on are now worked collectively. The socialized herd of cattle now comprises more than 4000 head of cattle and about 5000 sheep. In 1954 the number of cattle was increased by 500 head, and the sheep and goats by more than 2500 head. There are more than 10,000 head of stock in all on the farm. 60% of the entire income is from animal husbandry.

Plans for providing stall maintenance of the livestock have been put into action and sheepfolds, cattle-yards, horse-corral and pigsties are being constructed. Just as throughout Tuva, the procurement of fodder for

⁷ In 1955 a book was published under the title "The 'Road to Communism' Collective Farm," in which there is a detailed description of the economic progress of the collective farm, working conditions, and everyday life of the farmers.

the farm is now begun in the spring with the sowing of silage crops, annual grasses and other types of fodder on the farmland, and particular attention is given to haymaking. It is common practice to graze the livestock, usually horses and sheep, in the winter pastures where local conditions permit. For the first time in 1954, the farmers began growing vegetables (potatoes, cucumbers and tomatoes).

The farmers' income is quite sufficient for them to improve their domestic life. In 1953, collective-farm families that had received 2 or more tons of grain each by distribution of the farm income and several thousand rubles in cash were no exception. The financial security of the farmers and their well-planned lives show up in the character of the dwelling. Former nomadic peasants have settled down in wooden houses with electricity and radio. Such items as bicycles, radio receivers, phonographs, sewing machines and so on are now commonly found on the farm, along with woolen and silk fabrics for clothing.

The increased cultural standard of the farm is shown convincingly by the following figures: there are two schools on the farm—a seven-year school and a primary school with boarding facilities for Tuvan children, a clubhouse with a permanent film-projection unit, a library with about 7000 volumes, a medical point, a nursery, a public bathhouse and so on. In national composition the farm is mixed and unites Tuvan and Russian members to live and work harmoniously for the building of a new life.

On the basis of statistics showing the development of agriculture on the Tuvan collective farms it is possible to give a brief general description of Tuvan agriculture over the first 10 years of the Soviet State System. Over this period the reorganization of the land into collective and State farms was basically completed and government statutes granting permanent use of the land in accordance with the Soviet Constitution were drawn up and adopted.

Animal Husbandry

In agriculture animal husbandry was the most important branch, although field agriculture developed intensely at the same time. Steps have been taken to prospect for and utilize underground water by constructing artesian and shaft-type wells to irrigate the dry steppes of Tuva and increase the pasture and meadow land.

Veterinary aid is being organized. At one time there was not a single veterinary worker in Tuva. The farmers tried to "treat" sick animals by primitive, often magical means, which merely helped to spread contagious diseases. Veterinary help among the Tuvans was organized in 1928 with the aid of the Soviet government, and in 1938 the first national veterinary workers appeared (3 doctors and 50 veterinary-assistants).

At the present time there are both permanent veterinary centers and mobile clinics in operation. Veterinary inspection has been organized and preventive measures are carried out. The foundation has been made for permanent and regular training of Tuvan veterinarians.

A specific feature of Tuvan socialist animal husbandry is the extensive use of natural pastures, both summer and winter, which are so plentiful in Tuva. Pasture-type maintenance of the stock among Tuvans is based on the planned and most expedient change from pasture to pasture throughout the year, taking the height of the mountain pastures into account.

Pasturelands are counted, inventoried and distributed among the various collective farms. The individual collective farm distributes the pastureland according to the season, determining the periods of use of seasonal



New settlement at Murnakchi collective farm.

pastures and the timing of stock-drives. At various places, sturdy shelters are built for the stock during bad weather.

The brigade organization of labor and specialization of the collective-farm members according to various types of stock permit more efficient use of summer and winter pastures. The latter are divided into definite categories (far, near, mountain-steppe, valley, by grade of fodder, etc.) and are given over to the most suitable type and age of stock. The best pastures and those closest to the winter camp are left for the coldest and hardest months and used during the period of mass breeding. The availability of labor and other material resources on the collective farm makes possible the pasturing of stock on distant pastures, and the acquisition of new pastures, which in turn permits the expansion of the natural fodder base.

Field Agriculture

During the 10 years of socialist field agriculture, Tuva has not only ceased to import commercial grain but has begun to produce it. Tens of thousands of hectares of virgin and long-fallowland have been ploughed up. The basis of Tuvan field agriculture is grain crops, of which the greatest attention is given to wheat. Means of irrigation are of great significance for agricultural technology.

Tractors and combines are now the essential form of agricultural machinery in Tuva, except in a few places where the terrain makes the use of these machines difficult. Hand sowing was completely eliminated from the practice of Tuvan collective farms in 1950. The development of agro-technology has had a favorable influence on the agricultural yield. Whereas in 1945, the grain yield in Tuva averaged 6 tseentners per hectare, in 1948, it had increased to 15.5 tseentners per hectare. Advanced Russian collective-farm members have begun to obtain yields of 22 to 33 tseentners per hectare. Unfortunately, these yields were received from small plots of land, since there was wide use of the team principle in the organization of labor, which led to the breaking up of the field into tiny parcels, greatly

hindering the application of advanced technology and wasting the resources of the collective farm. The enlargement of the collective farms, and the transition to the brigade organization of labor, removed this hindrance. Many collective farms of Tuva now obtain yields of 20 to 30 tseentners per hectare over large areas.

Many Tuvan collective-farm members leave their jobs for periods of time in order to receive advanced training. Some of them study in a two-year school for preparation of leading collective-farm personnel, while others take the numerous courses or attend seminars both in the city of Kyzyl and in the rayon centers. Many more improve their skills without leaving their jobs, by reading, and attending lectures and other special instruction organized on the collective farms by rayon and oblast institutions. Personnel are also prepared by the Tuvan Agricultural Tekhnikum.

Hunting

Together with agriculture, hunting retains its importance in some regions of Tuva. It plays an important role in the economy of northeastern Tuva, especially the Todzhinskiy Rayon. Fur-hunting is of commercial importance for the economy of the entire oblast.

The basic weapon for hunting is now the modern hammer-gun, but muzzle-loaders and even flintlocks are preserved in some places; the latter are fired from a special wooden stand. The basic game animal is the squirrel, although other small animals are also hunted (sable, ermine, otter, fox, etc.). Furs are sold by the hunters to state procurement organizations. Large horned animals, except for elk and Siberian stag, are hunted for their meat and skins. Elk and Siberian stag are hunted for their valuable horns (panty).

The state procurement organizations conclude agreements with the Tuvan collective farms, bring in a large quantity of commercial goods and supplies, and advance these items to the hunters on the conclusion of the agreement. When the agreement is fulfilled, the collective farm receives, apart from payment for the game delivered, considerable sums in reimbursement of the expenses connected with the hunting. For overfulfillment of the agreement, the procurement organization pays the collective farm an additional sum, agreed on beforehand.

Collective farms also make collaborative agreements. By the terms of such an arrangement the collective farm assigns men to hunting, relieving them of other duties for the hunting season. For such collaboration, the state pays the collective farm an additional prearranged percentage of the value of the game delivered. The collective farms assign to their hunters horses, food supplies, and even see that they are provided with up-to-date newspapers, and arrange for picking up of the game in the taiga.

Industry and Construction

Over a ten-year period, the total production of industry in Tuva increased four-fold, and the productivity of labor increased several times over. The yield of coal and timber, as well as construction materials (sawn planks, bricks, etc.) and consumer goods, increased to an especially great degree. The construction of power stations has begun. The electricity received from these stations is used for productive and service needs. Power stations are being built by a number of large collective farms both separately and in combination. In the latter case, construction is supervised by an inter-collective-farm council, elected by the builders.

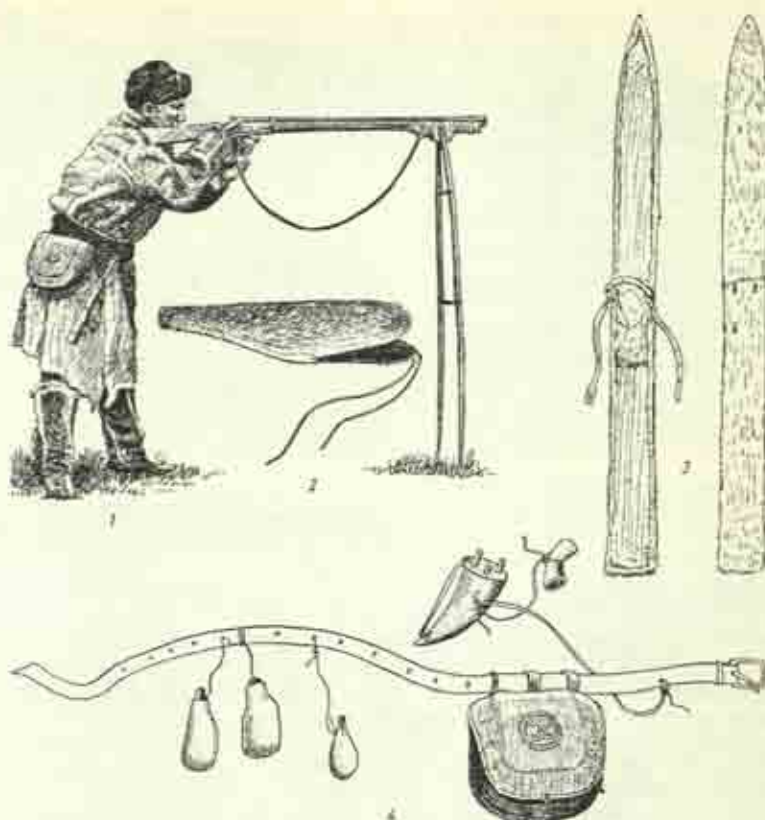


Collecting the first potato harvest. Todzha.
"May First" collective farm.

Tuvan workers live in well-planned apartments furnished in urban style, and wear city-type clothes for both everyday and dress purposes. Many of them maintain small home farms (cow, vegetable garden).

National economic and cultural centers are appearing and developing in the Tuvan Republic (Kyzyl, Turan, Chadana, Shagonar), and are gradually combining the whole oblast into a single economic whole. The oblast administrative, economic and cultural center—Kyzyl—is linked to the other economic centers in our country. This city is situated where the rivers Ply-Khem and Kaa-Khem merge. It was founded in 1914 by the Russian workers. From a small settlement it has grown into a town of some size which is rapidly being remodeled. Over the last 10 years alone its population has been quadrupled. There, apart from the administrative Republic and oblast institutions, there is a considerable amount of local industry (sawmills, brickworks, furniture factories, food and garment factories, and so on). The town has more than 20 different schools, a teachers' institute, a research institute, a museum, and other cultural establishments. There are many shops, a hospital, theatres and so on. When the powerful power stations, repair shop, mill and cannery at present under construction are completed, Kyzyl will become a major industrial center of Tuva.

Since it is isolated from the other parts of the country by the Eastern and Western Sayans, and does not have a railroad, Tuva is widely developing road communications by which most of the regions of the oblast are linked. Bus lines (and taxis) are running both in Kyzyl and between a number of rayons. Buses and taxis run regularly between Kyzyl and Abakan, the center of the Khakasy Autonomous Oblast (the railroad point closest to Tuva), over the Sayan Range. Nevertheless, there are still places (the Todzhinskiy and other rayons) which can only be reached by air or by animal transportation. The presence of these isolated regions not only slows down development of Tuva's internal economic ties but also the rapid development of the socialist reconstruction of these regions. Apart from road and air transport, it



Hunting gear: 1—hunter with flintlock gun on support; 2—fur cover for stock of gun; 3—skis lined with skins; 4—belt with gear.

is now common practice for Tuvan farmers to harness horses to carts and sleighs in the Russian style, and these have almost entirely replaced the pack method of carrying loads. Riding animals are still retained. For rivers and lakes, use is made of rafts, boats, and launches. The bicycle, motorcycle and passenger car are becoming common. Throughout the oblast, houses are being built to settle the peasants. In 1949 alone Tuvan collective-farm members built more than 1000 houses, dozens of schools and hundreds of other farm and cultural structures. All this has been done by the farmers themselves. The Tuvans have trained their own teams of carpenters, cabinetmakers, roofers and brickmakers. Over the first 10 years more than 6000 houses alone have been built in the oblast.

Not only is the adult population engaged in the building of the new socialist way of life; the schoolchildren are helping too, and in the summer their participation in farm work is greatly valued by the farmers. Schoolchildren make up the bulk of the transport brigades carrying timber to the site of farm building and help with the harvesting of hay and crops.

Individual Farming and Dwellings

There are two groups of rayons in Tuva in which the size of the farmland utilized on a personal basis and the number of stock and poultry owned



Old forms of transportation still used at the present time: 1—little raft;
2—pack ox with drag frame; 3—packhorse carrying firewood.

privately by the farmer are determined on a different basis. In the Kyzyl'skiy, Kaa-Khemskiy, Piy-Khemskiy, Ulug-Khemskiy, Tandinskiy, Chaa-Khol'skiy, Dzun-Khemchikskiy and Barun-Khemchikskiy Rayons, where both animal husbandry and field agriculture are developed, the size of the private allotment is 0.35-0.45 hectares, apart from the land occupied by the dwellings. In these regions a member of a collective farm may also privately own 1 horse, 2 or 3 cows and calves, up to 25 sheep and goats, 2 or 3 sows with their offspring, unlimited poultry and rabbits, and up to 20 beehives.

In the Bay-Tayginskiy, Tes-Khemskiy, Todzhinskiy, Ovyurskiy, Erzinskiy and Sut-Khol'skiy Rayons, where the animal husbandry is predominant, the size of the individual farm, without the land occupied by the dwelling, amounts to 0.25-0.35 hectares. Here each farmer may privately own 4 or 5 cows (apart from the young) or 10 reindeer (in the reindeer-breeding regions), 1 horse or 2 camels, 30 to 40 sheep or goats, 2 or 3 sows with offspring, and an unlimited number of poultry and rabbits.

In many parts the Tuvan farmers grow a variety of vegetables on their plots. Private pastures for grazing the stock are allotted by the collective farm. But for most of the year, the livestock is kept in stalls in the farmyard specially constructed by the farmers. The farmers receive fodder in return for completed labor units. On those farms on which communal farming is developing and strengthening more rapidly and where the collective-farm income is growing at a faster rate, the Tuvan farmers show a tendency to reduce the size of their private farming as laid down by the collective-farm charter, since it involves a considerable amount of labor and on these farms it is far less profitable than the income obtained for labor units.

The selection of the sites for collective-farm settlements and the economic center of the farm is thoroughly discussed at meetings of farmers, the first inhabitants of future settlements. The construction is based on standardized designs. The usual structure is a one-family house, 5 x 7 or 6 x 7 m, or a two-family house 10 x 6 m. When new Tuvan settlements are planned, provision is made for the most desirable arrangement of farm buildings, public buildings and accommodations. The farm buildings are erected close to the fields and pastures to make it more convenient to bring in the harvest to the storehouses, feed the livestock, take out seed and fertilizer and so on.

Soviet and Party officials from the oblast and rayon centers have organized special meetings of farmers on each farm to discuss the moving in of some farmer into a completed house. The new residents are taught how to arrange the furniture, light the stove, use it to cook food, wash the floors, keep the rooms clean, and so on. Nevertheless, there are still farmers who, like the unaffiliated, are still forced to live in their old dwellings set up when they were nomads and which are uncomfortable and cold. But this is not typical of Tuva. At the present time, it is more usual to see a wooden log house with the characteristic furnishings of a settled way of life, although elements of the old mode of living are still retained as regards utensils, the use of felt, the arrangement of the furniture and so on. Even in the Todzhinskiy Rayon the wooden house has replaced the archaic yurt. The tent is retained only as a summer dwelling or farm building. The complete disappearance of the tent (alachyg) with all its archaic trimmings is only a question of time.

Food

Tuvan food retains a number of national features which for the most part came into being before the Revolution. This relates first and

foremost to dairy products. Even now the Tuvans prefer cow's milk particularly in the summer in the sour form. The predominant milk product in the summer is khoypak, a drink consumed either in the pure form or else with slightly roasted millet, boiled potatoes or bread. It is very similar to the Altay chegen' or the Khakasy ayran. The khoypak is used to make a hard sour cheese (kurut). Pressed curds are cut into lumps and placed over the fire (on a wooden grill). Sometimes the curds are not pressed but left to dry in the sun. Dried curds or archy are also preserved for the winter. They are either added to tea or mixed with cream or else used to season soup. Sour milk is made into a soft sweetish product called edzhegy. Butter is made from cream (örome) by the normal domestic method.

At the present time bread is becoming a more and more important part of the farmer's diet because of the collective-farm bakeries and the transfer to well-designed houses with a Russian stove. Bread can be bought by the individual farmers as well, on trips to the regional centers, where it is sold in both restaurants and shops. A common item of food among the Tuvan peasants is millet, particularly in the winter. It is boiled in the uncrushed form and then roasted slightly in small portions in a very hot pot. The husk bursts and jumps off the grain during this process and can later be removed by sifting. The roast grain is eaten with tea, milk, with cream, or else made into porridge (with water or milk).

The types of food described above, together with certain others, and the methods of cooking them established in Tuvan folk cuisine by their nomadic way of life, are giving way at the present time under the influence of new dishes borrowed mainly from the Russians, on account of the spread of the Russian stove and range, and, also, a variety of kitchen utensils bought in shops.

A predominant part of the diet of Tuvan unaffiliated farmers is barley. Barley grains are used to make a kind of talkan which is eaten in tea. The Tuvans drink tea three or four times a day. They prefer brick or green slab tea which is boiled with milk and salt. In the winter they make a daily stew with barley grains and meat, or a millet soup. Soup is often made with noodles, or they cook the noodles by themselves (usken talkan) which they make from wheat flour. Unleavened pancakes are made from flour by roasting or boiling in butter or baking. Reindeer-breeders cook their meat with dried lily-root. A milk stew is made from the roots of the lily and the adder's-tongue. Fresh lily-root is baked in the ashes.

Reindeer milk is drunk fresh or added to tea. It is also preserved for the winter in leather sacks hung up in the yurt. The milk is first curdled and then dried. Dried milk is diluted with tea (in a small separate vessel) and added to the boiling tea. Cheese (pyshtak) is made in small quantities from reindeer milk. Sour milk is poured into a bag made of white cotton and lowered into boiling water; curdled and boiled milk is pressed and made into cheese. In this particular case the method of using cow's milk to make a sweetish cheese, common among the Turkic nomads, is also used for reindeer milk and has the same name.

Meat plays an important part in the Tuvan diet. It is mainly eaten boiled. The rump and tail (udzha) of sheep, the thorax (tosh), the ribs and shoulder (chaar) are considered the special parts and are offered to guests. The blood of an animal is collected poured into cleaned intestines, and made into blood sausage.

Fish is roasted on a spit (small fish), or boiled (larger fish). At the present time collective-farm members, like the town dwellers, buy many different types of food (various groats, macaroni, pastries, confectionery,

sugar and sausages) in rural and rayon center shops. Tuvans living in the rayon centers and towns, particularly the workers and employees, usually eat in public dining rooms. These dining rooms and tearooms are rapidly spreading to collective farms as well, in view of the settling down of the Tuvans and the emergence of permanent settlements.

Clothing

The clothing of the present-day Tuvans has undergone considerable changes together with the change in their way of life. Most peasants wear the Mongol-type of national dress in the same form as it has been worn over the last one and a half or two centuries. The summer dress for men among the peasants, as made by themselves, consists of a short shirt and trousers made of cheap cotton or dalemba. The shirt (both men's and women's) has a slit opening and an upright collar which is bent back like a turned-down collar and buttoned with one button. Sometimes the shirt is made with an opening all the way down. The women's shirt has short sleeves. Trousers are worn with a narrow belt passed through loops or else with a cord. The women now wear a short skirt. As outer clothing they have a light robe made of dark blue or black material, particularly when leaving the house. This robe is very long and is the same for men and women; it is closed left over right and buttoned at the shoulder and under the arm. The robe has a stepped opening on the top side and a high standing collar which is worn turned down. The robe is belted with a piece of cloth.

In the winter, men and women wear a sheepskin coat of the same cut as the robe, but with a low upright collar. For women the coat is finished with a narrow strip of valuable fur, colored embroidery along the hem and a flap at the bust.

In the summer as headgear men have a bought felt hat, a cap or a military-style cap. Women and girls wear kerchiefs, berets, and in the house go about with an uncovered head and with their hair bound into a bun; they do not plait their hair. The men either cut their hair short or else have the ordinary urban-type haircut. Old men and women keep their hair short. In the winter the men wear warm caps, sometimes of fur but more often the factory-made type, while women still have their warm kerchiefs.

National footwear is still retained and consists of leather boots with a thick multilayer sole, a felt lining inside and a sharp turned-up toe; they also have boots made of hide from the legs of the roe deer, reindeer or elk with the fur outside. This footwear is worn by both men and women.

The old national dress has been retained to an even greater degree among the Tuvan farmers of the Todzhinskii Rayon, where men's and women's outer clothing only differs as far as headgear and ornaments are concerned. The summer clothing, apart from the shirt and trousers, consists of the type of robe described above, though sometimes they are made from spring reindeer skins on which only the underfur is left, rather than from cloth. The robe is worn with a belt. Summer trousers are also made of dressed reindeer skin or roe-deer skin. Summer footwear is made either from bought leather or else from the legs (with the spring coat) of the reindeer or else elk or Siberian stag. Men wear a round hat made of fine lamb-skin, but more often headgear bought in the shop. Women cover their heads with a kerchief, tying the ends at the back of the neck, or else wear a bought beret. Winter fur coats are of the same cut as the robe; they are made from reindeer skin with the fur inside and are covered on the outside with a dark blue, black or even red (for women) cloth. The upright collar is



Clothing:

1—winter robe lined with reindeer furs; 2—men's hat (back and front view); 3—women's headgear; 4—old-fashioned women's hat; 5—women's kerchief; 6—winter footwear made of wild goat skin; 7—winter footwear made of elk-suede with fur stocking inside; 8—summer footwear made of elk-suede; 9—leather footwear of the Mongol type.

made of sheepskin. The sleeves of the robe taper downwards and are finished with semicircular sheepskin cuffs. The hems are embroidered with strips of cloth. The women's fur coat has a larger amount of appliqué made from colored cloth which is sewn on from the left shoulder down to the right armpit.

Hunters wear a knee-length coat (chagy) made of roe-deer skin with the fur outside and with a vent at the back reaching to the knee. The sides do not overlap but fit together and are tied with straps; the collar also ties in the front. Here and there we still find the old-fashioned short jacket (khurme) made of skin (with the wool outside) from the head of the roe deer, without a collar, but with a circular neck; the sides, of equal width, fit together and are tied with straps. It is worn over the top of the fur coat. Winter trousers are often made from summer skin (with the underfur) of the reindeer or roe deer, with the wool inside. Footwear is made from skins taken from the legs of the reindeer, elk or roe killed in winter. Hunters also wear knee-pieces made from soft smooth reindeer skin or sometimes roe-deer skins, and occasionally horsehide with the wool outside. The knee-pieces are attached to the belt by means of loops.

The national dress of the Tuvan collective-farm members at the present time is combined with urban-style clothes sold in the village and town shops. Tuvans are gradually changing to this type of clothing. The old lengthy robes and fur coats suited to the nomadic way of life and to riding are absolutely out of place for walking and doing many new types of agricultural work. This makes it quite clear why the Tuvans wish to acquire town clothes at the first opportunity. This is particularly true of the young people of both sexes who do not want to wear heavy cumbersome footwear and ankle-length coats or robes which hamper their movements. To this should be added the effect of those Tuvans living in the towns and rayon centers (workers, employees and students) who wear urban-style clothing. The old style of Tuvan dress, despite the fact that it is commonly found, is doomed to die out, as clearly out of keeping with the new forms of domestic and working life. It is only the material (sheepskin, reindeer hide, leather and so forth) which will retain its importance for certain types of clothing, particularly in regions with a severe climate.

The Position of Women

The domestic life of the modern Tuvans not only shows an abrupt change in the material sense, but, also, in a break with the old family relations, which still retain feudal-clan elements. This shows up most vividly in the status of the ordinary Tuvan woman, who in the past was confined to the narrow framework of a difficult domestic existence. The Tuvan woman attained equality in all spheres of economic, political, cultural and public life under the Constitution of the Tuvan People's Republic. She was not only granted the formal right of equality with men but also provided with the condition to exercise those rights; equal payment with men, paid holidays and pregnancy leave (with maintenance), social security, and so on. Any violation of equality for women in any sphere of economic, political or cultural life was forbidden and punishable by law. Forced marriages were forbidden and the marrying of girls under age was punished.

The implementation of the rights of the Tuvan woman granted under the Tuvan Constitution required a relentless campaign against many old customs which had been in existence for centuries. These included bride-price and the treatment of women as property, a number of taboos for women with regard to their husband's older relatives and parents (the woman was forbidden to mention these relatives by name, to appear in front of them with an uncovered head or without footwear and so on), cases of polygamy, levirate, and the arrangement of marriage between children under age, even children not yet born. Even nowadays, survivals in the field



New settlement, Tandinskiy Rayon.

of marital relations still persist to some extent among the unaffiliated farmers.

The easiest thing to achieve was the participation of women in the working life of the Tuvans, prevented earlier by the confines of household work and family customs. Progress was then attained in the incorporation of women in public and political life, and education. During World War II, Tuvan women represented a substantial source of labor for agriculture and local industry. Unaffiliated Tuvan women, leaving aside those who were in the land cooperatives, sowed wheat over and above the plan as their war effort, reared and looked after livestock. Just before Tuva became part of the USSR about 1000 women were working in Communist Party and government organizations in the towns, settlements and villages.

Public Education

An important indication of the present standard of culture of the Tuvans is the state of their education. The Soviet government and Communist Party have given this problem a tremendous amount of attention.

The children of working Tuvans going to school are completely looked after by the state, including food and uniforms. This has made it possible for the masses of Tuvan children to receive education. In Tuva there are several dozen boarding schools, particularly important in view of the fact that not all Tuvan peasants have yet settled down. For the first 19 years of the existence of the Tuvan Autonomous Oblast the budget for education has become 7 times greater, as compared with 1944, and is about 50,000,000 rubles. Compared with the 1943-1944 school year, when Tuva was still the People's Republic, other schools have been almost doubled (from 86 to 160), while the number of Tuvan pupils has become 3-1/2 times greater. Literacy among the population has risen to 95%.

Five years after Tuva became part of the Soviet Union there were about 3000 pupils who had graduated from the 4th grade, 400 from the 7th grade; and 45 students had received diplomas. Some of the graduates went on to

various higher educational establishments about the country, while others stayed in the oblast and worked in different sections of socialist construction.

An important problem that is having to be solved at the present time for Tuvans in the field of education is the training of Tuvan teachers. Over the period of the Soviet regime an institute for advanced training of teachers and a teacher's school have been set up in Kyzyl. The Abakan Teachers' Institute contains a Tuvan language and literature department which trains teachers for Tuvan schools. In Kyzyl there is a teachers' institute—the first higher educational establishment, and since 1956 there has been a pedagogical institute.

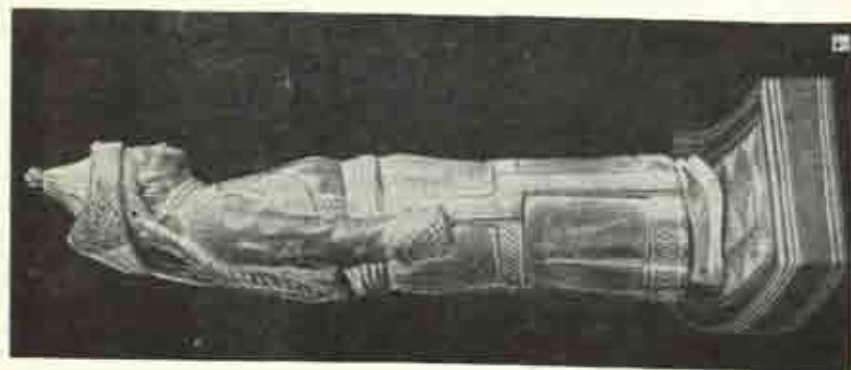
Much attention is given to the teaching of Russian. Through the medium of Russian, Tuvans can acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the treasury of knowledge of advanced socialist culture and science, first and foremost the works of Marxism and Leninism. The underdevelopment of the present-day Tuvan literary language and writing, lack of translators and so on, still hamper education in the vernacular among the masses of Tuvans. Workers, collective-farm-members, students, the urban and rural intelligentsia are striving to master Russian on a par with their own language. Great assistance in the study of Russian is now rendered by the local school. Since 1946-47 the teaching of Russian has been introduced in all Tuvan schools. Since the 1949-50 school year, preparatory classes have been organized in all Tuvan schools for seven-year-old children in which Russian is begun in the second half-year.

Certain Tuvans, including those who have graduated from Tuvan secondary schools, are now successfully studying in the Oriental and Philological Departments of Leningrad University. Among them there are people who have graduated from the State University and the Military-Medical Academy in Leningrad, the Moscow Veterinary Institute, the Omsk Agricultural Institute, and so on.

The Tuvan national schools use textbooks in their own language. A great amount of work is going on to translate and write new textbooks; a number of special secondary schools have sprung into existence, such as an agricultural tekhnikum, a trade-cooperative school, an agricultural mechanization school, a medical school, a musical academy, a Party school, and so on.

Of great importance, as well, is the mass work to eliminate illiteracy and partial illiteracy among the adult population. Groups set up for this purpose crisscross the whole of Tuva. In them, adult Tuvans study specially compiled curricula. The teachers in these groups are representatives from different sections of the population: there are teachers who are studying advanced courses in schools, teachers who come home for the holidays, workers, employees, literate advanced collective-farm members and so on. A tremendous part in the elimination of illiteracy among the adults is played by the rural Komsomol organizations, the officials of the mobile Red Tents, libraries, and so on. The rayon executive committees and their educational departments, the rayon Communist Party and Komsomol committees guide and follow the development of this extremely important work throughout Tuva. It is also going on on a wide scale in the Todzhinskiy Rayon, which is the most backward one from the point of view of culture.

The system of political-educational establishments contributes very greatly to the raising of cultural standards. The mass scale, highly varied forms and socialist content of the work conducted by these establishments in the Tuvan language is a great contribution to both the broadening of Tuvan horizons and the molding of a socialist world outlook among the



Stone carving. Work of Toybu-khau:
1—Tuvan woman in old-fashioned dress; 2—hunter; 3—chessmen.

Tuvans. About 70 permanent and mobile school units, more than 200 libraries, including 1 oblast library and 14 rayon libraries, 15 rayon houses of culture, several dozen reading rooms, dozens of rural clubs, dozens of radio-relay stations and so forth, provide the masses of Tuvans with a wide variety of specific knowledge of various branches of science, art, culture, politics and so on. All this fosters self-education, and helps the Tuvans to develop their socialist national culture more rapidly.

A specific though now declining method used by the Tuvan political-educational establishment is the mobile Red Tent and sometimes simply the Red Tent (Todzhinskiy Rayon), which by moving from one collective farm to another or from one unaffiliated stockbreeding camp to another carries to the Tuvans a variety of theoretical and practical knowledge and cultural entertainment. The mobile Red Tent supplies fresh newspapers, library books, posters, radio-receivers, musical instruments; lectures and reports are given in it on the most important international and domestic events, on agriculture; natural science and the new socialist culture are propagandized.

Medicine

Medical institutions are widespread in Tuva. Free medical attention has already become part of the everyday life of Tuvans both among town dwellers and collective-farm members, as well as among unaffiliated peasants. In Tuva there are no rural soviets or collective farms left that do not have a medical center. The medical establishments of the Tuvans function on the basis of the achievements of Soviet medicine and are known for their good planning. The central hospital in Kyzyl is wonderfully equipped with modern equipment. The same thing can be said of the clinic with its physiotherapy department and various specialized sections in the laboratories. Even over the first five years of the Soviet regime in Tuva the number of doctors and junior medical personnel has been quadrupled since 1944. In 1954, there were more than 200 doctors alone in the oblast.

Folk Art

The Tuvan Oblast Theatre consists of two troupes—Tuvan and Russian. The national Tuvan troupe includes singers (with men and women soloists), and musicians who play national instruments. A characteristic and specific feature of Tuvan music is the so-called two-voiced solo or "throat" singing commonly found among native Tuvans and hardly observed anywhere else. The singer sings in two voices. With his lower voice he sings the melody and accompanies it at the same time with a surprisingly pure and tender sound similar to that of the flute.

In addition, the wonderful folk graphic art of the Tuvans, examples of which can be found in the larger ethnographic museums of the Soviet Union, continues to flourish. It is represented by stone carving (agalmatolite) and wood-carving, copper and bronze casting, and the painting of wooden household objects (cupboards, beds and drawers). Curious Tuvan chessmen carved from stone or cast in metal, and various children's toys or statuettes made of stone and wood usually representing wild animals or domestic animals, sometimes depicted in complicated fighting poses, are of particularly high merit.

Apart from chessmen and statuettes, Tuvan stone-carvers make attractive inkstands. The casting of metal is commonly found in the Mongun-Tayginskiy Rayon; among the objects made are ornaments for saddles and



Tuvan Musician Anay-ool playing the pyzanchi.

harness made from bronze or silver plate engraved with fine designs. The polished bone buttons embellished with fine patterns made by the Tuvans are excellent. The Tuvans still have interesting games, which are given brief descriptions in ethnographic literature. Examples are taly, which is like dominoes, and curious games with crisscrossed boards, such as bugashatra, which are quite different from chess or checkers.





THE WEST-SIBERIAN TATARS

V. V. KHRAMOVA

General Information

The West-Siberian Tatars live chiefly in rural localities, and their settlements are interspersed among the Russian settlements. To a lesser extent they live in the towns of Western Siberia, such as Tyumen', Tobol'sk, Tomsk, Tara, Barabinsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk and other places. In the Tyumenskaya Oblast the Tyumen' and Tobol'sk Tatars live in Baykalovskiy, Velizhanskiy, Vagayskiy, Dubrovinskiy, Tobol'skiy, Tyumenskiy, Yalutorovskiy, Yarkovskiy Rayons, and to a lesser extent in other rayons, and along the banks of the rivers Tobol, Irtysh, Tura, Tavda, Iset', Pyshma, Achiry, Noska, Layma. The Tara Tatars are settled in Tarskiy Rayon of Omskaya Oblast along the banks of the Irtysh and Tara. The Baraba Tatars live farther to the southeast, in Novosibirskaya Oblast (in Barabinskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Chanovskiy, Kargatskiy, Kyshtovskiy, and Severny Rayons), along the Om' and its tributaries, and in the Baraba steppes. The Tomsk Tatars live in the environs of Tomsk.

The Tatars by preserving the territorial (geographic) names call themselves: Tobol'k (Tobol'sk), Tarlyk (Tara), Baraba (Barabinsk). At the end of the 16th century, when the Tatars began paying tribute in furs to the Muscovite tsar, they called themselves Yasakly, i.e., the payers of the yasak, as distinct from the population exempted from this tax. The name Top-lyerly-Khalk, meaning older inhabitants, also existed and was used by the indigenous Tatars to distinguish themselves from the people arriving in their territory at that time from Bukhara. The people from Bukhara sometimes called themselves Bukhariyk, but most of them were known as Sarts, and some of them as Uzbeks.

In addition to these territorial names, there were also tribal and clan appellations such as Shibans, from the surname of the Sheybanids, to which Kuchum belonged; Tara, who divided into the Ayal, Tural, Kurdak and Sart tribes; the Yeushta Tatars, from the name of a Tatar clan, Yeushta, which lived near Tomsk; the Tobol'sk Tatars, including the Kurdaks, Tugus, Yaskalby and Nanga; the Ishim Tatars, consisting of the Sargachiks (named after the khan, Sargachik, who ruled them); the Baraba Tatars consisting of the Terena, Tara, Barama, Kelebe, Longa, Lovey and Kargans. Their neighbors, the Khanty and Mansi, Bashkirs and Kazakhs, called the Tatars Khatan', Turai, or Nogay, and the Sel'kups called them Tyn. The very recent Tatar migrants from behind the Urals were called the Transmountain Tatars by the Russians.

The language of the Tobol'sk and Barabinsk Tatars belongs to the

Kypchak group of Turkic languages. It divides into several dialects, subdivided into subdialects; the Tyumen' and Yalutor dialects spoken by the Tyumen' Tatars; the Tarilyk dialect spoken by the Tara Tatars; the Baraba dialect spoken by the Barabans; and the Irtysh dialect spoken by the Tobol'sk and some other Tatars.

The closeness of the culture of the Siberian Tatars to that of the Kazan Tatars should be mentioned. This is not only due to the fact that the ancestors of the present-day Tatars were in close contact with the Kazan Tatars, and were closely associated with them economically and culturally, but also to the numerous migrations of the Kazan Tatars from European Russia into the regions in which the Siberian Tatars were settled. The first group of migrants appeared in the 18th century. In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the migratory movement was intensified. The migrants sometimes set up separate settlements, although they also settled conjointly with the Siberian Tatars. The difference between the indigenous and immigrant Tatars was sustained by the fact that they belonged to different classes—the native and Russian peasant groups.

According to the All-Union census of 1926, there were 22,636 Tyumen' Tatars, 32,102 Tobol'sk Tatars, 11,517 Tara Tatars, and 7,528 Barabinsk Tatars; the Tomsk Tatars were not counted separately, and 11,659 Bukharans were included.¹

The nearest historical ancestors of the various territorial groups of present-day Siberian Tatars are thought to be the Turkic-speaking Kypchak tribes who inhabited the vast expanses reaching from the West-Siberian Lowlands to the lower reaches of the Volga in the 12th and 13th centuries. In the 13th century the Kypchaks were subjugated by the Mongols and incorporated into Genghis Khan's empire. During this period there was intermixture of the Turkic and Mongol ethnic elements. Later on, this territory was settled chiefly by Turkic-speaking nomads, including the ancestors of the Siberian Tatars, and was part of the Golden Horde state formed by Genghis Khan's grandson Batu (Juchi Ulus). The eastern section of this state was known as the White Horde. After Batu's death (1255), the White Horde was divided up among his sons. The decline of the Golden Horde and the political fragmentation of this state in the first half of the 15th century through internal strife brought about the dissolution of the White Horde as well. The White Horde gave rise to a number of ulusy, the chief of which were the Nogay, ruled by Yedigey and his descendants, which occupied the steppes between the Volga and the Urals; and the Sheybanid, which was ruled by the Sheybanid Dynasty, and which united a number of Turkic-speaking tribes ethnogenetically related to the present-day Uzbeks. This was also the period of formation of the Siberian Khanate situated to the north of the Sheybanid Ulus with its center, at first, in Chingi-Tura (Tyumen'), later in Kyzyl-Tura (Ust'-Ishim) and finally in Isker (near Tobol'sk). Khans of the Sheybanid Dynasty also ruled in these parts. A historical monument of this period is the epos of the present-day Siberian Tatars (Tyumen', Tobol'sk, Baraba and Ishim) which still retains stories of the khans of the Golden Horde, Yedigey, Tokhtamysh, the Astrakhan khan Kasym, and so on.

The boundaries of the Siberian Khanate stretched to the Urals in the

¹The registration of the Bukharans in the 1926 census is very inaccurate, since at this time many of them already considered themselves to be Tatars, and, conversely, the statistical administrations in certain rayons (Tavricheskiy and others) put down the Bukharans as true Tatars.

west, to the river Tavda in the north, to the Ishim steppes in the south and to the Baraba steppes in the east.

The Siberian Khanate traded with Mongolia, Western China and the Russian State, and acted as an intermediary between these states, on the one hand, and the tribes of northern Siberia on the other. Trade was conducted along the caravan highways, established in ancient times. One of these roads passed through present-day Tobol'sk, Irtysh, Vagay, the upper reaches of the Ishim into Turkestan, over the sands of the Kzyl-Kum to Bukhara, while another ran to the west over the Ural Mountains through the Volga region to Moscow. The caravans which passed along these roads were often raided by the nomads living nearby. Furs, hides, fish, mammoth ivory, wool and other commodities were brought from Siberia, and from Central Asia came grain, tea, paper, dried fruit, ornaments, iron implements, chests, crockery, mirrors and so on. It was mainly the Bukharans who engaged in trade, although the Novgorod merchants also knew of these lands.

The Siberian Khanate was feudal. Its population was sharply divided into two parts. The bulk consisted of laboring Tatars who carried out various compulsory duties for their feudal lords, while the minority was comprised of the ruling class consisting of the khan, his sultan sons, the nobles around the khan (ulans), the Tatar princes (beks) and their children (murzas). Among the ruling clique there were also many Bukharans who had trade relations with the Central Asian states and knew all their customs and laws.

The rank and file of Turkic-speaking pastoral nomads, as well as the dependent tribes speaking other languages (including the Khanty and the Mansi) living along the Irtysh and Ob', paid tribute.

The population was divided into administrative units headed by princes, elders and so forth. This system was subsequently used by the tsarist voyevods for the collection of taxes for the tsar's treasury. The former Tatar divisions were turned into volosts.

At the time of the fall of Kuchum (1582), Russian detachments commanded by Yermak forced a number of the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes to move eastwards. Some of them appeared on the territory of present-day Tomsk, while others settled in the Chulyum Basin, where they mixed with other Turkic-speaking tribes and formed the Chulyum Tatar group. The marshy regions along the rivers Noska, Layma, Achirka and smaller tributaries, west of the territory of present-day Tobol'sk, was settled by the so-called Marsh Tatars, who considered themselves descendants of the Kuchum, and arrived in these parts after the fall of the Siberian Khanate.

When Western Siberia was incorporated into the Russian State, a new period began in the history of the Siberian Tatars and brought about many changes in their lives. Russian economy and culture were adopted by the Tatars; their occupations and dwellings were changed, their clothing was improved, variety was added to their food, and many tools were taken over.

With the arrival in Western Siberia of the Russians, towns and forts began to spring up; for example, Tobol'sk (1587), which later became the administrative center of Siberia, Tyumen' (1586), Tara (1594) and many other places. By its policy, the Muscovite State consolidated the socio-economic inequality of the Tatars; it supported the Tatar feudal lords by giving them a number of privileges. A special class of Tatars arose who undertook administrative and military service in Russian towns. In the 18th century, Christianity was established among the Tatars. Churches were built in the towns, the newly arrived clergy took the best sites and obtained large plots of land.

The bulk of the working Tatar population had to pay the fur-tax and other taxes. The tax-paying Tatars were not in a position to pay their taxes in full; the arrears mounted up with the years and passed from sons to grandsons, amounting to very large totals. The extra taxes were several times greater than the fur-tax. This situation motivated many open uprisings against the tsarist administration.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, in accordance with the "Native Code" drawn up by Speranskiy (1822), the Siberian Tatars were classed as settled natives. From that time on the arrears in taxes increased still more. Many Tatars were obliged to give up farming and go to work in the towns, in establishments owned by Russians and Tatars (tanning was developed at this period in the Tyumen' region and timber in Tobol'sk). At the end of the 19th century Tatar workers began to appear and the national bourgeoisie increased in strength. By the October Revolution, the Siberian Tatars were a minority among the Russian population and lived mainly in rural localities, often mixed with Russians.

Economy and Everyday Life Before the October Revolution

Up to the Revolution, the Siberian Tatars had a variety of occupations. The Tyumen' Tatars living in the forest-steppe regions were basically farmers; those living along the shores of lakes engaged in fishing; while the Tatars originating from Bukhara in this region, who seized the best pastures, raised horses and traded by caravan with Central Asia. Up to the time that the trans-Siberian railroad was built, the carriage of goods was entirely in their hands. Some of the Tyumen' Tatars moved into the towns, where they became craftsmen and hired laborers.

The commonest occupation among the Siberian Tatars was agriculture, which they had practiced since the end of the 16th century. The chief form of agriculture was the long-term-fallow system. The fields were worked with wooden ploughs (saban) and wooden harrows with iron teeth. They sowed barley, rye and oats. From the beginning of the 20th century, wheat became common. Reaping was done with a sickle and threshing with wooden chains.

The periodic spring floods of the Irtysh and its tributaries prevented the land's being tilled in time; the floodwaters destroyed the winter sowings, for example, among the Marsh Tatars living on small dry islands. Not having any stock of seed for a second sowing, the Tatars were left without grain for the next year. It was particularly difficult to till the land of the Baraba Tatars, whose plots lay in the marshy Baraba steppe on elongated wooded ridges enclosed by lakes and marshy depressions requiring land reclamation. Farming techniques making it possible to work large areas of land were acquired from the Russian migrants, who played a major progressive role in the development of agriculture among the Tatars. By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the ploughlands belonging to the bulk of the toiling Tatars were interspersed in small bits among the lands of the rich Tatars and Russian peasants. Scattered amid the forests, marshes and meadowlands, they were sometimes dozens of kilometers from the settlements. The immigrant Tatar population, for example, the people from Kazan', had no rights to land at all and rented it from the rich Tatars.

Officially, the ploughland belonged to the entire settlement (Yurt) and was divided according to the number of persons, with consideration for its quality (whether black-earth, sandy or marshy soil) and its distance from the settlement (homestead plot, intermediate, distant). The plots

were fixed for a number of years. The land not regularly tilled was handed over to the "community." According to law, the only Tatars who could use the land were those who regularly paid their taxes and carried out the various obligatory duties. In actual fact, the best and largest areas were accumulated by the rich in diverse ways as well as by the service gentry, monasteries (Znamenskiy and Uspenskiy) and clergy. The poor people got the worst and most distant plots, which they either rented out to these rich people, or else abandoned, since the task of working them was hopeless in view of the lack of agricultural implements, seed and so on. When a boy was born to a family, he was allotted plot of land (as well as a share in the hunting and fishing), but girls did not qualify for anything. At the beginning of the 20th century a certain amount of agricultural machinery (reapers, threshers and sowers) began to appear on the kulak farms. The rich people used hired labor.

Fishing was common among the Marsh Tatars, and they also engaged in hunting. In the lakes and large rivers their fishing tackle consisted of small nets (au) and large cast seines (yel'p). In winter the cast seine was stretched across a number of specially made holes in the ice by means of horses and a winch. Seines with purchased hooks on hair leads were commonly used. When fishing from boats they used spoon-bait and handlines, and in the autumn they used to spear the pike.

Barriers made of thin twigs bound with fiber were placed across smaller rivers, and on one side by the bank canals were dug, and the fish entered the open end and became caught in the maze; they were scooped out with primitive scoops (salbu) made of a forked branch with a piece of old net stretched across it.

They also dug canals 1 km or more long, leading from the lake. Inside, they made enclosures with one free end. In search of fresh water, the fish hastened into the canal, from which they were scooped out.

The Tatars knew of one type of basket-trap (chëta). This was placed at the mouth of a river, being lowered to the bottom by means of poles and trestles. Single or double nooses were placed in channels and banks of rushes. Fish were caught the whole year round. The fisheries were officially used by the whole commune. The catch was divided equally among all those taking part. The fish caught was basically eaten, although some of it was sold to the traders.

The hunting of fur animals was mainly found among the Tatars living in the taiga and somewhat less in the steppe zone. In the marshy regions, they hunted for aquatic birds. The Tyumen' Tatars hunted the ilets squirrel, which was highly valued. Besides the squirrel, the Tatars hunted the mole, marten, sable, weasel, otter, fox, hare, ermine (Baraba Tatars), wolverine, and of the larger animals, the bear, elk, roe deer, wolf (Baraba Tatars); of birds, various types of ducks, of which there were enormous flocks in the marshy glades and on the remoter lakes of the Marsh Region and Baraba steppe, and blackgrouse; hazel-grouse, partridge, goose and other birds abundant in the Ob'-Irtys' Basin were also hunted.

The hunting season began with the first snowfall. They hunted on foot, and in winter on skis. The only exceptions were the Baraba steppe hunters who hunted on horseback, particularly when going after wolves. They went away to the hunting grounds for several weeks on end. The chief hunting weapon was the gun. Practically all hunters had dogs—Siberian laykas—which were trained to retrieve the game. A variety of homemade traps were used for trapping fur-bearing animals. The larger animals (elk or reindeer) were caught by automatically triggered traps (ayya), which were set up on three stakes or tree-stumps. The Marsh Tatars used to attach

a sharp knife or spear to a slanting tree and set it up, camouflaged with grass, at a certain height on the elk track. The elk was impaled on the knife. The marsh hunters went after bear with spears, forcing them out of their lairs in winter, while in the spring they stole live bear cubs and reared them at home. For hunting birds, the hammer gun was used universally, although here and there the Marsh Tatars used bows and arrows.

The skins of the fur-bearing animals were sold to dealers. The meat from the aquatic birds was eaten, and the feathers were made into pillows and eider down, widely used by the Tatars. Bear-meat and elk-meat were also eaten, while the elk-hide was bought up by traders.

Up to the very beginning of the 20th century, the Baraba Tatars used to nomadize in the summer. The richer farms had hundreds of head of livestock which were tended by hired labor. The poor farms had few animals or none at all. It was this that brought about the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Each settlement had its own common pasturelands. It was usually fenced off at the beginning of the sowing (May) and opened up after the harvesting (end of September). The herds were looked after by shepherds. In the settlements containing peoples of different national origin, the Tatars had separate pasturelands.

Storage of the hay from the meadows in the West-Siberian Lowlands and Baraba steppe provided an adequate amount of winter fodder. Officially, the meadowland was distributed, like the ploughland, among all members of the community, and was divided into areas according to the quality of the soil (meadowland, forest land and swamp) and its distance from the settlement. In actual fact, the best meadowland was accumulated by the wealthier cattle-owners.

The grass was mown with the Lithuanian-type scythe, and the dry hay was stacked in ricks on hay-frames; it remained there until the winter and was brought in on sleds as required. The poor people rented out their meadowland. The rich enlarged their land by renting it cheaply and employing the poor people to mow it.

The products of stockbreeding—hide and meat—were bought up by the traders from Bukhara and carted to the markets. The convoys of some of the Bukhara traders contained as many as 500 carts. They carried millions of hides. Each year markets were held in different parts (at Yembayevo in Tyumenskiy Rayon, Tobol'sk, Tarmakul' in the Baraba steppe) where they sold the local produce of the Tatars.

Milk was sold to the dairies. The owners of them acquired the milk from the Tatars via the dealers, who often delayed settling their accounts. This annoyed the Tatars, who sometimes expressed their feelings in the form of open action against the dairy owners. One such riot in 1915 in Ulenkul' ended with the dairy equipment being carried off. Great losses were caused in stockbreeding by frequent epizootics (anthrax and so on), which were not combated in any way.

A subsidiary occupation of the Tatars was the production of bags in the lime-forest regions, for example, among the Marsh Tatars. In the spring they made fiber from lime-bark. For a month and a half or so, the bark was soaked in the river, being kept underwater by a weight, after which the top layer was taken off; the remainder was taken by boat to the settlement where it was dried and made into fiber. This was woven into matting (on a Russian-type loom) and made into sacks. Two people, usually an adult and a younger person, used to work together at the loom. They made as many as 15 bags a day, which were sold to passing merchants. String was also spun from bark.

Of the forest trades, the Tatars (Tobol'sk) had long procured cedar

nuts, which was a great help to them in bad years. The cedar-groves were divided into areas; the nuts were collected in August and September by families of 3 or 4 people.

Some Tatar households in the Tomskaya Guberniya kept bees.

Carting played a particularly important part among some groups of Siberian Tatars. Apart from the Bukharans already mentioned, the Tatars living near large highways (Moscow, Irkutsk) also engaged in carting. They brought a variety of commodities to the markets from Tyumen' to Tara, Tobol'sk, Omsk, Ishim and other places. They carried products of animal husbandry, such as hide, wool, meat and butter. In winter they carried firewood from the felling areas to the river wharves. The Baraba Tatars worked with horses at lumber camps on the upper reaches of the Ob', while the Tobol'sk Tatars from Nizhniye Arimzyany also carted timber. At the end of the 19th century, the building of the trans-Siberian railroad reduced the amount of carting. Some of the Tatars who used to be carters became loaders, for example, the Tyumen' and Tara Tatars.

In the regions inhabited by the Tatars, natural waterways were an extremely important means of communication. In the spring, when the rivers overflowed, and in the autumn, during the rains, the dirt roads were impassable. The population was obliged to repair bridges, build brushwood roads and establish ferries. In winter the roads were better, and in the case of the Marsh Tatars, for example, who lived 65 km from Tobol'sk, communication was only possible in the winter over the frozen marshes; in summer they were completely cut off.

Boats were used to navigate the rivers and, according to the tales of the Marsh Tatars, they had learned to make the boats (canoes) from the Ostyaks and Russians (cedarwood plank boats). The canoe was made of aspen. The canoes were guided with a single-bladed oar and carried two men. This type of boat can be found even nowadays among the Marsh Tatars. When traveling long distances, cedarwood boats were used, which were larger and had two pairs of oars. In the summer they carried goods overland in carts, wherever possible, and in winter on sleighs.

The Tatar settlements were set very far apart. They were called Yurts (among the Tobol'sk and Tyumen' Tatars) and auls (among the Baraba Tatars), and were usually to be found next to rivers and lakes. Characteristic features of the old type of Tatar settlement were the lack of any set plan, narrow, crooked streets, dead ends, and so on. The settlements were often small. Each one had a mosque with a minaret, a cemetery-garden, where the trees were carefully preserved. In the later settlements, a linear layout can be traced; this was the influence of the Russian peasants who brought with them their experience in planning villages. There were almost no trees in the villages, and no enclosures.

Their dwellings were of Russian type, made of logs and covered with planks, although the Baraba Tatars covered their houses with turf. Stone houses were found among the rich people, chiefly in the Bukharan settlements near Tyumen' and Tobol'sk. The Baraba dwellings were quite different; these were wattle houses, smeared with clay similar to the Ukrainian huts, but with a flat turf roof. The older Tatar houses had a large, high, open porchway, which was approached by a stairway or notched beam. Old-fashioned, two-storied houses were retained until recently. The lower floor in them was used as winter quarters, and the top floor as the summer quarters. There was no inside communication between the two floors. The second floor was reached by a steep, sometimes railless flight of steps on the outside, ending with a small landing, also without rails. In rare cases there was a hallway in the house. Along one

of the walls of the dwelling there were benches on which a small round or square table was placed during meals. There were usually chests with personal effects on the benches, and on top of the chests were folded eider-downs and pillows. The benches were covered with rugs or mats made by the Tatars themselves. They ate, slept and worked in the dwellings. Guests were received on the benches in the front corner. In some houses, benches were curtained off at night. Clothes were folded and hung above the benches on a horizontal crosspiece. A copper urn and a bowl for purposes of ablution before meals were placed by the door.

Earlier, the houses were heated by a *chuval*, made of thin upright rods smeared with clay, with a straight, broad pipe barely projecting above the flat roof. The wood was placed vertically in the *chuval* and it was kept burning all day. At the end of the 19th century, it became customary to build on a hearth to the *chuval* with an iron bowl cemented into it for cooking food. Special stoves made of unbaked brick were set up in the open air for baking bread.

Among the outbuildings were a pen for cattle made of poles (during wintertime it was covered with a roof), a wooden shed for keeping various produce, nets and tools, and a bathhouse without a chimney (the smoke escaped through the door or through a hole in the roof).

When working in the fields and during the mowing, the Tatars built huts with twigs covered with hay or turf in the fields. The huts were dome-shaped or had a two-sided roof.

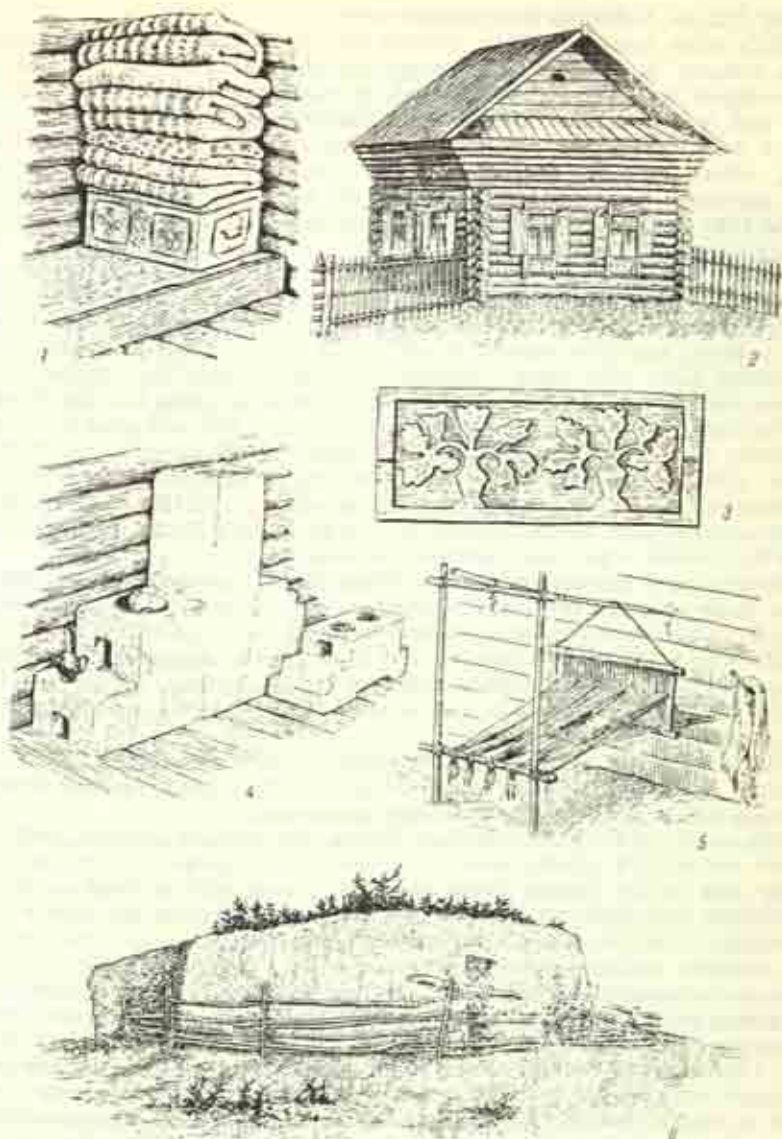
At the end of the 19th century, Tatar clothing still retained some of its national features, chiefly among the rural population, and to a lesser extent among the town dwellers. The typical clothing for men was the *besmet* (*bishmyat*), a coat reaching slightly below the knee with a wide upright collar, pleats and a short waist. It was embellished with buttons, sewn on in pairs on a short length of thread. The *besmet* was worn over a colored calico shirt. The Tatars wore short, wide breeches tucked into boots; apart from the *besmet*, there was a shorter sleeveless coat for the summer. In winter they wore sheepskin coats without collars and faced with cloth. Over the coat they wore a leather belt decorated with metal badges and a buckle, or else brightly colored woolen sashes.

The men usually shaved their heads and wore a round, flat-crowned skullcap (*arakohin*). In the summer, a cloth or felt hat was worn on top of this, and in the winter a fur one. The Tatars who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hadji*) had the right to wear green turbans. The mullas wore white turbans.

The men's footwear consisted of woolen stockings and leather boots over which were placed leather galoshes with tongues. In the wintertime, they usually wore felt boots. The Marsh Tatars wore high, soft leather boots with a soft sole attached to the belt by leather straps on account of local conditions. When thoroughly smeared with tar a number of times, these boots were waterproof.

The women wore a loose shirt with a vent in the middle at the front, and a low, soft upright collar. The festive clothing of the better-off people was made of striped and multicolored silk bought from Central Asia. The collar of the shirt was trimmed with red cloth, embroidered with gold and silver, and embellished with buttons, badges and coins. The ordinary shirt was made of calico. Underneath the topshirt, they wore another linen or unfinished calico shirt, on top of which they put a sleeveless jacket, the *kamzul*. The women's *kamzul* was trimmed with factory-made ribbon or cord. The *kamzul* was always lined with a light material.

Women wore baggier trousers than the men, tying them under the knee.



Dwellings and their inside furnishings;

1—front corner of dwelling; 2—log house; 3—carved window-frame;
 4—oven and cooking-stove; 5—loom for weaving sacks; 6—turf-covered dwelling.

When going into the street, they put on a coat with a low collar, which narrowed at the waist. The winter gown was padded with cotton wool and trimmed with fur, usually beaver or seal. Women's footwear consisted of multicolored morocco leather boots which were borrowed from the

Kazan' Tatars. Galoshes were always worn.

Girls wore their hair flat, braided into two pigtails. Married women wove ribbons embroidered with coins into their braids. The ancient type of headgear was the kolfak (kolfak). It was worn immediately over the hair and was a festive hat for girls and women. The kolfak was shaped like a sack rounded at one end, was often knitted and embroidered with wool, silver thread, beads and pearls. When it was put on, the free end was allowed to hang down at the side or the back. Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, the kolfak went out of use, and at the present time it is only to be found in chests.

Women usually wore kerchiefs. On her wedding day, the bride wore a band (sarauts) across her forehead, tied at the back, over which she wore a silk kerchief. This band was usually made of embroidered velvet, and was worn by married women. Small velvet caps covered with a kerchief or crown were also worn. According to Moslem law, the Baraba Tatar women used to cover their face with a kerchief when going into the street.

The rich Tatar women wore heavier, tubular silver and gold pendants, skillfully decorated, which were also considered as amulets. On the reverse side of the plate were Arabic inscriptions supposedly protecting the wearer from evil spirits. They wore earrings, bracelets, finger rings, beads around their necks, ribbons with coins in their hair. Children wore clothing adorned with coins, buttons and badges.

Women used powder and rouge. From the Bukharans, they learned to color their nails yellow (with crushed cloves) or red (with fresh balsam leaves), and it was common to blacken the teeth.

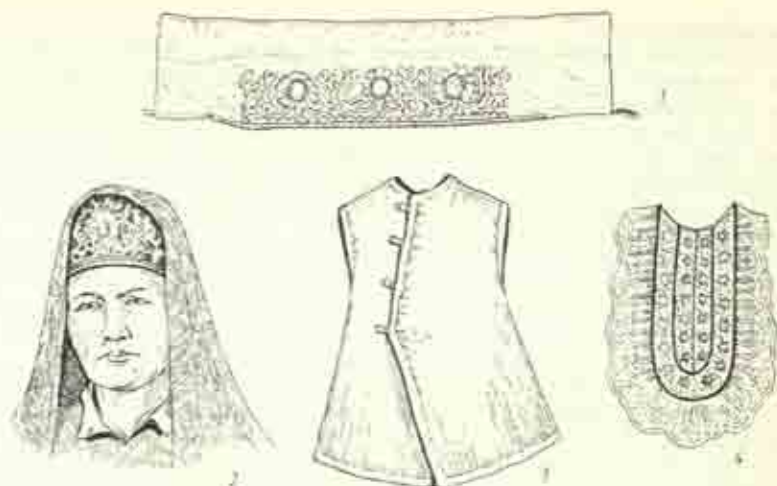
The class differences between the Tatars were manifested mainly in the quality and cost of the materials used for the clothes. Among the rich people the clothing, footwear and ornaments were more expensive and of better quality.

The Tatars gradually acquired more convenient clothing from the Russian population, thereby losing the peculiarity of their national dress, of which only a few elements have been preserved.

The main diet of the Siberian Tatars was cereals and fish, and to a lesser extent milk products and meat (horsemeat, mutton and game). The staple diet of the Tatars living along the Irtysh and the Tobol and their tributaries was fish and fish oil. The food was cooked by the women and in summer always out of doors. Bread was also baked in street ovens. The favorite national dish was noodles cooked in broth or water. Other common farinaceous dishes were unleavened cakes, fritters, square pies containing curds, meat, and later potatoes. Meat-rolls, pancakes and large pies with fish baked inside were always consumed on national festivals. The Tatars often cooked alyuva from wheat flour, boiled with milk and seasoned with melted butter. Another dish, zaturan, was made from flour fried in butter, boiled in tea water and served with milk. The usual fare on holidays was baurzak, pieces of dough cooked in boiling butter. When served, they were smeared with honey and sprinkled with sugar. These dishes were usually found in the wealthier households, while the poor people had to eat simpler and more monotonous food.

Groats were shelled in a wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. The flour was made into porridge in a cast-iron bowl cemented into the stove. A favorite dish was fish soup (shurba) which was particularly common in regions where fishing was developed. Fish was eaten boiled, while sterlet was eaten raw, with a little salt. Bream was fried without oil in a frying pan with a little water.

The favorite meat dish was mutton, which was eaten at festivals and



Women's clothing:

1, 2—headbands; 3—outer clothing—sleeveless vest; 4—chest decorations.

served to guests. Pork was forbidden by religion. In the hunting regions, a considerable amount of game was consumed; for example, duck, partridge, hazel-grouse, wood-grouse, quail and goose. The game was made into soup. The geese were roasted on spits over the fire and the fat was allowed to run into a bowl. Of the larger animals, the Tatars boiled the meat of the elk and the bear.

Apart from tea, their beverages consisted of sour milk (kатык) and kumys (Baraba Tatars). Cucumbers were sometimes marinated in the kumys (instead of vinegar).

Women used to eat separately from the men, usually after them. At weddings and festivals, men and women feasted separately, in different houses.

The bulk of the Tatars were tribute-paying peasants subject to burdensome taxes. By the beginning of the 20th century, as capitalism developed, the number of farmless and landless poor, without their own ploughland or livestock of their own, had considerably increased. This development was based on the unequal distribution both of plots of land among those Tatars engaged in agriculture and of livestock among the pastoralists, as well as the loss by the working population of their small plots and few livestock.

A peasant family usually consisted of five to seven people, and the members of the family obeyed the head, the father, in every respect.

According to Moslem custom, the rich Tatars kept as many as four wives who lived in different houses. The wife was subordinate to her husband in everything. She was not only restricted in her rights, but also bound by a whole series of religious taboos. During burials only the men were allowed to go to the cemetery, and women were forbidden to visit mosques or graveyards. They had to go about with their faces covered and not show themselves to strangers. At national festivals, and at home, the women were separated from the men. Girls did not go to school (myaktyab) and were only taught the bare essentials in schools attached to the mosques (medrese) where they were taught by the wife of the mulla. Women had no access to any further education. Evidence given by a woman in court had to be

supported by a man.

Girls were married off at the age of 13, though not always. The bride was not supposed to see the groom before the wedding. The groom sent two matchmakers to the bride's father, who agreed on the bride-price, and then the groom moved into his father-in-law's house (*koin ata*) and lived there until the bride-price was paid. Among the Baraba Tatars, the bride-price was often paid after the wedding. Many of the poor people were not in a position to pay the bride-price, which sometimes amounted to 300 or 500 rubles, and therefore stayed single.

When a man died, his property was divided equally among his sons and the daughters were given half the share received by the sons. If there were no sons, the daughters received half the property, while the rest went to relatives. The mother and father had different rights of inheritance, the mother qualifying for one-third and the rest going to the father.

In religion, the Siberian Tatars were Moslems (Sunnites). Their spiritual leader—the *Akhun*—lived in the village of *Yembayevo* (*Tyumenskiy Rayon*) where he possessed a large amount of land. The Siberian Tatars, however, also retained some of their pre-Islamic beliefs. Belief in "master" spirits was common. The chief ones were the "Master" of the house, the "Masters" of the water, and the "Master" of the forest. Among many Tatars there was a tree cult (birch or pine). Sacrifices were common. During a drought, all the inhabitants of a settlement went into the fields and slaughtered a horse, cow or calf, or sometimes a sheep, asking God to send down rain. They then turned towards the sun, cooked the slaughtered animal, and all those gathered consumed it. The leftover bones were thrown into the water. On remembrance days, cocks were sacrificed. For protection against lightning, thunder, evil spirits and sickness, a talisman consisting of the teeth or claws of a bear was worn round the neck. Talismans were also hung from children's cradles.

Folk art among the Siberian Tatars was mainly represented by oral folklore. The principal forms of folklore among the *Tobol'sk* and *Tyumen'* Tatars were fairy-tales, songs (quatrains), lyrical songs, dance-songs (very fast songs or *takman*) usually of a humorous nature, proverbs and riddles, epic songs and tales of warriors, ballads (*baity*). The latter should be regarded as literary works, in that they were composed and written down on paper by the literate Tatars. Among the popular masses, the ballads acquired an oral form, were modified, augmented and became part of the folklore. The development of folklore was adversely affected by the Moslem religion, which ousted the original folklore and spread essentially Moslem legends and songs in its place.

Despite the fact that music and dancing were condemned by the Moslem religion, the *Tobol'sk* and *Tyumen'* Tatars retained their national musical instruments: the *kuray*, a pipe made from a hollow stem with several square holes at the thin end; the *kobyz*, a tongued instrument with a vibrating steel or copper plate. Women were allowed to play these instruments only in the presence of the closest members of the family, but not when there were outsiders present.

Graphic art was mainly found among the Tatars in the form of embroidery on clothing. Both embroidering and sewing of clothes were done by women. Geometrical designs were embroidered on towels and clothing. The embroidery on women's velvet headbands and hats was marked by great artistry. The motifs were flowers and plants.

Education among the Siberian Tatars was confined to the village religious schools attached to the mosques—the *mektebs*. The tsarist government was not interested in educating the "natives," and the mullas

were against education in lay schools, of which there were only a few—one or two per uyezd. There were still fewer schools in the regions settled by the Baraba Tatars, and literate people were few and far between.

The mektebs were built with money supplied by the rich people or else by the "community;" the teachers were also maintained in this way. The pupils studied for 4 or 5 years, and did not always learn to read or write. The teaching was done by the mulla and was of a purely religious nature, consisting mainly in learning the Arabic text of the Koran. Boys and girls were separated. The pupils paid for their instruction in grain or money. The children of the poor people were forced to act as servants for the rich. Corporal punishment was common.

Occupations and Life After the October Revolution

The first Siberian Tatar collective farms were set up in 1928, but it was not until 1930—31 that people began joining the collective farms on a wide scale.

Most of these Tatar collective farms concentrated on agriculture, and to a lesser extent on fishing. The collective fisheries of the marshy areas of the Tobol'skiy Rayon are located on small dry "islands" among the marshes. In the Baraba steppes (Novosibirskaya Oblast) the Tatar collective farms were on the small side until they were enlarged. This fact had a negative effect on the development of the Tatar farms.

On the Tatar collective farms, each work brigade has a plot of land allocated to it and bears full responsibility for this. On the Stalin collective farm in the Irtyshatskiye Yurty, for example, one brigade mows, another fishes, a team of carpenters builds houses and cattle-yards. The brigade leaders are usually young Tatars, among whom there are many who took part in World War II and are exemplary workers.

Apart from the purely Tatar farms there are also mixed Russian and Tatar farms (for example, the "Worker" collective farm in Nizhniye Arimzyany in the Tobol'skiy Rayon) where the Russians and Tatars work harmoniously together. Russian workers and employees from the town of Barabinsk often help the Tatar collective farms of the Baraba to gather the harvest. Each farm in Baraba has approximately 1000 to 4000 hectares of land by state decree. The narrow strips of land with set boundaries have disappeared and so has the squabbling over the allotments. Large collective farmlands accessible to complex agricultural machinery have now been established.

Land reclamation is being put into effect in the marshy areas.

The greatest area of sown land is occupied by grain crops (wheat, rye, oats), then come technical crops (flax, hemp), potatoes and other vegetables. On some collective farms the average wheat harvest is 18 tsentners per hectare or more (for example, on the Stalin collective farm). Vegetable-gardening has been introduced for the first time and is being developed.

Alongside field agriculture, socialist animal husbandry is also increasing and developing. Most of the farms have warm cattle-sheds and are improving the pedigree of the cattle. Zootechnicians are attached to the farms.

It is chiefly the Marsh Tatars who engage in fishing. The collective Tatar fisheries have their own fishing grounds. Fish are caught the whole year round in large nets (200—400 meters, depending on the size of the fishing waters). On these fisheries there are from one to three brigades, each consisting of 10 men. They go out onto the lake early in the morning. The team often includes a bashlyk, an experienced older fisherman. The brigades

work on seiners, while the brigade leader operates separately from a dug-out. The catch is graded by the brigade leader; some of it goes to feed the fishermen, but the bulk is sold to procurement organizations. The fish is taken away to salting points and then sent to the canning factory at Tobol'sk in flat-bottomed sailboats. In the Marsh Region there are experienced fishermen with many years' service (30-40), who overfulfill their program by 400-500% and teach the younger people the art of fishing. At the Tobol'sk cannery the Marsh farms take a leading place in the completion of their fish output schedules, year in, year out.

In certain years when spring waters rise particularly high, the fish swim over the marshland, and when the water goes down they become tangled in the sedge and die. In such bad years the fishing brigades from the Marsh Region go down to the fishing waters on the Irtysh River, and in this way the Tatar collective farms are not deprived of their earnings. Prior to the Revolution, under the system of single-household fishing and the old system of distributing plots, this was impossible and the fishermen in the Marsh Region went hungry in such cases.

Apart from these branches of agriculture, the Tatars also keep bees on their farms and breed fowl (ducks and geese). In the forest regions with cedar plantations, the collective farms collect the cedar nuts.

Hunting is not a main occupation of the Tatar collective farms. The procurement offices sign contracts for the hunting season with individual hunters and farms. The hunters hand over animal skins to the authorized representative of the procurement organization.

Over the last few years, through the acclimatization of the muskrat the Baraba Tatars now have a new fur animal to hunt.

The building of the collective farms is altering the appearance of the Tatar collective farm settlement from year to year; instead of winding streets, cul-de-sacs, and solitary isolated farms, there are now straight streets; the official buildings are usually in the middle of the settlement. On many collective farms the schools have experimental plots for growing grain crops, vegetables and fruit trees. Most of the farmers live in new, spacious houses. Russian carpenters often take part in the construction of them. Instead of the old type of planning with the windows facing the yard, the new houses face the street.

The furnishings of the farmers' houses have also changed. Instead of benches there are tables and chairs everywhere; instead of hearths there are Dutch stoves and ranges. Something resembling a fireplace is still found in a few Baraba Tatar houses, and they also retain the "oslo" foundation of the hearth surrounded by beams. In the summer the kitchen utensils are placed on the foundation and in winter a temporary iron stove is set on it, with the chimney passing through the ceiling into the street. One can often find ranges with a wide smoke outlet similar to a chupal. The Tatars sleep on a metal bedstead, covered in some houses with carpets; the mattress and pillows in the bed are rolled up. The older generation does not use the new conveniences. The old people say that they cannot sit on chairs, or get tired doing so; and some of them prefer to sit with crossed legs on a bed, which has come to replace the bench. Pictures, forbidden by the Moslem religion, are now often found in Tatar houses.

National dress is still found from time to time among the older collective-farm members, while the younger ones wear ordinary urban-style clothing. National features of the dress have been retained. For example, women and girls wear different-sized kerchiefs made of calico, silk with tassels, or wool, common before the Revolution. From time to time one can see an old woman with a velvet headband (sarauts) covered by a kerchief.



In a collective-farm member's room. Tyumen' Tatars.

The kolfak (beaddress) commonly worn in the past has changed in size and purpose but still retains its shape. The size of the kolfak used to be 43.5 cm by 25 cm, i.e., the same size as the head, but now miniature hats 5 cm by 7.5 cm are found from time to time. They are worn on the crown of the head, with a kerchief over the top. Many ornaments are worn, just as before. The Tatars like beads, earrings, bracelets, rings and brooches. Little children have multicolored buttons sewn onto their shirts as a form of ornament.

The development of new types of work and the raising of the standard of living of the population has brought about an improvement in Tatar food. The favorite national dishes which used to be eaten have been retained and are now available to everyone. Furthermore, the food has gained added variety. Of the new types of food we should point out vegetables in particular, since they are now very common.

In most cases the principal type of food is flour. On certain collective farms, particularly during the fieldwork, public catering is organized at the camps. Old men often fish for this purpose and hand the catch over to a specially appointed cook, who prepares the meal, brews the tea, gives out bread and other food products for the whole day. The food taboos imposed by the Moslem religion have disappeared, in particular the prohibition of pork. Few people observe the Moslem fasts either.

Territories such as the Marsh Region, isolated in the past, are now linked by regular communications with the center. During the first few years of the Soviet regime the Marsh Tatars dug narrow canals 80 cm wide in the marshes which could be navigated in a hollow canoe, and established

a route from lake to lake stretching 200 km. The journey from Tobol'sk along the canals takes three days with an overnight stay in the lake huts. In this way, communication with Tobol'sk has become possible recently all year round. Not more than two men usually travel in one boat. When they reach the canal, one of them gets out and walks over the marsh while the other puts the oars together and punts the boat along with two poles. At the present time, seaplanes are in operation there. In emergency cases, the seaplane takes a special route. Such journeys are made at the request of collective farms when there is need for medical or veterinary assistance; in the case of fires; and so on.

In the summer, boats sail down the Irtysh, Tura and Tobol to Tobol'sk which is 300 km from the railroad. Buses run regularly on the high road. Freight is usually carried by air. Many farms have their own trucks and motorboats. People often travel in a cart with wadded sides, drawn by a horse, and sometimes on horseback.

Bicycles are commonly found on the farms of the Baraba steppe and are used for traveling to the rural soviets or to town on farm business. The grain harvest is taken away on trucks. There are convoys of 60 or 70 machines for the purpose in the rayon centers and these service the collective farms during the harvesting campaign.

An extensive postal service covers all the collective farms of the Tyumenskaya and Novosibirskaya Oblasts. The postman reaches the remoter regions by boat; for example, from Nizhniye Arimzyany, where there are two collective farms, a Russian one and a mixed one, the Tatar postman makes a daily trip by boat to the Bronnikovo rural soviet for the mail, newspapers and farm commissions. From the Marsh Region the postman goes by canal, or else walks on foot across the marshes, with his bag of mail. Newspapers and mail are delivered to the Marsh Region in the summer at weekly intervals.

All collective farms are linked to rayon centers by telephone. Emergency communication with the Marsh Region is possible by radio, operating each day at a set time.

Alongside the Tatar collective-farm members there are many Tatar town dwellers living in various parts of Western Siberia. The town Tatars work as clerks in government institutions and industrial enterprises, as factory workers, and so on, and for the most part know Russian very well.

The socialist reorganization of the way of life has had a particularly marked effect on the status of the Tatar woman. All taboos and restrictions imposed by the Moslem religion have disappeared forever.

The medical centers are staffed almost entirely by women. In the nurseries almost all the staff are Tatar women. The shop assistants in the village shops are women. The extensive network of permanent and seasonal nurseries and children's homes enable women to take an active part in public life. Education is fast developing. The number of primary and secondary schools teaching through the medium of the Tatar language has grown, particularly during the Soviet period.

There are schools on absolutely all of the Tatar collective farms. Even in the remotest and most inaccessible villages, for example among the Marsh Tatars, where it is difficult to take teaching aids, kerosene for lamps, copybooks, textbooks and so on, the teaching proceeds smoothly. In the majority the teachers are local inhabitants.

There are secondary schools in the larger settlements. In the fall, the children are taken to a settlement where there is a secondary school, accompanied by a teacher and on an organized basis. There they are put into dormitories or boarded in private apartments.

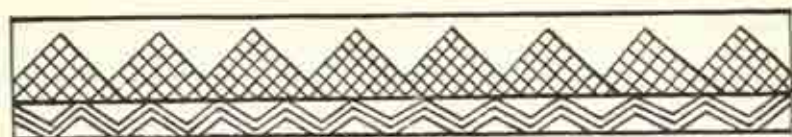
When they have graduated from secondary school, many Tatars continue their education in Tatar pedagogical colleges in a number of towns such as Tobol'sk, Tomsk, Sverdlovsk, Kazan', and others. The Tobol'sk Tatar Pedagogical College has been going since 1934, before which it was located in Tyumen'. It was set up to train primary school teachers both for the Tyumenskaya and for the Sverdlovskaya, Omskaya, Kurganskaya and Novosibirskaya Oblasts. The college has 6 classes (with 12 parallel ones) and it has a library with 20,000 books.

During the time of its existence the college has turned out more than 700 Tatar teachers. The lecturers at the Tobol'sk Pedagogical College all have higher education.

In Omsk, Tyumen' and Tobol'sk there are Tatar libraries; in Omsk a Tatar oblast newspaper is published.

The Tatar farmers have introduced new folk festivals, which for the moment retain their former names. For example, there is the spring festival of the plough called Sabantuy, which is associated with the end of the sowing and is celebrated by the Baraba Tatars. The collective farms compete among themselves to see who can complete the spring sowing first. The first collective farm to do so becomes the winner and organizes the festival of Sabantuy in the village and invites all neighboring collective farms to attend. The farms invite everyone to a feast. After the feasting there are various running races. There are sack races, egg and spoon races and blindman's buff races. There are also agility competitions in which the first person to climb to the top of the pole wins the prize.





THE SHORS

L. P. POTAPOV

General Information

The Shors are a small Turkic-speaking people, rehabilitated by the October Revolution. The Shors live on the spurs of the Kuznets Alatau, on the middle reaches of the river Tom' and its tributaries, the Kondoma and Mrassa. In the 17th and 18th centuries, a large group of Shors moved to the basins of the left tributaries of the Abakan (Matur, Tashtyp, Tëya, etc.), where they were known up to the Revolution under the general name of Sagays, and were divided into a number of administrative clans—Kivinskiy, Karginskiy, Karacherskiy and others. At the present time, this group of Shors has become part of the Khakasy people. A small number of Shors can be found in the foothill steppe in Soltonskiy Rayon of the Altayskiy Kray and in Turochakskiy Aymak in the Mountain Altay Autonomous Oblast. In the Soltonskiy Rayon they are gradually merging with the Russian people, and in the Turochakskiy Rayon they are merging with the Altays from the Mountain Altay Autonomous Oblast.

The territory mainly settled by the Shors (Mountain Shoriya) is located in the center of a famous industrial region, the Kuzbass. This is mountainous country, which nevertheless has a gentle relief; the only mountaintops covered with snow the whole summer are Pustag (1851 m), Kol'-tayga (1876 m) and Padya-Tag. The numerous rivers are of the mountainous type and, with the exception of the main arteries (Tom', Mrassa and Kondoma), are not large. There is a great deal of precipitation. On account of the deep snow, communication is difficult, and in the south sometimes impossible, while hoofed animals (the maral and roe deer) migrate in winter to the upper reaches of the Tom' and Abakan. Much of the territory is covered by inaccessible mountainous taiga with a preponderance of fir, aspen, and cedar forest; marshes stretch along the narrow river-valleys for dozens of kilometers. Only 25 or 30 years ago the taiga was the principal economic resource for the Shors (fur-bearing and hoofed animals and so on). The cedar forests occupy about 2% of the entire forest area and provide the population with nuts in good years. More than 4000 hectares of lime forest have been preserved on the Kondoma, and beekeeping is highly developed there. An abundance of scrub and high grass is characteristic of the region. In the northern part of Mountain Shoriya the mountains are lower and the taiga is more sparse. The smoother, undulating terrain on the lower reaches of the Kondoma comprises forest-steppe with patches of spruce and fir forest. The soil conditions and the small amount of precipitation make the locality more suited to

agriculture. The meadowland and ploughland comprise 5-7% of the entire region.

The name of this nationality—the Shors—was not made official until after the October Revolution. Before this time the Shors had no name for themselves, and used the name of the seek or clan—Kobby, Karga, Kyy and so on—or else that of the administrative clan or administration; for example, Tayash-Chony (i.e., the Tayash Volost). In addition to this, the Shors sometimes called themselves according to their place of residence—for example, Mras Kizhi (the people of the Mrassa), Mondym-Chony (the people of the Kondoma or Kondomans). Outside their own taiga, they called themselves "Chysh Kizhi" ("inhabitants of the taiga"), or "Abakizhi," that is to say, Abans. The name "Aba" was in effect the name of a clan, just like the name "Shor." The term "Aba" among the Shors referred to a clan living mainly along the river Torn' close to Kuznetsk (compare the Shor word for Kuznetsk, "Aba-Tura"). The name "Abans" was used for a group of Shors by the members of academic expeditions in the 18th century (Gmelin and Georgi).

The present-day name of the Shors is based on the name of a fairly numerous clan, the Shors, living mainly on the river Kondoma. The first people to come in contact with representatives of this clan were the missionaries from the Altay Church Mission, who founded their first station on the Kondoma in 1858 at a place which later became called Kuzedeyevo Village. The missionaries used the name of this clan for all the local population of the Kuznets taiga. They used the name Shor for all the Shors and their Turkic-speaking neighbors (Teleuts, Altays, and Khakasy). Hence it was under this name that they were recorded in the ethnographic literature of the late 19th and 20th centuries. In the Russian historical documents of the 17th and 18th centuries and the Siberian chronicles, the present-day Shors are known as Mrassa, Kondoma and Kuznets Tatars. They are also called Kuznets Tatars in certain works of the 18th century on Siberian history (Miller and Fischer).

The earlier stages of the history of the Shors have been left untouched in scientific literature. The problem is complicated by the fact that the territories they mainly inhabit have been very little studied archeologically. Judging by anthropological and ethnographic data, linguistic material, place-names and folklore, the present-day Shors are the Turkicized descendants of the Ugrian Samoyedic-speaking tribes and Kettic-speaking aborigines of the northern taiga region of the Sayano-Altay Plateau. Anthropological data also indicate that the physical type of the Shors, Khants and Mansi has basic elements in common. Features of the Shor dialects (phonetics, morphology, vocabulary and so on) suggest that they were Turkicized by the ancient Altayan, Uygur and Yenisey Kirgiz tribes between the 6th and 9th centuries—that is to say, during the period of the successive rise and fall (in the Sayano-Altay Plateau) of the Turkic, Uygur and Kirgiz Khanates. Turkicization of these taiga tribes, who constantly paid tribute in furs and iron to the Turkic-speaking khans, was accompanied by partial intermingling with the Turkic, and through it the Mongol, ethnic elements. In ethnic origin the Shors are similar to the Northern Altays (Cheikans, Kumandins and to some extent Tubalars). In contrast to the Southern Altay, the language spoken by the northern group, under the Turkic linguistic classification system, belongs to the so-called Uygur or Northeastern group, which also contains a number of dialects of the Khakasy language. Even before the Revolution, some investigators (Korsh and Radlov) drew attention to the link between the language of the Northern Altays and the Eastern Finnic or Ugric languages

of Siberia. Soviet scholars have found that features of the Northern Altay languages are characteristic of the Ugric-Samoyedic languages (Nenets, Sel'kup and also those of the Khants and Mansi).

This reference to a certain linguistic similarity between the Northern Altays and the Ugrian and Samoyedic peoples of Siberia tallies with anthropological data. While having fewer Mongoloid features, the Shors and Kumandins are close to the anthropological type of the Khants and Mansi as far as descriptive characteristics and measurements are concerned. The common background of the Shors, and certain other Northern Altays, with the Khants and Mansi is clear from ethnographic material. As the investigations made by N. F. Prytkova have shown, the outer clothing of Shor men and women is identical in cut with that of the Khants (middle and lower reaches of the Ob'). This similarity used to extend to the material of which the clothing was made—homespun linen. Comparison of decorations gives us a similar picture. S. V. Ivanov, who studied this problem, concluded that the geometrical, straightline designs characteristic of woven and knitted items among the Shors and Kumandins are also found among the southern Khants (living along the Irtysh, Salym and Konda). Comparison of elements which the national culture of the Shors and the Khants and Mansi have in common can be extended to cover other examples. It has been observed, for instance, that they have the same type of ancient hunting-sled which the hunters pull along behind them in winter as they ski. The Shors, like the Khants and Mansi, had the same type of hearth (*chuval*), with a pipe made of clay-smearred poles in their dwellings (before the Revolution). As an outbuilding, both in the taiga hunting-areas and close to the dwellings, all these peoples built exactly the same type of small log hut on high poles for storing food, particularly meat. In the realm of religion, ancient cultural elements common to the Shors, Khants and Mansi have been well preserved. During certain types of shamanistic prayer, the Northern Shors and Kumandins used to use a birchbark mask worn by some of those taking part, and this was also characteristic of the public prayer-ceremonies of the Khants and Mansi in which a mask of this type played an important part. As is well known, the Mansi and Khants used to make a wooden phallus during a ritual feast in honor of a slaughtered bear. Elements of phallic ritual during bear-hunting have also been observed among the Shors. The conception and portrayals of the spirits of ancestors in the form of people with wings, characteristic of the Khants and Mansi, have an exact equivalent in the representations of some of the shamanistic spirits drawn on the shaman's tambourine.

Ethnographic material and place-names indicate the former common background of the Shors and the Ketic-speaking population of the Yenisey Basin—that is, the Kets or so-called Yenisey Ostyaks, and the Kotts of the 17th and 18th centuries, who were later assimilated by the Turkic-speaking tribes of the Minusa Basin. Even Radlov himself, on the basis of place-name data, put forward the hypothesis that the Shors were Yenisey Ostyaks, Turkicized in language. Although we do not agree entirely with this hypothesis, whose flaw is its oversimplification of the ethnic origin of the Shors, we should nevertheless mention that there can be no doubt that the Kets and Shors do have certain ethnic elements in common. For example, until quite recently the Kets worshipped the female deity Mother *Tom'* who, they believed, lived in the south in a stone house. This idea shows that the people still remember that they once lived in the Stone Mountains, in the upper reaches of the *Tom'*, where to this very day the modern Shors retain Ket place-names. A

whole series of features of everyday life, rituals and customs of the Kets and Shors show a common historical background and ethnic origin. Both these peoples were famed for their blacksmithery in the 17th century, despite the fact that they lived so far apart. Hence the regions which they settled on the Tom' and Yenisey were all called the Kuznets (Smith) Volost. Hunting was of prime importance in the lives of both groups. Some of the features of the hunting customs of the Kettic-speaking Kotts, described in the 18th century by Georgi, are strikingly similar to those of the present-day Shors. For example, Georgi tells us of the Kott custom during hunting of sleeping "in pairs by the fire so that their heads were opposite each other, while the feet of one were under the arms of the other."¹ This is exactly how the present-day Shors sleep when hunting in the taiga—particularly those whose ancestors migrated from the Mrassa Valley to the Abakan Basin. Up to the Revolution, they both had a similar ritual for burying dead infants in trees, wrapped up in birchbark. The shamanistic practices of both peoples gave prominence to the birchtree. The shaman's tambourine of the Shors shows similarity to the Ket type.

There are certain indications that the Shors also have Samoyedic-speaking ethnic elements. The Shor legends recount that they include a small people called the Chot or Shot, who lived in ancient times on the river Mrassa. This name obviously stands for the Samoyedic-speaking clan-tribal group Choda or Chody, which was absorbed by the Karagasy Tofalars and Northeastern Tuvans and became part of the Kumandins (Choty and Ioty seoks) and Tubalars (D'uty seok). The connection between the Shors and the Samoyedic elements—for example, the Sel'kups—is shown by certain ethnographic data. At the same time, the preservation by the Shors of certain ethnonyms suggests that they participated in the ethnogenesis of the ancient Turkic elements. An example is the ethnonym Kibi, attributed by the Chinese sources to one of the Tele peoples. Grum-Grzhimaylo links it with the name of the Shor seok Kibi or Kivi.² The ethnonym Kibi or Kivi was retained in the name of the Kivi Volost among the Shors and Sagays mentioned in Russian historical documents of the 17th century. Attention should be drawn to the name of the Kao-Kuei people, the Aba, mentioned in the Sui dynasty chronicle (581-618). This ethnonym also appears in Chavannes for the year 603 as one of the names for the Tele peoples.³ The name Aba is known from Russian 17th-century documents as the name of a volost and tribe of "Kuznets Tatars," the ancestors of the present-day Northern Shors. Among the latter the ethnonym Aba was noted by all investigators as a clan name. Gmelin and particularly Georgi, who took part in the Russian academic expeditions in the 18th century, have given a fairly detailed description of the culture and everyday life of the Abans and stress their exact similarity "in appearance, mentality, internal structure [i.e., social organization.—Ed.], language, reckoning of time and rituals" with the Teleuts.⁴

¹ I. Georgi. *Opisaniye vsekh v Rossiyskom gosudarstve obitayushchikh narodov*, ch. III (Description of All the Peoples Inhabiting the Russian State, Part III), St. Petersburg, 1777, p. 29.

² G. Ye. Grum-Grzhimaylo. *Zapadnaya Mongoliya i Uryankhayskiy kray* (Western Mongolia and the Uryankhay Territory), Vol. II, Petrograd, 1925, p. 248.

³ E. Chavannes. *Document sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 50, with reference to the Sui-shu and St. Julien chronicles.

⁴ J. Gmelin. *Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahre 1733 bis 1743*, Vol. 1, Göttingen, 1751; Georgi, op. cit., Part II, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 167.

The Abans were evidently part of the Teleuts in the 16th century, just as they were part of the Tele in the 7th century. Despite the fact that at the beginning of the 17th century the Abans are described as trappers and metalworkers, they were also pastoralists. Georgi points out that "their cattle-breeding is similar in every way to the Teleut cattle-breeding," and this means that in the 16th century the Abans knew about nomadic pastoralism, as distinct from the ancestors of the Southern Shors, who only engaged in trapping, taiga fishing and root-collecting. In this connection we should draw attention to the folklore of the Northern Shors which has an epic describing the life and culture of the nomadic pastoralists, whereas the folklore of the Shors, in general, contains only short stories, hunting tales, and legends describing the culture and everyday life of the ancient taiga dwellers—unmounted trappers. The fact that the Shors had an epic identical to that of the Southern Altays is due to the participation in the ethnogenesis of the Northern Shors by the Teleuts, ancient nomadic pastoralists, whose origin, as we have seen earlier, is associated with the Turkic-speaking tribes of the Altay in the 6th to 8th centuries.

Thus, in the composition of the present-day Shors we can trace certain ancient ethnic elements which in the 6th-8th centuries were part of the union of Turkic-speaking tribes of the extensive Sayano-Altay region, known in the Chinese chronicles as Tele or T'u-kü. It is therefore quite natural that in some of the more conservative features of the everyday life of the Shors before the Revolution there were traces, for example, of the shamanistic beliefs of the ancient Altayan or Orkhon Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries. A characteristic example of this is the cult of the female deity and protectress of children, Umay or May-yene, whose name and cult are known from Orkhon inscriptions. The closest historical ancestors of the present-day Shors were the various Turkic-speaking tribes, clans and territorial groups known at the beginning of the 17th century from Russian historical documents under the general name of Kuznets, Mrassa and Kondoma Tatars. For further classification they were broken down at that time into fur-tax-paying volosts located on the rivers Tom' (upper and middle reaches), Kondoma and Mrassa; these were the Tyulyuber, Aba, Sary-Chor, Yeley, Karga, Kobyy, Kivi, Kyy, Itiber and other volosts, showing the clan-tribal names of the Shors which were retained right up to the Revolution in the names of the clans—Aba, Sary-Shor, Cheley, Karga, Kyy, Kobyy, Chettiber, and others. These close historical ancestors of the Shors were in contact during the 17th century with the Kirgiz tribes living in the Abakan Basin and their tributaries (Kachins, Arins, Bel'tirs, Koybais and so on) with whom they seem to have partially intermingled, since cases of the Shors "migrating" from the Kondoma and Mrassa to the Kirgiz have been recorded in documents of the 17th century. These Shors were subsequently ferreted out by the tsarist authorities in Siberia and sent back to "their old nomadizing regions." In the 17th century and later, there was an intensive mixing between the northern group of Shors and the Teleuts who had settled in the Bochat steppes adjoining Kuznetsk in the north. Many of the Teleuts, whose ethnic composition contains a Mongol element, became part of the Northern Shors and merged with them. The Shor epic in the versions which have come down to us is suitable proof of this.

The tribes of the Northern Altay, including the distant ancestors of the present-day Shors, from at least the 6th or 8th century, were paying tribute to the Turkic and Uygur Khans, the Kirgiz azho and various

Mongol lords, right up to their incorporation into the Russian State. Great hardships were suffered by the rank-and-file Shors during their subordination to Dzhungariya—i.e., to the Western Mongolian State (Oyrats), or Kalmyks. The oppression and exploitation of the Shors by the Kalmyk feudal lords brought them to utter ruin, and it was only their inclusion in the Russian State which literally saved them from complete extinction, to which they were doomed by Kalmyk domination.

The process of freeing the Shors from many centuries of subjugation by various Mongol and Turkic khans, tayshas, murzas, zaysans and so on, which began in 1618, was not complete until the first half of the 18th century. The process was accompanied by fierce resistance from the feudal hierarchy of the Siberian Tatars (the Kuchum dynasty), Northern and Western Mongols and Yenisey Kirgiz. The Mongol and Turkic masters did not wish to give up their tributaries. They highly valued their domination of the Northern Shors, among whom the domestic craft of making iron objects was highly developed. The Shors were their chief source of iron weapons (pikes, swords, arrowheads and so on) and armor. Ironwork among the Shors, despite its domestic character, had great productive possibilities in view of its widespread nature at that time. The Russian Cossacks who traveled on the Mrassa and Kondoma in 1641 reported, for example, that the "tribute-paying people of the Kondoma and Mrassa have made, for sale to the Black and White Kalmyks," more than 2000 breastplates and helmets for protection against the same. This shows that even after the Shors had become part of the Russian State and, generally speaking, were no longer paying tribute to their former Mongol and Turkic masters, the latter continued buying munitions and iron weapons from the Shors, although now in the form of barter.

Occupations

At the beginning of the 17th century, the main occupation of the Northern Shors living on the river Tom' (near Kuznetsk and on the upper reaches), the lower reaches of the Mrassa and the Kondoma, was blacksmithery. It was in fact so characteristic of the Shors that for a long time they were known in historical documents as the "blacksmith people," "blacksmith Tatars," and the region inhabited was known as "Kuznets [Smith-Trans.] Land" and collecting taxes from the Shors was known as "going to the smiths," and even the fortified town built near the Shor country came to be called Kuznetsk. Later on this name was transferred to the town of Kuznetsk, which sprang up near the fort. Nowadays this name is retained in the name of the largest coal and metallurgical center in our country—the Kuznets Basin.

At that time the Shors not only forged various objects from iron, but also mined and smelted the ore themselves, since it abounded in their region. This occupation was of such importance economically for them that when, in 1641, the tsarist government suggested that the Shors "should not sell any breastplates or iron helmets or spears or hunting-spears or any armor to the Black and White Kalmyks or Kirgiz or Sayan people, and not to exchange any for horses or livestock," the Shors, the inhabitants of the Mrassa and the Kondoma, stated that they could not possibly end their selling or bartering operations, since, as they said, "that is how we Yasak people live." And indeed, the Shors bartered with the Kalmyk nomads or Dzhungariyans, Teleuts, Yenisey Kirgiz and the so-called "Sayan Tatars," exchanging their iron articles for livestock and felt, and sometimes for fur, which they paid as tax to the Russian

tsar. They also paid the tax in iron articles. During the first half of the 18th century, the Shors smelted and procured iron for the Russian smiths. Members of the Russian academic expeditions of the 18th century have described furnaces of the Shors, built in the winter dwellings in the form of small cavities in the clay floor, covered with a clay lid. In them, they melted powdered iron ore, using small coals and a small hand bellows. In addition to smithery, the Shors engaged in primitive agriculture, hunting and fishing.

Agriculture was concentrated on the southern gentle mountain slopes cleared of all forest. The soil was tilled with abyls, that is to say, homemade iron hoes. Wheat and barley were sown, and also hemp, which was used to make homemade cloth. Among the Northern Shors, hunting and fishing were important, though not the leading branches of economy. Conversely, hunting of wild animals was the main occupation of the Northern Shors, who inhabited the remote mountain taiga along the upper reaches of the rivers Tom', Mrassa and Kondoma. The Shor legends which go back to the 16th and 17th centuries tell us that the hunters used to hunt reindeer, marals, roe deer and elk in groups, using large wooden enclosures, which they placed across the tracks usually used by the animals during the season.

The culture and everyday life of the Shors underwent great changes during the time that they were part of the Russian State. The forging of iron objects had practically disappeared by the end of the 18th century. The reason for this was that the demand for iron objects by their main consumers, the nomads, dropped off completely. The departure of the Kalmyk zaysans of the Yenisey Kirgiz in 1703 to Dzhungariya, the crushing of the Dzhungariyans by the Chinese in 1755-1756, and the annexation of the Southern Altays and Teleuts to Russia put an end to contact between the nomads and the Shors. On the other hand, Russian forged objects, which were better quality and more varied, including tools, which the Shor smiths did not know (for example, the ploughshare, iron axe, saw and spade) ousted the local products. The disappearance of smithery brought about a considerable change in the correlation between the branches of economy among the Northern Shors, who also occupied the foothill steppes to some extent. From that time on, prominence was taken by hunting for fur-bearing animals, the demand for which was increasing both on account of the ever-increasing dues to the tsarist treasury and of the traders. Agriculture was also developed, and during the 19th century this group of Shors began using the iron plough. The use of the wooden plough drawn by a horse greatly improved the productivity of Shor agriculture, and grain became the staple diet of the Northern Shors. At the same time, there was continued development of fishing, and not only for food purposes, but also for sale at the market in Kuznetsk. According to the data obtained by the economic investigation of 1899, 71.5% of the households on the Mrassa, and 38.7% on the Kondoma, engaged in fishing. This percentage was still higher among the population of southern Shoriya, which was cut off from the Northern Shors and the Russian peasants, although there the purpose of fishing was to obtain food, and it made an important contribution to the diet of a population which continued to live by hunting, since agriculture was so extremely underdeveloped.

According to the statistical expedition headed by S. P. Shvetsov (1900), 80% of the Shor households on the Kondoma and 90% on the Mrassa engaged in hunting, and in certain volosts these figures were much higher, for example, 85.1% in the Kazanov Volost (upper reaches of the Tom'), 90% in the Kivi (along the river Kobysru) and 99.9% in the Kyy

Volost (upper reaches of the Mrassa). The hunting was aimed at procuring meat and fur. Fur animals acquired prime importance on account of the extermination of the hoofed animals and the increased demand for fur.

The chief animals hunted were the sable, squirrel, weasel, otter, fox, ermine and lynx; of the hoofed animals, the wild reindeer, maral elk (moose), wild goat and musk deer. They also hunted the bear, badger, wolverine, and certain birds (black grouse, partridge, hazel-grouse).

As the reserves of sable decreased through predatory extermination, the squirrel came to the fore as regards the amount procured at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Squirrel-skins acquired great importance in barter and trade.

The principal hunting weapons of the Shors in the 18th century were the bow and arrow. But during the 19th century they were replaced by muzzle-loading, flintlock, fuse and cartridge guns. Bows and arrows were only retained for hunting the chipmunk, for fishing, and as part of the automatic trap. The guns (with the exception of occasionally encountered hammer guns) were equipped with stands, which were used as a support when aiming. The Shors made their own bullets by means of a bullet-caster—*kaŭp*. They bought gunpowder from traders and to some extent obtained it from the government via the local administration (*pashtyk*). The *pashtyk* often bought up gunpowder for the whole of the volost, deriving no little benefit therefrom.

The hunting equipment consisted of wooden traps (*shergey*), snares (*paspak*), automatic traps (*aya*), sable-nets (*an'nyk*), otter-nets (*sayyp* or *para*) and nooses (*kyl*). The wooden trap was set up by the burrows of the smaller animals, particularly the weasel. As it came out of its burrow, the animal inevitably ran onto the set fork and was pierced by the arrow.

The automatic trap (*aya*) consisted of a wooden base, a bow, and an arrow with four facets and an iron tip shaped like a triangle. The trigger was made of birchbark and the string was of hemp fiber. The otter-nets were woven in the form of a sleeve, also from hemp fiber. Use was made of traps bought outside to a limited extent, usually not sufficient for their purposes. Marals were lured near with special musical pipes made of cedar-wood (*pyrgy*). The larger animals were caught by means of enclosures or pitfalls.

Every clan (later on every joint family—*töl*) possessed a clearly defined area for hunting and could only operate in its "own" taiga. Violation of the boundary of clan territory was severely dealt with—the offenders were forced to give up their catch, their hunting camp was broken up, and they were sometimes thrashed or handed over to a clan court. In bad years it was only a gathering of the clan (headed by the *pashtyk*) that could permit hunting in a "foreign" taiga. Some of the Shors received permission to hunt in the taiga belonging to the clan from which they had taken wives or to which they had married off their women. Sometimes they went hunting on the territory of neighboring tribes. For example, the Tayash clan was forced to hunt (at the end of the 19th century) in taiga belonging to the Chelkans. During years in which the sable catch was bad, and also when pursuing mountain goat which migrated from the deep snows beyond the Abakan, the Shors went as far as the Abakan and Yenisey Rivers. The population of these regions (Khakasy) were by no means always ready to allow them to enter their territory.

To a large extent, the hunting system of the Shors retained a collective basis, as shown both by the cooperative-type production and the distribution quotas for the catch. This primitive collectivism, which goes back to the primitive-communal clan organization, kept its hold even long after the decline of this organization due to the exceptionally difficult hunting conditions in the taiga, particularly during winter, which excluded any individual hunting. Originally, the hunting collectives or "cooperatives" consisted of clan kinsmen without exception, though later, with the decline of the clan, this principle gave way to the territorial principle.

It was the men who hunted, and usually in the winter from halfway through November (after enough snow had fallen and the rivers had frozen over) up to the middle or end of December, and from the middle of February to the first half of March. Groups containing from four to seven men used to go out hunting in the winter. Having gone 50 or 100 kilometers from the ulus, the cooperative would set up camp in an old hut left over from previous years, repair it, or make a new one with fir branches or wooden stakes cut in half. The hunting hut (odag or agys) was set up by joint efforts. The hunters operated singly or in pairs. All the catch, in skins or in money, was divided equally among all members of the cooperative, no matter how many animals each one killed. During the first hunting season, in the beginning of the winter, they hunted squirrel, caught sable with nets, set traps for ermine and Siberian marten, trapped goats in enclosures, and bagged wildfowl. During the second hunting period, when the snow was thicker, they took along dogs. The same animals were hunted during this second season. Sables were caught (the second season coincided with the "sable-run") with traps. For the larger hoofed animals, they set up enclosures and nooses on tracks and at river crossings, set up automatic traps, and also hunted by driving (particularly over hard snow), lay in wait for game and brought it down with guns, and also prepared artificial solonets (urine-soaked moss). The sable-nets were placed near the burrow in a pile of stones, or else they smoked the animal out. Sometimes they chased the sable into a tree by means of dogs and then shot it, but they also caught sable with traps. The squirrels were shot, bears were forced out of their lairs and shot with large-caliber guns. The otter was caught by damming a small river and setting up nets (in the form of sleeves), and in winter they lay in wait near holes in the ice and killed the otter with guns. The weasel, ermine, fox, hare, and so on were caught with traps and snares. The chipmunk was hunted in the spring; it was attracted by whistles and killed with a stick. Nooses were set up for wildfowl, and they were also shot.

The means of transportation for the hunters were skis (shana) made of bird cherry, purple willow or birch, backed with hide from foal shanks. For movement over the snow crust they made their skis of pine and did not face them with hide. The hunter used a special stick shaped like a spoon (kurchek) to control his movements, particularly when going downhill. He used the same spade to dig holes in the snow for sleeping and to scoop drinking water out of springs. Food supplies, hunting paraphernalia and the game (hide and meat) were pulled along behind the hunters on sledges (shanak) or else in the hide of a foal (surtka). If the hunters were not going far away, they took their food in a birchbark box, which was slung over their shoulder. They hunted in ordinary clothes (shabur) made of hemp, and often wore several such gowns all at once (one on top of the other). The special hunting dress took the form of a felt coat sewn onto linen and fastened with thread. They also wore round cloaks made of badger-skin or goat-suede.



Occupations and Technology:

1—hunter in full regalia; 2—hunting sled; 3—fishing with a portable two-man seine; 4—tilling the soil with an abyl; 5—Shor woman with ozup for digging adder's-tongue; 6—abyl; 7—ozup; 8—burning ears on the fire (old method of threshing); 9—winnowing barley on birchbark tray; 10—wooden mortar; 11—making pots; 12—weaving with an old-type loom.

In the old days, the Shors gathered cedar nuts in small quantities for their own needs. The infiltration of Russian trade into the taiga made this product marketable and helped to develop it. By the end of the 19th century (according to Shvetsov) 28.2% of the Shor households on the Kondoma and 35.5% on the Mrassa were engaged in nut-gathering. In certain voiests the figures rose to 50 or 70%: in the Kazanov Volost, 47%, and in the Kondomo-Borsoyat, 70.1%.

The nuts were chiefly sold. The money received (in good years) made a considerable contribution to the Shor budget. Just as the nuts were ripening (first two weeks of August) a family or cooperative would go out into the taiga and occupy any area of the cedar forest that it wished, aiming at taking the nearest part. A camp would be set up near a large cedar tree or fir tree, or else they would build a hut with fir branches. At that spot they made a storage place for the nuts. Another family or cooperative could only occupy an area at a set distance from the first one. The implements of the nut trade were querns (paspak), mallets (tokpak), sieves (elek), winnowers (sygrash), and bags for carrying the nuts (tergish) were usually made on the spot from wood or birch-bark and left there when the operation was complete.

The men knocked down the cedar cones with a heavy wooden mallet on a long handle by hitting the trunk of the tree, or else climbed up the tree itself (boys were often used to climb the trees) or else procured them from neighboring trees and distant branches with a long pole. Women and children took the cones to the storage place, where they grated them, sieved them and winnowed them. Late in the autumn they collected the so-called tushken-ripe windfalls; they gathered at a great speed for 5 or 6 days in fierce competition with the rodents. The children ferreted out chipmunks' burrows and took the nuts out of them.

When the nuts or money received from the sale of them were distributed, all members of the cooperative received an equal share. Later on, quotas were established, according to the amount of work done by each person. They either sold the nuts conjointly as a cooperative, or divided them up in the forest and each one sold his own portion. The poor Shors, who needed immediate money for the gathered nuts, usually sold them on the spot to dealers. Some of them were exchanged for commodities or sold for ready cash, while a large proportion went into paying back debts for various products obtained from the dealers during the year. The dealers mercilessly exploited the poor Shors. For example, according to V. I. Verbitskiy, one measure of nuts was given for the same amount of barley; sometimes a Shor would give a birch-bark measure of nuts holding about 1 1/2 poods [something over 40 pounds—Ed.], as payment for an iron measure of grain (holding about 30 pounds) received at home from a dealer. The losses of the nut-gatherers, according to Shvetsov, amounted to as much as 80% under this system. It was only the better-off Shors who carted their nuts home, dried them and waited for prices to rise, which usually happened after the gathering season was over. They carted the nuts to the steppes and exchanged them or sold them to neighboring tribes, sold them at the market in neighboring towns or to the same dealers at higher prices.

The types of fish caught were the grayling, salmon-trout, pike, burbot, ide, and various smaller fish. The principal types of fishing tackle used were various nets (engme, agyspa) and devices (sugen) woven from rose-willow twigs in the form of an animal head. Smaller fish were caught with a net (para) which was a long narrow conical sack, sometimes 5 or 6 m long. The net was set up in an enclosure made of branches

forming an acute angle with a wide base and was attached to it at the apex. Among the variety of nets we should mention two types which have persisted to the present day. The first is a composite net intended to catch fish of different size at the same time, which is achieved by regulating the size of the mesh: from the floats above there is a larger mesh, after which it gets smaller and smaller. The bottom of the net is equipped with weights (pebbles) attached to the net by split cedar-roots. The second type of net (agyspa) is long, without weights and floats. The top end is attached to a pole. The fishermen lower the net at night across the river in the direction of the current, following it in boats and holding the ends of the pole. Two types of cast seines were used: one woven from thread into a mesh (shuun), which is still used, and one made of cloth (suske). Fish were caught with a box made of poles secured with branches (ashpar); during the autumn it was set up in the fast-flowing waters of fenced-off rivers. There was a hole in the fence through which the water poured, together with the fish, into the box. Fish were killed at night with spears, shot with wooden spade-like arrows, caught with hair-nooses and fishing rods. The women and children caught fish under stones with their hands and also in sacks made of hemp thread. During collective fishing, all those taking part, regardless of the work they had done or the equipment they possessed, received an equal portion. But this system underwent considerable changes at the beginning of the 20th century. The owner of the nets began to receive a little more than his share, with the consent of those taking part, and sometimes an extra share "for the net," and on the eve of the Revolution, the rich Shors no longer took part in the fishing, but equipped the cooperative with nets and received a considerable portion of the catch in return.

The Shors learned beekeeping from the Russians. Beekeeping existed side by side with primitive honey-gathering. The Shors had long known about honey-gathering. They collected the honey of wild bees by means of solonets—moss soaked in human urine. The bees flew towards the solonets, attracted by the smell of smoke from a fire burning bits of rotten wood near the solonets. Having imbibed the urine, the bees flew back to their hollow stumps, while the hunter followed them and marked the particular tree with a notch; then, later on, he took away the honey. A notched tree containing a bee's nest was the property of one who found it. Hive beekeeping was learned from the Russian peasants who settled among them comparatively recently (19th century). The natural conditions of the territory inhabited by the Shors were very promising as regards beekeeping, but the primitive techniques did not make it possible to fully exploit the possibilities. Despite the comparatively wide distribution of beekeeping (according to data for 1909, 14.19% of the households on the Kondoma and 16.9% on the Mrassa kept bees), this branch was not duly developed; archaic methods of tending the bees, the general lack of means and primitive state of the Shor economy meant that the bees often became ill or died. The Shors kept bees in natural hollows or ones they made themselves in tree trunks (frame hives were a rarity). The richer Shors often had several hundred hives. On the Kondoma and Antropa, apiaries of 1000 hives could be found among the richer Shors in the middle of the last century. The wax and honey were exchanged with neighboring tribes or sold to traders.

Pastoralism was poorly developed among the Shors. In the south (along the rivers Kobyrso and Pyzas) there were ulusy in which no cows were kept, and many people had never tasted milk. According to

S. P. Shvetsov (1899), about 10% of the Shor households had no horses at all, about 50% had 1 or 2, about 40% had more than 3 horses, and 0.6% of the households had more than 10 horses. The distribution of cattle was much the same: about 19% of the households had none at all, about 14% had one animal, 7% had more than 10 head of cattle and 0.7% had more than 20. The deep snow forced them to procure hay for the winter. The procurement of hay was learned from the Russians, and was done in the Russian style, using the same simple implements (scythe, rake and fork). The rich people procured hay using hired labor. Most of the taiga Shors left the hay in ricks, and in winter fed the livestock by driving them over to the rick. In the northern part of Shoriya the cattle were kept and fed in stables during the winter, based on the Russian peasant farmyard enclosures. Stockbreeding was acquired by the Shors from their Russian neighbors, although in a slightly different form. The Turkic terms for livestock show that the Shors had learned about the different types of domestic cattle from the Turkic nomads. Nevertheless, the Shors kept their cattle and milked them in the Russian peasant fashion. They did not know how to make milk products characteristic of the Turkic nomads; they did not even know the words for these products.

Shor agriculture was of two distinct types. The steppe Shors and those populating the mountainous region of northern Shoriya used a system of agriculture borrowed from the Russian peasants. They ploughed with wooden ploughs with iron ploughshares, harrowed with wooden harrows, sometimes with iron teeth, reaped with sickles, threshed with horses and chains, and ground the grain in water-mills. Agricultural implements and their parts were called by the Russian words. The richer Shors had iron ploughs and very simple harvesting machines. In short, in those parts the Shors had switched to true farming. Accordingly, the sowings were reckoned in hectares, and, in the case of the richer people, the land under crops amounted to many hectares. Another type of agriculture was characteristic of southern Shoriya (above the Mrassa Rapids), which had not been reached by Russian popular culture and where hoe agriculture with sowings measured in "zagon" (one-twelfth of a desyatina) was predominant.

In these parts only the archaic technology characteristic of the ancient Shor agriculture was used, which they had practiced before their contact with Russian popular culture. The plot of ground on the south side of a mountain cleared free of taiga by means of fire and the axe was tilled with a hoe. For this purpose a family of four or five people used to move from their permanent residence to the cropland where they lived in a temporary tent for several weeks and worked 1 or 2 zagon. Having broadcast the grain and harrowed it with a branch, the Shors went back to the farmland in the autumn to collect the harvest. The ripe ears were shaken or cut with a knife, stacked in small heaps, bound and hung in pairs on poles and set up on trestles to dry. For the threshing they arranged a little threshing floor, alongside which they lit fires. The ears were then scorched and shaken over the floor, while the straw was thrown into the fire. After this, the ears were threshed with a short thick stick and winnowed on birchbark trays. The grain was kept in birchbark tubs set up on piles there on the cropland. It was ground in querns. However, not even hoe tilling was accessible to every Shor. 33.7% of the Shor households did not have any sowings at all, while 20.3% only had from 0.1 to 0.5 desyatins (1900). The Southern Shors usually sowed barley, while their northern counterparts sowed

mainly wheat and oats, although they also sowed barley. Among the Southern Shors hoe tilling, like hunting and fishing, by no means provided sufficient food. They were unable to make up for the constant lack of foods by buying commodities, first because of their lack of purchasing power, and second, because of the absence of any agricultural produce market. The closest markets were in Kuznetsk and Abakan, many hundreds of kilometers away, and were quite out of the question on account of the extraordinarily difficult mountainous taiga routes. The traders who reached southern Shoriya only brought with them small quantities of flour and horses for slaughter (sogum), which they sold on credit at exorbitant prices, and thereby hardly solved the problem of subsistence for the Southern Shors. Right up to the Revolution the Shors tried to fill the food gap by procuring edible roots, of which the most important were adder's-tongue, lily-root, and peony roots. The procurement of wild vegetation was a kind of "peak period" for the Southern Shors, and the women and children would dig up the roots with wooden sticks with an iron tip (ozup) for weeks on end, hardly resting for a minute. The procurement of adder's-tongue was sometimes carried on on such a scale that some of it reached the neighboring tribes in the Abakan Basin, the Kachins and Sagays, in exchange for preserved milk products (kurus cheese).

Of the nonfood crops sown, there was hemp, usually for the sake of the fiber. The preparation of oil from the seeds was not known to the taiga Shores. The hempseeds were baked in unleavened cakes. The fiber was worked with great difficulty, and this was the job of the women. It was they who wove cloth on the horizontal primitive looms and used it to make clothes. The warp was stretched between two stakes. The loom had a thread-board secured to a stick (kuzuk agazhi) supported by two forked knives. The top row of threads of the warp was threaded through the loops in the thread-board. During the weaving, the opening was moved by means of a warp-divider (otra) consisting of two long boards joined at the ends by two pieces of wood in the form of a narrow frame. The otra was placed across the warp between two rows of threads; the top was passed through the loops and the bottom left free. When the otra moved backwards and forwards, the rows of thread were mechanically shifted along, forming the opening. The threads of the woof were beaten with a wooden paddle shaped like a wide knife (kylysh, literally, a "sabre"). A simple round stick (salgysh) was used as the shuttle. Domestic methods were used to process skins and hides, for working wood (benches, skis, dugout boats, wooden utensils) birchbark (domestic utensils and vessels), horn (handles, knives, measures for gunpowder, rings for sledge harness, cartridge cases), clay (vessels), fiber (clothing and string nets). Pottery was known on the river Tom' and on the lower reaches of the Mrassa. The pots were made by hand by means of a wooden trowel (chapkysh), a knife (keskish) and hoops (shyyyk). Hide was soaked in water, cleaned with a sharp knife, rubbed with a powder made of fir carbon and boiled bones, hung up to air, and smeared with fat. It was then pounded twice in a special dresser (talyg)—a wooden block with indentation—and smoked in an earthen stove. Nets were knitted from wild nettle, and different types of hemp. By the end of the 19th century, the weaving of nets had become a craft in certain parts of Shoriya. According to data for 1900, 15.1% of the households engaged in net-weaving. On the lower reaches of the Mrassa and along the Tom', the number of households was much greater (66.7% in the Kazanov Volost and 67.1% in the Bochat).

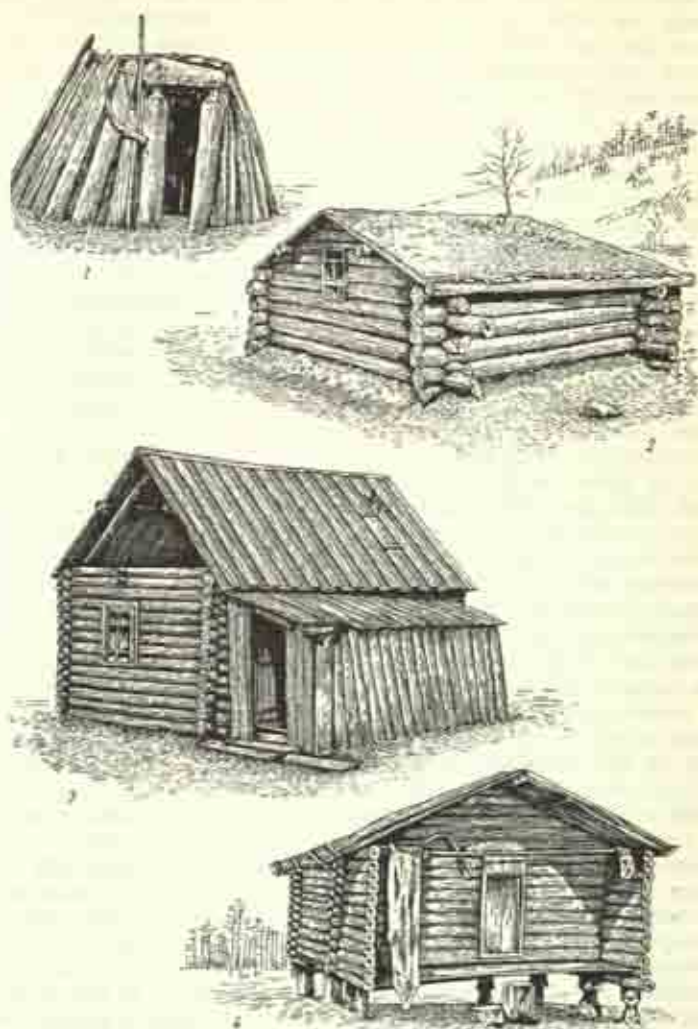


Working leather.

One of the clearest signs of the backwardness of Shor economy prior to the Revolution, mainly among the Southern Shors, was the predominance of the natural division of labor—i.e., the division of labor between the sexes—in which the men engaged in hunting, fishing, etc., while the women carried out domestic duties. Apart from this, the economy of the Shors, particularly the Southern Shors, showed primitive and backward features, among which was the preference for hunting rather than agriculture, and the compound nature of the economy resulting from its poor productive capacity (neither hunting nor agriculture, taken separately, was sufficient for subsistence), primeval technical backwardness, low productivity of labor and extremely laborious productive techniques.

At the same time, we should mention the great progress in the economy of the Shors, compared with their period under the domination of the Dzhungariyan and Kirgiz khans, zaysans, and so on. This related first and foremost to the emergence and spread among a considerable number of Shors (steppe and northern mountainous regions) of farming in the form of plough agriculture and indoor stockbreeding, as well as gardening. These much more productive branches immediately provided the Shors with a certain stability and supplied them with their own food. Settled cattle-breeding in the Russian peasant style enabled the Shors to use draught animals, and the rearing of cattle (for milk) provided a stable food supply in the form of the valuable product milk. The addition of grain, milk, butter and vegetables could not but have a positive effect on the physical state of the Northern (including the steppe) Shors.

The acquisition of such implements as the axe and the saw from Russian peasants promoted the development of building; the appearance in everyday use of carts and sledges made communication easier. Finally, certain branches of labor among the Shors, through contact with



Dwellings:

1—odag or tent made of beams; 2—log hut; 3—hut with porch;
4—barn.

the Russians, acquired commercial value (the hunting of fur-bearing animals and to some extent fishing). This short list of advances made by the Shors through cultural association with the Russians should include reference to the great changes in the everyday way of life which occurred on the basis of the new economy.

Dwellings, Clothing and Food

The Shors lived a settled life. They only moved about for short periods of time, as dictated by the needs of production—they either

moved with the whole family to the cropland during the sowing or harvesting, or else the males moved to a temporary dwelling in the depths of the mountain taiga in the region where they were hunting. The Shors only genuinely changed residence in two cases: when they abandoned the old cropland and moved nearer to the newly tilled land, and when they abandoned an old site after a member of the family had died. Among the steppe and Northern mountain Shors even moves of this kind were rare. The Shors usually settled in small settlements a long way from each other, particularly the Southern Shors. While the settlements of the Northern steppe Shors were hardly different from little Russian villages, among the Southern Shors they consisted of dozens of yurts. Some of them consisted of two or three yurts and were generally called after the name of an elder relative, for example, Nakpay-Aal, Nakpay's Ulus, or Ochay-Aal and so on. Another type of settlement contained several clans or individual representatives of them. Such settlements usually numbered more than a dozen yurts and houses, and they were usually called after the names of rivers, springs or mountains near which they were located. Such are Ak-Kaya (white rock), Uzun-Arky (long island) and so on. As distinct from the Russian villages, in those of the Northern Shors there were no streets, and the dwellings, like the farm buildings, looked poorer and more desolate. When the inhabitants of a small Shor settlement transferred to another place, the name of the settlement disappeared. Hence, investigators and travelers who visited the Shors at the beginning of the 20th century were often unable to find the settlements marked on the official maps before the second half of the 19th century.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the Shors had two main types of dwelling. One was the wooden tent (odag) made of beams, planks and poles, covered with birchbark, containing an earthen floor with a hearth in the middle. This type was retained as a temporary dwelling on the cropland during agricultural work, and also on hunting grounds. In southern Shoriya this type of dwelling, usually heated, covered with a double layer of birchbark and strewn with earth, was also the winter quarters for the poorer people. The other type was a low log hut (four-cornered) covered with a birchbark roof. The clay hearth (kebege) was near the wall on the left of the door. It often had a chimney woven from branches (sugen). In such cases the hearth consisted of two clay-smeared planks placed vertically against the wall. Apart from the yurt, there were also Russian-type houses at the end of the 19th century, which almost ousted the yurts in northern Shoriya. In the south (along the tributaries of major rivers) there was a considerably greater number of beamed yurts than of Russian-type houses. The rich people built two-story houses, covered with wood or even iron. The grounds of these houses were fenced off with a wooden fence and contained various farm buildings. The inside of the Shor dwelling was strikingly sparsely furnished and primitive. It was only the richer houses which had Russian-type furnishings characteristic of well-to-do peasants.

In southern Shoriya, the farm structures consisted of wooden log huts on four posts (tastak) intended for storing meat and grain, and barns with a floor, roof and door on four or six columns sunk into the ground. In northern Shoriya, apart from these structures, Russian-type barns were also found. The trading Shors had barns of considerable size with two or three stories, covered with wood, and sometimes iron.

The clothing of the Shors showed the distinction between the northern and southern groups and was also divided socially. The steppe and

Northern Shors wore clothing and footwear of Russian design, which they made from homemade cloth, purchased fabrics, and sheepskin. The rich Shors dressed in the manner of the towns, buying readymade clothes or having them made in the style of the clothing worn in merchant and bourgeois circles in Kuznetsk. They only used factory-made cloth and did not wear homespun. The clothing of the Southern taiga Shors, where poverty and need were universal, was peculiar in both material and style. The short supply and sometimes total lack of livestock, particularly sheep, and the drop in the number of large hoofed animals in the forests forced most of the taiga Shors to make their own winter and summer clothing from Indian hemp, since factory-made fabrics brought in by the traders were not accessible to the ordinary hunters.

The normal clothing of the Shors consisted of a shirt (kunek) made of hemp or some purchased fabric, with a straight or slanting collar, sometimes trimmed with colored material and buttoned together, and trousers (chembar, shtan) with a cord belt made of hemp. The outer clothing consisted of a gown (shabur), which was short, buttoned at the top with one button and opened from left to right, and was belted with a sash. The collar, front and sometimes the bottom were trimmed with ribbon. The Shors would often wander about the taiga during rainy weather or cold in a gown of this kind made of homespun hemp. It was only in winter that another, extra one was worn.

The hat (pörlük) was made of linen or calico, although some people used to wear fur hats (with earpieces). The footwear consisted of large heelless leather slippers (charyk) made of smoked hide, while the poor people usually had leggings made of hemp. The charyk were bound at the knees with straps. Soft dried grass was put inside them (ozangat). The grass was gathered in June, dried, tied in bundles to trees and then bound around the feet. Footwear was made of reindeer suede. A Shor always carried a knife in a sheath with him, and also his wooden, bent stem pipe (kanza), flint steel (otuk), flint (otuk pash) and tinder for striking fire, and also a leather or cloth pouch for tobacco (panychyk).

Women's clothing, except for the shirt-dress, was practically the same as for the men. The long shirt, reaching almost to the ground, was at the same time a dress and was made with a vent at the front. The trousers (shtan) were shorter than the men's and did not have a vent. The outer robe was made of hemp or Manchester cloth (among the wealthier people) and velveteen of a dark color. The chest-piece of the robe was decorated with colored embroidery or cowrie shells, while the hem and cuffs were also embellished with primitive embroidery.

In winter the Shor women wore the same robe, but in order to keep warm they often wore two at once. They also wore mittens made of sheepskin, and in the southwest they had woolen stockings and sashes, acquired from their neighbors, the Kumandins.

The staple food was flour (talkan) and groats (shyrak) made from slightly roasted barley. The grains, slightly roasted in a flat pot (korgush), were crushed in a wooden mortar (sok) with a wooden pestle (sok palazy) and then were winnowed with a wooden or birchbark tray (syrgash) and ground in a quern. The groats or flour obtained were winnowed in a wooden sieve stretched with leather (elgek). The winnowed groats and bran were winnowed once again in the same tray. The talkan was eaten with tea, cold water, milk, honey, butter and sour cream. It was made into a thick porridge (salamat). The groats were used to season soup and they were also boiled (on the Kondoma and its tributaries) with milk, fish, meat or adder's-tongue. Unleavened wheat dough, cut up



Men's coat of homespun cloth embroidered with colored thread on black velvet.

into little bits (*tutpash*), was boiled in water, sometimes with small fish, with meat, and in milk. This was the most popular and typical Shor dish. It was eaten, like the soup, with groats (*shyrak*) without bread. *Tertpek*, pancakes made of unleavened dough, boiled in water, were eaten with meat or fish soup.

Not all the Shors had sufficient bread made from bought wheat or rye flour. It was the Northern Shors who had bread mostly, since agriculture was well developed there, but it was only the rich people who had as much as they wanted. As regards drinks, they had *abyrtka*, a beer made of barley flour (*talkan*), sometimes *adder's-tongue*, and *aragy*, a spirit prepared from wheat beer, and also tea.

Of the wild roots the Shors ate the stems of umbellate plants (*boltyrgan*), lily-root (*sargay*), *adder's-tongue* (*pes*), broad-leaved garlic (*kalba*) and small wild onion (*oksum*). Most of these roots were eaten raw. The *adder's-tongue* and lily-root were cooked in water or milk. Wild vegetation played an important part in the diet of the poor Shors, particularly during famines.

Horsemeat was considered a great luxury. It was only a few Shors who were in a position to buy so-called *sogum*, old horses intended for slaughter. The meat of the wild goat, reindeer, maral, elk, bear, badger,

hare and squirrel was eaten. Hunters brought home squirrel carcasses baked in the ash of campfires; they were considered a delicacy. The fowl eaten were wood-grouse, black grouse, hazel-grouse, partridge and duck.

In the regions where cows were kept, dairy produce was to a certain extent important in the diet. Milk was made into fresh cheese (pyshtak), which was used to replace bread and was eaten with tea.

Great changes took place in the domestic life of the Shors under Russian influence. The Russian timber cottage, which was incomparably warmer, more convenient and hygienic, became common among the Shors and with it the corresponding furnishings (tables, benches, stools, beds, cupboards, crockery and so on) and the farm buildings (barns, pens and stables for livestock).

They also took over the warmer, more comfortable and practical Russian-type clothing, began wearing underclothes, washing their clothes and taking baths; apart from grain and meat products, they began to eat a great deal of vegetables and so on.

Ways of Communication and Transportation

Communication in the taiga was extremely difficult. There was one road suitable for carts stretching for 60 kilometers through the Kuznets taiga (from Kuznetsk to the Krasnyy Yar Uls). The narrow paths for horses wound their way through mountains and patches of forest, fallen trees, rocks, and through swamps, and were more or less just animal tracks. In summer it was possible to go by river in boats, on horseback or on foot, by track, and in winter to travel by sleigh (in the north) or skis (in the south). Dugout canoes (kebe) were moved upstream by means of poles. Navigation of the Mrassa was made difficult by the rapids which stretched for 7 kilometers. The boats had to be towed along by the shore in this region, while the travelers walked along the stony bank and carried their goods. Legends mention birchbark boats. The Tom', Mrassa and Kondoma were powerful rivers. Among other means of transportation were hand sleds (shanak) and horsehides on drag-frames (surtki). Russian harnessing, sleighs and carts were very common along the Northern, steppe Shors.

Social Relations

Russian influence brought about tremendous changes in the realm of social relations as well. During the period of annexation of the Shors and later, right up to the 19th century, and here and there even up to the 20th century, a great part was played in the social and family life of the Shors by the clan. The Shors always knew their clan name. The volosts or administrative clans in fact coincided (principally) with the actual clans. Most of the settlements in southern Shoriya consisted of relatives belonging to a particular clan. The administrative volosts or clans were governed by an officially elected pashtyk from the clan which made up the majority of the population of the administrative unit. The fur-tax and other taxes were apportioned within the clan. The jurisdiction of the pashtyk, which was confined to the settlement of minor, everyday cases, in actual fact covered the members of his clan, inasmuch as the administrative and actual clan coincided.

This was only the case with the Southern Shors, however. Among the Northern Shors, particularly those living in the steppes, the kin

principle was not of importance in settlement, use of land or administration, since the internal development of the economy as well as the economic and cultural ties with the Russians went against it. But even here the strength of clan traditions showed up in certain customs, rituals and especially in the family-marital relations and religion.

The Shor clan (söök) was exogamous and patrilineal. Even in the 18th century each clan had its own territory, and the hunting grounds belonged to all the members. Those belonging to the same clan called each other *karyndash*, meaning "from the same womb," which reflected the earlier matrilineal stage of clan development at the time that the clan arose. The fact that in earlier times the clan had been based on matriarchy, is convincingly shown by a series of survivals recorded by Soviet ethnographers. Among them are traces of the avunculate as well as matrilineal marriage, which meant that most of the wedding feasts (including the chief one) took place in the house of the parents of the bride and not the groom. After the ceremony the newlywed couple had to take presents to the groom's father's house and live there for a while; it was only after this that the father-in-law could visit his son-in-law. According to the stories told by the old people, it had formerly been the custom for the son-in-law to keep his wife's parents supplied for a certain time with cow parsnip stalks, which were used by the Shors for food, and for the rest of his life to share the meat of slaughtered animals with his father-in-law. Finally, the presence in the past of a matrilineal clan among the Shors is indicated by traces of collective marriages in the classificatory kinship system, levirate, taboos regarding association between the woman and her husband's elder brothers, either direct or collateral (the custom of "avoidance"). The woman was not only not allowed to refer to this group of her husband's relatives by name, but was even forbidden to shake hands with them, be left alone with them, sit near them, appear in their presence with her head or feet uncovered and so on. A relic of the former clan, primitive-communal relations was joint-clan ownership of hunting grounds. It was enough to belong to a certain clan and bear its name in order to enjoy the right of hunting in the *talga* belonging to that clan. Later on (from the middle of the 19th century), with the decomposition of the clan system, the hunting grounds passed into the hands of individual joint families (*töl'*). There were also traces of the primitive-communal clan structure in the actual production process and distribution of production. This included the joint, collective hunting of hoofed animals (using pitfalls, enclosures and so on) and for fur-bearing animals with equalized distribution of the bag. Other customs were retained, too; for example, each person whom the hunter encountered when returning home had to be given a portion of the catch. Anyone accidentally passing by the hunter at the kill, even though he took no part in the operation (tracking down and killing the animal), was entitled to a portion. It was customary to present the inhabitants of one's own settlement (originally members of the same clan) with the meat of an animal killed during hunting.

The growth of production, strengthening of private ownership, development of trade and barter relations, among the Shors over the period of their incorporation into tsarist Russia inevitably led to the decline of the clan in an economic respect into separate family communes or *töl'*s. These communes, which became the principal economic units among the Southern Shors, covered two or three generations of close relatives who lived together, farmed together and possessed the same

property. The hunting grounds, particularly in the southern part of that region, remained for a long time to come as common property of the töl', and hunting to a considerable extent remained collective ("co-operative"), although after the dividing up of the catch, the latter became the personal property of the hunter. As a member of the cooperative the hunter had the right to independent barter or trade in the fur-bearing animals falling to his share. Married sons who, particularly at first, had to give up their portion for general use, when the families were large, began to use it for themselves.

The land suitable for crops in southern Shoriya belonged as a whole to the clans, the members of which were able to select and use an unoccupied area. A joint family utilized the lands conjointly; the members worked it together and the harvest gathered was either left undivided (for general use) or was divided among the married sons. Later on, separated married sons received a sowing area for their own use and had full rights to the harvest. The separated person also had his own house, farm, sowing area, and sled, and was allowed to sell the fur-bearing animals he caught, as he wished.

An increase in labor productivity in hunting (through the use of guns), the use of the axe instead of the former, primitive adze, which made it possible to clear forest areas more easily and rapidly, and a certain development in agriculture brought about the individualization of production and strengthened private property in southern Shoriya as well.

The demand for furs and nuts on the market, the development of trade, the change to the payment of the fur-tax in money, all promoted the development of these tendencies towards private ownership. The outcome of all this was that the töl's began to break up into separate monogamous families. Each married member of the family had the right to take part in barter and trade transactions and this led to an unequal accumulation of property in certain families; this in turn opened up great possibilities for exploitation by the richer families of their poorer relatives. In place of the former ties of kinship the territorial ties began to strengthen (joint residence and neighborhood). This trend developed very rapidly in northern Shoriya and among the steppe Shors, where the influence of the Russian village with its developed capitalist relations was very strong. Thus, by the time of the October Revolution the relations determining the social and economic life of the Shors had gradually become those of domination and subjugation, those of economic and political dependence of the majority on the tsarist colonial apparatus and partly on the numerically small local exploiting elite. The Shors were then on the brink of class society. But they did not have any sharp division into classes. The penetration of the usury by capitalist relations greatly speeded up the decomposition of the primitive-communal structure. The development of trade, circulation of money and the system of usury led to the formation of a small group of people among the Shors who amassed fortunes at the expense of their fellow tribesmen and were closely associated with the tsarist colonizers.

In the spring, during the usual famines in the taiga, wealthy traders loaned the hunters bread, munitions and other commodities in return for future produce—furs and nuts.

The so-called tanysh (literally "friend" or "acquaintance") sprang from the more enterprising Shors who sold furs and nuts as commissioned by the cooperative, or carted the fur-tax, and profited by doing so, transacted deals with wealthier traders, and became middlemen. Having themselves come from the hunters, they soon gave up hunting,

recruited the poor people for hunting, and lent them various products and hunting paraphernalia, thereby completely enslaving them. Examples were the Totyshevs in Myski, Syrkashev in Chul'dzhan, and Tel'bezegov in Ostinniki. They used to keep hired workers, their own fellow Shors, to work on their farms (procure hay and firewood, work with the apiaries and so on). By force of his economic and therefore social status, the bay dominated the local "clan" administration of so-called pashtyky and their assistants, making them protect his own interests, and by means of them extorted debts from his fellow tribesmen. The Crown considered all the land of the Altayskiy Okrug, containing Shoriya, to be the personal property of the tsar. It was decided to allot the Shors small areas (15 desyatinas) and the hundreds of thousands of desyatinas "freed" through this cunning trick were to be leased out by the government (for settlement by peasants) at great profit. The "land reform" among the Shors occurred between 1910 and 1913. Simultaneously with this larcenous land reform, the clan administration was abolished and replaced by the normal territorial volost administration. The clan administration, which had been so useful and necessary for the tsarist government when the Shors were paying the tax in furs, was now unnecessary. After this reform the various compulsory payments for the rank-and-file Shors increased several times. They now had to pay: 1) quitrent; 2) a guberniya land tax; 3) an uyezd land tax; 4) a volost tax; 5) a village tax; 6) a church tithe, and so on. In a word, in northern Shoriya (and among the steppe Shors), an adult worker had to pay about 15 rubles in taxes and dues. Apart from this, he had to buy licenses to fell trees for firewood and timber, and to collect cedar nuts.

Education; Folklore

The double oppression and political, economic and cultural backwardness of the Shors were the reason for the rather scanty forms of their intellectual life. The Shors had no education or medical aid. Although the Russian missionaries developed an alphabet for the Shor language on the basis of the Russian alphabet, the Shors never developed written literature. It was only the church books compiled and published by the Russian missionaries which appeared in the Shor language. There were only six missionaries and parish schools throughout the vast territory settled by the Shors, and these were mainly in the north. In 1900 literacy was not greater than 1%, and the literate Shors were the ones living in the north in contact with the Russian population. The missionaries selected various Shor boys and sent them to the Blysk Seminary, but only one or two became missionaries, psalm-readers,⁵ and occasionally schoolteachers. These few Shors, raised in the missionary spirit, were the Shor intelligentsia of the time. Only one of them deserves attention—the missionary I. Shtygashev, who wrote in Russian and, apart from publishing missionary reports, wrote ethnographic articles on Shor mythology for the press. Some of the richer Shors living near the town of Kuznetsk sent their sons to the school in the town.

The Shors had a highly developed oral folklore. The main genres were: the epic poem (kay, nybak); songs (saryn) of various types; sayings

⁵ Russian: psalomshchik—one of the lower ranks of the Russian Orthodox clergy.—Ed.

and proverbs (*ulger sos*, *kep sos*); riddles (*tapkak*); tales and legends and traditions (*purungu*, *chook* and *yerbek*). Of all these genres the epic poem stands out; these were recited by storytellers sometimes in guttural voices to the accompaniment of the two-stringed *komys*.

The epics of this kind reached the Shors through the Teleuts, of whom they are very typical and among whom they are commonly found to this very day under the same names. The reason for this is that the Teleuts intermingled with the Northern Shors. Hence, the epic is found mainly among the Northern Shors and very rarely among the Southerners. Generally speaking, Shor folklore is represented by fairytales, hunting stories and legends. They contain good descriptions of the primitive-communal relationships still typical of the Shors of the recent past, and early forms of religious beliefs which developed and evolved among the unmounted hunter-trappers, draw a typical picture of the hunting conditions in the taiga and are packed with references to different animals and birds which from time to time appear as characters in these works.⁶

The total lack of scientific knowledge about nature and man among the Shors explains why they had so many different fantastic and religious beliefs, by which they explained, though obviously completely erroneously, all the phenomena of life.

Apart from this, the people had a certain store of practical knowledge based on experience and handed down from generation to generation. The Shors fully understood (empirically) the nature around them. Leaving aside local geography and topography, they were extremely versed in the local wild animals, both large and small, particularly game, their habitat, ecology and so on. Here the Shors showed striking powers of observation as regards detail, enabling them to associate the lives of animals with events in nature around them. For example, they could judge the size of the incipient horns of a maral in spring and summer from the size of an umbellate plant. They made accurate forecasts with regard to the change of season in the taiga, basing their prediction on the behavior of local fauna, etc. Their knowledge also covered the vegetable world, and was not confined to folk phenology. They had ideas about the points of the compass and used descriptive terms in their language for them (the East is the land of the rising sun, the West, the land of the setting sun, the North, the orphan land of the sun and so on). The Shors had their own calendar in accordance with which they counted the months and days according to the moon. The names of the months reflect their occupations (the month of tilling the land and the month of collecting adder's-tongue was May; the month of hunting marals was September and so on) and days were reckoned from the new moon "Pir Na," "Eki Na," i.e., first, second day of the new month, up to the 14th and then back again as the moon waned. There were also popular measures of length and weight, although they were embryonic. Medicine, although there was extremely little, was based on empirical methods of treatment (certain medicinal plants). They were almost entirely in the hands of the ignorant shamans and quacks who caused enormous damage to both the health and the economy of the sick person.

Neither was graphic art very much developed among the Shors. It was represented by primitive carving and bonework (on tobacco pouches,

⁶See N. P. Dyrenkova, *Shorskiy fol'klor* (Shor Folklore). Moscow-Leningrad, 1940.

pouches for gunpowder, knife handles, rings for harnessing to hand sleds, and so on), and very simple embroidery with colored thread (on collars, sleeves, hats and so on).

Beliefs and Rituals

Officially, the Shors were regarded as Orthodox. The Altayan Church Mission, which began operating in the Altay in 1830, opened the first missionary station in 1858 in the Kuzedeyevo Ulus on the Kondoma. It then advanced farther into the taiga, up the Kondoma, and moved its station in 1894 to the Kondoma Ulus (150 km. from Kuznetsk). Later on, this mission extended its activity to cover the Mrassa regions (Ust'-Anza and other stations), and even to the southwest of the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya (Matur Station, 1905). Thus, the mission covered the whole of the vast region settled by Shors. But even when baptized, the Shors continued to be shamanists. Their beliefs were closely bound up with hunting. The principal rituals were various offerings to the "masters" of the mountains and forest on whom they believed success in hunting to depend, and the resurrection and propitiation of animals killed during hunting. The cult of the mountains—the hunting grounds of some of the seoks—was a clan cult. There were a number of rituals involved in bear-hunting.

Shamanism among the Shors was still partly based on clans. The shamans and their imaginary spirits were considered to be inherited by certain clans. The shaman hardly did anything productive and lived mainly on what he received for his shamanizing. Ceremonies were held if anyone in the family fell sick or else to bring luck during hunting. The shaman was given the skins of the sacrificed animals and the best portion of the meat; he was paid also in money. The poor Shors, who were not in a position to pay for the ceremony, were forced to work for the shaman. The shaman's gear consisted of a tambourine and a club (he had no special dress).

Burial customs among the Shors differed. The most ancient ritual which was kept going with respect to adults right up to the end of the 19th century, and for children up to the first quarter of the 20th century, involved burying the deceased person in a tree, wrapped in birchbark. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries it became common to bury people in the ground, leaving a broken hunting sled at the site of the grave. Shamans were buried in the forests at a remote spot, and their tambourines were hung on the nearest tree, where they gradually rotted away.

Particularly burdensome was the transfer of the Shors to the category of so-called "settled natives" (in the pre-Revolutionary period). Formally speaking, this meant that they had equal rights and obligations with the Russian peasantry. But in practice it meant a sharp deterioration in the social and economic status of the Shors who came under this category, since they did not gain any particular rights—as is known, the Russian peasants themselves did not have any rights in tsarist Russia—but had all the more obligations and compulsory payments. The classification of some of the Shors as "settled natives" deprived them of the few privileges which they had enjoyed as "nomads." Striving to avoid falling into this category many of them even refused the small official allotment (of which only a tiny part was suitable for farming), a situation which was exploited by the bay clique which accumulated the lands in its hands.

Shors Since the October Revolution

The Mountain Shor National Rayon (formed in 1925) covered an enormous amount of territory (almost 30,000,000 square km) equal to the size of Belgium. But more than 90% of the territory was occupied by mountainous taiga, and even in 1931 the density of the population was 2.2 persons per square km. Over this vast territory the Shors were a national minority interspersed with the Russian population. In 1931, the Shors still made up only 38.8% of the entire population of the region, and in 1938 only 13%, and even this figure began dropping as time went on. This was due to the exceptionally rapid growth of the Russian population, as well as that of other nationalities, because of the tremendous and impressive development of the industry of the Kuzbass with its nationwide importance. The administrative center of the Mountain Shor National Rayon was first Myski (or in the Shor language Tomazak), founded back in 1826 at the point where the Mrassa runs into the Tom'. Before the Revolution, this settlement was the residence of the Shor bay traders. When the railroad was brought into Shoriya at the beginning of the 1930's, the rayon center was transferred to Kuzedeyevo on the river Kondoma, which was on the railroad line, and continued there up to the abolition of the National Rayon.

With the coming of the Soviet regime all the lands suited to cultivation and stockbreeding, which before the Revolution had been seized by the kulak and bay exploiting clique, became the property of the working Shors. In the beginning, however, the Shors were unable to assimilate these lands because of their exceptional economic and cultural underdevelopment. For example, in southern Shoriya ploughing and harvesting were carried out by the old, primitive method, and it was rare for the working Shors to possess domestic livestock. Most of them subsisted by hunting and trapping in the taiga. The financial assistance given to the Shors by the state in the form of loans and supplies of agricultural implements, feed, domestic livestock, advice by agricultural specialists and, particularly, the forming of Shor collective farms, rapidly brought agriculture to the Shors and strengthened their economy. The Mountain Shor Rayon received millions of rubles each year under the Soviet Union's budget for the development and strengthening of its economy and culture. Alongside the development of the national economy, in which industry became more and more important as the years went on, there were also record advances in Shor culture, for improving their cultural standards was an essential condition for the improvement of the rate of development of socialist economy with its need for high standards of work. A major part of the appropriations for the Shors was aimed at developing a socialist culture among them, first and foremost literacy. Within a short time a Shor script was devised, schooling in the vernacular was introduced, and school literature was published. The number of Shor schools rose from 8 in 1925 to 32 in 1935 (the latter number included an incomplete secondary and a complete secondary school); the yearly number of pupils increased accordingly from 243 to 2645 children. But even more important was the fact that the Shors now had their own teachers. In 1935, there were 64 Shor teachers teaching in Shor schools. In Kuzedeyevo, a teachers' college was opened and many Shors studied at it. Alongside the development of schooling, adult Shors were taught to read and write, through a specially organized system of illiteracy elimination points and schools for the partially literate. These points began functioning in 1925 when there were only 34 Shors studying at the one point in existence at that time. In 1935, there were already 17 points with 2120 adult Shors. A school for the partially

literate was opened in 1928, and at that time it was attended by 30 Shors. In 1935, there were 16 such schools and the total number of Shors attending them was 712. Over the first decade of the Mountain Shor Rayon, 5782 Shors had gone through the illiteracy elimination points, and 1616 Shors had graduated from the schools for the partially literate. Among the latter there were many women.

Raising the cultural and educational standard of the Shors also was further aided by the various cultural establishments, which first appeared among the Shors in 1925. By 1935, there were 10 reading rooms, 5 clubs, a library, several mobile projection units and 3 radio relays. During these years medical attention was organized for the first time for the Shors. In rural localities alone there were 7 hospitals, 6 outpatient clinics, and 14 medical-assistant points in operation in the region.

The creation of the Mountain Shor National Rayon, despite the fact that the Shors only made up a small section of the population, played a very important part in raising their cultural standard. The tremendous territory of the Mountain Shor Rayon, unsuitable for wide-scale agriculture because of natural conditions, proved an absolute treasure house for the development of heavy industry, so important for the development of the Soviet Union. The development of a powerful industrial center brought about a great influx of people to those parts, predominantly Russians, on account of which the number of Shors made up an extremely small percentage.

In 1939, the Mountain Shor National Rayon was abolished and the tremendous territory it had occupied was divided up administratively into a number of rayons of the re-created Kemerovskaya Oblast which united the Kuzbass. At the present time the Shors live in three rayons of the Kemerovskaya Oblast, i.e., the Tashtagol'skiy, Myskovskiy and Kuzedeyevskiy Rayons, which now cover the former territory of the Mountain Shor Rayon. There are more than 10,000 Shors in this vast stretch of territory. Most of them live in southern Shorlya, in the Tashtagol'skiy Rayon where (according to incomplete figures) there are 6626 (1949). The next largest group of Shors is found in the Myskovskiy Rayon, in which there are 2297. A smaller percentage lives in the Kuzedeyevskiy Rayon. In all three of these rayons the Shors are scattered and interspersed with the Russian population, and it is only in a few rather distant rural soviets of the Tashtagol'skiy Rayon (in the remote mountain taiga) that they are in the majority. The bulk of the Shors engage in agriculture and are combined into collective farms; a considerable number of them work in various industries, highly developed in the Kemerovskaya Oblast, as workers or employees, and only a small number hunt wild animals. For two rayons inhabited by the present-day Shors the figures can be quoted as follows (on July 1, 1949):¹

Collective-farm members.....	49.1%
Miners	28.0
Hunters belonging to cooperatives ..	2.5
Employees and others	20.4

These figures show the great advance that has been made in the social, economic and cultural life of the Shors. They indicate, first and foremost,

¹These data were obtained from local soviet organs during a scientific expedition to the Shors in 1949.

that half the Shors are now engaged in agriculture, i.e., tillage and stock-breeding. For almost a third of the Shor population, work in industry is a means of subsistence. This is a new type of labor that has grown up and spread among the Shors in a short time. A completely new social category of Shors has arisen, i.e., a working class. There is also another new social category of Shors covering a fifth of the population and that is the employees, which chiefly includes the Shor intelligentsia, which has also come into being for the first time in their history. Only 2.5% of the Shor population is now engaged in the kind of work that prior to the Revolution was the principal means of subsistence for most Shors.

If, when analyzing these figures, the individual rayons are kept in mind, yet another feature of the present-day status of the Shors comes to light. First place in the economy of the Southern Shors is taken by agricultural labor, and second place by industrial labor. The number of people engaged in the old occupations is now extremely small, even less than the number of people engaged in white-collar ones, i.e., the employees. Among the Northern Shors, whose cultural standards were higher, even before the Revolution, the largest category is the employees, of whom there are more than twice as many as there are collective-farm members.

In the Tashtagol'skiy Rayon, the Shors have formed into several dozen collective farms, most of which are Shor in composition, although on certain of the farms the Shors live and work together with Russians. In the Myskovskiy Rayon there are fewer Shor collective farms. At the present time the Shor farm settlements are fairly large and well-designed villages which have been named after the collective farms. The old smaller settlements have disappeared, in most cases together with their names.

An average of 233 hectares is possessed by each collective farm in the Myskovskiy Rayon, instead of the 15 desyatinas per holding gained by the tsarist land reforms.

In the northern part of Shoriya the farms use the tractor system of ploughing, carried out by the Myski machine tractor station. In places inaccessible to tractors the farmers plough with light horse-drawn ploughs. They harrow with iron zigzag harrows and on some farms sow by means of sowers (Tashtagol'skiy Rayon). Mechanized labor predominates in harvesting as well, although manual labor is still used. This mainly depends on whether or not it is possible to use the harvesting machines most commonly employed in the USSR in the specific mountain-taiga conditions where most of the Shors live. If it is remembered that prior to the Revolution the land here was cultivated by hand with a hoe, the progress made in agricultural machinery among the Southern Shors becomes quite obvious. In the Myskovskiy Rayon, where ploughing was acquired by the Shors prior to the Revolution from the Russian peasants, but was always at a low technical level, now, through the use of more modern machinery (via the machine tractor stations and the use of electric power for farming on some farms, cultivation techniques have greatly advanced and become consolidated.

The second most important branch of agriculture among the Shors is animal husbandry. The proportion of animal husbandry in the farming in the southern Tashtagol'skiy Rayon is higher than that of field agriculture. On these farms the income from animal husbandry is several times higher than from tillage. In southern Shoriya, where prior to the Revolution many generations did not know what milk was and had never seen a cow, animal husbandry takes the form of dairy-farming. On all the farms the cattle are kept in stalls, with the exception of the summer season when they are driven out to the pastures. The thick snow that falls in Shoriya

eliminates the possibility of winter pasturage. Hence the Shors stock up a large amount of hay for the winter, stockup with silage and also use straw as fodder. The amount of fodder required is usually covered by the hay taken from natural meadowland. It is procured each year by each farm according to a definite schedule and by the farmers themselves. All the socialized cattle are kept in closed, well-equipped sheds with windows, a wooden floor and feeding troughs. When bringing in the hay, use is made of mowing-harvesting machines wherever the landscape and type of meadowland make it possible. At many spots the meadowland is situated in the forest or on a steep mountainside, or in a valley abounding in boulders and remains of felled forests, and so on, where a tractor cannot go, nor even a horse-drawn mower; and there the hay has to be mown and stacked by hand.

Apart from these two basic branches of agriculture, the Shors united in collectives hunt fur-bearing animals and keep bees, but both these occupations are of secondary importance. The development of beekeeping among the Shors is clearly underrated and they do not take advantage of the excellent opportunities for which Shoriya has long been famous. The Shors, who have long been scouting for and obtaining the honey of wild bees, understand bee life very well and are first-class beekeepers.

As regards hunting of fur-bearing animals, only a small section of the Shor population, as was said above, hunts as a main occupation. Most of the Shor hunters have been combined into cooperatives. The Shors now hunt chiefly in government forest reserves, on special hunting grounds, on an overnight basis according to schedules based on the natural reserves of game, seasonal migration, quality of the fur, and so on. This is done in contact with special scientific organizations dealing with hunting problems in Western Siberia. The products are sold to procurement organizations, while the income goes to the cooperative and is distributed in accordance with a special set of regulations. Hunting techniques among the present-day Shors involve extensive use of springtraps, predominately factory-made, but also old wooden homemade types, the design of which reflects the extensive experience of taiga trappers of many centuries. The game for mass-scale hunting is usually the mole or squirrel. The sable, Siberian ferret, ermine, polecat and fox are now hunted to a lesser extent. The moles are caught with snares, mole-traps, and other devices rigged up by the hunter. Snares are set for the Siberian ferret as well, and springtraps are used for the ermine, polecat and squirrel. New types of guns are used and the old types, particularly the muzzle-loading type, have practically all disappeared. Sable-hunting is only allowed by special permission from the relevant authorities in charge of the hunting of valuable animals and the norm is clearly defined. The hunting seasons established by law coincide with those developed by many centuries of practice by the Shors. In winter the hunters go off on foot. Hunting gear is packed on a hand-drawn sled or placed on a drag-frame made of hide (horse, goat, etc.). These old-fashioned ways of carrying loads when moving on foot based on many centuries of hunting practice are necessary in the winter in the Mountain Shor taiga even today. The conditions under which the Shor hunters operate in the taiga have changed for the better. This shows up in their clothing, food and housing situation. The hunting clothes of the men are warm, light and comfortable; they consist of a quilted jacket and trousers of the same kind, a hat and leather footwear of the old type worn over dried grass instead of the old foot cloths. In footwear of this kind when packed with grass the feet do not sweat, they are always dry and warm, and ice does not form beneath the feet on the skis. The hunters live

in tents, well-designed timber hunting-lodges which are built and equipped in the taiga by the hunting cooperatives. These lodges contain a stock of food, cooking utensils, medicine chest, newspapers and magazines. There, as well as at the temporary camps, the animals are skinned. The Shors hunt in groups consisting of experienced hunters and including younger hunters who are learning the trade.

The Shors have been the discoverers of some major iron deposits. The famous Tashtagol' mine was discovered by the Shor hunter Vasilii Skvortsov some time before the Revolution. He only remembered about it in 1930 when rumors of the forthcoming large-scale construction reached the remoter parts of Shoriya. He went back to the rivulet Tashtagol', took samples of the ore, and brought them to the Kuznetsk Construction Administration. A geological expedition was sent to the spot pointed out by him. The Shor Alexander Sharagashov, a resident of a remote Shor ulus, made a special 200-km trip on foot to see the factory under construction in Stalinsk. Having heard that iron ore would be imported from the Urals to supply the factory, he said that there was no need to bring it so far since he knew an entire mountain made of iron ore in his own Shoriya. That was how the famous Sharagashov mine was discovered, and named after its discoverer. There are now Shors working in all the mines mentioned, and also in other ones, alongside Russian workers. The Shors have been working the Tel'bes mine as well since the moment it was started.

At the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant, Shors have mastered and continue to master difficult jobs. Among them can be found refractory-materials



F. S. Chespiyakov, the Shor poet.

workers repairing metallurgical furnaces, and workers employed in the automotive shop. Shors can also be found as employees in the technical inspection department, and certain others. They work at the Kuznetsk Machine-Building Factory and the aluminum factory, as machinists, repairmen, forgers, assistants, and so on. They can also be found among the workers of the coal industry at the Stalinsk city industrial plant. At the industrial plants of the Stalinsk Industrial Construction center, they can be found as electrowelders, fitters, drillers, plumbers, gear-operators, plasterers, painters, and so on.

Not wishing to give an exhaustive list of the industrial plants and special jobs in which Shors are now employed, we will merely mention one more important branch of industry widely developed in Mountain Shoriya. We refer to the gold-mining industry. If we look at the system of enterprises making up the group of Spasskiy mines, heretoo we can find a large number of Shors employed as face-workers both above and below ground, refinery workers, washers, monitors, electrodrag operators, and so on.

The employment of women in industry shows how much the status of women has changed in Shoriya and how the mentality of the Shors itself has altered. The incorporation of Shors in the Kuzbass industry is increasing and is furthered by the training of personnel through the factory school. It is not unusual to find a plant in which representatives of several generations are employed at the same time. Mining is now becoming a family tradition and a family specialty.

At the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant there are also Shors among the engineers. Shor engineers can be found as well at the Irkutsk Machine-Building Plant, in the Far Eastern Fleet, and so on. They have all passed through Soviet higher educational establishments (the Tomsk Industrial Institute, the Metallurgical Institute in Stalinsk, the Higher Naval Engineering College in Leningrad, and so on). The fathers and grandfathers of these young Soviet engineers were foot trappers who were classed by the pre-Revolutionary ethnographers and historians of culture as among the most primitive tribes of Siberia.

The Shor intelligentsia now represents an important and practical force in the cultural life of the rayons described, despite the fact that the Shors are a national minority in those parts. The Shor intelligentsia consists of teachers, regional government workers and Party officials, and employees of different kinds. Many Shors are either elected or appointed to important positions and are in charge of important sectors of Soviet government or Party work. Shors can be found as chairmen of rayon executive committees, secretaries and other responsible officials in Communist Party organizations, as employees of the public prosecutor's office, as rural soviet chairmen and so on. The number of Shors among the teachers of the three rayons mentioned above is particularly high. Among them are those with higher education, graduates from the Stalinsk Pedagogical Institute, Tomsk University, and other academic institutions. Every year there are more and more teaching personnel with higher education. Shor teachers teach a variety of subjects in Russian schools as well, including incomplete and complete secondary schools.

The modern Shors are almost all literate. They study in various schools, both exclusively Shor schools and Russian schools. Among the Shors the school as the first communal cultural establishment in their history is of tremendous importance in the life of the people. Particularly important is the role played by primary schools during the first years of their organization, when they were the first and only type of teaching establishment. They have not only had to wage a stubborn war against

the old family traditions in bringing up children, but also they have had to use their pupils to influence the outlook of the adult members of the family and bring about a reorganization of the entire family way of life. Shor schoolchildren have carried literacy and the scientific facts of life to their families; they have declared war on religious prejudice, on the old family order and poverty-stricken forms of domestic life. The schoolchild has been unable to accustom himself to the lack of such elementary and essential furnishings as chairs and tables in his home, since it was not possible to do homework on the ground by the hearth. Having acquired knowledge and practical experience in vegetable-gardening in the school plot, the schoolchild tried to make a garden at home as well and teach his parents how to do it. He took home the elementary rules of personal hygiene and so on. Naturally, the school was not the only lever, even at the beginning of the socialist reconstruction of the Shor life. But the importance of its role at that stage should not be underrated. At the present time, when the cultural standard of the Shors has risen so much through strengthening of the Soviet state system and socialist economy of the Shors that it has approached the cultural standard of the surrounding Russian population, the Soviet school continues to carry out the very important function of bringing up the younger Shor generation. But nowadays this process is incomparably easier and simpler, for the present-day Shor family has changed so much that it not only does not hold back, but in fact facilitates the education of the child.

The Shors are raising their cultural level all the time, through the system of different cultural-educational establishments in which they spend leisure time. These include houses of culture, regional and village libraries, reading rooms and village clubhouses. In the Tashtagol'skiy Rayon, the local house of culture is in Ust'-Kobyrza, i.e., among the Shor population, and is an important center for political and cultural work. Of the 2 village libraries in the rayon 1 is in the Shor settlement, and of the 13 reading rooms, 8 are located among the Shors, and also 5 of the 6 village clubhouses. The cultural-educational establishments for the Shors have their own personnel, which is predominantly Shor.

A clear indication of the cultural level of the Shors and an important stage in their cultural history was the introduction of national writing and also of literature, first in the Shor language and then in Russian. The Shor script was created in the middle of the 1920's. The Shors developed their own alphabet on the basis of the Russian one, and in 1927 the first Shor alphabet reader was produced. In 1930 the Shor alphabet was Latinized, greatly hampering development of Shor writing. Several years later the error was set right, and the Shors went back to the simpler Russian alphabet, more accessible to the masses of Shors and closer to the Shor language.

Medical attention, which did not exist before the Revolution, is now available on a wide scale in all rayons. A complex set of medical establishments provides for the needs of both the Russian and the Shor population. In the Tashtagol'skiy Rayon, apart from the rayon hospital (with a large number of beds, including wards for tuberculosis, infectious and gynecological ailments) with doctors in all specialized fields, an X-ray department, an air ambulance and so on, there are more than 10 medical points of the outpatient-clinic type (with hospital beds), pharmacies, and several dozen medical-assistant and obstetrical points. These points have been set up at many Shor collective farms. The rayon has a large number of medical personnel, among whom there are many dozen doctors (specializing in all fields) and more than 100 doctors' assistants and

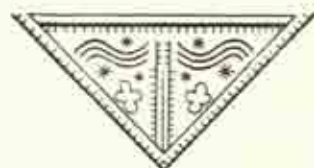


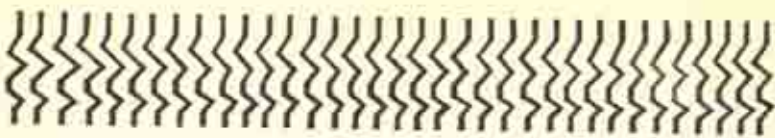
New home of a miner.

secondary medical personnel. This extensive medical service has been created in the Soviet period. As is customary in a socialist state, the Shors are treated without payment.

The domestic life of the Shors has also assumed new forms. The Shor settlement usually consists of the farmers' houses and various public structures, such as the administration office for the farm and reading rooms or a clubhouse, various storehouses, barns, cattle-sheds, and so on. The log house is the basic dwelling of the Shors. Its internal arrangements consist of the necessary furniture (tables, chairs, benches, beds, chests of drawers, and so on), a variety of domestic utensils, predominantly factory-made; and are extremely close to the style of the Russian collective-farm member. Even in the low wooden yurts, which have been retained here and there as a summer dwelling, the same furnishings and utensils predominate. The Shors wear bought town-style clothing. It is only among the women collective-farm members that the old-fashioned linen robe can still be found as work clothing. The men prefer military-style clothing, and also leather Russian knee-boots, which are also commonly worn by women. Shor food is the same as for the Russian farmer; tulpash (boiled wheat dough) is the only one of the old-type dishes left. Those Shors working in industry live a more comfortable, better planned, Soviet urban way of life. Their apartments or little houses at the mines and quarries where Shors are employed are warm, clean and cozy. The material well-being, particularly among the miners, shows up not only in the design of the house, in its furnishings, but also in the dress and in the variety of the diet both at home, where an important part is played by groceries bought in shops, and in public eating places. The Shor worker (particularly the young one) who goes for an outing on foot or on his own motorcycle (as we observed in Tashtagol'), on his day off or goes to a

movie or the clubhouse, has the appearance of a well-dressed town dweller. In outward appearance the present-day Shor is extraordinarily different from the Shor of the pre-Revolutionary period, now difficult to imagine, who was pale and haggard, with uncut hair and dressed in rags.





THE TOFALARS

M.A.SERGEYEV

General Information

The Tofalars (who call themselves "Tubalar") were known in pre-Revolutionary literature as Karagasys. There are in all about 400 Tofalars.

Prior to their collectivization and change to a settled way of life, the Tofalars nomadized over the extensive taiga of the northern slopes of the Eastern Sayans, on the upper reaches of the rivers Uda, Biryusa, Kan, Gutar, Iya and other left-bank tributaries of the Ob'.

This territory adjoins the region settled by the Eastern Tuvans—the Todzhans, whom the Tofalars resemble in origin, language and many aspects of culture. Throughout their history they have associated closely with each other. The differences observed at the present time in the culture of the Tofalars and reindeer-breeding Todzhans stem to a large extent from their different historical destinies over the last three centuries. Whereas the Todzhans largely remained aloof from Russian influence through their political conditions, the Tofalars had already felt the effect of Russian culture by the middle of the 17th century.

In 1648, Russian Cossacks built the Uda Fortress (nowadays Nizhneudinsk) on the river Uda in the region inhabited by the Tofalars. From that moment the Tofalars began associating with the Russian working population, from whom they gradually assimilated work tools, clothing and other elements of Russian popular culture; from the Russians they learned about bread, guns, gunpowder, lead and so on.

However, at the same time, for more than 200 years they were subjected to tsarist colonial policy. The Tofalars, like the other Siberian peoples, were made to pay the fur-tax. The tax was reckoned in sables and imposed "per gun," i.e., on each person who hunted as a livelihood. Tofalars between the ages of 18 and 60 had to pay the tax. It was the same for everybody, regardless of the size of the household, and therefore corresponded to the nominal and not the actual number of hunters. For example, in 1889 the Tofalars paid for 248 "hunters" (the number established by the census of 1851-1852), while there were actually only 103 hunters at that time. The high rate of the tax, the low rated value of the sable (2 to 2-1/2 times less than the market price), and the countless other dues, had a ruinous effect on the working Tofalars. This was further aggravated by extortion on the part of the Karagasniks (merchants trading with the Karagasys) who infiltrated into the taiga, made the hunters drunk, and obtained their catch for a song. The Russian



Hunters.

and Buryat kulaks settled among the Tofalars and also ensnared them in a web of usurious agreements. The Tofalars who became merchants exploited their fellow tribesmen just as much.

Economy and Everyday Life

Up to the Revolution, the economy of the Tofalars was based on hunting and reindeer breeding. The domestic reindeer was used for transportation during hunting. The area of hunting, i.e., the success of the fur-hunting, depended on the number of reindeer kept by the household.



Packsaddle for reindeer.

The Tofalars hunted either singly or in families; they united into cooperatives mainly when hunting large animals such as the bear, reindeer, East Siberian stag and elk. The principal game when hunting fur-bearing animals was sable and squirrel, which by the end of the 19th

century, on account of extermination of the sable, occupied first place. They also hunted the weasel, ermine, mink, otter, polecat, fox, wolf and bear. The game hunted for food included the East Siberian stag, wild reindeer, elk (moose), roe deer, musk deer and wild goat. The musk deer was hunted first and foremost for its musk pouch and the East Siberian stag for its valuable horns which were in great demand on the market. The fowl hunted included black grouse, hazel-grouse, and partridge. The Tofalars hunted with guns, either the single-barreled rifle or flintlock. The bow and arrow apparently went out of use at the beginning of the 19th century. A characteristic feature of the hunting technology of the Tofalars was the complete absence of automatic traps, so common among the other peoples of Siberia. In effect they only knew of one such method of hunting — pitfalls for the larger hooved animals. An essential companion of the hunter was his dog.

Methods of reindeer-herding were the same as among the Tuvans; the reindeer were used both for riding and carrying packs; it was usual to milk the female.

Fishing was hardly developed. The small number of Tofalars who fished used nets and barriers across small rivers; Larger fish were speared at night with a spear while the water was illuminated with torches made of birchbark. Otherwise, they were driven into shallow water and shot with guns. Furthermore, the Tofalars knew about a fishing tool (*dortkha*) in the form of a pole with two nails bent into a hook on the end. The hook was used to cast the fish onto the bank.

The collection of wild vegetation such as berries, broad-leaved garlic, rhubarb, wild onion, adder's-tongue and lily-root was also important. The plants and roots were used as food (the lily-roots were stored up). In the autumn Tofalars gathered cedar nuts.



Tents in the woods.

Horses appeared among the Tofalars in the 1860's, but it was only the wealthier households which possessed them.

The domestic crafts consisted of the working of wood, birchbark, leather and horn. The products were to some extent of commercial value. The markets received crockery, pipes, skis, saddle-frames made by means of a knife or axe (acquired from the Russians or Buryats or local smiths), and birchbark "candles" (they were supplied to the mines for work at the face).

The Tofalars knew the elements of smithery.



Milking reindeer.

The only ways of communication in the Sayans were pack-animal tracks, often beaten by people riding reindeer or traveling on foot through the almost impassable taiga, and rivers. Means of transportation were canoes and rafts for the rivers, and skis and reindeer for the taiga tracks.

The Tofalars used to migrate either in a group of several families or one family and remained in each place for 2 or 3 weeks. In the summer they stayed in mountain stream valleys where it was cooler, wandered through the mountains in the heat, and in winter sheltered at the foot of the mountain ranges. The Tofalar camp consisted of 2 to 5 tents, sometimes more; it was only in the summer when the reindeer lay down on the ground more often in an effort to protect themselves from the gnats, and trampled the pasture to a lesser extent, that the Tofalar camp combined from 8 to 10 tents.

The dwelling was a conical tent made of poles covered with smoked Siberian stag or elk hide in winter, and covered with birchbark in summer. The entrance faced the east, and the opening was covered over with an animal skin or piece of cloth. The side on the left of the entrance was considered the men's side, and the women's side was on the right. The spot opposite the entrance was considered the place of honor.

In order to store food and property left in the taiga during the nomadizing, the Tofalars set up huts resting on four columns, more rarely log barns covered with birchbark. The skins of wild animals and domestic reindeer, and sometimes felt bartered from the Buryats, were used as bedding. Apart from purchased copper teapots and iron pots, all the few and modest utensils used by the Tofalars such as cups, spoons, wooden jugs, birchbark vessels and skin sacks were made at home.

Their winter clothing was made from deer or stag's skin with the wool outside, and the summer clothing was made of suede. By the end of the 19th century, Russian fabrics and cloths, to some extent velveteen, Chinese "dalemba" and Buryat coarsely made cloth and sheepskin had become commonly used for clothing. Tofalar clothing was sometimes bought readymade or ordered from Buryat or Russian women. The wealthier Tofalars willingly wore Russian bought clothing. Women's homemade clothing consisted of trousers and a dress with a vent at the front; the dress was belted with a sash. In winter the outer clothing consisted of a fur coat (with the fur inside) pleated at the belt and at the collar; the left side, chest, cuffs and hem of the coat were trimmed with red or black cloth or velveteen, sometimes (among the wealthier people) with beaver-skin. In summer women wore outer clothing of the same cut, made of suede, or else bought material. In their belts they carried a knife in a sheath. The winter headgear for women was a deerskin hat with the fur outside, and in summer they wore a kerchief bound round the head. Women's footwear was no different from men's. As ornaments they had earrings, pewter bracelets and rings. Men's summer trousers were made of suede or bought material and the winter variety from musk-deer skin or goat. Summer footwear was made of skins cleaned free of fur and the winter footwear of skins with the fur inside. In winter they wore a second set of footwear on top made of deerskin. The winter headgear was a deerskin cap consisting of two layers, one with the fur inside and one with the fur outside, plus earpieces tied under the chin. Men's outer clothing was the kaftan in the summer, which buttoned on the right, with sleeves wide at the shoulder and narrow below. In winter they wore skin coats with wide sleeves, sometimes trimmed with black velveteen along the edges. The outer clothing was belted with a leather belt to which they attached smoking paraphernalia (tobacco pouch, pipe, flint and steel) and a knife in a sheath. Most of the Tofalars wore their fur coats over their naked bodies.

The diet of the Tofalars was extremely meagre. The staple food was an unleavened cake made from rye flour with hot water, baked in the ashes of the hearth or on hot stones by a fire, and a flour dough with salt. Meat (wild animal or fowl) was only eaten during the hunting period, while the wealthier people had it in the fall, when the domestic reindeer were slaughtered. Reindeer milk, obtained in small quantities, was used for tea and also given to children. The few households with sufficient reindeer made sour cream from the milk and in the autumn stocked up with milk for the winter; the milk was poured into a cleaned stomach or gut and then frozen. It was then cut off in pieces as required during the winter. Fish was rarely eaten and was dried

or fried, and in winter eaten raw (sliced). A great deal of wild vegetation (the wild onion, broad-leafed garlic, lily-root and adder's-tongue) was eaten. The lily-root and adder's-tongue were eaten in the raw or dried form, and were also dried and ground up in wooden mortars and made into flour. Lily-root was stored up. In the autumn, the Tofalars gathered cedar nuts which composed the staple diet together with berries when the lily-root harvest was bad and the hunting was poor. The commonest drink was green brick tea with salt.

Social Relations

Prior to the Revolution, the Tofalars were divided into five clans—the Kash, Saryg-Kash, Chogdu, Kara-Chogdu and Cheptey. Each clan was an exogamous group linked to the others by a common background; kinship was reckoned on the father's side. Each clan had at one stage its own nomadizing grounds, the bounds of which were determined by river basins, and its own distinct hunting grounds.

By the end of the 19th century, when the Tofalars' hunting grounds had been considerably reduced through the infiltration of hunters from outside, and, in certain parts of the taiga, the valuable animals had all been exterminated, the bounds of the clan territories had become indistinct. This meant yearly redivision into new hunting grounds. Before the season began, a gathering of the clan was held (*suglan*) and the hunting grounds were distributed for the forthcoming year. The administrative setup among the Tofalars was based on the above-mentioned clan divisions. The clans were headed by elected representatives (*ulug pash*, or literally "big head"), who bore the title of *darga*; all five clans came under the elected *shulenge*. The *shulenge* and *darga* acted as judges. The sentences were usually floggings. Cases concerning all the clans (questions of migration, disputes over the boundaries of hunting grounds, mutual relations between clans and individuals) were heard at a meeting of all five clans.

The disintegration of the primitive-communal clan relationships was based principally on the growth of private ownership of the basic means of production—reindeer—and upon the influence of trade. A small wealthy group of Tofalars concentrated the main herds of reindeer in their hands and this gave them the chance of both expanding their hunting grounds and enslaving the Tofalars who had few reindeer. The rich reindeer-herders put their animals at the disposal of those Tofalars who had none for the duration of the hunting season and in return took half the game or forced them to pay the debt in work. The rich reindeer-herders used reindeer for carrying loads (to the mines or for carrying various commodities to the taiga) and also bought up furs.

The poor people who either had no reindeer at all or very few of them were forced to settle down, and in certain cases to sell their labor to the mines.

By the end of the 19th century the Tofalars did not have a single branch of production (with the exception of reindeer-herding) which had fully retained its subsistence character and had not become, to some extent or other, commercial. This applies first and foremost to hunting products (fur, musk pouches from the musk deer and horns of the Siberian stag).

In religious outlook the Tofalars were shamanists. The principal rituals consisted in appealing to the "master" of the mountains or

forests for success in hunting and good progeny of the domestic reindeer.

It was customary to dedicate a reindeer to the "master" of the mountains in order that the herd would be preserved and would multiply. Brightly colored ribbons were attached to the mane and tail of the sacred reindeer. No one apart from the owner had any right to mount it. Women were forbidden to touch the sacred reindeer or go near it.

Both men and women could become shamans. Shamans had special robes and tambourines. They enjoyed great influence and acquired a great deal of material benefit, particularly from treating sick people, since medical aid was totally lacking. They were given a great deal of the meat and the hide of a reindeer sacrificed to a spirit.

The Tofalars were without exception illiterate. By the Revolution, there were only two people among them who had accidentally learned to read and write.

Present-Day Life

After the establishment of the Soviet regime in Siberia, the Tulun and Irkutsk organizations undertook to look after the Tofalars and render them medical assistance; an expedition was sent to study the condition of the population and to adopt urgent measures. In 1926, the first Soviets were elected in the suglans.

The expulsion of the "Karagasniks" from the territory settled by the Tofalars and the confiscation of their property, as well as the liberation of the population from the old economic slavery and other measures, bred the confidence of the Tofalars in the new regime. The abolition of the fur tax produced an enormous impression at the very beginning of Sovietization.

The organization of the Tofalar hunting system was of very great importance. This question was raised on the initiative of the population itself at a meeting in 1926. On September 10, 1927, a resolution was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on the establishment of this system. An area of 3,000,000 hectares was allotted as the Central Sayan-Karagasy Estate for the hunting population; the nonworking elements were all evicted and the territory was guarded against poaching. A smaller area of 500,000 hectares known as the Sayan All-State Reserve was singled out. The complete prohibition of hunting in the Reserve meant that the animals were preserved and were able to multiply and populate the adjoining areas.

The organization of the Sayan hunting region was of tremendous importance in restoring and reconstructing the age-old occupation of the Tofalars. It set up a sound economic basis for further improvement in their well-being. A prominent part in this work was played by the cooperatives. The actual help given by the cooperatives was to be seen everywhere. The appropriation of funds for buying reindeer for individual use, for improving the everyday life of herders, for developing agriculture, building and equipping schools and houses for Tofalars wishing to settle down—all this helped to raise the authority of the cooperatives. The latter taught the population efficient management of their own affairs and acted as the first school for public work.

In 1930, the Tofalar National Rayon was set up with an administrative and cultural center at Alygdzher. At the present time, the Tofalar rural soviets are part of the Nizhne-Udinskly Rayon in the Irkutskaya Oblast.

In 1929 the first associations for joint reindeer-grazing were set up among the Tofalars. The overall economic and cultural-political

improvement of the population conditioned the subsequent transition to hunting and reindeer-herding cooperatives¹ and then complete collectivization. In 1930-1931 all the Tofalars were combined into three collective farms—the "Red Hunter" (Alygdzher), Kirov (Nerkha) and "Kyzyl Tofa" (Upper Gutara).

Another important branch, reindeer-herding, was also developed. Veterinary and zootechnical assistance and a radical change in the organization of the economy in view of collectivization helped to increase the herds. Collectivization made it possible to organize work efficiently. Proper preparations for calving, the separation of reindeer does in special herds, tending of the calving, the establishment of norms in rearing calves, and the system of bonuses led to a sharp change in the preservation of the offspring. The establishment of a bonus system for the work of pasturing, the organization of courses for herders, the planned use of fodder-land, and so on, helped the survival of the herds.

The decline of hunting prior to the Revolution forced the Tofalars to resort to slaughtering the reindeer for their own consumption. At the present time, since the Tofalars are assured of foodstuffs, the extent of the slaughter has dropped sharply and no longer has any effect on the increase in the herds.

New occupations began to appear among the Tofalars. Animal husbandry and vegetable-gardening were successfully developed. Horses acquired great importance for the settled people and were used to carry wood, hay and so on. In 1929, the first vegetable gardens were laid out in Alygdzher. At the present time there are gardens on all the collective farms, and the basic crops are potatoes and vegetables. Thus, at the present time the collective farms receive an income from agriculture as well as from carting goods.

The provisioning work of the cooperatives brought about an increase in the hunting of wildfowl and the gathering of cedar nuts.

Collectivization solved the very important economic task of settling these age-old nomads. The operation began in 1927. The sites selected for the settlements were Alygdzher, Utkum, Nerkha and Gutara. It was the western group of Tofalars which first began to change to a settled way of life—in Alygdzher—and the eastern group on the river Utkum (right tributary of the Iya, to the southeast of Alygdzher); the people settled in direct proximity to their hunting grounds, summer pastures, meadowland and fishing lakes. The western Gutara group began to settle later. By the summer of 1928, 20 households out of 95 had settled, and by 1932 the process was complete.

The settling down of the Tofalars played a large part in developing hunting; the fact that the family did not go hunting and there was no extra load (the tent and property) meant that the hunters could move more rapidly, expand the grounds they covered and thereby improve their productivity. The transition to a settled way of life was intricately bound up with the steps taken to reconstruct and expand the economy—the organization of fishing, animal husbandry and tillage. Those Tofalars who became settled were given readymade houses and a long-term

¹ The same word "cooperative" (Russian: *artel*) is used both for the more primitive hunting and fishing groups—before the Revolution, with equal distribution of the yield—and for the modern collective farms, in which pay is according to the work done.—Ed.



Geography lesson at an Alygdzher school.

loan. These small houses were first built by Russian carpenters, while the Tofalars procured and supplied the wood and carried out subsidiary jobs. Later on they themselves began building houses and some of them became carpenters.



Taking a motion picture to a mountain pasture. Kolkhoz "Red Hunter,"



A nursery in Alygdzher.

The change was marked by a genuine cultural revolution in the lives of the Tofalars. The former, primitive way of life began to disappear. The prolonged cultural influence of the Russian working population was such that the Tofalars were to a considerable extent already prepared for this radical reorganization of their lives. Many elements of the material culture of the Russians were known to them and some had already been assimilated, hence they became very common in a short time.

At the present time, the Tofalars live in wooden Russian-type houses, alongside which are the necessary farm buildings such as barns, closed stalls for livestock and so on. Many Tofalar collective-farm households are in no way more poorly equipped than those of the local Russian population.

Tofalars receive medical attention in the hospital at Alygdzher, the clinic at Upper Gutara and the obstetric center in Nerka.

The Alygdzher Boarding School has played an important part in the cultural uplift of the Tofalars. The school has undertaken a number of economic and cultural projects, including the development of new branches of the economy. It is equipped with fishing tackle, and the pupils were the first permanent fishermen. The catches were used to improve the meals received by the pupils. The school built the first model vegetable garden and introduced experimental animal husbandry. The first milch goats were bred at the school.

Apart from the Alygdzher secondary school, there are also schools in Nerka and Upper Gutara. All children of school age have to attend

them. Illiteracy among the adult population has practically been liquidated. The young Tofalars who leave school go on to study in Irkutsk and other towns. It is worth noting that in 1952 there were Tofalars among the students of the reindeer-breeding tekhnikum in Salekhard. The Tofalars have their own teachers, accountants and collective-farm managers.





*PEOPLES OF NORTHERN SIBERIA
AND THE FAR EAST*



THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM AMONG THE PEOPLES OF NORTHERN SIBERIA AND THE SOVIET FAR EAST

M.A. SERGEYEV

Pre-Revolutionary Russia was distinguished by the extremely great variety of its ways of life and of the corresponding social forms.

The multinational character of the population of the Russian State, which included scores of extremely backward peoples (in the north of European Russia, in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia and the Far East—essentially, in all the outlying regions), has made the task posed by history an especially important and urgent one. This task began to be carried out from the very first days of the formation of the Soviet state.

The "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" of November 2 (15), 1917, proclaimed the equality of all peoples, the abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and limitations, and the "free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia."

The national liberation proclaimed by the "Declaration" put an end to national oppression and to the division of the population into ruling and oppressed peoples. But this legal equality of all the peoples of the Soviet Union did not, of course, by itself eliminate the actual inequalities that were historically determined and inherited by the Soviet state. The elimination of this inequality also required, in addition to the removal of privileges and encumbrances by decree, the intensive social development of the backward nationalities and their rapid elevation to the level of the advanced peoples of the country. In this light one can readily understand the great importance attached by the Soviet state to this complicated and difficult problem and to the discovery of the most effective, rapid and painless means to its solution.

The most important task was the solution of the nationality question in its actual, historical context. The nationality policy of the Communist Party called for a particular approach to each individual region, and to each nationality, in accordance with the specific historical situation, the level of development and all the conditions of life in which the nationality existed at the time of the Revolution.

In the building of socialism, the necessity of taking account of all the particular characteristics—economic, political, cultural—in each people's mode of life was repeatedly stressed by V. I. Lenin.

The other essential requirement of the Communist Party's nationality policy was the rendering of aid by the Soviet state to backward peoples in eliminating their actual inequality.

A resolution of the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) stated directly that such peoples are "not in a position to rise to a high level of development and thus to overtake the peoples that have moved forward, without genuine and prolonged aid from without."¹

The history of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union is that of the clear realization of these fundamental principles of the Party in regard to the nationality problem. The first Constitution of the RSFSR, in 1918, proceeding from the basic principle of national-territorial autonomy, guaranteed the most unlimited opportunities for national and state development.

The various forms and degrees of autonomy (from Autonomous Republic to National Soviet) were determined by the level of development of the individual national minorities and their differences in ethnic affiliation, language, economic condition, etc., and thus reflected the peculiarities of the different peoples and ethnic groups. These autonomies opened up an extensive area for self-government in all fields of local life, within the territories inhabited by one group or another, and brought them to participate in the administration of the state as a whole, while protecting their special national interests. The creation of these autonomies facilitated the organization and activization of the backward peoples, mobilized them to carry out the most important political, economic and cultural tasks, promoted friendship between them and the Russian people, and contributed to the strengthening of the Soviet state.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936, reflecting the experience of building up a multinational state on the basis of full equality of rights for all peoples, finally and definitively brought the common life of the Soviet state and the creation of socialism in the country within the reach of the most backward ethnic groups.

The most complex part of the task of building up the nationalities was presented by the extremely backward peoples along the edges of Northern Siberia and the Far East. It was the populations of precisely these areas, retaining the most primitive modes of production and life, of economic organization, of social relations and ideology, that were characterized by the most peculiar and highly special historical situations. Their special features may, generally speaking, be characterized as follows.

The small peoples of the North carried on a composite and undifferentiated economic life, consisting of several branches. The main supports of their existence were such means of livelihood as fishing, hunting on land and sea, and the primitive, rudimentary and specifically Northern form of pastoralism—reindeer-herding.

Their productive technology was primitive. They hunted animals and birds, mainly with various traps, spears, bows and arrows; they caught fish with fishtraps, rods, spears and small nets. Hunters on the sea used boats made of hides (kayaks) and thrown harpoons.

There was much less imported and improved hunting and fishing equipment—firearms, seines and other hunting gear. Under the conditions of such a low technological level and such an organization of labor, these occupations were a very poor support for life, since they left people at the mercy of the primordial forces of nature. Unexpected changes in the weather (in the direction of the wind, etc.) seriously affected their ability to obtain food. A lack of the most important game animals had disastrous results.

¹KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s" yezdov konferentsiy i plenimov TsK, ch. 1 (Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Part I), 1953, pp. 713-714.

Reindeer-herding was similarly backward. Up to the very time of the Revolution this was carried on by the most antiquated methods, which the people lacked the necessary means and knowledge to improve.

Migrations over enormous distances were accompanied by great and unproductive losses of time and labor and by exhaustion of the livestock. Many pastureslands were overgrazed or became sources of disease that killed off entire herds. All the efforts of the herdsmen were insufficient to protect the half-wild reindeer from predatory beasts. All this resulted in huge losses of animals.

The peoples of the North had a subsistence economy: almost all of the means of production, goods for consumption and household utensils required for their life, they made with their own hands from whatever plant and animal materials were available to them.

Their only tools were hand-held, chiefly individually made knives, which were used for every purpose. Nevertheless, despite this low technological level, the things they made were characterized by high quality, great neatness and often also fine workmanship.

The material culture of the small peoples was distinguished by its high degree of adaptation to the severe conditions of life in the North. The various kinds of traps for animals were very nicely suited to their purposes, and the same was true of the light, flexible and simple means of transportation and communication (such as skis, sleds, dugout canoes and kayaks). Practicality and knowledge of natural substances and materials were also manifested in the construction of dwellings, in the types of clothing and footwear and in various articles of domestic use. Nevertheless, in spite of the value of many of the cultural achievements of the backward peoples, their way of life was wretched, primitive and dangerous to health.

Backward and undeveloped forms were also characteristic of the social relations of the small peoples. Inequality of property was fixed among them on the basis of private, personal ownership of the means of production. The sharpest differences in this regard, of course, obtained among the herdsmen because of the ownership of reindeer.

Among the fishing and hunting populations the social stratification was incomparably weaker and was typified by less acute forms. The low level of technology and low productivity of labor and the great instability of their economy placed limitations on the opportunities for accumulation in the sphere of production. Almost all the settled fishermen and hunters everywhere, with a few rare exceptions, were precarious, poor, but independent, producers. Inequality of property here was based primarily upon trade relationships.

The social structure of the small nationalities was a complex combination of elements of varying content, some of which went back far into the past to the earliest stages of human society, while others were the result of the influence of later class relationships. The first group included various remnants, very strong in some peoples and weaker in others, of primitive-communal relations; in essence these consisted in the retention of elements of primitive-communal ownership, in certain limitations on private property and of the individual principle in general, their existence being furthered by a backward production and economy. The second group was reflected in a strengthening of the individual principle: in the promotion of independent production, the development of private ownership and appropriation, and of the early forms of class relations. The interrelationships of the separate social groups were thus characterized by forms typical of precapitalist society.

Archaic, primitive forms characteristic of backward hunting tribes were also inherent in the ideologies of the small peoples. Their range of concrete

conceptions was associated chiefly with the activities of labor (the objects of labor, the techniques of work and the corresponding human activities) and with the natural media in which they occurred. In this sphere, especially, the peoples of the North accumulated much purely practical knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, which permitted them to create the above-mentioned well-adapted forms of material culture. Beyond this limited range of concrete knowledge, however, they were ruled by irrational animistic-shamanistic ideas.

The great natural giftedness of the Northern peoples, so clearly revealed in the forms of their material culture, was also manifested in their varied and peculiar artistic creativity—in the folklore and the graphic arts produced by these peoples, despite the difficulties of their role in history.

The circumstances described here called for special forms in all the aspects of the task of elevating these nationalities: in the administrative arrangements, in economic activity, and in cultural and educational work. Accordingly, the nationalities and ethnic groups of the North were set apart as a special group officially known as the "small peoples of the North."

The execution of the nationality policy among these peoples was entrusted to a special government organ and was reflected in a special system of measures directed at their development in every aspect of life.

The all-inclusive and planned activity of the Soviet government in reconstructing the life of the small peoples began after the end of the Civil War, which was prolonged for the greatest time in the northern regions. The final liberation of Siberia from the White Guardists dates from January 15, 1920, and the elimination of intervention in the Far East from October 15, 1922.

In the northernmost parts of Siberia and the Far East these events took place in 1922-1923 (on Sakhalin in 1925). The building of Soviet society among the peoples of the North thus occurred some 5 to 8 years later than in Central Russia. Moreover, during the prolonged period of the imperialist and civil wars the situation of the population of Siberia deteriorated catastrophically. The curtailment of trade communications with the southern regions, the sharp drop in production and reindeer-herding and the plundering by the White Guardists and Interventionists completely ravaged the inhabitants. More than 60% of the hunters were left in 1924 without firearms, and reindeer herds suffered an enormous decline, especially in Yakutiya and the Far East, where tens of thousands of reindeer were shot and driven off by the White bandits.

As Soviet authority was established in particular localities, attempts were made to improve the lot of the populations: Soviet agencies, administrations and cooperative organizations were created, medical aid was given and attention was given to providing supplies, but in the absence of the necessary means and forces all these individual, partial measures were of little effect.

Information arriving at the central organs from the liberated regions of Siberia stated that "the natives of the North live outside the limits of the Constitution of the RSFSR" and were in need of "extreme measures for their salvation" and of rapid inclusion within the sphere of Soviet authority.¹

The government found it necessary to create a special agency for the handling of the small nationalities.

¹"Doklad Yeniseyskogo gubernskogo ispolnitel'nogo komiteta VTsIK o polozhenii v Turukhanskom kraye, 1923 g. (Report of the Yeniseyskaya Guberniya Executive Committee of the VTsIK on the situation in Turukhanskiy Kray, 1923)," in *Sovetskiy Sever* (The Soviet North), 1934, No. 2.

A resolution of the Presidium of the VTsIK [All-Union Central Executive Committee—Ed.] on June 20, 1924, created the Committee for Assistance to the Peoples of the Northern Regions (the Committee of the North) for "assistance in the planned economic, administrative-legal and cultural-public health improvement of the small peoples of the North." The Committee was called upon to help realize the legal equality that was proclaimed by the "Declaration" of 1917 and by the Constitution of 1918. It was given the task of uniting and organizing the small peoples, of awakening them to a recognition of their equality with other peoples, and of elevating them to a high level of development.

In the early years there was even a lack of information on the numbers and distribution of the small peoples. The very first Soviet decree in regard to the natives of the northern regions, along with the usual names of known ethnic groups, cited names of many minor, local and tribal subdivisions (such as Yuraks, Orochons, Samagirs, Manegrians, Taz-Manchus, Karagintsy, Olyutors and Kereks) as well as such indefinite designations as "hordes of the tundra communities." Later, with increasing knowledge of the ethnic origin and distribution of the individual groups, their naming and classification gradually became more accurate, until a definitive designation was made in the 1930's.

The group of "small peoples of the North" came to include 27 nationalities and ethnic groups, 26 of them Siberian.³ Two of them, the Nentsy and Mansi, live partly in the European part of the North and one group (the Sam Lapps) lives entirely in the European North.

One of the first tasks was to "collect the necessary information on the life and the needs of the small peoples and to study their history, their culture and their way of life" (Resolution of the Committee, Paragraph 2). In 1925, the Committee thus organized expeditions to investigate the little-known groups of the population. The work done by these expeditions and the local materials brought back by them made possible an accurate listing of the groups belonging to the "small peoples" and also served as the basis for the most important steps in their improvement (the organization of soviets on the lower levels, regional delimitation according to nationalities, organization of land management, reconstruction of the economy, etc.).

A valuable historical document of the early stages in their improvement is the wide-ranging and varied legislation regarding the small peoples.

The numerous decrees touching upon administrative and agricultural organization, revolutionary law, supplies, cooperative management, school construction and other matters testify to the special concern of the Soviet government for the small peoples, the particular forms of aid to these peoples, and to the great material expenditures made for their economic and cultural betterment.

The People's Commissariats and central cooperative organizations were so set up as to contain Northern divisions, or "special groups to serve the areas of the Far North." Agencies were created to supervise the execution of the nationality policy—local committees for aid to the peoples of the northern regions, acting with the participation of representatives of the small peoples—appointed and authorized by the Central Committee of the North through the regional and district (oblast and kray executive

³The Khants, Mansi, Nentsy, Ents, Nganasans, Sel'kups, Kets, Evenks, Dolgans, Evens, Negidals, Nanays, Ul'chi, Udegeys, Orochi, Oroks, Nivkhi, Chukchi, Koryaks and Itel'mens, Yukagirs, Chuvantsy, Eskimos, Aleuts, Tofalars and Soyots.

committees and by the TsIK [Central Executive Committees] of the Yakut and Buryat-Mongol ASSR's.

The initial sovietization of the North was done on the basis of a division of the population by clans. The establishment of soviets on the lower levels required organizing the inhabitants and gathering together the separate isolated groups. The application of the normal territorial principle of subdivision was at that time hindered by the widespread scattering of the population and by the lack of information on the distribution and interrelationships of the individual groups, and even on their association with definite territories.

The "Temporary Decree on the Administration of the Native Nationalities and Tribes of the Northern Areas of the RSFSR" adopted in 1926 by the VTsIK and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR marked the beginning of their judicial and administrative organization. The legislative intent of this decree was the following: "In order to protect the rights and interests of the toiling natives of the northern regions, and also to involve them in the administration, and for the most thorough and correct execution of the laws of the Soviet government among them, so as to improve their economy and the cultural conditions of their life, agencies for the administration of the natives are established among the peoples and tribes of the northern regions of the RSFSR who lead a wandering, nomadic and seminomadic life and are occupied for the most part in hunting, fishing and reindeer-herding, and also among those who lead a sedentary life and are occupied in hunting sea mammals, to the extent that these peoples and tribes are not set apart into special republics and oblasts" (Article 1). The agencies of administration were: clan assemblies, clan councils, rayon-wide native congresses and rayon-wide native executive committees. The lowest collective unit was the tribe "or other native aggregate (vataga, nasleg, ulus, etc.);" whose economic and productive activity occupied a definite territory. The general clan assembly elected the clan council.

The next higher level was the combination of several clans or other aggregations belonging to a single ethnic group and also occupying a certain definite territory. This territory was administered by the rayon native executive committee ("tuzrik"), elected by the rayon native congress of several clans or other aggregations.

The "Temporary Decree," in all its details, proceeded from the particular way of life and condition of the small peoples. Thus, "the time for the convocation of clan assemblies was adjusted to the way of life and to the economic situation of the given aggregation of natives"; their decisions, in the absence of literate members, could be taken vocally; small gatherings did not elect councils but were administered directly by the general assembly of all the members of the tribe, headed by its president, etc. The judicial functions, within the limits indicated by the "Temporary Decree," were entrusted for the time being to the same native agencies.

The principles forming the basis of the "Temporary Decree" and the entire process of its application were directed toward carrying out the most important tasks of the nationality policy—to help the backward peoples "develop and consolidate Soviet state structure among themselves in the forms corresponding to the national ways of life of these peoples" (from the resolution of the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) "Concerning the Party's Urgent Tasks in Regard to the Nationalities Problem"). The "Temporary Decree" was designed to provide a gradual transition to the normal territorial system of soviets. A decision of the VTsIK and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR gave to the kray, oblast and guberniya executive committees "the right, in accordance with

local peculiarities, to make necessary deviations" from the "Temporary Decree." For example, among those groups whose very much decayed clan relationships made it unsuitable to establish soviets on a clan basis (such as certain groups of Nanays, Ul'chi, Nivkhi, Negidals and Evenks), they were even at that time formed along territorial-national lines. Soviets were also established in this manner among the Western Nentsy (of the Kanino-Timan and Malozemel'skaya tundra), and also among the Chukchi and Eskimos, where so-called "camp committees" were organized.

The first clan soviets carried out their activities under complicated circumstances. The populations were not in a position to organize themselves by their own efforts. The people failed to understand the most basic principles of the new regime: elective office, collectivism and self-government. Among the Northern peoples the traditions of subordination to the sole authority of the tribal chieftains, the elders and so on were very strong. The suglans, as general tribal plenipotentiary meetings, had become a fiction: at these gatherings the same chieftains directed affairs.

The difference between a soviet and a court was understood with great difficulty by the population. Earlier both the administrative and judicial functions had been performed by only one person (the same chieftain), so that "government" was reduced in essence to just one thing—collection of the fur-tax. Under new Soviet conditions the idea of the court, as such, was already understood by the population, but not that of the soviets: the collection of the fur-tax had come to an end, whereas the main activities of the soviets (administrative and especially economic and cultural) were at first completely new and incomprehensible. Hence, obviously, arose the original identification of the court with the soviet. The court was considered to be a higher authority than the soviet. No small obstacles were encountered by the inclusion of young people and especially women in the soviets; initially they were excluded even from the consideration of public matters.

The organizational difficulties were great. In remote places, which were in those years cut off even from the nearest Russian points, the initial contacts with the population were made by workers arriving there by chance. Meetings and congresses could scarcely be called less than a year in advance; otherwise it was impossible to collect even the members of a single clan.

If we recall the great influence and sometimes even the direct participation of hostile elements in the first soviets, and if one remembers the passive attitude of the poor and the total illiteracy, the general picture of the conditions under which the first steps toward a socialist reorganization of life had to be made becomes clear.

Under these difficult conditions the most important undertaking was the enormous work of explanation intended to make the Soviet system of authority "first of all understandable" to the population. It was necessary to help the people to see the need for a complete reconstruction of the old life, to understand the ideas and tasks of the Soviet authority, the principles of government, the importance of public health and education, etc.

The activity of the soviets gradually spread to all the aspects of local life and became clearly useful and comprehensible to the population. The soviets struggled against violations of the rules of the hunt, they looked after the supplying of provisions and the opening of trading and medical centers, and they rendered material aid to the poor. In the majority of soviets, mutual-aid committees were established for this purpose; these committees made loans in reindeer, ammunition and food supplies. Common supplies of food were established against famine—caches of meat in the Chukchi Peninsula, stores of yukola (sun-dried fish) among the Koryaks, etc.

The strengthening of the authority of the soviets was facilitated by granting to them the right of administrative punishment (and to the rayon executive committees the right to issue compulsory decrees) and of independent disposition of public funds. Even the possession of an official seal by the soviets impressed the local population, and the act of its transmission frequently assumed the character of a celebration.

The inhabitants gradually came to understand that authority was in their own hands, and came to feel themselves masters of the forest and tundra. Around the soviets there appeared groups of activists who readily aided in their work. From these activists emerged the first Komsomol members and Communists of the Far North.

The network of soviets began to expand. Those who lived in remote places, where there were still no soviets, became aware of the new government, which looked after the interests of the workers, and not knowing how to form soviets, turned for help to the traders⁴ who had settled among them and to the doctors. The Nivkhl of the village of Nyyvo and the surrounding settlements requested the opening of a new soviet, since the nearest one to them—the Lunskiy Soviet—was too far away. "Our people on the Ongola and in Dzhenka live badly; they have no native soviet," complained the Torgon Nanays. The Taymur, Chun and other Evenks came together in a suglan (assembly) and decided of their own accord to organize, not one, but two clan soviets. By 1930 there were already 381 clan soviets and 61 native rayon executive committees active among the small peoples.

The Soviet economic policy, which rendered concrete aid and constantly looked after their needs was clearest and most persuasive to the population. This was reflected in various privileges accruing to the peoples of the North, in their special protection against exploitation and, finally, in the entire complex of various measures directed toward their betterment and the development of their occupations and reindeer-breeding.

By decrees of the Governments of the RSFSR and the USSR in 1927 and the following years, the small peoples of the North were freed from the payment of all taxes, dues and duties. Another special feature of their economic and cultural situation and their way of life was their freedom from military obligations and, in equal measure, from various kinds of work duties (timber-cutting, carrying freight, etc.).

The situation of these people was also greatly improved during these first years by the struggle against their exploitation by private commercial capital, which took the form of unfair rates of exchange in the fur trade, of encouraging them to drink, and of their enslavement through inherited debts. Decrees by the Government of the RSFSR limited and then completely ended the activities of private capital in the regions of the Far North, characterized by a special way of life and economic conditions.⁵ In 1927-1930 the introduction and sale of liquor were prohibited in the northern regions.⁶ Violators were subjected to fines, forced labor, confiscation of their trade goods, and deportation, and were forbidden to live in the northern regions. Bargains concluded with the local inhabitants connected with trade in alcoholic drinks were considered to be nullified.

Great attention was given to restoring the occupations of the small peoples.

⁴ This term refers here, of course, to workers of Soviet trade organizations.—Ed.

⁵ *Sobr. zakon. i raspor.* (Collected Legislation and Decrees), 1924, No. 18, Article 180; 1925, No. 61, Article 498, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1930, No. 31, Article 406, etc.

The basic occupations, particularly fur-trapping, had greatly declined. Various precautions were taken to restore and safeguard the resources (natural reserves of economically important faunas) and to regulate the actual trapping operations.¹

Among the steps taken to strengthen local economy we should mention the land reform for the local minorities begun in that year. Land and water reform was designed to ensure effective protection of the economic interests of these peoples, especially as regards the use of the fishing and hunting grounds essential to them for their livelihood. The plan was meant to solve some very important economic and political problems; it protected the population from possible encroachment when land was set aside for enterprises and newly arrived settlers; it prohibited the use of the grounds by certain persons and groups if they tried to exploit the population or made predatory use of the ground.

As a result, the small nationalities regained much of the territory taken from them prior to the Revolution, and the regions settled by them were cleared of squatters, fur-dealers and alcohol and opium traders. At the same time, a stop was put to the piratical activities of foreigners (British, Norwegian, Swedish, in the west, and American and Japanese in the east) which had such a ruinous effect on the status of the marginal population.

At this stage, the trade-cooperative policy was a powerful weapon in restoring the economy of the small peoples. The planning, regularity and adequacy of supply were given the full attention of the Soviet government. Evidence of this was the formation of special trade reserves and the organization of grain-reserve shops for the local population of the North so as to maintain the population's economic well-being and development.

The variety of supplies underwent radical changes. Alcoholic beverages and various colonial "junk" disappeared; "heavy goods"—flour, groats, salt, and sugar—appeared; these had almost been impossible to obtain in the past on account of the unprofitability of transporting them. Hunting, fishing and domestic supplies, which had earlier merely amounted to firearms, ammunition and metal pots and pans, were considerably increased in number and now consisted of a variety of tools, weapons, materials and raw materials, based on local requirements.

There were also great changes in the marketing of local produce. The private capital available in the past had only been used to buy up furs (with the rare exception of the European tundra, Ob' and Amur regions). The Soviet procurements were extended to cover the greatest variety of hunting, reindeer-breeding and homecraft products (fish, skins, oil and other sea-animal hunting products, venison, game meat, nuts, berries and homemade items). This extension of the market greatly increased the commodity exchange and improved the material status of the population.

A beneficial part was played by a price policy in the interests of the population, based on fixed sale prices for imported goods and also fixed procurement prices for local produce, including furs.

At the same time there began the liquidation of the "trade wastes" of the Far North. The trade network increased from 677 points (trading-posts, consumers' cooperatives, state trading organizations and agencies) in 1926 to 1865 in 1933. The more remote regions, particularly the nomadic, were

¹"Polozheniye ob okhotnich'yem khozyaystve" (Decree on Hunting) (Ibid., 1923, No. 17, Article 216; 1930, No. 9, Article 109) and "Polozheniye o rybnom khozyaystve" (Decree on Fishing) (Ibid., 1927, No. 102, Article 684). Sanctuaries and preserves were formed and bag-limits were declared, and harmful trapping and fishing equipment was forbidden.

served by mobile trading agencies, fairs (which were revived though completely changed in style) and collective-farm bazaars.

A very important vehicle for the economic policy in those years was the integral cooperative system. The unusual situation (extreme dispersal of the population over vast areas of territory, the complex nature of the economy, and so on) resulted in the organization of a single consumer cooperative system of the mixed (integral) type, which was able to cover the whole of the population and every aspect of its activities. The integral forms of cooperatives were geared to the economic structure of the minorities. The functions of the system were not only trade and procurement, but also production and credit operations.

The cooperatives helped the population in a variety of ways. They supplied it with the means of production and materials, provided repair services, and so on. During the first years some towns received more than 10,000 guns and cartridges (partly free), a large number of traps, nets, and so forth. Later on the cooperatives became even more firmly rooted in the local economy and began to embrace the various production associations of the North Siberians.³ The organization of cooperative labor was in many instances facilitated by the fact that many hunting and fishing techniques automatically required the joining of forces (river-barriers in fishing, drives and beating in land hunting, sealing and whaling in sea hunting, snaring moulting fowl). Between 1925 and 1927 various hunting and fishing cooperatives based on the integral principle were in operation all over Siberia. They were most commonly found in fishing, which required large amounts of manpower for large-scale hauls. The cooperatives supplied these associations with large and expensive fishing-tackle normally out of reach to the individual fisherman. As many as 70 such cooperatives were registered in 1927 among the population of the lower Amur, and many were located on the Ob' and the Yenisey. In the taiga, among the Okhotsk and Kamchatka Evens, Evenks and other groups, there were many associations of hunters whom the cooperatives supplied with weapons and equipment. Among the Evenks they formed companies for transporting loads. Among the marine hunters (Chukchi and Eskimos, Penzhina Koryaks) these cooperative-run associations were called hunting-fishing groups. The whalers and tackle used by them were supplied by the cooperative. The Nanays formed cooperatives even in such recent branches of economy as vegetable-gardening and lumbering. There also arose women's associations—teams of women who dressed skins, made clothing and footwear (Evenks, Evens, Nanays, Chukchi, Koryaks and Eskimos), sewed sacks from burbot-skins and birchbark (Khants), and embroidered cloth (Koryaks, Khants, Nentsy, and Nanays and others). These first semicooperative associations acted as the nuclei for collective farms, the construction of which began several years later. In the North the Soviet regime put into effect Lenin's cooperative plan for the reorganizing of the peasant economy, a plan which included all forms of cooperation from the lowest buying-and-selling stage to the highest, production-collective farming stage.

The attitude taken by the minorities to the cooperative system is an interesting page in the history of national reconstruction. The cooperative system was understood most easily by the population in terms of a Soviet public organization. A great advantage, compared with the past, was the fact

³ This refers to the so-called customary or informal associations which had existed among the peoples of Siberia for centuries and were in most cases very simple seasonal labor cooperatives. In the literature they were usually called *artel's*.

that the commodities were made available to the people, who no longer needed to go themselves to distant trading-posts or entrust their transactions to any unscrupulous middleman. The concentration in one place of the sale of commodities, the purchase of raw materials, and credit transactions, etc., was of great convenience. The trading operations of the cooperatives won them the complete confidence of the population. The calculation in kind of all products sold to and received from the population (the so-called token system) convinced the people that the previous forms of deception and swindling were now impossible. Each person could easily remember and check his "accounts in kind" with a shop. This had a great effect on the very important fur transactions. The beneficial nature of the cooperative system was not only felt by the population in the realm of trade, but throughout their everyday life. The buying of reindeer on credit by the poor people, the equipping of associations with improved hunting weapons, the promotion of new branches of industry, active participation in building schools and medical centers could not but enhance the authority of the cooperatives. It will be clear from this why the system became extremely popular and why the population was able to adopt it within an exceptionally short time.

The cooperatives became the first centers of communal life among the small peoples. People took with them all their everyday affairs when they joined. There for the first time in their lives people came in contact with such forms of entertainment as the movies and radio, had access to medical assistance, and frequented the "visiting cafe" with the hot tea they liked so much. A group of active participants, which included a number of women, grew up around the cooperative; many cooperatives in such out-of-the-way places as the Chukchi Peninsula were serviced by the population itself. At the first stage of Soviet construction the cooperatives engaged in tremendous educational work. They were a vehicle for Communist policy; they taught the population to run their economic affairs more conscientiously, and acted as a training school for public work.

The elimination of the principal form of exploitation—usurious and trade capital—was attained comparatively easily. This external exploitation had assumed explicit forms and those who indulged in it were the alien and hated traders. The same applied to the other exploiters from outside—the former tsarist officials, squatters, who had seized land, and others. The campaign against them was successfully completed during the first few years by means of administrative and economic action (prohibition of private trading, nullification of former debts, eviction). In 1931 the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars had already declared the "liberation of the natives and working population of the Far North from age-old exploitation by private capital through liquidation of private trading-jobbing and other enterprises and its replacement by the cooperative system and state economic organizations."¹³

More complicated was the struggle against the exploiters among the northern nationalities, who largely retained their positions both in the clan councils and in the economic sphere. Although the "Temporary Decree" on the councils had disenfranchised persons coming under Article 69 of the RSFSR Constitution, the clan principle in the structure of councils did not ensure elimination of the "eldest" and "best" clansmen, who were often exploiters. Hence former princelings, elders and rich men exploited the labor of others, and infiltrated into the soviets. But even if they did not manage to

¹³ Decree of Council of People's Commissars, RSFSR: "O khozyaystvennom razvitiy rayonov Kraynego Severa" ("On the economic development of the regions of the Far North"), September 8, 1931, No. 957.

do so, they still had, by tradition, great influence on the assemblies at which very important problems were dealt with. The economic domination of the more important reindeer-breeders, as owners of the main means of subsistence of the tundra poor, was also retained.

Soviet policy with regard to the various social groups was based on general principles of national reconstruction among the backward nationalities, but primarily on their specific historical background. It was indeed with this background in mind that continuous propaganda was conducted and that the Soviet economic policy was put into effect, which made it possible for the population to feel the advantages of the new system, and won the people over. This made it possible, even within the first two years, to launch an offensive against the groups of exploiters by restricting their activities, isolating and ousting them.

These groups battled bitterly against the new regime, and actively attempted to sabotage its projects in the organization of soviets, the formation of cooperatives, and the setting up of collective farms. At clan assemblies and councils the exploiters were able to push through resolutions often hostile to Soviet policy, such as the attachment of poor people to rich people "for meals" (a concealed form of exploitation), the apportionment of fishing grounds so as to benefit the rich, or per capita assessment of labor and taxes.

The enlistment of women in socialist construction, the campaign for equal rights for women and for their right to participate in communal life, for the elimination of bride-price and other old family conventions met with fierce opposition.

Striving to retain their influence on the poor people and sway the popular masses against the Soviets as a whole, the hostile elements took advantage of traces of the old patriarchal ideology.

The submissiveness of the dependent poor people was sustained by economic action—"feeding," distribution of livestock, gifts, and so on.

But even the population of the most remote tundra finally began to recognize the need to put an end to the exploitation. At the beginning of the 1930's the "kulaks"¹⁰ engaged in reindeer-breeding were considerably weakened in many areas, such as the Nemish tundra, from the Kanino-Timan to the Yamal, north of the present-day Khanty-Mansiyskiy and Evenkiyskiy Okrugs, in the Taymyr and in Yakutiya. But in other, remoter regions, such as on the Sosva and Kazym, on the Yugan and Vakh, among the Koryaks, particularly in the Chukchi Peninsula, the rich reindeer-breeders were still very strong.

The most important precondition for success at this stage was social-cultural construction aimed at liquidating the overall cultural backwardness of the minorities. It was during these years that enlightenment and education began to spread, and that the beginnings of a cultured way of life were introduced. This job, too, was a highly specialized one. Its normal forms—school instruction and the elimination of illiteracy, political propaganda, medical assistance, and so on—all had to be adapted to local conditions. Hence there arose, alongside the permanent establishments, mobile ones which attended to the needs of the population on a combined basis.

An unusual institution was the cultural bases set up by the Committee of the North, each of which included a boarding school, a hospital with an outpatient department and a creche, a "native house," a club, radio and motion-picture projection equipment, a veterinary-technical center, model workshops, and a regional studies center. These were organized in the most

¹⁰ This term, which relates to the countryside in the capitalist period, is only applicable in a conditional sense.

remote, isolated regions to which the settled and nomadic inhabitants gravitated.¹¹

The "Decree on Cultural Bases" channeled all work into "the fundamental aim of enlisting all natives in socialist construction and turning the bases into centers of the economic-cultural life of each minority." It was stressed in the text that the "attainment of this aim was impossible without further study of the people and natural environment of the northern region." Apart from educational and medical work, the cultural bases set up many model establishments, economic and service institutions, from which the population gained new practical knowledge. Examples were nurseries for breeding pedigreed dogs, reindeer and fur animals, experimental agronomic and animal husbandry stations, cabinetmakers', fitters' and net-weavers' workshops, demonstration bakeries, and even model dwellings. There were a variety of courses for training officials from the local national population.

The population soon came to appreciate the bases. Both men and women began to take part in their daily activities as shepherds, reindeer-drivers, and medical orderlies. Women learned to look after children, wash clothes and bake bread. Men became fitters, mechanics, hunting-fishing instructors, and officials in Soviet and cooperative organizations. The demonstration work of the bases reached as far as the taiga and tundra.

Within the next few years the bases became in effect little towns and the true centers of the economic and cultural life of the Northern nationalities. They usually contained Soviet and regional committees, cooperatives, communication centers, and so on. Near the bases there grew up the first permanent settlements and collective farms (Khoseda-Khard, Lavrenty Bay, Turna). As time passed these became the centers of the national okrugs and rayons.

A similar institution was the mobile "Red Tent," commonly found in the North, the job of which was to conduct political-indoctrinational, cultural-service and medical-educational work among the population, which was not covered by the permanent institutions of this kind (cultural bases or "native houses"). The Red Tents were carried about by reindeer, dogs and boats ("Red Boats") accompanying the nomads, and stopping at points where the population gathered for meetings, to hold fairs, and so on. They covered every aspect of life, from looking after children to the campaign against witchcraft.

The sending of children to school was at first strongly opposed by the population. Between the opening of the schools and the appearance of the first pupils a considerable time was spent in argument and explanation.

At first the population could not understand the need for education. Parents were afraid that once their children had learned something new, they would lose their old way of life, would forget how to hunt and fish and perish in the tundra and taiga. The job of the teachers in the North was no easy one. The children went to the boarding schools accustomed to a completely different way of life. Everything in school seemed strange to them; it took them a long time to acquire the most elementary hygienic habits. Many

¹¹The Committee of the North opened the following bases: Khoseda-Khard, Yarsale and Khal'mer-Sede (Tazovskoye), for the Nentsy and Sel'kups of the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra and the Yamal; Sosva, for the Mansi; Kazym, for the Khants; Tura, Ust'-Kalakan, Ust'-May and Chumikan, for the Lower Tungus, Vitim-Olekma, Aldan-May and Chumikan Evenks; Khatanga, for the Dolgans and Nganasans; Nagayevo, for the Okhotsk Evenks; Sakhalin, for the Nivkhi, Oroks and Evenks; Penzhina, for the Koryaks; Chaun and Vilyuney, for the Chukchi; and Chukchion Lavrenty Bay, for the Chukchi and Eskimos.

weeks passed before they could be taught to wear underclothing, undress at night, sleep on beds, wash themselves, use furniture and crockery. But gradually they became used to the new way of life.

The entire work of the schools was based on the characteristic life of the Northern peoples and was adapted to their needs. The curricula were based on local geography (more comprehensible and essential for the school children) as applied to the principal types of economy—reindeer-breeding, hunting and fishing. The school terms were made to fit the seasonal occupations. The parents, who carefully watched the way the children lived and were taught in the schools, saw that they were better off there than at home. As a result the parents themselves began demanding the opening of new schools, supplied them with dried fish and venison, and were tempted to attend the schools themselves.

It would be difficult to overestimate the cultural importance of the Northern schools. The Pioneer schoolboys were active spreaders of Soviet influence among the local popular masses. They brought back from school a materialistic conception of nature, new views on social life and the Soviet regime, knowledge of the Russian language, and also more cultured habits (soap, combs, underclothing, etc.). Then came the alphabet, though admittedly not yet accessible to the adults. Those who finished school continued their education in the minority sections of *tekhnikums*, workers' universities, Communist Party schools, and hunting-fishing youth schools. Later on there arose independent national *tekhnikums* (in Kolpashevo, Yeniseysk, Khabarovsk, Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, and other places). A prominent place in the training of fieldworkers was occupied by the Smidovich Institute for Northern Peoples of the TsIK of the USSR, which grew up from the Northern Workers' university group (later on the Northern Department) of the Leningrad University; the first 26 students from the peoples of the Far North entered it in 1925.

Mass political-propaganda work was developed and extensive use was made of all opportunities of contacting the population at Soviet gatherings, cooperative assemblies, cultural bases and fairs.

It was at that time that the desire to learn began to develop among the adult population. Representatives from the minority groups who had worked in Soviet institutions and cooperatives learned to read, write and keep books either by themselves or with the help of Russian neighbors.

The introduction of medical aid involved almost as many difficulties as education. The shamans, who played the role of medicine-men, resisted the doctors in every way they could. Here again the lethargy and prejudice of the people were overcome by the practical example of Soviet medical men. From 1924-1925 onward, medical-research detachments of the Russian Red Cross were active in the North. Apart from giving medical assistance, they carried out a great deal of educational hygiene. People were extremely susceptible to infectious diseases (they "died easily," in the Chukchi expression) and those suffering from occupational diseases and other disabilities soon recognized the benefit of medical science.

This first stage in the national reconstruction among the minorities (1925-1930) is a clear demonstration of the greatness of the truly democratic and humane policy of the first socialist state in history. The young Soviet state, still not materially strong, still needing the most vital resources, still suffering many deprivations and hardships, had come to their help and had not postponed until better times its concern for the population of Siberia. Just the reverse, the state spent a great deal of money and manpower on saving and regenerating the backward peoples.

Propaganda against marriage by force, polygamy, bride-price and other archaic survivals, won over the women to the Soviet system. They became more independent and began to take part in public life and in the soviets. The first to be given an advisory vote were widows who were heads of families among the Yenisey Evenks, and in 1928 a meeting of the same Taymur and neighboring clans which a few years before had disenfranchised women decreed "to give women the same rights as men in dealing with problems in Tungus life and, moreover, to allow women to be elected to clan soviets and clan courts."¹² Many women began to appeal to courts in disputes involving bride-price, levirate, inheritance, and so on.

An important event in the lives of women was the conference held in 1930 on work among women of the Northern nationalities, under the auspices of the TsK of the VKP(b) [Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)]. The conference adopted an ambitious program for emancipating working native women and conducting mass indoctrinational work among them in order to enlist them in socialist reconstruction of Siberia. The activities of local organizations were greatly stimulated. Women who attended the conference acquired great authority at home and became active protagonists of Communist Party policy.

The success of the nationality policy cleared the way for the next stage—territorial division of the Far North into national regions. The new problems posed in those years to the country—completion of plans for industrialization and reconstruction of agriculture—necessitated radical changes in the system of government in the North and a transition from the provisional "Temporary Decree" to a more permanent and normal system of authority. Between 1926 and 1930 there were formed the first National Rayons: Nanay, Ul'chi, Chukchi, Eskimo, Aleut and Tofalar. In 1929 the first National Okrug—Nennish—was formed.

The experiment in organizing national territories proved successful. The political activity of the population was stepped up and their economic and cultural development was accelerated. Soon afterwards, the experiment was extended to all of the territory inhabited by the Northern nationalities. The decree of the Presidium of VTsIK dated 12/10/30 on the "organization of national units in regions settled by the Northern minorities" established 8 National Okrugs (comprising 36 rayons) and 8 National (Evenk) Rayons which were not part of okrugs.¹³

The organization of new national administrative units was completed in 1931. The "Decree on Okrug Congresses of Soviets and Okrug Executive Committees in the Outlying Northern Regions of the RSFSR" published the next year determined the sequence of the formation, structure and jurisdiction of the new administrative bodies. At the same time, a solution was found to the problem of the lower level soviets. In the National Okrugs there were set up rural soviets (with a majority of settled people) and nomadic and seminomadic majority). The rural soviets operated on the

¹²N. Nikul'shin, *Pervobytnyye proizvodstvennyye ob'yedineniya i sotsialisticheskoye stroitel'stvo u evenkov* (Primitive Productive Associations and Socialist Construction Among the Evenks). Leningrad, 1939, p. 88.

¹³The Okrugs were: Ostyak-Vogul' National (now Khanty-Mansi National); Yamal National (Nennish); Taymyr National (Dolgan-Nennish); Evenk National and Vitimo-Olekminskiy (the former was afterwards abolished); Chukchi; Koryak; Okhotsk (Even National, afterwards abolished). The Rayons were: Katangskiy (Vostochno-Sibirskiy Kray); Zeysko-Uchurskiy and Dzheitlulakskiy (Dal'nevostochnyy Kray); Anabarskiy; Bulunskiy; Vilyuysko-Markhinskiy; Tulukanskiy and Zhiganskiy (Yakut ASSR).

basis of a General Decree for all of them, while the nomadic soviets acted on the basis of a Special Decree, passed by the VTsIK. Soon after this there were formed organs of justice—the Okrug and People's, rural and nomadic public courts. This then completed the structure of a single Soviet system of administration and justice for all peoples of the North based on their specific conditions.

The "Decrees" on the low-level soviets and okrug organs referred directly to the "special conditions for the work of the organs of Soviet authority in the National Okrugs of the Far North of the USSR."¹⁴ These stipulations showed up particularly in the laws applying to the nomadic population, its soviets and courts.¹⁵

The list of "subjects coming under the power of the nomadic soviets" makes particular reference to the protection of the interests of laborers and the safeguarding of orphans from customary exploitation. Special channels of communication were established between the soviet and "separate groups of nomads wandering in directions differing from that taken by the nomadic soviet" through special intermediaries. Each soviet had to have "two temporary places of residence, for summer and winter camps for the bulk of the population, and spend the rest of the time moving about with the bulk of the nomadic population." The soviets conducted proceedings in the native language of the population. Similar instances are found also in the "Decree" on nomadic courts: "The date of the hearing is to be fixed with consideration for all local conditions, with general meetings of citizens, fairs, mass trips to trading-posts, etc., etc., being used in every possible way." Among the offenses dealt with by the courts was the "removal of a woman in advanced pregnancy from her house to a place likely to endanger the life and health of the mother or child," and so on. The "Decree" pertaining to okrug organs showed particular consideration for the Northern minorities. Special conditions of representation in the All-Russian Congress enabled each okrug to send at least one representative; representation of all the minorities in accordance with size was ensured in the okrug congresses. Great departures from the conventional norms in such problems as the soviet-administrative setup, planning and finance gave the national okrugs great independence and initiative, safeguarded them against a stereotyped attitude towards them by higher organs, and increased their responsibility and importance in the overall system of the Soviet state. Taken as a whole, these features, inherent in the decrees on the autonomous regions, turned the units of the minorities into a primary form of national-territorial autonomy.

The division of the Far North on a regional and ethnic basis was a landmark in the spread of the Soviet regime over an enormous amount of territory and in the establishment in outlying areas of strongpoints for the socialist reconstruction of the Soviet Union. The division was a new page in the history of national reconstruction among the minorities. The formation of independent regions combining what used to be scattered clan soviets and, in the case of many peoples (Nentsy, Khants and Mansi, Evenks, Chukchi and Koryaks), okrugs covering disjointed "native regions" put an end to administrative scattering of territories.

The division of the land was accompanied by a tremendous social and political movement among the minorities, which took the form, primarily, of development of the Communist Party organizations. Even during the first elections to the soviets under the new "Decree" there was an influx of the

¹⁴Sobr. uzakon. i raspor. 1932, No. 39, Article 176.

¹⁵Ibid., 1933, No. 49, Article 209; No. 54, Article 241.

best representatives of the Northern peoples into the Party. Typical cases are known in which newly elected soviets expressed their desire, down to the last man, to join the Communist Party. And with the formation of new okrug and rayon Party organs, Party life became extremely busy throughout. New forms and methods of operating were worked out, particularly complex in the case of the nomads; an extensive network of primary organizations was established, and Party propaganda and mass political work was stepped up. The ranks of the Party filled up both with local activists and with young people returning from their studies, having received both general and political education at *tekhnikums*, workers' universities and so on. By the 17th Congress of the VKP(b), the Party organizations of the National Okrugs and Rayons (except Yakutiya) numbered about 3500 members and candidates, including about 1200 representatives from the minorities. In the remotest, until not long ago inaccessible, tundra regions there appeared local Communists who made up the vanguard in socialist reconstruction of their own territory (68 Yamal Nentsy, 42 Taymyr inhabitants, 156 Koryaks, 80 Chukchi). The strength of the Komsomol had by this time grown to 4200 members of the Northern peoples.

A very important event in the field of education during this period was the establishment of alphabets for the languages of these peoples. This required preliminary study of the languages, which was carried out principally by the research association of the Institute of Northern Peoples. In 1932 the alphabets were approved and various types of literature—academic, political, children's literature, and belles-lettres, began to be published in the various languages. Newspapers for the local population began to come out in okrug and rayon centers.

By 1934 there were already more than 300 national schools with 11,000 pupils (60% of the children of school age); in some National Rayons (Aleut and Nanay) school attendance was 100%. By the beginning of that year the overall literacy of these peoples had been raised to 30%, and there were even rayons with total literacy (Nanay, Ul'chi, Katangskiy, etc.). The organizational-instructional section of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) in 1933-1934 investigated the cadre situation in all parts of the Far North and drafted a general training program for all branches of soviet and economic work. The total number of pupils in the northern *tekhnikums* and institutes had reached about 900. There were about 400 students in the Leningrad Institute for Northern Peoples. From 1931 to 1937 the Institute turned out 206 specialists from among the minorities. Many of them later became prominent in politics. The first writers and scholars were also educated there.

Unflinching consideration for these small-numbered and backward peoples was reflected vividly by the electoral law of 1937, which laid down representation in the Council of Nationalities of each National Okrug, regardless of the size of its population. The Election Decree aimed at adapting the whole procedure to the specific nature of these peoples and to provide them with a practical possibility of exercising their rights under the Constitution.

The first elections of 1937 showed the activity, state of organization and cultural growth of these peoples; since that time election days, and also those days on which the new sessions of the Supreme Soviet begin, have become popular holidays in the North. They are celebrated by overfulfillment of production programs and the undertaking of new socialist obligations. On these days the citizens hold their favorite sporting events, have drama contests, and organize reindeer and dog races. The Chukchi, Koryaks, Eskimos and Evens of the Kamchatskaya Oblast wrote in their message of greeting to

the first session of the Supreme Soviet in January '38: "For the first time in history Tyvlyanto the Chukchi and Obukhov the Koryak, former herdsmen from the Northern tundra, will take part in political affairs in the supreme organ of authority."

The success of national reconstruction among these peoples is closely linked with the overall policy of the Soviet state with regard to the deployment of the country's productive forces. The division into rayons created a sound basis for solving the very important political and national-economic problem of liquidating backwardness in the marginal regions, a task which has been stressed many times in the resolutions adopted by Party congresses (10th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, etc.). The 5-year plans devoted great attention to improving the Northern marginal regions, and the years during which they were carried out have completely changed the face of the Far North.

The great changes that occurred in the state of the Far North and in the life of the minorities were a precondition for radical social and technical reconstruction of their system of economy. Collectivization was based on the characteristic features of the economy, everyday life and overall cultural standard of these peoples. The predominant form of collective farm during the initial period (1928-1932) was a very simple production union, equivalent in social content to the TOZ (association for joint cultivation of the land) in Russian peasant farming. The basis of the unit was unification of the hunting-fishing grounds, and their collective use without socialization of the means of production. In reindeer-breeding, the production unit was set up for the purpose of joint reindeer-grazing. The temporary nature of the unit, the absence of socialized property, and the fact that the collective labor only covered one branch, and not the overall economy, were some of the distinguishing features of the first production units.

These units began to strengthen and turn into permanent organizations, covering all branches of labor. There appeared the so-called mixed production units. There emerged new sources of income—subsidiary activities (wildfowl, berries, nuts) and outside occupations (carting, lumbering), the organization of labor in teams and the use of new improved means of production (seines, floating tackle, snares, and soon) for improved labor productivity. The herds of reindeer increased on account of better pasturing. Incomes and circulation of goods increased. Socialization of some of the revenue gave rise to funds for expanding production.

The highly important Communist Party directives (dated June 22 and 26, and September 1, 1932) on collectivization of the minorities and the development of model charters based on it (integral cooperative associations and other branch associations as well as the Northern mixed hunting-fishing cooperatives) finally determined the social-economic nature and legal status of the collective farms.

Further construction of collective farms was developed in two principal directions—associations and cooperatives. The cooperatives were set up in the better developed and economically and politically sounder regions, usually the southern (taiga) and maritime regions, mainly among the settled hunting-fishing population. In the northern tundra and internal regions the basic form of economy was still the association (production unit) because of the overall lower level of development, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders. But as the region became economically stronger and further developed, there was a change to cooperative structure.

The collective-farm system grew up in an atmosphere of resistance on the part of the exploiting class, and among the tundra reindeer-breeders the resistance assumed particularly acute forms. One of the strongest weapons

in this struggle was, as before, economic policy. The concentration of commodity turnover in the socialist sector changed the social content of commodity relations in the local economy and freed it from dependence on the greedy intermediaries. The class line in the matter of supply and land organization, extensive use of fixed quotas and the system of contracting finally isolated and ousted the former exploiting groups. A prominent role in the final offensive against them was played by the nomadic public courts and nomadic soviets, which carefully watched over the interests of the working people. The practice of Nennish, Khanty, Evenk, and Koryak courts shows that they annulled the enslaving deals between the rich and the poor, often brought to light cases of customary exploitation, and so on. It was common practice to disenfranchise nonworking elements and to expel them from the soviet.

By 1939-1940 an average of 75% of the local holdings had been collectivized (from 98% in the Evenk National Okrug to 42.1% in the Chukchi Okrug). The socialist way of life had thus become predominant in the Far North.

The socialist reconstruction of the economy had a great effect on the equipment used for the traditional occupations of the Northern peoples, i.e., hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding. The old-fashioned guns (muzzle-loading, flint and percussion-cap types) that had predominated earlier were now replaced by improved cartridge-type hammer guns and new types of firearms made especially for them. The archaic snare—the principal equipment in hunting polar fox—was redesigned: the modern "trough-type snare" protects the trapped animal from beasts of prey. New devices such as box traps appeared, and iron snares became very common everywhere. Fishing techniques were especially improved. Nowadays there are efficient nets available (including large seines) which were rarely found among these peoples in the past. Haulage of the seine has been mechanized and self-propelled boats are now used. Marine sealing and whaling are carried out with whaling "cannons," harpoons and rifles, steered boats and whaleboats. In the principal occupations an appreciable part is now played by imported, improved means of production, rather than the old homemade tools. Archaic weapons such as the bow and arrow and spear have almost entirely disappeared, together with various other economically unsound or harmful devices, traps which crush or grip the animal, river barriers, and so on. Although the older hunting weapons can still be found in most places, the new ones are of decisive importance. This applies particularly in fishing.

Mechanized water transportation by means of motorboats and cutters has become very common; at the same time the old means of transportation—canoes and various kinds of boats—are still found universally. Reindeer and dog teams are irreplaceable in regions of the Far North, and are still just as important as before, but in addition we find present-day types of transportation—half-tracks, aircraft and tractors. Horse transportation is also being developed fairly widely.

Collective methods of raising reindeer have made it possible to substantially improve grazing techniques, and to safeguard and look after the herds. The zootechnical and veterinary sciences, unknown before, are now widely applied in reindeer-breeding. This has meant an increase in the collective herds and has reduced the loss of animals through sickness or lack of fodder. Mortality among the newborn animals has declined considerably. The development of the principal occupations (overland and sea hunting and fishing) has involved new game, fish and animals, prolongation of the hunting season, fishing all the year round, acquisition of new fishing grounds, and so on.

The entire economic system of the Siberian peoples has undergone an appreciable upsurge. The restoration of natural resources, almost exhausted prior to the Revolution, the acclimatization and reacclimatization of valuable game animals, and regular, planned bag limits have all improved the basic branches of economy—fishing, overland and marine hunting. Fishing has been further developed among the peoples for whom it used to be an occasional and not very important occupation (Evenks, Chukchi and Eskimos); for others it has moved up from second to first place (certain groups of Nentsy, Kets and Dolgans). Trapping, underdeveloped among some minorities in the past (Chukchi, Chuvantsy and Eskimos), has now acquired importance. On many of the Northern collective farms fur-bearing animals are now raised. All the inhabitants of the taiga have developed secondary occupations, such as collecting berries, nuts, mushrooms, etc., which was never the case before; and also medicinal herbs.

The development of agriculture has also been noteworthy, although it has not been very extensive. Among most of the peoples this occupation has only been developed since the Revolution. First to learn about it were the Chukchi (some Koryaks, Nentsy, Sel'kups, Kets, Evenks and Evens, Orochi, Udegeys, etc.). The technical level and economic importance of agriculture, which in certain places is mechanized and represents a source of income, have been improved. Among certain groups of Khants, Mansi, Nanays, Ul'chi, it has begun to acquire great importance. Fruit-growing and beekeeping have even been developed on some of the Nanay and Ul'chi collective farms.

The upsurge of the economy of the small nationalities of the North is due to changes both in equipment and in the organization of labor. Collectivization made it possible to deploy the forces correctly in the compound economy in the form of permanent, specialized brigades. New equipment and the organization of labor cut down the tremendous expenditure in labor which used to occur. Larger fishing tackle and mechanized floating equipment made it possible to reduce manpower in the fishing and marine-animal hunting industries.

Reorganization of the reindeer-breeding system has brought the same results. Collaboration with the Russian fishermen and peasantry in the fisheries, at lumbering points and on mixed collective farms inculcated a new approach to work and has a tremendous effect on organization and discipline.

The formerly restricted economy of the peoples of the North is now closely linked to the All-Soviet national economy and its market. The market potential of fishing, which in the old days with rare exceptions was solely for personal consumption, has increased tremendously. Reindeer-breeding and maritime hunting, which in the past were extremely unproductive from the point of view of market potential, now turn out commodities which can also be sold.

At the same time the population can now acquire a great variety of commodities imported from other parts of the country, representing a fundamental break with the centuries-old way of life.

Social-economic changes in the economy of the minorities have induced the nomadic population to settle down. Even during the years of the simple production cooperatives there was observed a gradual reduction in the amount of so-called nonoccupational nomadism. The fact that during the land reform conveniently located fishing and hunting grounds were set aside, that the smaller herds began to be pastured together, and that the needs of itinerant hunters and herdsmen were looked after cut down the extent of nomadizing.

A very important task was transformation of the economic basis of the population through integration of the new settled and former nomadic occupations. This has shown up in the development of branches involving a settled way of life (fishing, sea-animal hunting, and agriculture) with a retention of the old branches which necessitated nomadizing (reindeer-breeding, hunting). The deciding factor was land reform—or that organization of territory which combined all the grounds needed for compound collective-farm production (hunting and reindeer-pasturing, on the one hand, and fishing, sea-animal hunting and farming, on the other).

The social content of settling down in the pre-Revolutionary period and during the Soviet period is completely different. Before the Revolution a change to a settled way of life was usually the result of impoverishment, loss of reindeer, and a return to exclusive hunting and fishing. Under the collective-farm system the change involved more thorough use of natural resources, accompanied by a rise to a higher level of development of productive forces, with an overall increase in economy and culture.

In the middle of the 1930's there began the "drawing together" of smaller settlements and the enlargement of the older, and formation of new, settlements. This movement resulted in the appearance of many new, larger settlements (in terms of the North).

Many of the old settlements completely changed in appearance. Streets were laid, and new houses were built in straight rows. Many schools, hospitals, clubs, bakeries, and shops were built at the larger collective-farm centers, as a result of which they grew similar to Russian villages.

Collective farms sprang up everywhere, and were joined by representatives of various ethnic groups. The collective farms of the Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon contained Chukchi, Evenks, Yukagirs and Yakuts. The Nennish collective farms included Khant, Mansi, Komi, Sel'kup and other households; many collective farms with a mixed ethnic composition sprang up on the Amur and in other parts of Siberia. There were Russians in all the national collective farms of the North. This is an indication of the liquidation of the former tribal isolation which was sometimes accompanied by mistrust and hostility, and a sin of the friendship which has grown up between neighboring peoples.

The settling-down of nomads and emergence of new settlements has brought about the appearance of a new type of dwelling. The Russian timber house, in all its many variations, is now extremely common. At first there were a number of intermediate types with modifications of the old form of dwelling, using new materials or new designs. These improvements were due to the desire of the population to adapt the old type of dwelling to the new situation. For example, in the old beamed yurt used by the Khants, Mansi and Narym Sel'kups, the chuval has been replaced by the Russian stove; now there is wooden flooring on top of the ground, a board ceiling, and so on.

On the Amur, apart from new houses and the old ones still standing, we find a curious combination of the new and the old—a new (Russian-type) house built onto an old dwelling, with the same entrance. The younger generation live in the new half, while the older people finish their days in the old part. The Evenks often erect a summer tent next to a new house.

Curious forms are observed among the Chukchi and Eskimos. The fur-lined sleeping section of the yaranga tent is covered with cloth and contains windows and an opening for ventilation.

Among Nganasans, Entsya, certain Evenks, and the Nentsy of the Malozemel'skaya tundra who have retained their nomadic way of life, we find the so-called "bench-type" tents with windows, a colored wooden floor, iron stove, and so on.

The desire to improve living conditions is also reflected by changes in the design of the dwelling, beginning with the systems of heating and lighting, and ending with the internal furnishings. It is characteristic that while changing their living conditions the population tried, especially at first, to retain the aspects of the old arrangement to which they were more accustomed and which they felt were more important. Hence, it was just those of the new elements closest to the former way of life that were assimilated most easily and rapidly. The cloth tent and small portable stove made of sheet-iron with a flue passing through the top, resembling in construction and simplicity the ordinary collapsible tent and the customary hearth-type fire, respectively, became commonly used. At the same time the internal arrangement of the dwelling was also changed; beds, furniture, utensils, crockery, "cultural" objects (washbasins, wall clocks, mirrors, musical instruments, and radio receivers) began to appear.

As regards outbuildings, apart from the new premises required by the development of agriculture (stables, cattle-yards, vegetable-stores) the old type of structures on piles, so very convenient in Northern conditions and equally common among the older Russian immigrants, were also retained.

There was a sudden change in diet. Apart from fish and meat, a well-deserved place was occupied by bread and farinaceous products, groats, butter, salt, sugar, confectionery, homegrown vegetables, and milk. The population also assimilated new ways of cooking food and preserving products. The previous taboos on food died out.

Something completely new in the life of the minorities was public catering, which developed mainly in the seasonal fishing, reindeer-breeding, hunting and field brigades.

The outward changes in everyday life showed up also in clothing, now made of new materials, and in different styles. Adoption of present-day urban clothing was primarily due to its great advantages over the former types, to its durability, convenience, low cost and so on. These attributes had an effect, incidentally, when moving to a new dwelling, where many of the older types proved unsuitable and unpractical. This is the reason for the great popularity of the jacket, trousers, Russian shirt (buttoning at the side of the neck), cap and kerchief. And, conversely, new things for some reason unsuitable or unadaptable to people's requirements and customs were assimilated to a lesser extent. Examples are such types of outer clothing as fur coats, half-fur coats, and long overcoats below the knee unsuited to walking and riding. The combination of new and old styles was especially obvious in the clothing. The very popular new suit was found alongside the old indigenous type. This applies first and foremost to the outer clothing worn by the tundra population in the winter, which in cut (closed, without longitudinal vents, put on over the head) and material (fur) was perfectly adapted to the rigorous Northern climate. The older types of fur and leather footwear, comfortable, light and warm, without heels, a soft leg and sole, adapted to local conditions and occupations, were not only retained but were also commonly found among the Russians.

It would be wrong to think that the change in the new way of life was an easy one. The clash of the old and the new, of the centuries-old customs and new and often misunderstood innovations was at times very traumatic. The change in technology, a less conservative sphere than the way of life, was brought about more rapidly. It was hard in particular for the nomads to adapt themselves to the settled way of life. Men who had hunted for many centuries (for example, the Evenks and Evens) could not imagine how it was possible to live permanently in one place. They were unable to see where they would get firewood, when the entire stock around the house was used

up, unless they moved farther into the taiga, or how they would get water in winter if there were many people all living in the same spot. Having moved into real houses, the nomads often left them again and went back to their old dwellings. They were also disconcerted by a space enclosed by walls, by the size of the new dwelling, and the fact that their accustomed campfire was lacking. They found it difficult to get used to tables, stools, beds and benches. In those years there were even cases where in the new houses they made a hole in the floor for the fire and a hole in the roof above it to let the smoke out. It was difficult at the first stage to acquire habits of personal hygiene, the use of baths, the wearing of underclothing, and washing with the use of towels instead of wood shavings and moss, and so on.

As the cultural level rose, the dwelling became a healthier place. Great enthusiasm was shown by local public organizations and young people. The women's councils set up all over Siberia played an important part and became propaganda centers for the new way of life.

Even during the years before World War II the school network covered not only the settled people but a considerable portion of the nomadic population in the farthest corners of the North. In these years the peoples of the North had produced talented public figures, writers, etc. The Marxist-Leninist classics, the classic works of Russian and Soviet writers, were all translated into many languages of the peoples of the North. There emerged extensive, translated political-education and popular-scientific literature.

Some of the population had long been applying to local authorities for the right to serve in the Red Army. At the time when the draft of the Constitution was discussed, this hope was being voiced on a mass scale. Thus, the Third Extraordinary Session of the Soviets of the Yamal-Nenets National Okrug resolved to "request the government to conscript the Nentsy and Khants living in the Far North into the Red Army. We Nentsy and Khants wish to take up arms in defense of our country alongside all the other peoples of the Soviet Union."

World War II was for the peoples of the North, just as for all the peoples of the multinational state, a period of trial and heroism.

Many representatives of peoples of the North fought at the front in the ranks of the Soviet Army. They showed remarkable talent as hunter-trackers—they could find their bearings in any natural surroundings and approach the enemy unseen; they had endless endurance, courage, sangfroid and resourcefulness, and were exceptionally good marksmen. The shock workers of the trapping industry turned into wonderful scouts, skiers and snipers at the front.

The labor exploits of the Northern peoples in the rear were also tremendous. Women took up many jobs for the first time, including those which had at one stage been forbidden. On the Amur they hunted together with men, the Chukchi and Eskimo women hunted whale and walrus alongside the men. The majority of herders among the Nentsy were women and about 70% of the fishers were women. Very old men and women went back to their former occupations. Children helped with the fishing and summer trapping, worked in the fields and in wood-carving workshops, collected berries and mushrooms. Voluntary aid to the front line attained large proportions.

The postwar years of reconstruction were marked in the National Okrugs and Rayons of the North by further development of the economy and culture. They were years during which the collective-farm system was further consolidated and all branches of Northern economy were developed with the introduction of new machinery and new equipment.

The further equipping of the fishing industry, the establishment of a new network of motor-fishing stations, servicing the collective farms with

up-to-date machinery, and the building of various canneries all improved the commercial importance of fishing and made this branch of industry, which until quite recently had been of a predominantly consumer character, one of the most important sources of collective-farm income on a number of Northern collective farms.

At the same time as the consolidation of the collective-farm system and increase in farm incomes, the personal income of the farmers began to increase. Yearly earnings per collective farmer of 30,000 rubles was quite common on collective farms of a number of types.

The number of representatives of the Northern minorities receiving higher education from different higher educational establishments in the country has also been considerably stepped up. Representatives of practically all the minorities are studying in Leningrad at the Northern Section of the Herzen Pedagogical Institute. Talented young people are taking courses in art schools.

It stands to reason that in the practice of socialist construction among the small peoples of the North there were, are, and still will be great difficulties and failings, the surmounting of which is a constant and vital problem. This is observed at certain places in such important spheres of reconstruction as the liquidation of the scattering of the population and the enlargement of the settlements, transition to a settled way of life, and development of new branches of economy, etc., etc. We have not undertaken to describe all the difficulties of this kind, since they are of a temporary, transient nature and not really typical. We have sought to concentrate on what is most important—a description in general terms of the remarkable course of socialist reconstruction of the life of formerly backward peoples, which has enabled them to bypass the capitalist stage of development, and to show the most outstanding results of this progress in its important historical context.





THE KHANTS AND MANSI

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In scientific literature the Khants and Mansi are combined under the general title of "Ob' Ugrians." The Khants were known earlier as "Ostyaks," "Ob' Ostyaks," "Obdor," "Berezov" and "Surgut Ostyaks" and so on, while the Mansi were known as "Voguls." Some of the Mansi groups, however, also were called Ostyaks.

Scientific literature contains a variety of explanations for the term "Khants." It is derived from the combination "Khondy-Kho" (in the Khant language "man from the river Konda") and it has also been explained as meaning "Khan people" and connected with the name of the Huns. None of these explanations, however, can be considered really satisfactory. The origin of the Russian name for the Khants, "Ostyaks," which appeared first in the 16th century is also explained in different ways, being either interpreted as mutation of the Khant words "as" or "yakh" ("as" is the Ob' or "Great River," and "yakh" means people), or else from the word "Ushtyak," which was what the Siberian Tatars called the Khants. The Kazakhs used the name "Eshtek" not only for the Khants, but also for the Bashkirs and Barabans (i.e., Baraba Tatars). The Kama Bashkirs in the Russian registers of 1623-1624 were also called Ostyaks. Right up to the Revolution the Kets and Sel'kups were also known as Ostyaks. Thus, the word "Ostyak" is not only associated with the Khants and the Ob', but rather covered a whole group of minorities with a similar culture; it can be considered to represent the term used by the Turkic peoples for the neighboring populations of the forest belt, which possibly goes back to some ancient ethnonym. The name "Vogul" first became known from written 14th-15th-century sources as "Vogulichl" and "Gogulichl." The Zyryan Komi called the Khants "Yëgra" or "Yëgra," which evidently gave us the chronicle's "Yugra." The Nentsy called the Khants and Mansi "Khabi."

General Information

Except for some small peripheral groups, the Khants and Mansi live in the Ob' Basin. In 1926, there were about 17,800 Khants, and a little more than 5700 Mansi. Most of the Khants and Mansi are now concentrated in the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. In this region the Khants compose all the indigenous population of the Samarovskiy, Surgutskiy and Lar'yakskiy (Vakhovskiy) Rayons. In the Berezovskiy and Milkoyanovskiy Rayons half the indigenous population are Khants while the other half are Mansi, and in the Kondinskoy Rayon there are 70% Mansi and 30% Khants. Most of the Khants (Obdor) live in the southern Ob' region

of the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug. Furthermore, a considerable number live in the north of the Tomskaya Oblast, where they make up the entire indigenous population of the river Vas'yugan and the Ob', and below the mouth of the Tym. More than 500 Mansi live outside the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug in the Ivdel'skiy, Slobodo-Turinskiy and Tavdinskiy Rayons of the Sverdlovskaya Oblast. The Mansi there are surrounded by Russians and many of them have even forgotten their own language and only speak Russian.

In many of the places where they have settled, the Khants and Mansi also live in close contact with the Russians. In the north they are neighbors of the Nentsy and Komi, and in the east of the Sel'kups. In culture, the Ob' Ugrians (Khants and Mansi) are very close to one another, particularly in the field of graphic art, religious belief, folklore, and social organization.

There was much more in common between the individual groups of Mansi and Khants in economy and material culture than among the various Khant groups. For example, the Konda Khants, who are very different from the Obdor type, have many features in common with the Konda Mansi. In exactly the same way, the Vakh Khants were closer in material culture to the Taz and Tym Sel'kups than, for example, to the Konda Khants themselves. The settled Irtysh Khants were closer to the Tatars than to the northern group of their own people, and so forth. In material culture, the northern (Sosva) and southern (Konda) Mansi also showed considerable differences.

The Khant and Mansi languages, together with Hungarian, comprise the Ugrian group of Finno-Ugrian languages. The structure is characterized by agglutination, with the preservation of a number of archaic features. In phonetic structure, morphology and vocabulary, the Khant and Mansi languages are close to one another. They divide up into several dialects, the differences between which are so extensive that it is difficult for speakers of different dialects to understand one another.

The Khant language has three groups of dialects—the northern (Obdor, Shuryshkar-Berezov, Kazym and Sherkaly), southern (Altym, Leusha and Irtysh-Konda) and eastern (Surgut, Salym and Vakh-Vas'yugan).

The vocabulary of the Khant language reflects contact with their neighbors. For example, the reindeer-herding terminology and words for winter clothing are the same as the Nennish words. The pastoral terminology is close to the Tatar and Zyryan Komi. Over the last few years an ever greater number of words have been borrowed from Russian.

The present-day territory settled by the Khants and Mansi lies to the east of the Ural Range along the Ob' and its tributaries. Except for the Urals and a narrow belt of foothills, the territory is a vast lowland gently sloping towards the Arctic Ocean with a network of rivers in the basin of the largest Siberian river, the Ob'. Among the most important rivers are the Tura, a tributary of the Tobol, the Lozva and Pelym, tributaries of the Tavda, which flows into the Tobol, the Konda, a tributary of the Irtysh, the Northern Sosva, a tributary of the Ob', where most of the Mansi are settled, and the Kunovat, Kazym, Agan, Trom-Yugan, Vakh, Vas'yugan, Greater Yugan, Salym and a number of tributaries of the Ob' where the Khants live. Some of the territory, both the highlands and lowlands, are covered by vast swamps grown over with moss, peat, sedge, and small marsh pine.

The climate is severe, sharply continental, particularly at the approaches to the Urals. The stable two-meter-thick snow cover lasts

an average of 6 months. There is a great deal of flooding in the summer. The rivers overflow and flood the lowland on the left and to some extent on the right banks for dozens of kilometers. The whole summer long the rivers Ob', Irtysh and their main tributaries are just a vast expanse of water.

As the summer approaches, the temperature quickly rises; the sun provides warmth for more than 20 hours per day, which compensates to some extent for the brevity of the spring and summer and makes it possible for the vegetation to quickly spring up and vegetables and berries to ripen. The forest belt is represented chiefly by coniferous forest—cedar, pine and larch; the straight, fully developed pine trees grow on hilly ground, the small polar pine grows in the marshes, and the cedar forests adjoin the high riverbanks. The forests contain a wealth of animals—squirrel, ermine, polar fox, otter, marten, sable, bear and wolverine. Wolves and lynx are rare. There used to be beaver as well, but now this is only found in the more inaccessible parts, on the rivers Konda and Sosva. The taiga is inhabited by elk and reindeer. The tundra is inhabited by polar fox. The reserves of forest and aquatic fowl are very extensive and there are black grouse, wood-grouse, partridge, hazel-grouse, goose, duck and swan. The rivers are rich in valuable fish such as sig, other types of salmon and various types of small fish.

Historical Background

So far the ancient history of the Ob' Ugrians, Khants and Mansi has not been adequately studied. Only some of the landmarks in the long process of the formation of Ob'-Ugrian culture in Western Siberia and the Ural region have been noted.

By the beginning of the second millennium B.C., the forest belt around the Ob' was settled by tribes of northern Uralic peoples, settled hunters and fishermen, whose culture had developed through intermixing of the ancient Uralic tribes reaching these territories from the south in the preceding period (from the Aral region) and the aboriginal tribes (who were possibly Paleo-Asiatic). Archaeological finds suggest that the northern Uralic peoples had round-bottomed pottery with stamped comb-like designs covering the entire surface, used arrows with bone and stone tips, harpoons, fish-spears and various types of bone hooks for fishing.

During the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the steppes and forest-steppes of Western Siberia (around the Irtysh) were inhabited by nomadic horse-breeders. There is a good reason to consider these nomads to be the early Ugrian tribes.

The steppe horse-breeders and northern Uralic hunter-fishermen came into close contact with each other in the forest-steppe and forest belts in Western Siberia. This association could not help affecting the culture of both of them. Since very early times they had intertribal relations both peaceful (barter) and hostile, which made it easier for mutual infiltration of certain aspects of their cultures to take place.

From the middle of the first millennium A.D., we observe a migration to the north, probably by a fairly large group of steppe Ugrians from the Irtysh region, as a result of which a new culture, on which the culture of the present-day Khants is based, sprang up in the Lower Ob' region. The Ugrian groups reaching the north and now subjected to new conditions for survival (the taiga belt) radically changed their culture. In particular,

they lost the art of horse-breeding which was unadaptable to the conditions of the taiga. Nevertheless, the memory of horse-breeding is maintained in the terminology, folklore, and graphic art of the present-day Ugrians.

Traces of southern origin, including Central Asian (in language, art, weaving, clothes and so on), which were retained up to the 4th-7th centuries A.D. or later, began to appear in the culture of the northern hunting tribes through the arrival of the nomadic tribes of early Ugrians in those parts.

It is possible that certain elements of the ethnographic complex characteristic of the present-day Khants and Mansi can be traced to the second half of the first millennium A.D.

The present-day culture of the Ob' Ugrians (Khants and Mansi), which basically retains a typical taiga appearance, is the culture of settled hunters and fishermen with preservation of many elements of southern cultures.

A certain part has been played in the history of some of the Khants and Mansi by reindeer-herding, which to a considerable extent conditions the specific nature of their economy and everyday life. Among the Ob' Ugrians reindeer-herding arose under the influence of the Nentsy, who were evidently spreading about the end of the first millennium A.D. through the western tundras, having reached those parts from the lower reaches of the Yenisey. Later on, during the period of the Siberian Kingdom (Siberian Khanate) there was contact between the southeast Mansi and some of the Irtysh Khants and the Tatars.

The Russians, represented by the Novgorod traders and merchants, knew about the Ugrians, as is clear from the chronicles, even in the 11th century. The Kiev Primary Chronicle contains a tale (1096) of the Novgorod citizen Gyuryata Rogovich about the Ugrians. It tells of the Ugrians, neighbors of the "Samoyad", who bartered iron implements with the inhabitants of the Ural Mountains. From the 12th century, the Novgoroders established permanent relations with the tribes beyond the Urals. They brought back sables and marten furs.

The name "Yugry" (Ugry) disappears in the written sources in the 17th century. Names derived from "Yugra" ("Yugrian") still remained in geographical names; for example, the Urals were called the "Yugrian Mountains," the southern coast of the Kara Sea was called the "Yugrian Coast" and the strait between the island of Vaygach and the mainland was known as the "Yugrian Strait."

From the time when Novgorod became part of the Muscovite state, the further assimilation of Siberia was a question of the initiative of the Muscovite government.

The Russian voyevods relied on the clan-tribal hierarchy for support and in the official documents of the time named the tribal leaders "princelings," striving to turn them into local minor feudal lords. Of particular note were the Koda princelings of the Alachev family, who took part in many of the Russian campaigns against the Khants, Nentsy and Evenks. They helped to set up the town of Tomsk and the Makov and Yenisey Fortresses. For faithful service to the Muscovite tsars the Alachevs were granted a favor in 1594, unprecedented in the history of Siberia; they were given the right to collect the fur-tax and "gifts" from two Ostyak volosts for themselves. Alachevs retained this status as long as they were needed as supports for the Moscow government. When the latter passed away, the tsarist government liquidated the Koda Principdom. Koda was reduced to the same rights as the other Khant and Mansi volosts and made to pay the fur-tax on a level with everyone else.

The fur-tax was high. At the beginning of the 17th century it amounted to 10 sables per married man and 5 per single man. Apart from the official fur-tax, the Khants and Mansi had to give up their best furs to the local voyevods and officials who demanded "gifts" and mercilessly fleeced those in their care. Unable to meet these demands, the Khants and Mansi dispersed in all directions.

Their impoverished state even forced them to "pawn their children." The taxes and arrears were extorted by the voyevods' great cruelty; the extortion on the part of the tax-collectors made matters worse.

The Khants and Mansi complained to the government and appealed for protection. The government issued documents instructing the Russian voyevods to treat the "Voguls" and "Ostyaks" mildly, to avoid force, not to take more taxes than were laid down by government decree, not to trade in places other than the centers laid down for receiving taxes and for trade. These instructions, however, remained in the main on paper. Taking advantage of the distance of Siberia from Moscow, the voyevods continued to pillage the local population.

Dissatisfied with the fact that the furs were finding their way into the tsar's coffers and into the hands of the voyevods while they themselves were deprived of their main source of wealth, the Khant and Mansi princelings hatched many a plot against the Russian authorities.

In 1592, there was a Mansi revolt led by the princeling Ablegirim. In 1607, the Koda "Princess" Anna and the Obdor princeling Vasilii organized a rising among the Berezov and Obdor Khants and besieged Berezov, but they were defeated. In 1608, there was another conspiracy led by the same "Princess" Anna and the princeling Chumey; they were joined by the Surgut princeling Keul and the princeling Tair Samarov. The conspirators contacted the Irtysh Tatars, Konda and Sosva "Ostyaks" and the Obdor princeling Mamruk. In the spring of 1609, they were joined by the Mansi and Tyumen'-Tura Tatars. The conspiracy covered the whole of northwestern Siberia, but it was discovered, and the ring-leaders were executed by the tsarist government.

From the end of the 17th century the seizure of Khant and Mansi territory by the Russian merchants and rich peasants was stepped up. The latter, with the permission of the government, settled by force on Khant and Mansi land and took over the ploughland and meadowland. The merchants commandeered the best fishing grounds and fenced off the mouths of the rivers, thereby stopping the fish from reaching the upper reaches and depriving the population of their catches. They took over the best hunting grounds and in predatory fashion exterminated the fur-bearing animals. The Khants and Mansi tried to complain, but in all these cases the authorities refused to evict the pirates from the land belonging to the Khants and Mansi, and merely tried to "reconcile" both parties.

Seeking to cement its influence among the Khants and Mansi, the tsarist government forced Christianity upon them. At the beginning of the 18th century the Khants and Mansi were baptized at a tremendous rate, and by 1751 the process was considered to be complete. But the baptism was of a formal nature and could not really affect the religious views of the Khants and Mansi.

In the 19th century the development on the Ob' of fisheries enabled the fish-traders to seize the best fishing grounds by pretending to rent them. The Khants and Mansi, who continued to be the nominal owners of these waters, actually became mere laborers bound by unfair contracts to the lessees, who owned a considerable amount of fishing gear. By

means of giving credit to the fishermen and hunters and concluding contracts, the merchants confused the Khants and Mansi to such an extent that they never knew whether they were supposed to be paying debts for the current or past year, whether for themselves or for their grandparents, whether they were receiving an advance or being paid in arrears. The debts grew and were passed on from father to son, from grandfather to grandson. The same sort of enslavement sprang up through the payment of the fur-tax as well. Seeking to obtain manpower practically for nothing, the merchants and traders paid the fur-tax on behalf of the needy Khants and Mansi and then forced them to work in return in their fisheries.

Alongside the exploitation of the population by the newly arrived merchants and local rich men, inequality in the ownership of property among the Khants and Mansi through the possession of the basic means of production (reindeer, seines and guns) and commercial jobbing (resale of furs, vodka, and various commodities) was also increasing. The local exploiters were no less greedy or uncereceremonious than the merchants. As a whole, the working Khants and Mansi were extremely poor, were victims of alcoholism and suffered from a number of social diseases. Deprived of any assistance, the neglected population had nothing and went hungry. Death from exhaustion was common among the poor people. Epidemics, particularly smallpox, wrought havoc.

In 1841, the rank-and-file Khants from the Obdorsk region, driven to desperation by the exploitation of the kulaks and merchants and by the extortion of the tsarist administration, took part in the rebellious movement of the Nennish poor, led by Vavle Nenyanga (Vavle P'yettomin). Vavle attributed great importance to having the Khants among his followers; one of the aims of his advance on Obdorsk was to depose the Khant princeling, Tayshin, who stood at the head of the Obdor Administration, which included both Khants and Nentsy. This rising, like the others, was cruelly suppressed.

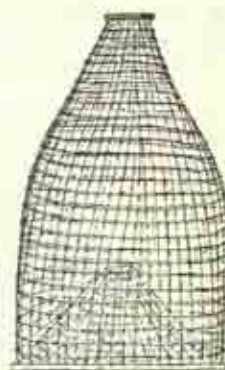
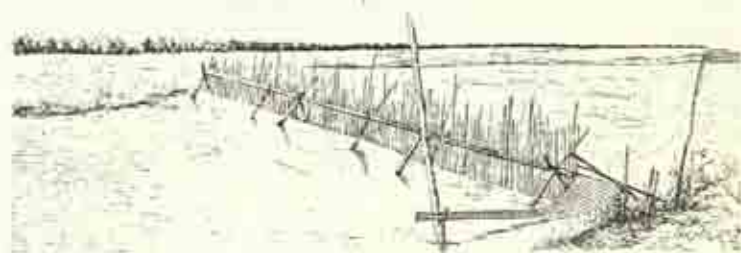
The position of the Khants and Mansi became particularly onerous in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The development of capitalist relations in Siberia speeded up the impoverishment of the toiling masses of Khants and Mansi.

For many of them, work at the merchant-owned fisheries was the chief means of survival, and their own household economies took on a subsidiary character. Many lost their households altogether, and all the others lost their subsistence nature. They were all to a large extent enslaved by the merchants and kulaks, through whom they sold fish and furs and bought thread for their nets, hunting weapons, ammunition, and, to some extent, food and material for clothing.

The trade conducted by the merchants and kulaks in the Ob' North, as in other parts of Siberia, was marked by all the repugnant features of predatory merchandizing: it was accompanied by use of alcohol, intentionally wrong counting and weighing, the sale of clearly defective wares, excessive interest, and, as already mentioned, enslaving credit systems.

Hunting and Fishing

The extensive settlement of Khants and Mansi in territories with a variety of different terrains, and the different cultural influences of neighboring peoples, brought about a rather variegated picture of their economy. The economy of the bulk of Khants and Mansi combined fishing



Fishing techniques of the Khants:

1—stake fence on large rivers for catching fish with bag-shaped nets (vargan); 2—stake fence on smaller rivers for catching fish with sleeve-shaped traps; 3—sleeve-shaped trap; 4—ice-hole and stake fence for catching fish under the ice; 5—net for removing fish from ice-holes; 6—fish trap (gimga) made of willow twigs, placed in locks (stake fences).

and hunting with reindeer-herding or pastoralism, as subsidiary occupations. Fishing, hunting or reindeer-herding took prominence according to local conditions. Among the Khants and Mansi living on the Ob' and on the lower reaches of its tributaries (the Kazym, Sosva, Vakh, Yugan and Agan), fishing was the chief occupation. The inhabitants of the upper reaches of these rivers, both Khants and Mansi, engaged chiefly in hunting, while fishing was of secondary importance. The techniques

and fishing tackle varied among local groups. The Khants and Mansi from the lower reaches used to leave their settlements and go to the Ob' for the fishing season. Over the whole period of the catch they lived with their families in summer dwellings, catching the fish and preserving it. As soon as the fishing ended, just before the rivers froze over, they returned to their winter residence. Among these groups the stocks of fish far exceeded their personal needs, and most of it was sold.

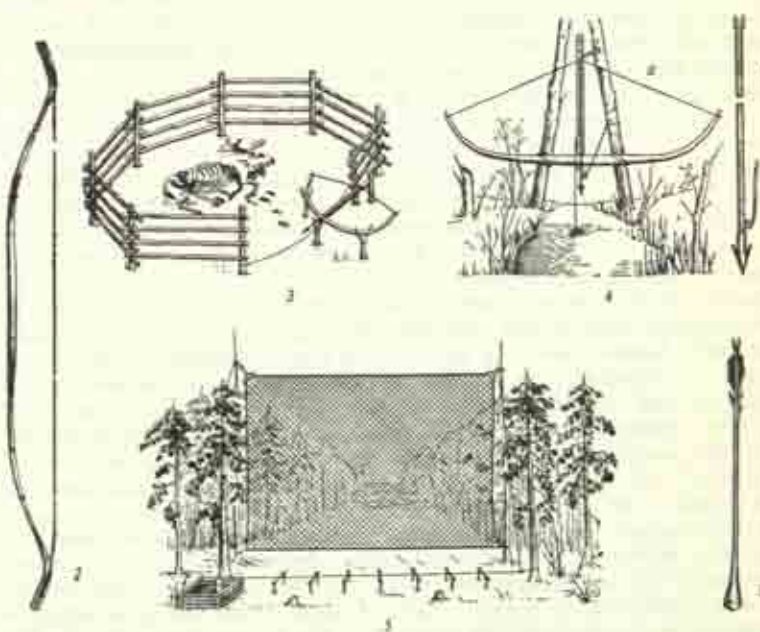
Apart from the seasonal catch, the Khants and Mansi fished the whole year round in nearby tributaries and lakes, using a variety of techniques. In the smaller tributaries and upper reaches of rivers, they possessed a variety of wattled traps, stake fences and nets for catching the fish.

The Khants and Mansi used a variety of bag-shaped nets, called kolydan; primitive dragnets; the syrp, a type of two-man seine; and the sezha. The nets were woven from hemp, and in the old days from nettles. They were colored with an infusion of bird-cherry bark, which gave them a dark brown color, and were almost invisible in water. Apart from the nets, they used fishing rods with iron or bone hooks, and fish-spears. In spawning time, the fish, chiefly the pike, were shot with arrows.

When hunting, they went for meat (large animals and fowl) and fur-bearing animals, which had a commercial importance for some time. Hunting for fur animals was the most important type. The squirrel was the most important of these. In the distant past, it had been replaced by the sable, which had been the fundamental unit in paying the fur-tax. On the upper reaches of the Konda there was a considerable amount of hunting for beaver, the skin and musk-bags of which were considered very valuable.

The Khants and Mansi began "working the forest" at the end of September, when the first snow was beginning to fall. Halfway through December, the hunters gathered in their winter quarters and lived at home, up to more or less the middle of January. During this time, they traveled to market, surrendered their tax, sold furs, and acquired commodities. Returning home by the middle of January, they went back into the forest until the middle of April, i.e., until the spring thaw. When the rivers opened up, the Khants and Mansi made their way back from their winter dwellings to the lakes and rivers for the summer. Then they began fishing and hunting fowl.

Guns first appeared among the Khants and Mansi in the 18th century. At the beginning of the 20th century flintlock guns were replaced by the hammer type. When hunting large animals (reindeer, elk or bear), they used spears. The sable was hunted throughout the winter with guns, traps and nets. Squirrels were tracked down with dogs. Even during the first few years of the Soviet regime, bows and arrows with blunt tips which did not spoil the hide were used to hunt squirrels and forest birds. Squirrels were also caught with grip-type traps (rivers Yugan and Vakh). Self-triggering traps for wolverines were usually set up at the sites of previous camps. Ermine were caught with a grip-type trap. The Yugan Khants killed a great deal of the Arctic hare and took cartloads of hare-skin to the market in Surgut. The hare was caught with a self-triggering trap. Fox was hunted with guns, or else self-triggering bows and arrows were set up, and sometimes it was chased on horseback or in reindeer sleds. In March the fox was caught with self-triggering devices on the hardened snow crust; in May the fox cubs were dug out of their burrows, fed with fish and when they had



Hunting techniques of the Khants:

- 1—hunter with volokusha (q.v. in glossary); 2—hunting bow; 3—bear trap; 4—otter trap; a—method for setting the trap; b—arrow with spool and string; 5—collapsible net for catching ducks; 6—arrow with blunt head used in hunting game and squirrels.

grown up and their fur was found to be suitable, in the autumn, they were slaughtered.

Hunting for elk began in August or September. The hunter tracked down the animal with his dog and pursued it sometimes for 4 or 5 days until it finally came within range. On the dry marshy islands where the elk went to find fresh grass, it was killed by self-triggering devices.

The elk was also caught in another, very old group method by using fences and pits arranged on the yearly routes taken by the migrating animals. By joint effort the Mansi set up extremely long two-pole fences, reaching as many as 70 kilometers, on these routes. Several gaps were left in the fence at certain distances. On both sides of the gap self-triggering bows and large arrows with knifelike iron tips were set in position. The trap was set very carefully and the bow was smeared with fir-tree branches to eliminate any human smell; the trees nearby were left uncut and unfelled. As the elk passed through the gap, it triggered the bows and both arrows penetrated between its shoulder blades. The impact was so strong that the arrows sometimes went right through the animal's chest. They also set up "cutters" at these gaps (these were balanced stakes with knife-shaped points) which wounded the animal as it passed through; sometimes they dug deep pits at the gap with stakes or knives inserted in wood on the bottom, and carefully camouflaged them with brushwood.

These hunting techniques brought in a large amount of elk, but they were too predatory; females and young fell into the pits, and many wounded animals got away, perishing for nothing. Furthermore, these traps were dangerous for the hunters themselves.

Sometimes they hunted bear. It was killed by a group of hunters in its lair with a spear or gun, or else with special traps. The killing of a bear was accompanied by the "bear festival."

Wildfowl, chiefly wood-grouse, was caught with traps which were set up not far from the dwellings so that the children and old people could look after them. Birds were also shot with guns. Wildfowl was hunted mainly in the autumn. The game was preserved by drying in the sun or smoking over a fire.

Aquatic birds were usually hunted in the spring, when they were newly arrived, and in the summer during the moulting period. In the spring they hunted duck and goose with high collapsible nets, for which they cut a clearing in the forest between reservoirs such as lakes, tributaries and so on, and stretched the net across it. As they flew from one reservoir to another, the birds were caught in the net. In winter the partridges were caught with noose-snares; but they were also hunted with guns and dogs. In summer the Khants and Mansi often caught duck with nooses made of hair. During the migratory period, geese and swans were caught with decoys and shot when they landed.

As has already been pointed out, until recently, the Khants and Mansi used the self-triggering trap and the handbow. The bow of the trap was made of a single piece of wood. The bow was set to catch small animals as well as bear and elk. The handbow used by the Khants and Mansi was compound. It was made of two strips of wood glued together; the inside piece was made of cedar and the outside of birch. The parts glued together were bound on the outside with thin strips of steamed birchbark. The string was made of nettle or hemp; to make it they soaked the fibers, dried them, stretched them and finally glued them together, and bound them with very thin strips of birchbark. The bow was about 2 m long. The arrows were made of spruce half a meter long; there were iron points of various types — a forked type for ducks, a spear type for bear and otter, a shallow fork-and-knife type for elk, a serrated type for fish, and so on. The point was glued onto the shaft with sulphur and bound with thread. The feathers were eagle or hawk feathers. They used an arrow the whistling of which resembled the sound of a hawk swooping down on its prey. When they heard this whistle, the duck and

geese dropped down into the water, where they were shot with the forked arrows. The whistling arrow was also used for hunting hare, and was fired over their heads. As it heard the sound of the arrow, the hare dived into the nearest bush with fright, where it was caught up with and killed by the hunter. A special wooden arrow was used to kill ducks with young. The arrow was fired just above the water and as it glided over the surface, the feathers ruffled the water, in similar fashion to a duckling. The female duck hastened towards it and was struck by the arrow. Among the ancient weapons of the Ob' Ugrians were the spear with a double-edged knife as the point, and another type of spear, both of which were used for hunting bear.

Reindeer-Herding

Judging by historical and linguistic data, the reindeer-herding of the northern Khants and Mansi was borrowed from the Nentsy in about the 15th century. Compared with the Nennish herds of reindeer, the Khant and Mansi herds were quite small. Together with reindeer-herding, the Khants and Mansi borrowed from the Nentsy a number of production techniques, types of clothing, nomadic dwellings and so on. The Nennish reindeer-herding terminology passed into their language. Nomadizing together with the Nentsy, some of the Khant reindeer-herders moved northwards to the sea in the spring with their herds. There they hunted for sea animals and fished, like the Nentsy. As the autumn approached, they wandered back to the south, to the forest-tundra belt.

The Obdor Khant reindeer-herders, like the Nentsy, bartered with their taiga fellow tribesmen—the Kazym, Vakh and other Khants, exchanging deerskin and other products of reindeer-breeding for wooden articles, birchbark, fish and fish oil. On the Kazym, too, reindeer-herding was of secondary importance. The Kazym dwellers had herds averaging 25 to 30 animals.

Several reindeer-herders used to combine their herds for the summer grazing; this made it possible for some of the population to remain behind and fish in the Ob'. The Vakh Khants also engaged in this type of reindeer-herding. The number of reindeer was not very great and did not even meet the requirements of transportation.

Whereas on the Kazym, the reindeer-herders used enclosures (smudges) to keep away the insects, halters, and also employed herdsmen to watch the herds, on the Vakh and Agan the Khants used to leave their reindeer unwatched for most of the year. The reindeer were left to themselves and wandered about where they wanted. The roundup usually began with the first snow and lasted sometimes as much as two months; when the herd had been rounded up, the Khants and their families moved off to hunting sites. It was only a few households which kept their small herds with them, building pens and large log stalls for them.

Among the Mansi, only a very small number of households on the upper reaches of the Lozva, the Northern Sosva and Lyapin—that is to say, at places where it was possible to move into the Ural Mountains for the summer pasturing—developed reindeer-herding as the main branch of economy. For most of the Mansi, reindeer were used solely for transportation and the number of them was never very large. In the winter they were kept in pens near the settlements, while in the summer they were driven out, for the main part into the Ural Mountains, and handed over for grazing to the above-mentioned herders or, combined into larger groups, were driven to the mountains under the surveillance

of several herdsmen. On the lower reaches of the Sosva to the Ob', where it was very difficult to drive the stock to the Urals, they were kept at home in the summer as well; when this was done, special stalls and smudges were made to protect them from gnats. Those Mansi without reindeer sometimes hired them for the winter hunting season, paying for them with the fur animals they caught. The Konda Mansi and Ob' Khants used dogs for transportation, although dog-breeding for this purpose among the Ob' Ugrians was very primitive.

Animal Husbandry and Agriculture

Animal husbandry was only poorly developed among the Khants and Mansi. Their methods of breeding livestock was such that it could not have any great importance. The Berezov, Vas'yugan and Irtyskh Khants, and Konda, Sosva and Ob' Mansi kept horses, sheep and poultry. They had very few cows. The horses were used in winter, after the rivers had frozen over, and in the summer were left to graze by themselves.

Embryonic agriculture existed among the Irtyskh Khants even before the Russians arrived. At that time they sowed mainly barley. They tilled the fields with hoes, pulled up the ripe ears, rather than reap them, and scorched the grain rather than thresh it. Just before the Revolution, agriculture among the Mansi was a subsidiary, unimportant occupation, even for those settled and Russified Mansi of Verkhotur'ye, the lower reaches of the Lozva and Pelym, who were almost no different in their way of life from the Russian peasants in the 19th century. They sowed oats and barley. Their agricultural implements were very primitive; they often sowed without cultivating by loosening the earth with a "digging-stick" harrow. Even here, hunting and fishing were the basic means of subsistence.

Vegetable-gardening, on a very small scale, only existed among the Irtyskh and some of the Konda and Ob' Khants. Land suitable for cultivation and pasturing was usually leased out by the Khants, in the same way as the fishing grounds.

Food

Meat and fish were the staple diet of the Khants and Mansi in the past. It was only the wealthier reindeer-herders who slaughtered domestic reindeer. The meat of the wild reindeer, elk and other game was the staple food. Kidneys, liver, marrow, the eyes, ears, lips and other parts of the carcass were eaten raw. The remaining meat was cooked; fresh blood was drunk immediately after the slaughter, while the rest of it was collected and used for flour pancakes or added to broth. The soft horns of young reindeer were also used as food.

In autumn, when the catch of wild reindeer was extensive, the meat was preserved; it was cut into thin strips and laid out for drying on special structures raised high above the ground. Sometimes the meat was slightly smoked. The reindeer fat was smoked and considered a delicacy. In winter, the venison was eaten in the frozen form, cut with a knife into thin strips.

Fish was eaten raw, boiled or dried. In summer the fish was dried on hangers set up on the spot near the summer camp, or smoked over a fire lit beneath the hangers. The fish oil was extracted from the innards in large pots and was a very important product for the Khants and Mansi. It was eaten in the pure form or mixed with crushed bird-

cherries; it was used to make fried flour pancakes and "boilings" for which crushed dried fish was boiled in it. These "boilings" were always taken along on hunting expeditions. In winter they used to eat frozen fish. Fishheads, or sometimes the whole of a small fish, were dried and crushed into flour, which was then boiled to make a porridge. The bones of larger fish were not thrown away when the fish was made into yukola, but dried, ground, and also used as food and also to feed the dogs. Fish bladders were dried and made into glue. Forest and aquatic wildfowl were eaten boiled or dried and smoked. The eggs of wildfowl were also eaten.



Khant cowshed.

Among the uncultivated vegetation the Khants and Mansi ate berries (blackberries, black currants, cranberries and bird-cherries), which they consumed raw or mixed with fat; they gathered plants of the umbellate family, "bear's pipe," wild onions and various tubers. Mushrooms were not eaten since they were considered unclean. Birch-sap was collected and drunk in the spring.

It was only recently that the Khants and Mansi began eating baked bread, although it had apparently been known for some time. In the 17th century the Khants and Mansi sometimes accepted bread from the Russians in exchange for furs and fish. Flour, particularly rye flour, came into use among these peoples long before bread. The poor people made it into a mash by mixing the flour with boiling water and throwing sweetbriar or peony into it. The wealthier people baked unleavened pancakes in the ashes or on stones. Salt was never used in cooking, nor in preserving products.

It was very common to chew resin, predominantly larch resin, which was considered the means of preventing scurvy.

Means of Transportation

At one time the only means of transportation along the waterways were different types of boats. Canoes were made of aspen; to make them they

cut down the trunk of a tree, planed the surface with an axe and made the prow and stern into a point. From then on they hollowed it out with an adze—a transverse axe with a semicircular blade. Then, having lifted the canoe above ground, they lit a fire underneath it and filled the inside with water. The wood softened and made it possible to spread the sides, which were then fixed in position by inserting crosspieces. Thin planks were sometimes attached to the sides to increase the capacity. The canoes were made in different sizes; they could carry from one to eight people.

On the Sosva and Ob' improved boats with cedar bottoms and sides made of spruce planks attached to the bottom with pine roots were commonly found. These boats were light, stable and fast-moving.

For long-distance seasonal trips the Khants and Mansi made use of larger boats similar in type to the Yenisey ilims, accommodating 7 to 8 tons, with a wooden cabin, and a mast for a square sail. This kind of boat also served as a summer dwelling during hunting. Sometimes two small boats were secured together and a framework of poles covered with birchbark was set up on them to transport a whole family. Until the middle of the 18th century, there were also birchbark boats.



Canoe manufacture (Khants).

Reindeer transportation among the Khants and Mansi, as mentioned above, was borrowed from the Nentsy. The northern Khants used reindeer sleds the whole year round. The Khants and Mansi who kept horses used the Russian sleigh, and a special horse sled. Those people who did not possess any horses or reindeer traveled on skis, while loads were carried by dogs. Dogs were also taken hunting in order to carry water and firewood to the dwellings. The dogs were harnessed either in a fan-shaped arrangement or else in a line. Sometimes the hunter harnessed himself to the dogs and, skiing along, helped them to pull a hand sled. The dogsled was different from the reindeer sled. It was lower, narrower and lighter; the staves were secured with straps. For carrying loads when hunting on foot in the summer or autumn, use was made of a carrying-

frame, while the Vishera and Cherdyn' Mansi used a special type of cape called a luzan or luz (among the Komi, laz) which was a square piece of leather lined with felt with a circular opening for the head in the middle; the front and back panels were secured at the sides by the belt. The top and the lining of this cape were made loose at the side, forming a space for provisions (bread, matches, tobacco and so on); on the outside, leather loops were sewn onto the luzan to hold tools (axes and so on). The Khants did not wear this type of cape.

Settlements and Dwellings

In the past the Khant and Mansi settlements consisted of 1 to 10 houses with extra structures, arranged without any special plan. The settlements were a long way away from one another. The general name for a settlement was pugol kort (Khant), paul (Mansi; compare the Hungarian word *falú*, "village").

The Khants and Mansi had nomadic-type or settled-type dwellings according to the nature of their economy. For example, the Khant and Mansi reindeer-herders lived in the tent borrowed from the Nentsy (Mansi *yörn kol*, and Khant *yörn khot*, "Nennish house"). In structure the tent was no different from the Nennish chum. The permanent winter and sometimes summer dwelling of most of the Khants and Mansi was the hut made of thin beams or thick boards.

This type of dwelling had no ceiling but it had a gently sloping two-sided roof covered with strips of specially prepared birchbark sewed into large panels over the wooden planks. On top of the birchbark was a row of thin poles—the joists; the height of the hut was 2 or 3 m, its length 5-9 m and width 4-5 m. At the front the roof projected slightly and rested on the columns forming a porchway. A small high door led into the hut. Among the Mansi the door faced south and among the Khants it faced the river. Windows were made in one or both side walls. Pieces of ice used to be put in the windows during winter (instead of glass), while in the summer the window was stretched with fish bladder.

In one corner, to the right or left of the door, there was a hearth or chual (chogal or choval) made with clay-smeared poles. Wood was placed upright in the hearth. When fuel had been placed on the fire the chimney was covered with a wooden disk or piece of moss or hay. The fire in the hearth was the only form of heating and lighting for the dwelling. The fire was kept burning the whole day in summer as well, although not to provide heat but to make smoke as a protection against mosquitoes and gnats.

Inside the house along two or three walls they made low, wide earthen benches, which were faced with planks or poles. Mats made of grass or reeds were placed on top of the benches and deerskin ("bedding") was spread out on top of them. By no means all the Khants knew how to weave mats. By the entrance, along the wall without the benches, there were shelves with crockery. In the event of cohabitation in one house by the families of several brothers, the benches were divided into sections by low partitions and served as rooms for the individual families. Among the Khants living on the river Vakh there were earthen dwellings (*myg-kat*, "earthen house"). They were four-cornered pits strengthened with logs, with a roof made of poles covered with turf. The roof had a fairly large hole to let out smoke and to let in light at the sides or in the middle. On one of the sides of the house was a flight of steps closed off by a wooden door. A small landing was partitioned off in front of the door by poles and

was called the tebyn or porch. This was where the dogs were kept. The hearth was made at one side or in the middle of the hut.

Also to be found among the Khants were half-dugouts, shaped like a truncated pyramid. Four inclined supports were placed upright above a hollow 0.5 m deep and joined at the top by crosspieces making a square. Poles and planks were fixed to these crosspieces to make the walls. The square framework of cross-pieces was then covered with poles at the top. The entire structure was faced on the outside with earth and turf. In certain cases, the foundation consisted of a log structure, three rows of which projected above the ground. The roof was made pointed and covered with birchbark.

The Mansi built only log houses; the earthen houses and half-dugouts described above were not found among them. They were mainly typical of the group of eastern Khants (those living on the rivers Vakh, Vas'yugan and Yugan).

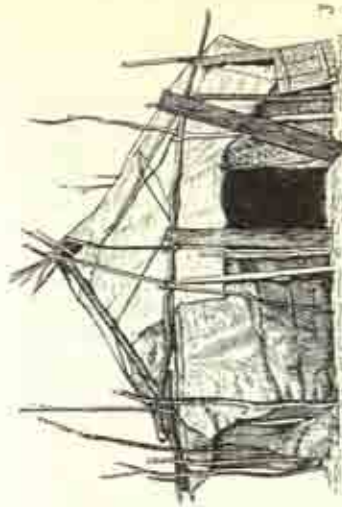
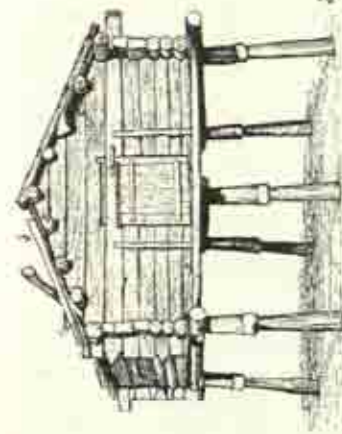
A characteristic feature of the Khant and Mansi settlements was the installation of special poles for tying reindeer and horses. These poles were set up in front of each house opposite the door. Sometimes they were decorated with carvings of human faces, animals and birds.

In the old days the sacrificial animals were bound to these posts during public prayers. Each household had a barn. The barn was a rectangular log construction set on posts or stumps from one to 2 m high. The number of supports varied from one to four or more. They were cut with a ledge to prevent the smaller rodents from getting into the barn. There was a special staircase—a beam with notches—for going up into the barn. The barns were used to store food, clothing, utensils, weapons and other effects; in the summer, people slept in them.

The Khants and Mansi who had horses built unheated stables with thin walls and roofs for them. Sometimes they merely built an awning on supports without any walls.

In the summer when going out to fish or hunt, the Khants and Mansi set up temporary dwellings—tents—at the hunting sites. The tent was rectangular in shape. The framework was built on the spot, from poles. On the outside and over the top the frame was covered with birchbark panels. Inside they hung curtains to keep out insects. The whole family was accommodated in the tent. The earthen floor was covered with branches and mats woven from willow switches or reeds; on top of the mats they put deerskin. In the center of the tent was the hearth or rat. A fire was kept going the whole time beside the tent and was used to cook fish or melt down fish oil. The fire was kept smoldering the whole time when no cooking was in process, giving off an acrid smoke which kept away the mosquitoes and gnats (for this purpose rotten branches of willow were placed on it). In winter, when a long way from the house, the hunters lived in huts (if they were likely to remain a long time in one place) or in different types of tents, awnings or pits in the snow covered with boards, spruce branches or sheets of birchbark. A little way from the permanent dwellings they built stoves for baking bread on wooden platforms. They were put together from clay, in similar fashion to the Russian chimneyless stove. There was an awning above it, and these stoves were used conjointly by several households.

The homemade vessels—spoons, cups and jugs—were usually of wood or birchbark. They made wooden dishes which were called an in the Khant language and any in the Mansi language. In the epic stories these terms are used for clay pottery. The shards of clay pots have been found in excavations on the territory settled by the Khants and Mansi.



Khant dwellings:
 1—winter house; 2—pile storehouse; 3—birchbark tent (summer dwelling); 4—oven for baking bread.

All groups of Khants and Mansi made extensive use of purchased clay and porcelain crockery (teacups), knives and spoons. They cooked food in large purchased copper or iron pots with iron handles (in Khant, *saran-put*—"Zyryan pot") or frequently cast-iron, *akhtas-put*, that is to say, "stone pot." These cauldrons were hung over the fire. They are mentioned in epic tales.

The birchbark objects were decorated on the outside with designs effected by the technique of scraping off the internal layer. Baskets woven from cedar roots were very common. An essential part of the Khant and Mansi household was fine slivers of wood; they were used to wipe dishes, the face and hands. They were made from frozen rose-willow, birch, and, less often, pine and spruce, by stripping with a knife as they melted. These strips were used as binding material for wounds, as underlays for babies and so on.

Clothing

As outer clothing for men, the northern Khant and Mansi reindeer-herders wore a garment without any vent at the front, drawn over the head, with a hood, borrowed from the Nentsy (*malitsa, gus'*). This robe was only used for traveling by other groups of Khants and Mansi. Their outer clothing consisted of a coat made of deerskin or hare-fur and squirrel or fox paws; in cut the fur coat was open at the front and had a straight back; it was fastened by means of suede straps or else closed over and belted with a leather strap and overlapped considerably. On the river Vakh the Khant hunters wore the so-called *kolek* during winter hunting. This was a short coat made of deerskin, faced with fur. The *kolek* was tightly belted and the ends were tucked behind the belt so that they would not get in the way when skiing at a rapid pace.

Summer clothing for men among the northern reindeer-herding Khants and Mansi was no different from the winter garments in cut. As summer clothing they had old *malitsy* or *cloth gus'*. Among the southern and eastern Khant hunters the summer clothing was a short gown of coarse cloth trimmed at the neck, sleeves and right hem with fur. The summer clothing was sometimes made of canvas in the form of a cape.

The winter footwear of the Khant and Mansi reindeer-herders (*yörn-vay*, that is to say, "Nennish shoes") consisted of Nennish boots made of soft leather with fur stockings. The southern Khants from the Ob' region bought these boots from the northern reindeer-herding Khants. Just as among the Nentsy, this footwear was secured to the belt beneath the outer garment.

Most of the Khants and Mansi wore short footwear called *nyara*, made from soft smoked elk, deer or horse hide, with the fur outside. In the winter footwear of this kind, the outside was trimmed with cloth, while the soles were cut from durable and nonslipping "brushes" and skins taken from the forehead of the reindeer. The footwear was worn on top of a thick, long stocking made of cloth, canvas or suede. This footwear was worn by both men and women. For men the stockings were bound to the belt above the shirt with thin straps. In summer both men and women wore suede footwear with soles made of elk-skin. Designs were often painted on this footgear (by means of vegetable dyes).

Among the southern Khants and Mansi men's shirts (in Khant, *yernas*, and in Mansi, *sup*) were first made of homespun nettle cloth; they reached to the knee, had a turned-down collar and were embroidered with wool on the chest and hem; later on, the *kosovorotka* [Russian peasant shirt with

side vent] appeared, also with embroidery. The shirts were belted and the front overlapped. In the first quarter of the 20th century they began making shirts from bought cloth. But even before this, the northern group of Khants and Mansi only made shirts from factory-made materials. The shirt covered narrow trousers reaching a little below the knee (Khant *kas'*, and Mansi *man'sup*) which were made of suede, fishskin, linen or cotton. Over the shirt, the men wore a leather or woven belt (in Khant, *antyp*, and in Mansi, *entap*) from which hung wooden sheathes with knives, tinder-flint and touchstone in bead-embroidered pouches. The bottom of the sheath was secured to the leg so that the knife could be drawn easily and quickly.



Men's summer garments, Mansi.

Women's winter clothing among the northern Khants (*sakh*) and Mansi (*sakhi*) consisted of a double fur coat fastened at the front, made of reindeer skin. In regions where there were few reindeer the coats were lined with hare or squirrel skins and squirrel paws, or duck, loon or goose down. Women's fur coats among the eastern Khants were made of hare-skins, squirrel paws, deer's ears and pieces of deer fur; on top they were covered with cloth. The coat had straight hems and opened at the front. As many as 800 squirrels' paws were used to make one such coat. When going far away on reindeer, the women as well as the men put on *malitsy* and



Women's winter garments, Khant.

gusi. Women's footwear in the winter was of the Nennish type, much the same as for the men, except that the colored cloth strips used for embellishment were arranged slightly differently.

In the summer the women wore a cloth or cotton robe of a bright color, embroidered along the hem, sides, cuffs and neck with beads, colored cloth and square tin badges; these badges were made by the women themselves in special molds made of soft stone or pine bark. Women's belts differed from men's by being more decorative and narrower.

Women's shirts among the southern groups of Khants and Mansi were made like tunics from nettle and flax; they were embroidered with blue and red wool crosses. Among the northern groups of Khants and Mansi the shirts were of the Russian style and were made from various materials with a straight vent down the front. Their dresses were Tatar-style with pleats and wide flounces. The shirts of the eastern Khants had a wide turned-down collar and the cuffs and arm-vents were made of a different material from the rest. When nettle cloth ceased to be made, the southern Khants made dresses, blouses and skirts in the same style as the local Russian peasants, except that the skirts were wider.

Women did not always wear trousers. Among both the Khants and the Mansi when a girl reached the age of puberty, she began to wear a special loincloth (*vapun*) which she wore until old age.

Neither the men nor the women had any kind of headgear except for the hood-type hat. In the summer, and often in the winter as well, men went about with uncovered heads. As protection against mosquitoes, they sometimes bound their neckcloths around their heads. In winter and summer women wore large kerchiefs on their heads with a wide edging and fringe. The kerchief was thrown onto the shoulders and left hanging with the ends tied into an uneven diagonal triangle; the smaller triangle was allowed to fall over the face and hide it from men and their husband's elder relatives.

In the past the southern Khant women wore headbands with front pieces made of beads which were called *saravats* (compare the Tatar word *sarauts*). In former times neither the Khants nor the Mansi cut their hair. The men parted their hair in the middle, fastened it at both sides in two braids and adorned it with red or other colored thread. The women plaited their hair into two braids and together with false braids intertwined them with colored ribbon in the form of coils and decorated them with copper pendants. Both the men and women bound their braids with ribbon decorated at the nape with a rectangular piece of leather or cloth sewn with copper buttons (the women had five buttons and the men four). The women's braids were joined at the bottom by a thick brass chain which prevented their swinging about and getting in the way when working. Rings, beads and other decorations were attached to the chain. The Khant and Mansi women wore a large number of brass and silver rings. Bead embellishments were common among the southern Khant women—collars, various chest ornaments, embellishments for the braids and so on. Beads were brought in by Russian merchants. The chief colors were white, dark blue, black and red. The children's clothing both in cut and material firmly preserved the older forms of adult clothing; for example, children were given clothes from birdskins even at the time when this material had disappeared in adult clothing. It was up to the women to make the clothing. They prepared the skins, suede and other material, various threads for attaching the skins, birchbark and cloth; they embroidered with beads, applied the designs in various ways, and so on.

Weaving was known to the Khants and Mansi living on the rivers Salym, Irtys, Dem'yanka and Sosva, as well as the Ob' near the mouth of the Irtys and upriver to the mouth of the Salym. These groups had a very primitive type of loom. The same loom and the same weaving technique were commonly found among the Tobol'sk Tatars as well. Many names for parts of the loom used by these Khants and Mansi coincide with those of the Tobol'sk Tatars. Weaving among the Khants and Mansi went no further than the manufacture of the simplest type of cloth, which in former times was made of nettles and only later on from hemp. But by the beginning of the 20th century the Khants had given up weaving and it was very rarely that looms were to be found.

Social Structure and Religion

The Khants and Mansi in the past were divided into a number of tribes. Each tribe had its own particular dialect. For example, the Mansi distinguished the following tribes: Upper Lozva and Lower Lozva, Upper Konda and Middle Konda. The lower course of the Konda was settled by Khants making up a single tribe with those inhabiting the middle course of



Traditional embroidered Khant shirt.

the Irtysh. A tribal community was formed by the Khants and to some extent the Mansi on the Middle Ob' (present-day Mikoyanovskiy Rayon) and the Kazym Khants. There were three tribes on the Sosva — the Upper Sosva, the Lower Sosva and the Lyapin; other tribes were known as well. Each tribe had its own set center and its own military leaders. In the case of the Lyapin Mansi, for example, this center was the village of Lopyng-us, or Lopyng-vozh. All-tribal festivities with war dances were periodically organized in this settlement. Two roads led to the site of the dancing — each phratry of the tribe came by its own road. On the Konda, the center was at the village of Nakhrachi; on the Ob' at Belogor'ye, Kondinsk, Samarovo, Surgut, Berezov (Sugmytvozh); and on the Kazym it was Yul'skiy Gorodok and so on. During periods of military danger some of the tribes entered into alliances for joint action against a common enemy. It was these associations of tribes which probably raided the Stroganov camps of Cherdyn', Vym' and so on. These alliances were created according to need and were dissolved as soon as the danger passed. Each tribal group had its own distinct designs for clothing, crockery and so on.

All the Ob' Ugrians (Mansi and Khants) divided into two phratries regardless of their tribal allegiance, and one of them was known as "Mosh" (Mansi) or "Mon't'" (Khant) while the other was called "Por."



Mansi woman carrying her child.

In the past the phratries were strictly exogamous, since it was considered that everybody within the same phratry was a blood relative or "brother" and "sister." Later on the phratril exogamy gave way to clan exogamy in many places. Each phratry consisted of many clans. In the recent past the number of these clans was extremely large, but in ancient times there were apparently fewer. If we analyze the names of the clan ancestors, we can pick out the more ancient and more recent clans. The fragmentation of the clans was due to the increase in the population, migration in search of better hunting and fishing grounds, and so on. The clans were called by the name of a totem ancestor (the most ancient of all the categories of clan names encountered) or after an ancestor-hero. The clan frequently had two or three names, reflecting different stages of its history. The clan had a special sign for all its members, a brand which was used as a sign of clan property and later on as a signature in Russian documents. The family and later personal marks were variations of the clan brand. In the past each clan used to have a certain reserve of names which was connected with the belief in transmigration of the soul of a deceased ancestor into a child born into that clan.

Each clan had its ancestor cult. At the sacred clan site, which was inhabited by the ancestor-spirit and contained his effigy, there was usually the clan treasury as well.

Not too far back in the past there were still traces of the institution of vendetta. The feuding was passed down the father's side ("revenge



Group of Khant women in traditional clothes.

inherited from the father") as well as down the mother's side ("revenge inherited from the mother's kinsmen"). Each clan had its own graveyard where no one but kinsmen was buried. Both in the clan and in the tribe there were persons who were allotted authority or leaders (Khant urt and Mansi otyr) with duties of mainly a military nature. Judging by the folklore, household activity was often, if not always, the responsibility of the woman.

In some places, for example, the Koda Principedom, relations developed which can be regarded as patriarchal-feudal. During the time of the Siberian Khanate, Koda had very close relationships with Isker.¹ There was patriarchal slavery in the southern region settled by the Khants and Mansi, on the Irtysh, even in the 17th century.

The dissolution of the primitive-communal structure of the Ob' Ugrians, which began before the Russians arrived in Siberia, was stepped up greatly in the 19th century, being promoted by the partial change among the Khants and Mansi from a subsistence, closed patriarchal economy to commodity-and-money relations.

Even in the 18th century, to judge from the evidence of V. Zuyev, joint families consisting of as many as 30 married couples were still to be found in certain places on the Ob'. In the 19th century the size of the joint family had been reduced to 4 to 6 married couples, and in the 20th century it was down to 2 or 3. A family of this kind consisted of parents, married sons and sometimes married daughters, since cases of matrilineal marriage were not rare among the Khants and Mansi.

The social structure of the Ob' Ugrians at the turn of the 20th century retained principally the traditions of the patrilineal clan. Although

¹ Capital city of the Siberian Khanate under Kuchum. — Ed.



Women's garments (Kazym Khants):

- 1—robe with appliqué in colored fabric; 2—knitted wool stocking, with foot in black fabric; 3—leather shoe embroidered with beads; 4—mitten embroidered with beads.

certain survivals of matriarchal forms did exist, generally speaking, the position of women among the Mansi and Khants was an inferior one up to the Revolution. The girl's consent was not asked for marriage. After she had been selected, the parents of the groom sent matchmakers

or else the groom went himself, accompanied by friends, to the parents of the bride. The matchmaker or a comrade of the groom discussed the size of the bride-price with the girl's parents. The amount of bride-price was large. It was sometimes paid in live reindeer, clothing, or household utensils. The bride's mother played an important part in the negotiations.

Another form of matrimony was marriage by abduction, which naturally was very popular among the young people who had little possessions of their own. A vestigial form of the ancient matrilineal marriage was a system of working in return for the wife, instead of the bride-price, by which the husband entered the wife's house and remained there 3 or 4 years in a fairly inferior position, after which he was allowed to move with his wife to a separate house. However, it often happened, particularly when the wife had no brothers, that he just stayed there in his mother-in-law's house.

Although the Khants and Mansi were formally baptized, they retained their pre-Christian religious beliefs, which constituted a fairly complete set of totemistic ideas. The ancestors of the clans and phratries were thought to have been animals or birds, occasionally plants and even sometimes insects (butterflies).

The veneration covered all the representatives of the given species of animal or plant, since they were in effect "blood relatives." None of the members of the given clan was allowed to kill the totem animal, or if he did it, it was only with observance of certain ceremonies. The ancestor of the "Mosh" phratry was Kaldash, represented in the form of a white female hare or a butterfly. The white birch was its sacred tree. The "Por" phratry traced its descent from a bear. According to certain myths, this bear was the son of the lord of the Upper World, Numi-Toruma, and according to other more archaic myths, it was a she-bear which gave birth to the first woman.

Apart from the phraternal totems, each clan had its own clan totems, which were mainly zoomorphic. The effigies of the ancestors were kept at special places, where sacrifices were periodically offered to them, usually before the hunting season began.

Very typical of the totemistic beliefs of the Ob' Ugrians was the so-called "festival of the bear," which comprised a number of rituals performed after a bear had been killed. The more festive aspect of the ceremony, consisting of dancing, singing and satirical dramatic performances, was retained longest of all among the Ob' Ugrians.

Among the Khants and Mansi, shamanism retained a considerable number of features of family shamanism. The shamans had no special garments except for the hood-type hats. The religion of the Khants and Mansi makes reference to the creation of tribal and national deities, for example, Numi-Toruma — the supreme deity — and his mother.

Socialist Reconstruction²

[Socialist construction in the Khant-Mansi area began at the end of 1919, with the expulsion by local partisans of the remnants of Kolchak's army. For the original methods of Soviet control, see the previous chapter. The collectivization of the native population in the area began in 1929.

²In this and subsequent chapters, the bracketed passages represent an abstract of the original, prepared by the editor. The unbracketed passages were translated verbatim, but in abridged form, by the editor. — Ed.



Pole with bear skulls for a "festival of the bear" of the Khants.

with the formation of a Primary Production Unit consisting of 10 poor Khant and Russian families in the village of Zavodnaya. The collectivization in 1931 amounted to 49% of the population, and in 1932 to 58%. The process of unifying Primary Production Units into collective farms began in 1939. Since the 1930's, fish canneries and fish-processing plants, lumbering operations, oil presses, and a berry-extracting plant have been operating both in Khanty-Mansiysk and in the rayon centers. A plan for settling down the population was worked out by the Okrug Executive Committee in 1936, and the construction of economic centers at convenient points was projected. Since that time, work has proceeded on the building of collective-farm settlements, and the population is in process of becoming settled.]

The basic direction of the Khant and Mansi collective farms at the present time is toward the development and intensification of both the old aboriginal branches of the economy — fishing, hunting, reindeer-herding, berry and cedar-nut gathering — and of new branches: animal husbandry, fur-farming, and agriculture.

Agriculture has taken on considerable importance in the collective farms of the southern rayons of the okrug. Fishing also retains great significance on these collective farms. The fishing industry yields 50% of the gross product of the okrug. By its wealth of fish, the Ob' occupies one of the first places among the great rivers of Siberia, but its valuable natural resources are by no means fully utilized.

New tackle and a mechanized fleet have appeared [in the Soviet period], and work is being done on the improvement and purification

of the fishing grounds. In order to preserve the supply of valuable fish in the Ob' and other waterways, preserves have been set up at several spawning-grounds, and a special set of regulations for fishing has been established. The Surgut and Samarovo motor-fishing stations (MFS) service the fishing collectives with mechanized floating tackle. Today, the collective seines are thrown on the Ob' by cutters and pulled in by special winches. However, old methods of fishing, such as barriers and others, retain their importance.

Hunting comes next in order of importance after fishing in the economy of the Khants and Mansi, and this is also being reorganized at the present time. Hunting is now permitted only during definite periods provided by law.

The acclimatization of new game species has been carried out in the okrug—the muskrat beginning in 1932, and the mink beginning in 1935. The breeding of muskrats is continuing and spreading. Muskrat-hunting now plays a very significant role in the fur deliveries from the region. The muskrat is usually caught with spring traps and metal cylinder-traps.

In 1952, the Tyumenskaya Oblast Hunting Bureau began to carry out work on the raising in the okrug of Barguza sables, brought there from Irkutsk.

The chief game animals in the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug are the squirrel and the muskrat, which account for the major part of all fur deliveries in the okrug, and also Arctic fox, ermine, elk and wild reindeer. More rarely taken are bear, wolverine, otter, wolf, lynx, and others.

In 1951-1952, the hunting grounds were turned over to the collectives. Collective hunting is organized on the territory turned over, and hunting without permission of the administration of the collective is forbidden.

The basic hunting unit is now the collective hunting brigade, to which is entrusted a definite territory within the hunting grounds of the collective. The formation of the brigades and their distribution is carried out by the administration of the collective. The size of the brigades varies, but usually does not exceed 5 or 6 people. Each brigade has its own base—a hunting-hut and tent with stove for spending the night away from the main base of the collective. The hunters are serviced by the collective with supplies and ammunition, and their catch is picked up, so that they do not spend time in trips home or to pickup points.

In 1936, cage breeding of fur-animals was begun in the okrug. Today many national collectives of the okrug have kennels of silver foxes. In 1953, the number of fur-farms in the okrug increased 3 times as compared with 1949, and the total number of animals raised increased by 11 times.

Reindeer-breeding is engaged in by 58 Khant and Mansi collectives in the okrug. About 80% of the total head of reindeer are in Berezovskiy Rayon. From 1941 to 1954, the head of reindeer at the Kalinin collective, Berezovskiy Rayon, increased more than 5 times by reproduction alone. The cash income of this collective from reindeer-herding increased more than 10 times.

With the development of a complex economy in the national collectives, reindeer-breeding has appeared in these collectives of the northern rayons of the okrug (Berezovskiy, Surgutskiy) which previously were occupied chiefly in fishing and hunting. In these collectives, reindeer-breeding for transport has been developed, which assists the development of hunting. Until very recently, the hunters went out on foot, which made it difficult to cover the entire hunting grounds.

Work is being done to improve the breed of reindeer. In 1953, stud herds began to be organized in the collectives of Berezovskiy Rayon.

In 1951, land reclamation work, directed toward the proper distribution of pastures and their expansion, was begun in the Berezovsky and Surgutskiy Rayons. In the near future, new mountain and tundra pastures will be created in these rayons by draining swamps and sowing grass and Iceland moss. With the growth of reindeer-herding, the task of developing a special breed of reindeer-dog has taken on importance. Special kennels of reindeer-dogs were established on some collectives during 1951 and 1952.

The old subsidiary occupations have not lost their importance. The gathering of cedar nuts, berries and mushrooms on the collectives has increased by comparison with past years.



Milkmaids filling milk cans at a kolkhoz of the Berezovskiy Rayon.

Before the Revolution, agriculture was developed only in the southernmost parts of what is now the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. Since the organization of the okrug, agriculture has moved considerably northward, into regions where previously it was not even thinkable.

In 1931, the first machine-tractor station (MTS) was organized in the okrug. In 1952, there were 4 MTS's—in Samarovskiy, Kondinskiy, Mikoyanovskiy and Surgutskiy Rayons. The MTS's service the Ob' Russian, mixed, and national collective farms.

Another new branch of the economy of the Khants and Mansi is animal husbandry. On the national collective farms, which previously had no cattle, dairies have now been established. Many collective-farm members personally own livestock. By comparison with 1931 (the year the okrug was organized), the head of horses, cattle and other livestock had increased 20 times in 1952.

Sheepherding is a completely new matter for many Khants and Mansi. Previously, only the southern Khants kept 2 or 3 sheep per household, which they pastured in the open all the year around. In the northern regions, the sheep was unknown. Now sheepherding is being developed in all rayons of the okrug.

The rich forest masses are of great industrial importance for the economy of the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. Lumbering work is being

mechanized. Under the leadership of Russian forestry specialists, Khants and Mansi are mastering the new technology (electrical saws and so forth), and learning new trades — lumberman, raftsmen, mechanic, and forest technicians.



Decorative Art:

1—birchbark basket, appliqué; 2—birchbark box, openwork; 3—birchbark box, decoration scratched on with a knife; 4—birchbark box, painted; 5—wooden spoon, with hanger in the form of an animal.

1951 saw the transition to a new phase in collective-farm construction in the Ob' North. The process of unification of the small settled and semi-nomadic collectives began in the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. At the

beginning of 1951, the Khant collective "Lenin's Way" (village of Sherkaly) and a Russian collective of the village of Lokhtokurt were united into one cooperative. The combined collective has 106 households. After unification, the economy grew and strengthened. The Khant collective had had no cropland. The Russian collective in 1951 sowed only 20 hectares. In 1952, there were more than 45 hectares in grains and gardens. The herd of livestock also grew. The enlarged collective now has a large dairy, with more than 200 head of cattle, more than 100 horses and about 200 reindeer.



New houses. Village of Tutleym, Berezovskiy Rayon.

In 1951, the Molotov and Kalinin Khant fishing collectives (village of Nyurkoy) were united. The combined Molotov collective is occupied mainly in fishing, and controls an extremely rich fishing ground — a whole system of rivers and lakes. The enlarged collective has also been successful in developing caged fur-farming, field crops and animal husbandry. In 1952, the income from fishing amounted to 4,000,000 rubles, that from fur-farming to 100,000 rubles. The value of the labor-day has increased considerably; in 1952, it was worth 25% more than in 1951.

The village of Sogom, situated on the shore of Lake Sogom, was at one time a remote taiga hamlet, cut off from the world by endless rivers and swamps. In order to reach it from the town of Khanty-Mansiysk, one had to travel overland in winter a distance of 130 kilometers, or 500 kilometers by river in summer. The village of Sogom is now the economic and cultural center of the wealthy enlarged Molotov fishing collective. New houses for the collective members and a number of farm buildings have begun to rise on the banks of Lake Sogom. In 1952, construction was started on an electric power station, a clubhouse, a nursery, and other cultural and service institutions. Connections with the okrug center have been established — overland in winter, by water in summer.



Group of Khant and Mansi students at the A. I. Herzen State Pedagogic Institute.

The daily life of the population has changed unrecognizably. Everywhere in the villages, comfortable and well-built houses have been put up and continue to be put up. Even in the backwoods, one no longer finds the archaic windows with pieces of ice in place of glass.

The Khants and Mansi are in the process of acquiring a new type of dwelling. However, cases are still found where a family lives in the summer, not in a log house, but in a light summer tent put up alongside; or where the internal arrangement of the nomadic dwelling has been transferred in toto into the log house, and there is no furniture in it; or where, during the winter hunting season, the hunter's entire family goes with him to wander in the forest, etc. Much work on the acquisition of the new house, and the introduction of new skills, is being done by the women's divisions organized in 1951 under all Rayon Committees of the Communist Party, and by the women's soviets in collectives and rural soviets. The former division of the house into male and female halves has disappeared. Tables, chairs, stools and beds have become customary. Many houses have electric light.

The Khant and Mansi clothing has also changed; lower underclothing has appeared, and the washing of underclothes and dresses has become habitual. The women's soviets are organizing sewing clubs in the collectives, and the Khant and Mansi women have learned to sew underwear and dresses and to make lace. Summer clothing, particularly for men, is now bought readymade. After World War II, the men returning from the army brought with them a costume of military cut — field shirt and trousers. This has become the commonest male attire.

In the northern regions, the traditional winter clothing has been preserved, especially for the road, since it is excellently adapted to local conditions. The malitsa, the sovik [a hooded parka], fur boots, and so forth have also been adopted by the Russians.



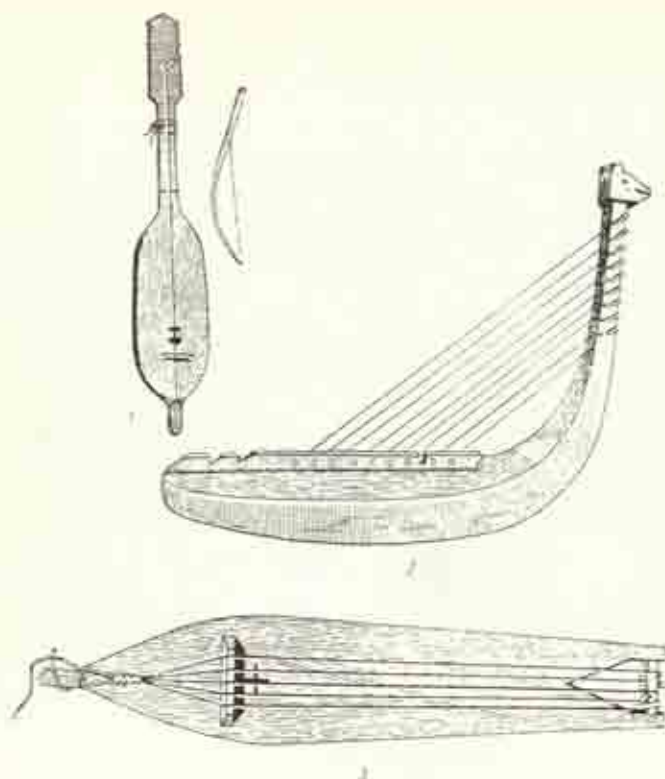
Books in Khant and Mansi.

The women's national dress and bead decoration have been preserved and are customary among the northern (Sosva and Kazym) and eastern (Surgut and Lar'yak) Khants. The young people in these regions, while retaining the old style, use new materials for the clothing; the summer cloak, for example, is now made from beautiful silk cloths. Old-fashioned women's kerchiefs are widely used, but the women have long since given up covering their faces with them at the approach of a male relative.

The summer shoes of suede, which give excellent protection from mosquitoes and gnats, are everywhere preserved. Everywhere, the national costume is kept for festive occasions. Among the women, the custom of wearing several capes on holidays, one on top of the other, has been retained. Previously, only rich Khant women showed off their wealth in this way. Now a woman collective member who owns several beautifully decorated capes uses them in this way to demonstrate her prosperity. At amateur recitals, the participants always appear in costume.

With the growth and development of the complex collective-farm economy, the introduction of dairies and vegetable gardens, the diets of the Khants and Mansi have changed. Vegetables, milk, butter, groats, etc., have become ordinary dishes. Almost every collective farm has its own bakery, where local women often act as bakers.

The position of women has changed markedly. In 1952 and 1953, there were more than 300 women and girls of the local nationalities studying in normal schools, midwife schools, trade and agricultural schools. In 1953, about 200 Khant and Mansi women were elected as deputies to local



Old-fashioned musical instruments:

- 1—Bowed, Mansi; 2—Plucked (swan), Khants; 3—Plucked, Khants.

soviets, 4 as deputies to the oblast soviet; and in the same year, 2 Khant women worked successfully as secretaries of Rayon Committees of the Communist Party.

Until very recently, the treatment of disease was entirely in the hands of shamans. It is true that the shamans and the population used for treatment certain useful grasses and plants, which are also found in the folk medicine of other peoples, such as sarsaparilla root, bilberry leaves, and heather berries (for rheumatism) or bear fat mixed with mother's milk (for skin diseases). But together with these useful preparations, they used others which were harmful. Various magical methods which "prevented" or "drove out" the disease were especially widespread. Thus, peony-root gave "protection" from snakebites. Chips from a bear's tooth promoted the healing of wounds. The musk of the beaver, widely used by the shamans, was regarded as a universal purifying (sanctifying) treatment. Tattooing was also regarded as a medical treatment. If an arm or leg was broken, the clan brand or other signs were made over the break with the jawbone of a pike. If there was pain in one hand, the entire image was drawn on it, and on the other, only a few lines were drawn in the corresponding place.

Qualified medical assistance was almost inaccessible to the Khants and Mansi before the Revolution. In all of Berezhovskiy Uyezd, there were only one hospital and five clinics. In 1952, 33 hospitals and 271 medical points operated in the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. There were also eight outpatient clinics and polyclinics, and 6 sanitary-epidemiological stations. Physicians and intermediate medical personnel not only work at the hospitals but make regular trips, carrying on educational work on the way.



M. Vakhrusheva, a Mansi writer.

Before the Revolution, there were almost no literate persons in the territory of the okrug. In 1923, the People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs requested that a literate Khant be sent to Moscow to work on an agricultural exhibit. The Tobol'skiy Uyezd Executive Committee replied that there was none.

In 1952, more than 3000 Khant and Mansi children were being taught in 72 national boarding schools in the okrug at full state expense. The state appropriation for these schools alone amounted to 12,000,000 rubles. There is also a large system of preschool institutions. In 1952, there were 46 nurseries and nursery schools, for which at that time the state allocated about 2,000,000 rubles. Each large kolkhoz settlement has an elementary school [4 grades], upon completion of which the Khants and Mansi can continue their education in the nearest seven-year or ten-year school.

In the okrug there are a number of schools of various types, in which young Khants and Mansi receive specialized education. The Khanty-Mansi Pedagogical School is especially important. The number of Khants and Mansi studying there in 1951 had grown, by comparison with the year of its foundation (1932), by a factor of 9. During its existence, the school has graduated more than 500 teachers. Of the 50 Khants and Mansi who were studying in Leningrad during 1952 and 1953 (in the Zhdanov State University and the Herzen State Pedagogical Institute), 40 were former students at the school.

The creation of the Khant and Mansi literary languages was of great importance in the transmission of socialist culture to the native populations whose knowledge of Russian was not sufficient. These literary languages serve as the base for primary education, and help in learning Russian. After the Revolution, when the script was developed, educational, political and artistic literature began to be published in Khant and Mansi. The first ABC for the Khant primary school was issued in 1930, and the first in Mansi in 1932. These were in the Latin alphabet, but in 1939-1940 the script for the Khant and Mansi languages were transferred into the Cyrillic alphabet.

Under Soviet conditions, Khant and Mansi folklore has been widely developed: the traditional poetic folklore continues to exist. This consists of myths, mythological tales and songs, heroic epics, fairy-tales, historical traditions, lyrical songs, etc. A great deal of this material has been collected by various students, but its riches are far from being exhausted. Only a small part of the material has been published.

The myths, mythological tales and songs contain cosmogonic material, much of which concerns the origin of the phratries, totemic ancestors and so forth, and thus depicts the early history of Ugrian society. The epics contain songs and tales, the latter being merely spoken versions of the wars with neighboring peoples, the exploits of particular heroes, etc.

A large group of tales consists of the Mansi stories about Ekvapyrishch (probably a somewhat transformed figure of the mythical ancestor of the Mosh phratry). The tales reflect Russian colonization and the appearance of class stratification. Very many are borrowed from the Russians, sometimes being reproduced whole, with only slight reworking. Such tales, despite their having been borrowed long ago and reworked to some extent, are usually called Russian.

Of all the peoples of Northern Siberia, only the Khants and Mansi had stringed instruments. The most common was the sangyltap (Mansi) or naras-yukh, a type of five-string zither. In some places, particularly on the Lozva and the upper Sosva, a one- or two-stringed bowed instrument, the nerne iv, has been preserved. This was apparently common in the past. It is played with a small archer's bow, strung with horsehair. The strings for all these instruments were made from elk sinews. The women's musical instrument was the tumran, a Jew's-harp.

The embroidery of the southern Khants was executed with wool on men's and women's shirts and on men's trousers. As a method of decoration still customary in the 19th century, we should mention tattooing among the Khants. This was executed with the jawbone of a pike, or with a needle, soot being placed in the wound. The tattoos were usually geometrical figures, but pictures of birds were also found.





THE NENTSY

E. D. PROKOF'YEVA

(based on pre-revolutionary data by
G. D. Verbov and G. N. Prokof'ev)

General Information

The Nentsy at the present time are the largest of the Samoyedic-speaking peoples. The name "Nentsy" comes from the word *nenets* meaning "man." This self-designation for the chief groups of European and Siberian Nentsy was adopted after the Revolution as the official name of the whole people. Another Nennish word — *khasava* ("man") — is found among all the Yamal Nentsy, some of the Gydan and, alongside the name "Nenets," among certain other groups. The archaic Nennish name *neney nenets* ("real person") is found predominantly to the east of the Ob', to some extent on its lower reaches, and also on the Yamal.

Before the Revolution the Russians called the Nentsy Samoyeds or Yuraks. The first name was commonly found in the European and Ob' North, and the second in the Yenisey North. Until the 19th century the first name was usually found in the form "Samoyad" or "Samodi" and was extended to cover all the Nentsy as well as the Entsy and Nganasans.

Russian and foreign investigators have offered different explanations for the word "Samoyed." Attempts to connect this ethnonym with the combination "samo-yed" (i.e., one who eats himself), "sam-odin" (i.e., one who lives alone), "semgo-yed" (i.e., one who eats salmon) and so on are completely unscientific. Some scholars have compared the name "Samoyed" with the Lappish (Saami) words "same-yedne" ("land of the Saams"). This is based on the fact that the territory settled by the Nentsy in the north of the European USSR, who were the first to be encountered by the Russians, was in earlier times inhabited by the Lapps (Saams). So far, however, there has been no final explanation for this term.

According to a far-from-complete census taken in 1897, there were 9427 Nentsy, while the 1926-27 census, which covered all the Nennish groups, recorded 16,375.

The territory settled by the Nentsy was very extensive and almost entirely covered the European tundra and forest tundra from the river Mezen' in the west to the left tributaries of the river Pyasina — the Pur and Agapa — to the east in Siberia. Beginning from the 19th century a small number of Nentsy lived in the Kola Peninsula (chiefly in the Levoozerskiy and Ponoy-skiy Rayons in the Murmanskaya Oblast). Small groups of them moved westward from the Mezen' to the Northern Dvina. In the north, the Nentsy settled the coasts of the Barents and Kara Seas, lived on the islands of Kolguyev, Vaygach and Novaya Zemlya, and also visited the islands of

Dolgiy, Belyy, Shokal'skogo, Oleniy and Sibiryakova. In the south some of the Nennish groups moved as far as the middle reaches of the Mezen' where they settled on the southern tributaries of the Tsyl'ma (a tributary of the Pechora). Groups of Nentsy also dwell in the basins of the Poluy and Taz, the tributaries of the Yenisey — the Larger and Smaller Kheta, and also the mouth of the Khantayka down the Yenisey to the Arctic coast. The southern Samoyedic group, the so-called forest Nentsy, mainly nomadized in the basins of the Pur and Nadym, also reaching the northern tributaries of the Vakh.

The principal regions settled by the present-day tundra Nentsy are the following tundras: Kanin (Kanin Peninsula and coastal region of the Cheshskaya Bay as far as the Snopa), Timan (between the rivers Snopa and Vel't), Malozemel'skaya (between the Vel't and the Pechora), Bol'shezemel'skaya (between the Pechora, the Kara and the Usa), the Ural (eastern incline of the Urals, between the rivers Shchuch'ya and Sob'), the Yamal (the Yamal Peninsula), the Maloyamal'skaya (between the Ob' and Taz Bays), the Gydan (between the Ob' Bay and the Yenisey) and some of the Taymyr (from the Yenisey to the rivers Pur and Agapa).

At the present time the great bulk of Nentsy are concentrated in three National Okrugs: the Nennish National Okrug (Arkhangel'skaya Oblast), the Yamal-Nennish (Tyumenskaya Oblast) and the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nennish), Krasnoyarskiy Kray, Kolguyev Island and Novaya Zemlya come directly under the Arkhangel'skaya Oblast Executive Committee. The remaining islands settled by Nentsy are territorially part of the corresponding National Okrugs. The Nentsy have a variety of different peoples as neighbors. On the European territory are the Lapps (Saams), and the Komi; in Siberia they have the Komi, Khants, Sel'kups. Evenks, Dolgans, Ents and Nganasans; in the southern region where the Nentsy are settled their neighbors are almost universally Russian, and in many regions Russian settlements are situated in remote parts of the tundra settled by Nentsy. The territory settled by the Nentsy to the west and east of the Polar Urals is plain country and scattered with lakes. It is only the Northern Urals and the Timan spurs which rise above the tundras. The long drawn-out winter and brief summer, strong winds blowing in the summer from the sea and in winter from the mainland, the universal permafrost (continuous in the extreme northeast and broken in the southern belt) are the general features of the rigorous climate in this region. The forest is only found predominantly in the Pur Basin. The remainder of the Nennish territory is taken up by forest tundra (spruce trees to the west of the Urals and larch trees to the east, interspersed with tundra), and to the north, as far as the seacoast and on the islands, stretch the tundras with extensive patches of brush willow. Various types of bogs are found universally.

The animals hunted are represented by forest fauna (squirrel, chipmunk, fox, brown bear, ermine, elk, etc.) and tundra species (polar fox, and polar bear on the seacoast). In both the tundra and the forest we find the reindeer, wolverine and white partridge. In the summer, masses of geese, duck and other fowl migrate to the tundra. The coastal waters are inhabited by various species of seal, walrus, white whale (the latter especially off Novaya Zemlya and the Ob' Bay), and the fresh waters, the lakes and rivers, are full of various fish of the sturgeon and salmon families.

The tundra Nentsy represent the largest group, and number about 14,000. They live in the tundra and forest-tundra belts and speak the tundra dialect of the Nennish language. An isolated group of forest Nentsy (who call themselves "Neshchang"), known under the name of "Pyan-Khasavo," "Pyad-Khasavo" and "Khandeyars," as mentioned above, populate the taiga zone

making up part of the Purovskiy Rayon of the Yamal-Nennish and the Surgutskiy Rayon of the Khanty-Mansi National Okrugs. According to the census of 1926-27, there were 1129 forest Nentsy. They speak a special dialect of the Nennish language.

Many Nentsy from the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra (the Nennish Okrug) and the northern rayons of the Komi ASSR (the Izhemskiy, Pechorskiy and Ust'-Tsyemskiy Rayons) have been greatly influenced by the Izhma Komi. The settled Nentsy from the village of Kolva (in the south of the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra) and a number of settlements on the rivers Izhma, Pechora, Kolva, Usa and Adz'va speak the Izhma dialect of the Komi language and lead a way of life close to that of the Izhma Komi. Their neighbors, the nomadic Nentsy, also speak this dialect. These Nentsy used to call themselves "Yaran" (in the plural "Yaran'yas"), that is to say, the same word used by the Komi for the Nentsy. As distinct from themselves, they used to call those Nentsy who had retained their language the "Vynen'tsi" (from the Nennish word "vy'nenetsya" or "tundra Nentsy").

We should also mention a group of Nentsy living on the lower reaches of the Ob', on the Little Yamal, on the lower reaches of the Taz and to some extent on the Great Yamal and in the Gydan tundra. This group is known to the other Nentsy as "Khabi." This is the name used for the Nentsy by all other tribes as a whole, and by the Khants, in particular. The Khabi are the descendants of the Lower Ob' Khants, who mixed with the Nentsy and lost their native language, and most of the national facets of their culture. They also call themselves "Khabi."

As mentioned above, the Nennish language belongs to the Samoyedic group. Like all Samoyedic languages, it possesses the feature of agglutination. Furthermore, the language has elements of inflection expressed in the alternation of the root vowels. The vocabulary of the Nennish language reflects the ancient interconnection between the Samoyedic and Turkic languages and the languages of the pre-Samoyedic population. Individual subdialects reflect contact with the language of the Komi. In the past few years, a great influence of Russian has been felt. However, it should be noted that the Nennish vocabulary has had little study. Two basic dialects are distinguishable in Nennish—the tundra dialect and the forest dialect, each of which divides into a number of subdialects. The basic divergences between the dialects relate to phonetics. There are also some differences in vocabulary and morphology. The lexical divergence between the dialects of the tundra and forest Nentsy consists in the fact that the dialect of the latter contains many Sel'kup and Khant inclusions. A number of elements in the speech of the forest Nentsy connect it with that of the Entsya and Nganasans. The tundra dialect divides into western (Kanin and Malaya Zemlya) and eastern (Bol'shaya Zemlya, Yamal and Taz) subdialects. But the differences between these are very small, and do not affect mutual intelligibility between various groups of tundra Nentsy.

Historical Survey

The Samoyedic languages evolved in the region of the Sayan Uplands. Only 150-200 years ago the Samoyedic languages were spoken in the Sayans by the Mators (Koybals), Kamasins, Karagasy (Tofalars) and others. As a result of the prolonged effect of the Turkic-speaking peoples, these tribes adopted a Turkic language and it was only the Kamasins who in 1921-1925 retained a Samoyedic language. The assumption that the Nentsy, Entsya, Nganasans and Sel'kups were related to the above-mentioned Sayan tribes

was put forward back in the 18th century. In the middle of the 19th century the well-known explorer M. A. Kastren put forward the hypothesis, on the basis of study of linguistic and ethnographic material on the northern Samoyedic and Sayan-Alтай groups, that the Samoyedic groups were of Sayan extraction. The Soviet ethnographer and linguist G. N. Prokof'yev reaffirmed Kastren's hypothesis in a number of works, having compared the languages, material culture and ethnonyms of the different Sayan groups.

An important point in attempting to solve the problem of the origin of the northern Samoyedic groups is reindeer-breeding. Although very early chronicles speak of Samoyedic reindeer-breeders who harnessed their reindeer, certain groups of Samoyeds (Pyan-Khasavo and Sel'kups) evidently reared reindeer for carrying packs and riding—a system which was the forerunner of the present-day sleigh-type transportation. The language of both groups has retained a special term denoting a saddle. Explorers in the middle of the 19th century still found the packsaddle among the southern Samoyedic groups. This brings the southern Samoyedic groups closer to the Tuvan reindeer-breeders of Todzha and to the Tofalars, still found in the Sayans. It may be considered that reindeer-breeding was known to the Samoyeds before they resettled in the north, where it developed later into a tundra type of reindeer-breeding characteristic of the present-day Nentsy. At the same time in the not too distant past the material culture and language of the Samoyedic peoples was observed to contain features lacking among the Sayan groups. These specific features characteristic of the population of the polar zone, in particular the ancient marine hunters, probably appeared among the present-day Samoyedic peoples through the mixing of their Sayan ancestors with the ancient settlers of the polar zone whom they found when they arrived there. The Eskimo, Chukchi and Koryak languages contain words coinciding with the corresponding terms in present-day Nennish and relating exactly to the section of the vocabulary which describes phenomena found only in the polar zone. For example, in Nennish, "seal" is *nyak*, and in Eskimo, *ne-sak*; the Arctic partridge is called *khabevko* in Nennish and *khabev* in Chukchi; the front of the *malitsa* below the hood is called *lukhu* in Nennish; in Nganasan, clothing without openings is called *lu*, and in Koryak *lkhu* (*l'ku*)—the root of the word denoting any kind of clothing.

These and other comparisons suggest that the present-day northeastern paleo-Asiatic peoples also associated with the pre-Samoyedic population of northwest Siberia. The remnants of dugouts found there accord with data from Nennish folklore mentioning the underground dwellings of some aborigines. [For early history of Russian-Samoyed contact see pp. 115-116].

The institution of new governing bodies—native administrations and elders—brought about a further decline in the status of the Nennish masses. The elders were usually well-to-do Nentsy and the rights granted to them, such as collecting the tax, certain judicial functions and so on, worsened the exploitation of the working Nentsy and strengthened the property inequality. In the first quarter of the 19th century, Christianity began to be imposed on the Nentsy. A special "Church Mission for Conversion of the Samoyeds to Christianity" was established in 1824 for this purpose among the Nentsy of the Arkhangel'skaya Guberniya. The Nentsy were baptized a family at a time. Images of spirits were burnt by hundreds at sacred spots. It was also prescribed that "all those who, having accepted the Christian faith, continued to worship idols, would have all the idols taken away by police."

This caused even greater disgust among the Nentsy at the actions of the tsarist government.

In retaliation [for exploitation by Russian merchants] there were organized uprisings both against the representatives of the tsarist authorities and against the exploiting Nennish hierarchy.

In the 1870's the tsarist government began resettling the Nentsy on Novaya Zemlya. This colonization was undertaken in order to put an end to the Norwegian claim to the island, rich in natural resources, which had long belonged to Russia.

In the second half of the 19th century, commercial exploitation of the Nentsy was considerably stepped up. In addition to the single traders buying up furs, representatives of the major firms in Archangel, Cherdyn', Tobol'sk and Krasnoyarsk began arriving in the tundra. In addition to the minor itinerant commerce, which usually took the form of barter, there was now large-scale trade with a developed network of shops and a river fleet. Capital began to be invested in fishing and fisheries were set up; trade relations were considerably intensified as a result. In the western parts (Kanin and Malozemel'skaya tundras), where the commercial value of hunting and reindeer-breeding had been infinitely greater, there were now elements of capitalist relations. All this furthered exploitation of the working Nentsy and an increased number of households without reindeer. Many of the herds passed into the hands of the Russian, Izhma and Nennish wealthy in certain regions. In 1895, Russian and Izhma owners in the Pechorskiy Uyezd owned 229,365 head of livestock, while the rest of the Nennish population only owned 46,950. This redistribution of the reindeer was accompanied by the seizure of pastures which had once been communal property. The impoverishment of the tundra Nentsy continued right up to the Revolution.

Basic Occupation

In the past the Nentsy engaged in reindeer-breeding, fishing and hunting (on land and at sea). Characteristic features of tundra Nennish reindeer-breeding were pasturing of reindeer all year around under the supervision of herdsmen, herding the reindeer by means of herd-dogs and the exclusive use of reindeer-drawn sleighs. Long-distance seasonal migration was typical of the tundra form of reindeer-breeding. In winter the herds were grazed in the forests, in the forest-tundra or in the scrub-type tundra where the snow was softer, and the reindeer could find food without difficulty. Nor was there any lack of fuel, so essential during the cold months, in those parts. In the spring the Nentsy began migrating back to the north and on the way sometimes went as far as the Arctic coast; the ever-present winds drove off the mosquitoes that pestered the animals and there were also good fishing waters there. In the fall they began to return. In certain parts (northern Yamal; Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra) the households with fewer reindeer remained in the tundra the whole year round, only making short trips.

The reindeer-breeding of the Nentsy inhabiting the more southerly regions (the Pesha, Mezen' and other river basins) and of the forest Nentsy from the Pur show traces of normal forest reindeer-breeding. The small herds were always grazed in the forest and the winter nomadizing grounds were only 40 to 60, or occasionally 100 km from the summer ones. The tundra reindeer-breeders regularly acquired reindeer bred by the forest Nentsy, since they were larger.

The Nennish reindeer-breeder divided his working year into a winter and summer season. When selecting a spot for the winter camps he attributed

great importance to an abundance of Iceland moss and wildfowl in the part of the forest or forest-tundra in question. The winter tent was left in one spot for two weeks or sometimes more. The herders made the rounds of the herd each day, covering a huge circle in the process; if they noted that a reindeer had moved outside the circle, they drove it back with the help of the dogs. When the moss in one place had been eaten up, the herd was driven to another spot, but the tent was left at its former site and only moved when the new tundra appeared to be too far away. A great disaster for the herders in the winter was deep snow and ice-crust formed during frost following a thaw. The reindeer were unable to dig down to the moss and perished in large numbers from malnutrition.

The households with fewer reindeer usually spent the summer near rivers or lakes where they were able to fish; they gave over their reindeer for the summer to herders driving their herds to the north. In the winter the reindeer-breeders castrated the animals while on the way to the winter pastures. To catch them, so as to harness or slaughter them, the Nentsy constructed a corral of sleds; the wild animals were caught with lassoes woven from reindeer hide.

Reindeer-breeding provided the Nentsy with meat, lard, and blood for food, skins for making clothes and footwear, and for covering winter tents; leather for making lassoes, summer footwear, harnessing and so on; tendons for making thread and weaving strings; and horn for various uses. A herd of 70 to 100 reindeer provided the household with everything it needed.

An important part of the Nennish economy was fishing, particularly on the lower reaches of the Ob', Nadym, Pur, Taz, and Yenisey. Among the forest Nentsy on the lower reaches of the rivers Pur and Nadym, fishing was the main occupation. The chief types of fish caught were the sturgeon, whitefish, salmon, to some extent the ide and the navaga. The fish were caught with different types of nets and barriers. A seine 80-100 m long was used universally, and three or four men could handle it without difficulty. Use was also made of nets set across rivers. These were used as well at the beginning of winter for fishing under the ice. Small rivers were dammed with fences made of poles sunk into the riverbed. Traps woven from branches were set up in between gaps in the poles. This form of fishing was also practiced in the winter. In the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra at the Kar Rapids it was common to catch trout with a spear. According to legend it was customary in the old days to catch fish with the bow and arrow.

At one time wild-reindeer hunting had been one of the most important occupations of the Nentsy. This is confirmed by many Nennish legends and by the word used to denote a wild reindeer—*ilbets'* (that is to say, "means of subsistence"), which has come down to the present day. With the development of reindeer-breeding and also with the smaller number of wild reindeer in the tundra, the importance of wild-reindeer hunting declined considerably. The chief game, apart from the wild reindeer, used to be the silver fox, ordinary fox, hare and ermine. The Nentsy occasionally hunted the wolverine, the beaver, otter, wolf, and polar and brown bear. Hunting, particularly squirrel hunting, was of great importance for the forest Nentsy in the upper reaches of the Pur, and Nadym.

It was customary to hunt the wild reindeer by chasing it into an ambush or else by stealthily approaching within shooting distance on a reindeer-drawn sled. In this case it was tracked in a straight line, whereas a frightened reindeer moves in zigzags. According to legend, the Nentsy used to hunt reindeer by means of a trained decoy reindeer. Leather loops were attached to the horns of the decoy and it was sent into the herd of wild animals. Whenever a wild reindeer began fighting with the decoy, it

entangled its horns in the loops and was then easy game for the hunters, who shot it. Other animals were caught with booby traps (self-firing bows), snares (wooden crushing traps) and, after the Russians arrived, with iron springtraps.

The Nentsy did not have firearms until the 18th century. Right up to the Revolution, flintlock muskets were still found here and there and percussion cap guns were found almost universally. Until the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries the hunting weapon was a bow made of several pieces joined together and about 1.5 to 2 m long. The feathered arrows were fitted with bone or iron tips of various kinds (bifurcated for birds, faceted for larger animals, and blunt for squirrel).

The hunting of sea-animals was commonly found along the coast and at mouths of large rivers among the western Nennish groups. The principal game was seal and bearded seal and next came the white whale, Greenland seal and walrus. By the 19th century guns were chiefly used for this purpose. The hunter crawled over to the animal lying on the ice with mobile cover—an elongated shield on two runners. Another method used was to catch seals with iron hooks hung inside airholes made by the animals in the ice. The hooks did not stop the animal from coming out onto the ice, but prevented it from trying to dive back into the water. At the present time these hooks are chiefly used to catch wounded animals. In the old days seals were only harpooned. Information available on the spread of sea-animal hunting among the western Nentsy in the past matches the facts given above on the ancient aboriginal sea hunters. During assimilation of these tribes, the Nentsy evidently borrowed from these hunters the techniques of hunting sea-animals.

Aquatic birds such as geese and ducks were shot with bows and arrows (and later on with guns), and during the moulting period were trapped in special pens. For this purpose several pegs were dug into the ground at a preselected spot on the low shore and spread with nets in such a way that they formed a fairly large ring with an opening facing upstream. This circular enclosure served to catch geese. Two net wings, stretched perpendicular to the bank, connected the enclosure to the bank and stretched a little way across the river. The hunters cautiously drove the geese downriver, chased them into the enclosure and there killed them. Hunting in this way enabled three or four men to catch from 1500 to 2000 geese every few days. This predatory method of hunting has now been forbidden. The white partridge was caught with nooses or nets, into which they were driven against the wind during a snowstorm.

Means of Transportation

The basic means of transportation for the Nentsy was the harnessed reindeer. The sled (khan) was made of spruce or birch. The sleds used by all the Samoyedic peoples have the same characteristic design and are very different from those used by the reindeer-breeders of the Far East—Chukchi and Koryaks. They consist of a pair of upward-bent runners on top of which a ribbed frame is set by means of 2–6 pairs of slanting staves and joined by crosspieces; a framework of laths is attached, the front ends of which are inserted in the ends of the runners; the passenger sled has a plank seat, a back, and higher staves than in the pack sled. There were two types of passenger sled, one for men and one for women. The women's sled was larger in size, since it was used by mothers with small children. The passenger sled was drawn by 2–6 reindeer harnessed like a fan. The first one on the left was a specially trained leader. The rider sat on the



Reindeer crossing Yugorskiy strait from Vaygach Island in the fall.

left and controlled the team with a thin wooden stick (tyur) and one rein attached to the halters of the far left-hand (or lead) reindeer. Controlling the rein from the left is typical of all Samoyedic peoples.

The pack sled intended for carrying goods of different kinds was of several types differing in size, design and purpose. These sleds were usually drawn by two reindeer attached by the neck to the back of the lead sled. In this way several pack sleds formed a train (argish) at the head of which was a passenger sled. All types of sleds were used the whole year around.

On Novaya Zemlya, and to some extent on Vaygach as well, dogs were used to draw sleds. From 3 to 12 dogs were harnessed in a fan to the smaller reindeer-type sleds. The Nentsy adopted from the Russians the system of breeding dogs for transportation.

Skis of two types were used for moving over deep snow (chiefly in the forest-tundra and taiga: 1) skis with a skin underlay, and 2) skis without any fur underlay.

In the summer, boats of different types were used for fishing, sea-hunting and general traveling: these were large boats made from planks, usually acquired from the Russians, and canoes of various kinds hollowed out from ash or cedar trunks. The use of the sail (usually a square sail) was only found on the islands, along the coast and on the lower reaches of larger rivers.

Dwellings

The principal type of old Nennish dwelling was the conical tent (mya). It was constructed from 30-50 poles (depending on its size) covered in winter with two layers of reindeer-skin sections with clipped fur. The inner layer was put with the fur inside and the outer layer with the fur outside. In the

summer the tent was sometimes covered with sections of boiled birchbark sewn together.

The hearth was in the middle of the tent on an iron sheet. Across the tent at a height of about 1.5 m, two poles were suspended horizontally. The ends of them were inserted in loops on the poles on both sides of the entrance, while the opposite ends were inserted in a loop attached to a special vertical pole (*simzy*). Short crosspieces were laid on the horizontal poles and pots and teapots were suspended from them on hooks by their handles. On either side of the hearth there were from 1 to 4 planks on the ground as a floor. The space on either side of the hearth, on the left and right of the entrance, made up the living area proper and the sleeping area. Mats made from willow branches were spread on the floor and other mats woven from dry grass were placed on top. On top of the mats the Nentsy put reindeer skins. As bedding they used complete winter reindeer skins. The part of the tent opposite the door was considered the "clean" area. It was used for keeping the sacred objects, vessels and certain foods. The tent varied in size. Richer households set up large tents, parts of which they were continually renewing. In the summer these households hardly ever used fur coverings, as the poor people often had to do since they had no chance, as opposed to the rich, of bartering from the taiga population the birchbark required for summer coverings.

The poor people usually lived in small, cramped tents with fur coverings almost threadbare from constant use. Sometimes there was no plank floor in a poor person's tent. For years on end the broken poles were not replaced by new ones. The top of the fur covering with holes burnt by sparks waited a long time for repairs through lack of skins. There were poor people who only had half a tent, i.e., one pair of coverings and a few poles. Two or three households of this kind usually united and made one common tent from the bits they possessed. Finally, there were also those who became servants because they had no dwelling at all.

The tent was taken along during migrations. It was only in the taiga, for example, among the forest Nentsy, where material for the poles could be found just anywhere, that the framework of the tent was left at the campsite, and it was not necessary to take along an extra load. The tent was set up and pulled down by the women, with the men only helping in bad weather (storms, rain and so on).

In the same parts, in the forest-tundra and taiga, and sometimes in the tundra as well (Kanin Peninsula), barns made of logs or slats were set up on high piles on normal nomadizing routes. The Nentsy left their winter hunting gear, fur clothing, furs and foodstuffs in them for short periods.

At the winter and summer camps they built wooden platforms on high posts (*pare*) on which they stored stocks of meat, fish, harnessing, and so on.

Most of the households nomadized separately, and their tents were set up singly, or sometimes in twos or threes. It was only at the fishing grounds that 7-10 or even 20 tents were set up together in the summer. In the summer, on account of the abundance of mosquitoes, larger herds were easier to pasture, hence the reindeer-breeders joined together in groups of 2 or 3 or sometimes 4 households and set up their tents side by side. During the calving period and during the autumn migration to the forest the tents were set up singly. The richer reindeer-breeders, who had herds containing from 2000 to 5000 or even 10,000 head of reindeer, set up large camps consisting of the master's tent and those of his wives and workers. Sometimes one such owner had several camps (one camp for each herd).



Trap for wolverines.

In the taiga and forest-tundra, dead branches and wood were used as fuel, and in the tundra, driftwood or scrub (scrub willow, scrub birch or scrub alder). In spots where even scrub was rare (in the northern Yamal, for example), black moss (a type of lichen) was used as fuel.

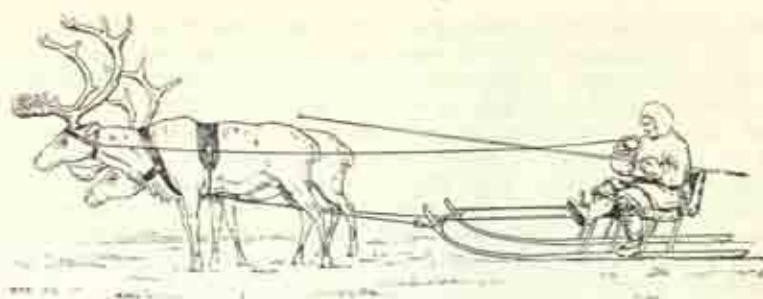
The tent was lit with tallow lamps, deer-fat candles, frozen in molds made from deer-gut; lamps without glass and bought candles among wealthier people; and sometimes merely by the light of the fire in the hearth. Food was eaten while sitting on the floor with the legs crossed, at a low table. It was only on Novaya Zemlya and in the northern regions of the present-day Komi Republic that the settled Nentsy began living in log huts from the middle of the 19th century.

When fishing and hunting, they would sometimes use, as a temporary dwelling, upturned boats—shields against the wind (*khangg*)—and dugouts (*ya'khard*, *ya'mya*) covered with fur branches and turf.

Food

The staple diet of the Nentsy was domestic reindeer, which comprised 85% of the whole diet, and among those possessing few reindeer it was fish, which was usually eaten raw (fresh and frozen), sometimes boiled. The fish was sometimes dried as well. On account of the permanent lack of salt, fish was rarely salted and preserved, and did not, therefore, keep very well. A common dish was fat boiled down from the inside of the fish and mixed with roe, pieces of fish or berries; seal-fat (melted) and deer-fat were also eaten. The meat was usually boiled (but not broiled). It was sometimes eaten raw (fresh or frozen). Meat was preserved by smoking it. Apart from venison and fowl, polar-fox meat and seal meat were sometimes eaten. Berries (cloudberry, blueberry and blackberry), and other vegetation such as angelica, were eaten.

Bread, which became universally adopted by the Nentsy after the arrival of the Russians, was eaten in small quantities and then only by the wealthy.



Reindeer harness and types of reindeer sledges:

1—reindeer harness and driver; 2—light men's sledge; 3—light women's sledge; 4—freight-carrying sledge; 5—sledge for transporting timber; 6—sledge for transporting tent poles; 7—herdsman with lasso for catching reindeer.

Food was usually eaten 3 times a day. In the morning and afternoon they drank tea with bread and fat, and in the evening, after the tea, they ate meat or fish bouillon and boiled meat or fish. From the age of 2, children were given the same food as adults. During the transition period after suckling, boiled meat and boiled brain were chewed.

Clothing

The Nemish clothing consisted of the malitsa and sovik for men, the yagushka for women, and the national fur boots—pimy.

The malitsa is a long closed garment made of deerskin with the fur inside, with an attached hood and sleeves. In the Kanin and Timan tundras, a malitsa with a high, round collar is common. The malitsa does not have a hood, but instead has a high hat made of deer fur with a round base sewn on and with short earflaps. Over the malitsa they usually wear a garment made of a thick material, sometimes cloth, to prevent the flesh side becoming damp and dirty. Until quite recently many men had no shirts and wore nothing under the malitsa. The trousers, which reached to the middle of the calf, used to be made from suede. In the second half of the 19th century it became common to buy trousers made of cloth and these almost completely ousted the skin ones.

In extreme cold and during the snowfall the sovik, known to the Russians as the "goose," was worn on top of the malitsa. This was slightly different in cut from the malitsa and made with fur outside. It also had an attached hood, but no sleeves; among the Yenisey and sometimes the European Nentsy the sovik was made with a hood.

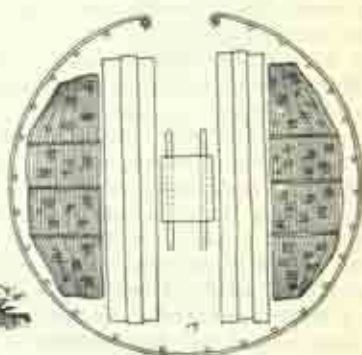
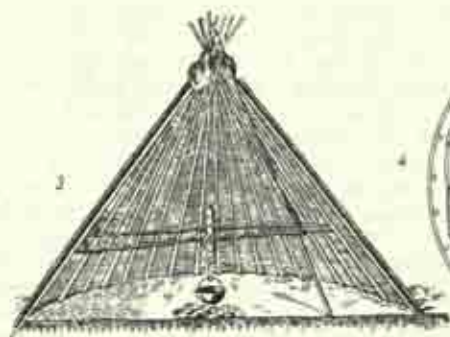
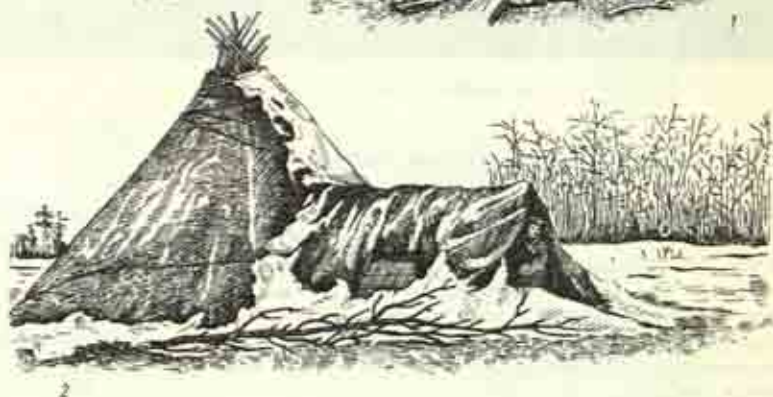
Fur boots were used as footwear (piva); these were high fur boots made of skin, with soles made of "brushes" (the skin between the large and small hoof of the reindeer), and less often from skin taken from the deer's forehead. Inside these boots they put linings of dry grass. The boots were worn with a fur stocking, known to the Russians as "chizhi" tyazhi or lipty. Women's footwear only differed from men's in the details of the style. In winter and in autumn, men wore boots made of sealskin or ordinary ones, until worn out, and also suede boots with a fur sole (tanggad). During this season, the clothing consisted of old, worn malitsas and cloth soviks. There was no special summer clothing.

Women's clothing—the panitsa or yagushka (pany)—was made of deer fur in the form of a double open coat, with fur both inside and outside, with a low collar made of deer or polar-fox fur and sewn-on mittens, as in the case of the malitsa. In extreme cold, a fur hood was used as the headgear. Tinkling metal (copper) plates and beads were attached to the hood. In summer the women wore an old panitsa or a garment similarly cut from cloth.

The clothing for children up to 3 or 4 years of age consisted of fur overalls (with the fur inside), parkas (garments of the same cut as the malitsa but double, with fur inside and outside) and fur boots, little different from the stockings of the grownups. From the age of 5 or 6 the children began wearing normal clothing, hardly differing at all from adult garments. Infants were laid in wooden cradles and covered with a fur blanket. All the fur clothing (and sometimes the cloth clothing) was sewn with thread woven from the dorsal and leg tendons of the reindeer. Among the rich the malitsas were made of deerskin carefully selected according to color, often with an otter-fur hood. The women's panitsas had a trimming of fox or otter fur, and the collars were made of foxtails.

The festive clothing was distinct from everyday clothing in the abundance of embellishments and fur appliqué (among women) and colors (white or black soviks among the men, boots made of vivid-colored skin and so on). Clothing, particularly women's, was embellished by the insertion of wide horizontal and vertical strips of colored fur, white and black fur appliqué and occasionally strips of colored cloth, one end of which was sewn onto the clothing (for example, to the sovik). Bought metal adornments were common (bronze patterned plates, bells, etc.) and types of beads.

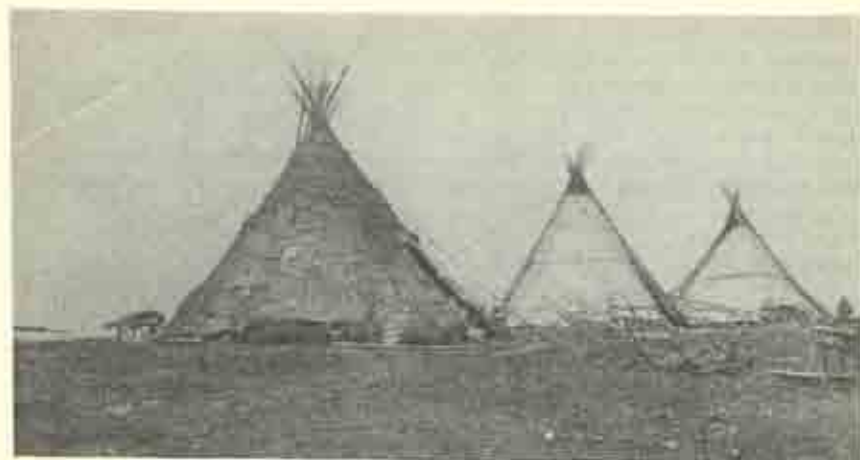
The men usually cropped their hair in a circle, and sometimes grew and interwove two pigtails. The women parted their hair in the middle and wore it in two braids, sometimes lengthened with false braids made of strips



Dwellings:

- 1—tent; 2—tent with "amex"; 3—cross section of a tent; 4—
floor plan of a tent.

of colored cloth and woolen strings with jingling copper ornaments attached to them. Among the women it was common to find an ornamentation for the forehead, called a sudyr, which was embroidered with pearls and had metal chains suspended from it.



General view of a camp.

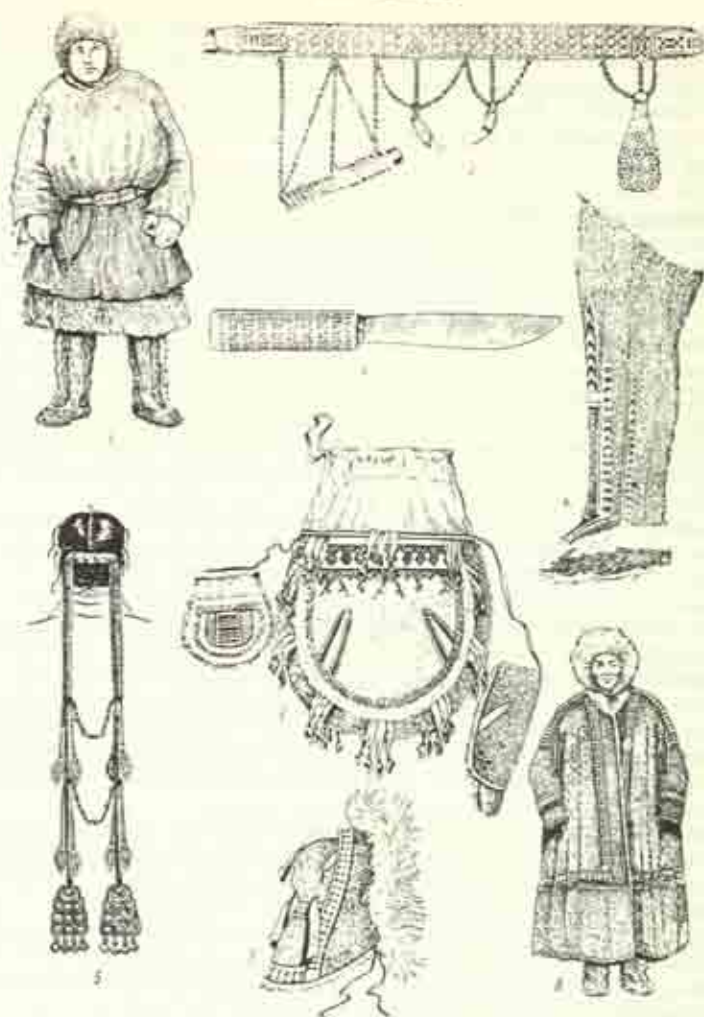
Social and Family Relations and Religion

At the time of the October Revolution, the Nentsy, chiefly the Siberian Nentsy, had retained numerous traces of the clan structure. The clan (*yerkar*) was patrilineal, i.e., it consisted of a group of blood relatives on the male side. The clan group possessed a particular area of territory consisting of winter and summer reindeer pastures and various hunting and fishing grounds. It was only the summer fisheries located at the sites of the summer camps which were possessed by individual households on a separate basis.

The clan had its own cemetery where kinsmen were buried. In the case of a death on a foreign territory, for example during migration, attempts were made to carry the body of the dead man to his own clan territory and bury him in the clan cemetery. Each clan had its own sacrificial sites.

Marriage was strictly exogamous. The clans were united into phratries; marriages were not concluded within the phratries. The number of clans varied, since as the Nentsy settled over an enormous amount of territory, the basic clan groups, at first small, were continually splitting up into fragments. According to Nenniah legend, the Obdor Nentsy first had two clans called the Kharyuchi and Vanuyta. Through a split, each of them divided into several dozen groups. These groups occupied certain territories and formed new clans, which, however, continued to relate their origin to the original two progenitors. By the beginning of the 20th century there were reckoned to be as many as 100 such groups. Infringements of the laws within the clan (murder of a kinsman, theft, refusal to assist needy kinsmen or the violation of the exogamic law) were extremely rare. But relations between clans, and later even between individual groups of common origin within a clan, were often hostile. There was clan vendetta, but it only concerned the men.

Collective labor was extensively used for production. At the beginning of the 20th century several neighboring camps consisting of different clans would gather together for collective hunting. But traces of the recognition of the private ownership by the clan of certain territory showed up in many ways. For example, at spots where reindeer were slain, it was considered



Garments and ornaments:

- 1—men's winter garment; 2—men's belt; 3—men's knife; 4—men's winter footwear; 5—women's switches with ornaments; 6—women's purae for serving implements; 7—women's head dress; 8—women's winter garment.

that the members of the clan to which the territory had at one time belonged were automatically the owners. Representatives of other clans could take part in collective hunting, but they were considered to be "guests." However, the status of "guest" did not in any way affect the distribution of the game. The hunting of fowl, the setting up of traps and catching fish by this method, the pasturing of reindeer at certain seasons, were conducted on a joint basis. The catches from joint hunting and fishing were divided equally among those taking part. This form of distribution bore certain traces of the primitive-communal structure: the catch was not only distributed among

those who had been instrumental in getting it, but also among those who had not taken any part personally; the old people, orphans and the sick received a share. Among the forms of mutual assistance was the universal custom of hospitality. Apart from clan territory, collective ownership also covered certain means of production—snares, wooden "sewn" boats for fishing, and so on.

All these customary-legal relationships were retained among the Nentsy by the beginning of the 20th century as survivals of clan structure. Sources going back almost two centuries refer to the sharp economic inequality of the Nentsy. The most important basis for this inequality was the possession of the fundamental means of production—reindeer. In the 17th and 18th centuries, we already have a clearly marked group of richer people with many reindeer, on the one hand, and poorer people possessing, at best, several dozen reindeer, on the other. By the end of the 19th century, 82.8% of the Bol'shaya Zemlya Nennish households possessed only 24.6% of the total head of reindeer (the size of individual herds ranged from 3 or 4 to 100), while 17.2% of the households possessed herds ranging from 100 to several thousand and making up, in the final analysis, 75.4% of the total number of reindeer.

The process of property differentiation was intensified and speeded up through the infiltration of commodity relations into the tundra. The objects of barter, which had at some time previously arisen among the Nentsy through social division of labor among reindeer-breeders, trappers and fishermen, were reindeer and reindeer products (meat and skin), fish, products of sea hunting, (sealskins, walrus tusks, bearded-seal skin straps) and an assortment of other things (sleds, poles, birchbark and so on).

As time went on, the process began to include the exchange of hunting and fishing products (furs, fish and deerskin) for imported goods (metal objects, cloth and bread). Money began to circulate, although to a very limited extent. The commercial significance of the Nennish economy became stronger.

The economic inequality, which began to show up more and more clearly, led to division into classes. While originally it was only orphans and people from other parts (prisoners) who became economically dependent, later on there were both the exploited and the exploiters within each clan.

Around practically every rich household there arose a group of poor people who carried out various jobs for the owner; they pastured his herds and trapped animals for him and received venison from him on credit, thereby becoming economically enslaved.

The different survivals of the primitive-communal relations were skilfully used by the rich people to disguise their exploitation of the reindeer-breeders dependent upon them. Joint pasturing of the reindeer (so-called *parma*), which had once been an extremely common form of collective labor, became a screen for the most shameless exploitation as soon as the thousands-strong herds of the rich were combined with the few dozen belonging to the poor. Similar relations were established in the sphere of land use with officially retained joint ownership of the land by the clan. The rich people who had means of transportation (reindeer) and therefore were able to deliver materials required for the snares to the tundra, as well as manpower to set them up and inspect them, organized rows of traps and snares up to 50 or even 100 km in length. By taking over the extensive grounds, they even deprived the poor people of the meager share of game which they could hope to catch in their small traps.

The various types of exploitation in the Nennish reindeer-breeding economy can be reduced to the following:

1. The hiring of laborers to pasture the herds; this grew out of exploitation of the labor of small-scale reindeer-breeders and Nentsy without any reindeer, who were formally independent but were actually dependent on the large breeders.

2. During the autumn slaughter of reindeer, the poor people were able to buy meat and skins on credit (for which they paid in the winter or autumn of the next year), furs, fish products and so on.

3. The rich people handed over unbroken reindeer for temporary use on condition they were returned broken in for driving; a special fee was sometimes extorted for use of the reindeer in addition to this.

The exploitation of the poor was not confined to reindeer-breeding. The rich people sent their laborers trapping and fishing, and all the catch was the property of the owner.

The development of a fishing industry in the 19th century in the regions settled by the Nentsy considerably stepped up the commercial value of Nennish fishing and speeded up the decline of the subsistence economy. Hundreds of Nennish households were ruined and became economically enslaved. The fishing grounds (sands), which at one time had been clan property and later on had been inherited by individual families, were hired out to Russian tradesmen. The catch was made by the Nentsy who obtained all the necessary equipment and food, including bread, from the Russian trader. In return for this advance, the trader received half the catch and bought the other half at a reduced price. The rent for fishing grounds (300-500 rubles per season) in 1900 was only paid by the traders to the head of the family, who had the right to use the sands. In this way, the households received a clearly unearned income. This system was an evasion and a virtual violation of the communal ownership of the grounds, although it officially still existed.

The Nennish families varied in size. Some contained 10 to 15 or more people in one household with one head. Patriarchal relations involving a number of rites and taboos of a religious nature with regard to women were predominant. For example, a woman (wife or daughter) had no right to inheritance; the property passed to the sons and brothers. Separation at the wish of the wife was made difficult, although for men it was made easy. There was also polygamy. There were some Nentsy who had 2, 3 or even 4 wives; in most cases these were rich men who could pay quite a large amount of money for each wife, Kalym, or bride-price (at one stage this was evidently paid to the clan and not to the prospective father-in-law), consisted of from 5 to 200 reindeer, fox and polar-fox skins, and so on. In her turn, the bride brought a dowry of domestic utensils, sleds, clothing and reindeer. Reindeer received as part of the dowry, just as their offspring, were considered the property of the wife and in a case of divorce or death of the husband remained with her.

A survival of the ancient form of marriage among the Nentsy was the practice of compulsory work in return for a wife (instead of bride-price) and, very occasionally, abduction. The custom of levirate was very common, and under conditions of the patrilineal clan, the interests of which it served completely, was retained until the recent past.

The system of kinship among the Nentsy is classificatory, using one term to designate a whole group of people related to each other in different ways. For example, the group designated by the word *nyaka* (mi), meaning "my elder brother," contains not only the elder sons of ego's father, but also the father's younger brothers, i.e., persons of the elder generation from ego's point of view; conversely, ego calls his father's elder brothers by the same name, *irimi*, meaning "my grandfather," as his father's father,

thereby assigning ego's father's brother to the category of grandfathers, and so on.

The terminology of Nennish kinship contains certain features which go back to the distant era of group marriage. For example, ego calls his brother's children his own children; expressions have been retained in which the words "father" and "mother" are used in the plural. The so-called cross-cousin marriage was widely used. This was marriage with the daughter of one's father's sister, but not with the daughter of one's mother's sister. This resulted from the strong exogamic rules and the nature of inheritance.

The permanent obligations of the Nennish woman included all household duties—setting up and taking down the tent, procuring water and fuel, cooking food, dressing skins, making clothing and looking after the children. She took some part in the reindeer-raising (guarding the herd) and in fishing (dressing the fish, and sometimes helping with the nets). When family matters were discussed, the wife's opinion carried great weight and was always taken into account. All domestic matters were almost entirely run by the woman, and customary law recognized the ownership by the wife of her dowry and all property acquired through her personal labor.

Up to the age of 5–7, children were under the care of their mothers. After this age boys were taught men's jobs under the guidance of their fathers, while the girls learned women's work under the observance of their mothers. Absence of children was considered a very great misfortune and served as an important pretext for divorce. Grownup sons frequently remained with their parents and maintained a common household. If the father died, the mother was looked after by the son (usually the younger) and enjoyed great authority in his family. Old men who had married sons living apart often took their grandchildren to "stay" with them for a few months, even a year, and often kept them for good. In the case of the death of both parents, the child was taken into the tent of the grandfather and grandmother or some other relative.

In the religious beliefs of the Nentsy an important part was played by traces of primitive animistic world outlook. The elements, mountains, hills, rivers, lakes and so on, were believed by the Nentsy to have their own "owner" spirits. It was considered that the earth and all living things were created by the deity Num, and that the welfare of humans depended on him. Num's son, Nga, was considered the evil god of illness and death. The Nentsy believed that Num did not interfere with humans and only helped them to gain protection from Nga if they specially asked him. The requests and Num's replies to them were conveyed by the heavenly spirits, tadebtsy, with whom only the shamans were in touch. Apart from Num, in the Nennish belief, there was another benevolent deity, Ya-nebya, "mother earth," who also helped people, particularly patronizing women and helping them during childbirth.

Propitiation of the spirits and deities was effected by means of sacrifices offered directly to the spirits (for example, dropping a sacrifice to the water spirit into the water) or to their effigies made of wood or stone erected at certain points. Sacrifices were made to Num in the spring and at the beginning of winter. There were bloodless sacrifices—*khanggor'* (bread, wine, cloth, money and so on), and blood sacrifices, *khan* (reindeer or dogs). Sacrifices also took the form of "feeding" the images of the spirits (for example, the guardian spirits of the dwelling); if the spirits refused to grant the requests made to them, they were punished and "not given any food."

Shamanism played a considerable part among the Nentsy, although it was not only the shamans who were able to cast magic spells. There were traces

of family shamanism, and invocations with tambourines were sometimes made, for example, by ordinary mortals. The formation of the professional group of shamans did away with the family shamanism which apparently existed earlier.

The shaman was considered the elect of the spirits and was supposed to be able to consort with them. The duties of the shamans were multifarious—treatment of the sick, "prediction" of the future, "assistance" in hunting and fishing, "finding" of lost or stolen objects, burials, and farewells to the soul of the dead person. There were different categories of shamans based on the duties which they carried out. The basic accoutrement of the shaman was his tambourine (penzer). The tambourine was made of a rather narrow wooden rim with a piece of skin stretched across it; it was struck with a wooden mallet. Using the tambourine, the shaman "called up" the assistant spirits and then they, having conveyed the shaman's questions to Num, "reported" the answers. It was only among the eastern Nentsy that the full shaman regalia were retained in the 19th century; the western Nentsy only kept a particular type of hat. The shamans extorted payment for their spells. The extent of the payment (khaso) ranged from a pair of mittens or deerskin to several reindeer.

A prominent place in the pre-Revolutionary life of the Nentsy was taken by various magic rites; for example, burning the nails or hair of a man to whom it was wished to cause unpleasantness, burning loon skins to bring about good weather, and so on.

Very common were certain taboos, particularly difficult for women, who were considered "unclean." A woman could not walk around a tent, nor even pass by the "clean" part of it; she was not allowed to step across a rope, harness, lasso, gun or any other item of hunting equipment possessed by the men. There were also restrictions with regard to food: women were not allowed to eat the head of the reindeer, bear meat, and certain types of fish (pike and raw sturgeon).

Birth and death were accompanied by special shamanistic rituals. During birth, sacrifice was made, and a little while later there was "purification" of the tent by sprinkling it with water from a bunch of marsh tea. A woman often gave birth in a special "unclean" tent. The child was named after one of the ancestors.

The dead were usually buried in a special log construction on the ground—nemb or khal'mer tin; crockery, food products and so on were placed beside the body in the grave. Beside the grave they left the dead man's broken sled and several slaughtered reindeer. The soul of the deceased, according to Nennish belief, stayed for a while longer on the earth and might cause harm to the living. As a result, the name of the dead person was not mentioned for several years and every kind of respect was accorded him. Once a year people went to the grave and, having rung a bell suspended above it, would say: "I have come to see you," thereby demonstrating that the dead man had not been forgotten. Several years later a sambana-class shaman who had taken part in the burial ceremony had to lead the soul of the deceased to the next world, where, according to the Nentsy, it floated on the "Il'in Sea" in a copper cradle together with the souls of other dead, and guarded its abode with a bow and arrow against invasion by the living. Children who died soon after birth were usually buried in a bundle suspended from a tree or, if there were none, from stakes stuck into the snow.

Worship of certain animals, particularly the bear, was common among the Nentsy. There were even special rules for chewing bear meat. The wolf was considered a personification of the evil spirit Nygleka. Its true name,



Place of worship in the tundra.

Sarmik, was hardly uttered aloud. Certain fish including the pike, sturgeon, burbot and trout were also revered. The reindeer, which was considered to be the embodiment of purity, was an object of great respect. In each household there were special sacred reindeer dedicated to Num, the sun, fire and so on. For this purpose white reindeer were usually selected and the sign of the sun or a representation of the spirits was usually clipped on their sides. These reindeer were never harnessed to sleds or slaughtered. The ears and horns of the sacred reindeer were decorated with red ribbons made of suede. When one such reindeer died, another one was consecrated in his place.

The baptism of absolutely all the Nentsy had no actual effect on their religious beliefs. The effect of the new religion only showed up in the fact that St. Nicholas or "Nikola," who was particularly revered among the Russians in the North, was added to the age-old deities. St. Nicholas was often offered sacrifices of reindeer, and icons showing his picture were rubbed with reindeer fat and blood. Certain Christian holidays such as Easter, St. Elias Day, and so on were also celebrated by the Nentsy, although they did not attribute to them quite the same importance as the Orthodox Church.

The Nentsy After the October Revolution

[The first Lower Pechora "Samoyed" Volost Executive Committee was established in 1920 on the Pechora at the village of Tel'visk; the Nentsy

I. S. Khatanzevskiy, A. G. Vyuchevskiy and A. S. Vylka were members of it. Soviet power was definitely established at Obdorsk in 1921. In 1926, the organization of clan soviets began on the basis of the "Temporary Decree on the Government of the Native Nationalities" issued by VTsIK; however, in a number of Nennish areas these soviets were territorial from the very beginning, due to the advanced stage of decay of the clan system. The first Nennish consumers' cooperatives were founded on the Pechora in 1922. Extensive work was done during 1928-1931 by the cultural bases: at Khoseda-Khard (for the Bol'shezemel'skiy Rayon of the Nennish National Okrug), on the Yamal (Yamal'skiy Rayon, Yamal-Nennish National Okrug), and on the Taz (Tazovskiy Rayon, Yamal-Nennish National Okrug). The Nennish, Yamal-Nennish and Taymyr National Okrugs were set up in 1929-1930, uniting soviets which were already organized on a fully territorial basis.

[Collectivization among the Nentsy began in 1929. At this time, the First Nennish Reindeer-Breeding Collective Farm (PNOK) was established in the Malozemel'skaya tundra; its membership at first included five poor and two middle-class households. Other collective farms were organized in the period immediately following. The original form of collectivization was the society for the joint pasturing of reindeer. Each collective farm was given definite areas for pasturage, hunting and fishing, which, together with the establishment of the trade network, permitted a reduction in the scale of nomadism. At the beginning of 1949, 98% of the households in the Nennish National Okrug, 97% in the Yamal-Nennish, and 98% in the Taymyr were collectivized. During 1950, the process was completed.

[In 1951, reindeer-breeding (sale of meat, skins, and rawhide, as well as transport) accounted for 22% of the entire income of the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug. Large-scale work is being done on improvement of the breed of reindeer, and this work has already yielded some results. In January of 1951, the reindeer-breeders of the Taymyr National Okrug sent a group of collective-farm members to the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug to buy reindeer. This group executed a journey of about 2000 kilometers by reindeer sled. They purchased about 4800 reindeer and set out homeward, being guided for 600 kilometers on the homeward journey by reindeer guides from the Yamal. This trip lasted three and a half months, and the return drive was completed successfully and without loss.

[In rayons where fishing is the main branch of economy (Dudinskiy and Ust'-Yeniseyskiy on the Taymyr, Nizhnepechorskiy, Nennish National Okrug), collective reindeer herds tend to be small. In these cases, the collectives are given long-term loans to bring the herds up to 800-1000 head by purchase of reindeer.]

In conducting the reindeer economy, the Nentsy combine the traditional methods with new ones worked out by regional reindeer-breeding stations. The struggle against deerflies, and provision for the herd's rest, require the organization of tours of duty at the smudges, and the catching of flies over the herd. Flies are caught by decoying them to white reindeer hides spread on the ground. New methods of pasturing are used: calves and barren does are gathered in the spring into a separate herd, so that they will not disturb the pregnant does. In these herds, 10-20 old does are allotted to every 1000 calves for the sake of solidarity. In order to make the determination of loss easier, new methods of counting the herds are used which take the place of the expensive specially constructed corrals previously used for this purpose.

In order to raise the working capacity of draught reindeer, a new method is used: two lead reindeer are harnessed to a single sled. After a short

time, their places are changed. It is known that a reindeer pulls a sled with one shoulder and hence quickly becomes exhausted. The rotation of reindeer achieves a considerable increase in working capacity and prevents injury.

Important experiments have been made with new types of fodder (fish flour and fish meal). These experiments have been successful in improving the condition of draught reindeer and pregnant does, and increasing the weight gain of calves. The introduction of this method of foddering was facilitated by the fact that even earlier the Nentsy had fed reindeer on distant and low-quality pastures with boiled fish.

[The old rule is used in pasturing: the reindeer are pastured by day over large areas and collected for the night in good pastures with natural protection from wolves (a river or lake) on two sides. Pasturing is now carried out by two herdsman in two shifts every 24 hours.

[The old method of smoking reindeer meat is still used, but is now preceded by light salting. Meat in 5-6-kilogram pieces is smoked for 6 hours on racks—2 hours over hot smoke and 4 hours over cool smoke. One workman in a six-hour period with two fires can easily smoke two whole reindeer carcasses—that is, 70-80 kilograms of meat. Meat processed locally in this way is more nutritious and faster than the salted meat, can be transported without complex crating, and can be eaten without being boiled first.

[The new organization of labor has done away with the necessity of constant nomadizing by the entire population. The trips with the herds are made mainly by herding brigades, which include women as tent-workers.

[The motor-fishing fleet increased fourfold between 1940 and 1952 in the Nennish National Okrug. The acquisition of motorboats and small trawlers has permitted the development of deep-sea fishing, in which the fishermen do not have to wait for the schools of fish to come into shallow water. The productivity of labor in fishing has increased through the introduction of more advanced gear. However, if during mass fishing the fish-run for any reason stops or decreases, part of the brigade goes to fish in the channels, lakes and other waterways, using the old methods and gear. The fishermen no longer sleep under an overturned boat or get wet in the open air on the fishing grounds. Dwelling houses, barracks, public dining rooms and bath-houses are being built on the fishing grounds themselves. Refrigerator buildings and smoking and salting points are appearing.

[The technical equipment for hunting has improved: modern hammer guns and trough-traps which protect the game from predators have been introduced. The muskrat has been acclimatized in the southern Yamal-Nennish and Nennish National Okrugs, and is already an important source of income. Field agriculture and animal husbandry other than for reindeer has been started on the Nennish collective farms. From 1938 to 1950, the open-field area in the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug increased more than 10 times through clearing of forest and brushwood and drying and fertilization of new lands. Work is being done on the introduction of pedigreed cattle. The Pechora-Kholmogorsk cow, best adapted to the North, is raised by the collective-farm members of the Nennish National Okrug. In this okrug alone, there were in 1952 three creameries working with milk from the collective dairy farms.]

The process of settling down the former nomads was connected with the development of a varied balanced economy on the Nennish collective farms. The sedentary collective farms which had arisen in old settlements with mixed populations developed from the very beginning as varied economies. The nomadic collective farms which had no settled bases were marked, until very recent years, by the socialization of only the main branch of the economy—reindeer-breeding.

Fishing and hunting on such collective farms were not socialized, and the farms received no income from them. This situation was especially characteristic of the Nennish National Okrug, where, until 1952, there existed small nomadic collective farms such as, for example, the "Yedey ty" collective farm of the Kanino-Timanskiy Rayon. This farm did not have its own settled base, and its members nomadized in the old way with the reindeer herds. The farm owned a herd of 3000 reindeer. Only a few of the members were occupied in socialized labor—pasturing of the herds. In 1952, the members of this farm and those of the Papanin collective farm decided to unite. The latter was a small fishing collective which had its own settled base and hayfields which it did not use.

Having united, the collective farm developed a plan for diversification of the economy. A fishing brigade began the highly productive deepwater fishing; the presence of hayfields permitted the organization of a dairy farm; the byproducts of reindeer-slaughtering and fishing were used as the fodder base for fur farms. State organizations assist the collective-farm members in every way in their transfer to settled life. In 1951, by a decision of the government, long-term credit was extended to collective members transferring to settled life. Each nomadic household was allotted 15,000 rubles in loans, repayable over a ten-year period beginning three years after receipt of the loan. Loans were also made for the purchase of cattle and sheep. [The first expanded collective farms appeared in the Nennish, Yamal-Nennish and Taymyr National Okrugs in 1951 and 1952.

[New forms of transportation among the Nentsy include motor launches and inboard motorboats, but draught reindeer continue to be very important. Communications are effected by a widespread radio network and mail is delivered by aircraft. In the Nennish National Okrug, most rayon centers are equipped with telephones.

[The acquisition of the house is a complex process and does not take place uniformly. Thus, at first the house area was used as the tent area had been, and cases occurred where families lived in a house and a tent at once. It also happened that the tent remained the basic dwelling, while the house was used for storage of goods. Where it has been retained, the tent has undergone important changes in both construction and internal arrangement. Many summer tents are now covered with tarpaulin instead of birch-bark. Tents with one or two windows and painted floors, heated by iron stoves, are not a rarity in the Malozemel'skaya tundra.

[The city of Salekhard (formerly Obdorsk), founded by Cossacks in the late 16th century and almost unchanged up to the Revolution, now contains many hundreds of dwelling houses, a two-story palace of culture, zoo-technical and veterinary tekhnikums, a teachers' college, etc. Other smaller settlements have also changed unrecognizably.

[Medical and public health expenditures in the Nennish National Okrug in 1952 had increased threefold relative to 1940 and 230-fold relative to 1930. In 1952, there were in the okrug 12 hospitals, 55 medical and medical-assistant points and a number of other institutions. The Yamal-Nennish National Okrug in the same year had 18 hospitals, 72 medical-assistant and obstetrical points and other facilities.

[The Nennish national dress, so convenient under wintry tundra conditions, has been retained to a considerable degree, but has now been combined with purchased garments. Food is now roasted or broiled, and not only boiled. Bread, which was at one time a delicacy, has found its way into the remotest tundra.

[The taboos formerly affecting women are now observed only in isolated cases. Bride-price is no longer paid, and the old-fashioned marital norms

are violated increasingly often. Women have become members of okrug, rayon, rural and tundra soviets. A. I. Vyucheyanskaya, chairman of a reindeer-breeding collective farm, enjoys great authority in the Nennish National Okrug.]

Nennish folklore is rich and varied. The traditional folklore comprises heroic lays (syudbabts), stories (yarabts), legends (va'al), fairytales (vadako) and riddles (khobtsoko). The lays tell of the military exploits of the heroes, of the fortitude and resourcefulness of a woman (usually the hero's sister), etc. The stories usually tell of the adventures of some hero, his struggles with enemies from other tribes, cruel relatives or bosses, and of the complicated path which finally brings him to success in life. The legends tell of the history of individual clans, of the creation of the world and people. There are many humorous stories which tell, not without acrid wit, of the exploits of a clever poor man, who fools an unlucky moneybags. All these types of folklore, and particularly the lays and stories, are usually executed in unaccompanied recitative.

The Nentsy did not have their own script before the Revolution. The first attempts to create a Nennish script go back to the 1830's—i.e., to the beginnings of the Orthodox missions. Archimandrite Veniamin, who headed the mission at Archangel, developed a Nennish alphabet based on elements from the Russian and Greek alphabets. This was used for manuscript translations of the Gospels into Nennish, but did not find wide acceptance, and after almost 20 years of consideration, at many levels up to and including the Holy Synod, was junked. Veniamin also wrote a Nennish grammar, which has come down to us in modified form.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government gave great attention to the development of a native language script for the Nentsy. The Nennish script was created in 1932, and the first ABC book, *The New Word*, was published. The literary language was based on the Bol'shaya Zemlya sub-dialect of the tundra dialects, which occupied a central position. The number of schools in the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug rose from 7 in 1931 to 44 in 1952. In the Nennish National Okrug, appropriations for education in 1952 exceeded 20,000,000 rubles. In 1953 in this okrug there were 60 schools, taking in more than 60,000 Nennish, Russian and Komi children. There were also 20 nurseries and an orphans' home.

[The Nennish National Okrug has 21 large libraries, with a total collection of 110,000 volumes, not counting clubhouse libraries and reading rooms. Other cultural facilities—floating cultural bases, auditoriums, and radio networks—are also active.]

The name of the Nenets I. K. Vylko (known as Tyko Vylko) is widely known. For more than three decades he has served uninterruptedly as chairman of the Novaya Zemlya island soviet and enjoys great authority among the local population. He is a great expert in natural history. At one time he compiled a map of Novaya Zemlya and took part in the expedition of V. Rusanov. He is a member of the All-Union Geographical Society and is continuing his observations on the natural history of the island. He is the first Nennish artist and also translated the poems of Pushkin and Lermontov into Nennish. He has been decorated several times.





THE NGANASANS

A. A. POPOV

General Information

The Nganasans live in the Taymyr National Okrug. They are the most northerly people of the Soviet Union. The climate of the Taymyr is severe and continental. In winter there are often heavy snow blizzards in the tundra which covers practically all of the peninsula. The fauna of the Taymyr is polar and includes the polar fox, wolf, hare, mouse, wild reindeer, and along the coast, the polar bear; in the south the ermine is found. In summer there is a multitude of geese and duck; in winter only the partridge and owl are found. Certain bodies of water, particularly those connected with Lake Taymyr, are rich in fish (whitefish, muksun, kunzhu trout, nel'ma [*Stenodus leucichthys*], etc.).

The territory settled by the Nganasans, who numbered 876 in 1897 and 867 in 1926, includes the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons of the Taymyr National Okrug in the Krasnoyarskiy Kray.

The Nganasans' neighbors are the Entsy and Nentsy in the west, and the Dolgans and Yakuts in the south and east. In the north, the Nganasans used not to have any neighbors at all. The Arctic wastes of the Taymyr coasts were at one time completely unpopulated. Nowadays there are settlements there which are part of the stations of the Chief Administration of the Northern Seaway.

The Nganasan language belongs to the Samoyedic linguistic group. It only differs from the Nennish language in vocabulary and phonetic structure. The bulk of the Nganasan vocabulary is equivalent to the Nennish vocabulary, but it also contains words not found in the Nennish language and which go back to the ancient Samoyedic languages of the Sayan Plateau and also words of non-Samoyedic origin, chiefly Tungus.

Before the Revolution, the Nganasans were divided administratively into the Avam Samoyeds, Vadeyev Samoyeds and the Individual clan Oko, which was part of the so-called Dolgan-Yessey Clan Administration.

The name "Avam Samoyeds" begins to appear in historical documents in the second half of the 17th century. According to B. O. Dolgikh, they formed through the merging of four earlier independent groups—the Kuraks (meaning "crows" in the Nennish language), the Pyasina Samoyeds (who used to be called the "eagles" as well), the Tidirisy and Tavgi.

The Tavgi were the most numerous of the Avam Nganasans. This was why all the Nganasans in the 17th and 18th centuries were called Tavgi Samoyeds. Traditionally the name "Samoyed Tavgi" or simply Tavgi was reserved for the Nganasans in literature right up to recent times.

The group of Vadeyev Nganasans, according to B. O. Dolgikh, formed through assimilation by the Avam Nganasans of the Vanyadir tribe of Evenks who migrated to the Taymyr from the region of Lake Yessey in the middle of the 18th century.

The Oko clan comprises the descendants of a Dolgan called Oko, who lived among the Nganasans in the first half of the 19th century. As late as 1931 this clan was still part of the Dolgan "clan" council, despite complete assimilation of it by the Nganasans.

All the Nganasans call themselves Nya.

The Russians first encountered the Nganasans in 1618 when the Mangazeya Cossacks reached the basin of the river Pyasina and imposed the payment of the fur-tax on the "Pyasina Samoyeds." By the 1630's, all the Nganasan groups had become Russian subjects.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries absolutely no care at all was shown for the economic and cultural development of the Nganasans. Frequent epidemics, during which there was no medical assistance at all, led to a decline in their numbers. Right up to the October Revolution the Nganasans retained archaic forms of economy and technology, social relations and ideology.

Economy

The main branches of Nganasan economy were hunting, reindeer-breeding and fishing. As distinct from the Nentsy, reindeer-hunting was a main occupation. The nomadizing of the Nganasans was chiefly due to the seasonal migration of the wild reindeer. In the spring, the Nganasans followed the herds of reindeer away from the edge of the forest, where they had spent the winter, to the north, deep into the peninsula. In the summer, some of the hunters went farther north to the Byrranga Plateau to hunt the reindeer, traveling light, while the rest fished and took moulting geese. In the autumn, the Nganasans set up camp at points on rivers and lakes where they could hunt the reindeer as they crossed them. After hunting at these crossings, and the ice-fishing in the autumn, the Nganasans returned to the edge of the forest for the winter.

According to Nganasan legend, their ancestors used to stay in the tundra for the winter as well. On the river Pur, and on the Taymyr river and lake groups of two or three families used to set up dwellings made of stone slabs, driftwood and turf. Scrub was stored up for the winter as fuel. At that time there were extremely few reindeer, and they were sent out with the herdsmen, who moved into the forest-tundra, hunting wild reindeer as they went, and returned in the spring. Those who remained behind engaged in ice-fishing, stocking up with fish-oil and dried fish in addition to the dried venison. During the winter months they hardly went outside their dwellings.

In the spring, until the arrival of birds and fish, when the supplies of meat and fish were exhausted and the people had to feed themselves chiefly on roots of plants, there were frequent cases of death by starvation.

Until Russian shotguns appeared among the Nganasans in the second half of the 19th century, their hunting weapons were the bow and spear. In the beginning, the Nganasans used to make their own bows which were made of a large number of pieces of wood glued together; in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Russian merchants brought them "Ostyak," Ket and Sel'kup bows, and Yakut bows were brought from Yakutiya. The Nganasans used to use these bows for hunting geese and duck right up to the Revolution. The methods and techniques for hunting, which are still remembered by the present-day Nganasans, were very archaic and curious.

In the summer they used to go hunting reindeer singly or in small groups on foot. If the hunting grounds were a long way from the camps, they traveled to them on sleds, but, when they got there, they unharnessed the reindeer, attached them to a long rein and continued on foot. Having killed a reindeer, the foot hunter used to leave it where it lay, and later on somebody else, usually a woman, would come to fetch it.

In the summer and autumn, pokolki or spearing hunts were organized at crossings. Having trailed a herd of wild reindeer, two rows of "makhavkas" (partridge-wings attached to thin stakes in the form of fans) were stuck into the water in the form of a converging passageway. With the help of dogs they drove the reindeer into the water through this passageway and the hunters, approaching in dugout canoes, would then spear the reindeer. Several men with bows and arrows used to hide near the spot where the reindeer entered the water and killed those that ran back. As these spearing points they usually selected a lake with a long jutting, gently sloping promontory and a high bank on the other side enabling them to hide with their canoes and long spears. The passageways forcing the reindeer into the water were also made with stakes with turf or peat stuck on the ends. Spearing points were also organized at spots where reindeer crossed rivers and lakes themselves from year to year as they made their way from the tundra to the forest in the autumn. In such cases it was only necessary to lie in wait for them. Hence, camps were set up in the spring and autumn close by these crossings. When the snow began to fall, they hunted reindeer by chasing after them; they harnessed good reindeer, chased after the herd, and having caught up with it, shot the reindeer.

In winter they hunted reindeer by driving them into special nets made of straps. In the tundra they used to select a low elevation, and a net about 50 m long was set up on the slope on 3 or 4 posts. At either end of the net, just as at the crossings, there were two lines of "makhavkas," stretching for some distance. The reindeer were driven toward the net and when they became entangled in it, the hunters who had been hiding behind snowdrifts near the net speared them or stabbed them, while others fired arrows at those who had not been trapped or those who had managed to free themselves from the net. A technique using a decoy was also commonly used; another method was to creep close with a camouflage shield.

Duck were caught with nets stretched above small lakes, and moulting geese were got with dogs or driven into enclosures made of erected nets, where the hunters killed them with sticks or wrung their necks, and iron traps used to be set up above goose nests.

In the old days, fur-hunting was of comparatively little importance in the Nganasan economy. From time to time they procured polar fox, which they sold to merchants.

To hunt this breed of fox, the Nganasans used automatic traps and stone pitfalls, and later on imported springtraps.

According to legend, in the old days the Nganasans had very few reindeer. Most of them used to move about on foot, and sometimes humans were harnessed to sleds. By the middle of the 19th century, the Nganasans had become the most important reindeer-breeders in the Taymyrskiy Kray. Their reindeer were small in stature and not very powerful, but showed great endurance in the rigorous tundra climate. A valuable attribute of these reindeer was their ability to recover very quickly after exhaustion. Nevertheless, on account of distant wandering in search of reindeer, the domestic reindeer which had recovered their shape over the summer were already emaciated by autumn, October-November, without having even reached the winter lichen-pastures.



Household tools:

1—fan of goose feathers used during reindeer battues; 2—gun rack made of bone; 3—stone trap for polar foxes; 4—women's sledge; 5—men's winter garment; 6—iron scraper for working leather; 7—scraper made of deer shin bone; 8—receptacle for fat made of whole fish skin; 10—wooden die for impressing ornamental designs on leather; 11—ornamental design from that die.

The Nganasan reindeer, compared with the Dolgan breed, were wilder. When the gadfly appeared and autumn approached, when the grass faded and the reindeer headed south, it was essential to watch them 24 hours a day in order not to lose them. On very dark nights they attached bells to the antlers. To herd the reindeer together and to guard them, use was made of short-legged, fluffy dogs of the layka breed. The Dolgans and Yakuts buy this breed of dog (Samoyed) from the Nganasans even today. Among the Nganasans reindeer were the chief means of transportation. On account of large furrows in the snow, skis were quite unusable in the tundra. The reindeer were harnessed to sleds both in winter and summer. The harness was the same kind as used by the Nentsy and Entsy with the lead reindeer on the left, and, generally speaking, the sleds were the same type as the Nennish ones, with the exception of a peculiar woman's sled with very high staves and semicircular shields at the front and back of the seat. The Entsy also had these women's sleds. The Nganasans hardly knew at all how to ride reindeer; if necessary, the Vadeyev Nganasans acquired reindeer for riding from the Dolgans. Like the Entsy and Nentsy, the Nganasans did not milk their reindeer.

Fish were caught with upright nets and bone spikes used to replace hooks. The spikes were made of the leg bones of the reindeer and were long stakes sharpened at each end with a hole in the middle to attach the line. Live bait was impaled on one end of the spike. As soon as the fish had swallowed the bait together with the spike, the latter stuck in its throat. The nets were woven previously from thread unraveled from bought sacks. Among the Vadeyev Nganasans, there were nets made of horsehair brought from Yakutiya. Dugout canoes which were brought in from Yakutiya and the Yenisey were used for fishing, for crossing rivers and for spearing at river crossings.

Food, Dwellings and Clothing

In autumn and winter, the Nganasans fed mainly on venison, and in the summer on duck, goose and fish. Since the main stocks of food were stored away during the comparatively short summer and autumn hunting season, preserved meat and methods of keeping meat and fat were very important in their economy. The venison was dried in long strips on the sleds, one on top of the other, and then cut into small pieces, mixed with oil and dried on spreadout skins. The vessels used to keep the oil were a whole calf-skin, the esophagus and stomach of the reindeer, the swim-bladder and skin of the kunzha and the inflated skin of geese feet. In the autumn, the Nganasans sometimes left meat, fat and fish in the tundra in iceboxes so as to be able to use it in the spring, when they came back from the forest. The Nganasans in the past did not have bread. The flour they bought in small quantities was baked into unflavored pancakes which were consumed as a delicacy. Of imported products only tea and leaf tobacco were consumed in large quantities.

The tools and implements of the Nganasans were extremely backward. They had knives, axes and large and small bow-drills. A primitive form of smithery was common, and the Nganasans worked imported iron, made knives, pipes for smoking (from old gun barrels), devices for cleaning them, woven chains for women's pendants. Pipes for women and cheek-pieces for reindeer harnesses were made from mammoth tusk.

Reindeer skins were also dressed; in particular, a high grade of suede was made. The tanning material used was chewed, boiled reindeer liver, burbot liver, and reindeer marrow; only the women engaged in skin-dressing.

As a whole, the Nganasan tent is close in structure to the Nennish type. Like the Nentsy, the Nganasans took the whole tent with them when they nomadized. The internal furnishings were the same as in the Nennish tents. The Nganasan legends mention that their early ancestors had conical semi-underground dwellings made of wood and earth.

Reindeer skin was the exclusive material used for Nganasan clothing. Bought fabrics, chiefly red and black cotton, were only used for applique work. In cut, the Nganasan clothing was quite different from the Nennish variety. The winter clothing for men and women was shorter and lighter than the Nennish clothing, and more adapted to walking on foot than for riding reindeer. This showed the difference between the Nennish and Nganasan way of life—the Nganasans had been predominantly foot hunters at one time. The men's clothing (lu) was made in two layers. The upper part was made mostly of white reindeer skin, and ornamented. Ribbon, and red and black tassels or ochre-dyed suede, were sewn on the back. The inside layer was made from the autumn reindeer skin and worn with the fur inside. An edging of white dog or polar fox skin was sewn along the hem.

During trips the Nganasans wore a sokuy made of white reindeer skin on top of their other clothing. A reindeer tail was sewn on the top of the hood in the form of a plume. In the summer they wore a well-worn version of the same clothing. The summer sokuy was made of skins with clipped fur.

The women's underclothing consisted of a foniye or one-piece suede suit with sickle-shaped copper plates on the front and little tubes with rings on the lower end sewn onto the front of the trouser leg above the knee. Below the knees the suit was tightly bound with a strip of leather and on top of the leg of the boot. Over the suit they wore a lifariye, which was similar to the men's garment except that it had a slit. During winter trips they wore a fur suede on top of the one-piece suede one, and a short coat on top of the lifariye. In the summer the women also used worn winter clothing. The hat was exclusively part of the women's dress. Hats for the house were made of white deerskin with an edging of black dog fur, and those for traveling were made of reindeer skin ornamented with black and red cloth braid.

There was no slit on the front of either the men's or women's footwear. The footwear was made of soft white deerskin, with red or black cotton braid. The men's footwear was much longer than the women's.

Men wore two pairs of brief trunks (ningka), suede on the inside and deerskin on the outside. The bottom part of the women's suit and men's trunks was sewn with suede tassels dyed black or yellow. The children's clothing was no different in style from that of the adults; very small children had a special fur suit called a minar.

The front end of a blanket was attached to the poles of the tent and looked like a canopy. Several people, regardless of sex, slept under it. Men took with them on winter trips a myli or deerskin sewn in the form of a sack at one end, into which they pushed their feet while sitting on the sled to keep them warm. In the spring they wore seymi-kundi, snow-goggles made of metal plates with a narrow slit in the middle, sewn into an ornamented piece of suede.

Social Relations

At the time of the October Revolution, the Nganasans had retained many features of the patriarchal clan structure in their social life. The Avam Nganasans divided into 5 clans and the Vadeyev into 6. Each clan represented an exogamic unit.

Apart from exogamy, certain other features of the patriarchal clan structure were retained, principally in the area of religion (tribal celebration of the "clean tent," clan idols, *kuoyka*, etc.). But the Nganasan clans, settled over an enormous amount of territory, had no territorial or economic unity. The Nganasan nomadic settlements (*malir* or *maya*) usually consisted of families belonging to different clans and were not united by clan, but by neighborly ties. The social makeup of these settlements varied. Sometimes they consisted of groups of working households collaborating in hunting, fishing and pasturing reindeer. But more often they were poor households grouped around a rich reindeer-breeder and economically dependent on him. The economic differentiation between the Nganasans, based mainly on unequal distribution of the reindeer, was fairly pronounced. Even in 1926, 11% of the rich households owned 60% of the reindeer, while the masses of poor households with few reindeer (66%) possessed only 17% of the reindeer. The poorer people were often forced to make use of the reindeer belonging to their richer neighbors in return for payment. Up to the Revolution, the payment for the use of a reindeer for a whole year was one polar fox (the price of a good reindeer or bull for that time was 10 rubles and polar fox 5 rubles).

Apart from economic stratification of the clan, there were also communal laws.

Places at which reindeer were caught or speared were considered common property. These places were usually guarded; no hunting with guns was allowed nearby so as not to drive away the animals. If anyone disobeyed, and the spearing or trapping failed on that account, the society forced the violator to make good the loss by slaughtering his own reindeer.

During collective hunting with nets, the owner of the net divided up the catch in proportion to the number of family members of each person taking part in the hunt. The same system was used for netting geese.

In the settlement there also existed elements of collective consumption. Hunters had to procure the game for all their camp neighbors. This custom was turned into a means of exploitation in certain cases: the rich reindeer-herders looked after the herd, living off their poorer neighbors, who supplied them with meat. These relations often gave rise to disputes which were settled by the elders at meetings held in the spring and autumn. The meetings used to hear the complaint by a neighbor against a hunter to the effect that the latter had not given him food and that in order to avoid starving, he had to eat the meat of his own reindeer. If, in his turn, the hunter asserted that the neighbor had not helped him in any way, the meeting took no action; otherwise the group forced the hunter to repay the cost of the deer slaughtered for food. There was also a custom by which the hunter, having slaughtered a wild reindeer, gave his neighbor the rear half of the carcass together with the skin. In such cases the dead reindeer was left where it had been slain, and the person who received it had to carry away the carcass himself, and give the front portion of it to the hunter.

Polygamy, under-age marriage and bride-price were all to be found among the Nganasans until quite recently. If the father of the groom was not rich, kinsmen helped him to pay the bride-price, in return for which they received reindeer from the dowry. The father was considered the head of the household.

A married woman was considered "unclean" as soon as the first signs of pregnancy appeared, and was subjected to various taboos. The actual birth of the child took place in the same tent in which people lived. When the child appeared, the midwives washed it from their mouths with water and for purposes of "purification" burned dog fur. Three days after

childbirth, the ritual of purification was performed. Reindeer-fat was placed in a hot pan and everyone living in the tent stretched out his hands above the smoke.

The Nganasans were in no hurry to name their children. It was possible to find two- or three-year-old children who had not yet been given names. Usually they were named after older members of the family. These names were of importance in protecting them (from evil spirits) or else were connected with certain events. Boys, for example, were given the name of Ngorobiye, meaning "joyful"; on the day of their birth 4 reindeer were shot.

The kinship system among the Nganasans, just as among the Nentsy, was classificatory. Apart from the prohibition of marrying within one's clan, it was also forbidden to marry members of the mother's clan. The levirate existed, and men often married by exchanging sisters. Within the family there was strict division of labor. Women concerned themselves with domestic work—they arranged and cleaned the tent, dressed skins, sewed, wove cord from tendons, cooked the food and looked after the children. The men hunted, fished, pastured the reindeer, engaged in woodworking, and wove leather lassoes. The women only pastured the deer during the autumn hunting season when there were no men left in the tents to do it.

Religious Beliefs

The basis of the religious outlook of the Nganasans was a set of very primitive preanimistic and animistic beliefs. The Nganasans believed, for example, that even things made by man were alive and could understand human speech. When leaving a sled with products for the winter in the spring, they used to make a short speech to it and promise to bring it fat and meat in the autumn.

The rivers Pyasina, Avam, Dudypta, Taymyr and Great Balakhna were offered sacrifices of reindeer in the spring. In the autumn, sacrifices (deer or dogs) were made to the spirits of certain sacred hills. Supernatural beings, according to the Nganasans, were divided into 3 categories: 1) *Nguo*—"masters" of certain natural phenomena and certain categories of things, for example, the sky, sun, earth, fire, reindeer, etc.; the disease smallpox was considered a very powerful *nguo*; hunger, in the view of the Nganasans, was due to a special hunger spirit; 2) *Barusi*, anthropomorphic beings harmful to people; they were supposed to inhabit water, such as rivers, lakes and the sea; 3) *Dyamada*—special spirits who attended the shamans, usually zoomorphic.

Material objects revered as spirits of the house were called *kuoyka*. In certain cases they were stones, deer antlers or other unusually shaped objects which caught the eye, and in other cases they were zoomorphic or anthropomorphic images made of metal or wood. They were carried on special sleds harnessed with sacred reindeer which had special talismans attached to their fur. The word *kuoyka* was also used for sacred natural objects such as hills, rocks, unusual trees, and so on. Every month the house *kuoyka* was fumigated with deer fat, and also "fed" after a successful hunting trip; for this a piece of fat or venison was placed in the sled. Sacrifices of deer were made to the hills, rocks and trees, and they were also presented with pieces of cloth threaded on cord, money and so on.

Among the Nganasans, shamanism was widely developed. The shaman costume had numerous pendants and many shamans had two or three costumes and several sets of tambourines for different occasions. The costumes consisted of headgear, a cloak with a special apron and footwear, sometimes suits similar to those worn by women. Among the other accoutrements of the shamans were bird and animal skins, iron wands, and so on.

The most important religious rites of the Nganasans were the celebration of the "cleantent" (madusyn) and the custom of passing through "stone gates" (fala-futu). The ceremony of the "clean tent" took place in February, when the sun was beginning to appear after the polar night. A special tent was erected, and from morn till night for 3 to 9 days the shaman sat in it, invoking the beneficence of the deities for the whole of the people in the coming year.

During the ceremony, the young people danced and played near the "clean tent." Sometimes this festival was replaced by the ritual of passage through the stone gates. For this purpose something like a tunnel was made from stone slabs. For 3 days the spells were cast, after which the shaman and all those present passed three times through the gates.

The Nganasans believed in the transmigration of souls. According to their belief, after death a person continued to lead his life in a "lower world" similar to the earthly life, while his soul returned to the master of souls and then reentered a child during birth. In the winter, the Nganasans did not bury their dead, but left them on the ground on a deer sled. A conical structure made of hewn tree-trunks was erected over the sled with the dead man. A woman's dowry was placed with her on the grave.



Carving representing a twin-headed spirit of the tent.

Folklore

The folklore of the Nganasans is very varied and rich. The main types of folklore are epic tales, stories, historical legends, songs and riddles.

The epic tales are usually very long; it often takes several evenings to tell them. The description of the situation in which the action takes place is narrated, while the dialogue between the personages is sung, the storyteller singing in one voice and not trying to differentiate the personages as he sings, just as the Yakuts and Dolgans do. The heroes of the epic stories are warriors with bronze or iron armor, silver or brass helmets and belts; they are named after these parts of the clothing. The epic tales usually begin with the phrase: "And so our word went out, traveled for a long time and came upon a tent" or "a man," after which the narration begins. The plots of the epic tales are very complex and usually tell of the struggle of warriors of good spirits with warriors of bad spirits, the cause of the dispute usually being women. Tales of cannibals (sigiye) and of the adventures of the clever man and the trickster (dyayku) are common.

The numerous historical legends deal with the wars of the Nganasans, usually against the Nenetsy and Evenks. Some of them are very close to the so-called Olenek Khosun epic, common among the northern Yakuts. The songs, which deal predominantly with love, are sung by young people in the presence of their beloved. The art of speaking was greatly valued among the Nganasans. In the old days verbal duels between eloquent speakers were organized.

The Nganasans had no musical instruments, apart from a child's whistle made from a goose feather, and the shaman's tambourine.

The Nganasans' graphic art was represented by mammoth-tusk-engraving, encrustation and embossing of metal, dyeing leather and embroidering with deer-hair. The Nganasan designs were exclusively geometric; the image of living beings was only permitted on religious articles, for example, the coverings for shaman's tambourines or bags containing the *kuoyka*, which were square-shaped sacks with fur on the inside and drawings of spirits on the outside. The engraving of mammoth-tusk plates for deer-bridles showed the greatest variety. Black and red coloring was rubbed into the engraved design, and the same plate had designs in different colors. Iron was encrusted with copper and silver. Women's aprons were decorated with sheet copper stamped into special ornamental designs—forks, stars, etc.—by special iron dies.

Designs on leather were colored black with graphite and red with ochre. The dyes were dissolved in water, drawn with a special stick in thick lines and edged with reindeer-hair braid. Furthermore, leather was designed with wooden dies. The sculpture was represented by religious objects, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures (*kuoyka*) made of wood, mammoth-bone or metal.

The Nganasans After the October Revolution

The long-drawn-out Civil War in Siberia and the remoteness and inaccessibility of the Taymyr tundras delayed the start of Soviet construction among the Nganasans. During the 1920's, only a few workers penetrated into the region settled by them. These were instructors from the Turukhanskly Rayon Executive Committee, and consumers'-cooperative and public health workers. Clan soviets were set up among the Nganasans. In 1928, in order to bring the soviets closer to the population, the Taymyr soviet was set off from the Avam clan soviet. In 1931, the Taymyr National Okrug, which included the Nganasans among others, was set up. In the same year, the Nganasan clan soviets were converted into nomadic soviets, for whose chairmen the first short courses were organized. At the same time, the Nganasans of the Oko clan were transferred from the Dolgan clan soviet to the Taymyr and Vadeyev nomadic soviets.

Socialist construction among the Nganasans developed at a rapid pace during the five-year plans. Four collective farms were set up, 3 in the Avamsky Rayon and one in the Khatangsky Rayon. In 1950, the latter was unified with a neighboring Yakut collective farm, and in 1952, the other 3 were merged.

[Reindeer-herding is now organized on a larger scale (600-800 head per herd) and on a round-the-clock basis. The herders are chiefly men, but girls also take part. The herding is usually done in teams of 2, but during the roundup, when one must not either shout or shoot to scare away the wolves, there are 3 herders. The norms of good veterinary practice are applied, and all herding operations are carried out in an organized way. Certain Nganasans have completed the okrug reindeer-herding school.

[The fur trade has been reorganized: hunting is done by brigades equipped with movable tents on sleds, which inspect the traps every 10 days, if possible. Wooden pitfalls are now used over almost all the North. The sidewalls of these are often made of stone slabs. This type used to be rare among the Nganasans. The so-called trough-traps, which protect the caught game from predators, are now common.

[The old methods of hunting wild reindeer are now rarely used. The predatory spearings, net-hunting, etc., have disappeared completely. The brigades are now equipped with long-range rifles. These are also used to



A group of Nganasans.

hunt geese and ducks. Net-hunting for ducks and moulting geese has been forbidden as being too predatory.

[The diet of the Nganasan collective members has changed markedly. Bread, sugar, butter and other products have become customary foods. Due to the organization of bakeries in the tundra, the Nganasans can now always have baked bread. They have ceased to use the primitive methods of preserving food, replacing them with imported goods.

[The Nganasans preserve the national forms of clothing even today, making them not only from reindeer-skin, but from cotton cloth. Shirts, jackets, boots, trousers, rubber shoes, have come into use beside the old-fashioned clothing. Underwear, which was completely unknown to the Nganasans, is being used more and more.

[The best preserved of the old norms and customs of kinship are the exogamic taboos, although there are already cases of violation. Polygamy and bride-price have disappeared.

[The cultural and education work of Party and state organizations has already yielded results. Whereas in 1938 there was only one Nganasan Communist, there are now Party groups in 3 out of the 4 Nganasan collectives. Nganasans are members of the Executive Committees of the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons. Many Nganasans, including women, have been elected People's Assessors.¹

[All children of school age are being taught in the boarding departments of seven- or ten-year schools during the school year at full state expense.]

¹ People's Assessors are, in effect, lay judges. They sit in panels of 3, one of whom must be a trained lawyer, and try all ordinary cases.—ED.



THE ENTSY

B. O. DOLGIKH

(based on data by G. D. Verbov)

General Information

In a linguistic and ethnographic respect, the Entsy are close to the Nganasans and the Nentsy. The total number of Entsy in the 1926-1927 census was registered as 378.

According to their place of residence and their dialect, the Entsy were divided before the Revolution into two groups. The first group used to nomadize in the summer between the Yenisey and Yenisey Sound in the west, and the river Pur, a tributary of the Pyasina, in the east. They moved back to the forest tundra near the Yenisey between the river Little Kheta and Lake Pyasino for the winter. The smaller group nomadized permanently in the forests along the Yenisey above the village of Dudinka, near the camps Luzino, Potapovo, and so on. The tundra Entsy consisted of the Somatu and Bay groups, and half the Muggadi group. The remainder were called Madu (this was the old name for the Somatu). At one time the Madu Entsy also used the archaic name for themselves, Oney-enete, i.e., "real people." The Nentsy called them "Manto." The forest Entsy consisted of the second half of the Muggadi group, the Yuchi, some of the families from the Bay group, and so on. The general name for them was "Pe-Bay" (i.e., "forest Bay").

Prior to the Revolution, the Entsy were known under the name of Khantayka and Karasin Samoyeds. The Khantayka Entsy were the Somatu group, and the Karasin Entsy were the Muggadi, Bay and Yuchi. The Entsy did not have any general name for themselves. The word "Entsy" was only formed after the Revolution from the word "enete" which means "person" in their language.

The Ennish language is close to the Nennish language but differs from the latter in certain phonetic and lexical respects. In phonetic make-up the Ennish language is close to the Nganasan language.

In the 17th century the Somatu (Madu) roamed the forest-tundra between the lower reaches of the Yenisey and the Taz, while the Bay and some of the Muggadi nomadized in the Turukhan Basin and the remaining Muggadi and Yuchi in the Taz Basin. The Ennish groups Aseda and Salerta also lived on the Taz.

As a whole, the Ennish groups in the 17th century occupied the Taz and Turukhan Basins and the entire lower reaches of the Yenisey from the Lower Tunguska to the Yenisey Sound. The Nennish pronunciation of the name of the Muggadi land gave rise to the name of the town Mangazeya (in Nennish Mongkasi-ya, or "land of the Muggadi"), founded by the Russians in 1601 on the lower reaches of the Taz.



Fisherman in a canoe.

The Entsy were displaced from the Taz and Turukhan at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries by the Sel'kups and Kets, and from the tundra and forest-tundra between the Ob' and Taz Bays and the Yenisey by the Nentsy. The Aseda, Salerta and some of the Yuchi group left on the left bank of the Yenisey and on the Taz were assimilated by the Nentsy.

The total strength of the Ennish tribes in the beginning of the 17th century attained 3000 persons, that is to say, it was considerably higher than the number of Nganasans and approached the strength of the Nentsy in Siberia. But a number of epidemics, clashes with the Sel'kups, assimilation by the Nentsy and Sel'kups, and at the turn of the 20th century the Dolgans as well, reduced the number of Entsy.

At the present time the Entsy in the Ust'-Yeniseyskiy Rayon are finally merging with the Nentsy, and at the "New Life" collective farm the process is already complete. In the Avamskiy Rayon they are merging with the Nganasans. In the "Transpolar" collective farm of the Dudinskiy Rayon, the forest Entsy have assimilated Nennish material culture, but the language of the forest Entsy has been adopted here by the Nentsy themselves.

Economy and Everyday Life Before the Revolution

In occupation, the Entsy have long been hunters, reindeer-breeders and fishermen. They used to hunt the wild reindeer and polar fox. The meat and skins of the reindeer were used in the household, while the polar-fox skins were sold. The reindeer-breeding was of the Samoyedic type and was intended mainly for purposes of transportation. Fishing was carried out on a fairly large scale, particularly by the forest Entsy.

At one time the Entsy hunted wild reindeer, like the Nganasans, with bows and arrows and with the help of decoys and nets. Hunting at river crossings was less developed among the Entsy than among the Nganasans.

As a dwelling, the Entsy had the conical pole tent, absolutely identical in structure with the Nganasan version. The clothing of the tundra Entsy coincided with that of the Nganasans down to the smallest detail. The



Women's holiday dress.



A settlement in the S. M. Kirov kolkhoz.

forest Entsy dressed in the Nennish fashion, except for slight differences: they wore shorter malitsas, and covered them with cloth less often. The designs on the tundra Ennish clothing were the same as the Nganasans'—basically geometrical.

The social structure and religion of the Entsy (particularly the tundra groups) used to be similar to those of the Nganasans. The Somatu Entsy consisted of nine exogamous clans while the Muggadi, Bay and Yuchi groups constituted exogamous units.

Ennish folklore is very rich and represented by epic tales, stories, historical legends, songs, cosmogonic tales. As distinct from the Nganasans, the Entsy hardly have any of the plots of the Olenek Khosun epics, but instead, there are many legends of the hunter Morréde, who hunted with a reindeer decoy. The Entsy retained many legends of armed clashes with Nentsy and Evenks.

In the past, the Entsy, living and nomadizing not far from the Yenisey, were exploited to a tremendous extent by merchants. Among the tundra Entsy there was also considerable economic differentiation: there were owners of large herds of 2000-3000 head and poor people with few or no reindeer, who had to work for the richer people.

The Entsy in the Soviet Period

Considerable changes have taken place in the fishing economy of the Entsy. The collectives of which Entsy are members yield large quantities of commercial fish and overfulfill the plan for sale of fish to the state. The technical equipment of the collective has improved. Besides fishing within their own territory, the collectives also go on expeditions to the Yenisey Sound, reaching their destination by cutters and steamboats.

The hunting of polar fox is the most important branch of the fur trade, as before. In the "Transpolar" collective a large role is also played by the hunting of hare, and in the Kirov collective, Ust'-Yeniseyskiy Rayon, by

wild-reindeer hunting. The technology of wild-reindeer hunting, which is the most ancient form of hunting, and was the chief occupation of the ancestors of the Entsy, has changed fundamentally. Hunting with nets of leather straps, with decoys, by spearing, has disappeared. Most hunting is done with rifles, which allow the reindeer to be killed at long range.


The Entsy members of collectives, particularly on the "Transpolar" collective, have been partially converted to a settled way of life. The hunting and fishing brigades are still nomadic, but even these no longer live in pole tents, and have replaced them with sled-tents or baloks. The balok is a small house on a frame with runners. The frame is covered with reindeer skins or canvas, and the balok is heated with an iron stove.

The Entsy now wear Russian clothing as underclothing, and in the summer; and Nennish clothing for the winter. Only those in the Avamskiy Rayon and on the Kirov collective in the Ust'-Yeniseyskiy Rayon have retained their old national dress, similar in all respects to the Nganasan.

Polygamy, the levirate and bride-price have disappeared from family life, and the former strict sexual division of labor is retreating into the background. Of the former features of family and marital life clan exogamy has been retained and is observed to this day.

[All children of school age are in school. Medical aid is widely available, and most births now take place in hospitals.]





THE SEL'KUPS

E. D. PROKOFYEVA

(based on data by G. N. Prokof'yeu)

General Information

The Sel'kups belong to the peoples of the Samoyedic-speaking group. The present-day Samoyedic peoples grew up, as has been shown by Soviet scholars, through prolonged and complex ties between the aboriginal population of the North and the Samoyedic-speaking tribes which spread over these territories from the Sayan Plateau during the first few centuries of our era. During these migrations by the Samoyedic groups in the taiga belt of the Ob' Basin, there emerged the Sel'kup people, similar in economy, everyday life and culture to their neighbors, the Khants and Kets, rather than to the northern Samoyedic peoples, the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans, related to them in language.

Even after the arrival of the Russians in Siberia, some of the Sel'kups migrated in the 17th century from the Ob' Basin to the river Taz, and then to the river Turukhan. On the Taz the Sel'kups acquired reindeer-breeding. That is how the group of northern Sel'kups, separated from the Ob' group by the Khant population on the river Vakh and the Ket population on the river Yeloguy came into being. Before this, the Sel'kups, just as the Khants and Kets, were known by the Russians as Ostyaks; in ethnographic publications they were called Ostyak Samoyeds.

Since the southern group of Sel'kups in the 17th century were chiefly included in the Narymskiy Uyezd, and then the Narymskiy Okrug, they were known as the Narym Sel'kups. The Sel'kup reindeer-breeders living in the North, in the Taz and Turukhan Basins, were called the Taz-Turukhan or Northern Sel'kups. At one time the Taz Sel'kups were also called Tym-Karakon Ostyaks, and the Turukhan Sel'kups were called Baikha Ostyaks.

According to the 1926-1927 census, the strength of the Sel'kups was some 1500 Northern Sel'kups and about 4500 Narym Sel'kups, making 6,000 roughly in all.

A considerable number of Narym Sel'kups, particularly those living on the Ob', developed close relations with the Russian peasants and fishermen settling the Ob' in the 16th century. By the 17th century the Narym Sel'kups had assimilated the Russian language and by the beginning of the 20th century the Ob' Sel'kups were all bilingual, many having completely lost their native language.

In the past, the Sel'kups did not have a single name for themselves. The word "Sel'kup" stems from the name used by the Northern Sel'kups for themselves. The Northern Taz-Turukhan group call themselves

Söl'kup (on the river Taz) or Shöl'kup (on the Turukhan), both meaning "man from the taiga."

The Narym Sel'kups consist of two groups—the Tym group (on the river Tym) which calls itself Chumyl'-kup or "earth man" (from chu, "earth"), and the Ket group (along the river Ket') Sūs-se kum, or Shōsh-kum, meaning "man from the taiga" (from sūt and shōt, meaning "taiga"). The old Russian inhabitants of the Turukhanskiy Rayon called the Northern Sel'kups, originating from the Surgutskiy Uyezd, Surguts. The Nentsy living on the lower reaches of the Taz called the Sel'kups Tasung khabi, which means "Taz Ostyaks."

At the present time the Sel'kups mainly occupy the Tomskaya Oblast and the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug. The Narym (Southern) Sel'kups are living in the Tomskaya Oblast, mainly in the Kargasokskiy, Verkhne-Ketskiy and Kolpashevskiy Rayons. In the Kargasokskiy Rayon the Sel'kups are spread along the Tym Basin, in the Tymskiy Rural Soviet (which was called the Tym National Rayon until 1950). In this same rayon the Sel'kups also live on the lower reaches of the Vas'yugan and along its tributaries, the Chizhapa and Nyuroi'ka, as well as along the upper tributaries of the river Parabel', the Chuzik and Kenga. In the Verkhne-Ketskiy Rayon the Sel'kups, who there call themselves Sūsse kum, live mainly in the Maksimoyarovskiy Rural Soviet, located on the upper reaches of the Ket'.

In the Kargasokskiy and Kolpashevskiy Rayons the Sel'kups occupy a number of settlements along the Ob' itself, as far as the Sendorovskiy Yurts [village and administrative unit] in the south (60 km above the city of Kolpashevo).

Within the Yamal-Nennish National Okrug, the Sel'kups live in a compact group in the Krasnosel'kupskiy, Tazovskiy and Purovskiy Rayons, on the river Taz and its tributaries, and on the middle and upper reaches of the Pur River. On the upper reaches of the left tributaries of the Taz the Sel'kups live together with the Khants who have settled the Lar'yakskiy Rayon of the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug. In the Purovskiy Rayon, the Sel'kups live together with the forest Nentsy, and in the Tazovskiy Rayon with the tundra Nentsy. The Balsha (Baikha) or Turukhan Sel'kups populate the basins of the Turukhan and Yeloguy, where they border on the Kets. In this way the Narym Sel'kups, just as the Khants and Mansi, live in the taiga belt, while the Taz and Turukhan Sel'kups live in the forest tundra.

In accordance with the above-mentioned three groups of Sel'kups, the Sel'kup language divides into three dialects: the Taz (and Baikha Sel'kup subdialect), the Tym and Ket dialects. The Taz dialect contains a whole series of features of the Tym dialect, on the one hand, and of the Ket dialect, on the other. The morphology of the Sel'kup language differs from that of Nennish by having more cases. The case endings for animate and inanimate nouns in the Sel'kup language are different, which is not the case in the other Samoyedic languages.

Word-formation from verbal roots is more extensive in Sel'kup than in the other Samoyedic languages. In phonetic structure, the Sel'kup language is close to the Konda subdialect of the Mansi language and the dialect of the forest Nentsy.

Traces of the residence of aboriginal tribes—ancestors of the present-day Sel'kups—can be seen in many spots in present-day Sel'kup territory, for example, the rivers Tym, Ket' and Parabel'. Along the banks of these rivers there are many traces of ancient earth-dwellings (karamo). Only the underground part has been preserved; there is no ground-level structure at all. They consist of pits rectangular in shape, for the most part square, and at the present time their depth is about one meter. They

are covered with a layer of soil and vegetation, which has been there for a very long time, and in some of them perennial cedars and pine trees are to be found. There are also earth-dwellings which have a narrow corridor leading off. The corridor leads towards the river. The dwellings are half a kilometer or so from the present-day bank of the river. On the Ket' we also find whole groups of these dwellings. Around some of them there is a clearly marked earth rampart, which at one stage surrounded them. According to the Narym Sel'kups, even quite recently, it was possible to find earth-dwellings in a better state of preservation; in them were found sharp-bottomed clay vessels, copper arrow-heads, belt buckles, adornments for women's braids, reels for sinew thread made of mammoth bone or deer antler.

The Narym Sel'kups consider these earthen houses as dwellings of their ancestors and recount the following about them. Earthen dwellings were dug in the form of caves in steep, precipitous riverbanks. The corridor was used to enter the cave. It was dug at the level of the river water, and gradually rose towards the cave itself deep in the hillside. The floor of the cave also slanted from the entrance to the back wall, where the living space proper—the beds and household utensils—were located. The hearth was situated by the front wall of the dwelling, at the side of the entrance, in such a way that the smoke escaped through the corridor. The cave was reached from the river in boats which were then pulled inside the dwelling. Among the Taz Sel'kups, even today, the threshold is called *kit shun'chi*, which means "the inside of the mountain," and the directions toward and away from the hearth in the old dwellings are called by the ancient names *karre* or "downhill" and *konne* or "uphill." There is no doubt that the whole of this terminology has been retained from ancient times when they lived in cave dwellings. On the Turukhan, its tributaries and on the Taz no traces of such dwellings are found. Unfortunately, there has been no archeological excavation of these dwellings in the Narymskiy Kray.

The reference in the "Tale of the Unknown People in the East of the Country" to the fact that "up the great river Ob' there are people who walk underground" probably means the ancient ancestors of the Sel'kups who lived in underground dwellings.

The first authentic historical information on the Sel'kups goes back to the end of the 16th century. At that time the Narym Sel'kups were called the Piebald Horde in Russian documents.

This name probably showed that the Sel'kups wore vividly colored clothing made from the skins of smaller animals and birds. At the end of the 16th century they were led by a "prince" Vonya, who stubbornly resisted the Russian voyevods. Possessing as many as 400 armed followers, Vonya refused to pay the fur-tax for a long time, made an alliance with the Tatar khan Kuchum and threatened to march on Surgut. It was only with the founding of Narym (1596) that the Piebald Horde was subjugated to the Prince of Muscovy.

In the 17th century the Sel'kups comprised the native population of the Narymskiy and Ketskiy Uyezds. Furthermore, some of them lived in the Tomskiy and Surgutskiy Uyezds. The territory settled by the Sel'kups in the 17th century consisted of 27 "volosts" (5 Ket, 12 Narym, 7 Tomsk and 3 Surgut).

The volosts were headed by "princelings" from the local population, former clan leaders and their descendants. At the beginning of the 18th century the Sel'kups were baptized en masse; there were individual cases of baptism even in the 17th century.

Until 1880 the Sel'kups paid their tribute in furs. In the 19th century, because of the poor catches of fur-bearing animals, they often had to buy

furs from the Russian merchants in order to pay the fur-tax. The taxation of the Sel'kups was not confined to just the fur-tax. In the 19th century they also had to pay guberniya, local and crown taxes, had to carry out volost obligatory duties and also were subjected to communal, church and postal expenses.

The traders exchanged furs, fish, birds, nuts and berries with the Sel'kups and enslaved them in long-term loans which were passed down from generation to generation.

The overall deterioration of the economic position of the Sel'kups was aggravated in the last decades of the 19th century on account of the transfer of their best fishing grounds to the traders and kulaks in payment of debts by means of lease or direct expropriation.

The Russians who reached the Ob' in the 17th century used firearms for hunting. But the Sel'kups were unable to acquire these, since it was a government law that Russians were not allowed to sell guns and ammunition to "natives." It was only at the beginning of the 19th century that a primitive type of gun appeared among the better-off Sel'kups, and during the second half of the 19th century that they became common. The advent of guns substantially changed the fur-hunting among the Ob', and then among all the other groups of, Sel'kups. The Russians brought with them improved fishing tackle and better boats. By taking part together with the Russians in hunting expeditions the Sel'kups began to change to a settled way of life, to replace their dwellings by the Russian-type house. Embryonic animal husbandry and vegetable-gardening began to appear; their diet also changed. Bread became a common food, Russian stoves, which were first built in the open and then inside the houses, were adopted by the Sel'kup settlements. Russian clothing came into use. All this together greatly improved the cultural level of the Narym Sel'kups living on the Ob', and began to distinguish them from those groups which lived in the remoter taiga regions and did not come into constant contact with the Russians.

Basic Occupations

The age-old basic occupations of the Sel'kups were hunting and fishing. Reindeer-breeding was known only to the Northern Sel'kups, among whom it was used for purposes of transportation. The main hunting weapon among the Sel'kups from the second half of the 19th century was the gun (called pushkat in Sel'kup, or tyul'she; the first word from the Russian word "pushka" [cannon] and the second word translated from Sel'kup means "tongue of fire"). But the guns were the most obsolete type—they were muzzle-loading and flintlock. Other weapons were the bow and arrow, snare, and different types of trap. The bow was common among the Turukhan-Taz Sel'kups as well as among the Narym Sel'kups. It was chiefly used for shooting geese and duck, and also for squirrel. The compound Sel'kup bow was renowned for its quality among the neighboring groups of Nentsy, Khants and Evenks, and was bartered from the Sel'kups by them. The arrows were feathered with eagle feathers, and sometimes swan feathers. Before this, the automatic bow had been very common in Narym. It was set up to shoot both large and small animals—bears, wolverines, fox and Siberian ferret. In order to set the bow, notches were cut in a tree with drawings of bears, elk, and so on. Hares and foxes were caught with pole-drop traps. It was very common to catch partridges with self-tightening nooses made of horsehair. Children used to hunt this way from a very early age, and it took the form of a contest

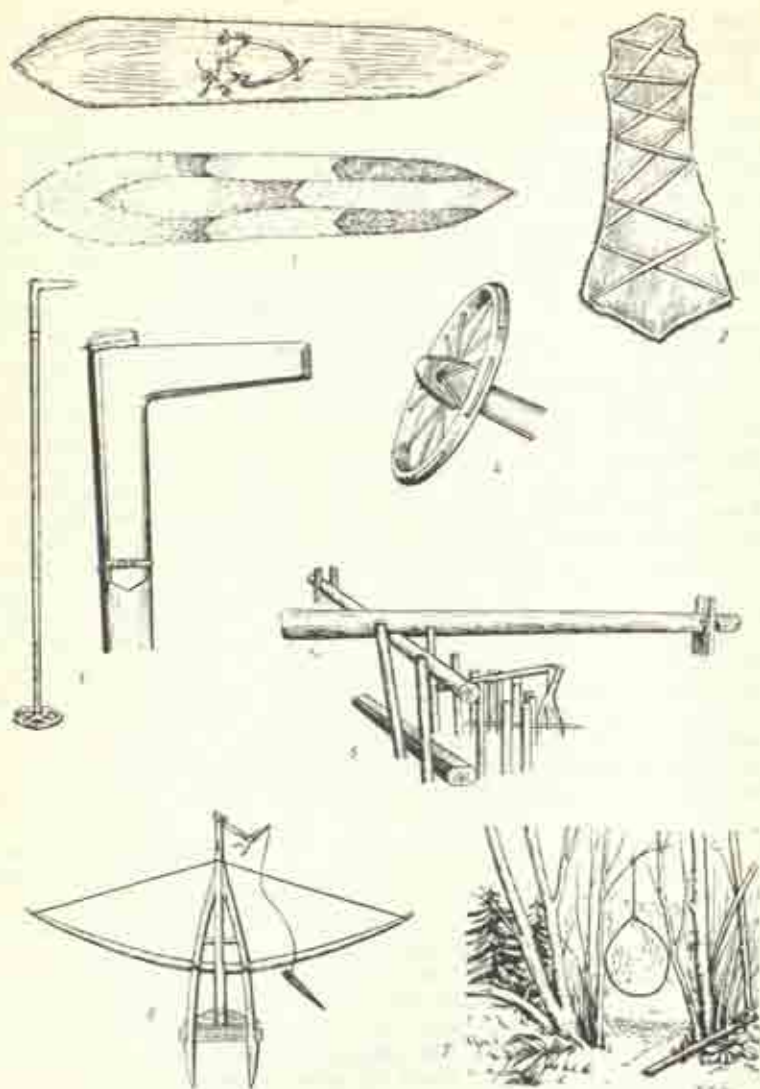
to find the best spot where the partridges settled, and the best way to disguise the trap.

The Narym Sel'kups hunted squirrel almost exclusively with guns, often with dogs, especially rearing "squirrel dogs" for the purpose. Furthermore, traps were set for squirrels and chipmunks. The squirrel was the main game for Sel'kups, in the 19th century the principal unit of barter was a bundle of 10 squirrel skins (sarum). This even influenced the Sel'kup numerals: all the multiples of 10 beginning from the second (20) contain the word "bundle;" 20 is "2 bundles," 30 is "3 bundles," and so on. The polar fox or sable was worth 3 bundles (that is to say, 30 squirrels), and the wolverine or red fox 1 bundle, and so on. In the Taz tundra the polar fox occupied an important place in fur-hunting. It was caught with different types of snares. Among the Narym Sel'kups sable-trapping was of great importance in the past, and the sables were found in large numbers in the forests on the rivers Tym, Vas'yugan, and Ob'. The sables were caught with nets and snares. On account of this predatory extermination the reserves of sable had been greatly reduced by the beginning of the 20th century. Hunting elk, which populated the left bank of the Ob', was of a certain importance among the Narym Sel'kups. This animal was slaughtered mercilessly, particularly the offspring, and almost became extinct by the same period. The elk was hunted with guns and automatic bows and arrows. The Taz and Turukhan Sel'kups also hunted wild reindeer. The Sel'kups hunted bear, although they retained traces of the cult of the bear and believed that the bear had once been a man. On the river Tym, there lived the "bear clan," representatives of which considered the bear to be their progenitor. Not far from the Pyl'-Karamo Yurts in the forest, in the clan storehouse, there was kept an effigy of a bear carved from brass. The Sel'kups of this clan did not hunt the bear in the past and did not eat bear meat.

Of great importance for the Narym Sel'kups was forest-bird hunting. In the autumn they hunted wood-grouse, black grouse and hazel-grouse. This occupation was almost the only source of meat. The meat was salted and preserved. In summer, geese were hunted collectively on the lakes. Several families used to come together at the lake. They chased the geese into a bay in their canoes and by means of nets stretched across the bay cut off their escape to the lake. The nets were then thrown over the geese and they were struck with oars or killed by hand.

At one time the Sel'kups used to breed polar fox and ordinary fox cubs. They would find them in the spring during the spring floods, and keep them in special enclosures, one for each animal. They were fed the whole summer and in the middle of the autumn, just before the Sel'kups went off hunting, they would slaughter them.

In the old days, according to Sel'kup legend, they used to tame bear cubs especially for hunting bears. These bears were kept in the tents and called man iyamy, "my son," or otherwise "he became angry and could not be tamed properly." These homebred bears, according to the Sel'kups, were used for hunting wild bear. During the fight between the two bears, the hunter would kill the wild one. Ducks and geese were also kept in the tents. The geese were tamed to the extent that when allowed out of their cages, they used to fly as far as the water, but always came back again. In the autumn when the first snow fell, they were slaughtered. Sometimes they used to rear the nutcracker and the cuckoo, both of which can easily be tamed. The custom of rearing these birds is explained by survivals of the totemistic beliefs of the Sel'kups. Until recently, the nutcracker was considered the founder of the phratry and clan Kossyl'-tamdyr.



Hunting tools:

- 1—skis lined with suede on the bottom; 2—animal skin stretched for drying; 3—ski pole with handle made of deer bone; 4—basket of ski pole; 5—bear trap (kulema); 6—ermine trap (cherkan); 7—trap for partridges or hares.

The cuckoo was considered a sacred shaman bird. Drawings of it were found on the shaman's clothing and in the form of pendants on the tambourines. Eagles were also reared so that their feathers could be used for arrows.

Fishing was second in importance in the Sel'kup economy. Among the Southern, Narym Sel'kups, fishing played a greater part than among the

Northern, Taz-Turukhan Sel'kups. They fished for sturgeon, white salmon, whitefish, sterlet, burbot, pike, carp, perch, etc.

The fishing season used to open with "small hunting." This occupation began when they had returned from squirrel-hunting and lasted until the water declined, i.e., until the sand was laid bare. At this stage they went on to "big hunting" and all the working population from the winter camps went over to the "sands" and caught the fish with nets, after which they preserved it for the winter.

Among the fishing tackle commonly used by the Sel'kups was the upright net, and it may be taken that this was in everyday use among the Sayan Samoyedic tribes, since the Sel'kup word for net, pokky, comes from the Samoyedic language. Catching fish by means of barriers (kinchi) was universally known to the Sel'kups, and also common among the Kamasins. At the same time there is every reason to believe that this method was used as well by the river inhabitants of the ancient karamo earth-dwellings.

The Narym Sel'kups set up traps for pike and other fish in the lakes. The traps consisted of large floats with hooks. It was also very common to fish with a fishing line (nup). In former times, larger fish were also caught with a fish-spear. The fishermen used to row out into the river at night carrying a light, two boats would come together and birchbark torches were lit on the prow; the fishermen, standing up, would then spear the fish. There was another method of catching large fish—with the bow and arrow. In order to take a truer aim, the end of the arrow was immersed in the water before it was fired.

As mentioned above, it was only the Northern Sel'kups who engaged in reindeer-breeding; it did not exist at all among the Narym Sel'kups. Before the Revolution, the Taz Sel'kups who had 200-300 reindeer were considered rich men; most of them had from 1 to 20, while the Turukhan Sel'kups hardly had any reindeer at all.

As distinct from the Nentsy, the Sel'kups did not use herding dogs, and generally speaking, the pasturing of reindeer was not a common occurrence. Even in the winter, when the owner was using the reindeer both for transportation and as a source of food, they were not pastured. In the evening, the reindeer were left to wander about with a herdsman, and in the



Feeding a tame eagle.



Transporting brushwood.

morning they gathered by themselves in the village. To prevent the reindeer from wandering a long way away, particularly during the snow crust period, wooden "shoes" (mokta) were attached to the hooves of some of the reindeer in the herd. In the summer the reindeer were let free; as the mosquito period approached, they gathered into herds, went off into the forest and nothing more was seen of them. It was only in the autumn when the fishing had finished that the owners began looking for their reindeer, tracking them by the trail on the ground and the covering of antlers left on the branches of trees. They were tracked down in the same way as any wild animal is tracked down. And so, "hunting his own herd" the Sel'kup finally managed to assemble the bulk of his reindeer. Whenever he came across someone else's reindeer, the Sel'kup usually informed the owner and whenever possible returned him the reindeer. The ownership of the reindeer could be recognized by the markings on their ears. Sometimes the reindeer were marked on their sides by shaving the fur. Some owners, usually the Turukhan Sel'kups, constructed primitive sheds for the reindeer in the summer, using bark for the purpose, and there they made smudges to protect the reindeer herded there from the mosquitoes.

Among the Northern (Taz-Turukhan) Sel'kups, the reindeer and dog were the animals used for riding, and among the Narym Sel'kups the dog and horse. The system of harnessing reindeer to sleighs was borrowed by the Sel'kups from their northern neighbors, the Nentay. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Sel'kups retained a legend telling of the Sel'kup who got lost in a "foreign land" and met there an olyktyl' kup or "headless man." The Sel'kup bartered his bow and arrows from the "headless man" in return for harnessed reindeer.

When going hunting, the Sel'kups who did not possess any reindeer used a hand sled, on which the hunter drew along foodstuffs and ammunition. The hand sled (kandzhi) differed in construction from the reindeer type and was similar to the Ket sled. Sometimes the hunter used to harness a dog to this sled to help him pull it. Skis (tangysh) were very commonly used and were made of fir in a special frame and lined with deer suede. In the old times the skin of the otter was used to line the skis. The length of the skis was 1 to 1-1/2 meters and their width 20-25 cm. A staff (tyury) was used to assist in skiing.

On water the Sel'kups used hollowed canoes (in Sel'kup anti or antoka). The canoes were made from trunks of cedar or ash. They were of different

sizes and accommodated 2-10 men. There was one oar (lapy) shaped like a lance for rowing; the end of the top part of the oar had a crosspiece handle.

The Northern Sel'kups traveled in their boats in a sitting position, whereas the Narym Sel'kups often traveled standing up.

Food

Before the Revolution the staple diet of the Sel'kups was fish. The fish was salted and made into porsu (dried fishmeal) and yukola (dried pressed fish). Most of the preserving of the fish was done in summer during the "big catch." In order to make the porsu, the fish was divided into parts, fried, dried and ground in mortars. The leftovers from the yukola and porsu (bones, heads, liver, etc.) were also boiled down and made into oil. Bile was extracted from the gall-bladders and livers of the fish and used to work suede; the sturgeon bladders were used to make glue for joining bows and lining skis. At one time the fish were not salted, but pickled in holes

in the ground with berries; the fish was placed in rows with a layer of berries on top (cranberry, bilberry) and then covered with earth. Forest birds, as well as ducks, geese and partridge, were also preserved.

At points where rivers overflowed, Sel'kup women used to collect wild onion and dig for lily-root with a special pointed stick. Bread, tea and salt were used in the past predominantly by those Sel'kups living on the rivers Ob' and Ket'. Instead of tea it was usual to drink an infusion of honeysuckle. The latter was also used to make an intoxicating drink, to which young amanite mushrooms were sometimes added.

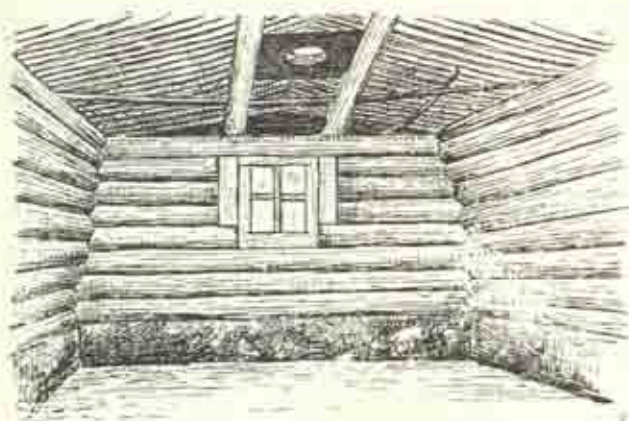
The Sel'kups, like the Khants, made their own crockery from wood and birchbark. Clay pots, known to the inhabitants of the ancient karamo, were not found among the Sel'kups. For a long time they had used imported vessels—iron and copper cauldrons, teapots and frying pans; plates, saucers, cups and so on were also found among the Sel'kups. Strips of birch (shyur) were used as cloths, towels and so on.

Dwellings

Sel'kup settlements were usually located on high river banks, at the mouths of estuaries, channels and dry riverbeds, and were small, ranging



Hunter in a canoe.



Mud hut (ancient dwelling):
1—outside view; 2—inside view.

from 2 to 10 dugouts, houses or tents. The dwellings were set up without any plan and scattered about. On the lower reaches of the Tym, there were constructions of the Russian type; on the lower reaches of the Ket' and on the Tax it was also possible to find a variety of dwellings—Russian cottages, dugouts, half-dugouts, tents made of wooden laths, and so on. The Sel'kup settlements in Narym were reminiscent of the Khant settlements in having "barns" on piles used to store clothing, domestic utensils and food.

The old type of winter dwelling, which was retained until recently by the Northern Sel'kups, consisted of a log hut faced with turf and caulked with grass, erected over a rectangular hole in the ground about half a meter deep. Sometimes the walls of the dugout (chul' mat) were made of poles or even planks. Opposite the door, which was hung on leather hinges, there was a window (25 × 40 cm in size) which was filled with a piece of ice instead of glass. As the ice melted, it was replaced. On the right of the entrance, sometimes opposite it, in the middle of the dugout was a hearth (shōngai'). The back wall of it was made of several poles



Tent and sledges carrying chests with belongings.

arranged in a semicircle and coated with clay. The poles projected half a meter above the flat, sloping roof of the dwelling. Onto the foundation of the hearth, at the front, they built a "forehead" made of part of a worn-out canoe; the part of the canoe projecting above the roof together with the hearth poles made up a kind of chimney to let the smoke escape. The whole of the space between the hearth and the wall containing the window was regarded as the living quarters. The space between the hearth and the entrance was used for keeping wood, food and so on. Besides these dwellings, the Taz-Turukhan Sel'kups also had another type of winter dwelling which could be dismantled. It was a tent, borrowed from the Nentsy, with a framework of poles covered with adult reindeer skins. From 24 to 28 skins were used for one large tent (for a large family). The fur was removed from the skins used for this purpose, and it took several years to collect enough skins.

The summer dwelling of the Northern Sel'kups was the birchbark tent. Nine pieces of tiska or strips of treated birchbark sewn into panels were used to make this tent. During the summer migrations, the Sel'kups also lived in covered boats. The settled Narym Sel'kups were totally unfamiliar with the winter skin tent, and the summer birchbark tent was hardly found among them either. Their permanent type of dwelling for the winter was the dugout, half-dugout hut and wooden hut. The dugouts and half dugouts were rather well built. There were dugouts with wooden floors, glass windows and a Russian-style stove. The dugouts were made of logs or poles, similar to those lived in by the Taz and Turukhan Sel'kups; the hut was covered over with turf and scattered with earth. On the river Ket' the Sel'kups lived in log huts made of thin logs, with poorly finished corners; the log huts were set up without foundations and had an earthen floor; there was no ceiling. The dwellings were covered with brushwood, turf or bark. Inside this type of hut, just as in the dugout, the hearth had always to be on the right of the entrance.

The summer dwelling of the Narym Sel'kups was a birchbark tent similar to the Khant type. Conical tents made of fir bark were also found. Just as among the Taz-Turukhan Sel'kups, a covered boat also served as a summer dwelling among the Narym Sel'kups. There was no hearth in any of the summer-type dwellings. The people cooked their food, made tea, etc., on a fire in the open. If they stayed for a long time in one spot, the women would make something like a Russian stove in the sand covering the high bank, or build a stove of clay near the dwelling on a base, and cover it over with an awning. Bread was baked in stoves of this kind. In winter during the squirrel-hunting, the hunters used to build windshields of fir branches or dig pits in the snow and light fires in them.

Clothing

Typical outer winter clothing of the Northern Sel'kups was the parka (paryg), a deerskin coat with fur on the outside and open at the front. In extreme frost a sokky was worn over this coat, of exactly the same cut as the Nennish sovik (a deerskin coat without an opening at the front, with fur on the outside and an attached hood). This garment, which was borrowed by the Sel'kups from the Nentsy, was only used by men; but the parka was worn by both men and women.

Men's clothing consisted of a shirt and trousers made of bought material; women wore dresses. Trousers were made of suede.

The winter footwear of the Northern Sel'kups consisted of fur boots called pemy, the vamps of which were made of suede and the legpieces of cloth, or sometimes also of suede. Instead of stockings, they had combed grass, with which they wrapped their feet. This grass was collected in tufts, dried, crumpled by hand and combed. In summer they wore suede footwear and Russian-style boots. Hats (üky) in the form of a hood were made of skins of newborn calves, polar fox and squirrel paws, and from the skin of the neck of the loon. The most commonly used headgear for men and women was the kerchief. In summer the men wore a kerchief tied under the chin, or, rolling it into a band, wore it round their heads like a turban.

The Northern Sel'kups made mittens (nopy) from skins with the fur outside. Their clothing was poor in ornamentation. They had neither fur trimmings nor bead embellishments.

Linguistic material shows that both the outer clothing, suede trousers, and footwear made of suede and hood-type hat and mittens were all products of a material culture inherited by the present-day Sel'kups from their Sayan ancestors.

Even before the Revolution the Narym Sel'kups made extensive use of Russian-style clothing. On the Ob' and Ket' the Sel'kups made their own clothing from bought materials. The national style was only retained for outer clothing made from skins. In winter they wore the fur coat or the parka (on the upper reaches of the Tym), but it was covered on the outside with cloth rather than fur. Their headgear was the Russian-style fur hat with earflaps or the Tungus hood. Almost everywhere they wore the Russian-style shirt and trousers and the women wore dresses. The women belted their sarafans with a belt woven from colored threads. A knife and a thimble were carried in the belt. The only adornment worn by men on their clothing was the belt. It was made of leather and decorated with metal badges. A knife in an ornamental sheath was suspended on a chain from the belt.

Festive shirts and sarafans were worn on top of the old clothing. The old clothing and underwear was not usually taken off until it became completely unwearable. Underwear was not worn very often. In Narym mittens and summer footwear used to be made of sturgeon and sterlet skin. The Narym Sel'kup women were great experts at combining squirrel and sable paws in various ways. They made fur coats with skilfully selected paws. The coats made of squirrel paws were very fine and durable. The women worked for several years at a time on these coats.

Men and boys cut their hair in a ring. Sometimes the men wore one or two earrings. The girls plaited their hair with colored pieces of cloth, thereby making the braids longer; they attached badges, beads and bells to their braids. Of these adornments the Sel'kups have retained the following legend. In the distant past, the Sel'kups had special dwellings for Sel'kup boys, in which they lived apart from their families until the age of puberty (17), and, according to the custom, were not allowed to see girls from their own clan. Nevertheless, having heard the tinkling of the bells, badges and so on, they knew that the girls had gone for water, and the sounds summoned them to a rendezvous. The boys used to make their way secretly to the river and meet the girls there. Married women also had two braids, but did not adorn them in any way.

Newborn infants were wrapped in rags (swaddling clothes), fur or calfskins and tightly swaddled. Pieces of rotten birchbark, which is very hygroscopic, were placed in the cradle and often changed.

Social Relations and Religion

Even in the 19th century, the basic unit of the Sel'kups was the territorial neighborhood commune, consisting of a number of related and non-related households, but it still retained traces of the previous clan organization to a great extent. The Sel'kup clan consisted of a group of relatives on the male line. The clans were united in two exogamous phratries.

The Northern Sel'kups divided up into two exogamous "halves" or phratries: the Limbyl' Peläkkyl' Tamdyr ("Eagle Half Clan") and Kossyl' Peläkkyl' Tamdyr ("Nutcracker Half Clan") each of which was divided into a number of clans.

The Tym Sel'kups considered themselves to belong to the Kossyl' Kula "half" or "Perch People" (the river Tym is called in the Sel'kup language Kossyl'-Ky or "Perch River). This "half" divided into the following clans: Korkyl'-tamdyr (Bear clan), Kuläl'-tamdyr ("Raven clan"), Mülint'-tamdyr ("Kite clan"), Chingkyt'-tamdyr ("Swan clan"), Karel'-tamdyr ("Crane clan"), and Sengkyt'-tamdyr ("Woodcock clan"). In the 17th-18th centuries, as far as we can judge from the historical data available and the Sel'kup legends, each clan had its own territory. The hunting and fishing grounds on this clan territory were considered the collective property of all the members.

The river Tym as a whole was considered the property of all the clans living on it, and the spring fishing was carried out on the lower reaches of the Tym as a joint operation by all clans, who gathered at one central point—the Napas village—for the beginning of it. However, as already mentioned, in the 19th century the Sel'kup clan was no longer an economic unit. Collective labor, extensively used in hunting and fishing, united groups of households, normally without reference to clan membership. The traditions of this collective labor were retained by the Sel'kups until

recently. The commonest type of collective labor was *barrier* (or *spear*) fishing during which several households took part in setting up the barrier. Fish caught by means of this barrier was subject to collective distribution among all those taking part. The Sel'kups living on the lower reaches of the Taz organized collective hunting of moulting geese, and collective wild reindeer-hunting. Among the Turukhan Sel'kups the collective labor was used for erecting deer sheds in which the deer belonging usually to several households were kept for the period when they had to be protected from deerfly and mosquitoes.

There was also a system of mutual assistance; hospitality, which was not only extended to kinsmen, but also to members of other clans, was highly developed. A Sel'kup considered it his sacred duty to offer shelter to a guest.

The emergence of economic inequality in Sel'kup society and the appearance of embryonic class differentiation was due to the development of barter, which led to the setting off of the Sel'kup family as an independent economic unit. Originally, before the system of financial relationships reached the Sel'kups, they had used the system of barter. The objects bartered were various kinds of furs, and fish, and, among the Northern Sel'kups, products of reindeer-breeding and all kinds of artifacts, among which bows and arrows played a prominent part.

With the incorporation of Siberia into Russia and the penetration into Sel'kup society of new merchandise and commercial and financial relationships, internal barter was ousted to an ever greater extent by the exchange of products (usually furs) for imported goods—various metal implements, in particular axes, saws, knives, pots, cloth, flour, tea, sugar, tobacco, vodka and so on.

The reindeer-breeding of the Turukhan Sel'kups was never conducted on a large scale: the households which had more than 20 or 30 head of reindeer were few and far between, and in this connection the economic differentiation among them was far less pronounced than, for example, among the Nentsy. Nevertheless, despite this, there were marked forms of exploitation in existence.

The most typical forms of exploitation of the poor people by the richer reindeer-breeders among the Northern Sel'kups were the following: 1) the issuance, particularly of food products and ammunition, to households possessing no or few reindeer in return for work; payment for the goods received on credit was made in furs, and the price of the goods and the furs was fixed arbitrarily by the lender; 2) the richer people gave the poorer households reindeer for the hunting season and payment for the use of them was also made in furs; 3) the use of the manpower of a poorer kinsman in return for his food; in most cases these poor people were orphans who had lost their parents in early childhood and were brought up by kinsmen; in the more distant past, during intertribal wars, mentioned in the Sel'kup legends, these workers were children from other tribes who had fallen into captivity.

Although the woman in the Sel'kup family was subordinate to the man, her status was not an inferior one; in many respects the Sel'kup woman had the same rights as the man. For example, she was able to take part in the hunting and fishing, whereas among some peoples of the Far North women not only were unable to take part in the occupations, but were forbidden to touch fishing tackle, so as not to bring bad luck during hunting and fishing.

The kinship system among the Sel'kups was the classificatory, the same type as among the Nentsy. The ideological ties of the clan were

retained firmly by the Sel'kups. Every clan had its own shaman and its own cemetery. Whenever a Sel'kup died on "foreign land," his kinsmen were obliged to bring back his body to his "native land" and bury him in the clan cemetery. Sel'kups were buried in hollowed-out graves, sometimes in boats, in the ground, and a log structure was erected at the site. The dead man's property was placed with him (having first been broken). It is mentioned in the legends that at one time people used to be buried in trees (cedars).

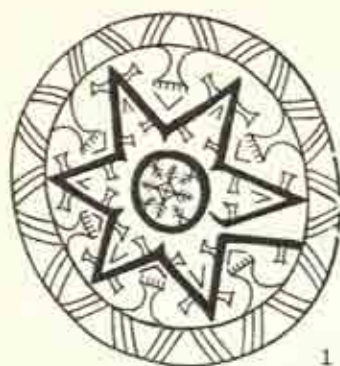
Although they were officially considered Christians, the Sel'kups continued with their ancient religious beliefs and ceremonies. They believed in "master" spirits of the forest (machil' loz), the "master" of the water ("ükyl' loz) and soon. In order to bring good luck during hunting and fishing, the "master" of the forest and "master" of the water were offered sacrifices.

According to the Sel'kups, the deity Nom (Num) was benevolent and the underground spirit Kyzy was an evil spirit. Kyzy had a multitude of spirit-aides who, like the wind, entered the human body through the skin and caused sickness by nibbling at some organ or other. He found his way into people in the form of a worm or an insect, and moved along the blood vessels. Hence, the shamans, when called upon to treat a sick man, aimed at driving out the unwanted guest. The shaman's spirits (lozy) began to "chase" the evil spirits in the sick person, trying to force them onto the surface of the body. With the death of the person, the spirits which had killed him did not perish themselves, but "went away to the wind" and entered somebody else. The reason for sickness was explained also by the fact that the evil spirit was supposed to have captured one of the person's souls. In such cases the shaman had to go and look for the lost soul; if he managed to find it and bring it back, the sick person got well, otherwise he died.

One of the peculiar rituals in Sel'kup shamanism (which also existed among the Kets) was the ceremony of "bringing to life" the tambourine and other accoutrements of the shaman's garb. The Sel'kups believed that the tambourine was a reindeer on which the shaman went to the sky and to the underground world. In order to make these journeys, the shaman had to bring his tambourine to life. The ceremony was usually timed for the bird migrations in the spring and continued for 10 days. The peak of the ceremony was a journey to the south, to the country "where 7 suns shine and the stones reach to the sky." This journey was made by the shaman supposedly on a reindeer, with the skin of which the "quicken" tambourine was made. As he approached his destination, the shaman began to sweat profusely; this was a sign of the hot climate of the "stony land" which he was visiting. The ceremony ended with general feasting and feeding of the idols embodying the ancestral spirits. The ceremony reflected beliefs associated with the specific history of the Sel'kups. Taken as a whole, the ceremony can be regarded as ancestor worship of those Sel'kups who lived in the mountainous country in the south (in the Sayan Mountains).

According to Sel'kup belief, the gift of shamanism was handed down. One of the sons usually inherited the gift from his father, mother or grandfather. In Sel'kup shamanism, a prominent part was played by sexual motifs. According to Sel'kup belief, a young shaman had sexual relations with the machin lozyt nälya or the daughter of the "master" of the forest.

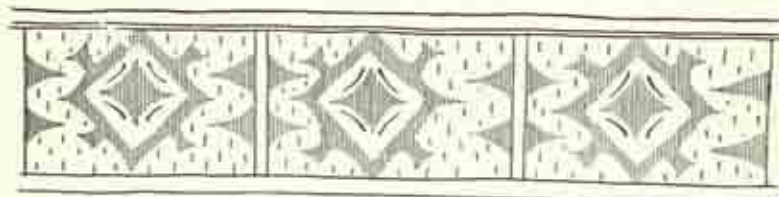
The phraternal and clan names such as "Eagle," "Nutcracker," "Bear," "Swan," "Crane," "Woodcock" show the totemistic beliefs existing at



1



2



3



4



5

Ornaments and musical instruments:

1-3—samples of ornamental design on birchbark; 4—instrument of jew's-harp type made of reindeer bone (vargan); 5—playing the vargan.

one stage among the Sel'kups. This is also shown by the custom, which they maintained until recently, of taming such useless birds as the nutcracker. They also reared eaglets. Among the Northern Sel'kups, the nutcracker was called the brother of all members of the Nutcracker clan and the eagle was called the brother of all the members of the Eagle clan. One

Sel'kup saying tells us that a member of the nutcracker clan has no right to kill a nutcracker, which was a member of his clan.

The Sel'kups had special sacrificial sites or sacred spots associated with certain clans and phratries. Remnants of these sites in the form of small log structures (zozy' sessan) with the clan idols inside (parga) have been found on the river Tym and remote corners of the taiga right up to recent times. Up to 1930 sacrifices of silver, fine cloth and furs were made to the ancestral spirits at these points. Not far from the Pyl'karamo village was a structure belonging to the "Bear clan" with a brass image of its founder, the bear.

Folklore

The traditional poetry of the Sel'kups is represented by legends (tentyl'), tales (chaptá), riddles (nürkytsä) and humorous sayings. A large part is played in the traditional folklore by accounts of all sorts of adventures which befall a hero, and his conflicts with evil spirits, the "masters" of the elements. Despite all the guile they use in their struggle against humans, the evil spirits are always conquered. The Sel'kup legends tell of wars which their ancestors fought with the Nentsy and Evenks; the Narym Sel'kups have retained legends of wars with the Tatars. The allies of the Sel'kups, according to these legends, were the Kets and Khants. The fairytale is extremely widespread among the Sel'kups. In their folklore there are many references to the old, long outdated beliefs and cults associated with them.

Graphic art among the Sel'kups is represented by ornamented birchbark vessels, summer-dwelling doors, the bone parts of harnesses. In basis the Sel'kup design is geometric (triangles and circles). Greater variety is found in the ornamentation on the birchbark vessels belonging to the Narym Sel'kups, who evidently took it over from their neighbors, the Khants. Designs on sleeves embroidered with colored cloth found among the Northern Sel'kups are mainly borrowed from the Nentsy.

Among the Narym Sel'kups, the old-fashioned musical instrument was the seven-string "swan;" the jew's-harp, a bone plate with a vibrating tongue, was very common. The jew's-harp was also a woman's shaman instrument and replaced the tambourine. Among the Northern Sel'kups, the only musical instrument they had was the shaman's tambourine.

The Sel'kups After the October Revolution

[The first task of Soviet power in the Sel'kup area after the expulsion of Kolchak's army (1919) was the establishment of a consumers' cooperative system, which would furnish the population with what they needed—ammunition, fishing tackle and foodstuffs. In 1932, the Tym National Rayon, with its administrative center at the village of Napas, was organized in the Narymskiy Okrug. Four township Soviets were included in this rayon, which was abolished in 1950.

[The population of the Tym National Rayon was granted a number of privileges, including exemption from the agricultural tax and maintenance of the children in boarding schools at full state expense. When the Tym National Rayon was organized, resettlement of the Sel'kups into it from the southern parts of the Narymskiy Okrug (Ket', Parabel', Vas'yugan and Chaya Rivers and the middle Ob') was undertaken. In this process the

resettled people came into close contact with Russians, Chulym Tatars, Khants and Zyryan Komi.

[Within a short time Primary Production Units were organized on the formerly sparsely settled Tym and were joined by Sel'kups, Nentsy, Russians, Khants, Evenks and Chulym Tatars. These gradually grew into cooperatives, with the basic means of production being socialized.

[Productivity of labor was improved by the distribution of modern equipment—hammer guns, factory-made springtraps—and by the reorganization of the labor unit. Specific hunting grounds were allotted to particular brigades on a firm basis. The brigades go out twice a year: in October-December ("the small road") and in January-March ("the great road"). The families of the hunters stay at home and do not travel with them, as was the case previously.

[Hunting and fishing stations (POS) were established in the Sel'kup area. These make censuses of game and furnish the hunters with necessary supplies, as well as taking in the bagged game. The hunting of both forest wildfowl (woodcock, black grouse, hazel-grouse) and aquatic birds (duck) has acquired commercial importance among the Sel'kups. In 1934, the hunting of nutcrackers was started; formerly this was strictly prohibited on religious grounds.

[Fur-farming is beginning to be developed. On the Smidovich collective farm (village of Farkovo, Turukhansky Rayon) the fur-farm raises silver and polar foxes and sables. On the Kirov collective farm, Krasnosel'kupskiy Rayon, Yamal-Nennish National Okrug, there is a large fur-farm, established in 1940, which successfully raises silver foxes. This farm is led by a Sel'kup woman, and provides stud foxes for the other collective farms of the rayon.

[Formerly fishing was a subsidiary occupation for most Sel'kups, basic only for those living on the Ob' and at the mouths of its major tributaries. Now fishing is the major occupation on a number of ethnically mixed, expanded collective farms in the Kargasokskiy and Kolpashevskiy Rayons. These are provided with seines (often very large) and motorboats.

[From the first years of Soviet power, the township Soviets appropriated special funds—so-called reindeer funds, for buying reindeer from the population which had many and selling them to the poor at advantageous rates. Previously, reindeer-breeding was of only subsidiary importance among the Sel'kups and was conducted mainly for transport, but it now provides meat and skins as well.

[The Narym Sel'kups, along with their major occupations, continue to gather nuts, berries, etc. On August 1, entire families go out to the forest for 2 weeks to gather cedar cones. This is still done in the old way, by means of a large hammer 3 m in length, which is attached to the trunk of the tree about a meter from the ground. It is made to strike the trunk of the tree by means of a rope which is alternately pulled and let go. The fallen cones are gathered, dried over a fire and the nuts beaten out of them by means of a special machine and sieve—in place of the work's being done by hand, as formerly. The Narym Sel'kups gather blackberries and black currants, which they dry and sell to the consumers' cooperatives.

[Agriculture and animal husbandry have developed on the collective farms. Many of them (Smidovich, Molotov, etc.) have livestock, dairy farms, grain plantings, and raise pigs. The members own cows and poultry.

[The enlargement of local collective farms, begun in 1951-1952, aided the further development of the economy. The "Third Five-Year Plan"



The first radio set among the Sel'kups in the thirties. School at Yanov-stan village, Tazovskaya tundra.

enlarged collective farm, Tazovskiy Rayon, now includes 75 Sel'kup households. Its major pursuits are reindeer-herding, fishing and fur-farming, but horse-breeding and dairying are also developed.

[The process of settling down all nomadic Sel'kup households is now being completed. Every household which goes over to settled life receives a state credit of 15,000 rubles—half in the form of a nonreturnable loan, the other half to be repaid over a fifteen-year period. The collective members are given lumber gratis for the building of houses.

[Communications with the formerly sparsely settled Sel'kup regions have changed completely. The town of Krasnosel'kupsk now maintains constant contact with the okrug center of Salekhard—by water in summer and by air in winter, and receives mail and newspapers. Regular postal and passenger service has been established for the inhabitants of the Tym Valley, formerly cut off from the outside world. This service is by boat in summer and by reindeer in winter. The boats are of the Russian type, often with masts, sails and deck cabins covered with canvas or birch and larch bark.

[Furniture has become customary in the houses of the Sel'kups, who, even in the 1930's, were used to squatting on the floor and had difficulty adapting themselves to chairs. Dress has become completely Russian, except for the hunter's Nennish malitsa. Food has become much more various, and medical aid is now commonly available.

[Before the Revolution, the Sel'kups were totally illiterate; now each village has its school, and there are boarding schools in a number of rayon centers. Among the Narym Sel'kups, all instruction is in Russian, and the youth has almost entirely lost the native language. For the Northern Sel'kups (in Krasnosel'kupskiy, Tazovskiy and Purovskiy Rayons) there are 5 special Sel'kup schools, and many Sel'kup children go to mixed schools. Instruction in the first half-year of the first class is in the native

language, but instruction in Russian begins with the second half-year. An ABC in the native language has been created for the Northern group. The great majority of the Northern Sel'kups also know Russian, but unlike the Naryn Sel'kups, they have retained the native language, and children first coming to school as a rule speak Sel'kup.

[The Sel'kup national intelligentsia is growing. It is represented by such individuals as the former frontline soldier M. Mal'kov, who completed a course at Leningrad State University in 1954, and the economic geographer L. Tikhomirova, who received her diploma in 1953.]





THE KETS

A. A. POPOV and B. O. DOLGIKH

General Information

In the 17th century, when the Russians first reached the Yenisey, the basin of its middle reaches was inhabited by a large number of tribes speaking languages sharply differing from those of the Turkic, Samoyedic and Tungusic peoples around them. The distribution of these tribes can be imagined on the basis of historical documents of the 17th and 18th centuries in the following way: the Kotts settled the river Kan (right-bank tributary of the Yenisey); the Asans settled the rivers Usolka and Ona (left bank of the lower reaches of the Angara); the Arins lived on the Yenisey in the region of Krasnoyarsk, and the Yarins and Baykots lived further up on the right bank of the Yenisey as far as the Tuba. Some of the clans of this linguistic group lived in the region of Yeniseyek and on the upper reaches of the river Ket'. Finally, down the Yenisey and along its tributaries, the Kas, Sym, Dubches, Yeloguy, Bakhta, and along the lower reaches of the Podkamennaya Tunguska, dwelt the ancestors of the present-day Kets.

Later on, in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, practically all of these tribes lost their language by merging with the Russian population (the Kotts), with the Evenks (the Asans), with the Turkic-speaking tribes belonging to the Khakasy people (the Arins, Yarins and Baykots) and so on. It was only the most northerly tribes—the ancestors of the Kets—who retained their language, and at the present time the Kets are therefore the only representatives of the group of tribes enumerated above.

The name "Ket" comes from the word "ket" which means "person" or "man" in the language of these people (the plural "deng" means "people" or "nation"). At the beginning of the 17th century the Russians called the Kets on the river Yeloguy the Inbaks, and the remainder the Ostyaks.

But even in the middle of the 17th century the name "Ostyaks" had been extended to cover all Kets. Those Kets living on the rivers Kas, Sym and Dubches had the special common name of "Yugun".

The Ket language, as already pointed out, together with the extinct Kott, Arin and other languages, stands by itself among the languages of all the other peoples of Siberia. The Kets had no form of writing.

Administratively, the territory settled by the Kets belongs at the present time to the Turukhanskii and Yartsevskii Rayons of the Krasnoyarskiy Kray. In 1926 there were 1225 people speaking the Ket language. Practically all the Kets knew Russian as well as their native language, and many of them also knew Sel'kup.

Throughout the territory along the Yenisey settled by them, the Kets live in close association with the old-time Russian population; in the east they border on the Evenks and in the west principally on the Sel'kups.

The question of the origin of this group of tribes speaking the Ket group of languages has not by any means been solved so far. There is no doubt, however, that their linguistic connections reach far to the south. The Arins, Yarins, Kotts and Baykots were horse and cattle pastoralists in the 17th century who also knew agriculture and the smelting of iron from ore. The material culture of the present-day Kets also shows traces of more southern traditions (clothing of the gown type, forging techniques close to the Shors', and so on).

The Ket legends mention a high impassable range of mountains over which the Kets reached Siberia from the south. The Kets also used to tell tales of how at the time when they lived in the south, they were attacked by the Tys'tads or mountain ("stone") people. This was why the Kets had to move farther north. Next they were attacked from the south by the powerful Kiliki people and were forced to move farther down the Yenisey. Most of the names of the tributaries on the upper reaches of the Tom' can be explained and translated on the basis of the Ket language. At the same time, the culture of the present-day Kets used to contain northern elements characteristic of hunters and fishers of the taiga (dugouts, hunting and fishing techniques, winter clothing and so on).

Clearly, the Kets formed through the intermixing of the ancient population of the middle Yenisey and the ethnic elements stretching to the north from more southerly regions, the territory settled by the Kotts, Arins and other tribes of the Kott-Ket linguistic group.

It may be considered that the Kets joined the State of Muscovy in 1607 when the Inbak winter encampment was founded at the northern limit of their territory by the Mangazeya service gentry; it was from this moment that the Ket groups—the Inbaks, Zemshaks and Bogdens—began to pay tribute at that spot. Later, on the Dubches, the Zakamenny winter camp was founded near the mouth of the river Dubches by the same Mangazeya service gentry, and that was where the "Zakamenny Ostyaks" paid their tribute. The Kets living on the rivers Kas and Sym became part of the Yeniseyskiy Uyezd in 1619, and until then from 1605 they had paid the fur-tax at the Ket Fortress on the river Ket'.

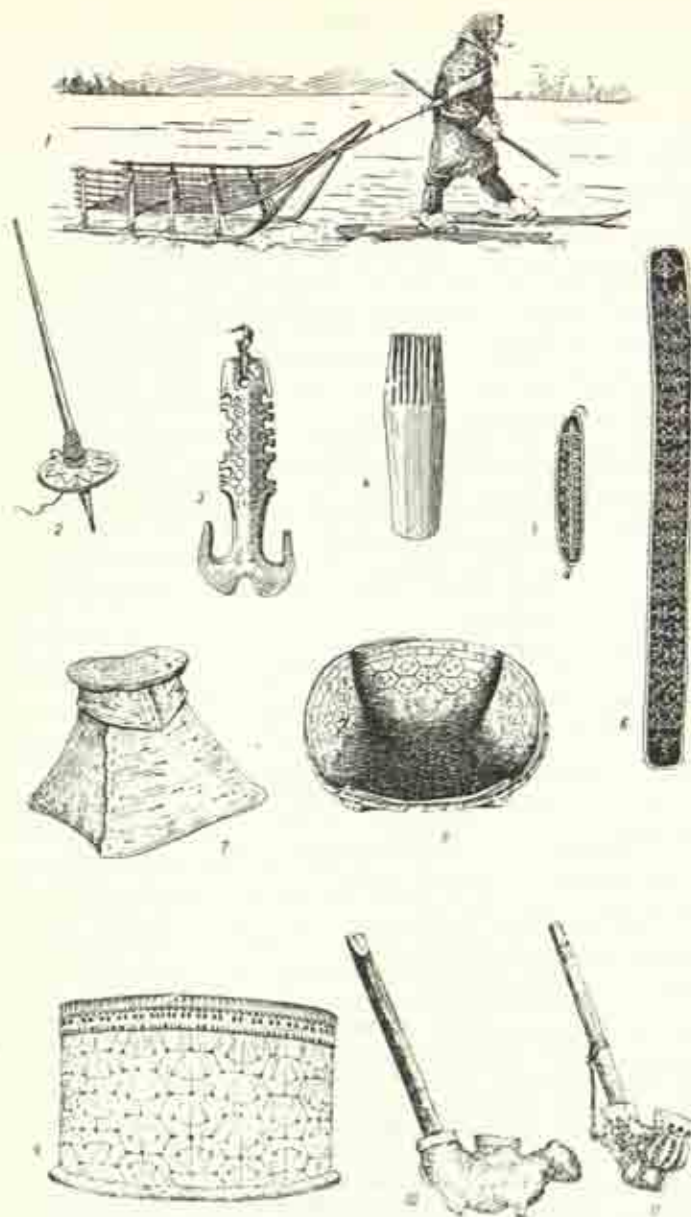
Practically all the present-day Kets are descendants of the Inbaks, Zemshaks and Bogdens of the 17th century. But instead of the former division into these three groups, in the 18th century the Kets divided up into the following volosts—Podkamenno-Tungusskaya, Verkhneinbatskaya and Nizhneinbatskaya; these volosts were retained right up to the Revolution. In the middle of the 18th century several Ket families migrated to the Kureyka and there became part of the local Sel'kup population of the Karasinskaya Volost. Many Zemshak Kets migrated to the river Turukhan in the 18th century and, intermingling with the Sel'kups, adopted the Sel'kup language and formed the Sel'kup Baikhinskaya Volost. The "Zakamenny Ostyaks" from the Dubches and the Kets from the Sym and Kas formed the Symsko-Kasskaya Volost.

The main branch of non-reindeer economy of the majority of Kets had already been trapping, for a long time, at least since the 18th century. Hence, the economy of most Kets had long ceased to be based on barter and now depended entirely on the fur-merchants, who also dealt at the same time in the sale of essential consumer goods, hunting and fishing tackle, and systematically exploited the population. Many Kets worked for merchants and rich peasants, particularly frequently as fishermen in the

Yenisey Bay. The extreme impoverishment, even for the ancient north of Siberia, of most of the Kets, their frequent famines and other such occurrences were given frequent mention in the pre-Revolutionary press.

Economy and Everyday Life Before the Revolution

The basic occupation of most Kets was hunting. The chief fur-bearing animal hunted was the squirrel, and it made up 80-90% of the value of the entire catch. Squirrel-hunting was developed furthest among the southern Kets; it gradually declined towards the north. Apart from the squirrel, the Kets hunted the Siberian ferret, ermine, fox, sable, wild reindeer, elk and, in the North, the polar fox. All the furs were sold. The Kets only kept hare and bearskins for themselves, as well as the skins and much of the meat of the reindeer and elk they killed. The Kets also consumed wildfowl and squirrel-meat. But the hunting of wild hoofed animals and birds played a smaller part in their economy than trapping. The bow and arrow used to be the hunting weapons as well as weapons of war. The sharp-pointed arrows (and later bullets) were smeared with poison made from decomposed fish-oil. In the old days, the Ket and Sel'kup bows known as Ostyak bows were famous throughout the Yenisey North; it was only in the east that they were rivaled by the Yakut bows. The Russian merchants brought the Ket bows to the Nentsy, Dolgans and Nganasans. With the appearance of the shotgun, bows and arrows went out of use almost entirely. During the years before the Revolution they were very rarely used, except for shooting birds in the summer and hunting squirrel in the winter. In the summer they hunted duck in great quantities during the moulting period. They used dogs to hunt the squirrel and woodcock. Sable were caught in special nets with bells borrowed from the Russian artisans of the 17th century. When the sable was caught in the net, it thrashed about and became even more entangled. The hunter who had been hiding would come to the sound of the bell and dispose of the sable. Foxes were caught with booby traps or poisoned with strychnine. It was the northern Kets who mainly hunted the reindeer. During collective hunting, the men went out in large groups into the treeless marshy expanses (tundra) between the forests and from there, in a long chain, drove the reindeer into the forest. Inside, on the deep and soft snow, they overtook the animals on skis and speared or knifed them. Sometimes they used guns or bows and arrows to kill the male deer who would come to find the domestic deer during the mating period in the autumn. There were several methods for hunting elk. In the autumn they dug pits along the tracks in the taiga, and in winter they chased after them on skis, while in the spring, at points where they crossed the river, they were hunted with canoes (hollowed-out tree trunks). Bears were hunted collectively by means of guns. The skin of the animal was given to the hunter who was the first to track it down, while the meat was eaten by everyone at a special ceremony of a religious nature. Second after hunting in the Ket economy came fishing. Among the northern Kets (particularly the Kureyka), fishing even predominated over hunting. Among the southern Podkamennaya Tunguska and Yeloguy Kets, the chief implement for fishing was the hook-type tackle, while among the northern Kets it was the upright net, which was of secondary importance in the south. Furthermore, the Yenisey Kets borrowed the seine from the Russians. The hook-type tackle (consisting of 30 or 40 iron hooks attached to a long rope) which, in distinction to the hand line, did not have any live bait, usually caught sterlet. In spring, barriers with "mouths" were arranged across smaller rivers. In winter an earthen dam was constructed across large streams, preventing



Household implements:

- 1—man-drawn sledge; 2—spindle; 3—hook made of bone to support cradles; 4—comb made of bone for combing grass; 5—embroidered cloth strap for men's footwear; 6—men's embroidered cloth belt; 7—birchbark chest; 8—birchbark bowl; 9—round birchbark box; 10, 11—smoking pipes.

the fish from swimming from shallow to deep water. In the autumn, as the dark nights approached, fish were harpooned. Two or three fishermen used to paddle out in a boat with a birchbark torch. One of them held his harpoon at the ready so as to spear the sleeping fish as soon as he saw it, while the others continued rowing. When the rivers were frozen over, fish were caught with nets or fishing lines through holes in the ice.

Only about 40% of the Ket households had reindeer. The Ket reindeer-breeding was very primitive. In the spring, at the beginning of the fishing season, when the reindeer were no longer necessary as animals for riding, the Kets and the Sel'kups used to let them go free in the forest where they stayed the whole summer without any surveillance. Sometimes the reindeer were allowed to go free until calving time, and the offspring were thus born without any supervision. It was only the Kets living in the region of Turukhansk and the village of Verkhneinbatskoye who constructed sheds to protect the animals from the mosquitoes, herded them into the sheds and lit smoke fires.

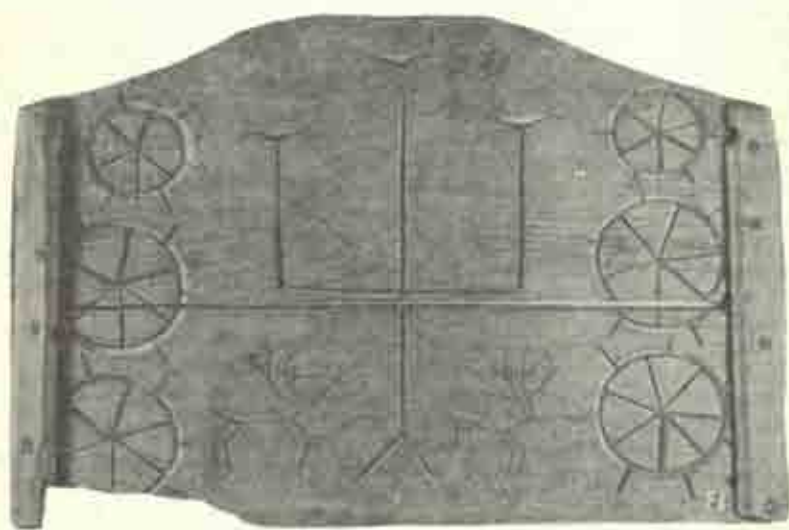
Flour, obtained from the Russians with their earnings received from selling furs, had long been the staple diet of the Kets. They baked pancakes from it on a fire or in ashes. Sometimes they made small stoves in which they baked the bread themselves. They often mixed raw fish with the dough. Occasionally they made porridge from flour and water, sometimes adding porsa. Meat (venison, elk, squirrel) was only eaten in the boiled form, and the gravy was drunk.

Raw fish was roasted on a spit. On warm summer days the fish was dried on special hangers. It was then made into porsa by the following method: the dried fish was placed on strips of treated birchbark and pounded with a large wooden mallet. Sterlet was cooked in a pot until all the water had boiled away and a thick mess was left. The insides of the fish were melted down. In the summer they ate duck and in the winter partridge. Over the hot season, the duck and fish were kept in pits one meter deep. When they had been eviscerated, they were placed there in layers, each one being separated from the other by a layer of grass. On top they placed birchbark and earth. The porsa was kept in bags made of burbot or pike skin; to keep other products they used birchbark baskets and vessels.

The Kets themselves hardly ever gathered vegetables. In spring, when the green shoots of the lily plants first appeared, they dug up the bulbs with special sticks and ate them raw or boiled. They did not eat berries, with the exception of cloudberry, which they cooked with fish-oil.

The reindeer was the beast of burden for the northern Kets only in winter. Reindeer were harnessed to sleds of the Nennish type; the Kets did not ride the reindeer themselves. The Ket harnessing was the Nennish type (with the lead reindeer on the left). The Kets did not use dogs for transportation. In the summer they harnessed one or two dogs to a boat and the dogs pulled it along the bank of the river. In the winter, when the southern Kets went hunting, single dogs pulled small sleds behind the hunter, who went on skis. The hunter usually harnessed himself to the sled, helping the dog to pull the load. During the winter migrations they sometimes made use of deerskin drag-frames. Various articles were placed in a skin, after which it was tied with cord and harnessed with reindeer or dogs; sometimes the hunters harnessed themselves.

For water transportation the Kets used hollowed-out ash trunks with a short one-bladed oar, wooden boats and houseboats. The houseboats were large, up to 15 m long, with a covered structure made of branches and birchbark. The cabin was divided into two parts by a partition: the front half was the living room while the back half was the storehouse. In the



Transportation by reindeer:
 1—riding a reindeer-drawn sledge; 2—backboard of a women's
 sledge.



Large, flat-bottomed boats (ilimka), also used as summer dwellings.

middle of the houseboat was a long mast adorned with an iron trident or pennant. People and dogs pulled the houseboat along the river and oars were only used at crossings; if there was a wind, they set up a sail. Outwardly, the houseboat with its covered structure and mast resembled the Chinese sampan. The heavier houseboats were used for long trips by the entire household, while the more convenient and lighter canoes were used for communications between camps. The houseboats were found among the Podkamennaya Tunguska and Yeloguy Kets, but not among the northern Kets. The tree trunk canoes and plank boats were common among all the Kets.

During winter hunting they used skis—narrow ones when the snow was hard, and wide ones on the soft, spring snow. On the bottom the skis were lined with deerskin or horsehide. Skis without the lining were also used.

In early spring, summer and the latter part of the winter, the Kets lived in conical tents 3-4 m in diameter. A peculiarity of the Ket tent was the fastening of the summer-tent poles by means of a wooden ring plaited with ropes at a height of 1.5 m. The framework was covered with so-called tiski or sewn strips of treated birchbark 3 m long and 1 meter wide, light in weight and waterproof. These strips were stitched and sometimes had wooden crosspieces to strengthen them. The entrance to the tent was curtained off by a separate piece of ornamental birchbark. A fire was lit in the middle of the tent. Above it was set a tripod made of sticks, with a wooden hook from which to suspend the cauldron or teakettle.

In the summer special tents were sometimes set up at the fishing spots. Willow switches were stuck into the ground in two parallel rows. The tops of each pair of switches on both rows were tied together. The short arched passageway obtained was further interwoven with several horizontal branches and covered with birchbark strips. A door was made at one end of the passageway, while the other end was hung with birchbark. A fire was lit outside, just in front of the entrance. The principle of this arched tent was also the basis of the cabin on the houseboats.



Dwellings:
1—general view of a settlement; 2—mud hut.

In the northern regions the Kets even lived in conical tents in the winter, but instead of birchbark strips, they were covered with deerskin and had an iron stove instead of a hearth.

The southern, Podkamennaya Tunguska and Yeloguy Kets, and in the very remote past the northern Kets as well, used to build earthen huts for the winter as soon as the rivers froze over in the fall. They were four-cornered pits 0.5 m deep, and 3-3.5 m wide and long. The ground-level parts of the structure formed a double-sloping roof made of beams and poles covered with branches or strips of birchbark. They covered all this with earth, leaving a small hole in the roof for light and also to act as a chimney. A small hearth was made from poles and laths smeared with clay. During the winter hunting, several families lived together in these huts. Near the huts, the northern Kets built conical stores made of poles covered with conifer branches and bark. In them, they kept their foodstuffs and various utensils. In the summer, articles for the winter were kept in log sheds on piles. They were constructed at high-lying points as a protection against flood. The Kets also had labazy—wide platforms on columns about 1.5 m high which were built in the taiga and used to store a number of different items.

Before the Revolution Ket clothing was chiefly made of bought materials and cotton, and also of the skins of domestic and wild reindeer. Hare and squirrel skins were also used to make clothing.

The summer clothing for men consisted of a short cotton robe reaching to the knees (kotlyam, from kotl meaning "cotton") which fastened from right to left, with typical ribbon embroidery on the shoulders and sides, cloth trousers, cotton or wool stockings to the knees and leather footwear often dyed a reddish color with an infusion of alder. In winter the robe was replaced by a coat of the same cut, lined with hare and called a besem (from the word bes' meaning "hare"), and as footwear they had skin boots with long cloth tops. Inside the footwear they put layers of soft grass combed with a special comb. The winter robe-coats were trimmed along the edges and hem with the paws of squirrels and other small animals in the form of a strip of fur 3-4 fingers wide. The belts were made of cloth embroidered with reindeer-hair. The gown and coat were fastened and belted. This gown-type Ket clothing differs greatly from that of the other peoples of Eastern Siberia in style and is closer to the clothing of the Southern and Western Siberian peoples. But, apart from the gown and coat, the Kets had a winter short coat (khagyt) with flaps closing at the front, without a collar and made from one complete deerskin.

The headgear of men and women was the calico kerchief both in summer and winter, which gave no protection at all from the cold. The neck was left open. Sometimes they wore a hat with long earflaps turned forward, made from the skin of the head of a reindeer calf. During trips by reindeer in winter, the men put on a Nennish-style coat with a hood. This coat was covered on top with coarse brightly colored woolen cloth. The women as well as the men wore cotton robes in the summer, and hare coats in the winter.

Some of the men had long hair woven into a pigtail with special adornments suspended from it; the women bound their hair into two pigtails and covered their heads with bead-embroidered bands.

Until recently, the Kets kept some of the features of the ancient dual organization and consisted of two exogamous phratries (khuotpyl'): Kantang (Kentandeng) and Bogdeyget (Bogdedeng). This division can be traced from the 17th century.

At the beginning of the 17th century, when the Kets became part of the Russian State, the bulk of them were known in Russian sources, as mentioned

above, under the name of Inbaks, Zemshaks and Bogdens. The Inbaks were one phratry (the ancestors of the later Kentandeng), while the Zemshaks and Bogdens constituted the other phratry (ancestors of the later Bogdedeng). These phratries subdivided into several clans (bisimdeng, literally "brotherhood"). By the end of the 17th century the Inbaks were known to be divided into 4 clans: Khentyan, Inbak, Bul'van and Khoniget.

The division into these clans could be traced until quite recently. Some kin groups bearing Russian names originated from particular clans of the 17th century.

The Kets manifested the phraternal norms in a number of ceremonies and in their cult, apart from the strictly observed phraternal exogamy. For example, during a wedding those present sat in a semicircle opposite each other according to their phratry. It was forbidden to make fire in the dwelling of people of the other phratry. When a bear was killed, a ceremony was organized in order to ascertain to which phratry it had been sent by the dead relatives. The Ket phratries evidently had totemistic origin: the Kentandeng phratry was associated with the eagle and the Bogdedeng phratry with the cuckoo. There were taboos on killing these birds by members of the corresponding phratries. There are references to the existence in the recent past of archery contests and games of phraternal nature.



Wood carving representing a spirit.

To a considerable extent the clan norms were determined by the phraternal norms. Furthermore, there was a system of mutual clan assistance which obliged members of clans with respect to one another, for example in the payment of bride-price and during vendettas. There were idols depicting dead kinsmen which were kept in the families of the clan in question; if a clan died out, these idols were transferred to another clan, but within the same phratry. The Ket clan, as far as we can ascertain from available data, was strictly patrilineal. In this connection it should be noted that while in the 17th and even the 18th centuries the Ket clan retained territorial and economic unity to a great extent, later on the members of the clan were scattered in different and often far apart territorial groups and the clan ties in everyday economic and social life were replaced by ties between territorial neighbors.

Hunting and fishing were conducted on a collective basis. The hunter who tracked down a large animal, a bear or elk, told all his fellow hunters in the camp. To do this, as soon as he got back to the camp, he began loudly banging one ski against the other by the entrance to his tent. His neighbors gathered round and together they drew up a plan and went off to hunt the animal. Having killed it, they cut up the carcass

and left it on the spot. The women then came to carry it back.

Although the fishing tackle (seines) and means of water transportation were privately owned, they were collectively used. For example, seines would be owned by two or three households, but the whole of the camp made use of them. Those Kets who did not have houseboats used other people's, with the permission of their owners. The Kets also made use of smaller

items of everyday use on a collective basis. Fish and game caught on a collective basis were distributed among all those taking part. There was also a system of mutual assistance by neighbors; orphans, old people and helpless invalids were looked after and work was done for those who needed it.

The basic economic unit among the Kets was the family. After the death of the father, the family property passed on to the younger son, since the married son used to receive his share in advance and lived in a separate dwelling. The youngest son gave his sisters a share of the inheritance when they married. If there were young children left after the death of the father, the legacy was divided equally among them; property was also received by those who had lived a long time with the deceased, fed him, and looked after him in his later years.

Economic differentiation was most pronounced among the Kets possessing reindeer. The normal form of exploitation of kinsmen by better-off owners was resale of hunting equipment and food during the hunting season.

The kinship terminology of the Kets was classificatory. The bisep group included members of ego's phratry, his brothers, sisters, and first cousins, and his father's brothers and sisters, and the children of his elder brothers. It was not possible to marry bisep relatives, but they could be called by name. The kuy group included younger brothers and sisters of the mother, the children of her elder brothers—i.e., people of the same category as the bisep but from the other phratry. Kuy relatives could not be called by name and could not be married, despite the fact that they belonged to another phratry. The kip group (for men) and kipa (for women) included the older generation, regardless of phratry, of grandfathers and grandmothers both on the father's and mother's side, and also the older brothers and sisters of father and mother. People belonging to this group could not be called by name. The kal' group included the younger generation, regardless of the phratry—that is to say, the children of ego's sons and daughters (grandsons and granddaughters).

Bride-price was usually paid. When contracting a marriage, no heed was paid to the consent of the bride or groom.

The Ket religion was shamanism. According to their animistic beliefs, the whole world seemed to be populated by a multitude of good and evil spirits. The personification of the good element (the sky), Yes', was balanced by the evil element, personified by the wife of Yes', Khosedabam, sent down to earth by her husband, where she caused people and animals all kinds of evil, unhappiness and sickness. The middlemen between the deities, spirits and people were the shamans. The functions of the shaman were many. When casting spells they put on special dress with metal adornments and used the tambourine covered with a dressed deerskin with drawings on it. The Ket shaman tambourine and costume were similar to the Sel'kup version. Apart from shamans (sening), the Kets also had sorcerers (bongos'). These did not have any special costume. Worship of the bear played an important part in the Ket religion.

The Kets buried their dead in the ground. At one time a fire used to be lit by the grave during the burial, and then extinguished when the grave was covered over. Alongside the body they placed such personal things as the sled, canoe, knife, pipe (all broken up); sometimes they killed dogs as well. Children were buried inside long cloven cedar stumps specially hewn for the purpose.

The Kets in the Post-Revolutionary Period

In 1938, there were 6 Ket collective farms in the Turukhanskiy Rayon, which combined 72 households. At the present time almost the entire Ket



Children and a teacher.

population of the Turukhanskiy and Yartsevskiy Rayons is united in collective farms. Many archaic hunting implements have gone out of use; cartridge guns and steel traps are now common. Hunting stations have been established on Black Island on the lower reaches of the Podkamennaya Tunguska and at the village of Kellog on the Yeloguy. Hunting is done by special brigades, and women take part. Fishing is done the year round with modern equipment. Reindeer-herding has been reconstructed on new bases, and as a result growth is observed in the reindeer herds.

[As an example of the change in the life of the Kets, we may cite the Stalin collective farm of the Yartsevskiy Rayon. This farm includes the basic mass of Kets who previously nomadized on the lower reaches of the Podkamennaya Tunguska and now live in the village of Chernyy Ostrov. The collective farm was organized in 1934; its economy is based on fishing, but at the present time it also carries on other activities—gardening, animal husbandry and fur-farming. Special huts have been built for the hunting brigades. The members of the collective farm have private gardens, where they grow potatoes, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. In 1949, a kennel of silver foxes was established.

[In 1926, there were only 2% literate men and 0.3% of literate women among the Kets, but in 1936, the overall literacy was 13.4%. Education is now universal among children of school age. The majority of Kets know Russian. The penetration of Russian encourages work on the liquidation of illiteracy and on mass political education.

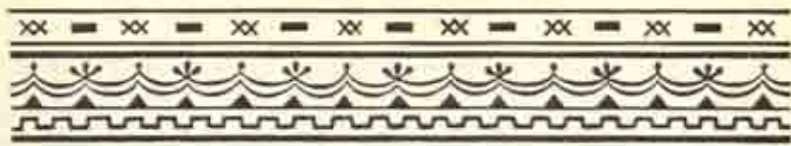
[The former phratrial division has lost its importance and is only remembered by old men.]

A great many examples of Ket epic poetry are known to the entire people. They include, for example, the tales of the hero Bal'na ("the cherry stick"), who fights with his foes armed only with a club made from the trunk of a cherry tree. Old Kets will even point out the place where, according to legend, Bal'na's tent once stood. This is on the bank of the

Yenisey, not far from the village of Verkhneinbatskoye. Besides the heroic epic going back to the more distant past, there are a whole series of historical traditions telling of warlike encounters with the Nentsy and Evenks. The fairytales tell of evil beings who try to harm men, who, in turn, struggle against them with more or less success. Realistic stories are also widely distributed (such as stories of unsuccessful matchmaking, and so forth); very often the protagonists are persons either recently deceased or else well known to the storyteller and his listeners. Riddles are also common: they are often based on the forgotten meaning of some word, or on the name of some object or activity which is now unknown.

The only musical instruments formerly known were a stringed instrument resembling the balalayka, and the Jew's-harp (*tyumen'*). Nowadays the Ket youth sing Soviet choral songs to the accompaniment of Russian folk instruments. Many of them were brought into the village by former Red Army men.





THE EVENKS

G. M. VASILEVICH and A. V. SMOLYAK

General Information

The Evenks are the most numerous and most widely scattered nationality of all the so-called small nationalities of Northern Siberia.

The general boundaries of the territory settled by the Evenks are the Ob'-Irtys' watershed in the west, the Okhotsk seacoast and Sakhalin in the east, the river Upper Tunguska (Angara), Lake Baykal and the river Amur in the south; in the north, the Evenks border on the Evens, Yakuts, Dolgans and Nentsy. The overall dimensions of the territory settled by the Evenks are difficult to assess, but amount to approximately one-quarter of the whole of Siberia and the Soviet Far East (2,500,000-3,000,000 square kilometers).

Outside the USSR there are Evenks living in northeastern China, on the Khingan spurs (Northern Manchuria) and to some extent in the Mongolian People's Republic, on the upper reaches of the Iro River and near Lake Buir-Nur.

Administratively the sites populated by the Evenks include the Tyumen'skaya and Tom'skaya Oblasts, the Krasnoyarskiy Kray (Turukhanskiy Rayon; the Evenk National Okrug with the Bayditskiy, Ilimipyskiy and Tunguso-Chunskiy Rayons; the Taymyr National Okrug with the Dudinskiy and Avamskiy Rayons), the Irkutskaya Oblast (Bodaybinskiy, Katangskiy, Kachugskiy and Kirenskiy Rayons), the Chitinskaya Oblast (Kalarskiy, Tungiro-Olekminskiy and Tungokochenskiy Rayons), the Amurskaya Oblast (Dzheltulakskiy, Nyukzhinskiy, Zeyskiy, Zheysko-Uchurskiy, Verkhne-Selemdzhinskiy, Verkhne-Bureinskiy Rayons), the Buryat Mongol ASSR (Barguzinskiy, Bauntovskiyy and Severo-Baykal'skiy Rayons), the Yakut ASSR (Olekminskiy, Tokkinskiy, Ust'-Mayskiy, Verkhne-Kolymskiy, Aldanskiy, Tommot'skiy, Uchurskiy and Timpton'skiy Rayons), and the Khabarovskiy Kray (Kur-Urmyskiy, Ayano-Mayskiy and Tuguro-Chumikanskiy Rayons), the Sakhalinskaya Oblast (Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy and Rybnovskiy Rayons) and so on. All these rayons are not purely Evenk at the present time. Most of them have a mixed population with a predominant number of Russians or Yakuts.

Evenk is the name commonly used for themselves by a people who used to be known under the name of Tungus, Orochens, Birars and Manegry. At the present time the name "Evenk" has become normal.

The Evenks are divided into two large groups separated from each other territorially and engaging in different types of economy. These are the hunting and reindeer-breeding Evenks living in some of the enormous territory described above stretching from the Yenisey to the Okhotsk Sea, and the horse and cattle pastoral Evenks as well as some farming Evenks concentrated within a comparatively small amount of territory in the southern Transbaykal, as well as in the neighboring plains of Northeastern

China and Mongolia, but at the turn of the century exceeding the hunting and reindeer-breeding Evenks in number.

According to the 1897 census, the number of Evenks and Evens (Tungus) in Russia was determined by Paikanov as 64,500—33,500 of whom lived in the southern Transbaykal and engaged in agriculture. Abroad, in Manchuria, at the beginning of the 20th century there were about 10,500 Evenks, not more than 500 of whom were hunters and reindeer-breeders; and in Mongolia, in the Iro Basin, about 2000, all horse and cattle pastoralists. Thus, it can be considered that by the beginning of the 20th century, there were about 31,500 Evenk hunters and reindeer-breeders (together with Evens) and about 45,500 Evenk pastoralists. The 1926-27 census recorded 38,804 Evenks in the USSR. This number does not include a large number of Evenk farmers and pastoralists from the Transbaykal who became settled and by this time had merged with the Russian population, and to some extent with the Buryats.

Among the Evenk hunters and reindeer-breeders there were also peoples who called themselves *Ile* or "man" (upper reaches of the Lena, Podkamennaya and Lower Tunguska, lower reaches of the Vitim) and *Mata* (Olekma Basin). Evenk reindeer-breeders calling themselves *Orochën* were spread very extensively over the southern parts (from the Transbaykal to the Zeysko-Uchurskiy Rayon). One of the reindeer groups of Evenks in Manchuria was once called the *Yakut* (*Yeke*), since their ancestor was a Yakut.

In addition to the name "Evenk," these horse and cattle pastoralists also retained their tribal and territorial names. The best known of these are *Manegry* (*Manyagir*) on the rivers *Kumara* and *Kang-ho*, whence another name "*Kumarchen*" was derived; also *Birars* (*Birarchen*) *Solons*, *Khingan* "*Orochens*" and other groups in Northeast China. The Evenk reindeer-breeders called the pastoral Transbaykal Evenks *Murchen* ("horse people").

Among the neighboring peoples the Evenks were known by various names. The Chinese called them *Ki-ling* or *Ch'i-ling*. In Chinese literary sources we find also the name *O-lun-ch'un*, i.e., "*Orochen*." The Manchus used to call all the Evenks *Orochun*, *Orochen*, *Orochan* or *Uoroncho*. The *Nivkhi* called the Evenks *Kili*, the *Orochi* called them *Kile*, the *Ul'chi* and *Negidals* called them *Kile(a)*, and the *Nanays* called them *Kilen*. *Kilen* is also the clan name for the Evenks from the *Okhotsk* coast recorded in the 17th century. *Kili* is the name used for themselves by a *Nanay* group of Evenk origin. The *Buryats* and *Mongols* called the Evenks *Khamnegan* and the *Yakuts* called them *Tongus*. *Khamnegan* and *Tongus* are the names used for themselves by many *Yakutized*, *Buryatized* and *Mongolized* Evenks.

The commonest form in the past was the name "*Tungus*" or "*Tongus*," which was also adopted in ethnographic literature.

The origin of the word "*Tungus*" is not clear; a number of hypotheses have been put forward for it. For the moment we can only say that the ethnonym "*Tungus*" is neither of Russian nor of Evenk origin, but apparently of very ancient Middle Asian origin.

The Evenk language is agglutinative and, according to the conventional classification, is the basic language of the northern (*Tungusic*) subgroup of *Tunguso-Manchurian* languages, which includes also *Even* (*Lamut*) and *Negidal*. The basic vocabulary is marked by considerable correspondence with the *Mongolic* and *Turkic* languages. In the subdialects of the Evenks living both in the past and in the present in close proximity to the *Yakuts*, furthermore, a large number of words represent later borrowings from

Yakut. The Evenks living near Lake Baykal, where they have been mixed with the Buryats for a long time, show later lexical borrowings also from the latter. In the northwest the subdialects used to contain certain Samoyedic words, and, finally, over the last two centuries there has been a marked influence by the Russian language. The Evenk language divides up into three dialect groups: northern or Kha-type dialect, southern or S-type and Sha-type dialects, and eastern or S- and Kha-type dialects. Each dialect is subdivided into subdialects. The boundaries between the northern and southern groups of dialects pass along the Lower Tunguska to the mouth of the Yeromo, then onto the lower reaches of the Vitim and along the Vitim. To the east of the line Lena-Vitim we find the eastern dialects. In the Transbaykal, between the Barguzin and the Baunt, and on the upper reaches of the Lena, among the Evenks speaking southern dialects, we find groups speaking eastern dialects.

The natural appearance of the tremendous territory settled by the Evenks is naturally not homogeneous. Nevertheless, a certain uniformity of the landscape is typical of the Evenk regions. First of all, all these regions, except for the extreme northern areas between the Yenisey and the Khantanga, and the rivers Taz and Turukhan are taiga. Thus, the Evenks mainly inhabit the taiga, for the most part, mountainous, stretching between the numerous ranges fringing the Lena and Amur Basins, and in the mountainous expanse between the Yenisey and the Lena. Typical of the continental climate of these taiga regions is a long cold winter and a warm summer. The mountainous, broken terrain and the widespread permafrost cause summer floods in almost all the fast-flowing, mountain streams abounding in rapids. The thickness of the snow mantle is slight almost everywhere. The climate of the mountain-taiga regions of the Pacific differs to some extent. There is a clearly marked seasonal change in the wind and a much more frequent summer precipitation in the Amur Basin and the Okhotsk coastline are typical.

Larch forests predominate throughout in the Evenk taiga, and in addition we find pine, cedar, spruce, fir, birch, ash, and so on. Coniferous trees, few and far between in the northern regions, are gradually replaced by alpine vegetation with cedar scrub (to the east of the Lena-Baykal) as we ascend the mountains, and at heights of about 1200-1500 m there are stony deposits and bare mountain tundra. Grassland areas are only found in the river valleys. The fauna of the Evenk taiga, of which the squirrel and sable are of the greatest economic importance, is fairly varied—reindeer, elk, brown bear, fox and so on, and in the east, East Siberian stag, ram and so on. The rivers abound in fish of the sig family: grayling, white salmon, loach, and many so-called black fish—perch, pike, and so on. Transient salmon find their way to the rivers of the Okhotsk Sea and Yenisey Basin.

Historical Background

The commonest theory put forward in the literature to explain the origin of the Evenks (first in the 18th century) was one which regarded them as having come originally from the southern regions. The most weighty evidence here was reference to the genuine relationship between the Tungusic languages, on the one hand, and the Turkic and Mongolic tongues on the other. In recent times the theory of the southern origin of the Evenks has been developed in the writings of the anthropologist and ethnographer S. M. Shirokogorov—who has been working in China—and has been rapidly seized on by ethnographers of the Vienna Catholic School (Coppers, Flohr and others). Shirokogorov tries to argue the thesis that the original home

of the Evenks was in China, in the Yellow River and Blue River Basins, and that it was from there that they spread to the north at the end of the third and beginning of the second millennia, B.C., when ousted by the ancestors of the Chinese. Their path lay across Manchuria and the Amur; they are supposed to have borrowed reindeer-breeding from the aborigines of the north. The studies of Soviet scholars show that Shirokogorov's anthropological and ethnological arguments do not hold water. His attempts to pick out an anthropological type typical of the Evenks from among the Chinese are completely unjustified in the light of material collected by Soviet anthropologists. Just as unsubstantiated are the ethnographic arguments of Shirokogorov and his followers on the southern features in the material culture and mentality of the Evenks.

Anthropological and archeological studies in the Baykal region have shown that the anthropological type characteristic of most Evenks goes back to that of the ancient neolithic population of the Baykal region. Archeological finds in the Angara Valley and on the Selenga (the eneolithic burial near the village of Fofanovo) and Lena has enabled Okladnikov to show that a whole series of characteristics of the Tungus culture go back to the Neolithic of the Baykal. Points of similarity also occur in the dwellings (conical tent), production tools (bone fish-lures), in transportation (birch-bark boats) and so on. The similarity in clothing is particularly striking. The clothing of the ancient inhabitants of the Baykal was, to judge from the arrangement of various ornaments found in burial sites, similar to the later Evenk clothing. Okladnikov points out the similarity in the field of art as well.

Thus, there is no possible doubt that local ancient Siberian elements played a part in the forming of the Evenks. But alongside them, both as regards the anthropological type and language and culture of the Evenks, we can detect a tie with the population of other territories, including those more to the south. The origin of the Evenks is the result of complex processes, different in time, involving the mixing of different ancient aboriginal tribes from the north of Siberia with tribes which formed in more southerly regions, related in language to the Turks and Mongols. The language of these tribes took precedence over the languages of the aboriginal population.

The near and far sides of Lake Baykal were the regions in which the processes of the forming of the ancient Tungusic-speaking groups took place. It was from there that they spread to the Amur and Okhotsk Sea in the east, the Lena Basin in the north, and the Yenisey Basin in the northwest, assimilating and ousting the paleoasiatic tribes of northern Siberia. Remaining for a long time in close contact with the Turkic- and Mongolic-speaking horse and cattle pastoralists, the Evenks formed groups of so-called Horse Tungus. We should note that the dialects of these groups are to a considerable extent Mongolized.

The first meetings between the Russians and the Evenks go back to 1606 or 1607. After the founding of the Ket Fortress (1602), the Russian Cossacks moved on to the Yenisey and began to move along the Upper Tunguska (Angara). At the same time the Cossacks began to advance from Mangazeya, built in 1601 not far from the mouth of the Taz, along the Turukhan and Taz Rivers to the Yenisey, and its right bank, which was settled by Evenks. In 1614 the Mangazeya Cossacks imposed the fur-tax upon the Evenks living on the Upper Tunguska. In 1623, practically all the Evenks living near the Yenisey, on the Lower and Podkamennaya Tunguska, Vilyuy and Chona were paying the tax. When the Russian detachments appeared on the Lena and founded Yakutsk and other eastern fortresses

(1632), the tax was also imposed on the Evenks from the Lena Basin and northern Yakutiya. In 1647 the Okhotsk winter camp was built. By the middle of the 17th century, the Cossacks had reached Lake Baykal and founded the fortresses at Barguzin (1648) and Nerchinsk (1658). In order to ensure payment of the tax, the tsarist government took advantage of the clan organization of the Evenks. Hostages (amanats) were taken from the "finest" people in each clan. To pay their tax, the Evenks went to the fortress or the winter camp—where the collectors and hostages were kept. Apart from tax, the Evenks also had to pay "tithes."

The system of hostages, the burden of the tax, and the arbitrary behavior of the tsarist government caused uprisings against the bullying service gentry in certain regions, chiefly against the cruel and greedy government officials in the fortresses. But generally speaking, the Evenks had great need of peaceful cultural relations with the Russians and willingly took over certain features of the higher Russian culture. They were greatly interested in acquiring various commodities, particularly iron, tin, copper, copper pots, axes, knives, cloth and so on, from the Russians in exchange for furs.

In the 17th century the Evenks maintained complex and varied relations with neighboring peoples. With the Yakuts the Evenks exchanged furs for iron implements, livestock for meat, and from the Buryats, apart from iron and livestock, they received grain (millet), fabrics and various ornaments (including silver ones) which were acquired by the Buryats from Mongolia and China. But there were also clashes between the Evenks and the Yakuts, who were gradually settling the Lena Basin and occupying Evenk territory. In the Baykal region, up to the advent of the Russians, some of the Evenks were vassals of the Buryats, and were "fraternal kyshtyms." In the Transbaykal the "Reindeer" and particularly the numerous "Horse" Evenks resisted the attempts of the Mongol feudal lords to subjugate them, and after the Russians reached those parts, they were allies of the latter in the struggle against the Mongols and Manchus. The Amur, Transbaykal and Okhotsk Evenks had relations with the settled farmers of the Amur, the Daur, and also with the Manchus. In return for furs, skins, meat, and sturgeon gristle they received flour, vodka, Chinese fabrics, pottery and embellishments. The Manegry and Birars living on the left tributaries of the Amur in the 17th century were vassals of the Daur, while the "Horse" Evenks from northeastern China—the Solons—were obliged to put small detachments of horsemen directly at the disposal of the Manchu government.

In the 18th century, the ties between the Evenks and the Russians were strengthened. An enormous part in the barter was played by fairs timed for certain seasons and places. The tsarist government also tried to strengthen its influence on the Evenks by imposing Christianity upon them. The Christianization of the Evenks began at the end of the 17th century. In the 18th century the activity of the missionaries covered a number of Evenk regions. By 1862 the missionaries reckoned 9480 Christians among the Transbaykal Evenks and 5789 pagans. But the conversion to Orthodoxy was limited to observance of the most elementary rituals (baptism, communion and so on) and did not prevent the Evenks from adhering to their own religious beliefs and having continuous recourse to the shamans.

In the 17th century there were also certain changes in the areas inhabited by the Evenks. They left a number of old settled areas—the middle Vilyuy, Angara, Biryusa, upper reaches of the Ingoda, lower and middle reaches of the Barguzin, lower reaches of the Amur tributaries. These regions were occupied by Yakuts, Russians and Buryats. On the other hand,

the Evenks appeared in some new areas. In the 19th century, some of the Evenks migrated to the lower reaches of the Amur and to the island of Sakhalin. A group of "Reindeer" Evenks from Yakutiya, together with Manegry and Birars, went across to Manchuria; many Evenks left the banks of the Yenisey for the Taz and Ob' Basins.

The Evenks who lived as neighbors of the Russians and other peoples were subjected to the economic and cultural influence of their neighbors and sometimes were totally absorbed by them. The Russian peasant population exerted a very favorable influence on the Evenks in various parts of Siberia. This influence showed up in different branches of culture, beginning with domestic life, clothing, dwellings and ending with language. The Yakuts were a great influence on the Evenks. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Vilyuy, Olenek, Anabar, and Lower Aldan Evenks became so Yakutized that they even forgot their native language. The effect of the Buryats and Mongols on the Transbaykal Evenks in a number of cases brought about a switch by the Evenks to the Mongol or Buryat language and conversion to Lamaism. The Manegry, Birars and Solons were subjected to strong influence on the part of the Manchus, Daur and Chinese at one stage. On account of this the economy and material culture of the Evenks lost its homogeneity fairly early, and showed considerable differences in accordance with the region in which the various groups lived.

The tsarist government had long tried to take advantage of the richer Evenk clique and use it as a support. In the "Native Government Code" of 1822, most of the Evenks were put down as "nomadic natives" and united into clan administrations headed by clan elders or "princelings," elected for 3 years. The duties of the princelings included collecting the fur-tax and acting as judges. The penetration of commercial relationships among the Evenks was stepped up in the 19th century. On account of this there was an increase in economic inequality and in the dependence of the toiling poor people on their fellow tribesmen who were well-off reindeer-breeders and traders. The condition of the Evenks continued to decline and over the period prior to the Revolution, there was great impoverishment and an increased mortality rate among the Evenk population.

Hunting

As mentioned, in the 17th century, the Evenks were divided up according to their type of economy into "Foot" or "Sitting" Evenks (hunters and fishermen-hunters of the Okhotsk coast), "Reindeer" (hunters and reindeer-breeders), "Horse" and "Cattle" Evenks (hunters with herds of horses and other livestock). The Horse Evenks lived in the southern Baykal region, the Transbaykal, the Upper Amur region and Manchuria, as well as in the upper reaches of the Iro and Onon Rivers in Mongolia. In certain parts of the Transbaykal reindeer-breeding and horse-breeding were combined. In the regions adjoining the Angara-Baykal and Okhotsk Sea there were also "Foot" or "Sitting" Tungus, among whom hunting for meat and fur was combined with seal-hunting and fishing. In the 18th and 19th centuries in the regions lying close to spots populated by the Yakuts, hunting began to be combined with the breeding of cattle, and in a number of areas, through the influence of neighboring Russians (river Chuna, tributaries of the Lena, Lower Tunguska, Kirenga and Amur tributaries), hunting, fishing, and reindeer-breeding were supplemented with both pastoralism and agriculture. It was mainly the reindeerless households, the number of which grew especially quickly at the end of the 18th and in the 19th centuries, that changed to a settled way of life and engaged in this economy.

Nevertheless, hunting remained the commonest and most favored occupation. First place was taken by hunting hoofed animals, which were the main source of food and provided material for clothing, accommodations and all sorts of requirements of the primitive hunting economy. The hunting of elk, wild reindeer and fowl in groups or singly is mentioned in all the legends, whereas they make no reference at all to trapping, which in a subsistence economy played an extremely small part. The skins of fur-bearing animals were used more for embellishment in the remote past, and only served as means of barter to a slight extent. The further development of barter increased the importance of trapping in the economy of the Evenks and the appearance of the Russian service gentry, who demanded the payment of taxes in furs, and the Russian traders who bought them up brought this occupation to the fore.

The principal hunting implements for a long time (in certain parts until the beginning of the 20th century) were the double compound bow and the simple bow (among the Okhotsk-Amgun' section of the Evenks), traps and snares of different kinds. At the end of the 18th century, the Evenks obtained guns, which then became the main hunting weapon. Apart from the bow or gun, the hunter always had on him a "pike" (koto, utken), which was a large knife on a long handle used instead of an axe when passing through the thick taiga or as a spear when hunting bear. A short time after the appearance of the gun, the homemade wooden traps mentioned above were supplemented with steel springtraps, which became particularly common in the north, in the forest-tundra belt. The bow with iron arrows and the gun were chiefly used for hunting elk, reindeer, roe deer, bear, wolverine, lynx, wolf, Siberian marmot, fox and sable. Booby traps of various kinds were usually set for these animals at various heights along the tracks. The springtraps were usually set for fox, sometimes for wolves. To hunt the smaller fur-bearing animals (ermine or ferret) they used pincer-type snares, and for squirrel crushing-type traps. At the beginning of the winter the sable was hunted with dogs which indicated the whereabouts of a sable by barking or else chased it up a tree or into a hole, whence the hunter forced it out and killed it.

When forcing the sable from its hole, the Amur and Yenisey Evenks were still using, until recently, the net with bells borrowed from the Russians. The hunters set up the net round the hole and waited for the bells to tinkle, showing that the sable had run out of the hole and become caught in the net. Over the last few decades squirrel-hunting has come to play a prominent part, and accordingly the hunting weapons now include the shotgun, rifle and small-bore gun. For a long time they kept shooting fowl with various kinds of bows and arrows, and it is only over the last few decades that they have begun hunting with shotguns. In the forest-tundra belts and the regions adjoining, there was also polar-fox hunting apart from squirrel-hunting with guns. Farther to the north, polar-fox trapping completely replaced squirrel-trapping.

At the end of the trapping season, in early spring, elk and wild reindeer have been hunted on the snow crust in all regions for a long time. The hunters chase after the animal on skis (without fur lining) until they catch up with it. Having killed the animal, skinned it and made a good meal of its meat, the hunters placed the remaining meat on a raised structure or left it on the ground, having carefully covered it over with branches. It was then up to the women to come and get it and take it back home.

When hunting hoofed animals the Transbaykal and Amur Evenks sometimes used a birchbark horn or orevun. The sound of it was similar to the call of the male. When the male animal heard the sound, it mistook it for



Hunting equipment:

- 1—skis; 2—hunters with a volokusha (drag-frame); 3—trap;
4, 5—fully equipped hunter; 6—ponyaga (packboard).

the call of another male which had found some females, and ran toward the hunter who promptly killed it. There was also a small birchbark whistle or pichavun, with which they decoyed the roe deer and musk deer. The Olekma and Amgun' Evenks used to build fences for hoofed animals and set up self-triggering traps on them. The Evenks from the Podkamennaya and Lower Tunguska Basins erected long fences with disguised pits to catch elk in the gaps between them. The Amur Evenks used to hunt the Siberian stag from "licks" as a kind of sport. For this purpose they used to arrange small platforms with sides, in trees over points where there were salt springs. When the animals came to lick the salty ground, they were killed by the hunters. Among the Nerchinsk and Upper Amur Evenks,

wild goats were sometimes hunted by beating. The hunters divided up into two groups with one lying in wait and the other driving the animals towards them.

The Okhotsk Evenks used to hunt wild reindeer with a decoy, at the beginning of the autumn. A specially trained reindeer was allowed to join the wild ones. The decoy, with its antlers bound with a strap, used to fight the wild reindeer, which became entangled as well. The hunters lay in wait and during the fight killed the wild reindeer.

Hoofed-animal hunting was basically for purposes of personal consumption. In certain cases the meat and articles made from skin were sold to the Russians from neighboring settlements, or gold miners, or else exchanged.

An essential part of the hunter's gear was always the backboard or *talmi* which was a flat piece of wood with two straps and numerous suede laces. The laces were used to tie on various objects required by the hunter—sacks of flour and salt, a pot, a sack with hunting gear, a pair of skin shoes, and sometimes a tent. This board was slung over the back by straps.

As soon as the autumn approached, the Evenks wandered back to territory rich in squirrel—sometimes very distant territory—where the families went off into the taiga in ones and twos. The Yenisey and Amgun'-Chumikan Evenks went hunting on foot. The reindeer were usually pastured near the dwelling without supervision, but sometimes they were put in fenced-off places. They were only used for migrating to a new spot. The Sym, Tokma, Nepa and Upper Lena, Amgun' and Urmi Evenks sometimes even migrated on foot, together with their families and entire belongings, during the hunting season. The belongings and little children were drawn along behind them—on hand sleds on the Upper Lena and in a trough-like sled on the Sym. If there were no sleds, a drag-frame was made by pouring water on an old skin and letting it freeze in the form of a trough (*utey*), to which straps were then attached. People were harnessed to straps of the hand-drawn sleds (women among the Sym Evenks, and men among those on the Upper Lena and Amgun') and also dogs. These groups of Evenks used reindeer principally for driving to trading points.

Among the Evenks on the upper reaches of the Lower Tunguska and Nepa who did not possess any reindeer, the families remained in one place; the hunters, sometimes with their teenage sons, went off in twos and threes, for the whole winter. These Evenks used a special type of sled (*kelchi*) in the form of a wide ski with a turned-up front end and a number of straps, used to tie on food, ammunition, tent, spare clothing, and other straps used to harness the hunter or his dog. After squirrel- or sable-hunting, the hunters used to stay in the taiga and hunt elk over the snow crust. The Evenk reindeer-breeders of the Yablonovyy and Stanovoy Ranges always hunted reindeer.

The rich Evenks possessing a large number of reindeer took little part in trapping. They either gave their reindeer over to the poorer people for the hunting season and received some of the furs in exchange, or else took all the catch from the poorer people, brought it to the Russian and Yakut merchants, and then took the essential items received in exchange to the Evenks in the taiga. These middleman transactions were effected by the well-off reindeer-breeders to great profit since they always kept some of the furs for themselves.

When moving over the snow crust during hunting, the Evenks used unlined skis (*kingne* or *kigte*) and when the snow was deep, they had skis with skin lining (*suksilla*). These were thin spruce boards, about as long as a man and two hands wide, bent in the middle and with pointed turned-up ends.



Hunting the Siberian stag with horn and gun.

A place was made for the foot with birch bark and there were straps for the ankles. So as not to make any noise when stealthily approaching an animal, some Evenks covered their skis with dogskin, wolfskin or wolverine skin. They either skied without sticks or with one stick (sevgure). The sticks were not so much for pushing them along, as for seizing hold of tree trunks when going uphill and for use as a brake when going downhill. There was a metal hook on the end of the stick for this purpose.

Reindeer-Breeding

Reindeer-breeding among the Evenks was developed to varying degrees according to the territory they settled, but as a whole it possessed a number of features in common. Despite the existence in the past in a number of regions of a fairly large group of well-to-do reindeer-breeders, in most cases the breeding was intended for the purposes of transportation, and households with up to 25 head of reindeer were predominant.

Evenk reindeer-breeding was characterized by a number of features peculiar to the taiga belt. Basically the reindeer were used for transportation, but they were also milked, smoke fires were arranged in the summer and, as distinct from the Samoyedic peoples, there was no herding of reindeer by dogs nor any other specific features.

In the past, as soon as the winter season was over, several Evenk households used to combine together and move off to spots suitable for calving—high, dry areas rich in reindeer fodder with streams full of fish and clean running water. Special areas were fenced off for the does carrying their young so as to guard the newborn calves against being trampled on in a large herd. The joint pasturing of reindeer by several households together continued for the whole summer until the autumn-winter hunting season arrived, after which the Evenks again split up and went into the taiga. In winter the reindeer were usually pastured near the camp.



Journeying to new camp.

Those Evenks with many reindeer kept workers to look after them or else had "pupils" for this purpose. Some reindeer-breeders (river Sym, Angara region, upper reaches of the Lena) left the herds without supervision and collected them together if it was necessary to make a long migration or travel to a trading point.

Permanent tracks in the taiga were only to be found at the approaches to the trading points. Migrations were always in the direction of new places. Summer tracks usually passed over watersheds and winter tracks along rivers, through the tundra, only deviating in the case of mountain passes.

The Evenk harnessing for the reindeer consisted of a halter (*usi, ukhi*), saddle (*lochoko*, name for a riding-saddle and *emegen* for a packsaddle) and a saddle-girth (*tyngseptun*). When riding the reindeer, they used a stick (*tyyevun*) which was used as a support when getting on and when crossing fast-moving streams. For carrying loads they had bags made of deerskin with a birchbark base, or else made of deerskin and suede. The usual weight for a pack was about 20 kilograms, sometimes as much as 40.

The Evenks had different types of sleds, according to the people from whom they borrowed them. In the Krasnoyarskiy Kray, in the Tomskaya and Tyumenskaya Oblasts they had the Nennish-type sled, which was high, with fastening, but distinct from the Nennish-type, with a pliable bent "ram" (horizontal bow) at the front of the sled to prevent its hitting against trees. The Evenks sit on the right on this sled. The Olekma Evenks have a Yakut-type sled, which is low, with strap-type fastenings. They sit on it with their feet stretched out in front of them.

To the east of the Olekma, the sled is low and small; they sit on it on top of a soft and light load; the middle staves are shaped like arches and made from the butt of a log, and the seat is cut out at this spot. The sled can be loaded with 100-160 kilograms and, if the road is smooth, up to 200 kilograms.



Pack reindeer.

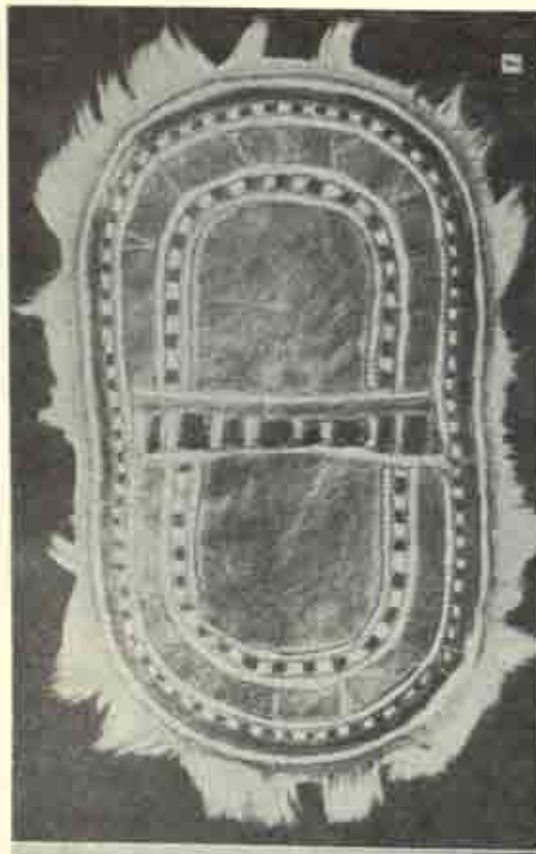
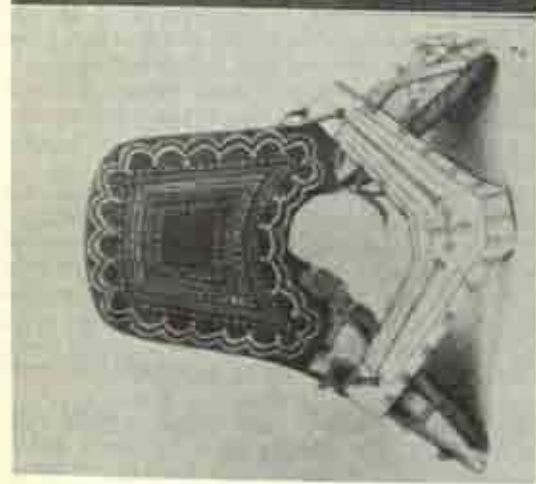
Fishing

In the past, fishing played a subsidiary role in the economy of the Evenks, and fish was only used for personal consumption. The exception to this rule was the group of Evenks living near Lake Baykal and the Okhotsk Sea, who fished on a mass scale both for themselves and for sale and barter. Fishing occupied first place in the economy of certain groups of Evenks living in the lake regions (for example, the south of Lake Yessey, at the source of the Vilyuy and in the southern Transbaykal).

Among the bulk of Evenks, fishing was assigned to the summer. It was only in the Khatanga and Vilyuy Basins that there was regular fishing under the ice. The chief fishing implements were the upright net, woven traps for barriers built across small rivers, spears and hooks.

Until recently, some of the Evenks (Sym and Taz) used a very primitive fishing implement, a wooden hook (pecher) with a tuft of neck hair as the bait, when fishing in rivers rich in whitefish. Also common was the short fishing pole (khinda) with an iron hook for fishing through a hole in the ice. When fishing under the ice, they set up nets underneath from one hole to another. They also lowered hooks with bait into the holes (for burbot). A hole was made in the ice and a small tent set up above it, the fisherman sitting inside with his pole or spear. In the summer, fish were speared by lamplight.

On the Okhotsk and Baykal coasts the fish were usually caught with group nets borrowed from the Russians. The Evenks from the Amur Basin speared large red fish with a spear both with stationary (badar) and movable (eygu, elgu) tips. In certain cases these Evenks hunted fish with the bow and arrow. Such "fish hunters" knew exactly at what time of day and what kind of fish used to "play," that is to say, come up to the surface.



Objects of pack-reindeer-breeding:

1—fur saddle-cloth (kumalan) for pack-reindeer; 2—carved pommel with bone buckle;

3a, b—bone plates for halter.

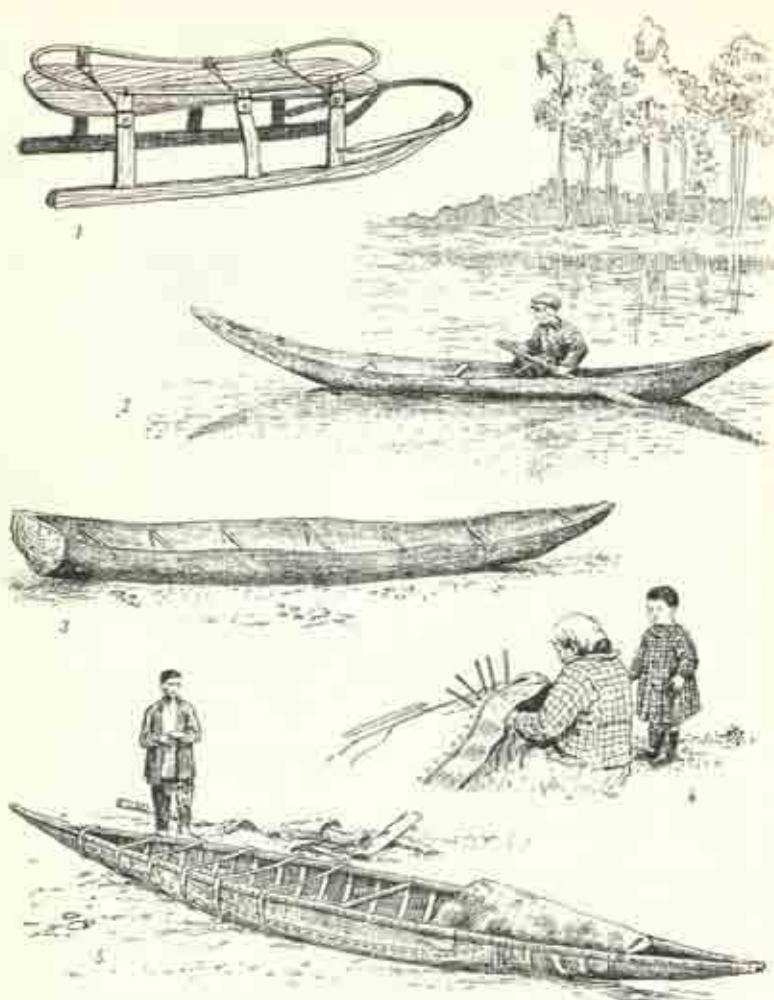


Ice fishing—hut over fishing hole.

Different types of boats were used as means of transportation: a canoe hollowed out from an alder or poplar, sometimes with plank sides (ongkocho, or utunngu), and birchbark types (dyav). When sailing downstream or crossing a river, beams were joined together to make a large raft (temu). The birchbark boat was so light that when there was no load, instead of going round the bend in a river, they would actually carry it across the promontory. A double-bladed oar was usually used to assist the birchbark, and sometimes also the hollowed-out canoe. When sailing up fast-flowing mountain rivers in the canoe, the Amur Evenks used poles. In certain regions (source of the river Lena and west of the Yenisey) short oars with a leaf-shaped blade were used when hunting fowl. The Evenks living on large and deep rivers used plank boats (lower reaches of the Lower Tunguska). The Evenks who used to be called Orochens at one time had leather boats (mureke) for crossing rivers when nomadizing. This type of boat consisted of a cover made from two elk-skins which were stretched over a framework made there on the spot by the crossing.

Other Occupations

On the Okhotsk and Baykal coasts the Evenks hunted seal. This was most frequently done in spring before the ice had completely gone, when the animals used to climb onto pieces of ice to warm themselves. Imitating the

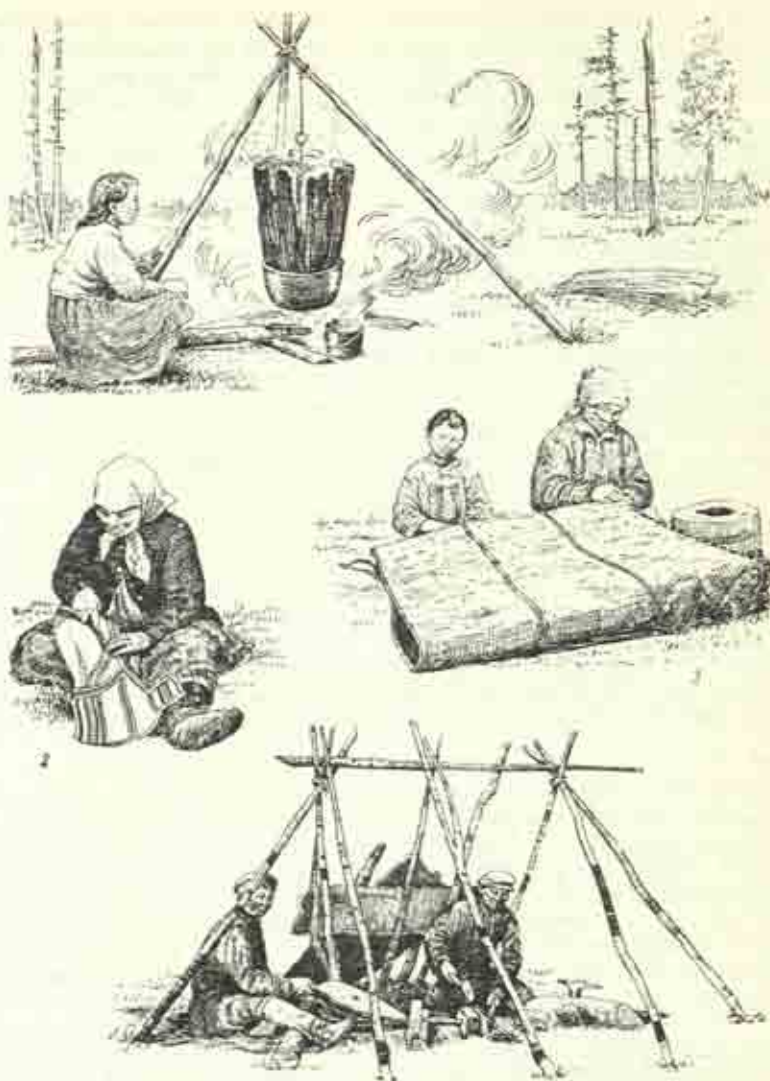


Means of transport:

- 1—sled found to the east of the Olekma-Amur line; 2—dugout boat found between the Yenisey and the Ob'; 3—dugout boat found on Amur tributaries; 4—attaching covering to boat.

movement of the animal, the hunters would approach close to the place where the animal was lying and shoot it. Some of the Baykal Evenks used to wear white gowns for this purpose so as not to stand out against the background of snow.

Among the Evenks there were also gold prospectors working at stakes. Single men (girkutmar) who did not have their own household, or for any reason had left it, were hired as laborers by the Russians, Yakuts and Buryats, and worked in the fields, fished, did carpentry and so on. In the Transbaykal and the Amur regions some of the Evenks settled down as a result of Russian peasant influence, and made attempts to farm the land and raise cattle.



Technology:

1—steaming birchbark to make it elastic; 2—making the back of a festive robe; 3—sewing birchbark panels to cover tents and large objects; 4—forging metal.

Among the domestic occupations of the Evenks were the making of different articles from birchbark, dressing skins, sewing them into different everyday objects, and blacksmithery. Among some groups these occupations were actual trades. This applied predominantly to the manufacture of birchbark boats and waterproof covers, dugout canoes, skis, sleds, and saddles, the sewing of clothing (parkas), footwear, mittens, bags, rugs, and other objects from deerskin. Every Evenk knew enough blacksmithery

for his own needs, but there were few well-known craftsmen. In each household there was always a box (seleruk) with the necessary tools, such as tongs, hammer, files, vises and a small anvil, but not everybody had a bellows. The charcoal was prepared in pits into which they put incompletely burned firewood. At one stage well-known smiths were not only approached by their neighbors, but also by customers from afar; these smiths made knives, pikes, spears, fish-spears, and various small things, ornaments for women's coats and aprons. Smithery was known to the Evenks even before the Russians arrived.

The birchbark was treated by the women and processed as follows: the birchbark was carefully stripped from the tree in strips 5-8 m long, cleaned, steamed in a cauldron for a long time, during which it was rolled into tubes and lined with moss, and then dried, after which three strips were sewn together and trimmed with edging made of birchbark. That was how the tyksa or piece covering the tent was made. When making birchbark boats, the women sewed the pieces together with willow root, and the holes made by the needle were smeared with resin. Then the men stretched the strips over the framework they had already prepared, fastened it at the sides and inserted a longitudinal splint between the bark and ribs.

The dressing of skins and making of cloth were also a matter for women. The special women's bag (uk) usually contained a complete set of various scrapers called chuchum, sldyvun and a leather pounder (kedere). The skins were first dried, then soaked with a mixture of water and yeast and left to rot for several days, after which the fur and flesh were scraped off; they were tanned with a mixture of water and deer liver and smoked to give them strength by being hung up for several days over the fire and then softened with a leather pounder. That was how they made deerskin. There are no references even in legends to pottery among the Evenks.

Food

The main food of the Evenks used to be fish and meat. The development of ties with the Russians promoted the use of bread as food, but it was not consumed regularly. In addition to the main diet, they had berries and reindeer milk in the summer. The meat of the elk, wild reindeer and bear predominated in the diet, and in the eastern regions they also had the meat of the roe deer and mountain ram. In the autumn and summer variety was added by aquatic and forest fowl. The "Horse" Evenks ate horsemeat. The slaughter of domestic reindeer for meat was carried out in various ways—by choking among the Sym Evenks, between the Yenisey and Lena by stabbing in the first vertebra, by stabbing through the heart with a sharp stick (among the Olekma Evenks), by stabbing through the heart with a knife (among the Okhotsk Evenks). The meat and fish were prepared in primitive fashion: they were either boiled in a cauldron or roasted on a spit (sllavun).

The soup was drunk from teacups accompanied by pieces of boiled meat, which was served on a board, piece of birchbark or plate. Elk and reindeer meat was preserved by drying in the sun (on hangers) in a finely sliced form. Dried meat (khullkta) usually turned into a powder from the friction during traveling. This powder was boiled in water. Blood was consumed in the fresh and cooked forms. When skinning the carcass, the blood was collected in a washed stomach and added to the broth when the meat was cooked, and mixed with the gravy. The guts were washed, turned inside out and cooked to make "sausage." A delicacy was the marrow of the bone (uman), still warm from the carcass. The heart and sometimes the liver of an animal killed during hunting (hoofed animal) were eaten immediately after skinning.

Among the Okhotsk, Ilmipy and Amur Evenks it was customary to preserve fish dried in the sun for the winter. Fish dried by a fire was made into porsa which was usually eaten with seal fat. The Okhotsk Evenks cooked a mixed dish of dried red caviar, seal oil, bilberries and willow-reed stalks.

A festive dish was seven, finely ground cooked bear meat mixed with fried bear fat. According to tradition, it was eaten collectively, everyone around being invited. It was eaten in one or two spoonfuls in turn, beginning with the oldest woman.

Wherever there was sufficient vegetation, berries were used as food (red bilberry, blueberry, blackberry, raspberry, and crowberry) and sometimes field onion and wild garlic. The berries were eaten mashed and soaked in reindeer milk (meni).

The Evenks learned to bake bread from the Russians. Two Russian methods of making bread en route—in loaves in ashes or in pancakes by the fire—were taken over by the Evenks. The baking of loaves from soured dough in ashes was typical of the Evenks west of the Lena-Baykal line. In the east it was common to bake unleavened pancakes.

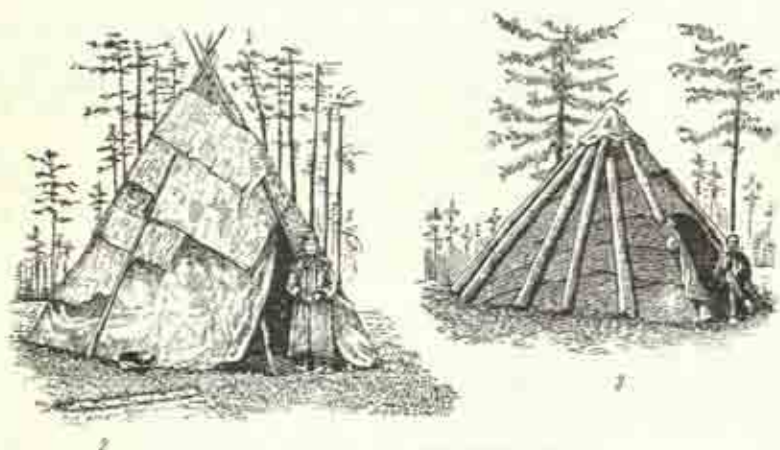
The favorite drink of the Evenks was tea, sometimes seasoned with reindeer milk. Tea was drunk several times a day and inevitably before meals. The Evenks only had sugar and sweet things on days on which they sold their furs to the merchants.

Dwellings and Farm Buildings

The occupations of the Evenks gave rise to different types of settlements and dwellings in the past. The hunting-camp, sparsely populated in the winter, consisted of one or two dwellings. In the spring as many as 10 households gathered together for joint encampments, and on the occasion of certain holidays Evenks would come in from surrounding camps and they would all wander together for a while. The dwellings were set up in a circle, in the middle of which they lit smoke fires for the reindeer.

The chum or tent (dyu) was the basic type of dwelling of the Evenk hunter in the past. The framework consisted of 3 poles joined or tied together at the top. This frame supported the remaining poles (from 21 to 35, according to the size of the tent). The conical framework was usually covered with panels of suede, cloth or, in the regions where there was birch forest, by pieces of birchbark (from 4 to 6 pieces). The suede or cloth covering consisted of two parts—the top and bottom sections. To prevent the wind from stripping them off, the covers were kept in place on the outside by poles. When moving off, the framework was left at the site and only the coverings were taken along. The covers were piled up and made into a pack; the birchbark panels were rolled up and stuffed under the pack.

In the center of the tent they built a fire. Above it on a horizontal pole called the Ikeptun (one end of which was attached to the framework of the tent, and the other to a particular pole, chimka, set up vertically by the hearth) were suspended teakettles and pots. Another, upper horizontal pole was used for drying footwear and clothing. There was usually fuel lying by the entrance. Space to the right or left of the entrance (chonga) was considered as belonging to the wife, and the space beyond it (be) was for the members of the family, while opposite the entrance beyond the fire was the malu for male guests. The Evenks slept in sleeping bags around the fire, and if there were a large number of people spending the night, they slept with their heads to the walls of the tent and with their feet towards the fire. Until very recently pillows and quilts were only found among the well-off Evenks living east of the Lena.



2



Dwellings:

- 1—log dwelling with bark roof; 2—summer tent covered with sailcloth and birchbark; 3—bark tent; 4—felt yurt of Transbaykal Evenks.

Those Evenks who had no reindeer, or only one or two, used to build bark dwellings (golomo uten), a conical structure made of laths and covered with larch bark. In the autumn, the dwelling was faced with turf or earth, and in the winter with snow as well to improve the warmth.

East of the Vitim and on the Okhotsk coast, the Evenks had already begun at the beginning of the 20th century to use a cloth tent heated by an



Man's clothing of the Yenisey Evenks.

iron stove. In these regions it was usual in the summer to construct a dwelling with a fireplace made of larch bark (*ugdan*, *ugdama dyu*); in appearance it was similar to the pitched-roof tent or house with walls.

As ties with the Russian settled population became stronger, the Evenks began to build themselves dwellings along the lines of the local Russian cottage (in the Katangskiy Rayon, Amur region, the Transbaykal, and upper reaches of the Lena). In regions adjoining the Yakut settlements, the Evenks built the Yakut-type tent. The Evenks in the Transbaykal, who engaged in pastoralism, built tents of the Buryat type. The settled Birars of the Amur region lived in thin log houses of the *fanza* type with pointed roofs, a hearth in the entrance and an outlet for the smoke under the bunk.

During hunting a temporary type of dwelling was the lean-to type (*Vitim* and *Olekma*), and the Sym Evenks had a small spherical tent (*marma*) covered with skin or birchbark panels.

Other structures used by the Evenk hunters were different types of storehouses and barns. To protect winter clothing and grain products



Woman's clothing of the Yenisey Evenks.

from the rodents they built platforms on two piles (delken). They also left packs on it, having covered them with birchbark. A stronger type of barn was the neku which consisted of logs 3 or 4 high, on low piles; it was used to store bags and belongings. This structure was covered over with birchbark or poles, and also a flat or pointed roof. The better-off Evenks built themselves barns with a door, floor and ceiling, on low piles.

The material used to make utensils depended in the past on the conditions under which the nomads lived. The bulk of all vessels were made of birchbark. This included "chumans" or square and rectangular flat vessels, tuyasy or high vessels for water, dough and other food, and small cups. There were also wooden vessels—hollowed-out cups of various sizes and various bought articles such as cauldrons, teakettles and teacups which were kept in a particular "tea" box. The Amur Evenks had a great deal of Chinese crockery. For illumination, use was made of the light of the fire or an iron stove; among the settled Evenks a lamp was sometimes found in the house.

Clothing

Despite the variety of the Evenk clothing, due to close association with other nationalities, it nevertheless retained its characteristic appearance to a large extent. All Evenks kept the footwear (untal), which was so suitable for walking through the taiga that their Russian neighbors borrowed it. There were two types of footwear: the first type included boots with a sole in folds on the toe and heel, and the second included boots the sole of which was fashioned to fit the foot and made with an inside seam. The different types of boots had their own names.

The boots were made of suede, cloth and hide for the summer, and of skin "fetlocks" and "foreheads" for the winter. The length of the leg of the boot varied. The shortest boots (khomchura) only came just above the

ankle, and were therefore worn with long leggings. The longest variety came up to the groin and were called kheveri or bakari. Winter boots were usually worn with a fur stocking.

An item of clothing typical of all Evenks was the loincloth (kherki) made of deerskin, and sometimes of cloth, as well as the leggings (aramus or gurumi), which were long gaiters made of deerskin or cloth.

It was only among the Evenks west of the Yenisey that the old-fashioned national costume was completely retained. To some extent it was retained by the Evenks living between the Yenisey and the Lena and also by those east of the Lena-Baykal line; the latter only retained winter fur parkas and footwear.

The kaftan [knee-length coat] was made of deerskin (summer, autumn, or winter skins, according to the season). The two sides were tied at the front with narrow laces; under the kaftan they wore a chestpiece. The chestpiece was tied at the back with ribbons at the neck and waist. The chestpiece came slightly above the knees. The men's and women's kaftan was the same in style, but the men's chestpiece (khelmi) tapered to an acute angle while the women's (nelli) ended with a straight edge. The second type of women's chestpiece was sometimes very wide at the top and covered the whole of the bosom and shoulders. A goat-fur fringe inserted in the shoulder seam guarded against the damp—the raindrops rolled off the fur. The back of the kaftan worn on ceremonial occasions was embellished at the shoulder blades with a fine design of fur strips. The everyday chestpiece was made entirely of these strips; the festive chestpiece, which was made of deerskin, was usually ornamented with beads. Later on, the summer and autumn-winter kaftans (sun) were made of cloth, and it was only the winter version (kheglime) that was made of reindeer killed in the winter. Mittens with a slit for the hand were usually sewn onto the sleeves of the coat. In the forest tundra the Evenks wore a fur sokuy without vent over their ordinary coat or kaftan for long trips.

East of the Lena-Baykal line the fur boots and winter coats were all that remained of the national dress. The Evenk horse-breeders of the Transbaykal as well as the Manegry and Solons wore a robe with a wide arm flap which closed from left to right. The Evenks living near the Yakuts borrowed the kaftan with a turned-down collar for men and without sleeves for women.

Underclothing only appeared among the Evenks comparatively recently. The Russian women's unfitted gown, which was worn under the sarafan, turned into a dress for the Evenks (urbake) to which they added a flounce along the hem. The development of Russian trade in the taiga brought jackets, vests, trousers for the men, particularly in the eastern regions, and skirts and blouses for the women in some places.

The old style headgear was made of a skin from the head of a reindeer (avun and meta) in which the holes for the eyes and horns were sewn up and the whole thing was ornamented with beads. The rawhide was dressed, stretched in the shape of the head, and dried, after which it was trimmed with suede, also embellished with beads.

The Evenks from the Ilmplyskiy Rayon wore hood-type hats trimmed with fur around the face and neck. The festive hat (elden and derbeki) was retained longest of all among the Sym Evenks and to some extent among the Ilmply Evenks. It consisted of a fillet with two or three crisscrossing bead-embroidered strips on the pate. Suede ribbons threaded with beads hung down in loops at the temples and ears. South of the Lower Tunguska it was common among the men to wear kerchiefs folded in the form of a wide braid; these were tied round the forehead and nape of the neck.



Old-fashioned man's holiday dress, Sym Evenks:
1—front; 2—rear.

At one stage the hair used to be worn loose and reached to the shoulders. Longer hair was tied into a bundle on the top of the head by means of a bead-embroidered strip of cloth (*chireptun*). East of the Yenisey as far over as the Lena, the men and women, regardless of age, wore pigtails, but they were not braided; instead the bundle of hair was tightly drawn together on the pate and firmly bound with a strip of suede or ribbon. East of the Lena the men cut their hair while the women bound two braids around their heads and then covered them with a *kerchief*. In the 19th century, some of the Yenisey Evenks still retained the custom of tattooing the face. The skin was pierced with a fine tendon thread soaked in a solution of soot. Semielliptic dotted lines fringed the mouth, and, in certain cases, the cheeks, forehead, and hands were also tattooed.



Clothing of Transbaykal Evenks.

A compulsory item of clothing among the men was a belt with a knife in a sheath attached to it. The Evenks living west of the Lena wore their sheath on the right hip. The women attached a needlecase, bag or thimble, tobacco pouch and tinderbox to their belts.

Social Structure

The legends of the Evenks depict their ancient past in rather militant and heroic colors. It is difficult to reconstruct from their folklore a true picture of the social structure of the Evenks in the remote past, and all the more difficult to assign the events described to any historical period, although the folklore material collected by Soviet investigators indicates the following social organization of the semilegendary prehistory of the Evenk people. According to legends of the Yenisey Evenks, their ancestors lived in clans (khalan). Each clan had its own name, which was sometimes the name of an ancestor ("Chapagir" from Chapa, "Kurkagir" from Kurka and so on). The clans were exogamous. Each clan possessed a "river," that is to say, it had its own territory. The members of one or several clans organized reindeer or elk hunts on a collective basis. The catch was divided equally among all those taking part.

The highest administrative body in the clan was the clan assembly (sagdagul or literally "elders") which consisted of grownup men and

women who were heads of households. At meetings they discussed all the important economic and social matters of the clan—the adoption of children from other clans, problems of war and peace, feuding, punishment for offenses. The assemblies were usually timed to coincide with the different rituals. The clan shamans were also present at them. The Evenk clans were part of larger associations of tribes. Clans of one tribe had common territory and were closely bound by marital relations and interests of defense from enemies outside.

The causes of war were the abduction of women, vendetta, occasional disputes over hunting grounds and attempts to seize property, reindeer and so on. Their weapons were the bow (*ber*) and arrows, pikes (*koto* or *utken*) swords (*tuteken*); the Evenks also had armor (*sellulen*) and helmets (*sell*). In every clan their own smiths made the equipment.

Each member of a clan was both a hunter and warrior who knew how to use his weapons. The art of war was taught from childhood. Running, jumping and archery contests, fencing and skill in evading arrows was all part of the military training.

When organizing a military campaign, they chose a leader (*nëramni*, *inichen* and *soning*) from the strongest and most versed in the art of fighting. The leader chose a bodyguard for himself from among the hunter-warriors of the clan. Apart from the military leader and simple warriors, the bodyguard also consisted of old men who were supposed to give advice and take part in peace negotiations and also to look after the wounded, and a shaman who was there to ensure that the spirits gave their "assistance" and showed where the enemy was located, and also protected the detachment from the enemy's evil spirits. Sometimes the fight was decided by a duel between the warrior leaders.

According to the Sym and Amgun' Evenk legends, when the enemy approached, the tents were set up in a circle and a fence (*urga*) was constructed in front of each one; it was from behind these that they fired back at the enemy. All the trees around the camp were chopped clean and even at night it was then possible to make out the appearance of the enemy against the white background.

The men were killed, the women and children were taken captive and forced to work, and in certain cases the victors married captive women. Sometimes the belligerent parties settled the dispute peaceably. One of the Evenk legends draws us a clear picture of the peace negotiations. A detachment led by a shaman crosses a river, approaches the enemy camp and announces its arrival with a shout. The enemy singles out two old women with untied bootstraps, this being a sign of their peaceful intent. They are received by the older women in the detachment and the old men and the shaman are told of the peace terms. The shaman rejects them and orders preparation for a battle. Then two old men appear, also with their bootstraps undone, and again appeal to the elders of the attacking detachment. The shaman again sends the envoys back. The two shamans sit down with their backs to each other on either side of crossed swords stuck in the ground and begin negotiations which end in payment of ransom for the women and conclusion of peace. In this legend the shaman plays the part of the war chief.

A true picture of the social structure of the Evenks by the time of the Russians' arrival in the 17th century can be reconstructed from material contained in the archives as well as study of the survivals found among the Evenks at later stages.

The social structure of the Evenks in the 17th century can be defined as patriarchal-clan type. During that century reindeer comprised the

property of individual families which had already become separate to a considerable extent, economically speaking. The nature of the families differed. Alongside large patriarchal families containing several dozen members possessing comparatively large herds, there were also smaller families.

We know the names of a whole series of Evenk tribes of the 17th century (in the Russian documents of the time they are often called clans), such as: Vanyadyrs in the Khatanga Basin, Nyurumnyals on the upper reaches of the Vilyuy, Chemdals on the upper reaches of the Podkamennaya Tunguska and so on. These tribes, we are told by the Cossacks, often fought with one another. They divided into blood-related exogamous clans. For example, the Vanyadyr tribe consisted of 6 clans. The clans were headed by senior people. The tribes were headed by military chiefs, who were sometimes comparatively young people. The names of some of these are known from documents, which often call them "princelings."

The development of trade relations through the development of Russian trade in Siberia and the concentration of reindeer in certain households led to the decomposition of the subsistence economy and broke down the former clan-tribal relationship. The exhaustion of reserves of fur, particularly the sable, and expansion of the territory occupied by the settled population caused the Evenks to move from one region to another, and this inevitably meant the formation of communities consisting of representatives of different Evenk clans as well as other tribes and nationalities. These territorial or neighborhood communities predominated in all Evenk regions up to the Revolution.

Joint possession of the territory by all the members of the community belonging to different clans became the rule. Hunting grounds, pasturelands, and fishing waters were used by all.

The forms of collective labor also changed. Instead of labor by relatives within the framework of a joint family or clan, there arose collective neighborly labor within the community. For purposes of hunting, fishing and joint pasturing of reindeer, temporary associations were created from members of the community, and as soon as the work was complete or the season was over, these associations were broken up.

In addition to this still essential collective work, individual work by members of the community became more and more widespread and was practiced in all cases in which the operation and the tools made it possible for one man to do the job without assistance from the others.

In addition to individual acquisition of the furs and products of reindeer-herding, there were also preserved traces of earlier forms of collective distribution and customs of hospitality and mutual assistance. For example, even in the 20th century, features of collectivism in distribution of the hunting catch were still retained. This is shown particularly clearly by the custom of *nimat*, in which the hunter is obliged to share his catch with all those living in his camp, regardless of their clan affiliation. There also existed customs of extensive mutual aid, but they were often veiled forms of exploitation of poorer relatives and fellow tribesmen by the rich Evenks.

The neighborhood community of the Evenks contained an inner contradiction. The contradictory elements were, on the one hand, communal ownership of the land, collective labor and distribution, and, on the other, private ownership of reindeer and other means of production and individual acquisition of the most marketable product of the economy—furs.

While the former relationship helped to retain a relative primitive equality, private ownership, particularly of reindeer, brought about the opposite effect and led to the accumulation of wealth by individuals, thus undermining the equality.

Many big reindeer-breeders in a number of regions possessed thousands of head of reindeer prior to the Revolution. This was reflected in the corresponding terminology. The word *abdu* or *avdu* began to mean both "herd" and "property" at the same time, while the word *abduchi* came to mean "rich man."

The poor people who had no reindeer were entirely dependent on the rich herders. When going hunting they had to apply to them for the reindeer necessary for their nomadizing. Not having a chance of going to fetch commodities from distant trading points, the poor people were forced to get their food (flour, tea, butter and sugar) and hunting gear (guns, powder, shot and so on) from the herder. It was usually all taken on credit just before setting out and paid back later in furs. But the debts were never fully paid up and as a rule all of the poor people were constantly in the debt of the richer reindeer-breeders of their region.

Having received a reindeer as a gift or on credit, the poor people considered it a manifestation of clan or neighborly mutual assistance. Hence, they considered it their duty to help the rich reindeer-breeder to pasture his reindeer and do other jobs. In this way, along with the big reindeer-breeder, there usually nomadized a group of poorer people economically dependent on him. In return for their labor they received only small gifts of meat, reindeer products or a few reindeer, and the latter were usually given on credit. Exploitation in the form of hired labor was considerably less developed. Permanent and seasonal workers were mainly hired to carry commodities (in the Ayanskiy or Ilmпыskiy Rayons). Their labor was occasionally used as well for pasturing reindeer belonging to richer breeders. The poor people often worked for one reindeer-breeder for several years merely receiving from him secondhand clothing, reindeer products and food. It was only when the dependent was leaving that the owner gave him several reindeer in return for his work.

Apart from these forms of commercial and productive exploitation on the part of the richer Evenk reindeer-breeders, Evenk hunters were cruelly exploited as well by the Russian, Yakut, and Buryat merchants. The infiltration of commodity relations among the Evenks was especially stepped up in the 19th century. Because of this there was greater economic inequality and dependence of the working poor on their fellow tribesmen, the richer breeders. As already mentioned, the position of the Evenks deteriorated considerably just before the Revolution when there was particular impoverishment and an increase in the mortality.

In the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the normal economic unit among the Evenks was the individual family; joint families were found comparatively rarely. There was strict division of labor between men and women. The men procured food and looked after the reindeer herds, while everything else was entrusted to the women. A particularly large amount of work fell to the lot of the women during the hunting season. They had to dismantle the dwelling, fold it and load their possessions onto the reindeer, lead the reindeer carrying the packs and also the children. It was also their duty to clear the snow away from the site chosen for the dwelling, to set up the dwelling and to cook food in time for the arrival of the hunters. If there were several women in the family, the younger ones also went hunting. Because of her important economic role, the authority of the woman in the family was comparatively high. But the dominant position in the family was occupied by the man, who procured the basic means of survival. Reindeer were the property of the whole family and at the disposal of its head. Some of them were permanently at the personal disposal of individual members (reindeer for riding and the young of the does which

were presented to children on the day of their birth). The personal possessions of members of the family included clothing and footwear as well as the tools that they used for their work. Traps and nets were family property. When dividing up the property, each person took his own possessions and received part of the family property required for running an independent household. Parents usually lived with their youngest son. Property was inherited on the male side, and after the husband's death remained in his clan.

Marriage among the Evenks was contracted in different ways: by paying bride-price (*teri*), by exchanging women (among the western Evenks) or by a system in which the son-in-law worked off the debt in his father-in-law's household for several years. The marriage ceremony consisted of matchmaking, payment of the bride-price, and the wedding. Between the matchmaking and wedding, there was often a gap of as much as a year, during which the dowry was prepared; the latter was usually equal to the bride-price (*teri* also meant a pair of equal objects).

The terms denoting kinship among the Evenks retained traces of the classificatory system. The man, for example, called all his elder brothers and all the younger brothers of his father and mother by the same name (*akinmi*). If the elder brother died, the younger brother might marry his widow. All the wives of the younger brothers were called *kukinmi*; the elder brother did not have the right to have sexual intercourse with them. To denote the concept "parents," the word "mother" (*entyl*) still predominates over the word "father" (*amtyl*).

Although in the 20th century the Evenks were still divided into clans and tribes and the tribes still retained differences in dialect and in certain ethnic peculiarities, and although the clan-tribal administration consolidated by the Russians (clan administration, clan "princelings," elders) also was retained, in actual fact the clan organizations by this time, as mentioned above, had practically entirely disappeared. It was the custom of clan exogamy which lingered the longest.

Religion

As has already been mentioned, Christianity among the Evenks was confined to the formal performance of Orthodox rites which were usually timed for the arrival of the priest in the taiga. The images of the Orthodox saints were interwoven with ancient concepts of spirits; for instance, Mikola (St. Nicholas) turned into the deputy of the master-spirit of the upper world.

The Evenk religion is of great historical interest since it retains some extremely early archaic forms of belief. By the beginning of this century, the religion of the Evenks included the remnants of various stages of development of religious ideas. Among the most ancient ideas are spiritualization of all natural phenomena, personification of them, belief in an upper and lower world, belief in the soul (*omi*) and certain totemistic concepts. There were also various magical rituals associated with hunting and guarding herds. Later on these rituals were conducted by the shamans. Shamanism brought about the development of views of spirit-masters, the soul, assisting spirits, and there was created a cosmogony with a world of the dead. New rituals appeared, including sending off the soul of the dead man, purifying hunters, dedication of reindeer and many other rituals concerned with "curing" and counteracting hostile shaman-spirits.

According to the shamanist view of the Yenisey Evenks, the world consists of three worlds—an upper world in the east at the point where the

chief shaman-river Engdekit begins; a middle world, which is that river itself; and a lower world in the north, where the river comes out. The river has many tributaries and they have many smaller tributaries belonging to different shamans. In later beliefs, the upper world was the residence of the master of the upper world (Seveki, Ekseri, Main) and omi, the souls of people who have not yet been born, while the lower reaches of the main shaman river became the world for the souls of the dead.

The ancient beliefs regarding the origin of the earth, humans and animals, shared by all Evenks, were as follows. In the beginning there were two brothers; the elder was an evil spirit and the younger was a good spirit who became the spirit-master of the upper world. The elder brother lived at the top and the younger brother at the bottom. Between them there was water. The younger brother had two assistants, a golden-eyed duck and a loon. One day the golden-eyed duck dove down and brought back the earth in its beak. The earth was thrown on the surface of the water. The brothers went there to work; the younger brother made people and "good" animals, while the elder brother made "bad" animals, that is to say, ones which cannot be eaten. The material used to sculpt the people was clay. According to different versions of the legend, assistance in the creation was given by the raven (among the Ilmipy Evenks) or the dog (among all others).

The development of shamanism was accompanied by the view that the world was populated by a large number of good and bad spirits which assisted the shamans (seven, kheven). The same sevens could be both good with respect to their own shaman and evil with respect to another. With the help of these spirits, the shaman protected members of his clan from the evil shaman-spirits of other clans. These "assistants," who helped to guard clan territory, were to be found everywhere—in the air, water, and on land. They kept watch, chased away and kept the evil spirits out of their territory. But if the hostile spirits nevertheless managed to reach clan territory, the people of the clan in question began to get sick and die. Then the shaman had to find the spirits and chase them away. The assistant spirits, according to the Evenks, were always closely associated with the shaman. After his death, they left, together with his soul. This consciousness had a strong effect on people who were mentally disturbed. The sick man usually had a dream in which the spirits of a dead shaman "came to him" and ordered him to become a shaman. Thus, the gift of shamanism was "handed down" in each clan, often in the same family. The assistant spirits of the preceding shaman "passed on" with the gift. The shaman gift could be handed down to the next generation as well as every other generation, both from men to women and vice versa, and consequently on the male or female side. Sometimes one man received a gift of two shamans. In rare cases the shaman gift was "received" otherwise than by inheritance.

Among the accoutrements of the shaman were coat (lombolon, samasik), a hat, always with a fringe drooping onto the face, a tambourine (ungtuvun, nimngangki) of irregular oval shape with a drumstick (gisu), and sometimes a staff with a long strap. As a whole, the costume was supposed to symbolize an animal (reindeer or bear). The shaman coat among the Evenks living west of the Lena and close to the Yenisey was the richest in amount of fringe and metal embellishments, almost resembling armor. East of the Lena the shaman coat had less embellishment and the hat was not always made of metal in the form of a crown with reindeer antlers; more often it was made of deerskin, although still in the form of a crown, and the coat had a long deerskin fringe with bells suspended along it. The coat was also different in cut.

The important religious ceremonies of the Evenks were based on ancient hunting and reindeer-breeding rituals. There were a multitude of minor shaman spells, such as illemechepke or "treating the sick," sevenchepke or "dedicating a reindeer," charms associated with different events in life and addressed to one of the spirit-masters, and, finally, special shaman spells for warding off harmful spirits, "appeasing one's own spirits," and so on.

For the spells associated with important religious ceremonies, the shaman always had to put on a special form of dress; on other occasions he could cast spells in ordinary clothing, but all shamans were bound to cover their face with a kerchief over their head. During the ceremony there had to be semidarkness in the dwelling, hence the fire was extinguished until the coals were just smoldering. Each spell began with a thump on the tambourine and singing by the shaman, which was meant to summon the assistant spirits.

The religious rituals of the Evenks included rites involving bears, killing bears, opening up the carcass and building a special structure (chuki) to bury the head and bones.

In the legends of the Yenisey Evenks, the bear was a hero who had sacrificed himself in order to provide man with reindeer. In the extreme east, fragments of the myth of a girl who gave birth to a bear cub and a boy were still retained. These brothers grew up and waged war, in which the human was the victor.

The bear had as many as 50 allegorical names. A man from another clan was always invited to skin the carcass. When cutting the skin of the bear, they used to "placate" it by suggesting to it that this was really "ants running about." When dressing the carcass, bones were not allowed to be cut or broken. The whole carcass had to be taken apart at the joints. When they had eaten the meat, they collected all the bones and laid them out on willow branches placed closely side by side in the same order in which they had been in the bear when alive. Afterwards the branches were gathered up and bound together. Among the western Evenks a bundle of bones was placed "on the hind paws" and a boy "wrestled" with it. After this, the bundle of bones was "buried," that is to say, it was stuck on top of a high tree stump or on two stumps with the head facing north, or else placed on a platform. The eastern Evenks "buried" the head and remaining bones separately; the head was impaled on a tree trunk and the bones were placed alongside on a branch or in a wooden structure. Apart from this ritual, there were other hunting rituals in which the shaman did not take part.

Some of the steppe Transbaykal Evenk pastoralists still embraced Lamaism and its ritualistic aspect in the 18th century. The Iro Evenks in northern Mongolia were also Lamaists.

Folklore

The Evenks divided all types of folklore into Iker, improvised songs, daviavur, new songs, nimngakan (nimngakavun), myths, stories of animals, tales of the epic type, nenevkel or tagivkal, riddles, and ulguril, stories about history or everyday life.

The Evenks improvised songs on any theme with a musical line motif. The words of this line, which were used as the rhythm (one or two eight-, ten-, or twelve-syllable lines) had long since lost their meaning and were preserved as a refrain for the improvisation. Improvisation with the insertion of a syllable to keep the rhythm was widely practiced by the Evenks.

The system of improvising with these syllables was used as well for composing contemporary songs and verse.

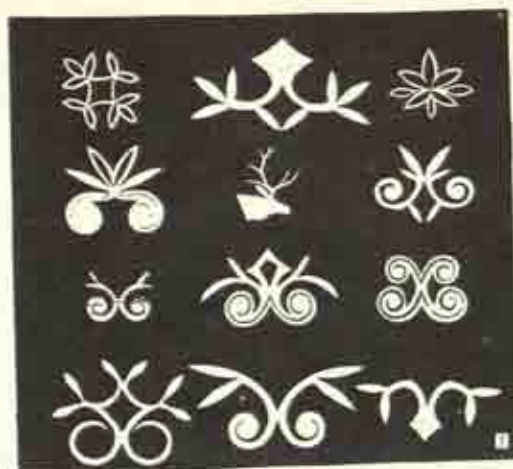
The myths reflected ancient beliefs regarding the creation of the world, the origin of the earth, man, animals, certain types of terrain, awe-inspiring rapids and so on, and they also reflected the belief in shaman worlds, the principal river Engdekit and its inhabitants, various types of monsters, and so on. A number of myths of the first shamans, contests between different clans in the shaman "art," have also come down to us. Tales of animals have become in our days tales for children, and practically in all cases they "explain" the origin of various external features of animals, birds and fish, and also the character of certain animals. A particularly large number of episodes in the animal stories relate to the fox. The favorite genre of the Evenks was the epic and heroic tale. The method of transmitting this type of folklore differs from the others. While all the other types are simply related, the epic tales and heroic stories are sung in addition. The hero's own words are told in the first person in a recitative or by singing. The storyteller, having sung the hero's words, sometimes repeats them and the audience also sings them with him in chorus. The tales used to be told in the dark. They were usually begun in the evening and continued the whole night through. Sometimes the narration of long adventures could not be completed in one night and so it was continued and completed the next night. Certain groups of Evenks had their own sonings or heroes. For example, the favorite hero of the Ilimpy Evenks was Uren, while the favorite hero of the Evenks on the Podkamennaya Tunguska was Kheveke. In the imagination of the Evenks, the sonings were usually ideal people with all the traits of character which the primitive hunter aimed at possessing: "he threw bears over his shoulders," etc.

The cherished dream of all heroes was to travel farther afield, see more, meet a rival and test his strength and agility. All the legends describe duels between warriors. The victor usually takes the sister or wife of the vanquished enemy as his wife. In the tales of the eastern Evenks the heroes clash with heroes from other tribes—Sivir, Kedan, Keyan, Okha, etc., who have reindeer and horses, but in appearance and everyday life are distinct from the Evenks. Some of them lived in octagonal semisubmerged dwellings with an exit through the chimney or in square houses. The Evenks had stories of hostile monsters and cannibals (chulugdy, evetyl, lietyl, and deptygir).

The historical tales describe events of comparatively recent times. They speak of the appearance of wealth among certain progenitors and give certain clan names existing to the present day. There is a great deal in these stories about interclan clashes. A number of legends describe the mutual relations between Evenks and merchants, Russian peasants and tsarist authorities.

The topics of the everyday stories concern hunting, ridiculing human imperfections (laziness, stupidity or cunning). Such are the numerous tales of Ivul' (among the western Evenks) or Mivche (among the eastern groups) based on puns.

Ivul' has a clever elder brother. The brother sends Ivul' to fetch some willow roots (ngingtel) to build a boat. Instead of this, Ivul' kills some children and brings their heels (ngingtyl). The brother asks him to bring a clamp for the boat (ninakir), but Ivul' brings some dogs (nginakir). He is sent for ribs for the boat, but he brings the ribs of his mother whom he has killed. The brother asks him to go away on a trip and set up the tent on a sloping bank (ngeku), but Ivul' sets it up on a scaffolding (neku); and so on.



Birchbark toys and patterns:

1—birchbark embroidery patterns; 2—paper and birchbark toys.

The Evenks living near other nationalities had stories and legends from their neighbors, carelessly interwoven with motifs and sometimes with plots of their own folklore. These include, for example, Russian tales of Ivan the Fool, called by the Evenks Uchanay-Tongnay, the Buryat legend of Khani-Khubun-Khekher-Bodo, and so on.

The only musical instrument possessed by the Evenks was the very ancient *kenngipkevun* (or *penngipkevun*), characteristic of practically all the Asian peoples. This is a metal jew's-harp (up to 10 cm high) in the shape of a lyre, with a piece of metal soldered to the middle of the frame. The oral cavity serves as the sound box. The narrow part of the mouth organ is inserted between the lips and made to vibrate with a slight movement of the tip of the tongue, upon which it gives out feeble sounds varying according to the size of the oral cavity. It is possible to play a number of simple melodies on it. If there was no metal jew's-harp handy, they made one of wood. This was a plate with a piece cut in it and with a knotted thread through a hole in the base.

Ring dancing was the only kind known to the Evenks. It was usually danced in the evening. One of the participants would begin to improvise a song with a rhythm suitable for stamping the feet; all the others repeated the improvised lines. More and more people joined in, the circle grew,

the rhythm was slowly quickened until the movement was very rapid and the ring went round like a whirlwind. But then they were no longer singing, but shouting out the words of the motif (usually *ye-khor'-ye* or *ekhe-gey-ye*). Those who became exhausted left the ring and were replaced by new dancers. For the action of dancing, singing and playing, holding archery contests, fencing and so on, the Evenks had only one word *like(n)*, or *evi(n)*.

Evenk games were of the nature of wrestling, running, jumping and archery matches.

Graphic art was represented by bone and wood carving, bead embroidery as well as embellishment with strips of fur or cloth and also silk (among the eastern Evenks) and embossed drawings. In the designs used by the western Evenks straight lines and very simple geometric figures predominate. Saddlebows (either bone or wood), knife handles, metal embellishments for women's dresses, pipes and so on were ornamented. Wood designs were usually colored red, white, black or blue. The embellishment of metal, bone and wood was a job for the men, while the women embroidered with beads (western Evenks), silk and thread (eastern Evenks), and adorned clothing with strips of fur and fabric. The chestpieces were decorated all over. The flaps of coats, and later on footwear, belts, mittens, bags, saddle packs, bridles, children's hats, winter coverings for cradles and other items were also ornamented. The women also embellished birchbark crockery; the designs were applied with the point of a deer hoof, or else strips of birchbark cut into shape were attached to a colored base. Various animals were also cut from birchbark as toys for children. Spiral designs were common among the Manegry and certain Transbaykal and Amur Evenks. The designs on clothing of the Evenks in the north of the Krasnoyarskiy Kray and in Yakutia contained Yakut elements.

THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD IN THE LIFE OF THE EVENKS

[Many Evenks took part, along with Russian workers and peasants, in the battles of the Civil War. After its conclusion, clan soviets and native rayon executive committees were set up and temporarily entrusted with judicial functions. The clan soviets also carried on economic and cultural work—opening new trading posts, organizing medical and veterinary assistance, etc. Preparation of Evenk personnel for government, cooperative and school jobs began in 1925. In 1928, the transition from clan soviets to territorially organized soviets began. On December 10, 1930, the Evenk National Okrug was formed, consisting of 3 rayons: Ilimpiyskiy, Baykitskiy and Tunguso-Chunski. During the 1930's, Primary Production Units were organized, based on the voluntary socialization of working reindeer during the hunting season. In 1937, there were 32 Primary Production Units in the Evenk National Okrug, embracing 86% of the entire native population. In 1939, the Primary Production Units began to pass over to the regular collective-farm charter. During this period, the settling down of the population took place.

[Reindeer-breeding on the collective farms of the Evenk National Okrug has two main purposes—transport and hunting. In contrast with the former extremely primitive methods, great attention is now given to the improvement of the herd. Veterinary assistance is now provided to all collective farms. Herding is organized by means of permanent herding brigades on routes preselected by the collective-farm management, with a view to the available fodder resources. Concentrated fodder and mineral substances

are constantly used to feed the reindeer. Where before collectivization, entire families used to migrate with the herds, this is now done only by the brigade members, while the families stay home at the collective-farm base, occupying themselves with agriculture, building, and other forms of animal husbandry.

[Hunting is very important in the economic life of all Evenk collective farms. The chief game hunted are squirrels, foxes, Siberian ferret and sable. Muskrat-hunting has recently been developed. In the northern part of Ilmptyyskiy Rayon, the chief game are polar fox, ermine and wild reindeer. Old hunting equipment—noose and pitfall traps and crushing-type traps—is used alongside the new. The hunting brigades are regularly furnished with supplies and equipment, including heated dwellings. Each brigade is accompanied by a woman collective-farm member who cooks their food and repairs their clothes. Regular rendezvous are set up in the taiga with fur-gatherers and cultural workers. As early as 1937, hunting provided 75.5% of the total income of all Evenk collective farms. At the present time, because of the growth of other branches of the economy, hunting is equivalent in importance to fur-farming, which began to be practiced in 1947. Almost simultaneously with fur-farming, the Evenks took up agriculture, particularly the growing of potatoes and vegetables. In 1952, the potato and vegetable yield on a number of collective farms reached 120-160 tsemtners per hectare, which is extremely high for a population previously unacquainted with agriculture.]

[Fishing was highly developed on the Evenk collective farms during World War II. This was particularly true in the Ilmptyyskiy Rayon, where it is of great commercial importance.]

[In 1952, 80% of the population of the Evenk National Okrug had access to radio. In 1951, the collective-farm electric station went into operation at the Omakta Khokto collective farm. Since then many electric stations have been opened.]

[Urban clothes have come into wide use, although certain forms of national dress maintain their popularity. For this reason, the processing of reindeer skins for winter wear continues to be conducted by the women by the same methods as formerly.]

[The diet has broadened to include various vegetables and farinaceous products, and the cuisine has acquired several typical Russian dishes—cutlets, meat turnovers, etc.]

[Child mortality has dropped sharply, and the birth rate is on the increase.] In the past, the Evenks were without any medical assistance whatever, and their mortality was extremely high. The plague of the Evenks was tuberculosis, and also diseases provoked by their living conditions and occupations—rheumatism, respiratory infections and trachoma. Many Evenks were also not free from a specifically Northern nervous disorder—Arctic hysteria. Such epidemic diseases as measles and smallpox before the Revolution used to wipe out whole clans. In cases of such diseases, the Evenks did not even consult the shaman, but simply abandoned the sick and fled into the taiga, dying on their way if they had been infected. Evenk folk medicine was powerless against these diseases: it knew only a few herbs to stop bleeding from wounds, and other primitive methods of treatment. Childbirth usually took place under severe conditions, in a special tent, built beforehand from pieces of old ones. The parturient spent several days there after childbirth, and the tent was then abandoned. Assistance was rendered by old women. In cases of difficult childbirth, various magical methods were resorted to, such as the untying of all knots in the whole camp, and in especially severe cases, the shaman was called. After 3-7

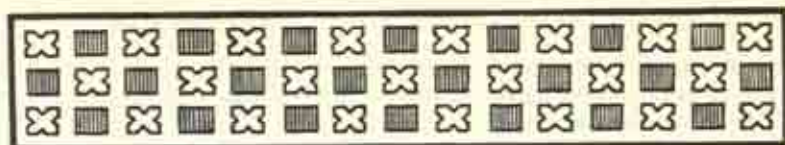
days, the parturient was washed, fumigated and taken back to the common tent.

[The first hospital was opened in 1927, and in 1950, there were 11 hospitals and clinics, 6 nurseries and kindergartens, 3 maternity centers, 8 doctors' offices, 18 medical-assistant stations, and a tuberculosis sanatorium. In 1943, a midwife's and medical-assistant's school was opened in the center of the Evenk National Okrug at the settlement of Tura.

[The first educational institution in the okrug was opened in 1927; this was a boarding school attached to the Tura cultural base on the Lower Tunguska. The Evenks received their written language after the Revolution and in 1928-1929, the first publications in the language were reproduced by mimeograph. In 1931, the first Evenk book appeared. By 1950, there were in the okrug 25 elementary schools, 3 seven-year schools and 3 complete secondary boarding schools in which about 800 children are taught at full state expense. In 1950, the appropriations for education in the okrug were 50 times those of 1932. When they finish the seven-year or ten-year schools, young Evenks go to study at pedagogical schools and institutes, in medical-assistant, veterinary or juridical schools in Igarka, Minusinsk, Krasnoyarsk and other cities. Evenks are now studying at the Herzen State Pedagogical Institute, Leningrad; they began to attend during the 1930's. At all educational institutions, until they graduate, the Evenks, like other representatives of the people of the North, attend at full state expense. The Evenks now have their representatives among Party personnel and in the ranks of the intelligentsia: examples of the latter are V. N. Uvachan, Candidate¹ of the Academy of Social Sciences, and A. V. Romanova, Candidate of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.]

¹The degree of Candidate is an intermediate grade, lower than the doctorate (which is relatively rare in the Soviet Union); it usually entitles the holder to an academic post.—Ed.





THE DOLGANS

A. A. POPOV

General Information

The Dolgans comprise the basic population of the Taymyr National Okrug.

At the present time the Dolgans speak a particular dialect of the Yakut language. They stem from groups of different origin. The nucleus of the Dolgans was made up of 4 clan groups of Tungusic origin—the Dolgans, Edzhens, Karyntuos and Dongots.

The Dolgans call themselves Dulgaan. This name, which is the name of one of the clan groups, was extended to cover all Dolgans in the 19th century, although, many of them still called themselves until recently by the name of the group to which they belonged. Hence they previously did not have any common name for themselves. In the Noril'sk region some Dolgans called themselves tya kisite (which means "man of the forest" in Yakut) or tege (meaning "tribe" or "people" in Evenk). The Dolgans sometimes used the name Tungus but distinguished themselves from the local Evenks in the Taymyr and the Evenk National Okrug. They do not consider themselves Yakuts and are ethnologically distinct from the latter.

The number of Dolgans was 1224 in 1897, and 1445 in 1926-27. From the beginning of the 20th century, in addition to the "true" Dolgans, this nationality also included other Yakutized groups (so-called tundra peasants and local Evenks) as well as some of the Yakuts living in the same region. In actual fact the entire indigenous population of the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons, with the exception of the Nganasans and the Evenks living south of the Kheta River and its sources, and the entire indigenous population of the Noril'sk-Pyasina Rural Soviet of the Dudinskiy Rayon in the Taymyr National Okrug can be considered Dolgans. Small groups of Dolgans also live on the Yenisey in the Dudinskiy and Ust'-Yeniseyskiy Rayons.

Before the Revolution the Dolgans formed the following administrative "clans" headed by clan elders or "princelings": Dolgan-Yenisey (Dolgan proper), Dolgan-Tungus (Dongot), Zhigan-Tungus (Edzhen) and Boganid-Tungus (Karyntuo). The Yakuts who merged with the Dolgans formed the Lower Tundra "Clan" Administration, and to some extent became part of the Betu (Chordu) and other naslegs.

The Dolgan language is a dialect of Yakut and contains Evenk words. The closeness of the Dolgan dialect to the Yakut language decreases as we move from east to west.

According to Russian sources, in the 17th century the territory settled by the present-day Dolgans was occupied by ancestors of the Nganasans. The above-mentioned groups, which later formed the core of the Dolgan people, lived at that time in regions comparatively far removed from the Taymyr: the Dolgan group occupied regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy

and Muna on the Lena; the Edzhen group lived on the lower reaches and the Dongot group on the upper reaches of the Olenek. The ancestors of the Karyntuo probably also lived on the Olenek.

Clans with the name Dolgan and Edyan (Edzhen) were commonly found among the Evens and Evenks. For example, Dolgan clans are known in the regions of the Anadyr' and Gizhiga, on the Kamchatka and Okhotsk coast; Edzhen clans are known in the Aldan Basin, around the Ayan on the Okhotsk coast, and so on.

During the 18th century the ancestors of the present-day Dolgans migrated to the northwest, the Dolgan groups moving to the rivers Popigay and Khatanga, the Dongot and Edzhens to the Noril'sk Lakes region, and the Karyntuo to the Boganida River basin. Those left on the Lena became part of the local Yakut naslegs as separate clans.

The first Yakut settlers appeared at the end of the 17th century in the Khatanga Basin on the river Kheta, and from then on the influx continued to increase. In the 18th century these Yakuts formed into the Lower Tundra Yakut Volost.

Even before the Yakuts—at the beginning of the first half of the 17th century—the rivers Pyasina, Dudypta, Boganida, Kheta, and Khatanga were settled by Russian hunters and trappers who founded the ancient Russian population of these places, subsequently known as tundra peasants. They were chiefly concerned with fishing, and to a lesser extent with hunting. It was from them in particular that the Dolgans and Nganasans learned to set pitfall traps for the polar fox. The influence of their Russian neighbors has long been evident in the dwellings and everyday life of the Dolgans, that is to say, during the migration to the Taymyr.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the gap between the culture and everyday life of the different groups of the population in this territory began to narrow. The Yakut language became predominant and was absorbed not only by originally Tungus groups, but also by a large number of tundra peasants. Intermarriage swept away the former barriers between the Evens, Yakuts and Russians to an ever greater extent.

The system of tsarist administration was no different here from what existed in any other part of Northern Siberia. The Dolgans, Yakuts and Evenks had to pay the fur-tax as "natives" and formed "clans" headed by princelings, while the tundra peasants were forced to pay a poll tax, were formed into a "community" and headed by an elder. People living many hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest centers were economically dependent on the merchants who monopolized supplies to the region, bought up all the furs, and cruelly exploited the population.

Economy and Everyday Life

The main occupations of the Dolgans of the past were reindeer-breeding, hunting, and, in certain regions, fishing. Until quite recently the Dolgans were still leading a nomadic life. Their nomadizing was basically of two types. In the region of the Noril'sk Lakes and in the basin of the Popigay, they retained a more archaic system of nomadizing and did not leave, generally speaking, the forest-tundra belt, but kept to the forest-covered river valleys in the winter, and wandered back to the bare steppes for the summer. The winter camps of other groups of Dolgans stretched along the forest-tundra belt from Lake Pyasino to the lower reaches of the Popigay. These were typical "edge-of-the-forest" dwellers. The winter was spent in the forest-tundra with slight deviations south of the northern boundary of the forest vegetation, while the summer was passed in the tundra,

somewhat to the north of this boundary. The migration from winter to summer camps and back was made in the spring or fall.

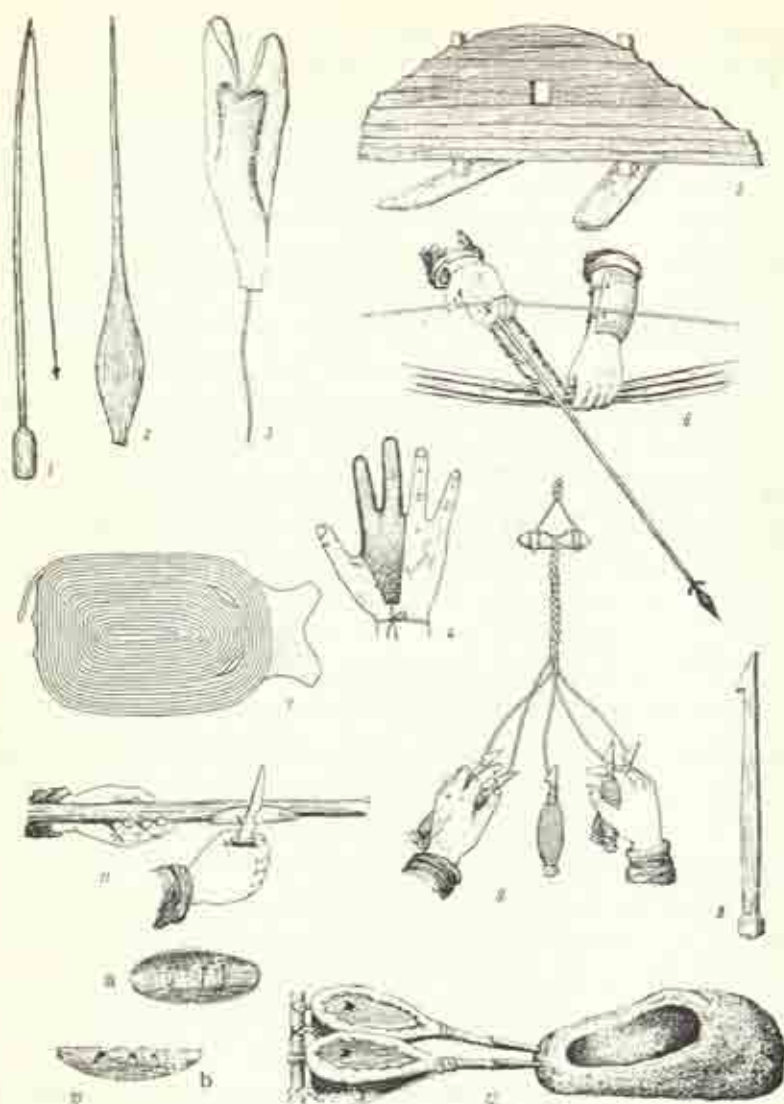
In winter, the families of Noril'sk and Popigay Dolgans lived apart from one another, often singly. The remainder still continued to nomadize along the northern edge of the forest and formed the chain of "stations" of the winter Noril'sk-Popigay highway; this consisted of groups of 5-10 households, some of the stations comprising groups of permanent dwellings. But since reindeer require frequent change of pasture, the camps of separate families and the entire stations, and the reindeer-herders living in the Russian-type houses as well, had to change their place of residence several times during the course of the winter.

As spring approached and the camps broke up, the Dolgans formed into nomadic groups. These groups were combined on a territorial basis and were bound by common economic interests. Associations of this kind meant that a smaller number of herdsmen was required for the reindeer since it took fewer people to look after a large herd than several small ones. In the spring, as soon as the grass appeared, and in the summer, during the season of the mosquitoes and other harmful insects, the Dolgans watched their herds the whole day through, appointing sentries from each household in turn. The nomadic Dolgans wandered along lakes, rivers and mountains. In the autumn, when the insects disappeared, each group of nomads divided up once more into separate families, which then nomadized in the region of their polar-fox traps, setting them again for the winter, or else hunted singly for wild reindeer until it was time to go back to the camps.

The reindeer-breeding of the Dolgans combined the traditions of the Tungus breeding for purposes of riding, with devices and techniques borrowed from the herders of the Samoyedic groups. Thus, the Dolgans used reindeer both for riding and carrying (in summer) and at the same time made extensive use of reindeer sled-teams (in winter). But even in the first half of the 19th century the Dolgans in some parts only used their reindeer for riding. The various types of sleds are fundamentally similar to the Nemish and Nganasan types, but they also have the Yakut type with its low, straight staves. The harnessing technique differed from that of the Nentsy; the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the rein on the right, whereas among the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the left-hand rein (it should be noted in this connection that the Evenks and Dolgans, even when riding reindeer, mount from the right and also guide it from the right). The system of milking reindeer, typical of the Evenks, was retained by the Dolgans; like the Nentsy and Nganasans they also used herd dogs. The saddles and riding techniques of the Dolgans were of the Tungus type.

The Dolgans hunted polar fox, wild reindeer and various wildfowl including duck, geese and partridge. Until quite recently they still used bows and arrows for the purpose, obtaining them from the Kets, via the Russians, and also from the Yakuts and southern Evenks. The Dolgans also had self-triggered bows for killing reindeer, which they set up in the forest preserves east of the Khatanga. According to legend, in the remote past the Dolgans used to hunt reindeer with slings and throwing-arrows.

The Dolgans attributed great importance to collective reindeer spearing in the autumn at river crossings, and to various hunting techniques with guns (which replaced the old bow and arrow). In the winter, the animals were hunted by means of specially trained decoy reindeer. In the winter they hunted reindeer with guns and bows and arrows almost entirely by the chasing technique: 4 strong reindeer were harnessed to a light sled and the herd was trailed for hours on end. Another form of winter hunting



Hunting tools and equipment; technology:

- 1—flexible stick with cord for releasing a throwing arrow; 2—wooden throwing arrow; 3, 4—glove worn for archery; 5—shield on skis for hiding the hunter; 6—method of protecting the hand during archery; 7—method of cutting a spiral strip from reindeer-skin; 8—wooden hook for braiding lasso; 9—method of braiding lasso; 10a, b—wooden knife holder with holes for blades; 11—method of using knife holder; 12—clay kiln with blacksmith's bellows.

involved concealment: the hunters skillfully approached the herd behind a shield erected on runners. In the winter the hunters put on white coats with chestpieces made of white dogskin, enabling them to crawl over the snow

towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under the ice was an upright net 6-30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree-trunk canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sled-tents or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.



Hunting:

- 1—hunter with decoy reindeer; 2—hunting wild reindeer from behind a shield; 3—catching partridge with nets.



Winter dwelling, sled tent.

There are more than a dozen versions of the Dolgan national costume, all with their special names, though only different in a few trivial details. The characteristic feature of both men's and women's clothing is a slightly elongated coattail at the back. The Dolgans themselves explain this by the fact that when sitting down on the cold ground in a tent they can spread out the long coattail underneath them.

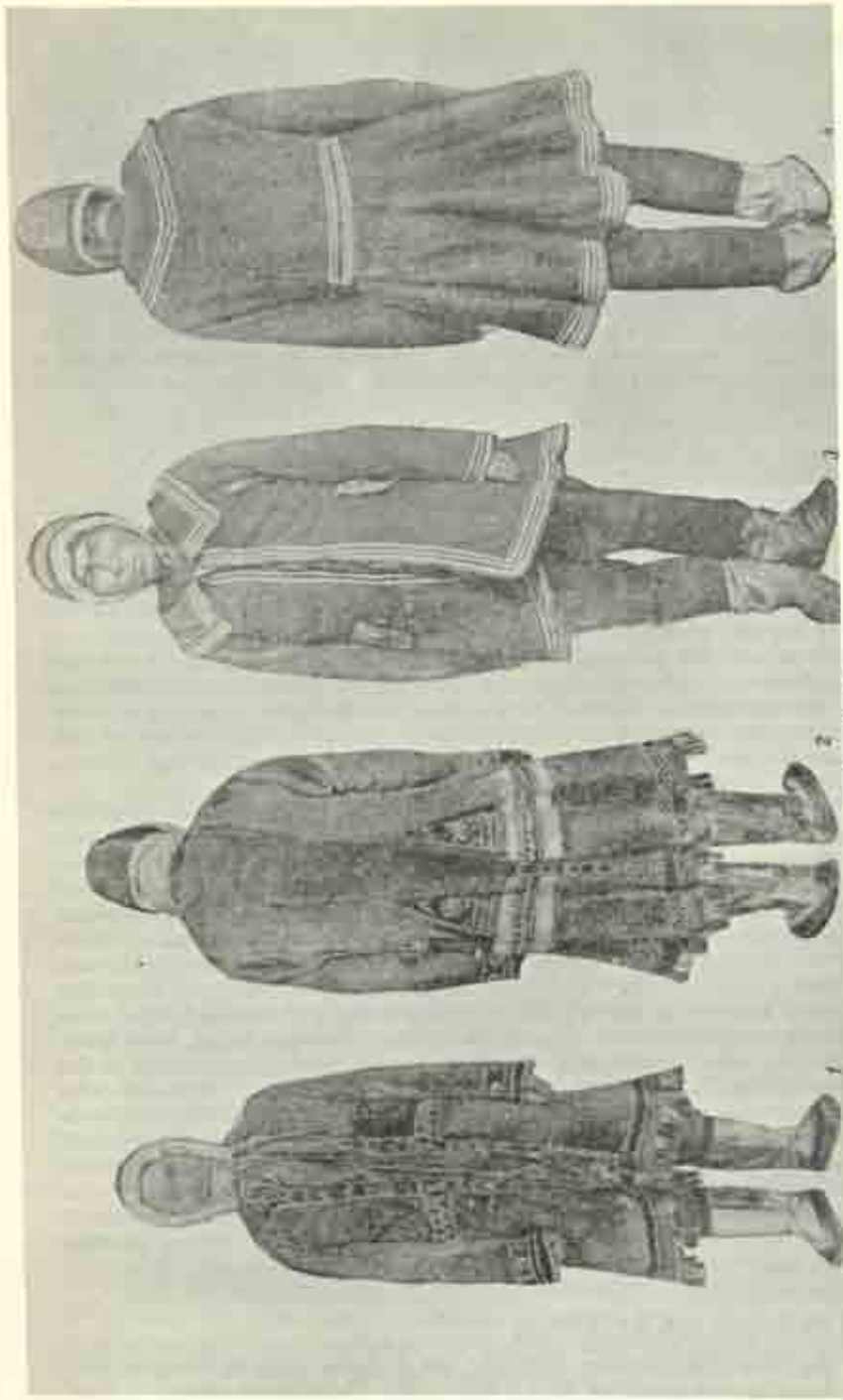
Even before the Revolution household clothing for men and women was made of bought material. Men wore shirts and trousers of the Russian style, and women wore dresses, on top of which they put on aprons without openings. Both the men's shirts and the women's aprons almost always had side pockets and were embroidered with narrow colored piping and numerous buttons. They did not wear any underclothing.

In the summer and winter men and women wore a cloth coat called the *sontap*. In the winter they wore a second fox-fur or hareskin coat beneath it. In the winter instead of the cloth coats they sometimes wore the deerskin open *dokha* (*parka*) or shortcoat, and ventless fur clothing with a hood with the fur outside, i.e., the *sokuy*. When traveling the men wore a *sokuy* over their cloth coat or deerskin *parka*. In rainy summer weather a cloth *sokuy* was put on. In the winter the women wore a *son* or long polar-fox or hareskin coat, on top of which they had a *sontap* or *sangyyak* (deerskin coat). Men and women girdled their clothing with bead-studded belts. The *mukalkaan*, a bead-embroidered men's *parka*, was close to the Even type. The old-fashioned men's and women's aprons were also similar to the Even type. Men's and women's hats (*bergese*) were shaped like hoods. The top was cut from fox feet or from cloth, and was embroidered with beads or finished with narrow bands of colored cloth. Winter footwear was made of deer feet and came in two types: a type reaching to the knee or higher, corresponding to the Evenk boot and often ornamented with beads.

Summer footwear was made of suede. A hole was made in the middle of the sole in summer footwear so that any water leaking inside during walking could run out.

Social Relations and Religion

By the time the Russians arrived, the Dolgans were splitting up into clans. Kinship was reckoned on the male side. There were certain traces



Men's clothing:

1, 2—winter; 3, 4—summer.



Men's snow goggles.

of matriarchy still to be found. For example, in the old times several Dolgan families living in one dwelling would elect a communal housewife, to whom all the men were subordinate. Until quite recently, maternal kinship was considered closer than paternal kinship among the Dolgans. The women kept the fire going and "fed it," and also supervised the family sacred relics. Clan organization among the Dolgans fell into abeyance in the 19th century.

The development of trade and the introduction of improved techniques into the principal occupation of the Dolgans, that is to say hunting, led to the acquisition of furs on a personal level. Furs had long been an item of trade. Their commercial importance had an effect on the relations among the Dolgans in the field of distribution. Products from reindeer-hunting or fishing had to be divided among relatives and neighbors, while furs (polar-fox or sable) were considered the absolute property of the hunter and were left untouched. An important factor in the social differentiation of the Dolgans was the concentration of the bulk of the reindeer herds, which were not particularly numerous as a whole, in the hands of a small group of rich households. This became a basis for different forms of exploitation: such as the loaning of reindeer to poor people who then became dependent on the richer reindeer-breeders, the hiring of herdsmen, mainly orphans or poor relatives, and so on. Nomadic groups were often formed through the congregation of poorer households around a richer reindeer-breeder, who made use of his neighbors' labor for pasturing and watching the herd. In the second half of the 19th century petty Russian commercial travelers appeared among the Dolgans, together with Yakut merchants who exploited their kinsmen.

Nevertheless, the economic production and distribution among the Dolgans retained numerous traces of the original communal relationships. This includes the above-mentioned collective forms of hunting (cuttings, spearings), joint fowling, fishing and so forth. Although the means of production for hunting and fishing had long since become private property, the booty



Women's clothing:
1, 2—winter; 3, 4—summer.

was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type, and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the external, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): *ichchi*, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; *ayy* or spirits well-disposed towards humans; *abaasy* or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the *abaasy* had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, invading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were the *oyun* or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called *saytaans*. The *saytaans* could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a *saytaan* if a shaman commanded a spirit, *ichchi*, to enter it. The *saytaans* were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk) Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed



Women's chestpiece embroidered with colored beads.

of tales called *ustuoruya* (from the Russian word "*istoriya*" or history), in which the heroes were Russian merchants, poor state-owned peasants, Ivan Tsarevich and other characters from Russian fairytales. Their plots are also close to those of the Russian tales. The historical legends tell of journeys to strange countries and the unusual adventures involved. Some of them are close in content to the legends of the *Olenek Khosun* epic.

Both in theme and in method of narration, the epic tales were very close to the Yakut *olonkho* and were even called by the same name. They often describe a way of life alien to the Dolgans; they mention horses and cows, but hardly ever mention reindeer. Their theme is the struggle between heroes and persons consorting with evil spirits. The dialogues, just as in the Yakut epic tales, were sung. Dolgan songs are either short (lyrical) or long. The former were not performed by professionals, and the composers and performers were usually boys and girls. The long songs were performed by highly gifted improvisers or "songsters," who were relatively few and far between.

The storytellers were regarded as the elite, chosen by the good deities and spirits. Gifted storytellers created their own schools and whole generations of young storytellers studied under them. According to the old beliefs of the Dolgans, all the images drawn by the storytellers could be turned into visible images or shadows. This belief in the ability of the storyteller to re-create real images by his words was exploited by the Dolgan

shamans to make their methods of "curing" the sick more convincing. Sometimes, to determine which spirit the disease had come from, the shaman would send for a storyteller. The latter would begin telling an epic tale as dusk fell. As soon as the hero of the tale began to gain the upper hand over his adversary, the spirit which had allegedly been eating the patient began to emerge to help his brother spirit. As soon as he saw the evil spirit and knew what kind it was, the shaman cast a spell, now knowing what he had to do to cure the sick person. During heavy epidemics shamans often resorted to the help of the storytellers by asking them to spend evenings telling stories in which all the adventures of the heroes had a happy ending. Since it was considered that the images in the epic tales became visible, in the spring, when the geese arrived, no stories were recounted so that the images would not frighten the geese. To avoid frightening wild deer, stories were not told on the eve of the hunt.

The Dolgans had no musical instruments. It was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the Yakut *jew's-harp* began to



Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliqué with narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were considered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nenish National Okrug.

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The

personal property of the collective-farm members includes herds of reindeer (up to 100 head), transport equipment, vertical nets, hunting guns and hunting and fishing tackle. Reindeer-herding remains the chief branch of the economy, but is now done in accordance with good animal husbandry practice. A reindeer technician and a veterinary assistant are attached to each team, which looks after a subherd.]

The Dolgan reindeer-herders on the collective farms pasture the herds in good grazing ground, far from the herding tent by day, and as night falls drive them back to the tent. Having rested, the reindeer at midnight begin to feed near the tent; at dawn they are driven to new feeding grounds some distance away. This grazing system, on the one hand, keeps the reindeer well fed and, on the other hand, they do not stray during the night and are easy to watch. Twenty-four-hour-a-day, year-round guarding of the reindeer has become a rule in collective herding.

[The herd of reindeer is constantly growing. Thus, in the Avamskiy Rayon, the number of reindeer increased over the last five-year period, by more than 50%. The necessity of yearly migrations along the tundra from Dudinka to the Anabar has been eliminated; previously this had a most unfavorable effect on Dolgan reindeer-herding. The demand for pack-reindeer has been reduced, due to the carriage of goods into the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons by the Northern Sea Route; from here they are brought to remote inland points by steamboat or cutter. Previously, the only route connecting the Dudinka with the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons in the winter was the reindeer highway from Dudinka to Popigay. Connections are now maintained winter and summer by airplane, although reindeer transport is still of some importance. Its technology is unchanged.]

[Hunting technology has been reconstructed. Traps are set in the autumn before the beginning of the blizzards. For this purpose, hunting brigades sometimes journey to the north for several hundred kilometers into the taiga, spending the nights in sled-tents with iron stoves. Hunting brigades are made up before the beginning of the season, traps being distributed on the basis of 150-200 pitfall traps and 10 springtraps per hunter. With the first snow the brigades go out into the tundra and begin to hunt wild reindeer. Foxtraps are baited with the surplus meat obtained. In the Khatangskiy Rayon alone, where the majority of the hunters are Dolgans, the collective farms during the 1948-49 season set 5000 new pitfall traps and prepared 1000 bait-pits for foxes, in which they placed more than 40 tons of bait.]

[Fox-hunting begins on November 15th. Springtraps are placed by experienced hunters at places where wild reindeer have been killed in the autumn, or on the bloody tracks of wounded wild reindeer near bait-pits, or previously discovered burrows. Hunting is the main source of income for Dolgan collective farms. The previous predatory methods have gone out of use—spearing, stockades, geese nets. Fishing has become important in a number of areas. Vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry (other than reindeer) have developed on many Dolgan collective farms. The members grow chiefly radishes, cabbage and onions.]

[A process of settling down the previously nomadic population is in progress. In the new settlements where the collective-farm members whose work does not make them nomadic live, dwelling-houses of the Russian type have been built, along with various other farm and public buildings. Many settlements have their own electric stations.]

The members of reindeer-herding and hunting brigades lead a nomadic life. Their families frequently travel with them. Separate nomadic groups are now set up, not on the basis of individual relations among different

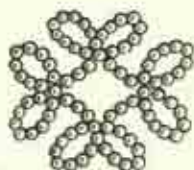




Kindergarten on a walk. Taymyr National Okrug, Khatangskiy Rayon.

families, but on the initiative of the collective-farm administration, and their routes are determined in the same way. Fishing brigades sent to fish in some river or lake lead a settled life there, partly in houses built by the collective farm at the fishing grounds.

[The Dolgans, particularly the descendants of the tundra peasants, had Russian cottages even before the Revolution. They now build sturdy houses, using both imported lumber and driftwood. The old-fashioned pole tent is now used only in the summer.

[The Dolgan diet now includes bread, flour, and tea, boiled strong and taken with sugar. Supplies are brought in regularly to the local stores. Medical aid is available at 40 medical and medical-assistant points. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by hospitals at Noril'sk and in the settlements of Chernoye, Volochanka and Khatanga. In 1953 there were 52 schools, including 3 seven-year schools, in the Taymyr National Okrug. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by schools at Chernoye, Dolgany, Volochanka, Kheta, Khatanga, Popigay and other points.



THE EVENS

M. G. LEVIN and B. A. VASIL'YEV

General Information

The Evens, who were formerly known as Lamuts, are close to the Evenks in origin, language and culture. They are settled to the northeast of the Evenks and border in the north and northeast with the Yukagirs, Koryaks and Chukchi.

Even culture, which is close in the main to Evenk culture, nevertheless has a certain originality. The problem of the relations between the Evens and the Evenks has been explained in different ways in published literature. Earlier writers (Middendorf, Shrenk and others) regarded the Evens merely as a geographical subdivision of the Evenks; Patkanov, the well-known student of the Tungus, suggested that the term "Lamut" should be completely done away with and "should only be used as a synonym for the Tungus in certain coastal areas." Indeed, it would be difficult to find the exact dividing line between the Even and Evenk clan and tribal names. Back in the 17th century on the Okhotsk coast, according to Cossack descriptions, the same clans first appeared under the name of Tungus and then under the name of Lamut.

The Evens themselves call themselves different names according to the region they settled. The names Even and Oven are common among Evens living in the Okhotskiy Rayon of the Khabarovskiy Kray and in the Sredne-Kanskiy Rayon of the Magadanskaya Oblast; in the Penzhinskiy Rayon of the Koryak National Okrug; in the Anadyrskiy Markovskiy and Vostochno-Tundrovyy Rayons of the Chukchi National Okrug; in the Oymyakonskiy and other national rayons in Yakutiya.

Most of the Evens in the northern part of the Okhotsk coast (the Ol'skiy, and to some extent the Sredne-Kanskiy and Severo-Evenskiy Rayons) and the Bystrinskiy Rayon on Kamchatka call themselves Orochel (in the singular Orochi), which means "reindeer-keeping." The settled Evens in two settlements in the Ol'skiy Rayon (Arman' and Ola) call themselves Mene or Menel, which means literally "living in one spot."

The term "Lamut," which was usual in ethnographic publications until the official name "Even" was established for all, goes back to the Russian documents of the 17th century in which the "Lamuts," "Lamutkas" or "Lamutskiye" people are the names for the individual territorial groups of

this minority living on the rivers Yana, Indigirka, Kolyma and certain others. These Russian names can be explained from the Evenk language in which "lamu" means sea (e.g., the Okhotsk Sea), "lake" (e.g., Baykal) and other large bodies of water. One of the Yakut names for the Lamuts is Lomuk or Lomut. It is most likely that the Russians borrowed the term from the Yakuts.

In some regions the old clan-tribal names still persist in the names the Evens use themselves. For example, the Evens in the former Tyugyasir "clan" in the Sarkyryrskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR call themselves Tyuges; the Evens of the Ust'-Yanskiy and Allaikhovskiy Rayons—descendants of the Yukagirs—call themselves Dutkil'. Since 1930 one of the self-appellations of the Lamuts—Evens—has become the official term and is now used in specialized literature as a name for the nationality as a whole.

According to the 1926-1927 census there were 2109 Evens, but this figure is clearly too small. A considerable number of the Even population of Yakutiya and other regions (for example, the Okhotsk coast from the Gzhiga to the Ul'ya) was counted together with the Evenks. It was only the Evens of the Kamchatskaya Oblast (then an okrug) and a small number of Evens in Yakutiya who were included as Evens; the true number was as high as 7000.

The territory settled today by the Evens covers the Sarkyryrskiy, Ust'-Yanskiy, Oymyakonskiy, Nizhne-, Sredne-, and Verkhne-Kolymskiy, Tomponskiy, Momskiy, Allaikhovskiy and Verkhoyanskiy Rayons of the Yakut ASSR. However, in these regions, too, the Evens are in the minority. In the Khabarovskiy Kray they live in the Okhotskiy Rayon, in the Magadanskaya Oblast; in the Ol'skiy, Severo-Evenskiy and Sredne-Kanskiy Rayons in the Chukchi National Okrug, as well as in the Bystrinskiy Rayon and the Koryak National Okrug, of the Kamchatskaya Oblast.

The Even (Lamut) language belongs to the Northern (Tungus) subgroup of the Tunguso-Manchurian languages and has a great deal in common with the Evenk tongue. Characteristic features of the Even language distinguishing it from Evenk show up in vocabulary as well as phonetic structure (the dropping of final consonants and vowels in the root of the word, for example, the Evenk word umukta and the Even umta—"egg," the Evenk dyuke and the Even dyuk—"ice" and so on).

The Even (Lamut) language can be broken up into two groups of subdialects—eastern and western. The eastern group contains the Kolyma-Omolon, Ola, Kamchatka, Okhotsk and several other subdialects, while the western group includes the Indigirka, Tompon, Allaikha and other subdialects of the Evens in the Yakut ASSR. Furthermore, the Arman' dialect stands out particularly (in the Ol'skiy Rayon) though it is not territorially widespread. One of the eastern subdialects—Ola—as being spoken by the largest group of Evens has been adopted as a basis for the literary language.

The different groups of Evens who came into contact in the past with other peoples and now live surrounded by them borrowed a great deal from their neighbors and in turn exerted an influence on them. For example, the Evens who settled in the 1840's on Kamchatka were influenced by the Koryaks. In the north the Evens assimilated the Yukagirs to a large extent, as a result of which there formed a mixed Even-Yukagir population. The Evens of the Okhotsk coast, "Mene," were first subjected to the influence of settled maritime Koryaks and then of Russians. The Yakutian Evens came under Yakut influence both in a linguistic and a cultural respect. At the present time all the Evens living in the Yakut ASSR are bilingual.

The origin of the Evens is closely linked with the origin of the Evenks. Over the extensive territory of the Kolyma, Yana and Indigirka basins, and possibly farther to the west, the bearers of the ancient Tungus languages developed close mutual relations with the ancient Yukagir tribes and took over many facets of Yukagir culture. In the regions of Northeast Asia it was the intermixing of Tungus and Yukagir elements that shaped the Evens. It is worth noting that back in the 17th century, documents contained references to "Lamut Yukagirs" of the Chan Zhin clan nomadizing together with the Lamuts.

The above-mentioned territory settled by the Evens came into being comparatively recently; in the 18th century the northern part of the Okhotsk coast, right up to the river Ola in the south, was inhabited by settled Koryaks. They were observed there in the 18th century by the travelers Krashennnikov, Lindenau and Lesseps. The movement of the Evens eastwards to the northern part of the Okhotsk Sea dates from the subsequent period, and they did not reach Kamchatka until the 1840's.



Reindeer corral.

Occupations and Everyday Life

Up to the Revolution the bulk of the Evens were typical nomadic reindeer-breeders and hunters. They were reindeer-breeders even in the 17th century when the Russians first came into contact with them. Among the Okhotsk-Kolyma nomads there was distinguished a group of households which nomadized over a wide area covering the Kolyma, Omolon, and Indigirka basins and a group of households with a small range of nomadism, keeping mainly to the Okhotsk basin.

Apart from the bulk of nomadic reindeer-breeding and hunting Evens, there was another small group of semisettled Evens on the Okhotsk coast, whose main occupation was fishing and sea hunting. The dog was the draught animal for these people. Only a few households possessed reindeer, which were pastured along with the herds of their nomadic kinsmen.

The relative well-being of the nomadic Evens in the past was due basically to the fact that they were assured of the necessary number of reindeer

for riding. It was only under these conditions that the family could make the long journeys involved in hunting furs and meat and summer trips to the rivers for fishing. In the past the Evens who lost reindeer were usually doomed to starvation and inevitably came into the vassalage of a wealthier herder.



Riding a reindeer.

The Even reindeer differs from the Koryak or Chukchi breed by being larger and possessing greater strength and endurance. The Koryaks willingly exchanged their reindeer for the Even breed, giving two of their own for one of the other.

Reindeer-herding dogs were not known to the Evens. The only purpose for which they used dogs in reindeer-herding was the following: in the autumn, when the reindeer went off in search of mushrooms, the herdsman tied a long strap to the hunting dog and made it bark. The barking frightened the reindeer which then began huddling together. The dogs were always kept on a lead and never allowed near the herd. The herdsman sometimes built smoking fires to protect the animals from mosquitoes. The Evens did not milk their reindeer, except for those living in the Okhotskiy Rayon.

The Evens used the reindeer for riding and as a pack-animal. When nomadizing, the children were placed in special cradles. It was only as an exception that reindeer were harnessed to sleds, and this was only practiced in Kamchatka and other places bordering on the Chukchi and Koryaks. The reindeer was harnessed to a sled with curved runners characteristic of the Chukchi and Koryaks and borrowed from them by the Evens together with the entire reindeer harness. In the Indigirka and Yana basins the Evens also knew of reindeer-drawn sleds and used a harnessing system borrowed from the Yakuts.

The most important branch of economy among the Evens was hunting. During the winter migrations they hunted animals for their fur and meat. Hunting for furs was of commercial value and brought in about 90% of the



Child in cradle adapted for nomadic journeys.

monetary income until very recently. The squirrel was the chief furbearing animal that was hunted and the operation covered a considerable area of hunting ground.

Also important was the hunting of reindeer, elk, mountain sheep, and occasionally bear. The Evens tracked the reindeer singly, either riding a reindeer, or on skis (the Even skis were the same as the Evenk ones) with guns and with hunting dogs. In Kamchatka these dogs were known as the Lamut breed and greatly valued (at the end of the 19th century they cost at least 100 rubles each). Dogs were used in Kamchatka for hunting sable and on the Kolyma and Okhotsk coast for squirrel and fox. The hunting of wild reindeer with a decoy deer was common. In the old days no one ever hunted the wolf; just as among the Chukchi, the wolf was considered a taboo animal by the Evens.

Among the Kolyma Evens who did not move off in the spring to the Okhotsk Sea, fishing was only of subsidiary importance. For example, they fished for grayling and other species in the mountain streams. They speared the fish or else used a fishing rod through a hole in the ice or in an unfrozen patch of water. The technique of fishing with net-barriers was not typical of the Evens. Admittedly, the Kolyma Evens did use it, but they did not make the nets themselves but acquired them by barter from the Yukagirs.

The Evens of the Okhotsk coast engaged most extensively in fishing. They caught the humped-back and Siberian salmon during the migration of these fish. They used the fish-spear as well as nets made of horsehair and twine. In the old days the nets used to be made from nettle fiber.

Sea-animal hunting was also of importance among the settled Evens of the Okhotsk coast. In the autumn the hunters grouped into parties (4 or 5

men together) and drove in dogsleds to the edge of the icefields. At one stage they used harpoons to kill the seals, and later guns. In the spring, when the coastal ice began to breakup, the hunters used to approach the animals lying on the ice floes, in wooden boats. As camouflage they put on white cloth gowns. The hunting of seal with sticks was especially common. This technique was of advantage in that the animals were not frightened by the sound of the shot. In the middle of the 18th century on the Okhotsk coast they still had an archaic method of hunting seal with a floating harpoon up to 30 m long. These harpoons were also known among the Orochi, Oroks, Nivkhi and Ul'chi even in the 1920's.

There had been busy bartering between the settled and nomadic population of the Okhotsk coast for a long time. The settled population supplied the nomads with sealskin which was used to make deer lassoes, soles and other items and in return the nomads provided venison and deerskin.

Among the semisettled or settled Evens whose main occupation was fishing in the mouths of rivers and sea-animal hunting, dogs were used for transportation, as has already been mentioned. In the middle of the 18th century, the Okhotsk coast Evens harnessed from 5 to 7 dogs to a sled in a snake—that is, not by pairs but alternately attaching the animals on both sides of the reins. This ancient method of harnessing dogs existed up to the beginning of the 19th century among the Nivkhi and other groups in the Amur region. In the 19th and 20th centuries dog transportation among the Evens was already the so-called East Siberian type. This new type of sled, dog-team and harnessing was due to Russian influence. Here and there on the Okhotsk coast the Evens used the horse as well for purposes of transportation. The horses were allowed to graze the whole year round, and finding them drinking water always involved great difficulties.

The Evens had two types of portable dwellings—the dye and chorama-dyu. The former was the conical tent common in Siberia in the past, and characteristic of the Evenks as well. Birchbark tents were commonly found among the Okhotskiy Rayon Evens. The chorama-dyu was a dwelling of extremely original construction. It also had a conical roof but the structure contained low, vertical walls. When erecting this type of dwelling they first put up 4 main support poles, which converged at the top. When they had been placed in position, a pole was secured horizontally over the site of the hearth for suspension of the cauldron, after which a framework was assembled for the vertical walls from sticks of equal length called chora. Every 3 sticks were tied with a strap inserted through a hole in their ends. Two of the sticks were set up round the perimeter of the space intended for the tent, at an acute angle, while the third was placed horizontally and was used to bind the other two sticks placed on the ground in similar fashion to the previous ones, and so on. An even number of bundles of 3 sticks was used, e.g., either 8, 10, 12 or 14. The walls of sticks forming the framework thus constituted a number of acute-angle triangles a little way apart; the horizontal sticks joining the tops of these triangles made a closed ring unbroken except for two entrances on opposite sides. When the cylindrical wall, about one meter high, had been set up, a roof of poles (kharang) was erected, the ends of which came together in the shape of a cone. The apex of this cone rested on the meeting point of the 4 main support poles. The suede coverings for the dwelling (elbityng) were placed in 3 rows, one on top of the other. An opening was left at the top for the smoke. In the Ol'skiy Rayon of the Okhotsk coast there were also dwellings of this type with a different covering material, fishskin (garmi). Fishskin coverings were observed by Lindennau in the 18th century among the so-called "foot" Tungus of the Okhotsk coast. The entrance to the dwelling was hung with a suede curtain often

embellished with an appliqué pattern. On the floor of the dwelling there were two logs running from one entrance to the other, separating the hearth from the living quarters on either side of it. The floor on either side of the hearth was carpeted with undressed deerskin and other animal hides. The design of the Even chorama-dyu was similar to that of the Chukchi and Kor-yak yarangas.



Dismantling a dwelling.

The dwelling of the settled Evens was extremely archaic. In the old days the dugout had served as the winter dwelling. In the middle of the 18th century Lindenau still found dugouts (utan) on the Okhotsk coast with a flat roof and an entrance through the smoke outlet. He also tells of other round-shaped dwellings with a conical covering and a side entrance.

The summer dwellings used by the semisettled Evens of the Ol'skiy Rayon were larch bark tents. The tents were similar in construction and terminology, even down to details, to the chorama-dyu. They were set up near fishing waters and used for several years running. The sticks (chora) used to form the vertical walls were hammered into the ground when the dwelling was constructed. In view of the fact that the larch bark did not bend, these dwellings were more often polyhedral rather than circular in shape. The remaining details—the conical roof, the hearth in the middle, the curtained walls, etc.—coincided with those of the tents used by the nomadic Evens. In the 18th century, Lindenau described them as octahedral dwellings with two entrances, one facing east and one west, and a hearth in the middle. As storehouses the Even nomads had small timber structures on high piles. Furthermore, close to their tents the Evens erected low open platforms on which they put meat and various household items, or else erected conical tents of logs placed close together in which they kept stocks of frozen fish and other food.

The ancient clothing of the Evens was similar to that of the Evenks. Men's and women's outer clothing consisted of the kaftan (light coat) made from fawnskin or suede. The back, tail and top of the sleeves were from one skin. At the lower part of the back there were two slits into which

tapering panels were inserted. The sides and hem were trimmed with strips of fur, which was the main distinction between the Even and Evenk form. The seams were ornamented with strips of beads. The two sides of the coat did not join together at the front, hence it was essential to wear a chest-piece with it, just as among the Evenks. The Even chestpiece (nel) comprises a chestpiece proper and a short, knee-length, apron tightly sewn together or all cut from one piece. The men's chestpiece had a narrow suede fringe at waist level and the bottom part of the women's chestpiece was embellished with bead or neck-hair designs. A suede fringe with numerous metal trinkets, for example, bells, cast copper plates, and silver coins, was sewn onto the hem. Chestpieces were made of suede; those used in winter were made of fawnskin, and until recently were worn immediately next to the skin.



Camp.

Their undergarments were the same as those worn by the Evenks, and consisted of trunks (kherki), leggings and boots. The leggings were either made of suede or fur, according to the season. The sherki were very short trunks made of suede or fur and cut from a whole piece of skin without any inserts.

The Even footwear had a more or less high leg made of suede or deer-skin.

Headgear for men and women consisted of a hood tightly enveloping the head, usually decorated with beads and particularly lavish in the case of women. A kerchief was sometimes worn instead of a hat. In winter a large fur cap was worn on top of the other hat.

Social and Family Relations

At the beginning of the 20th century the Evens still retained traces of a patriarchal-clan organization. They were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans. Some of them were often scattered over vast expanses of territory. Some of the Even clans stemmed from the Koryaks and Yukagirs: for example, the Chagachibair clan (Gizhiga), which was descended from the Koryaks, the Dudki clan, associated with the Yukagirs, and so on.

The basis of the official administrative-clan structure of the Evens during tsarism was the blood-related clan, which the Russians encountered



Women's clothing embroidered with beads.
1—hat; 2—chestpiece; 3—boot.

among them in the 17th century. Because they were so widely scattered, these clans had split up and some of them received a serial number in addition to the name of the clan. Thus, in the official documents there were 10 Uyagan, 7 Dolgan, several Delyan clans, and so on. Some of the clans did not receive official names and made up one of the other administrative "clans," for example, the Doydal clan on the Okhotsk coast.

At the head of the administrative clan there used to be an elected elder or representative of the "clan" responsible to the Russian administration, usually a well-to-do Even. He had the duty of collecting the fur-tax, receiving gunpowder from the treasury, keeping it and distributing it to the members of the clans, certain legal duties, including the hearing of various infringements of customary law. The elder's assistant was the "kapral," who governed in the territorially isolated section of the "clan."

Clan relations among some groups of Evens, for example, the Evens who used to fish in the estuaries of the Okhotsk coastal rivers, had died out by the beginning of the 20th century. The jointly nomadizing groups and camps contained Evens from different clans. According to 17th-century sources, it can be said that the decomposition of the blood-related clan

and, in particular, the considerable economic differentiation within the clan were far advanced. The social differentiation was shown by the corresponding words in the Even language: *kelmenchi bay*, "owner" (man with many workers); *kel'me*, "laborer"; *bauch*, *dzhogri*, "poor man," a "have-not." The social differentiation was based on possession of reindeer. At the end of the 19th century there were households with herds of more than 5000 reindeer and several dozen workers. In the period prior to collectivization a group of 202 Even households wandering to the Nayakhanskiy Rayon on the Okhotsk coast contained 13% of households having three-fourths of the entire herd of reindeer. A rich reindeer-breeder would nomadize together with his workers and groups of people who had no or few reindeer and no chance of nomadizing independently.

A common hidden form of exploitation was assistance rendered to poor relatives or kinsmen or simply poor neighbors, regardless of their clan allegiance. Alongside subsistence exploitation, there was also highly developed commercial exploitation. The richer reindeer-breeder used to



Even woman in national costume.

buy up goods at the markets held each year at certain points where the Even nomads gathered, or else buy them from trading posts along the coast. He would then sell them in exchange for furs to those fellow tribesmen who had no chance of going themselves to buy what they needed through lack of reindeer transport. The Even group dependent on a rich man was often named after them: "Zybin's clan," "Valtukhin's people," "Khabarov's people."

Apart from this type of enforced congregation of working households around a rich Even reindeer-breeder, accompanied by exploitation of the dependents, there was also another type of association, particularly among Evens who nomadized over small distances, which was rooted in the primitive-communal system. It consisted of households united by a communal hunting and fishing region with collective pasturing of their small herds of reindeer and collective fishing. In this nomadic group families usually pastured the herd in turn; in the summer some of the families remained with the reindeer while others procured yukola or dried fish, which was distributed among everyone, including the herdsman.

Until very recently it was possible to find among the Evens the ancient Tungus custom of *nimat*, which stemmed from the primitive-communal system of distribution. This custom meant that the hunter who killed an animal for meat was obliged to share it with the rest of the camp. The custom of *nimat* was also extended to sea animals and fowl, and, with certain restrictions, to fur-bearing animals as well, despite the fact that furs had already been of commercial value for several centuries, and, furthermore, constituted legal tender. If two Evens hunted together, the fur-bearing animal, even the most valuable kind, was given by the hunter who killed the animal to his comrade (not necessarily a kinsman). The custom of *nimat* was extended as well to peoples from other tribes. At one stage it was possible to complain to the elder of nonfulfillment of *nimat* and a fine would be imposed.

The Even family as we know it from documents of the 18th, 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries was a patriarchal one, but persons who observed family relationships among the Evens have pointed out the comparatively independent status of the woman in the household. Until the sons separated from their father, that is to say, until they were married, they were completely dependent upon him; they were obliged to hand over to him all furs which they caught. Bride-price—*tori*—was paid in return for the bride. Up to the beginning of the 20th century there were occasional cases of polygamy. In certain cases there were marriages with large age differences between the partners: a grownup wife would be bought for a young son. Cases were known of the betrothal of children. Marriages were contracted without the help of matchmakers. The Kamchatka Evens had a custom by which the parents of the bride and the bride herself indicated their consent to the marriage by accepting from the matchmakers a smoked pipe which was passed from the father to the mother and finally to the bride. Only a well-to-do groom could take a girl from a well-off family. The bride-price was often two or three times greater than the dowry. When the bride-price had been paid, the parents and other relatives of the bride drove her with the dowry to the parents of the groom. The bride drove sunwise round the tent three times and then her parents handed her over to the groom. After this ceremony, the bride entered the tent where a new bed-curtain had already been hung up for the young people (at first the newly married couple lived usually in the husband's parents' house). The bride took out her cauldron and cooked some venison. The dowry was hung up outside the dwelling for everyone to see.

When a child was born, a certain number of reindeer were set aside for it. All the young produced by these reindeer were considered the personal property of the child as it grew up. When a girl married, she received the herd produced by these reindeer as her dowry.

Religion

Little study has been made of the religious views and cults of the Evens. In the 19th century ethnographers observed an intermingling of Christianity, shamanism and preshamanistic beliefs among them. There was a cult of the "masters" of nature and the elements—the taiga, fire, water, and so on, and also a peculiar cult of the sun, to which sacrifices of reindeer were made. The skin of a sacrificial animal was hung up on a pole leaning against a tree, on either side of which there were young larches. The bones of the animal were not broken up, but after the ritual feast were placed on a special platform. The sacrifice was always offered collectively and the meat had to be consumed by everyone the same day. The reason for the sacrifice was often the illness of someone in the camp. In such cases the reindeer to be slaughtered was pointed out by the shaman summoned to "cure" a patient; sometimes the "suitable" reindeer was recognized by the crackle of the fire in the hearth, or by some other sign.

Among the very ancient preshamanistic cults was that of the bear. The hunter had to greet the slaughtered bear and thank it for having come to see him; it was assumed that the bear had willingly come to the hunter. The custom of *nimat* was observed very strictly in bear-hunting. The Even who received a bear as *nimat* organized a public gathering at which the bear meat was eaten. The meat from the head and front of the carcass was considered particularly sacred. It was cooked by men, for the women were forbidden to eat this meat. The bones of the bear were buried on a raised platform and laid out in strictly anatomical order. Until recently the ritual of burying the bear's skull by fixing it to the top of a small larch tree (a tree with a skull on it was called a *chuki*) was retained in one or two places as an ancient survival.

The garb of the Even shaman differed from that of the Evenk and Yakut by being less complicated; it did not have the numerous forged iron images of spirits attached to the shaman cloak. The Even shaman tambourine had a comparatively narrow rim and was round and small in diameter; it was closer to the Amur version of the shaman tambourine than to the Evenk or Yakut.

Since ancient times the Evens buried children and adults on raised platforms. A wooden figure of the bird *kor* (raven) was placed in the coffin. In the 19th century, during the spread of Christianity, the Evens began to bury their dead in the ground. Over the grave they set up a log structure with a cross, but the cross was carved with an image of a bird; around the grave they scattered the property of the man, bits of bedding, reindeer saddle and crockery. All of these objects were broken.

Folklore

In Even folklore the following genres can be distinguished: tales (*nemkan*), epic legends (*teleng*), songs (*ike*), riddles (*nenuken*), and proverbs. Tales of animals and birds stand out among the stories; the usual characters in these stories are the fox, bear, hare, wolf, wolverine, seal, mouse,



Dance.

frog, raven, eagle, cuckoo, loon, and so on. Many of these tales, for example the series of tales about the fox, or the stories of birds, are close in content to those of the Evenks, while others (for example, the tale of the seal and man) are reminiscent of paleo-Asiatic stories, in particular those of the Koryaks. Very common are tales of miraculous transformations. The theme of the old man and woman who live in hunger and poverty and therefore always quarrel and deceive one another is particularly popular in tales of everyday life.

The Russian tales of Tsar Saltan and the frog princess, which probably reached the Evens during the first Cossack campaigns, are commonly found among the Okhotsk Evens. Parts of the stories of epic heroes, for example, the dialogue, are usually sung. Among the epic tales those describing heroic women winning contests with men are particularly interesting. The epic legends contain references to interclan wars, clashes with the Koryaks and the Chukchi, the first appearance of the Russians, relations with the Yakuts, etc.

Of musical instruments the Evens had only the Jew's-harp, typical of all Tunguso-Manchurian peoples and many others of Siberia.

A round-dance similar to the Evenk type was common among the Evens.

Even music has not been studied at all. When epic legends were performed, each hero had his own special melody. The Evens also had short, improvised songs, sung to various tunes.

The Evens in the Post-Revolutionary Period

[The first Even collective farms appeared in 1929-30. Collectivization here took place in the midst of a fierce struggle: the rich reindeer-herders destroyed the herds or went with them to remote and inaccessible places, taking along the poor households dependent on them. The early form of collectivization in the Even territories, as in other parts of the North, was the Primary Production Unit. The transition to the cooperative form of collectivization was carried out as these original units became stronger.

The process was complete in 1936 in the Okhotsk region and later in other parts of the Even territory. A process of settling down was combined with the final collectivization.

[The Even collective-farm settlements are now equipped with radio facilities, schools, medical stations and other service institutions. A considerable part of the Even collective farms, located chiefly in the northern rayons of the Yakut ASSR, is devoted mainly to reindeer-herding. In most of them, Evens work together with Chukchi, Yukagirs, Russians and Yakuts. For example, the Stalin Collective Farm, Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon, Yakut ASSR, began in 1932, with a Primary Production Unit made up of fishermen and hunters. Somewhat later, an association for joint pasturing of reindeer, uniting several poor families, was established. In 1940, the first true collective farms with relatively large reindeer herds were set up in the rayon. At this time, the Even collective farm "Sutanya-ud'fran" was established, which later merged with the Yukagir-Even collective farm "Reindeer-breeder" and this was afterwards renamed for Stalin. Until recently, the leading branch of activity for the Evens on this farm was hunting for meat animals. Reindeer-breeding, fishing and fur-hunting played less important roles.] At the present time, the leading branch of economy on the Stalin collective farm is reindeer-breeding, the income from which makes up more than 2/3 of the cash receipts of the collective. The quantity of reindeer in the collective herd has increased sharply. In the technique of reindeer-herding, the Evens have borrowed much from their neighbors the Chukchi—herdsmen from ancient times, but the technique has been rebuilt on new scientific bases. Here, as in other collective farms of the North, a new method of pasturing reindeer, suggested in 1942 by the veterinarian D. L. Nikolayevskiy, has been introduced. Under this method, frequent change of pasture is practiced in summer and fall, and the distance between individual camps is reduced. Thanks to this, the reindeer are on fresh fodder at all times and are less exhausted by moving around. As a result of the use of this method, the number of sick reindeer has been sharply reduced, particularly for panaritium, which previously was a real plague of the reindeer herds.

The introduction of the new method of pasturing reindeer became possible due to a change in the herdsmen's way of life. In the past, when the herdsmen nomadized with their families, frequent change of pasture, which necessitated transportation of the dwelling, all the household baggage, children and old people, was very difficult. At the present time, when the herdsmen have changed over basically from customary to occupational nomadism, and when only the members of the herding brigade wander with the herds, and their families live settled in the collective-farm villages during summer and fall, and sometimes during the winter also, the difficulty of frequent changes of pasture has been eliminated, and the brigades move up to 100 times a year. A new element in the reindeer-herding of northeastern Siberia is the use of the reindeer-dog (layka) which neither the Chukchi nor the Evens previously had. Another new phenomenon is the herding of reindeer from horseback.

[Rational division of labor has permitted the development of other branches of the economy, such as polar-fox hunting and fishing. The latter is chiefly for immediate consumption, but is increasing in commercial importance. The center of the collective farm is a settlement with more than 30 standard dwellings. These are frame buildings smeared with clay on the outside for warmth. The old-fashioned type of Even dwelling, the chorama-dyu, has been preserved chiefly as the dwelling of herdsmen, but has also changed its aspect. It is now heated by an iron stove instead

of a campfire. Cloth tents are frequently used by the hunters. Sleeping bags with replaceable fabric linings are common among herdsmen and hunters.]

Even men's winter dress has been more and more replaced in the taiga rayons of Yakutiya during the past few years by clothing of Yakut type, and in the tundra regions, where the Evens adjoin the Chukchi, by Chukchi clothing. The old type of headgear—the hood-shaped hat—has been retained. Women in general retain the traditional forms of clothing, more and more frequently combining them with purchased garments.

[General and compulsory education has been instituted for the Evens. Those who finish school can go on for further training at Yakutsk, Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, Khabarovsk or Leningrad. Several Even writers graduated from the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad. Socialist construction among the Evens is closely connected with changes in the economy, culture and way of life of their neighbors. A marked process of mutual convergence is noted in the regions settled by the Evens: this leads to the acquisition by each group of the economic skills and cultural peculiarities of its neighbors.]





THE NEGIDALS

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

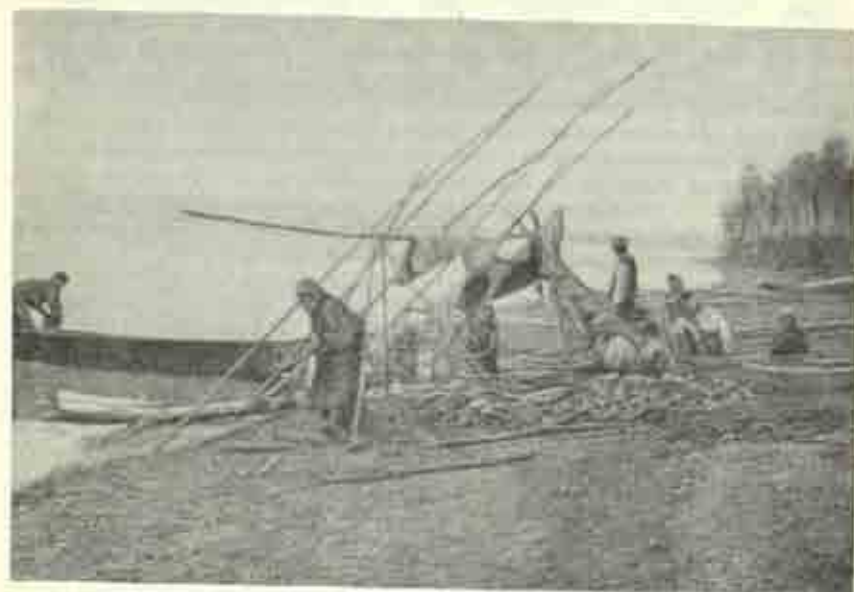
General Information

The Negidals (of whom there were 426 according to the 1926-27 census) live on the rivers Amgun' and Amur in the Khabarovskiy Kray. In 1926 and 1927 more than two-thirds of all of the Amgun' Negidals (so-called downriver Negidals) lived in five comparatively large settlements: Ust'-Amgun', Dal'dzha, Samnya, Yakhsa and Im. These settlements stretched for 150 kilometers from the mouth of the Amgun' and alternated with fairly large Russian villages. For almost 250 kilometers above the Im settlement there were no Negidal settlements at all; beyond Kerbi, a Russian town on the Amgun', there began the settlements of the upriver Negidals: Veli, Bolin, Talikit, etc.).

At the end of the 19th century a small isolated group of Negidals used to live at the mouth of the rivers Pil'du and Bichi, which flow into Lake Udy'. Occasional Negidal families lived on the Nivkhi territory of the Amur, and in the settlements Tyr, Kal'ma, Mochula, Kal'ga, Yali and others. A group of Negidals also lived on the river Gorin (Yamikhta and Sorgol' settlements). The Negidal clans, now completely assimilated with the Ul'chi, were found on territory settled by the Ul'chi (Dunkan and Khatkhil' clans). During the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries the Negidals occupied almost the whole of the Amgun' basin as well as the region of Lakes Orel' and Chlya, where Nivkhi settlements were also to be found. For purposes of hunting the Negidals used to move to the Okhotsk Sea. At the present time the socialist reconstruction of the economy has greatly changed the distribution of the Negidals: most of them are concentrated in three large collective-farm settlements--Krasniy Yar, Dyl'ma and Dal'dzha.

The Negidals are known in the literature as Negidals, Negda, Niyegda, Neydals, Nizhdals, Negedans and Nigidatter. These names are Russified forms of the word ngegida, which means "coastal" or "distant" in the Evenk language (nge means "bottom of a slope" or "shore," and gida means "side"). The reindeer Evenks nomadizing over the Stanovoy Range also used the word for the Nanays, Ul'chi and Negidals, contrasting this with the term Dunkan, "inhabitants of the hills," which they used for themselves. The Negidals themselves called themselves El'kan beyenin or Elekem beye, meaning "local" or "local persons."

The Negidal language belongs to the Northern (Tungus) subgroup of Tunguso-Manchurian languages. It differs insignificantly from Evenk in



Preparing fish for drying.

the phonetic, grammatical and lexical respects, and in a number of cases is close phonetically to the Orochi and Udegey languages.

In origin, the Negidals are Evenks who mixed with Nivkhi, Nanays and Ul'chi on the lower reaches of the Amgun' and Amur Rivers.

In the past the culture of the Negidals showed traces of Evenk taiga hunting culture, such as techniques for hunting fur-bearing and meat animals, conical dwellings, Evenk-type wide skis with skin lining, chest-pieces, leather and fur clothing with a slit in the middle, footwear, birch-bark canoes, the shape of the cradle, and so on. The Negidals on the upper reaches of the Amgun' retained the Evenk type of saddle reindeer-breeding. Other elements show considerable influence by the Lower-Amur culture—dog-breeding, types of sleds, harnessing, flat bottomed wooden boats, sea-animal hunting, sealskin skirts for men, clothing made of fishskin and methods of dressing it, and so on. Like the other people of the Amur, the Negidals (particularly those of the lower reaches) showed the influence of Manchurian and Chinese culture (shape of the robe, dwellings with heated benches, and certain other similarities).

Under Russian influence the Negidals began building timber houses at the end of the 19th century, but continued to engage chiefly in fishing and hunting, though in some cases they learned to cultivate the land (vegetable-gardening). The upriver Negidals lived predominantly in scattered groups of one to three families, frequently changed their residence and spent their time hunting and fishing.

The first reports of the Amgun' were brought back by the Cossack leader, Perfil'yev, in 1636, but descriptions of the people populating it were unavailable up to the end of the 17th century. The population of the Amgun' was first mentioned in official documents around 1680 by F. Shcherbakov. The attempts by the Uda and Tugur Cossacks to settle the Amgun' relate to this period. In 1682 the Ust'-Dukin and Ust'-Nemilen encampments were set up on the Amgun'. Reports submitted by the Cossacks living in these encampments mentioned the foot and reindeer clans of the Tungus and the

Gilyaks (Nivkhis) on the lower reaches of the Amgun'. According to Shcherbakov, "12 clans of these same Tungus live on the Amgun'." The name "Negidals" is not found in the 17th-century reports.

In the 17th century the whole of the southern coast of the Okhotsk Sea, right up to the Tugur, was settled by Nivkhi, whose settlements were also to be found on Lakes Orel' and Chlya. There the Negidals came into particularly close contact with them and were influenced by their culture.

The clan composition of the Amgun' Tungus, according to figures for the 17th century, partially coincided with that of the present-day Negidals. According to 18th-century data, the Uda Tungus considered themselves the same as the Tungus living on the Amgun', whose daughters they took as their wives. The term "Negidal" is first found in the middle of the 19th century in the works of Middendorf and reports of Nevel'skoy. According to Soviet investigators, some of the Negidal were related in origin to the Nivkhi, Nanay and Ul'chi clans.

Economy and Everyday Life

Until quite recently the basis of Negidal economy was fishing and hunting. The importance of fishing, declining as one moved from the mouth of the Amgun' to the upper reaches, was, even among the upriver group, of great importance. The chief game fish of the Negidals were the humped-back salmon, the summer and autumn salmon, the sturgeon family and the carp family. Fishing began in April. At the beginning of July the preparation of barriers and nets for catching summer salmon was begun. The summer migration of the salmon family lasted from 15 to 20 days. The autumn salmon catch took place in August-September. The nets were made beforehand from thread spun from nettle or wild hemp by means of a spindle. The thread was cooked in ash and tinted with larchbark.

Apart from the ordinary rectangular nets, the Negidals also had a bag-shaped net of the same type as the Ul'chi and Nanay. The name of it-tanty-is close to the Ul'chi word. At one time they used to use a three-toothed spear with a handle up to 5 m long, and a one-toothed spear with a short handle, with which they speared the larger fish from canoes. In the winter, they fished with rods through holes in the ice. The upriver Negidals, like the Amgun'Evenks, fished in shallow water with a stick with a hook on the end that easily came off. The catch was dried, smoked and made into yukola.

In the fur trade the sable was of prime importance as a fur-bearing animal; Amgun' sables were famous on the Chinese markets. Toward the end of the 19th century, this occupation suddenly declined, through extermination of the sables, and deer and elk were hunted solely for the use of the hunters themselves. Their hunting techniques were the same as those of the Evenks. The trapping of duck, geese, partridges, hazel grouse and wood grouse used to be common among the Negidals in the past. Thirty or forty years ago they used to go to the Okhotsk Sea to catch fowl, and always returned with good hauls.

The hunting of marine animals was also common in the past. They hunted the seal in the Amur Estuary and on the Okhotsk coast collectively in large wooden boats. The seals were killed with iron harpoons. It is now only the older people who remember this type of hunting.

In the past the Negidals had few reindeer (they were found among the upriver and Im peoples). They were used as saddle animals, though they were more often harnessed to sleds of the same type as those used by the Aldan-Zeya Evenks.



Summer dwelling on lower Amgun'.

The Negidals had several types of dwelling. The summer dwelling commonly found among the downriver Negidals was a small house of bark with a pointed sloping roof, generally speaking, very similar to the Ul'chi type (*daura*); the Negidal families spent the whole of the summer and autumn in this type of dwelling. Alongside this, the Negidals had conical summer tents (*dzhokcha*) which were characteristic of all Evenks.

A temporary hunting lodge was built from 6 or 10 willow branches bent into hoops and secured in the ground a short way from each other; the longitudinal branches on the top and at the sides were interwoven with the transverse ones and the entire structure was covered with strips of birch-bark. The height of this type of tent was insignificant (130-140 cm), but it could accommodate from two to five people.

The old-fashioned winter dwellings of the upriver Negidals were conical tents or gentle sloping huts made of boards and covered with earth. In the Negidal settlements, chiefly those on the lower Amgun', winter dwellings with heated benches (*khagdun*) were commonly found. The Negidals had platforms on four columns for storing various possessions as well as timber boards on piles with pointed roofs.

The staple diet of the Negidals used to be fish, and to some extent venison. The downriver Negidals used to make a kind of jelly (*mosin*) from boiled fishskins, fish-oil, boiled broad-leaf garlic and onion; this dish, which was similar to Nivkhi dish *mos'*, was consumed in great quantities at bear festivals. Fresh fish was made into a dry powder by prolonged cooking and drying (*barcha*) and was then stored up for the winter in sacks. The heads were melted down into fat, and roe was dried and cooked as soup. The bones were fed to the dogs. Venison was preserved by being cut in long thin strips and dried in the sun, or smoked over a fire.

Various types of berries such as blueberry, cherry, honeysuckle, and so on were used extensively as food, as were grasses, roots and tubers. When they had been gathered they were stored in birchbark baskets; they

were not taken home until winter. Honeysuckle and blackberries were cooked together with red caviar and kept as a thick paste; in winter, the paste was eaten with fish-oil. The bird-cherry was ground up, mixed with fish-oil and dried in the form of pancakes; it was also stored up for the winter. From the Chinese and Russians the Negidals obtained a number of different products—for example, budu, (a kind of husked millet), rice, tea, sugar, vodka, and flour, which was used to make unleavened pancakes over a fire on wooden sticks. From the Russians the Negidals learned about potatoes and other vegetables, and also about cow's milk. Nevertheless, the consumption of these products was very small.

In the middle of the last century the Negidals chiefly made their clothing from fishskin and Chinese cloth, as well as from buckskin. The fishskin was dried and dressed by the same technique as used by the Nivkhis and Ul'chi. Fishskin was used to make men's and women's robes, leggings, oversleeves and footwear. The items of Negidal clothing showed a variety of origins. The cut of the men's and women's robes among the downriver Negidals followed that of the other downriver groups; apart from robes, the women wore Evenk-type chestpieces with ornamentation characteristic of the Amur peoples. The Nivkhi influence showed up in the use of a man's short skirt. It was made of sealskin and was worn when setting out on a long journey. The upriver Negidals wore Evenk clothing. Their footwear, generally speaking, was the same as among the neighboring Evenks, but, in addition, the downriver Negidals had footwear similar to that of the Ul'chi and Nivkhi.

Considerable traces of the clan system were still in evidence among the Negidals until comparatively recently. The Negidals were divided into exogamous clans. The largest was the Nyasikhagil' clan. Each clan, in



Negidals haying, settlement of Krasnyy Yar.

similar fashion to the clan groups of all the Tunguso-Manchurian tribes, derived its origin from a common ancestor, had a communal fire, common ancestor spirits, communal clan prayers before the hunting season, and the same bear festival. The Negidal clans, like the other Amur group clans, joined into exogamous groups (dokha).

The marriage customs of the Negidals were similar to those of the Evenks, down to small details. It was common practice to take a wife from the mother's clan (the daughter of the mother's brother). The amount of bride-price paid in this case was half the usual. After the death of the elder brother his widow was handed on to the younger brother. The system used for reckoning kinship among the Negidals was the Tungus system (use of one term for people of different generations). Among the Negidals there was a great age difference in marriage; a 20-year-old girl was married to a 6-year-old boy, and old men married young girls. Polygamy was rare.

The decomposition of the clan structure began among the Negidals before the Russians settled in the regions of the Amur during the second half of the 19th century.

Some Negidals engaged in trade, acting as mediators between the Amur groups and Evenks living up the rivers Ud and Tugur. The Burukan clan settlement was the site of the chief market in the region settled by the Negidals, Evenks, Yakuts and Russians. Silk and other Chinese products were exchanged by the Negidals for Russian gunpowder and lead, as well as sable-skins, which were then resold to the Manchus on the Amur. The Burukan market was so important for the Negidals that some of the families lived permanently in Burukan. This naturally led to the decline of the clan in this area.

The arts of the Negidals (such as silk embroidery and birchbark designs) were close to the Amur type, but among the upriver Negidals the designs were of the Evenk type. In the past they embroidered clothes with fur from the neck of the elk, which is characteristic of the Evenks.

Contemporary Daily Life of the Negidals

Though even earlier, living in proximity to the Russians, the Negidals to some extent borrowed the house-type from the Russian settlers and began to wear clothes of Russian cut made from purchased fabrics, and to grow small gardens; still, until collectivization, the mass of Negidals led the impoverished life of fishermen and hunters, and dwelt in dirty and smoky huts, suffering constant need. All this is now a thing of the past.

[All Negidals are now united in collective farms of the agricultural and hunting and fishing types. With collectivization, the settlements increased in size and were transferred to more convenient locations. In 1943, the inhabitants of the Negidal settlement of Im, which was subject to frequent flooding, were transferred to the town of Krasnyy Yar, 120 km from the mouth of the Amgun', and now live in a unified collective farm with Russians. The main branch of the economy here is agriculture, with animal husbandry and fishing secondary. In collective farms in other parts of the territory, the reverse situation obtains. The Negidals now live in houses of Russian type, and their daily life is very similar to that of their Russian neighbors, who have borrowed from them in turn certain items of material culture such as skis, boats and a few foods.]





THE NANAYS

General Information

In the lower basin of the Amur, in the Maritime District and on the Island of Sakhalin there are settled a number of Siberian peoples, similar in language, economy, customs and historical development.

These are the Nanays, Ul'chi, Udegeys, Oroks, Orochi, and Negidals. They all speak closely related languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group and in this respect are entirely different from the one other remaining people of the Amur Estuary and Sakhalin, to wit, the paleo-Asiatic Nivkhi.

Academician Shrenk, who traveled widely on the Amur in the 1850's, singled out the groups mentioned above as separate peoples. Shternberg, the famous student of the Amur peoples, considered the Nanays, Ul'chi, Oroks and Orochi to be one nationality. He based this view on the fact that all these groups use the word "nani" as one of their names for themselves. Shternberg suggested calling the Nanays (Gol'dy) the Lower Amur Nani, the Ul'chi the downriver Nani, the Oroks the Sakhalin Nani, and the Orochi the southeast Nani. There is no doubt that the culture of all these groups contains a great deal in common; their languages are also in many ways very similar. Analysis of the clan composition (the existence of many common clan names) also shows that in origin they are very closely connected.

Earlier in this book, in the section dealing with the ancient population of Siberia, it was mentioned that in the Neolithic a culture very different from that of the Baykal regions and northeastern Siberia was spread along the Lower Amur. The Amur Neolithic is characterized by subterranean dwellings suggesting a settled way of life among the neolithic dwellers of the Amur's banks; flat-bottomed pottery with spiral designs, markedly different from the round-bottomed pottery with straight lines and geometric designs of the Siberian Neolithic. The Amur pottery tends to resemble the neolithic cultures of Manchuria and Northern China.

The chief occupation of the neolithic population of the Amur and Maritime District was fishing, which explains their settled way of life. In the culture of the Amur population we can trace many points of similarity with the neolithic culture of this region. This similarity can be traced in all the ethnic groups of the Amur, but it is the paleo-Asiatic Nivkhi who should evidently be considered the direct descendants of the neolithic population. Tribes paleo-Asiatic in language and to some extent related to the Nivkhi were to be found in the past considerably farther up the Amur. There is

reason to believe that the following features were characteristic of the paleo-Asiatic dwellers of the Amur: settled fishing, dugout dwellings, dog teams with a specific type of harnessing, sledges, fishskin clothing, dog-skin clothing, and, at the mouth of the Amur, sealskin, plus certain features of a cult connected with fishing and worshiping the river. Some of these features can be traced among all the peoples of the Amur.

At the present time, except for the Nivkhi, the indigenous population of the Lower Amur regions speaks languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian groups. This alone shows the close historical ties between these peoples and the Siberian Evenks. The languages of the Lower Amur peoples contains lexical and grammatical elements of the Evenk language to a far greater extent than Manchu features.

In the composition of the Nanay, Ul'chi and other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Lower Amur we can trace a whole series of clans of the same origin. The culture of the Amur peoples can be traced from characteristics found in the northerly taiga culture of the Evenks, such as larger skis lined with skins, conical tents, birchbark boats, cradles of a very characteristic Evenk shape, original details in clothing such as the chestpiece, and certain other points.

But, in addition to all this, all the peoples of the Amur (especially the Nanays) had been influenced for centuries by the Manchus and Chinese. This influence shows up, for example, in the commonest type of clothing—the robe—which buttoned on the right, a winter dwelling of the fanza type with heated benches, utensils, ornamentation, certain other designs, and so on.

The ancient Chinese chronicles speak of all the population of the Amur, Sungari and Ussuri in the second and first millennia B.C. under the general name "Sushen." The Sushen are described as a tribe of wild people who had no bread and ate raw meat. They made arrows with stone tips, lived in dugout dwellings and spent their time hunting and fishing. In the first century B.C. the Chinese chronicles call the Tungus tribes there the I-lou. The I-lou, like the Sushen, came under Chinese influence. They hunted and fished and to some extent learned to cultivate the land from the Chinese, raised pigs, horses and cattle. Some of the I-lou living on the Lower Amur retained the way of life of hunters and fishermen and did not recognize the authority of China. In the 5th to 7th centuries, A.D., the population of this region was known in Chinese sources as "Wu-chi," "Mo-ho." These tribes were not very different from the I-lou.

At the beginning of the 8th century there began to form in Manchuria and northern Korea the State of Po-hai, the territory of which covered a large part of the present-day Maritime District. The Po-hai State (719-925 A.D.) undoubtedly had an effect on the people of the Maritime District. During this period on the lower reaches of the Amur and near Lake Kizi, the Chinese historians mention the tribes Kusho (Kusho-pu), in which we can see the Ainu (Kushi, Kui were the names used for the Ainu by the Itel'mens of Kamchatka, the peoples of the Amur and also the Manchus and Chinese).

The principal stages in the recent history of the Amur region can be outlined in the following way. After the collapse of the Po-hai State under pressure from the Kidaneans and later, during the period of the Churchen or Niu-chi state (1125-1280), a large amount of the territory in question no longer belonged to the Kidanean and Churchen states. In Chinese sources the lower regions of the Amur at this period are described as the land of the "Chi-Lia-Mi," that is to say, the land of the Nivkhi. The legends of the Amur peoples also reflect the era of the Mongol dynasty in China (1250-1368).

There is a very interesting monument relating to the Ming dynasty in China (1368-1644); it is the famous slab with an inscription in three languages (Chinese, Churchen and Mongol) set up on the Tyr Cliff opposite the point where the Amgun' flows into the Amur. The inscription tells us that in 1413 a government official called Ishikha went there with a detachment of troops and imposed tribute on the local population; Ishikha writes that the country was populated by the Chi-Lia-Mi and "other savages" who did not know how to till the soil, "breed dogs," "engage in fishing, eat meat, dress in skins and like to use bows and arrows." In 1434 Ishikha made a second campaign.

According to archaeological data, heated benches, vessels and other objects of Manchu culture were frequently found here in the Ming dynasty. The first detachment of Cossacks reached the Amur in the 1640's. The first news of the Amur had been received by the Russians in the 1630's from Evenks and Yukagirs. In 1643 Vasilly Poyarkov, "inscriber of heads," accompanied by 130 Cossacks and tradesmen, sailed down the Amur to the Zeya. The first Amur campaign by Ye. Khabarov goes back to 1649.

The Cossacks' reports enable us to gain the following picture of the ethnic composition of the Amur population in the first half of the 17th century. The upper reaches of the Amur as far down as the mouth of the Zeya were populated by Daur. The Daur spoke Mongol, tilled the soil, lived in large fortified settlements and kept a considerable number of cattle and horses. Farther down the Amur were the Dyuchers (or Dzyuchers) who spoke Manchu. In the Zeya basin there lived Evenks or Manegry and in the Bureya basin were Birars who possessed horses. Farther down the Ussuri where the Dyucher settlements ended at that time, lived the Natki (also called Achans). There is good reason to believe that the Natki were the Nanays.

On the lower reaches of the Amur, near the Estuary, there lived Gilyaks (Nivkhi). In the 17th century the Ul'chi were also called Gilyaks. As a whole, the ethnographic picture of the Amur (below the Ussuri) was evidently no different from the distribution of the peoples in the middle of the 19th century as described by Shrenk. The only exception is the settling of Ainu groups in the region of the present-day Ul'chi; these Ainu were known in the Russian documents of the time as Kul or Kuvi (evidently these are the Kuyars who are mentioned by the Russian envoy to China, Spafariy, who passed through Manchuria in 1676). On the Amur the Russians founded Albazin, which became the center of the Russian Amur region.

After the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689 and the official Russian withdrawal from the Amur, the Chinese attempted to bring the lower reaches of the Amur within their sphere of influence. They appointed elders from the population, invested them with insignia and empowered them to collect tribute and administer justice. But even if the khalada (clan elders) and gasyanda (village elders) did have some influence on the Nanays, among the other peoples of the lower Amur that influence was negligible.

Between 1858 and 1860, when under the Algon and Peking treaties the whole of the left bank of the Amur and the Ussuriyskiy Kray were given back to Russia, mass colonization was begun. The lower reaches of the Amur and the island of Sakhalin were settled on an administrative basis by Cossacks, free settlers and exiles. A fishing industry was later developed there. The ousting of the population from the best fishing waters and commercial exploitation brought poverty to the indigenous population. The exploitation of the population in the 1890's assumed such proportions that even the local administration was forced to take notice. At the same time the development of the fishing industry and the transportation system, the

foundation of towns and continual intermixing with the Russian working population promoted the penetration of a higher culture to the peoples of the Amur. They began breeding horses and as a sideline practiced haymaking and vegetable-gardening. Improved fishing tackle came into use. Some of the Nanays, Ul'chi and Nivkhi learned to read and write.

Among the Tunguso-Manchurian people of the Amur Basin the Nanays are the most numerous. The bulk of them live within the Soviet Union. They live on both sides of the Amur, downriver from the mouth of the Ussuri to the town of Kargi and also along the tributaries and lakes of the Amur system, the chief of which are the Tunguska with its tributaries, Lake Bolon', and the rivers Gorin, Khungari (Estuary), Anyuy, and Ussuri and its tributary, the Bikin. The Nanays are also found outside this territory, for example, in places settled by the Ul'chi and Nivkhi. The Nanays living abroad are found on the right bank of the Amur (from the mouth of the Sungari to the mouth of the Ussuri) and on the left bank of the Ussuri and its left-hand tributaries, the Nor, the Doman, the Muren, and to some extent the river Belaya. There are many Chinese living among this group of Nanays. The 1926-27 All-Union census recorded 5757 Nanays on Soviet territory, including 2964 men and 2793 women. According to data published in 1928, there were about 1500 Nanays living abroad. As regards administration, the bulk of the Nanays in the Soviet Union are concentrated in the Nanayskiy, Komsomol'skiy, Kur-Urmiyskiy, and, to some extent, the Vyazemskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

In the upper reaches, which is the territory settled by the Nanays, the Amur flows through lowlands and splits into smaller rivulets between the islands. Below the mouth of the Khungari these areas alternate with stretches of water where the mountains suddenly drop down to the riverbed on the right-hand side. Here the Amur waters move in a powerful and very wide stream (about 2 km). Farther on, within the Udyl'-Kizi Hollow, the river breaks up again into separate channels. The Amur and its chief tributaries (the Tunguska plus the Urmi and the Kur, the Gorin and Limuri on the left, and the Anyuy and Khungari on the right) act as the chief artery for river traffic in the region, and, at the same time, teem with fish, particularly sturgeon and salmon.

Despite the southern latitude (48°-51° North, or the same latitude as Khar'kov), the climate is severe, with cold winds and very deep snow. The summer is warmer farther up the Amur, but cooler in the north. There are fast-flowing, strong and sometimes devastating river floods in the latter part of the summer and beginning of autumn (July-September) during the monsoon when most of the yearly precipitation falls. The Amur Valley in this region is bounded in the south by the Sikhote-Alin' Mountains, the slopes of which here and there drop straight down to the riverbed but are more often separated from it by a wide strip of valley lowland. On the left bank of the Amur, where the very large Lake Bolon'-Odzhal is located, the mountains lie some way back from the Amur in almost all cases.

The vegetation of this region is varied and luxuriant in the south, but more monotonous in the Gorin basin, and to the north, in the mountainous regions some way from the Amur. In many places, for example, among the lowlands, in the gently sloping mountain valleys, there is extensive marshland, either bare or with occasional arched larch groves. In the flood plain of the Amur and all over the flood islands there are willow groves and beech brush meadows. Generally speaking, all along the rivers, right up to the middle reaches of the Gorin, the banks are lined with forest land, thick tall grassy coverings of different liana-entwined deciduous trees and bushes (poplar, bird-cherry, yew and lilac, maple, honeysuckle, spirea and so on).

The mountainsides are covered with mixed forests of cedar, larch, spruce, fir, yellow birch, ash, lime, maple, oak, lilac, walnut and so on. The pine is found in the Gorin basin, but to the north, in the lower mountain belts, monotonous larch forest prevails. At elevations of about 1400 m or more there is alpine vegetation with cedars and lichens in the rocky areas.

The animal world is represented by Manchurian and Siberian fauna. There are squirrels, fox, otters, sables; right up to the Gorin basin, we find the raccoon-type dogs, bear, hare, boar, tiger, elk and musk deer. Of the fowl, there are hazel grouse and black grouse, heath cock, and so on.

The principal name used by the Nanays for themselves—Nanay—means "local person" (na means "place" or "land" and nay means "man").

Of the other names for themselves we should point out Kile and Akani. These three appellations relate to three groups of Nanays differing in certain aspects of their economy, everyday life, language, and folklore. Despite the differences, however, the groups are not at the present time independent ethnic units. Many of them are intermixed to varying degrees, but the Nanays proper are found in concentration in the Amur Valley. The points at which the Kile are concentrated to the greatest extent are the rivers Kur and Gorin, Lake Bolon' and the right bank of the Amur, from Lake Gasyan to the Khungari. The Akani live mostly along the left tributaries of the Ussuri and Sungari and in the territory between these rivers, and are therefore foreign Nanays.

The name "Akani" may possibly come from the word akha, meaning in Nanay "slave" or "servant." This is most likely due to the fact that the foreign group of Nanays was exploited by the Manchus and Chinese to a greater extent than the remaining Nanays and really did have the status of slaves.

The name "Achans," which is found in some Russian historical documents dating from the 17th century, relates to the Nanays and Ul'chi and is evidently a modified form of the word "Akani."

Two basic names were used by the Nanays from different groups to designate each other, according to whether they lived downriver or upriver from each other; these were Khedzeen (living downriver) and Gol'di (living upriver). They were found in a variety of forms. The Manchu version of the name was Khechzhen' and applied to all peoples of the Amur at first, but was later used solely for the Nanays and Ul'chi. The "lower" Nanays called the upriver Nanays (from Komsomol'sk to the mouth of the Ussuri) Goldi, while the latter called the "uppermost" Nanays Soldy or Soldon. The Ul'chi called the Nanays "Goldy," the Orochi "Gogdy," the Negidals "Goldyk," the Udegey "Mangtu" (Amur), the Nivkhi "Yanty," (for the lower Nanays), "Choldoky" or "Choldok" (for the others). The Japanese called the Nanay "Syata," "Santan" and "Kordekke." The term "Gol'dy" came into the literature in the middle of the 19th century and the name is the general term for the Nanays.

"Tadzy" or "Tauze" (Russian "Tazy") is the general Chinese name for the Lower Amur peoples. Another version of it is "Yupitadzy" or "Fishskin Tazy," a name which relates basically to the Nanays. The Chinese also called the Nanays "Shih ts'un-pu," that is to say "Those who used dogs," or "T'uang mao-chieh," that is to say "Shaven heads"; the present-day name for the Nanays used by Chinese geographers in ethnographic descriptions is "Va-er-ka."

Apart from the word "Achans" the Russian chronicles of the 17th century contain the name "Natki," which may be regarded as a derivative of "Ngatki," "Ngatku," or "Ngatkuy"; these are all names for the Nanays and Ul'chi used by the Evenks, Yakuts and Negidals.

Apart from these names and self-appellations, there are also numerous designations for territorial groups of Nanays. Those dwelling on the Amur proper are called "Mangonkan" (in dialect "Mangu" or "Mangbo" meaning "Amur" or "big river," a word deriving from "Mango" which means a large river in general, or the Amur in particular. Those living along the tributaries of the Amur call themselves "Birankan" or "Onikan," "river people," since the words *bira* and *oni* mean "river." The lake dwellers call themselves "khevenken" or "lake people," from the word *kheven* meaning "lake." Furthermore, there are terms connected with the names of rivers or lakes, for example, "urminken" or "dwellers of the Urmi" or "ursunken" or "dwellers of the Ussuri," or "Bolankan" or "dwellers of Lake Bolon" and so on and so forth.

As already mentioned, the language of the Nanays belongs to the Manchurian subgroup of the Tunguso-Manchurian language group. Nanay includes elements from the languages of tribes making up this people, namely: a number of Manchurian elements, a considerable number of Evenk elements, and finally a number of elements of more ancient languages, which are found in all the Tunguso-Manchurian languages of the Lower Amur and Maritime District.

The two basic groups in the vocabulary are Tungus and Manchu, but a small part of it is Chinese, or belongs to some other ancient language. Like all other Soviet languages, Nanay has a considerable number of Russian words. The Nanay language combines two groups of subdialects—the upper dialect (farther up the Amur from the Naykhin settlement) and lower dialect (down from Naykhin).

The problem of the origin of the present-day Nanays is an extremely intricate one. The commonest theory is that they are of Manchu origin. The holders of this view, such as Academician Shrenk, I. Lopatin and one or two others, assume that the homeland of the Nanays lay next to that of the Manchus at the foot of the Shan-Alin' (Ch'ang-pai Shan) Range, whence the Manchus spread along the Sungari basin, while the Nanays moved down into the Ussuri Valley and reached the Lower Amur. This view does not fit with factual material which shows that the history of the formation of the Nanays was infinitely more complicated than this. Another point of view on the origin of the Nanays was put forward by Shternberg, who felt that they "represented a conglomeration of clans of very different origin in composition and history" and that the Kile group were descendants of the Evenk clans. This viewpoint emphasizes the complexity of the clan composition of the Nanays.

The origin of the Nanays appears to be linked to the origin of all other Amur peoples, including the Nivkhi. With respect to the Nanays we can cite the following historical facts, indicating that they are made up of the descendants of the ancient aboriginal populations as well as various Tunguso-Manchurian groups, even Chinese and even perhaps Mongols.

Among the Nanay clans there can be singled out a group (for example, the Gall and Geykar clans and some subdivisions of the Bel'dy clans) which claims to be aboriginal. According to folklore, these Nanays always occupied themselves by fishing, hunting and keeping dogs. The composition of the Nanays of the Bel'dy clan contains a number of subdivisions, with one that is Ainu in origin. The Nanays in this subdivision refer to themselves in the legends as "Kui" and trace their origin to the lord of the sea, Temu. According to legend, the ancient dwelling place of their ancestors was the islands, from which they migrated to the mainland. A group of Nanay clans—Donkan, Yukeminken, Udynken, Samagir, etc.—calls itself "Kile." Shternberg considered the Kile to be nomadic Tungus clans that had settled

the Nanays. According to Nanay historical legends, the Kile among the Nanays are a series of clans basically descended from the Bidzhan, Kur-Urmi and Amgun' Evenks, who had been reindeer-breeders in the past. The Samagir (Samar) is a clan of Evenk origin which merged with the Nanays at a later stage. The view that the Kile originated from the Tungus is supported by the names they used for themselves, mentioned above, and also by linguistic and folklore material. The Kile language (a distinct dialect of the Nanay language) can be likened to the Evenk language in phonetic and lexical features. The predominance of hunting over fishing among the Kile also brings them closer to the Evenks.

There is every reason to suppose that the Nanays included Churchens (Manchu) elements as well. A large number of settlements consisting of dwellings with Manchu-type heating have been discovered in the region of Khabarovsk. The historical chronicles ascribe these settlements to the Churchens or Niu-chi—the ancestors of the Manchus. The place of origin of the Nanay clans Odzyal and Passar is given by the legends as the river Sungari (next to the Manchus), where they engaged, apart from hunting, in agriculture, vegetable-gardening and also breeding horses.

Among the Nanays are groups which stem from the Chinese; the Khedzer Nanays contain a Sandukan subdivision stemming from one of the Shantung Chinese. The Nanays of the Naymuk clan attribute their origin to a Chinaman (slave), and so on. Among the numerous subdivisions of Bel'dy Nanays there was one called Morial, which claimed to originate from the Mongols.

As we pointed out, for several centuries the Nanays were under the direct influence of the Manchus and Chinese and were the victims of cruel exploitation. There were permanent sentry posts and official residences for Manchu functionaries throughout the territory settled by the Nanays. Examples of these are the Dzhangdzhu, Gaydi, Khekhtsir, Dzhoada, Shan-yeng and Myl'ki posts. As noted by Shrenk, these posts were points where the Manchu-Chinese authorities levied taxes, traded and engaged in usury. All the male population, from the age of 15 onwards, had to pay tribute each year to the extent of one sable skin per head. There was a special system for levying the tax; the territory settled by the Nanays was divided into administrative districts.

At the head of each group there was always a clan elder (khalada) appointed by the Manchu-Chinese authorities in San-hsing; subordinate to him was a rural elder (gasyanda) and a rural constable (sedikhien). The main duty of these people was to collect tribute and pass it on to the Manchu officials, and also to keep a record of the dying and the newly born in each clan. The absence of registers for collecting the tribute made it easier for the collectors to behave in a more arbitrary way and exert pressure on the population. The Nanay elders constituted a privileged class in Nanay society. The Manchu not only invested them with Manchu bureaucratic titles (khalada, gasyanda, and so on), but also with badges of distinction to mark their status. They all received a special certificate in the Manchu language which laid down their rights and duties. The chief privilege of this Nanay elite was that the Manchu authorities gave them lifelong and hereditary use of the hunting grounds, i.e., the basic means of production. This created a basis for exploitation of the bulk of the population by these elders.

Trade relations between the Nanays and China were apparently begun long before the establishment of the Manchu dynasty. The centers of Chinese-Nanay trade during the Manchu rule were San-hsing on the Sungari, and Deren on the lower reaches of the Amur. Fairly busy trading points were Dondon (on Nanay territory) and Pull (on Ul'chi territory). In exchange

for their products the Nanays received agricultural produce from the Chinese market, such as husked millet, barley, beans, tobacco, vodka and a variety of Chinese fabrics (cotton, wool, silk and velvet), silk robes woven with gold and silver, Chinese fur coats, and a variety of ornaments and household utensils. The barter was effected directly in San-hsing and Deren, or at other spots, through the mediation of Chinese and Nanay brokers. The 17th- and 18th-century chronicles refer to trade relations between the Nanays and the peoples of the lower reaches of the Amur and Japan. Trade with the Japanese was conducted mainly in Siranusy on the southwest coast of Sakhalin. It was discontinued in the middle of the 19th century.

The Chinese lang was used as tender. Among Chinese commodities great importance was attributed to embroidered gowns, pieces of silk and various other objects, which were classed together under the term dzhaka. According to Shrenk, the Chinese trading centers that had developed by the middle of the 19th century were located in the Nanay settlements of Tsa, Onmoy, Myl'ki, Tsyanka, Kzurml and Adi.

Apart from the Chinese merchants, Chinese grain farmers and vegetable gardeners settled among the Nanays, and also engaged to some extent in animal husbandry and small crafts. There was a large Chinese agricultural population among the Sungari and Ussuri Nanays, but on the Lower Amur only farms of occasional Chinese vegetable gardeners without families were to be found. This working section of the Chinese population had a beneficial effect on the Nanays by introducing them to agriculture and animal husbandry.

Northern trade relations between the Russians and the peoples of the Amur still continued, even after the Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689, and in the middle of the 19th century the Russian population finally settled down in this region. From the Russians the Nanays obtained axes, saws and files, and also drags; they learned to build warmer log houses with glass windows, a ceiling and a floor. The old oil lamps were replaced by the kerosene type, and Russian furniture, Russian footwear, kerchiefs, Russian factory-made textiles, vessels, knives and forks all came into use. As a result of Russian influence there were changes as well in the Nanay diet. They began to use bread, potatoes, butter, groats, milk and sugar. The technique of embroidering crosses and motifs close to Russian folk designs appeared in the system of embroidery. However, none of these new cultural elements was very extensive prior to the Revolution, being found chiefly among the population of the Amur waterway. Trade with the Russians accelerated the decomposition of the subsistence economy. By the beginning of the 20th century the Nanay economy was already on a semicommercial basis.

The tsarist authorities introduced among the peoples of the Amur the institution of rural elders who were subordinate to the district police chiefs. But even after the change to Russian citizenship the Nanays retained their former ties with the Manchus and Chinese. They sold some of their hunting and fishing products to the Chinese merchants, who provided them in return with essential commodities and continued to keep them in economic slavery.

Before the Revolution there were only 8 schools on the territory settled by the Nanays and Ul'chi. Lessons were held in cramped, smoky, dirty, dark houses. The population saw no point in having schools and were unwilling to send their children to them; the schools were attended mainly by orphans and the children of the poor, since the better-off section of the population avoided schooling their children by means of bribery. The result of this "enlightening" activity was the almost total illiteracy of the Nanays.

Economic Activity

The archeological relics of the Amur Neolithic show fishing and hunting to be the main occupations of the ancient population on the lower reaches of the Amur. These types of activity were the main means of subsistence for the Nanay in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries as well, as shown by written historical documents. The very lavish terminology dealing with fishing and hunting techniques, tackle, game and products from these occupations is an indication of their great importance in the lives of the Nanays. Of the auxiliary occupations existing up to the Revolution we should note an embryonic form of agriculture, ginseng gathering (on the tributaries of the Ussuri) and other small branches of economy.

During the period of Manchu-Chinese domination, fish of the sturgeon family were important game for the Nanays as a source of cartilage and spinal cord, which were valuable items of trade with the Manchus and Chinese. Because of gradual exhaustion of supplies of sturgeon in the Amur the importance of this type of fishing waned with time, and during the period of tsarist colonization of the Amurskiy Kray the important fish in the Nanay economy were those of the salmon family, particularly the Siberian salmon and single-net fish [carp, pike, etc.—Ed.], they became a basic item of trade with the Russians. There were also substantial changes during this period in the fur trade. The decline in stocks of sable, so important in trade relations between the Nanays and Chinese, brought the squirrel to the fore. By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries the squirrel had become the principal animal hunted by the trappers and remained so for some time.

Two basic branches stood out in the Nanay economy: among the inhabitants of the Amur valley (i.e., the region of the most compact group, calling themselves Nanay) fishing was of prime importance, while among the people living on the tributaries of the Amur (i.e., in the principal region of those inhabitants calling themselves Kile) hunting was more important. The reason for this was partly the availability of fish and wild game in these particular regions.

The basis of the Nanay economy had long been fishing for different types of salmon, first and foremost the Siberian salmon. Siberian salmon moves up the Amur between August and the freezing of the river in October.

The Siberian salmon passes through Nanay territory in large shoals between the end of August and the middle of September. The summer salmon, which passes along the Amur in the middle of July, was also of some importance. The other type of salmon, the humpback type, was less important. The fish were caught with a seine, floating net, or hook-type tackle, or else speared. The migration of the salmon was the peak point in the economic life of the Nanays. At this point the entire population was employed in catching and storing the fish, which constituted the staple diet of both humans and dogs and provided material for clothing and footwear. Of great importance were single-net fish (carp, pike, European catfish, etc.), caught in the Amur the whole year round. The principal tackle consisted of a seine, floating and fixed nets, and spears. The heads, bones and innards of the fish were melted down to make oil, and the skin was made into clothing and footwear.

Hunting both for fur and meat was of great importance, particularly among the Nanays settled on the tributaries of the Amur. The principal animals trapped were the squirrel, sable, otter, fox, lynx, and marten.

Hunted for meat were the elk, Siberian stag, musk deer, roe deer and wild boar. Trapping was usually carried out in the autumn and winter, while meat animals were hunted in the spring and summer. Up to the appearance of firearms, i.e., the middle of the 19th century, the principal hunting weapons of the Nanays were bows and arrows, various kinds of traps, self-firing bows and spears.

Despite the advent of firearms, which caused great changes in hunting techniques, these primitive weapons continued to exist right up to the Revolution.

In the autumn the Nanays went off on long expeditions to distant parts to hunt squirrel and sable. They traded by river until the coming of the ice, loading up their boats with dogs, sleds, skis, food and hunting equipment, and came back in February or March by the winter routes. There were several methods of catching sables—self-firing bows, crushing-type traps, nooses and nets. The nets were spread in front of the hole where the sable took refuge from the pursuing hunter. It was smoked out and caught in the net, where it was killed with a special club, or strangled. The self-firing bow was used for other fur-bearing animals besides the sable, for example, the fox, marten, otter and lynx.

The principal weapons used to hunt meat animals were pitfalls, enclosures, self-firing bows and arrows, spears, and ordinary bows and arrows (until firearms became common). Hunting the Siberian stag, elk, musk deer and roe deer, was of great importance. The roebuck was speared, chiefly in the spring, having been chased across the snow on skis. Siberian stag, the young antlers of which were very valuable, was usually hunted in the summer.

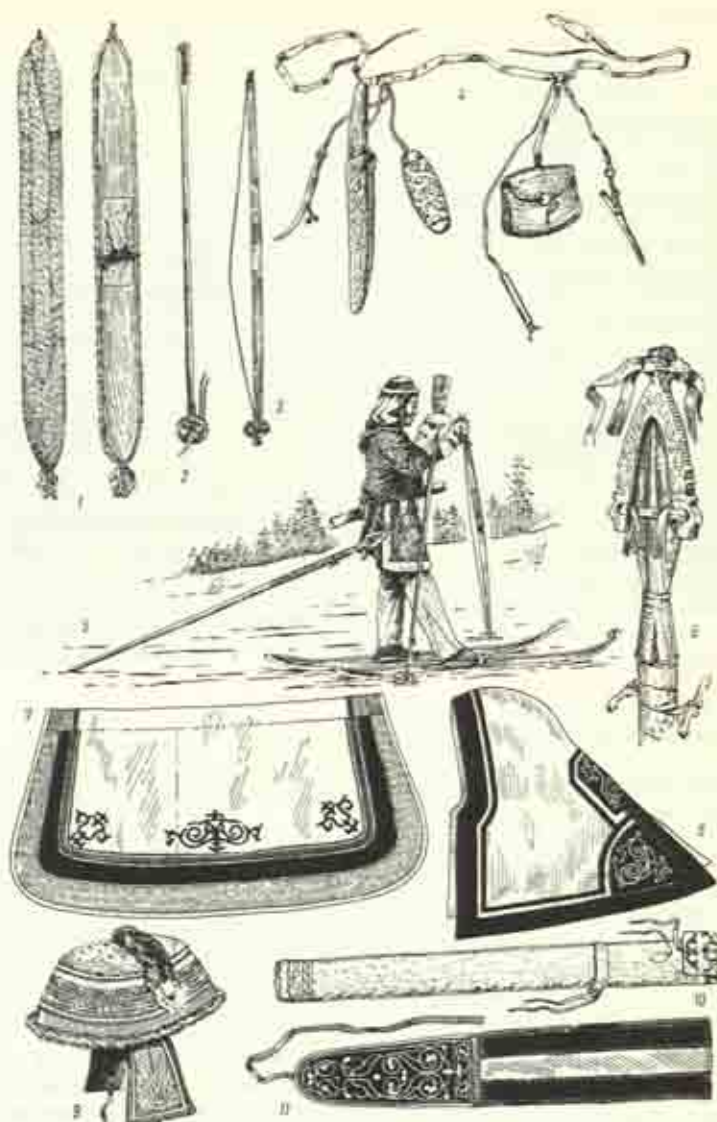
With the establishment at an earlier stage of trade relations with the Chinese, the furs procured by the Nanays were of commercial importance. The meat-hunting was chiefly of a consumption nature, but some of the products (skins, tendons, horns, deer-musk) were also used for barter with the Manchus and Chinese.

Domestic Crafts

Smithery used to occupy a prominent place among domestic crafts. The art of working iron was developed by the Nanays under Manchu-Chinese influence. The iron was made into hunting weapons and fishing tackle, a variety of utensils, armor, and helmets of the Manchu style, consisting of thin, narrow iron plates. This armor was greatly valued by the Manchus and the northern neighbors of the Nanays, the Ul'chi and Nivkhi. Smithery began to come into its own as a trade in the middle of the 17th century.

By this time there were two very important smithery centers on the Nanay territory—Kadan (where the Bolon' channel flows into the Amur) and Uksumi (100 km below the mouth of the Ussuri on the right bank of the Amur).

The Nanay acquired great skill in building boats and making sleds, skis and other wooden objects. Metal, wood and bone were worked by the men. The Nanay women dressed animal and fish skins, prepared thread and fish glue, made clothing and footwear, embroidered it, wove baskets and mats, made birchbark vessels and so on. The curing of materials for making rope, floats and sinkers, the manufacture of these objects, and the weaving of nets was the job of the older people. It was also they who taught hunting and fishing to boys, who began engaging in these occupations from the age of 12.



Hunter's clothing and equipment:

1—hunting skins; 2—ski pole; 3—bow adapted for use as ski pole; 4—belt with equipment; 5—fully equipped hunter; 6—upper part of spear in carved wooden scabbard; 7—apron; 8—head-covering; 9—hat; 10—fish-skin quiver; 11—sleeve-covering.

Means of Transportation

The principal animal used for transportation before the Revolution was the dog, and, to a much lesser extent, the horse. The folklore tells us of the

comparatively ancient appearance of this animal among the Nanays. But the horses were kept mainly by the "upriver" Nanays, that is to say, the Akani, and they were chiefly used for riding or carrying packs, and only used to a small extent as draught animals. An important part was played by the dog in both transportation and hunting. In winter, dogs were harnessed to sleds, and in summer were used to tow boats upriver.

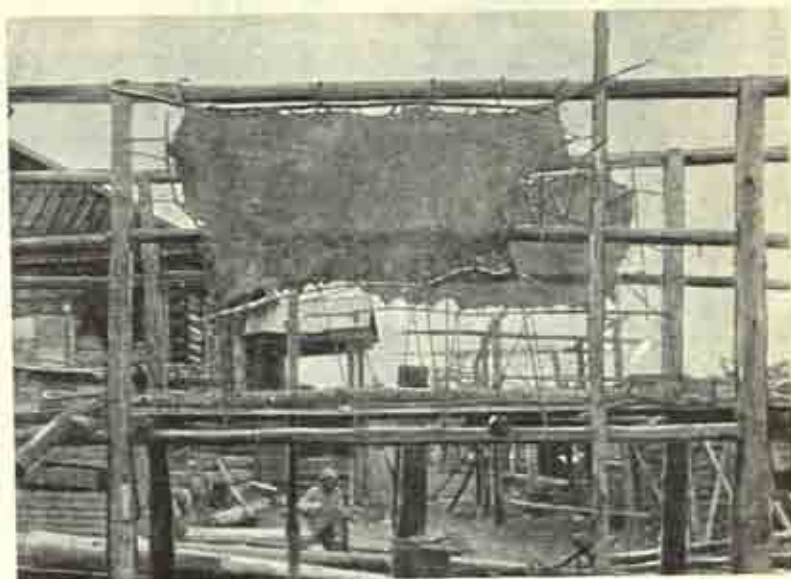
The types of sleds, methods of harnessing and arrangement of the harness were similar among all the peoples of the Amur. Characteristic were sleds with straight staves and runners bent at each end, neck-type harnessing and lengthwise harnessing in a "snake" or "herringbone." From the beginning of the 20th century this form of dog-harnessing for purposes of transportation was replaced by the new so-called East Siberian type, widespread on the Okhotsk coast, Kamchatka and Yakutiya among the indigenous population as well as the old Russian settlers. Apart from the sled, the Nanays used a sleigh (para), to which they harnessed a horse.

The Nanay skis were of two types—small ones without fur backing (temchien or ugda) made of three planks with a projecting bottom and a slightly raised, pointed prow. For the rapid-flowing mountain tributaries of the Amur they had another type of boat, hollowed out of a complete tree, usually a willow (aurpya or ogdima). The local Russian population called this type a "bat." The boat was poled upriver and was allowed to drift downriver, almost without using oars. Small canoes, both wooden and birchbark, were very common. The hollowed-out canoe was pointed at both ends; this and its small size made it different from the bat. Canoes were paddled with a double-bladed paddle, or a pair of small paddles with spade-shaped blades. The Nanays also knew how to use sails.

Settlements and Dwellings

At one time the Nanays had separate winter and summer settlements. This was due to the seasonal migration based on economic requirements. When the Amur became navigable, some of the population went sturgeon-fishing to procure cartilage. When the operation was over they moved on to places abounding in single-net fish where they built up stocks of both fish and oil. The summer hunting, which was principally for Siberian stag, was very important in the selection of the site of the summer camp. The population gathered at the autumn fisheries in time for the beginning of the salmon run, in order to procure their principal food, and it was not until the fishing was over that they returned to their winter settlements.

Like their settlements, the Nanay dwellings were of summer and winter types. The summer dwellings were represented by a variety of forms: protective covering; pointed-roof, conical and spherical huts; four-walled dwellings covered with bark (dauro), tents, and huts for protection from mosquitoes. The conical huts (choro) were covered with straw or strips of birchbark and were mostly typical of the Amur tributary-dwellers, that is to say, the Kile and Akani. The spherical tent (khomuran or anko) was the centuries-old summer dwelling of the Nanays in the Amur valley. The dome-shaped frame of this hut consisted of thin branches and was covered on top with strips of birchbark, while the bottom area was ringed with reed mats. The hut had two openings, one at the top to let out the smoke, and one for purposes of entry, usually facing the river; the entrance was hung with a piece of birchbark or a rush mat. The dauro was chiefly found on the river Gorin. In the recent past the winter dwellings were: dugouts (seroma) with a timber frame partially submerged in the ground; the half-dugout (khubu)



Drying elk skin.

with a log frame slightly projected above ground; winter dwellings of the Chinese type (large and small); and winter hunting lodges (undken) and the Russian cottage or log house. The winter hunting lodges were built on the hunting grounds and closely resembled a sloping four-sided roof with a door on one of the sides.

The large frame winter dwelling based on the Chinese fanza had lattice-type walls made of willow or alder branches covered with clay on both sides. Inside were adobe stoves (from 2 to 4) with built-in Chinese iron cauldrons and an earthen floor. The dwelling was heated by flues running from the stove to the benches along the walls. The smoke then went through a high wooden conduit some way from the dwelling. The window frames were covered with fishskin or Chinese oiled paper, and in the summer with a rush lattice. A distinctive feature was the internal arrangement of the dwelling, which, as in the houses of other Amur inhabitants, had a large platform set up on supports in the middle of the room. It was used for keeping objects of everyday use and also for fishing and hunting weapons. In the old days large patriarchal families used to live in dwellings of this type. Each member of the family was allotted a particular space on the benches. The head of the family and his wife occupied a position of honor by the fire. During the Manchu-Chinese domination, in front of a shaman's house there were usually high wooden posts with carvings of dragons, snakes, lizards, frogs, and so on. In front of the dwelling of a judge, or of a Nanay married to a Manchu woman (usually the daughter of an official from the Sungari), there were posts with carvings of cuckoos. Wooden images of the spirits of ancestors were usually placed at the foot of the pole.

The Chinese influence also showed up in the furnishings: the dwellings contained cupboards with a large number of drawers, and chests of different types, made in China. Chinese furniture, which was the privilege of the

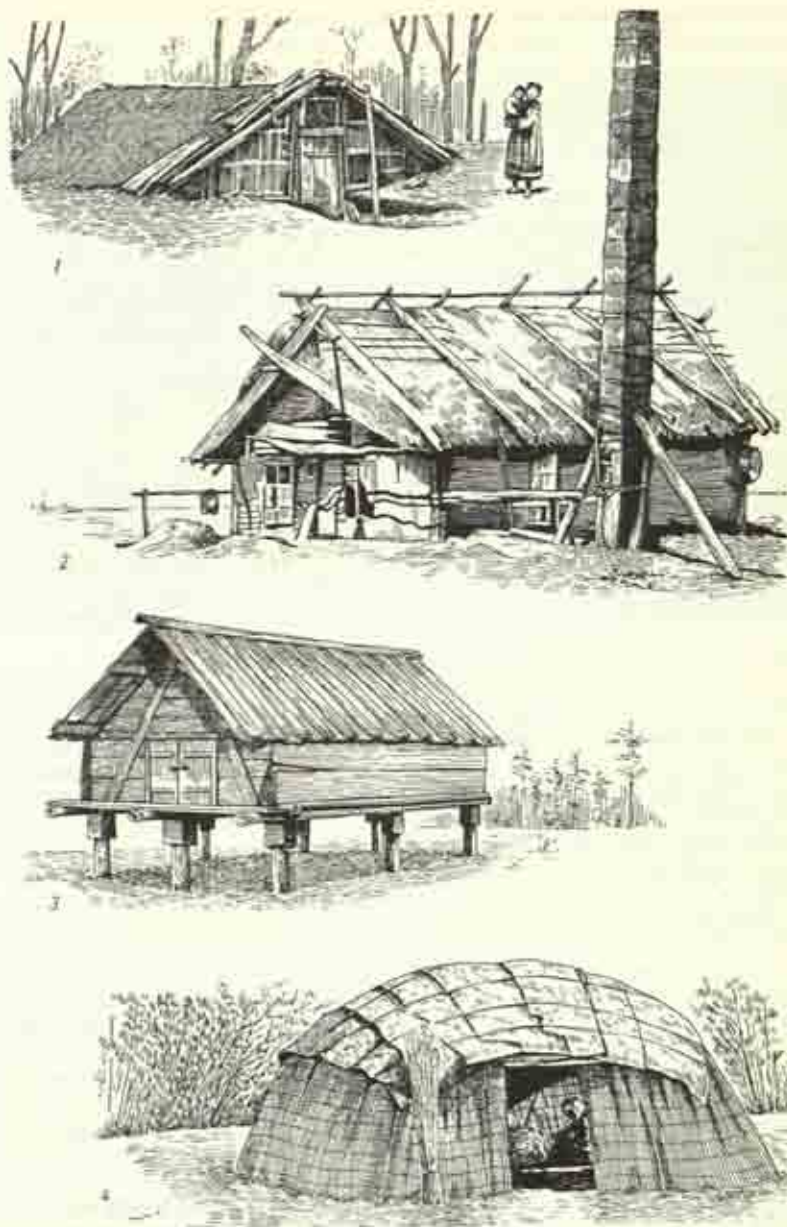


Technology:

1—gluing birchbark for birchbark boat; 2—reinforcing perpendicular and longitudinal ribs of boat; 3—reinforcing sides with extra ribs; 4—finished birchbark boat; 5—braiding mat on a frame; 6—winding rope.

more prosperous section of the Nanay population, was not available to the poorer people.

Barns built on piles were very typical as structures for storage. During the period of Russian colonization the larger Chinese-type houses were generally replaced by light smaller ones with two benches and one hearth. This was evidently directly connected with the decomposition of the large



Dwellings and farm buildings:
 1—dugout with log frame; 2—winter dwelling; 3—storehouse;
 4—summer tent.

patriarchal family. In the second half of the 19th century Russian houses appeared among the Nanays, but these dwellings with their characteristic Russian interior were only found among the better-off Nanays. Under the

influence of the Russian population on the Amur, stoves made of sheet iron and kerosene lamps became very common. Before kerosene first appeared oil lamps made from sandstone, shale and other materials were used for illumination.

The living conditions of the Nanays were extremely poor prior to the Revolution. The dwellings, which were heated by pipes passing under the benches, were usually full of smoke; through dampness and the custom of spitting the earthen floor was covered with a layer of filth; soot and dust settled in abundance on the shelves, crosspieces and beams of the dwelling. The use of soap and the washing of clothing were practically unknown to the Nanays. The very bad housing conditions, lack of culture, and poverty of the working masses and total absence of any means of safeguarding health promoted the spread of various diseases and increased the mortality rate.

Clothing

In the past the emphasis on a particular occupation among different groups of the Nanay was reflected by the material used to make their clothing. The Kile, inhabitants of the Amur tributaries, where hunting predominated over fishing, usually made their clothing from buckskin and hides. Among the population of the Amur valley, where fishing was more important, clothes were usually made of fishskin. Trade with the Chinese introduced the Nanays to fabrics and clothes of Chinese origin and they became particularly common among the "upriver" Nanays, the Akani.

Only the rich Nanays possessed silks, expensive Chinese robes and coats. The Nanay elders wore silk robes of excellent quality, special hats and footwear. Their clothing differed sharply in both material and style from the clothes of the bulk of the people. In the second half of the 19th century Russian cloth and clothing became common. But despite the Chinese-Russian influence, the primitive Nanay clothing made of fish and animal skins was retained right up to the time of the Revolution.

There were different types of Nanay national dress for everyday use, holidays, hunting, rituals, and so on. The main items of men's and women's clothing were as follows—the robe (tetue), the left breast closing over the right; this differed from the Chinese type by having no upright collar, and narrower sleeves; a belt (omol); short trousers (peru) and leggings (garon); and an unusual item of women's clothing—a special type of chestpiece (lelu) with metal pendants, which some women wore under their robes. In the winter they wore several robes as well as quilted and fur-lined clothing.

The national footwear (ota) had a low leg with a slit at the front. Inside the footwear it was customary to put a lining of Ussuri grass. Winter clothing was made of fishskin, and summer clothing usually of boarskin. Among the Gorin Kile, Evenk-type footwear was common. The boots were worn on top of a stocking (dokton) made of cloth (sometimes quilted), fur or leather.

Mittens (kachama) were covered with fishskin or cloth. At the wrist the arm was encircled by an oversleeve (khueptun) made of cloth or fishskin, usually with ornamentation.

The Nanays had a great variety of headgear (apun), such as fur hats with earflaps, Chinese-style caps, summer hats made of birchbark (a low cone with a broad base), wide-brimmed Chinese straw hats, and so on. Women's headgear, particularly the winter type, differed from the men's hats in shape. A quilted winter hat looking like a helmet with a pompon on top was common in the earlier days. The women also wore a felt hat shaped like a



Braiding mat.

bell glass with a turned-up brim, and in the summer they had birchbark conical hats. With the arrival of the Russians on the Amur kerchiefs became common.

Among the hunting clothing the garb of a sable-trapper stands out in originality. It consisted of a small, richly ornamented hat with earflaps, crowned with sable or squirrel tails, a head and shoulder covering, a fur vest (*miata*), fishskin gaiters, boots and an ornamented apron.

The festive clothing differed from the everyday version chiefly by being made of better cloth and more lavishly decorated. Among ritual clothing the women's wedding dress is notable for its great number of curious trimmings and wealth of ornamentation.

Jewelry was fairly widespread among the better-off Nanay and was mainly obtained from the Manchus and Chinese, sometimes from the Russians and Yakuts. Of the older type of jewelry we should point out rings, bracelets, and noserings and earrings for women. The noserings were threaded through the middle and side of the nose.

From the middle of the 17th century onward, Nanay men began adopting the Manchu custom of shaving their heads or else shaving the front of the head between the temples and braiding the remaining hair into a pigtail. The women began tying their hair into two braids and winding them flat on the top of their heads in the style of the Manchu women. The Manchu women's style of hairdressing was more common among the upriver Nanays; among the other Nanays, married women usually bound their hair into two pigtails, while unmarried girls wore only one.

Even at the end of the 19th century the Nanays used to tattoo themselves. This custom was mainly found among the Akani. They tattooed their hands, foreheads and noses; the tattooing was applied by passing thread dyed with Chinese ink or the juice of special plants (*dafaro*) through the skin.

Food

Until recently the staple diet of the Nanays was fish; it was only among the Kile that meat was important. Grain crops, vegetables and domestic pork were more important among the upriver Nanays than the other groups, since it was they who had an embryonic form of grain-growing, vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry. The diet of the wealthier Nanays contained much more, and a greater variety of, food than among the poor people. The surplus food held by the rich Nanays enabled them to exploit the poorer people. Cases were known in which during the years of famine a poor person would sell a child to a rich Nanay for a few pounds of millet.

The bulk of the working people lived on game fish and animals and also wild plants. The Siberian salmon was the most important fish. Meat and fish were eaten in the raw, frozen, boiled, dried and smoked form. The commonest way of preserving fish was to dry it (in the sun or wind) and smoke it. The salting of fish and roe was not apparently practiced until after the Russian colonization. In addition, there was a most original method of preserving single-net fish, by which a mass of fish was cooked in its own oil and the product was called taksan. Vegetable food—various kinds of grasses, mushrooms, berries and fruits—was preserved, usually by drying in the sun or wind.

The favorite dishes of the Nanays were boda, a liquid porridge made from a form of millet (with roe) without salt; tala, finely sliced raw fish; firun, dried bird-cherry mixed with fish-oil. The head of the salmon, bone marrow, squirrel stuffed with nuts, and so on were delicacies. Festive food was consumed at memorial feasts and on other occasions. This included pastry in the form of birds. A millet infusion was considered the drink of the spirits.

The vessels possessed by the wealthier Nanays show strong Chinese and later Russian influence. The bulk of the Nanays had only the vessels they made themselves. These were made of wood, birchbark or horn. Wooden spoons and tobacco boxes with carved designs were marked by refinement and elegance. Baskets woven from willow twigs were also common.

Social Relations

By the second half of the 19th century—the eve of Russian colonization of the Amur region—the Nanays had reached the stage of dissolution of the patriarchal clan structure, although they retained many features of the paternal clan organization. The Nanays were divided up into patrilineal clans. The Nanay clan was a group of people bound by common ancestry on the male side and it retained the law of clan exogamy and a number of other social and religious customs and taboos, but the economic ties between members of the clan had long since begun to disintegrate. The transition from the maternal to the paternal clan and then the breakup of the latter were due to the development of productive forces and increased barter with China, where the Nanays had been selling furs for many centuries.

Some of the conventions in family-marital relations among the Nanays and also their folklore show traces of the maternal clan. They also retained customs binding children to their mother's brother by special ties. It was the mother's brother's duty to see that the children of his sisters were brought up properly.



Old-fashioned women's clothing:
1—fishskin robe; 2—birchbark hat; 3—boot.

Until quite recently the paternal Nanay clans retained, apart from exogamy, such customs as the levirate, the right of inheritance of property by kinsmen, clan cults, clan courts, and so on. We also should note the existence of a common clan fire and the rituals associated with it. The Nanays like other Amur peoples retained certain survivals of the clan ownership of hunting and fishing grounds.

A feature of the clan organization of the Nanays, Ul'chi, Orochi and other Amur peoples was the institution of dokha or association of clans. The clans making up the dokha formed an exogamous group and intermarriage between members was not allowed. The clans in the dokha were united by other obligations (vendetta, cult and so on). Dokha relations arose as the result of the breakup of the originally unified clans, when territorial unity was lost, and, also, as an alliance between clans of different origin.

Until the Nanays became part of Russia, patriarchal slavery existed among them. These slaves were chiefly procured from other tribes, but there were also slaves of Nanay origin. These slaves were often Chinese and the word *nekan* meant both a slave and a Chinaman. The commonest word for a slave was *akha*.

During the 19th century the Nanays changed from the large patriarchal family, which appears to have been prevalent during the first half of the last century, to the smaller family, which became consolidated by the end of the 19th century. The decline of the large Nanay family was a result of the development of monetary relations. But the economic weakness of the small single household due to the generally low level of development of productive forces forced individual households to combine together for purposes of hunting and fishing on a purely territorial basis.

The Nanays who had no tools or fishing tackle had to find work in the richer households or at the fisheries owned by capitalists.

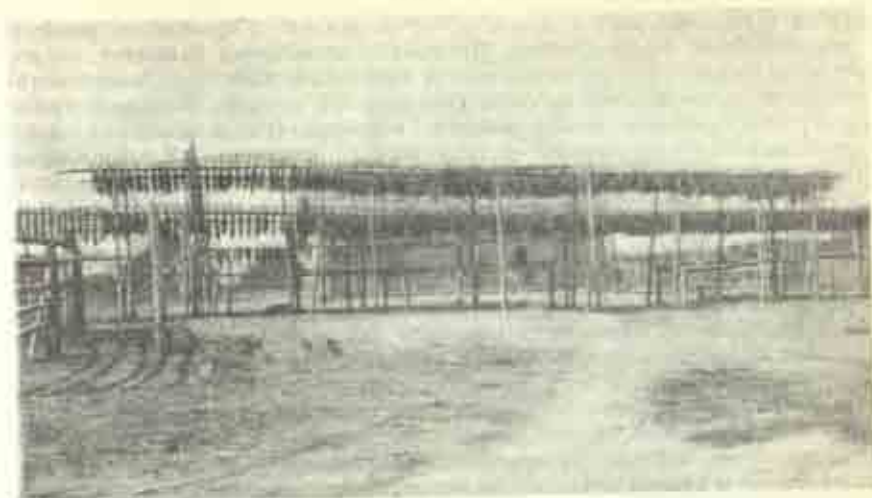
The family-marital conventions and the system and terminology of kinship are very similar among all Chinese-Manchu groups along the Amur. The old orthodox conventions prescribed marriage to the mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter—cross-cousin marriage—by which two clans were interrelated from generation to generation. Marriages between persons of the older and younger generations were permitted. It was usual to marry one's sister's daughter. The kinship classification reflected these marital norms. The mixing of generations, where one word indicates members of different generations, was typical of it (this is the great difference between this classification and the kinship system of the Nivkhi).

Folk Arts

Various forms of folk art were developed among the Nanays: oral folklore, painting, music. The principal genres of oral folklore are the tale (*nengma*) and legend (*telungu*).

According to the sex of the storyteller, the tales were divided into men's stories (*khuse nay ningmani*), in which the words of the hero were sung, and women's tales (*ekte nay ningmani*), which had no singing. This difference is due to the custom of forbidding women to sing at all.

The ornamental art of the Nanays attained a high degree of perfection. They decorated most objects in daily use, such as clothing, footwear, headgear, utensils, fishing tackle, hunting weapons. The artistic finish of old-type dwellings deserves particular attention: they decorated the window cornices and doors, columns (*baksa torani*) and other parts of the house. The burial huts (*keren*) were also decorated with carvings. Nanay designs were divided into animal, vegetable and geometric, according to the subject. A set of special tools was used for applying the design. Women's embroidery (smooth and appliqué) was of great artistic merit and enjoyed well-deserved popularity. At the beginning of the 20th century, embroidery from the settlements of Torgon, Naykhin and Dondon was particularly famous. People



Drying yukola.

used to travel to those places from all parts to buy the embroidered articles. Nanay embroidery was also found among the population of Sakhalin. Pictures of trees, dragons, birds, reptiles, insects, horsemen, and human figures, were chiefly found on garments worn by shamans, though also on pieces of white cloth or paper which the Nanays used as a kind of icons. The designs were first drawn with India ink (in contour) and then colored. The pictures contained elements of the landscape and the ensemble was a complex multifigure composition, certain parts of which were strictly symmetrical.

Nanay wood-carving was considerably simpler and cruder than the drawings; it contained archaic features which brought it closer to the shaman sculpture of many other Siberian peoples (Evenks, Khants, Kets, Sel'kups, and Nentsy). Sometimes the sculptured figures were tinted red and black.

The commonest of the old-style musical instruments in Siberia were the wooden and metal jew's-harp, and a one-stringed instrument played with a bow, evidently borrowed from the Chinese. Pipes and flutes made of reeds were also known.

Religious Beliefs

Before the Revolution the Nanays were officially Russian Orthodox, but Christianity had no great effect on their religious beliefs. Shamanism with its complex system of animistic beliefs continued to prevail. There was also a marked influence of Chinese and Manchu rituals. The Nanays harbored great respect for the bear, but did not have any special festival to honor it. The meat of a dead bear was eaten in compliance with a number of rituals and a bundle of bones was hung on a tree. The tiger, with which the representatives of the Aktanka clans associated their origin, was particularly revered.

In every object the Nanays distinguished the material form and the living essence, to which they sometimes attributed human characteristics. It was considered that fire, water, the taiga, mountains and so on had their

"masters." The "master" of the fire, for example, was envisaged by the Nanays as an old woman called "Fadzya Mama." In winter, old men in the taiga used to say as they approached the hearth: "Fadzya Mama, move aside and give me a place by the fire." Young people were forbidden to run up to the fire unexpectedly so as not to harm Fadzya Mama. It was thought that among the "masters" were men and women who married and had children, and that when they reached an advanced age, they did not die but renewed their exterior and became young again. The "masters" demanded respect and sacrifices from the people. They were usually offered sacrifices of pigs and various agricultural products.

The Nanays also believed in spirits which had been freed from their material form and were independent and free in their movements. These spirits had zoomorphic and anthropomorphic features. To facilitate intercourse with the spirits the Nanays made images of them and placed them



Shaman's costume.

in prominent positions during the religious rituals. According to where they lived, the spirits were divided into heavenly and earthly spirits. The earthly spirits were subdivided into two categories—seven and busyu (or buseu). The seven were the largest category. These spirits could either be good or bad in their relations with humans. The busyu were always evil spirits. It was thought that the souls of suicides, slaves and persons who violated exogamy changed into busyu. Among the busyu the sayka (satka) was considered particularly harmful.

For one full year from the moment he was born, the soul of a child was imagined to be a small bird called the omya-gasa ("soul-bird"), which lived in the branches of a tall tree, omyamoni (tree of souls) until it entered the body of a woman. Every clan had a tree of this kind. The soul-bird would nest and rear its young on the fruit of the tree.

The burial rites were as follows: a child that died before the age of one year was not buried in the ground, but placed between the branches of a tree or in a hollow, wrapped in cloth or a piece of birchbark. Other deceased were buried in the ground. Some of the articles belonging to a person were placed beside him in the grave,

while the remainder were either spread out on top of the grave or burnt during prolonged wakes (kasa). The articles were in some way destroyed, e.g., broken or torn, for it was considered that the soul of the object was thereby released. In the past it was common to bury people in wooden crypts or keren which looked like houses from the outside. A number of wakes were held in honor of the dead person. The first of these were held immediately after the person's death and on the seventh day after the



Decoration:

- 1—on ear muffs, embroidery in colored thread; 2—on sock, embroidery in colored thread and appliqué in colored cloth; 3—on box, stamped birchbark; 4—on box, carved and painted birchbark.

burial. A special pillow (*fanyan*) was made and also a wooden figure representing the soul of the dead person (*fanyalko*); the figure was thought to be a receptacle for the soul. After these minor wakes (*ningman*) others were held each month right up to the major wake (*kasa-maeri*), for which there was no fixed calendar date. The major wakes involved considerable expenditure. During them the shaman "led away" the soul of the dead person to the next world (*buni*). This world was believed by the Nanays to be a copy of the living world (*ilu*), but with certain curious differences. For example, when it was summer in *buni* it was winter in *ilu* and vice versa.

Liaison between the spirit world and human beings was effected by the shaman, whose main duties were to cure the sick, predict the future, and to carry the souls of the deceased to *buni*. The Nanay shamans divided into three categories: *Siurinku-saman* (curers), *ningmaney-saman*, (shamans who also conducted rituals at the first wakes, apart from treating the sick), and, finally, *kasatey-saman* (shamans who carried the souls of the dead to the next world). This latter group was thought to be the most powerful. Shamans could be either men or women (but the *kasatey-saman* could only be a man). There was a peculiar shaman costume characteristic of all the peoples of the Amur in the past; it consisted of a skirt, jacket, leather belt with conical metal pendants hanging from it, mittens with figures of snakes, lizards and frogs on them and hats with branching horns and strips of bear, wolf, fox or raccoon fur attached to them. The shaman's regalia also included Chinese metal mirrors called *toli*, a shaman's shift, and various other objects. It was only the important shamans—the *kasatey-saman*—who used the complete regalia.

The religious views of the Nanays reflected features of the clan structure. For example, there was the cult *edzekhe uyleri*. All the male representatives of a given clan took part in the *edzekhe* prayers. The religious views of the Nanays were strongly influenced by the Manchus and Chinese, as is shown, for example, by the celebration of the New Year, the cult of Mao, that is to say, Chinese icons, and so on. Among the shaman's accoutrements we find Chinese copper mirrors and tambourines, and the clothing of the Nanay shamans strongly resembles that of the Manchu shamans. "Icons" with pictures of shaman spirits were in form not unlike Buddhist religious pictures on fabric. The emergence of the cult of *Kheri Mapa*—a legendary shaman from the *Khoder* (*Khedzer*) clan—in which they began to see (an interclan deity goes back to a comparatively recent period (beginning of the 20th century).

THE NANAYS IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Planned Soviet construction among the native population of the Far East began in 1924, with the formation, under the Administrative Section of the Far Eastern Revolutionary Committee, of a Native Subsection to which was attached a staff of rayon deputies for native affairs. The first Far Eastern Native Congress was called by the Far Eastern Revolutionary Committee on June 15, 1925. In 1926, the All-Union Central Executive Committee confirmed the "Temporary Decree on the Government of Native Populations and Tribes in the Northern Borderlands of the RSFSR," which was based on the principle of self-government in the form of clan and native soviets. Clan Soviets were not formed in *Khabarovskiy Okrug*, since the clan makeup of the population of different villages varied. The beginning of the organization of national rayons among the peoples of the Lower Amur took place in 1926-28. *Nanayskiy Rayon* was organized during these years.

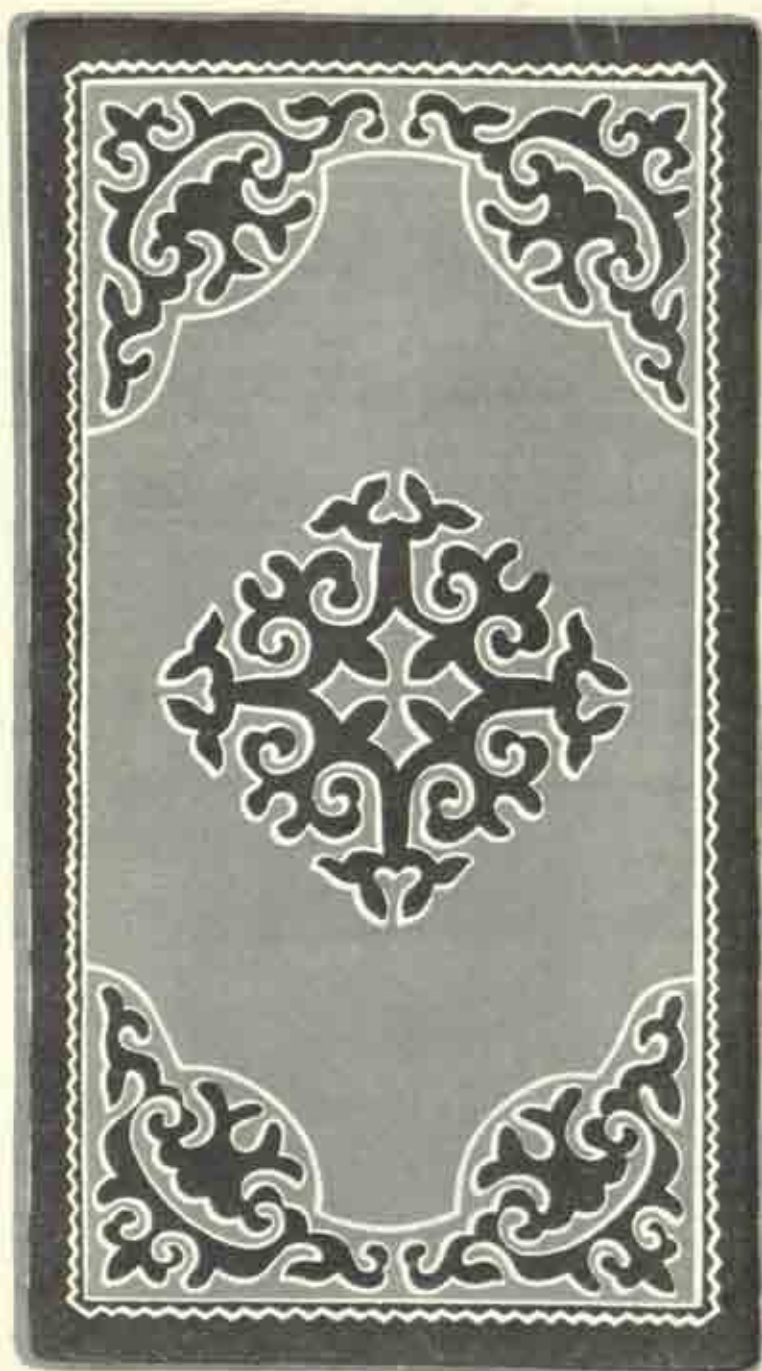
[The first collective farms appeared among the Nanays in 1930. At the beginning they united small groups, but their size gradually increased. Fishing, the ancient occupation of the population of the Amur Basin, took on a new form. Motor Fishing Stations (MRS) were organized in a number of rayons. Fish-canning plants, salting works, smokehouses, receiving wharves, and so forth were built. In many collectives, fishing is carried out the year round. Some collectives fish 24 hours a day, and practice mobile fishing, changing places several times without waiting for the tide. It should be noted that the Nanays now fish in the sea, which was previously not the case. Cases are frequent in which collective fishermen exceed the yearly plan by several hundred percent.

[Along with fishing, another ancient occupation of the Nanays—hunting—is being developed. Agriculture, previously not known, has been added to the collective-farm economy. Many farms sow wheat and oats. Items grown in the collective-farm gardens include potatoes, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, onions, cucumbers, corn, canteloupes, watermelons, pumpkins, tobacco and so forth. The collective-farm hayfields, which first appeared in 1934, increase in area with each year. Many collective farms now have tractors, threshers, hay-cutting machines, bailers, sowers and reapers.

[Apiculture has been introduced on the Nanay collective farms. As early as 1949, the collective farms already had 1500 hives. The Nanays have learned the skills of orchardry from the Russians, and animal husbandry is being successfully developed.



Ice fishing, "New Road" collective farm,
Nanayskiy Rayon.



Wall carpet, appliqué in colored cloth.

[The growth and strengthening of the Nanay collective farms is well illustrated by the history of the "New Road" collective farm at the village of Naykhin. The basic branch of the economy here is fishing, but hunting and agriculture are also carried on. In 1938, this collective farm received a gross income of 1,500,000 rubles. Pure profit amounted to 266,000 rubles, of which 136,000 were ploughed back. In the same year, the collective farm invested its own funds in capital construction and made large purchases, amounting to 137,000 rubles. Houses for the members, a nursery, a bathhouse, a vegetable storehouse, and a fishing wharf were built. Two cutters and a truck were bought. This collective farm now has its own electric power station, a ten-year school, and a hospital. Eighty thousand rubles have been set aside for a new clubhouse (the old one no longer sufficed). In 1940, the "New Road" collective farm achieved further successes and was granted the right to participate in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. In 1940, the cash income of this collective farm, from agriculture and animal husbandry, was 70,351 rubles, and, in 1944, the corresponding figure was 344,800. In 1952, the total area planted to grains, vegetables and potatoes amounted to 90 hectares.*

[There have been marked changes in the past few years in the area of transport and communications. Many Nanay collective farms have their own motorboats and trucks. The bicycle is common, and some collective-farm members have motorcycles.

[Besides working on collective farms, Nanays are now also employed in industry and government. They include field specialists—mechanics, concrete workers, electricians, forgers, builders. The old means of transportation—the flat-bottomed boat, canoes of various types, skis and dog sleds for winter—retain their importance along with the new ones.

[The Nanay settlements have changed markedly in appearance. For example, in the village of Troitskoye-on-the-Amur, there have been built in the past few years a two-story house for the soviets and the school, a lying-in hospital, a drugstore and many dwelling houses, usually log cottages of Russian type. Besides these there are still seen, particularly in remote regions, buildings of the old type previously described. Even these, however, have changed markedly in internal arrangement and mode of construction. Clay stoves with Chinese kettles cemented in have been replaced by ranges and Russian-type stoves. Kerosene lighting has replaced the old-fashioned blubber lamp. With the growth of animal husbandry, many Nanay settlements now have specially heated sheds for stock. Old-style pile storehouses are still found. Clothing has undergone significant changes. Most women now wear underwear and urban-style dresses, but sometimes put on the native robe over them. Native costume is worn chiefly by the older generation, boots, mittens and socks being the most stable elements. Tastes in food are reflected by the gift packages which the Nanays on every conceivable occasion send to their friends in neighboring villages. Here, together with national dishes—bird-cherry pancakes, various forms of yukola, etc.—we also find sugar, brandy-cakes, confectionery, flour, groats and other items.

[Dozens of medical points, several hospitals, and rural maternity centers have been established in the Nanay area. Qualified physicians

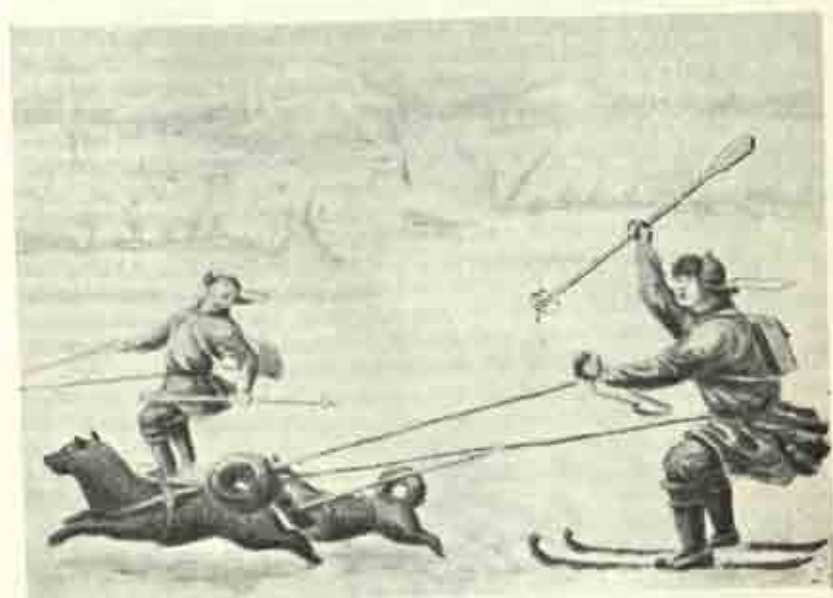
*The figures given for this collective farm, assuming them to be correct, are highly unusual, especially for the time and place. In considering the level of the profit in such operations, one must always take into account factors of supply and transport, about which nothing is said in this text.—Ed.



In a new house, Maksim Passar collective farm,
Nanayskiy Rayon.

make regular trips from the district center to outlying areas. The Nanay population has developed its own teaching staff, and universal elementary education has been attained. The chief institutions serving the Nanays are the Pedagogical School of the Peoples of the North at Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, the State University and Herzen Pedagogical Institute at Leningrad, and the Merchant Marine School at Komsomol'sk. One of the graduates of the Pedagogical Institute at Khabarovsk is the Nanay, Kiris Kile, who now teaches the Nanay language there. Another Nanay, S. N. Onenko, graduated from the Northern Department of the Leningrad State University, defended a Candidate's dissertation and is now on the staff of the Institute of Linguistics, Academy of Sciences, USSR.]

At the present time, school instruction in the preparatory grade and the first and second grades is carried out in Nanay; later grades are taught in Russian, teaching of the native language being continued. The Nanay script and orthography were developed during the early 1930's at an interrayon linguistic congress at Voznesenskoye. The literary language was based on the Naykhin dialect. [The Nanay language has a literature of considerable dimensions. One of its notable representatives is the poet Akim Samar, who died in the battle for Stalingrad. Most of his works are based on folk themes. Nanay folklore is still widely current, the folktales being told both at home and on hunting trips.] The main content of the



Drawings:

1—Elk-hunting, by Viktor Bel'dy; 2—to school with the dogs, by Andrey Bel'dy.

old-fashioned folktales consists of combats between popular heroes and foreign champions. The characters may be divided into two types: on the one hand, the working people, and on the other hand, a group of conquerors, who live mainly by exploiting them, and on the spoils of battle. Especially popular are the tales of Mergen and Pudín. Mergen is an industrious hunter and warrior. Pudín is the chief female protagonist: according to one version, until her marriage she lives alone and hunts, wearing man's clothing and carrying a quiver and arrows. According to another, Pudín is the daughter of an edzenkhan [conqueror] and possesses supernatural features. She spends most of her time in sewing and embroidery, but also takes part in the battles of the heroes. Besides people, the folktale characters include animals and beings of an intermediate nature.

Legends, as distinct from tales, are considered as accounts of real historical happenings. However, analysis permits us to find among them not only historical traditions but legends concerning heroes and myths about the tiger, the bear, etc. Riddles, which are also common among the Nanays, are concerned mainly with fishing and hunting, with housekeeping and with the basic tools of masculine and feminine labor. The Nanay tongue twisters, recited with a marked raising of the voice on the last syllable, are distinguished by a peculiar musicality.

Along with folklore, folk ornament is a rich field of popular art. Women play a great role in the development of this branch. Using colored thread and cloth, they skillfully decorate boots, clothing, pillows and rugs.

The predominance of curved lines, particularly spirals, is characteristic of Nanay decoration, and especially embroidery. The figures most often encountered are those of fish, birds, snakes, frogs and lizards. The tails of fish and birds and also snakes are given a spiral form. The predominance of spirals relates contemporary Nanay decoration to the decoration found on the remains of neolithic pottery in the Amur Basin. Besides embroidery with colored threads, appliqué work made from colored cloth and stamping and carving in birchbark are very important, along with the ornamentation of leather by appliqué and colors.

In its historical development, Nanay graphic art was influenced to some extent by Manchu-Chinese art and its symbolism. This influence is most noticeable in women's embroidery, and less so in carving. Among the motifs of Nanay decoration, we frequently find, for example, such clearly Chinese items as paired or single dragons, bats, cocks, old women, and images of Chinese brass coins, with square holes in the middle. But most of these motifs appear in Nanay art in strongly modified form.





THE UL'CHI

S. V. IVANOV, A. V. SMOLYAK and M. G. LEVIN

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Ul'chi live in the Ul'chskiy Rayon of the Khabarovskiy Kray. They inhabit 10 settlements, of which Kalinovka is the southernmost and Ukhta, the northernmost. All their settlements are situated along the Amur, and only one (Kol'chom) lies near Lake Udyl'. In many of the Ul'chi villages one encounters people belonging by origin to the Orochi, Nanays and Nivkhi. Today they all speak the Ul'chi language; their culture differs very little from that of the Ul'chi, and they regard themselves as Ul'chi. The census of 1926-1927 set the number of Ul'chi at 758.

The Ul'chi name for themselves is Nani; the term "Ul'chi" is used as their official designation. Fourteenth-century Chinese sources refer to the Ul'chi and the Nivkhi as "Ki-lia-mi," while Russian sources of the 17th and 18th centuries sometimes call them and the Nivkhi "Gilyaks" or Gilyak peasants. The Ul'chi were first distinguished from the Nivkhi in the literature by Iakinf (Bichurin) in his "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire" (1842). On the authority of Guriy Vasil'yev, a fugitive from penal exile, he called the Ul'chi "Orliks" (derived from the Nivkhi name for the Ul'chi—"Ornyr").

The name "Mangun" was given to the Ul'chi by the expedition of G. I. Nevel'skoy; the same designation (derived from Mangu, the Ul'chi name for the Amur River) was used by the Russian traveler R. Maak. They are known under this name in the literature of 1850-1880. L. Shrenk introduced the term "Ol'chi," which later took the form of "Ul'chi."

The language of the Ul'chi is close to that of the Nanay and is sometimes regarded as a dialect of the Nanay. Soviet ethnographers have discovered the Ul'chi to be of mixed origin. They have found clans related to the Nanay, Orochi, Udegeys, Oroks, Evenks, Negidals and Nivkhi, as well as clans of Ainu, Mongol and Manchurian origin. In their culture, the Ul'chi are closest to the Nivkhi.

Until the end of the 17th century, the Ul'chi were relatively independent. After the Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China, the Chinese government made an attempt to subjugate the Nanays, Ul'chi and Nivkhi to its authority. It appointed elders (khalada—Rus. starshina) and headmen (gas-yanda—Rus. starosta) from among the local population. The khalada were charged with compiling lists of the population and supervising the collection

of tribute in kind from every male of fifteen or over. The tribute consisted of one sable a year. Once a year, Chinese officials traveled along the Amur to collect the tribute (yasak).

This measure, however, proved a failure. The entire population, including the *khaiada* and *gasyanda*, were illiterate. No lists were compiled. A hunter surrendered a sable only when he came to trade. Hence the collection of a sable from each hunter was regarded by the natives merely as payment for the right to trade. The inhabitants of the Lower Amur (including the *Ul'chi*) traded their fur to China, receiving in exchange a variety of necessary goods and products. This barter played an important part in the life of the local population from ancient times.

In 1849, the transport "Baykal," under the command of G. I. Nevel'skoy, entered the mouth of the Amur. In 1850 the *Nikolayevskiy* Post was established; the Russians began to make the region their own. Several years later, Russian peasants began to settle on the Lower Amur. The villages of *Bogorodskoye*, *Mikhaylovskoye* and *Irkutskoye* sprang up on the territory of what is now the *Ul'chskiy* Rayon.

Economy and Everyday Life

The immemorial occupation of the people on the territory was fishing. The Amur River abounds in a variety of fish: salmon, sturgeon, carp. Summer fishing of carp was done with rectangular or sack-like float nets, stationary nets, and small thrown seines, which came into use among the *Ul'chi* only after the Russians began to settle along the Amur. The fish was speared from boats with fish-spears. Sturgeon was caught with hook tackle and with large hooks fitted into wooden logs. In spring and late fall the *Ul'chi* fished for smelt in boats, with small sack nets. Especially important for the natives were the salmon runs. In former times, the salmon catch and the stocks of *yukola* made of salmon determined the prosperity of *Ul'chi* families for a whole year. *Yukola* was the basic item of the *Ul'chi* diet. The waste left from the preparation of *yukola* was cured and served as feed for the dogs, which the *Ul'chi* kept in large numbers. Salmon was caught with the aid of small traps, made of stakes and twigs, which extended across a part of the river and barred the way to the fish going upstream to spawn. This underwater L-shaped fence ended in a long, narrow, sack-like net, in which the fish were caught. Salmon was also caught with float nets and small thrown seines. Winter fishing under the ice was done with rectangular and sack-like stationary nets and with hook tackle.

Hunting was of subsidiary importance in the *Ul'chi* economy. They hunted meat animals—elk, deer, bears—as well as fur animals: squirrels, sable, marten, otter and others. The meat of the animals killed went entirely for the use of the hunters' families. Fur was traded by the *Ul'chi* to Chinese, Manchu, and later Russian merchants for cheap fabrics, various agricultural products, and other articles.

The *Ul'chi* hunted meat animals all year. Elk and deer were chased over the deep snow in winter, and the frozen ice-crust in spring. In summer, they were hunted in birchbark dugouts, which approached them silently across the water as they were feeding on water plants along the shores of canals and lakes. Bears were hunted with spears—mostly in winter, when they were roused from their lairs.

The *Ul'chi* had two types of bows: ordinary straight ones (*pila*), which also served in winter as ski poles, and compound bows (*buri*), with whale-bone facing, which were greatly prized.

They hunted sable in their own region, and also in Sakhalin, where sables were much more abundant. In the early fall, the Ul'chi departed in working parties of 6-8 men to Sakhalin to hunt sable, returning only in the spring, after the Tatar Strait was clear of ice.

Sea hunting (for seal and sea lions) was widely developed among the Ul'chi in the past. They hunted in the Tatar Strait, reaching it by way of Kizi Lake and rivers flowing into the lake and the Strait. This was done in teams of 7-8 men, led by an experienced hunter. They left home in April, and hunted in large boats, up to 10 meters long, with 5-6 pairs of oars. Seal were hunted with iron harpoons (dzhëgbo), which were thrown from a distance of up to 15 meters. Another weapon was a floating harpoon (dargi), consisting of a compound pikestaff, up to 30 meters long. At the tip of it was attached a rudder (lakhu), which permitted aiming the weapon in any direction, regardless of the movement of the boat, the speed and the current. At the front end of the rudder was attached a point (dzhëgbo) of the usual type. The use of this weapon was very complicated. Sometimes the hunters came out of the boat on the ice floes and killed the seal with harpoons and clubs (mag'li). Seal were hunted for their skins and fat, and only partially for meat. In the early 20th century the Ul'chi began to use guns (obtained from Russians) in addition to harpoons in hunting seal.

With the growth of property differentiation among the Ul'chi, some wealthier individuals began to stand out of the mass of poor fishermen and hunters, forming a propertied upper stratum which gradually began to dominate trade, along with the foreign merchants. Representatives of this exploiting stratum traveled in the course of their trading operations to the territories of the seaside Orochi, the Negidals, and the Sakhalin Oroks, as well as to Manchuria. They also bought up the catch of their fellow Ul'chi.

In the past, the chief item of the Ul'chi diet was fish. It was eaten raw, frozen, cured, smoked, boiled and fried. The principal methods of preserving fish were curing, smoking and drying. Yukola was prepared from salmon and carp; the Ul'chi had eight names for yukola, depending on the variety. Some meat was also eaten: elk, bear, deer, seal and dog (the meat of team dogs). Very important in the diet were wild plants—berries, roots, grasses and lichens. Flour, cereals and other agricultural products obtained by trading held a relatively small place in the diet, especially among the poorer families.

One of the most important domestic occupations of the Ul'chi was the processing of fishskins for footwear and clothing. This was done by women. The skins of various fish were used, including Siberian salmon, pike, humpback salmon, etc. The skins were removed from the fish, dried several days either indoors or in the shade outdoors, then they were hammered with a wooden mallet (panty) on a special wooden stand (dell). After that, wormwood (suakta) was wrapped in the skins, which were slightly moistened. Several hours later the skin was stretched as much as possible on a special board (khude) and hung near the hearth. It was smoked in this way for about two weeks until it yellowed. After that, it was considered suitable for use.

It was also the women's job to prepare elk, deer and seal skins with special instruments, and to weave mats and baskets from rose willow root. The women also made household utensils, hats and other articles from birch bark. The men carved ornamented boxes, trunks, cradles, etc., from wood, worked bone into small articles—needlecases, knife handles, carved belt buckles. From nettles and wild hemp, the men made thread for the nets with the aid of a spindle (porpu). They made rope from willow bark. It has been established that the Ul'chi knew how to work metal in the 19th century.

They reformed old Chinese articles—kettles, chains and knives, and made arrows, spears, knives and other objects.

The principal means of transportation in summer were boats (*ugda*), made of three main boards, with a bottom raised toward the front and a sharp raised prow. Similar boats, but with a blunt prow, were called *ken'sume*. Formerly, the boats were richly ornamented and decorated with sculptured representations of birds. The Ul'chi used rectangular sails of fishskin. *Omorochki* (canoes) were used chiefly by hunters. They were made of three boards, with a sharp prow and stern, or of a single tree trunk. Such *omorochki* were called *utongo*. *Omorochki* of birchbark were called *zai*. Hollowed *omorochki* were made chiefly in the upper part of the territory inhabited by the Ul'chi in the 19th century.

In winter, transportation was by sledge or skis. Until quite recently, the Ul'chi raised dogs and used them for transport. The indigenous Ul'chi dog-harness was similar to the ancient Nivkhi harness. After the appearance of the Russians, it began to be replaced by pair-harness; the old type was preserved into the 1930's, but was used only at the bear festival. The Ul'chi sledge was of the Amur type, with runners bent on both sides, and 5-7 pairs of sled-staves. After the advent of the Russians, it was gradually superseded by sledges of the so-called Eastern Siberian type. Hunters used hand sledges (*on'so*), with runners bent on both sides, 2-3 pairs of sled-staves and shafts in front. The skis used by the Ul'chi were of two types: skis lined with reindeer-leg skin, and unlined, for use on snow-crust.

In the 19th century the Ul'chi lived in tiny villages consisting of 2-5 houses, situated on riverbanks. There were some 40 villages of this type.

The framework of an Ul'chi winter house of the old type (*khagdu*) was built of posts; the walls were made of thin logs, whose sharpened ends were fitted into mortises in the upright posts. The house was usually heated by two hearths (*duente tava*—"the fire of the forest god," and *temu tava*—"the fire of the god of water"), their flues running under the plank beds built



Winter Dwelling

along three or four walls of the house. The hot air passing through the flues warmed the beds. This heating system was brought to the Amur region from Manchuria. In the walls there were large windows, with fishskin instead of glass. In addition to the plank beds, the house was equipped with a platform for feeding the dogs, and a small post, to which the bear was tied during the bear festival. The plank beds, covered with mats, served the families living in the house (a house was usually built for several families). During the winter, life was confined to the house: the inhabitants slept, ate and worked on the plank beds. Their bedding was here; it consisted of cylindrical ornamented pillows, blankets and mattresses. At meals, they set small square Chinese tables on the planks. Lighting was obtained from primitive blubber lamps. Various household utensils and fishing gear were hung from the rafters. The floor in the house was earthen, and there was no ceiling.

Along with the winter houses (*khagdu*), the Ul'chi had summer houses on posts (*genga*). These were long structures, of which the rear part, made of logs, usually served for storing things, and the front part, made of boards, served as the dwelling. Here they sometimes smoked *yukola* as well. Summer houses of bark (*daura*) were built directly on the ground, near a river, and the Ul'chi sometimes smoked *yukola* there too.

During the hunt, there were temporary dwellings of conical shape (*namu sunzany*) and strong tents with two sloping surfaces (*aunza*). When out fishing, the Ul'chi built summer huts (*khomura*) of twigs, branches and grass. The Ul'chi also built frame barns (*taktu*) on piles. Their structures for the drying of *yukola* (*peule*) were platforms topped with a system of poles and a roof. Frequently, they also used open racks (*san*).

The indigenous Ul'chi dress consisted of robes made of fishskin and soft leather, sometimes richly ornamented. Later, these robes were made of imported materials, but the Mongol-Manchu cut (with fastenings down the right side) remained the same. The winter robes (*lebeli*) were lined with



Storehouse.



Women's clothing of fishskins.

cotton batting. Women's robes were below the knee; men's robes (those of old men), to the knees. Young men wore jackets. In addition to the quilted robes, coats of dog fur were worn in winter. Men wore kilts (khosi) of seal fur; these were worn over the fur coat. The trousers (peru) were of the same cut for men and women. A small breastpiece (dyl'ba) was sewn to the front of the women's trousers. The women also wore long Evenk breastpieces (lelue), with numerous decorations of beads and copper. With short trousers, the Ul'chi wore leggings (garu), made of bought materials, as well as of dog fur or fishskin (oi).

The Ul'chi hunting dress consisted of a robe of fishskin reaching above the knees, leggings, an apron, and footwear of the same material. A small hat (porogdo) reminiscent of a Central Asian skullcap was worn on the head; it was made of dog suede or sealskin. The hat left most of the head uncovered; it was therefore topped with fur-lined earmuffs and a helmet of fabric, coming down to the neck.

Men wore fur hats shaped like hoods, made of white dog suede and very similar to those of the Nivkhi. Women's hats were made of fur-lined material with pompons on the crown. Summer hats of birchbark were common everywhere. An essential article of festive female dress was the lynx-fur hat; later such hats were used only as part of a wedding costume.

Ul'chi footwear was of two types—Amur and Evenk. The former differs from the Tungus in that it does not have a separate attached sole; the sole is bent upward and is of one piece with the vamp. The boot tops are separate, short, and always of different material from the vamp. This footwear was made of seal, sea lion and fishskins. It was decorated with embroidery, done with white reindeer hair, colored silk, etc. The footwear of the Amur type was called by different names, depending on the form of the vamp and the decorative material. Evenk footwear on the Amur had separate soles



Hunting and ritual dress:

1—winter hunting garb; 2—woman's wedding dress.

and was sewn from soft leather, elk and reindeer suede. During winter holidays and weddings, women wore capes of sable fur (*sini*) or round fur collars of lynx or sable.

Social Relations and Religion

Like other Tunguso-Manchurian groups on the Amur, the Ul'chi were divided in the past into a number of patrilineal clans, of which there were more than 30. The largest of these were the Choruli, Bayausali, Val'dyu, Ol'cha, Dechuli, Kiler, Bel'dy, Udzyali, Orosugbu, Khodzer, Dzhaksor, Dzyatala, Pil'duncha, and Kuysali clans. The names of some of them were encountered also among neighboring ethnic groups. At first, clan members were bound by many things: the idea of the common ancestor, the common clan name, the common fire; clan villages, clan hunting territories, collective use of the catch; clan mutual aid, the clan court, vendetta for murdered clan members, the right of inheritance of property by fellow clan members. In religion, clan ties manifested themselves in the idea of common clan spirits and the joint celebration by clan members of the bear festivals. The clan relations of the Ul'chi disintegrated even before the Amur region was joined to Russia.



Ornaments:

- 1, 2—rugs, appliqué of colored fabric;
3—on the upper part of a woman's wedding robe; embroidery, rear view.



Ornaments (cont'd);

4—wood-carving, on a box; 5—pillow, appliqué of colored fabric;
6—rug, appliqué of colored fabric; 7—box, carved and painted
birchbark.

The customary law of the Ul'chi bearing on the hunt clearly revealed, along with remnants of primitive-communal relations, a tendency to the individualization of the separate producer. Meat was the only product subject to collective distribution; the animal killed was eaten by everyone living in the camp.

Fur-hunting had become fully individualized. Already at the end of the last century, the basic tools—the boat, the nets and tackle—were owned privately. Individualization of the separate households and the systematic trade carried on in the past with the Manchus, Chinese, Nivkhi and Nedigals furthered the property differentiation in Ul'chi society. Trade with Manchus and Chinese hastened the dissolution of the communal clan system and the development of commercial relations, although some elements of the

former were retained until the beginning of the 20th century. Trade also helped the consolidation of patriarchal slavery, which existed until the beginning of the 20th century.

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries saw the end of clan hunting grounds, clan villages, and vendetta. However, many elements of clan ties persisted in larger or smaller measure, or in changed forms, until the October Socialist Revolution.

Like the other Amur peoples, the Ul'chi had clan associations, so-called dokha. Members of the dokha were obliged to help one another in the organization of the bear festival and to participate in avenging murdered clan members, and were subject to exogamous taboos. Court trials (bayta) were held to prevent vendettas; the latter took place only when the trials failed. As among the other Amur peoples, the principal role in the bayta was played by the manga, an elected arbitrator or judge belonging to a neutral clan.

The Ul'chi marital relations were of a deeply archaic character. The ancient orthodox norms demanded that the Ul'chi take their wives from their gusi—the brothers of their mother or the sisters of their father. Hence, from generation to generation, two clans exchanged wives. Marriage laws permitted marriages between members of ascending or descending generations. Before the Revolution, there was polygamy. Every prosperous Ul'ch had several wives.

The Ul'chi women occupied a relatively high position in the family, although they were heavily burdened with work. They not only cared for the house, but rowed the boats and took part in casting the seines.

Bride-price (kalym) and economic considerations were very important in marriage. Occasionally, the payment of the bride-price was replaced by working for the wife from one to three years. On completion of the work or payment of the bride-price, the groom took his bride to his house. The ritual of "kettle-stamping" took place before the thresholds of the parents of the bride and groom. Before departure, the clan members of the bride's and the groom's clans engaged in "wrestling matches."

The nomenclature of the Ul'chi kinship scarcely differed from that of other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

Although the Ul'chi were officially considered baptized, Christianity remained almost without influence on their religious ideas. Much more noticeable was the influence of Chinese and Manchu beliefs and rituals. According to the ancient beliefs of the Ul'chi, everything—including stones, woods, mountains, the taiga and water—had its "masters." Sacrifices were made to these "masters" so that they would send game, fish, etc. There were three main prayers connected with hunting and fishing: a prayer to the sky (ezekhe uyli), to water (voysinyaali), and to the taiga (the bear festival—buyumba khupi). These rituals differed from those of the Nivkhi only in details.

The main distinction between the Ul'chi bear festival and that of the Nivkhi was that the clan of the master of the bear was permitted to eat the flesh of this bear. The shamans took no part in the rituals connected with cult of the sky, water, and taiga, or the cult of the bear.

One of the oldest cults was that of twins. The birth of twins was considered an event of the highest importance. After its occurrence, kinsmen were obliged to observe numerous strict taboos; their violation affected the relations between men and the "masters" of the taiga. Twins were considered sacred persons. One of the twins was held to be a "taiga man," the other, a "water man."

Like other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Ul'chi buried their dead in the woods (in distinction to the Nivkhi, who burned their dead). In the 19th

century, splendidly ornamented little huts were built for the deceased, as well as ordinary wooden frame houses. Drowned men, twins, and their mothers were buried with special rites. The Ul'chi ideas of life after death combined the Nivkhi belief in transmigration of the dead man's soul into a dog (prysku) with the Nanay idea of the soul (panya) being taken away by a shaman to the kingdom of the dead (puni). Large funeral feasts were conducted only by certain shamans, the so-called big shamans (day samani). These were extremely complicated rites, similar to those of the Nanay. A great deal in Ul'chi shamanism is of Nanay origin. Most of the Ul'chi clans did not have their own shamans; the ritual aspect of shamanism, their costume and texts were very close to those of the Nanay.

Folk Arts

The cosmogonic myths of the Ul'chi are bound up in part with the cult of twins, and in part with the culture hero, Khadau. Other myths describe the order of given rituals, and warn against infringement of this order or failure to observe the ritual itself.

In addition to mythological tales, the Ul'chi have telengu (lays) and ningma (tales), transmitted from generation to generation. The telengu are stories of vendettas, hunting adventures, journeys to San-hsing, etc. These stories were filled with fantastic inventions and wonders; in character, they were like the epics of other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples. The most popular plot of the ningma deals with adventures of various animals. The Ul'chi also had many proverbs.

The arts of the Ul'chi attained a high level in their ornament. Various wooden birchbark articles, dishes, household utensils and instruments, boxes, the cornices of barns, the prow and stern of boats were covered with carvings; clothing and bedding were decorated with embroidery and appliqué; spear-tips and metal articles were inlaid. In its style, the Ul'chi ornament is closer to the Nivkhi than to the Nanay. It consists principally of spirals, intertwined lines and stylized representations of animals. The most frequent colors are white, black, red and blue. Embroidery, ornamentation on birchbark and appliqué, were women's occupations; carving on wood, bone and metal was done by men. The women used special patterns in their work, handed on from generation to generation almost without change.

Influence of Russian Culture

Proximity to the Russians, who had settled in the region in the middle of the 19th century, had a beneficial effect upon the economy and the material culture of the Ul'chi. It led to an improvement in the technology and output of fishing. The Ul'chi borrowed from the Russians the use of small seines, which under certain conditions were an effective substitute for nets. They began to sell their catch. In hunting, they began to use the more efficient Russian guns. In the early years of the 20th century, some of the Ul'chi began to keep domestic livestock, principally horses. They made their first attempts at gardening, planting tobacco and potatoes. After the appearance of horses and the expansion of fishing for sale, dog-breeding began to decline, since it required large quantities of fish to feed the dogs.

The Russian influence also affected the Ul'chi dwellings. In the early years of the 20th century there appeared houses of a transitional type, combining the original Amur mortise technique with the Russian frame technique. At first, these houses were very similar to the old dwellings: they had no floors or ceilings; the heating system and the roof construction

remained the same. Certain types of Russian clothing also appeared at this time, chiefly among the men, and later among the women. The men began to wear Russian blouses; in summer, they wore Russian footwear. Their diet began to include certain vegetables, which they bought from the Russian peasants.

Contemporary Life of the Ul'chi¹

Nevertheless, until the Great October Revolution, the Ul'chi remained a backward people. The tsarist government did nothing to promote their cultural development. After the October Revolution, the Ul'chi were given opportunities for economic and cultural growth. In the 1920's, the first centers of a cooperative network appeared in Ul'chi territory. These centers gave a great deal of economic support to the small fishing cooperatives which were formed here, and to the entire Ul'chi population. The employees of the cooperative network also conducted educational work among the natives; they organized youth groups, with which they worked to liquidate illiteracy; they arranged entertainment evenings for the population, showed motion pictures, and so on.

In the later 1920's, the first Komsomol organizations were formed in the Ul'chi villages. These played an important part in reorganizing the Ul'chi way of life and raising the cultural level. The Komsomol members were the first to adopt hygienic rules, and to study; they conducted wide political and educational work among the population, and organized reading rooms and clubs.

Red Yurts appeared, which worked widely with the women; here they were taught to read and write and were given political education. The workers of the Red Yurts also gave the people medical assistance and showed motion pictures. In 1930-32, centers for the liquidation of illiteracy were opened in all the Ul'chi villages; these were attended by the entire adult population. A network of schools was established for the children. In 1927, the first primary school was opened in the village of Ukhta; it had a large dormitory, where Ul'chi children from other villages lived. In 1933, a second primary school was opened in the village of Koyma; soon it was transformed into a seven-year school. Shortly after this, schools were organized in other large Ul'chi villages. The teachers in the first Ul'chi schools were Russians. They carried out extensive work in training the Ul'chi children to observe cultural habits; they organized Pioneer squads, conducted a struggle with superstition and prejudices, etc. In 1932, a Pedagogical Tekhnikum of the Peoples of the North began to function in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, transferred there from Khabarovsk. Later a Pedagogical School for the Peoples of the North was organized. In 1930, the institute for the Peoples of the North was opened in Leningrad. These educational institutions helped to form an Ul'chi intelligentsia; large groups of native youth have attended them annually since 1930. In 1935, there were already 12 Ul'chi teachers in the Ul'chskiy Rayon. By 1940, all the centers for the liquidation of illiteracy were closed in the Ul'chi villages, since there was no longer any need for them. The immemorial illiteracy was at an end.

In 1948, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a decree providing free education for the children of the peoples of the North and full

¹ In this article and the two following, the post-Revolutionary sections have been translated in full by the same hands as the remainder of the text.—Ed.

maintenance at state expense until completion of secondary and higher education. This opened to the Ul'chi, as well as to other nationalities, broad opportunities for a higher education. New medical and law schools were opened in Khabarovsk for the peoples of the North. Further schooling is available to them in Leningrad. Some of the Ul'chi teachers take correspondence courses in higher educational institutions. The national intelligentsia is growing. In 1952, there were more than 30 Ul'chi educational workers—a high figure for such a small people. Many of the Ul'chi educational workers also work in Russian schools in the Ul'chskiy and neighboring rayons. They often teach Russian language and literature.

Before the Revolution, there were no medical institutions on the territory of the present Ul'chskiy Rayon or the neighboring areas. In 1929, the first medical center was opened in the village of Auri. It began its work with mass inoculations against smallpox. The workers of the medical center had to combat the shamans and their influence among the natives. They also sought to instill hygienic habits, and so on. Hospitals were opened soon afterwards in the villages of Koyma, Bulava, and others, resulting in a sharp decrease in the incidence of tuberculosis and trachoma, as well as in the general deathrate. Today there are medical centers in every Ul'chi village.

The cultural development of the Ul'chi was closely linked to the steady rise in their economy and material well-being. The first collective farms were organized in the Ul'chskiy Rayon in 1930-1932.

The appearance of the kolkhozes and schools led to an eventual increase in the size of the villages. In the early 1930's, there were 15 fairly large Ul'chi settlements. The process of consolidation of collective farms and villages went on; in 1952, there were 10 Ul'chi settlements on the territory of the Ul'chskiy Rayon. The population of some was as high as 200. In 1952, there were 8 Ul'chi collective farms in the Ul'chskiy Rayon, with a preponderance of Ul'chi members; there was also one mixed Russian-Ul'chi collective farm.

The basic occupation on the Ul'chi collective farms is fishing. The Ul'chi kolkhozes have acquired large seines, highly productive fishtraps of modern construction for catching salmon; cutters and motorboats. Heavy labor is being mechanized. The old fishing implements—float and fixed nets, and hook-tackle—are also used.

New branches of the Ul'chi economy are agriculture and cattle-raising. In the first stages of collective-farm construction, the areas under cultivation were very small. At present, many Ul'chi collective farms cultivate several dozen hectares each. Some of the collective farms work with tractors, which prepare the land for sowing and also clear new sites. The basic crops are potatoes, vegetables, oats, and occasionally barley.

However, on Ul'chi collective farms which include Russian members, it is principally the Russians who engage in agriculture. On the mixed Ul'chi-Russian collective farm "Five-Year Plan," there is a larger percentage of Russians in the agricultural brigades, and a larger percentage of Ul'chi in the fishing brigades.

All the Ul'chi collective farms have cattle-raising farms. Among the Ul'chi, who had never before known any domestic animals except dogs, there are today some expert livestock-breeders.

Agricultural work brings the Ul'chi collective farms a high income; on the Lenin collective farm and "Five-Year Plan" collective farm, income from agriculture accounted for approximately half of the total income in 1952. An altogether new development is the cultivation of orchards in the Ul'chskiy Rayon. The initiators of this activity were Ul'chi collective-farm members in the village of Bulava.

The third most important branch of the modern Ul'chi economy is hunting. Today, the Ul'chi hunt primarily for fur. After a long ban, the Ul'chi were given permission in recent years to shoot sable. Along with modern weapons, the Ul'chi also employ old trapping methods, with the aid of various traps of the pressure type. Sable is hunted with nets; fox is caught in traps and snares.

The income of the Ul'chi collective farms is rising. Thus, the total income of the Ul'chi collective farm, "Salmon-Trout," was already more than 700,000 rubles in 1951. With the income from their many-sided activities, the Ul'chi collective farms purchase motorboats, automobiles and cutters; they build power stations, and so on. A great deal of construction is going on. On the leading "Five-Year Plan" collective farm, a single year, 1951, witnessed the construction of a club, a medical center, a bathhouse, a sawmill, a vegetable storehouse, a stable, and an electric power station; its members also built the hull of a cutter, and two Amur sailboats.

Electric power stations have also been erected in the Ul'chi villages of Bulava and Koyma, providing electric light for the houses, streets, and the buildings where the livestock is kept. On the "Salmon-Trout" collective farm, the fisheries are provided with electricity, and on the Ul'chi Voroshilov collective farm, the dwellings and industrial buildings have electric light.

As the collective farm income increases, the material condition of the members improves. On some of the collective farms, the average collective fisherman receives from 15,000 to 30,000 rubles in money per year, in addition to products. The Ul'chi collective members also have their own individual garden plots, cows and pigs.

Today there are stores in every Ul'chi village, where the Ul'chi families can buy various food products, which have become a regular part of their diet. The food retains national characteristics. Thus, the Ul'chi prepare potatoes both in the Russian way and in their own; they prepare their own special dishes, such as mosi and potato tala. A great delicacy is badu—a thin gruel of wheat or rice, cooked without salt. Very popular to this day is tala—minced frozen fish. The old men still prepare small quantities of yukola for themselves every fall.

The radical changes in the Ul'chi economy and way of life also bring with them significant changes in the means of transportation. Modern transportation facilities play an important role today. Many Ul'chi collectives have motor vehicles, cutters, and outboard and inboard motorboats. However, the flat-bottomed rowboats which are so well adapted to navigating the Amur and its tributaries are still very important to the Ul'chi, whose villages lie along riverbanks. The Ul'chi make wide use of horse transportation. Dog transportation has declined sharply, although it is encountered sometimes among the inhabitants of the village of Dudi. However, in order to form a dog team for travel outside village limits after a snowstorm, when the roads are snowbound, they must assemble dogs from various households. The old type of hunting sledges can still be seen everywhere. They are used by hunters going off to hunt, as well as by fishermen, who use them to transport tackle and nets when going off to individual ice fishing. Such sledges also serve for carting wood. Skis of the old type are also widely used.

The Ul'chi dwelling has changed entirely. Since the latter 1930's, the Ul'chi live in modern houses. The wooden plank beds are gone, replaced by beds. Most of the houses are equipped with Russian brick ovens. The floor plans of the houses are also different. Formerly consisting of one room, the Ul'chi home today is built by the frame method, and usually consists of several rooms and a kitchen.

A new development is the cattle-shed, which is either built directly adjoining the house, or set up separately on the individual plot. These sheds are often built by the old mortise method. In all the Ul'chi villages one can still see frame barns on piles. Formerly, these were built in front; now they are behind the dwellings. The streets are leveled everywhere, and many villages boast wooden sidewalks. Most of the Ul'chi villages are laid out according to regular plan. However, one still encounters summer houses of the old type (daura)—four-walled bark huts. They are used as summer dwellings by the old men, but most often they serve as summer kitchens. Conical and two-sloped tents are found today only at the Ul'chi fishing camps and hayfields.

The Ul'chi dress has also changed. The stores sell city-type clothes, which are worn both by men and by women. But national elements are also firmly preserved in the Ul'chi dress. Most of the men and women wear leggings in winter. Robes of the old type are worn mostly by women and by old men. The young men wear jackets, decorated with native ornamentation. The women sometimes also adorn the store-bought clothing of the Russian type with traditional ornaments.

It is no longer easy to find robes of fishskin. They are seldom used today, although some people still preserve them. Very rarely, on holidays, old women may be seen wearing them. Nor do the Ul'chi make coats of dog fur, although some may still be seen on middle-aged men and women during the winter fishing.

The Ul'chi still wear their national footwear of sealskin and reindeer suede. Although they have store-bought felt footwear, during the winter fishing they always wear the native footwear of fishskin, lined for warmth with certain types of dry grass. Fishskin is completely waterproof and extremely durable.

Of the old hunting dress, only the small hunting hats and earflaps are still used. One seldom sees the old birchbark conical hats or the old cotton-lined fabric hats with pompons. They are worn only by a few old women. The younger women wear shawls, woolen kerchiefs, and sometimes store-bought fur hats. The kerchiefs are tied in the Russian manner, but there is also a special Ul'chi manner of wearing them: they are folded into a narrow strip, which covers the crown and the ears, leaving the back of the head exposed. The ends of the kerchief are crossed under the chin, pulled back and tied there. National clothing (including footwear) is still as a rule decorated with traditional ornamentation. Various ornamented household articles of birchbark or wood are still used, but these are increasingly supplanted by bought utensils.

The changes in social life may be illustrated by examples from the life of individual Ul'chi villages. Kol'chom, which is situated away from the Amur, on the Ukhta channel, is a prosperous Ul'chi settlement, with more than fifty houses of the Russian type, warm and clean, built along straight, wide streets, with a good deal of greenery. In the evenings, the streets are lighted by electricity. Every house has electric lights and a radio. The village has its own primary school, a reading room, a library, a creche, a health station, a post office and a store. The village library contains more than three thousand volumes of fiction, political books, and scientific and technical literature. The library's active membership consists of some 100 persons. The village has its own intelligentsia: Ul'chi teachers, librarians, directors of the reading room, nursery and the post office, collective-farm accountants, officials of the village soviet, and so on. The village also has a large group of agitators, consisting of some 20 educated and progressive young people. The local intelligentsia regularly deliver lectures at the

collective farm on topics ranging from natural science to politics. Every family in the village of Kol'chom subscribes to newspapers and magazines and owns books.

The Ul'chi village of Bulava has some 100 houses of the Russian type. It has a seven-year school with boarding facilities, a club, a reading room, a library, radio facilities, an electric power station, a post office, a hospital, a bathhouse, a village soviet and other public institutions. The village has electricity and radio. The local library contains more than 3,000 volumes of diverse literature. Associated with the club are youth circles engaged in amateur activities, such as singing, dancing and dramatics.

Other villages also have clubs, reading rooms, schools and similar cultural institutions. The Ul'chi intelligentsia has produced its own artists, writers and poets.

In 1952, a branch of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge was formed in the Ul'chskiy Rayon. Its membership consists of representatives of Russian and Ul'chi intelligentsia. Its head is an Ul'ch, G. Agdumsai.

Ul'chi women take a most active part in social, industrial and cultural life. In 1950, the village soviet of the village of Bulava, headed by the Ul'ch woman, Nina Danilovna Dargachi, won first place among the village soviets of the Khabarovskiy Kray and received the first prize and the Red Challenge Banner of the Executive Committee of the Kray Soviet.





THE UDEGEYS

S. V. IVANOV, A. V. SMOLYAK and M. G. LEVIN

The Udegeys live on both slopes of the Sikhote-Alin', in villages scattered over a large territory of the Primorskiy Kray (in Pozharskiy, Krasnoarmeyskiy, Terneyskiy and Ol'ginskiy Rayons) and Khabarovskiy Kray (in Komsomol'skiy, Nanayskiy and Lazo Rayons).

According to the census of 1926-1927, the Udegeys numbered 1357 persons.

General Information

Their own name for themselves is Udee (Udde) or Udekhe (Udikhe, Udekhe, Udege). Those who live in the south of the Maritime District, once considerably under Chinese influence, call themselves Tazy. "Tazy" (the Chinese "Ta-tz'u") is the general Chinese designation for the Lower Amur and Maritime peoples.

The language of the Udegeys belongs to the southern (Manchurian) subgroup of Tunguso-Manchurian languages. In its morphological characteristics and vocabulary it is closer than any other language of its subgroup to the languages of the northern (Tungus) subgroup. In its phonetics, however, it occupies a special place among all the Tunguso-Manchurian languages.

The Udegeys became part of the Russian State in 1864, after the annexation of the Ussuriyskiy Kray to Russia. We know that throughout the 19th century, representatives of Chinese merchant firms covered the entire southern part of the kray with a network of trading points, extending to the Khor and Samarga Rivers in the north. The agents of these firms, the so-called ts'ai-tung, subdivided the entire territory of the kray with its population—Udegey and Chinese—into districts for their trading operations. The numerous ts'ai-tung bought up fur, ginseng, and panty [horns of young stags, used for medicinal purposes—Tr.]. They extended credit to the population and supplied it with goods. They widely resorted to getting the natives drunk on hang-shing, selling them alcohol, and deceiving them in setting prices on sables; they also sold them goods at arbitrary prices and on credit, to be paid off with furs, which were then underpriced.

The indebtedness and dependency of the population assumed the character of peonage. The Chinese merchant took away the wife and children

of his Udegey debtor, either taking them for himself, or selling them to others. There were cases where entire families, including the head, were sold into slavery. Such bought people were called *fu-la-tz'u* — slaves.

Russian peasants began to settle in the Primorskaya Oblast in larger numbers after 1883, when the government assumed the expense of transporting settlers by sea. Peasants were assigned large plots of land on the Ussuri and in the south, along the coast. However, because the Udegey led an isolated existence, wandering in search of game in the mountains and on the upper reaches of the rivers, the progressive influence of the Russians was slow to reach them. Nevertheless, all travelers who visited the Ussuriyskiy Kray noted that the Udegeys were friendly toward the Russians with whom they came into contact, contrasting them with the exploiting Chinese merchants.

The friendly attitude of the Udegeys toward the Russians expressed itself especially clearly during the difficult years of civil war and intervention in the Far East. Many Udegeys helped the guerrilla units in their heroic struggle with the bands of the White hetmans and occupying forces, serving as excellent guides over the taiga paths of the Ussuriyskiy Kray. The widely famous novel "The Last of the Udegeys" by A. Fadeyev, vividly reflects this period.

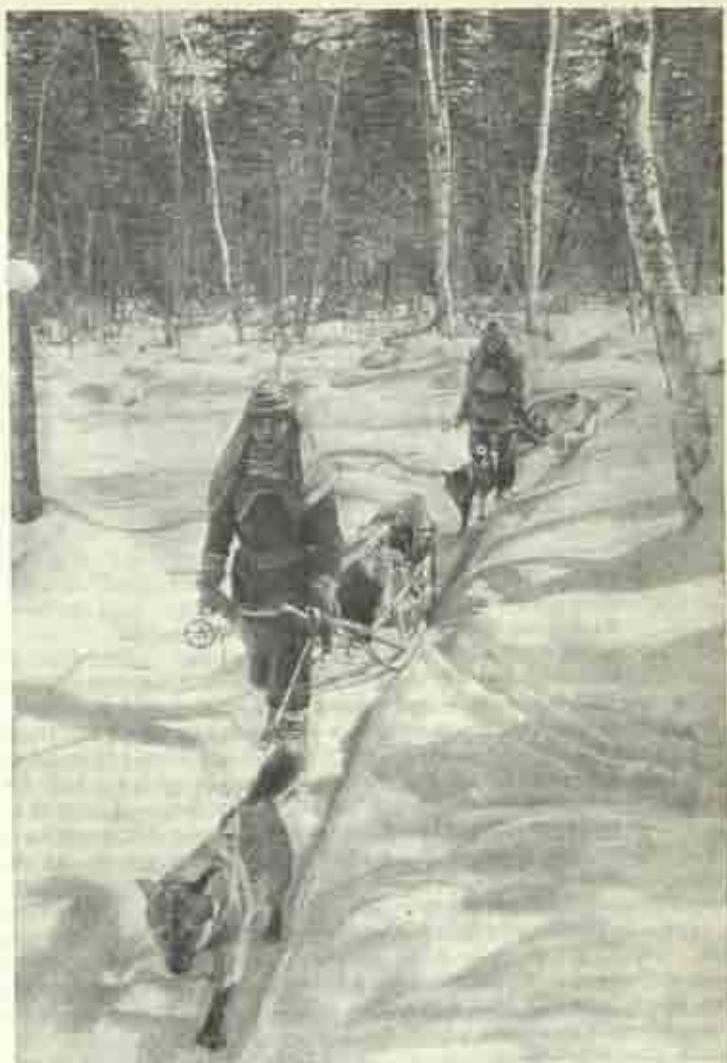
The Soviet government freed the Udegeys of age-old oppression and exploitation. The socialist construction which began after the final rout of the interventionists and White bandits (1925-1926) radically altered the Udegey way of life.

Occupations and Everyday Life

In the past, Udegey economic life was based on hunting and fishing. The Udegeys hunted Manchurian deer, spotted deer, elk and bear; the fur-bearing animals they hunted were sable, raccoon, etc. They also hunted ducks and hazel-grouse, and, to a lesser extent, geese and swans. Young Manchurian deer and spotted deer were hunted in the summer, since the best pelt are obtained in June. The pelt were sold to Chinese merchants.

Elk were hunted all year: in the summer, with bows and crossbows (later, with guns), and in winter, on skis, with a dog; the animal was killed with a spear or gun; in earlier times, bows and arrows were used. The meat and fat of the elk were cured. In autumn, beginning in September, the Udegeys hunted male red deer, decoying them with birchbark horns. To hunt meat animals, the Udegeys built *abatish*—fences two arshins high, in which they made openings at every 200-300 meters, with masked pits near them. In these pits they caught boar, wolves and sometimes even tigers. Raccoon were hunted in autumn with dogs, equipped with bell collars. Tigers were killed only in self-defense or when they attacked the camp. Like many other Amur tribes, the Udegeys once regarded the tiger as a sacred animal.

The Udegeys also hunted other meat animals: muskdeer and bears. The former were hunted with crossbow and noose, set up along the paths; they were also lured with birchbark pipes. They were valued for the musk, which was sold to the Chinese. Bears were hunted along riverbanks during fishruns. The hunters set up crossbows for them on the paths, ambushed them near berry patches, or roused them from lairs (collectively), killing them with spears. In hunting, the Udegeys used ordinary wooden bows (*bei*). The hunting of fur animals was very



Hunters returning from the hunt.

important. Sable were hunted with crossbows or caught with noose-traps and nets. Other fur animals were caught in various homemade traps. The entire output of the fur hunt was sold to Chinese merchants.

Another occupation in the taiga was the gathering of ginseng—a rare plant growing in the Ussuri taiga. In the Ussuriyskiy Kray, ginseng grows in the densest parts of the taiga. It is very difficult to find, and requires great experience. All the ginseng collected was sold to Chinese merchants.

Fishing was secondary in importance as compared to hunting. The basic tools of fishing were fish-spears of various types. The Udegeys caught salmon, carp and other fish. They also knew how to fish by torchlight. In



Traveling by boat to a new site.

some places they fished with nets made of nettle fiber. The chief method of preserving fish was sun-drying. Fish was used in the diet as a supplement to meat, and was also eaten raw, frozen, boiled and in other forms.

On the southern coast, some Tazy had learned from the Chinese to obtain sea-kale and trepang. The Tazy who worked for Chinese did this as a permanent occupation.

Sea hunting was conducted only on the northern shore of the Tatar Strait, and was relatively unimportant. The Udegeys did not have sea-going boats and did not know the use of sails; hence, they could not venture far from the shore.

Agriculture was known in the past only in the south among the Tazy. Most of the gardens and cultivated fields were in the valleys along the seacoast. South of St. Olga Bay, agriculture was, in fact, the principal occupation. Potatoes, onions and garlic were grown in the gardens, as well as small quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins, cucumbers and melons. In the fields, the Tazy grew wheat, barley, buda, opium poppies, kao-liang and chumiza (a variety of millet). In working the land, most of the Tazy used implements and animals which belonged to their Chinese landlords. Their farming was therefore usually completely dependent on the well-to-do Chinese.

Domestic manufacture among the Udegeys was represented by blacksmithery, the manufacture of articles from animal and fish skins, wood and birchbark, and the weaving of nets. The blacksmiths forged household articles and hunting gear. Some of them were skilled craftsmen, who made ear and nose rings, bracelets, fine ornaments for spear-tips, and so on.

Means of transport were rather limited. Dog-travel existed only among some northern groups. Heavy loads were carried on foot, usually on the back, on a special device for carrying burdens. In winter, sleds were used for transporting carcasses, fuel and other loads to the hunting

hut. The sleds were drawn by the hunters themselves. The hunting dogs merely helped them to pull the sled. The hunting sleds of the Udegeys (tukhi), with runners turned up at either end, resembled those of the Orochi.

The skis of the Udegeys are long (usually longer than a man's height), with a distinct curve in the middle. Below, they are lined with suede.

The Udegey boat—a dugout (ana)—was hollowed out from the trunk of a freshly felled poplar. Its bottom, which projected in front like a wide spade, was an original device for raising the dugout when poling along mountain streams. These boats were used to transport loads, and also to take the entire family and its belongings to a new home. The dugouts were moved with the aid of poles and oars. In hunting, the Udegeys also used hollowed canoes with sharp prow and stern, rowed with a two-ended paddle. In former times, the Udegeys used birchbark boats as well.

The Udegeys lived by families, and frequently changed their residence in search of fish and game. The entire family of the hunter usually moved over to the place where a large animal had been killed. The Udegeys prepared their food outside their dwelling, over a fire.

The old dwelling was a two-sloped hut (dzhugdy), covered with lengthwise rows of birchbark strips, laid on a lathing. The shell of the hut was built on two tripods, across which was laid a long pole. The entrance opening was hung with a strip of birchbark. At either side of the entrance were low plank beds. In the middle was a rectangular hearth. Sometimes the Udegeys used another type of hut, made of bark with a rectangular frame, low vertical walls, and a two-sloped roof; this was similar to the Orochi kava.

The winter dwelling (two dzho) was also a two-sloped hut, but the skeleton was of heavier poles, covered with birchbark strips, topped with cedar bark. The winter huts sometimes housed several families, to which the size of the dwelling was adjusted. The huts were sometimes as long as 9 meters.

While on the way to new sites, the Udegeys used a conical tent (cholo), covered with birchbark strips, fishskin coverings, or simply bark. The small fanza¹ of the Chinese type was occasionally encountered among the Udegeys engaged in agriculture, and predominated among the Tazy. Primitive platforms (dyaka) and small barns on piles (dzhali) were used for storing yukola, meat, pelts, nets, hunting gear, etc.

The dress of the Udegeys differed little from that of other ethnic groups of the Amur region. Fishskin and soft leather, which had once been the basic materials, were gradually replaced by Chinese cotton fabrics. In the beginning of the 20th century, fishskin robes were already infrequent. The robes of the Udegeys were similar in style to the Mongol-Manchu type of upper clothing common to the entire Amur Basin. It was closed on the right, fastened on the right side, and has ornamentation on the left flap and the edge of the collar. The men's clothing differed little from the women's. The women's robes were longer and usually more richly decorated: their skirts were sewn with Chinese coins, metal disks, or shells. In the 19th century, the women still wore decorative Evenk breastpieces (lëli).

During the winter hunt, the Udegeys wore short jackets of Manchurian deerskin, with three pairs of laces tied in front. The men usually went

¹Fanza: a dwelling of the Amur people—square with a peaked roof and a smoke-flue under the plank beds.—Ed.



Village on Khor River.

about with uncovered heads; in summer, they sometimes wore ornamented birchbark hats or a hood to protect the head and neck from gnats. The winter hunting cap (bogdo) had a tassel of a sable or squirrel tail.

Both the men and the women wore their hair with a straight part in the middle and two braids, wound about with laces. The women also wore braid ornaments, decorated with many beads and metal disks.

Social Relations and Religion

The Udegeys were divided into exogamous clans. In olden times, each of these clans had its own fire. The old men were the guardians of the fire-making tool. Only a male clansman was permitted to carry fire from the dwelling. Each clan had its own hunting and fishing grounds. Its members could not move to the territory of another clan without permission of members of the second clan. A hunter who killed a roe deer, an elk or any other animal shared it with all who lived nearby. Remnants of the primitive-communal way of life expressed themselves in the widely practiced rules of hospitality. Clan aid to the old, the sick and others incapable of working was widespread. Clan members were bound to exact blood vengeance for a fellow clansman. This caused interclan wars, even as late as in the 19th century. These wars were conducted according to traditional rules: only cold weapons [i.e., no firearms—Ed.] were used; the drinking of water, fishing or hunting on enemy clan territory was forbidden; women and children were inviolable.

Disputes between clans were decided by interclan courts. The case was heard by the most respected old man of a neutral clan. In addition, each clan selected an advocate-representative, who took part in negotiating the terms of reconciliation. Such advocates had special insignia of their position—wooden staffs with a spear-tip at one end and a representation of the head of an anthropomorphic spirit, mangi, at the other. The interclan court set fines, which were paid by the guilty party of his clan.

Penetration of the territory by Chinese commercial and money-lending capital placed the Udegeys in a position of total economic subjection and hastened the dissolution of the communal-clan organization. By the end of the 19th century, there appeared individual Udegey traders,

whose activities differed little from those of the Chinese merchants.

At the end of the 19th century, the institution of elected elders was established among the Udegeys; their duties included dealing with the Russian administration, but their role was never large.

Among the Udegeys there were many poor men who never married, being unable to pay the high bride-price (*tori*), which could be paid much more easily by the Chinese and the Ussuri Nanays. The Chinese paid 400-500 silver rubles for an Udegey woman; often they received the women in payment of debts. The shortage of women led to marriages with minors. The practice of exchanging women also existed, lessening the burden of bride-price payments, or reducing them to a minimum.

The marriage ceremony was very simple. After the payment of the bride-price, food was served. The Tazy borrowed from the Chinese the wedding ceremony of the "common cup," after which the marriage was considered concluded. After the end of the feast, which sometimes lasted several days, the bride's brother carried her out of the house on his shoulders and gave her to the groom.

The religious ideas and rituals of the Udegeys were very similar to those of the Orochi and Nanays. The cult of the bear was much slighter. The Udegeys did not rear bears in cages, and did not celebrate the festival of the fostered bear.

The following elements were found in the Udegey religion: the cult of the "masters" of nature, the cult of individual animals, and the shamanistic cult. The most honored "master" spirit was the *bua*—the "master" spirit of the taiga and the universe. The *bua* does not figure in the shaman cult. Other "master" spirits (*odzyan*) which were revered were those of the forest, mountain, bogs, and water, the spirits of thunder, of the hearth, fire, etc. The "master" spirit of fish (*sukdzya odzyan*) was given a sacrifice of fat and fishtails, burned on a stone by the water. The sun appears in the Udegey myths as a woman, whose love is sought by the moon.

The cult of animals relates to the cult of the "masters" of nature. The cult of the tiger (*kuty mafa*) is analogous to that of the Orochi and similar to those of other Amur peoples. These are myths in connection with tigers which may be of totemistic character.

The bear festival was held as a ritual feast whenever a bear was killed during the hunt. Its central point was the ritual eating of the bear's head. The skull was not broken and was buried after the feast by setting it on a pole or a limb of a tree in the taiga; in distinction to the Orochi, the Udegeys did not blacken it with soot. There were a number of restrictions on the women's use of bear meat. The Udegeys, like certain other Lower Amur peoples, had a myth which attributed the origin of their nation to the marriage of a girl with a bear. In addition to the cult of these animals, there was also a cult of the killer whale, to whom sacrifices were occasionally made on the sea.

Shamanism was very widespread among the Udegeys. The shamans could be men, women or girls. The costume of the Udegey shaman combined features of the Evenk and Amur shaman clothing. The shamanistic rituals included: the ritual of "healing" the sick, the ritual to assure success in hunting, fishing or any other undertaking; the ritual of sending off the soul of the dead; and others. The shamanistic ceremony dedicated to the setting sun was usually performed by a woman.

Rather extraordinary was the so-called "duni" (known also among the Orochi) — the ritual journey of the shaman by boat to visit all the encampments along a given river. As he went on, he was joined by the men and

women of the encampments in their own boats. This ritual involved the sacrifice of a pig and the consumption of its blood. Everybody present usually took part in the ceremonies and in the shaman dance.

Chinese temples and certain Buddhist rituals became rather widespread among the Tazy. The Orthodox missions never reached the Udegeys in their work.

The Udegeys practiced several methods of burial: sometimes they left the corpse in the forest, or buried it in a tree; sometime they set the coffin with the corpse on the ground and built a burial hut over it; the most prevalent method was burial in the earth. The dead person was laid in a hollowed log or coffin, painted transversely with red and black stripes. Occasionally, the log was shaped into the likeness of an animal. Quite frequent also was the characteristic Evenk method of burying children in trees or in a small hollowed log with a lid, laid on two piles.

Like the Nanays, the Udegeys made pillows of different sizes, which were connected in their thinking with the dead. If a woman was being buried, earrings were sewn to the pillow. The Udegey custom was probably related to the ancient Chinese custom: until approximately the 10th century, the Chinese made dolls, representing the deceased, and built dwellings for them—mausoleums completely furnished with every necessity. It is quite possible that the burial huts of the Udegeys, Ul'chi, Orochi and the ancient Chinese represent the same phenomenon, which lapsed in China, but was preserved on the Amur.

The mythology of the Udegeys may be divided into cosmogonic and totemistic myths. In the former, the earth is represented as a living being—a recumbent dragon. This dragon lies on another living dragon, swimming in water. The sky is the bottom of the upper sea, over which there are other worlds. Under the earth there are also several worlds.

The totemistic myths are connected with the tiger and the bear, and give various versions of the origin of the Udegey tribe. There are also myths devoted to other animals.

Folk Arts

The folk arts of the Udegeys are many and varied. They have many magical-fantastic tales. These tales are known by virtually all the Udegeys, but there are talented storytellers who know dozens of them. The basic themes are the search for a groom or bride, the search for a kidnapped husband or wife, the combat of epic heroes, or simply the adventures of a hero, ending in most cases in marriage and the birth of children.

The songs of the Udegeys may be regarded as a type of folk music. They consist of very simple melodies and refrains, with frequent repetition of the same word, accompanied by guttural sounds and clucking of the tongue.

The graphic art of the Udegeys is quite rich and varied. While it has many elements in common with that of the Orochi, Ul'chi and Nanays, it also has a number of distinguishing features. Their sculpture, which in the past was religious in purpose, represented figures of animals and man, made in wood, leather and metal. Generally, the Udegey sculpture was more realistic than the sculpture of the Orochi, Nanays and Ul'chi.

The wooden figures frequently represented anthropomorphic spirits, larger than a man's height. This monumentalism was akin to that of certain wood sculptures of the Evenks.

The Udegeys used designs to adorn clothing and the shaman's attributes. They were painted on in a decorative manner, and consisted of figures of animals and man, sometimes stylized, sometimes realistic. The figures were arranged symmetrically, and represented various spirits. The coloring, with rare exceptions, was of a fantastic nature.

Udegey embroidery, done in colored thread, is distinguished for the perfect composition of its designs and vivid colors. The basis of the ornament consists of small spirals and coils, which densely fill the background. Zoomorphic elements are extremely rare. Both male and female dress is covered with ornamentation, but the latter is especially rich. Carved and painted designs can also be seen on various utensils and boxes made of birchbark.

Contemporary Life of the Udegeys

The economy and culture of the Udegeys were given opportunities for rapid development only after the October Revolution.

It was difficult to unify the individual Udegey families, scattered over vast distances, living in mountains and the taiga. Extensive work in this direction was accomplished by Russians, chiefly Communists, who made their way to every encampment, every individual Udegey home, bringing them a message of the new life, urging them to descend into the valleys. In 1935, the Samarga Udegeys gathered in the village of Akzu, where they organized the cooperative called "Sikhote-Alin' Kolkhoznik" [collective member]. The Udegeys who had formerly nomadized along the Khor River and its tributaries settled in the village of Gvasyugi, where another collective farm was organized—the "Shock Hunter." Similar developments took place in the Bikin Valley, the valley of the Anyuy River, and other places inhabited by the Udegeys.

Restruction of the old economic way of life was attended by long and stubborn struggle. But already in 1937, collectivization among the Udegeys had been completed.

Today, the Udegeys who live in the villages of Syain, Ulunga, and Krasnyy Pereval of the Pozharskiy Rayon, Maritime Province, the village of Mikhaylovka, Ol'ginskiy Rayon, the village of Sanchikheza, Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, the village of Akzu, Terneyskiy Rayon, the village of Gvasyugi, Lazo Rayon, the village of Kun, Komsomol'skiy Rayon, and the village of Bira, Nanayskiy Rayon of Khabarovskiy Kray, are combined into several collective farms.

The Udegey collectives are mainly concerned with hunting. However, there are some agricultural ones as well, including "The Red Udegey" (village of Sanchikheza) and the Gorky collective farm (village of Mikhaylovka). The Samarga "Sikhote-Alin' Kolkhoznik" is a fishing collective. Generally, the Udegey collectives engage in combined economic activities: the hunting collectives also engage in agriculture and fishing; agricultural collectives also engage in hunting. The Udegey hunters are famous throughout the Khabarovskiy and Primorskiy Krays for their skill. They combine the immemorial experience of the taiga hunters with modern methods, modern equipment and the newest methods of organization of work. The hunters in the Udegey collectives are organized into brigades. They are supplied with weapons, ammunition, clothing, tents, food, etc., according to plan. At the same time, they also use the old trapping methods: fur animals are caught in traps; sables are caught with nets. Many Udegey hunters, awarded certificates of honor



Amateur string orchestra, Gvasyugi.

by the Ministry of Procurement for their high skill, participated in the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition. There are also women hunters, and special women's hunting brigades have been formed.

The Soviet government helps the development of the Udegey hunting collectives. Thus, despite the strict ban on sable-hunting which existed in the Maritime District in 1951 (established for the purpose of preserving this valuable animal and allowing it to multiply), the Udegey hunters of the villages of Syain, Krasnyy Pereval, Akzu, Gvasyugi and Mikhaylovka were permitted to catch 200 sable. This was done to aid the Udegey population, to whom fur-hunting is one of the most important sources of income.

The Russians, who had expended great effort to gather the Samarga Udegeys into a collective farm, later helped the Udegey collective members to master new methods of fishing, especially marine fishing. They taught them to fish with marine fixed, casting and bag-shaped nets. Today, the Udegey fishing collective, "Sikhote-Alin' Kolkhoznik" is one of the leading collectives in the district.

Agriculture is developing everywhere in greater or lesser measure, providing the hunting and fishing collectives with vegetables and potatoes.



The first Udegey writer, Dzhanis Kimonko.

Prominent among the Udegey collectives is "The Red Udegey," engaged basically in agriculture. It cultivates wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn, soya, potatoes and vegetables. "The Red Udegey" took one of the first places in the rayon, and individual "Honored Collective Members," such as Anna and Tat'yana Kyalundziga, became famous throughout the Maritime District for their record soya crop. By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, of January 2, 1951, they were awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor; other Udegey kolkhoz members received medals "For Labor Valor" and "For Labor Excellence."

The village of Mikhaylovka, Ol'ginskiy Rayon, Maritime District, is the home of the descendants of Tazy Udegey. In the 1930's they all settled in one village, where they organized the Gorky collective farm. The Tazy have long been engaged in agriculture, growing chumiza, a variety of millet, vegetables and tobacco in tiny garden plots. Today they have a large agricultural cooperative, producing cereals, industrial crops, vegetables and potatoes. Their collective is among the leading ones in the rayon. The fields are worked by a tractor brigade and combines. The Tazy have learned the skills of tractor drivers and combine workers; they have produced expert machine operators. The collective has several animal-breeding farms. Considerable income is derived from bee-keeping—a new occupation which the Tazy learned during the Soviet period. This artel is prospering and expanding. Housing is making rapid

strides forward. In 1951, the kolchoz built industrial buildings, a health station and an electric power station.

Meat and dairy livestock-breeding is developing in all the Udegey collectives. Most of the collective members, both in agricultural and in hunting cooperatives, have their own meat and dairy livestock.

Nor has the ginseng production suffered. The gathering of ginseng is directed and organized by government enterprises. Brigades of ginseng collectors are being organized in the collectives; they supply large quantities of the precious roots.

A new occupation, learned by the Udegeys in recent years, is gathering the bark of the Amur cork tree (*Phellodendron amurense*, Rupr.). Most active in this work are the Udegeys of the Bikin Valley.

Along with the change in their economic life, the general Udegey way of life has also changed. The smoke-filled, cold huts are gone; even those on hunting expeditions live in warm hunting cottages. In the villages there are frame dwellings and various farm buildings. Only here and there does one see the old-style little barns on piles. In each Udegey village there is a school, a reading room, a store and a health station. In serious illnesses, the Udegeys go to the rayon hospitals; the residents of remote villages are served by medical aviation.

Many Udegey homes boast radios and urban-style furnishings. Household utensils are usually bought, but old-style articles, made of wood and birchbark, are also used.



Embroiderer at work, Gvasyugi.

Transportation in the collectives is more and more often by horses. But automobiles have also appeared, as well as motorboats and cutters along the seacoast. The old methods of travel, well adapted to mountainous and taiga terrain, are also retained, including skis lined with suede, large hollowed boats and light hollowed hunters' canoes.

Modern Udegey dress combines elements of the old and new. The Udegeys, especially the men, readily take to wearing bought clothes of the city type. At the same time, traditional forms of Udegey dress are also widespread; men and women of all ages wear ornamented robes. The hunting outfit is still preserved, as are the native forms of footwear, especially in winter.

The immemorial illiteracy has been wiped out. In every village there is a primary school, and some have seven-year schools. In 1950 the Udegeys of the village of Syain appealed to the rayon organizations to transform their primary school into a seven-year one. Such a school was opened in the village, and provided with dormitory facilities for 50 pupils, in which Udegey and Nanay children live at full government expense.

Native crafts are thriving. The work of talented Udegey craftsmen enjoys deserved success at exhibitions in Moscow and Khabarovsk.

The Udegeys, who did not even have their own writing in the past, have produced the writer Dzhanzi Kimonko. His books are well known, not only in our country, but also in translation into foreign languages.





THE OROCHI

S. V. IVANOV, A. V. SMOLYAK and M. G. LEVIN

(based on data by V. A. Vasil'yev)

The Orochi live in the Khabarovskiy Kray. In former times they lived along the basins of rivers emptying into the Tatar Strait, and on the upper reaches of the Khungari River. Today most of them are concentrated in the village of Us'ka, near the mouth of the Tumnin River, and in several small nearby villages. A small group of Orochi lives on the Khungari River, in the village of Kun, Komsomol'skiy Rayon, the site of the Orochi-Udegey collective, "Red Taiga." According to the census of 1926-27, the Orochi numbered 405 persons.

General Information

At the end of 19th century, a small group of Orochi (240 persons) settled on the Amur, near Lake Kizi. This group is today assimilated with the Ul'chi.

The Orochi call themselves Nani, like the Ul'chi. The local Russians call them, incorrectly, Orochens. The Orochi were until recently confused with the Udegeys, and the latter were often called Orochi. The reason for this is their great linguistic and cultural similarity. However, historical factors have brought these groups certain distinct cultural elements; this, along with definite linguistic differences, makes it necessary to distinguish them from one another.

The Orochi language is classified with the southern (Manchurian) subgroup of Tunguso-Manchurian languages. Like all the languages of the Maritime District and, partially, the Lower Amur region (with the exception of that of the Nivkhi), it is marked by certain phonetic characteristics: intolerance to combination of consonants with the phonemes of "r" and "l," transposition of consonants in the general Tungus combination "pk" ("kp") with subsequent assimilation ("pp").

Orochi	Udegeys	Negidals	Evenks
type	tykpe	tykpen	typken - "wedge," "nail"
dyappu	dyakpu	dyapkun	dyapkun - "eight"

Morphologically, the Orochi language is closer to the Tungus subgroup. Conjugation and declension are also closer to the Evenk and are more

clearly expressed than in Udegey. In its vocabulary, the Orochi language takes a place between those of the Negidals and the Udegeys.

Despite their small number, the Orochi are quite mixed in their origin. One encounters among them clans related by origin to the Udegeys, Nanays, Ul'chi, Negidals, Nivkhi and Evenks. Thus, the Orochi combine both ancient maritime and northern, taiga ethnic elements. All this has also left a certain imprint on their culture, which shows some traces of Manchu and Chinese influences as well.

Economy and Everyday Life

The Orochi have from olden times engaged in fishing and hunting. Some groups of the Orochi also engaged in sea hunting. The beginnings of agriculture did not appear before the 20th century.

Fishing was year-round, in winter for sturgeon and carp, in summer and autumn for salmon as well. During the salmon-runs from the sea up the rivers for spawning, the Orochi stocked up fish in the form of yukola; the waste was turned into stocks of feed for the dogs. Inadequate fishing implements caused periods of famine, which were a frequent phenomenon in Orochi life. The Orochi fished with nets of nettle fiber, fish-spears with moveable prongs, which could be turned into a two-pronged or one-bladed spear). Fish was also caught by torching and with fishing rods. The hooks were sometimes made of the incisors of musk deer.

At the end of the 19th century, the Orochi borrowed from the Russians the use of small seines. In ice fishing, the fish were killed with fish-spears and small fish carved from bone were used as bait; a small conical tent was usually set over the ice-hole to keep out the light.

The Orochi who hunted sea animals killed seal and sea lions, thus obtaining meat and fat for food, and pelts for clothing, footwear and various household needs. They went out to sea in large plank boats, in groups of 6 to 8 men, or singly, in light canoes. The animals were killed with spears or shot with guns. The hunters also built artificial breeding grounds for



Fishermen and their boat.



Hunter.

the seals, of floating anchored logs, ambushing them in such traps.

On land the Orochi hunted elk, Manchurian deer, musk deer, roe deer, boar, bear and small fur animals, the most important of which was sable.

The fur was used for trading, and the meat animals provided the Orochi with food and materials for clothing and footwear. Sables were caught with a noose and with nets, or killed with crossbows. The latter were also set for other animals. Small fur animals were caught in small homemade traps. Large meat animals were killed with bows and arrows, guns, spears (for bears), and crossbows set out for them.

During autumn hunts, elk and Manchurian deer were lured with birchbark horns; musk deer were lured with a birchbark whistle. Large hoofed animals (elk, Manchurian deer, red deer) were chased over the crusted ice on skis.

Small gardens and hayfields, as well as domestic animals (cows and horses), appeared among the Orochi who lived in the immediate neighborhood of Russian peasants, only in the beginning of the 20th century.

Domestic industries included: blacksmithery, the working of fishskins and animal pelts, manufacture of birchbark and wood utensils, the plaiting of wicker, and netmaking. No traces of pottery were preserved, although it is known to have existed on this territory in the past. The Orochi used spindles to make thread from nettle fibers, and special instruments for twisting rope from rose willow bark. They were skilled with the axe, saw, bow-drill, adze, and other carpentry and cabinetmaking tools; they made seagoing plank boats (faced), hollowed river boats, sledges, and a variety of bone articles. All their domestic products were distinguished by careful craftsmanship and often artistry. Most of the iron things were bought; some were made by Orochi smiths, who used metal scrap to make knives, tips for harpoons and fish-spears, arrowheads for hunting—and, in the past, war arrows—hooks for hanging cradles, rattles for the shaman's belt, various ornaments, etc. The iron anvil, tongs, hammer, vise, chisels and files were bought; the bellows (kugge), double and single, were of domestic manufacture, made of wood and fishskin.

The Orochi were familiar with metal casting; they had sandstone molds for casting copper ornaments.

The usual method of winter transportation was by dogs. The construction of the sledge and the type of dog harness—the method of putting a yoke on the dog's neck and chaining the dogs (singly, rather than in pairs) to the trace—were identical with those of the ancient Nivkhi. In hunting, the Orochi used a sledge with doubly curved runners, which was pulled by the hunter, with the dog helping. Until the Revolution, the Orochi knew of no other draught animals.

The skis of the Orochi are wide (16-18 cm), long (some 2 m), curved, similar to those of the Evenks. There is also another type of skis, not lined with fur and narrower; these are used in the spring.

In the 19th century the Orochi had four types of boats: a seagoing boat made of boards, a seagoing hollowed boat, a hollowed boat for river use, and a dugout. The seagoing board boat, of large capacity, was propelled with two or three pairs of oars; it was made of five main boards, of which one served as the bottom; the rest, in pairs, went for the sides. The stern and narrow prow were made of small boards. It was possible to take off the uppermost boards from the sides of such boats, transforming them into three-board boats used for navigating the mouths of large rivers and bays. The seagoing hollowed boat, which carried one or two persons, was moved with a two-paddled oar. The hollowed boat for river use—a canoe—smaller than the seagoing one, was rowed in the same manner as the latter. When hunting large meat animals, the Orochi approached them in such a canoe, using short oars—paddles which did not rest on the sides of the boat. A dugout (ul'magda), with a bottom projecting forward like a large spade, carried up to eight or ten persons. In going downstream, the ul'magda was managed with a single stern oar; when going upstream, it was poled. Depending on the size of the load, from two to three persons worked the poles. Orochi legends also mention birchbark boats.

Orochi villages, like those of other Amur peoples (Ul'chi, Nanays and Nivkhi) engaged in fishing and hunting, were of two types—summer and winter. The winter villages were usually the more permanent, and were situated somewhere in the taiga, near rivers, and near hunting grounds. Summer villages sprang up most often along large rivers and at their mouths, but were of a less permanent character. Fishermen moved often in search of good fishing places.

The Orochi dwellings were also divided into winter and summer ones, but the difference between them was slight. Both were in the form of twin-sloped huts. The skeleton of such a hut consisted of two thin posts, set at some distance and joined by a horizontal pole, which sometimes rested on crossed poles, tied at the top. The hut was covered with birchbark strips or strips of larchbark. The winter dwellings sometimes had a second covering, consisting of another layer of the same bark. The internal arrangement of such a hut was very simple: a lengthwise hearth in the center and an opening for smoke over it; along the side walls were places for sleeping. In the summer huts, the Orochi slept on the ground, on birchbark strips laid along the walls. In the winter huts, they built low wooden plank beds. As a rule, the twin-sloped summer huts served the Orochi also as workplaces: in the hut, they prepared the better grades of yukola by smoking it. For this purpose, they built a platform of poles, from which they hung the opened, flattened fish, which had already undergone air-drying. In the winter huts there were no such platforms. The summer huts often had two doors, in front and in back. Winter cottages had only one door.

There was also a summer hut of another type, its internal construction similar to the above. This was a bark hut (kava), with a twin-sloped roof and vertical walls. Such a summer hut was built around a skeleton of thin

vertical posts sunk in the ground in the center of the front and back walls, and at the corners. The poles laid lengthwise on these posts provided the base for the twin-sloped roof. Small vertical posts of equal height were also set along the lengthwise walls at some distance from one another; they served as the base for the wall covering, which consisted of horizontal strips of larchbark. The roof was covered with the same material. The summer hut had one entrance (sometimes without a door), and a smoke opening over the hearth. There were usually no windows. Such summer huts, like the twin-sloped summer huts, served for the preparation of smoked yukola and had a whole system of rafters under the roof.



Old-fashioned dwelling.

There were also purely economic buildings, such as barns, set on poles. The barns were rectangular frame structures with a twin-sloped roof. They were built near both the summer and the winter villages. There were also one-sloped and twin-sloped sheds on poles, under which the Orochi kept various bulky articles, such as sledges, fish-spears, oras, etc. Along the summer villages, there stretched lines of racks for jerking fish and drying nets. Before the Revolution, wooden frames were built in the villages where bears were kept; the Orochi also kept foxes and eagles (the latter's feathers were sold in the Chinese and Japanese markets).

When out hunting seal, the Orochi built a conical tent or aanga (literally, "night shelter"), with a covering of fishskin.

Similar tents were set up at times during the summer, when the Orochi nomadized along a river.

The Orochi national costumes reflected their mixed ethnic composition.

They wore short trousers made of soft leather, fishskin, Chinese blue cotton cloth, or Russian cotton cloth. In women's dress, these pants were connected in front with a breastpiece. They also wore leggings, which were tucked into the footwear in summertime, and were worn outside in winter. The leggings were tied up over the footwear (unta), which was sewn of fishskin. The toes of the footwear were usually embroidered. The Orochi footwear had either low or high boottops; the latter kind (tobaza) were worn by



A group of Orochi in national dress.

men. The upper clothing consisted of robes. In summertime, the men wore birchbark hats, of low conical shape and wide diameter. In winter, the hunters wore small caps resembling Central Asian skullcaps. For protection against snow in winter and mosquitoes in summer, they wore a cloth helmet under the hat. The men never shaved the hair at the front of the head (a Manchu custom). In the past, they plaited their hair into a braid. The women wore two braids and wound them with red cord.

The Orochi also wore clothing with a center slit in the front, with narrow sleeves and an open chest. The chest was covered with a lavishly decorated breastpiece (*nölli*). This breastpiece is still in use today in wedding costumes.

During the winter hunt, men wore a leather apron (*bopi*) over the robe or shirt. In former times, the men wore short kilts of sealskin, similar to the Nivkhi and Ul'chi skirts (*kos'ka*, *khosi*). The old clothing also included a sleeveless jerkin worn by the men when out hunting in winter. It was called *miata* (literally, "skin on the elk's head"), and was made of two skins taken from the heads of elk, and tied on the chest with leather thongs. It is this garment that appears in Orochi mythology. The sleeveless jerkin was known among all the peoples of the lower Amur region.

The basic diet of the Orochi, as of the Nivkhi, Ul'chi and Nanays, was fish in various forms. An important place in the diet was held by meat of elk and musk deer, fresh and jerked, the meat of seal and forest birds, as well as seal blubber. The Orochi also ate wild berries—bilberry,

cranberry, cloudberry, blueberry, bird-cherry, raspberry, wild garlic, fresh and dried, and day lilies. One of the favorite dishes of the Orochi was a mixture of pieces of yukola and various berries, with a sauce of seal blubber.

Flat cakes were baked on a spit over the hearth. Formerly, the Orochi ate the meat of dogs, which were killed by strangulation, or—at a sacrifice (as during the bear festival)—by a blow on the head with a stick. The eating of dog meat was characteristic of peoples engaged in dog-breeding.

Social Relations and Religion

The old clan organization of the Orochi survived until the Revolution in a number of elements. In the early years of the 20th century, the Orochi still had six exogamous clan groups. Each of these groups consisted of 2 to 7 clans (khala), bound by ties of kinship (dokha).

In earlier times, each clan took wives from another specific clan, and gave its women to the same clan. Representatives of two such clans were bound to each other by the relationship of sengi.

In the past, each clan had its own territory, where most of its members lived. Clan members had a common clan name, often connected with the geographical name of a river or place. Clan members were bound to feed the impoverished and help sick kinsmen. Fellow clan members were also bound by the duty of vendetta. The clan as a whole paid the fine for an outsider who had been killed by one of its members (in rare cases, the payment was a girl; more often they paid with Chinese cloth, cast iron kettles, robes, money, etc.). In inheritance, property could not leave the clan. The clan had its own cemetery. Clan kinsmen held bear festivals: they either bought or caught a bear cub, and reared it in common. All clan members took part in preparing the holiday feast: each family contributed its share of supplies. The members of a clan took part in the two annual sacrifices to the clan gods. One of the clan spirits was the "mistress" of the clan fire, Pud'ya. Like the Ul'chi, the Orochi had laws concerning interclan courts.

The patriarchal-clan way of life of the Orochi began to go into a rapid decline in the middle of the 19th century. This was a period of intensive development of economic inequality; there appeared Orochi merchants, buyers of furs who competed with the Russian and Chinese buyers. The magnates built for themselves Russian log houses, with furniture, kerosene lamps, dishes, mirrors, etc.

The Orochi family, like that of the Nanays and others, was based on the absolute right of the father; there was also polygamy. Although the woman held a subordinate position among the Orochi, she enjoyed, according to all standards, considerably greater independence than the Nivkhi woman. Marriages between persons of disparate ages and betrothal of children under marriageable age were widespread. The man paid bride-money for the woman (te), in the form of Chinese silk robes, kettles, spears and money (up to 300 rubles). The wife brought with her a dowry, often equivalent to the bride-money paid for her. The Orochi still remember marriages in which the groom had to work to pay for the bride. The system of kinship among the Orochi was classificatory, similar to the systems of other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur. A favorite form of marriage was an exchange of sisters by men belonging to different clans.

The entire life of the Orochi, personal and social, was surrounded by numerous taboos and rituals which hampered the development of their culture.

The oldest stratum in the Orochi religion is the cult of the "masters" of nature—the taiga and the sea (water), the cults of fire and of individual animals: the seal, the bear, the tiger and the killer whale. A later stratum is the shamanistic cult. And, finally, the most recent elements are Buddhism and Christianity. The "master" of the taiga was the bua, which means "universe," "fair weather," and "sky" (in the shamanistic complex the bua is not present). The bua was given sacrifices of dogs or plant products. The idea of the bua is quite ancient, and known among all the Tungus peoples. The "master" of the sea—teemu—was depicted as an anthropomorphic predatory cetacean—the killer whale. Like the Nivkhi and the Oroks, the Orochi made annual sacrifices to the sea. Sacrifices were also due to the "mistress" of the hearth fire. The cult of the seal was similar to that of the Nivkhi and Oroks. It was connected with the idea of the seal as human, and was usually expressed in the ritual eating of its meat, the burial of its skull, and a number of hunting taboos. The cult of the killer whale expressed itself in the sacrifice of wild garlic during the sea hunt, the burial of the bones and skulls of killer whales cast up by the sea, and observance of a variety of taboos during the hunt, relating both to the killer whale and to the seals wounded by it. The Orochi cult of the killer whale was similar to that of the Nivkhi. The cult of the tiger was strongly pronounced among the Orochi, as it was among the Udegeys and Nanays. The tiger was regarded as the amba, the chief, the master of all the taiga animals. It was forbidden to hunt it. Tigers were killed only in clan vengeance for kinsmen killed by them. Their bones were buried, much like the bones of a bear.

Legends about the origin of individual clans were often totemistic in character. They attributed clan ancestry to inanimate objects, plants and animals. Thus, some clans were considered to have descended from cliffs; others, from seaweed; still others, from a duck; others were direct or affinal kin of the tiger, and so forth. The Yeminka clan traced its origin to a tiger. The members of this clan alone had the right to eat animals killed by tigers.

The Orochi cult of the bear was similar to that of the Nivkhi and Ul'chi. It involved the rearing of a bear in a cage, the holding of a festival in accordance with a special ritual, the ceremonial eating of its meat, the sacrifice of dogs and sacred wood shavings to it, and burial of its skull and bones, etc.

The Orochi had special shrines where the shamans sacrificed pigs, roosters and dogs to their patron spirits. In specific places, most often near trees, they set up carved poles with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations, and wooden figures of animals and birds. The poles (tu) were sometimes as high as 8-10 meters. The sculptural representations of birds at the top were sometimes as large as one meter. In these shrines, the shamans made their ceremonies, intended to ensure success in hunting or fishing, and to send off the soul of the dead to the world beyond. The shamans also made special ritual journeys through the villages.

There were also myths about individual "master" spirits (the "master" of the sea, the taiga spirit—kakdzamu), about the bear and about the tiger. Among the cosmogonic myths, an important one was that about Khadau—a culture hero, the creator of nature, animals and man, the inventor of blacksmithery and organizer of social life.

Orthodox Christian missionaries appeared among the Orochi only in the latter half of the 19th century. The Orochi did not accept the Christian religion. Christian rituals did not strike root in daily life and were carried out only during the very infrequent visits of the missionaries. Christening

and Russian names were accepted by the Orochi only as a matter of form. A slight influence, though very slight, was exerted on the Orochi religion by Buddhism.

The burial rites of the Orochi took different forms. They employed the common Tungus forms of burial: on platforms set on piles, earth burial, and burial in a coffin in a burial hut. The burial ceremony was connected with the idea of bodily life after death, and was directed at preserving the body by wrapping it in cloth and birchbark, placing it in a strong coffin or log, and ensuring further protection under a roof, or underground. The dead were provided with a wealth of equipment for the afterlife. The souls of the dead were thought to make the journey to the world of the dead on foot.

Folk Arts

The oral poetic works of the Orochi include tales, historical legends and songs. Their songs of everyday life are usually improvisations, very simple and monotonous musically.

The tales are magical-fantastic in plot. Transformations and substitutions play an important part in them. They are, however, replete with concrete details of daily life, closely connected with the life of the hunter. Many of them are very long. Of historic interest are the legends about conflicts between clans, vendetta, clan courts, and the loss by the Orochi of the knowledge of writing.

The ancient musical instruments of the Orochi were a percussion instrument (a log), formerly used at the bear festival; a Jew's harp made of reed; a one-string instrument with a cylindrical sound box, played with a bow (similar to that of the Nivkhi).

The graphic art of the Orochi included sculpture, drawings, carving on wood and bone, ornamentation of birchbark and textile fabrics. It is similar in style to the art of the Nivkhi, Ul'chi, and other Amur peoples. The Orochi are fond of bright colors. This is evidenced in their choice of fabrics and other materials for clothing, their ornamentation, and, partly, in the painting of sculpture. Sculpture among the Orochi was almost solely connected with shamanism, but was also used in children's toys and burial huts. Drawings were also bound up with shamanism, but were encountered less often than among the Udegeys. Carving on wood and bone was done by men, who decorated with it articles of daily use, such as spoons, knife handles and wooden boxes, and particularly ritual articles used during the bear festival—troughs, spoons, and dippers. The ornamental motifs—ribboned spirals—are similar to those of the Nivkhi and Ul'chi, and reflect, despite



A shaman altar.

their outwardly purely geometric character, the concrete themes of the bear festival: the posts to which the bear was tied, the bear's collars, and similar motifs.

Women's crafts included ornamentation of various birchbark articles and clothing made of fabrics, fishskins and furs. They made wide use of appliqué, as well as embroidery in satin stitch and chainstitch. The most lavish ornamentation was given to burial costumes. The complex designs were remarkable in the harmony and wealth of their composition. The patterns were cut out with small knives on cutting boards, the ends of which were usually also covered with a variety of artistic carving.

Contemporary Life of the Orochi

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the life of the Orochi was radically changed. In 1933, a fishing collective, "Oroch," was formed in the village of Us'ka; it included Orochi of nearby villages as well. Later, tributaries also settled in Us'ka. The state helped the new collective greatly by financial loans and fishing gear. Amur sailboats and rowboats were by financial loans and fishing gear. Amur sailboats and row boats were built, and large stationary and sweep seines were made. In 1940, the collective already had its own motorboats and speedy cutters. In recent years, the collective members have learned the method of marine ice fishing. The "Oroch" is a leading collective in the Sovgavansky Rayon. Agriculture, which held no significant place among the Orochi in the past, has now become an important source of income on the "Oroch" collective.

The collective has a dairy farm, pig- and horse-farms, and a reindeer-breeding farm (the latter is worked by Evenk members of the kolkhoz). In 1950, the collective members received 40 rubles in money per work unit, in addition to five kilograms of potatoes, two kg of cabbage, fats and milk. The days of hungry existence are gone forever. Some collective-farm families receive 20,000-30,000 rubles annually in money alone (besides agricultural products). Many households have cows and pigs. Almost every house has a garden plot.

Hunting continues to play a certain role in the collective-farm economy.

Great changes have taken place in the entire Orochi way of life. The village of Us'ka, which sprang up where in former times there was only a scattering of poor huts, is today a well-planned settlement with a square in the center, with straight streets and good frame houses. The streets and the houses are lighted by electricity, produced by the collective-farm power station. The village has a seven-year school with boarding facilities, a reading room, a post office, a hospital and an old age home. In the center of the village stands a monument in honor of Orochi soldiers who died in World War II. The census of 1926-1927 listed only eighteen men and one woman as literate. Today illiteracy is completely liquidated. All Orochi children receive seven-year schooling in their own village. Very interesting and rich is the life of the school and the boarding school where Orochi children are brought up. The pupils maintain close ties with neighboring Russian schools, arrange common evenings, games, and excursions; they also correspond with Udegey schoolchildren. The school has its own movie camera, a variety of amateur art circles, and a literary circle.

The school does a great deal to teach the people to cultivate new agricultural products. It maintains a large experimental field, where experiments are carried on in growing various types of barley, wheat, millet, oats, corn and soya. A small orchard has also been planted. In 1952, the

school was invited to take part in the kray agricultural exposition. Dozens of the school's graduates are now working as teachers and medical assistants.

Several Orochi women, who studied at the pedagogical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, are working at the Orochi school and boarding school in the village of Us'ka.

The reading room contains a large number of books. Connected with it is a large group of lecturers, consisting of more than ten members of the local intelligentsia. More than 100 magazines and some 400 newspapers are received by residents of the village. The large, well-equipped hospital with its skilled medical personnel serves the residents of Us'ka and other populated points nearby. For many years, Us'ka has had a home for the aged, where old Orochi live at full government expense.

Such is the contemporary life of the Orochi, who were just recently backward hunters and fishermen in one of our country's most remote borderlands.





THE OROKS

S. V. IVANOV, A. V. SMOLYAKK and M. G. LEVIN

(based on data by B. A. Vasil'yev)

General Information

The census of 1926 recorded 162 Oroks in northern Sakhalin; 90 of these were men. In addition, some 300 Oroks lived at that time in the southern portion of Sakhalin.

In the recent past the Oroks nomadized in eastern Sakhalin, from Patience Bay in the south to the Sabo River, which flows into Pil'tunskiy Bay, in the north. They wandered in small groups (usually consisting of representatives of one or two clans) in the vicinity of sea bays, staying close to the sea and the mouths of rivers from spring to fall, and withdrawing in winter farther away into the taiga, to places more protected from the wind.

Today, almost all the Oroks of the northern portion of Sakhalin belong to the "Val" collective farm, whose center is situated on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, near the Nivkhi village of Nyyvo. The Oroks of the southern part of Sakhalin, which was under Japanese rule from 1905 to 1945, endured a great deal during those years. Their number declined sharply, they were subjected to compulsory Japanization, and dragged out a miserable existence. Today a small group of Oroks of southern Sakhalin lives in a sedentary manner in several villages of the Poronayskiy Rayon, and several families have nomadized until the most recent years in the mountains along the Lukhtoma River in the area of Patience Bay.

The Orok language is classified with the southern (Manchurian) subgroup of Tunguso-Manchurian languages. It has a number of elements in common with the Nanay and Ul'chi languages, as well as with those of the northern subgroup (that of the Negidals and Evenks). Along with the basic mass of general Tungus words, the Orok language contains a large number of words of non-Tungus origin.

Russian geographical literature and the Russian population of Sakhalin often call the Oroks Orochens. The Chinese knew the Oroks as "Oron'cho." The etymology of this and related ethnonyms is probably derived from the Manchu and Tungus word for the domesticated reindeer—oro or oron. Names with this root usually mean "reindeer people" or "reindeer-breeders." The Oroks call themselves Ul'ta (some clans pronounce this as Ul'cha). The root of this is probably, again, ula ("domestic reindeer" in Orok). Hence, Ul'ta means "having reindeer." In addition to the basic designation, "ul'ta," the Oroks have another, Nani, common to other Amur peoples.

Ethnographically, the Oroks are close to the Orochi and Ul'chi, but they differ from the latter two by engaging in reindeer-breeding. The legends about the origin of the Oroks, collected among them by G. I. Nevel'skoy's expedition and later students, speak of their continental origin and reindeer-breeding past. According to these legends, the Oroks moved to Sakhalin not later than the 17th century. There is reason to think that the forebears of the Oroks came from the Amgun': in the 17th century, the Russian Cossacks reported an Oril clan on the Amgun'. About 1745, the Uda Tungus told Yakov Lindenau, a member of the Kamchatka expedition of the Academy of Sciences, about an Oris, or Oril, clan, which lived on a large island and was subject to the Chinese. Manchus sent to Sakhalin in 1709 by Emperor K'ang Hsi also reported that, in addition to the sedentary Nivkhi, they found there a nomadic people which harnessed its domestic reindeer to sleds.

In 1853, G. I. Nevel'skoy proclaimed to the population of southern Sakhalin Russia's rights to the island, and on September 22 (old style), the Russian flag was raised in the Aniva Bay in the south of Sakhalin. The declaration which Nevel'skoy handed to the Japanese stated that, on the basis of the Nerchinsk Treaty between Russia and China (1689), "the island of Sakhalin, as the continuation of the Lower Amur Basin, belongs to Russia," and that "our Uda Tungus (i.e., Oroks) occupied this island as early as in the beginning of the 16th century."

The seizure of southern Sakhalin by the Japanese in 1905 and the Japanese intervention of 1920-1925 brought grave suffering to the Oroks and the entire working population of Sakhalin. The depredation of natural resources and the pillaging of the island's population reached vast proportions. The coming of the Soviet government began a new period in Orok history.

Occupations and Everyday Life

Despite their reindeer-keeping, which necessitated nomadism, Orok life had many elements of a sedentary existence, which may be attributed chiefly to the important role played by fishing.

Orok fishing was similar in methods and technique to that of Tungus-Manchurian peoples on the lower reaches of the Amur. An important economic activity was seal-hunting. The meat and fat of the seal played a large part in the Orok diet. The Oroks were familiar with all the zoological subspecies of the seal, and all its variations according to age. For every different group, they had specific names. In this, the Oroks are similar to the Orochi and Ul'chi, and distinct from the Evenks, who had a single term for all types of seal. Until quite recently (1928), seal was hunted with harpoons. The Oroks used a floating harpoon (dargi), known also to the Nivkhi, the Ul'chi and the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, and used in the 18th century by the Evenks of the Okhotsk Sea coast, who kept no reindeer. Among their nearest neighbors, the Sakhalin Nivkhi, the Oroks were regarded as expert forest hunters. They used the same weapons and instruments as the Orochi, Udegeys, Nanays and Ul'chi, and the continental Nivkhi. In the distant past, they had both flat, simple bows, and compound bent ones. They went out to hunt either on skis, pulling a small hunting sled with the help of a dog, or riding on the back of a reindeer.

Formerly, the Oroks released their reindeer in summer without a herdsman. This was due to the complex character of their occupations: summer herding of reindeer would have deflected a part of the labor force from the most necessary seasonal work—fishing, which provided the population with food for the whole year. The Oroks, like other taiga hunters, had small herds of reindeer—not more than 20 to a household. The reindeer

was a draught animal; it was either used as a pack animal, or harnessed to a sled.

For summer transportation across bays, the Oroks used mainly hollowed boats of poplar. The Orok hollowed boat is identical with that of the Nivkhi; it was propelled with the aid of oars and poles.

As we have said, the relatively sedentary character of the Oroks was connected with the summer fishing. In the spring, leaving the reindeer and the winter tents in the taiga, they moved to the coasts of bays and rivers flowing into them. The summer encampments were permanent villages, consisting of 3 to 10 dwellings. Near them were situated cemeteries and shaman shrines. Near the dwellings, somewhere upstream in the taiga, the Oroks built storehouses on piles.

The Orok summer dwelling was a large hut with peaked roof (kaura), basically similar to the summer homes of the Orochi and Udegeys (dzhugdy). They often housed two or three families, each of which had its own hearth. At other seasons, the families lived in separate conical tents.

With the coming of autumn, the Oroks left their summer dwellings and traveled upstream deep into the taiga to catch grayling. At this time they gathered up their reindeer which had wandered throughout the summer unguarded in the taiga. In the autumn camps they lived in conical tents (aundau), covered with bark; when the autumn rains were over and winter began, the bark was replaced by fishskin coverings (guyde).



Bark tent.

The ancient clothing of the Oroks was similar to that of the other Amur peoples, but already by the early 20th century the Orok national costume was almost entirely lost and replaced by Russian clothing.

An interesting element in the old Orok costume was the Tungus chest-piece, worn under the robe, which indicates that they had once worn Tungus upper clothing. Widely used by both men and women was a short jacket of sealskin. The men wore it during the hunt in combination with a kilt (khose) and leggings of sealskin.

Social Relations, Religion and Folk Arts

The Oroks were divided in the past into exogamous patrilineal clans. The following 9 clans were known in northern Sakhalin in 1928: Getta, Tor-sya, Boyausa, Sinakhodo, Tueso, Muyotta, Namissa, Sukta and Balita.

The institution of dokha (union of clans) was known to the clan organization of the Oroks, as to the other Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur. The dokha relationship also applied to subdivisions of clans when the latter split up into parts and resettled at considerable distances from the basic territory of the original clans.

Until recently, the Oroks preserved certain features of primitive-communal life, such as the compulsory sharing of the meat of a seal killed by a hunter with all the families of the given encampment, and so on. Remnants of clan organization were also found in the celebration of the winter bear festival: kinsmen built a large common tent for the participants in the festival and jointly cleared an area where the bear was to be shot. The organizer of the festival, responsible for the observance of all the appropriate customs, was the clan as a whole, and all its members supplied the necessary food for the guests—representatives of other clans. The killed bear was given to the eldest of the clan, who was the organizer of the ritual feast.

The Oroks bartered goods with their neighbors, the Nivkhi and Ainu of Sakhalin, as well as with Russians, Ul'chi and Yakuts. Through them they obtained rice, flour, millet, tea, sugar, tobacco, Russian and Chinese utensils and Chinese fabrics; they paid for these with furs, and the fat, meat and pelts of seal. They also traveled to the Ul'chi on the Amur to barter fur, and also conducted barter trade on the island itself with Ul'chi and Nivkhi fur-merchants.

Orok marriages involved the payment of bride-price (tori), the value of which corresponded to the value of the dowry (mirakhuni). The tori was paid in reindeer and a number of specified things. The dowry included reindeer and a number of articles made by women: deerskin saddlebags, tent-covers, clothing (an ornamented robe of fishskins, an apron—nolu, ornamented footwear—utta, a fox-fur coat), household articles of birchbark and wood, and also metal articles, such as kettles.

The marriages usually took place in winter or early spring, since custom demanded that the wedding train travel by reindeer, harnessed to sleds. It was considered improper for the bride to ride on the back of a reindeer. When she left the house, she went through the ritual of "treading the kettles," similar to the Ul'chi, Negidal and Evenk ritual: as the bride came out of her tent, she stepped on two kettles turned upside down; one of these kettles was part of the dowry, the other, part of the bride-price.

There were also marriages in which the groom had to work to pay for the bride. In some cases, the bride was stolen.

Three historically distinct complexes enter into the Orok religion. The oldest is the cult of the "masters" of nature and elements of animal cults. The second stratum is the shamanistic cult. Shamanism slightly altered the ancient animal cults and lent them specific forms. The most recent element is Christianity, which in its ritual aspects reached the Oroks in the 19th century.

The Oroks regarded the surrounding land, the underground world, sky and water as populated by underground, water and sky people. Each element had its own "master spirit," to whom sacrifices were made.

The sacrifices to the "master" of the sea, Teum, were made twice a year: in spring, after the ice broke, and in autumn, when the salmon-run ended. The sea was "fed" jellied fishskins (mosi), prepared in special

ornamented dishes shaped in the form of a seal. Women were not permitted to attend this ritual. The sacrifice to the sea was similar to that of the Nivkhi.

The Orok ideas of the seal and killer whale were also similar to those of the Nivkhi and Orochi. The killing of seal and the eating of its flesh were of a ritual character. The meat of the seal was even eaten from special dishes. Like the Orochi, Ul'chi, Nivkhi and Ainu, the Oroks considered the bear a sacred animal and reared it in frame cages near their dwellings. In the four corners of the cage, they set little spruce trees and tied shavings to them—inau. During migrations, the bear was tied to the sled and taken along. The Oroks celebrated the bear festival, but where the Nivkhi, Orochi and Ul'chi held dog races at the bear festival, the Oroks held reindeer races.

Their shamanism was of the same type as that of the Nanays and Orochi. The shamanistic pantheon included the mythical personages known among the Nanays and the Orochi as well.

The ancient Orok burial was in board coffins, set on a platform on four piles, at about the height of a man, in the tundra. Children were buried in small logs, hung from two piles.

According to the old Orok concepts, the dead "rode" into the world beyond the grave (buni) in a reindeer-drawn sled. The Oroks laid a spear, a reindeer saddle, a reindeer pole and other objects in the coffin with the dead. Their burial rite thus indicates that their reindeer-breeding is of quite ancient origin.

The Oroks were baptized in the 19th century, but they took over only the outward, ritual aspects of Christianity.

The myths include a cosmogonic cycle, which includes myths about the original creator and cultural hero Khadau, the creation of man and bear, earth and heavenly bodies. Khadau was said to have destroyed two "superfluous" suns in the sky; he also made mountains and rivers, the Milky Way, and so on. He also established religious ritual.

The Oroks have many legends describing their arrival in Sakhalin and the aborigines of the island—the Ainu and the legendary "tondzi"—telling about the famine and the migration of the Getta clan from the western to the eastern shore of the island; about the end of the Boyausa clan, poisoned by whale meat; about efforts to tame wild reindeer, and so on.

The graphic arts of the Oroks have a good deal in common with the arts of other peoples of the Amur Basin. They use spiral patterns, which makes



Man's winter clothing.

their reindeer saddle with its ornamented pommel easily distinguishable from that of the Evenks.

Contemporary Life of the Oroks

As said earlier, today almost all the Oroks of northern Sakhalin are united into a single reindeer-breeding collective, "Val," organized in 1932. In addition to the Oroks, the collective also includes several Evenk, Russian and Nivkhi families. The center of this collective is a new, comfortable village with frame houses of the Russian type. The houses are surrounded with garden plots, where the Oroks grow potatoes, radishes, tobacco, etc. The village has a health station, a club and a store. The reindeer herd consists of several thousand head and is kept all year under the vigilant care of herdsman. The number of reindeer is growing rapidly thanks to good zootechnical care. The annual reindeer slaughter, carried out according to plan, provides the collective members with meat. The herding brigades in the taiga no longer live in tents, but in more comfortable huts. Huts can also be seen in the summer near the houses in the collective-farm center. The collective workshops produce fur boots, gloves, fur coats, and beautiful rugs of deerskin and chamois for sale.

Although the collective engages principally in reindeer-breeding, brigades are usually formed in the spring for sea lion and seal hunting, and in the summer, for fishing. Women's brigades go out to collect broad-leaf garlic and cedar nuts. The collective also breeds horses and cows; therefore a number of its members cut hay in the summer. The total income of this collective was approximately 1,000,000 rubles in 1949; it was derived from reindeer-breeding (slaughtering and transport), the sewing workshop, agriculture and gardening, cattle-breeding, sea hunting, fishing and hunting.

The present material condition of the collective members contrasts sharply with the impoverished existence of the Oroks in the past. Thus, some of the collective herdsman earned in 1950 up to 12,000 rubles in money and 250-300 kg of meat each.

In the rayon center nearest the "Val" collective there is a cultural base, which was organized more than 20 years ago. Connected with this base is a seven-year school with dormitories, where children of Oroks, Nivkhi and Evenks live and study at full state expense.





THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples.

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have

resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan-dog; pil'a-gan-big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu-dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasilii Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

Economy and Everyday Life

The Nivkhi's basic occupations were fishing and sea hunting. The most important fishing activities involved runs of the salmon species—Siberian salmon and humpback salmon. These were caught in "zyyezdki," nets and seines. A "zayezdok" was an L-shaped barrier of thick stakes and twigs, set at right angles to the shore with the transverse bar along the current. On this bar, the Nivkhi set up a drawnet, near which they kept watch in a boat. The fish, going in a solid mass along the shore, hit the wall of the trap and turned and swam into the net. When they saw the movement of the signal ropes, the fisherment lifted the net and emptied it into the boat. By this method, several days' fishing produced 4000-5000 fish, which quite filled the needs of the fishermen. The "zayezdok" was usually built jointly by several families.

The seines, fairly small in size, were formerly made of nettle fiber. They were pulled by two or three fishermen, one of whom walked along the shore, while the other two were in a boat. Later, the Nivkhi learned from the Russians to sew together large seines. Beluga and sturgeon were caught with harpoons and hook-tackle—the hooks at the end of short cords, attached to a long rope stretched in the water.

Very important to the Nivkhi was fishing for (single-net fish), carried on throughout the year. These were caught with fishing rods, fixed nets (winter and summer), floating nets (summer) and seines (during the spring and autumn seasons).

The Nivkhi living in Sakhalin and in the estuary did a good deal of sea hunting. They hunted sea lions and seal. The former were caught in large fixed nets. Seal were hunted in early spring, at the first sign of breaking ice. They were killed with harpoons and clubs as they climbed up to warm themselves on the ice floes. Seal-hunting continued into the summer as well. In open waters, they were hunted with a floating harpoon (lykh). This consisted



Sewing together a seine.

of a small board equipped with a harpoon-tip, attached to a stick from 10 to 30 meters long. The lykh was lowered into the water; the hunter hid himself nearby in his boat or on the shore. When he caught sight of his quarry, the hunter carefully directed the lykh at it and quickly drove it into the animal.

As compared with its role among other Amur peoples, hunting played a smaller part among the Nivkhi. The hunting season began in autumn, after the end of the fish-runs. At this time bears come down to rivers to treat themselves to the delicacy of fish, and the Nivkhi awaited them with bows or guns. Sometimes they set crossbows for them. In winter, they hunted bears with spears. The bear season was followed by the sable-hunting season. Sable and certain other fur animals (otter, lynx and marten) played an important part in the Nivkhi economy. The Amur Nivkhi went out every autumn in their large, heavy boats made of boards, to hunt sable in Sakhalin, returning from there only in early spring. This was due to the abundance of sable on Sakhalin. The Nivkhi set numerous traps along rivers and on fallen trees which served the sables as crossings.

The main weapon in hunting was the gun, which in the early 20th century replaced the compound Nivkhi bow with its horn covering. However, the bow was preserved in the bear festival and in children's games. Squirrel and foxes were hunted with dogs. Crossbows were set for both small and large animals.

Agriculture already began to appear among the Nivkhi in the middle of the 19th century, when they first learned to plant potatoes. Individual Nivkhi had carted goods in the past and hired out for work in other capacities.

Already, before the advent of the Russians, there were expert smiths in some of the villages, who reforged Japanese, Chinese, and later Russian metal articles for their own needs; they made knives, straight and curved, adapted to wood-carving; arrowheads, tips for harpoons, spears, and so forth. The smiths used double bellows, an anvil and hammer. Pieces of massive chains preserved from the past speak of the high skill of the old smiths.

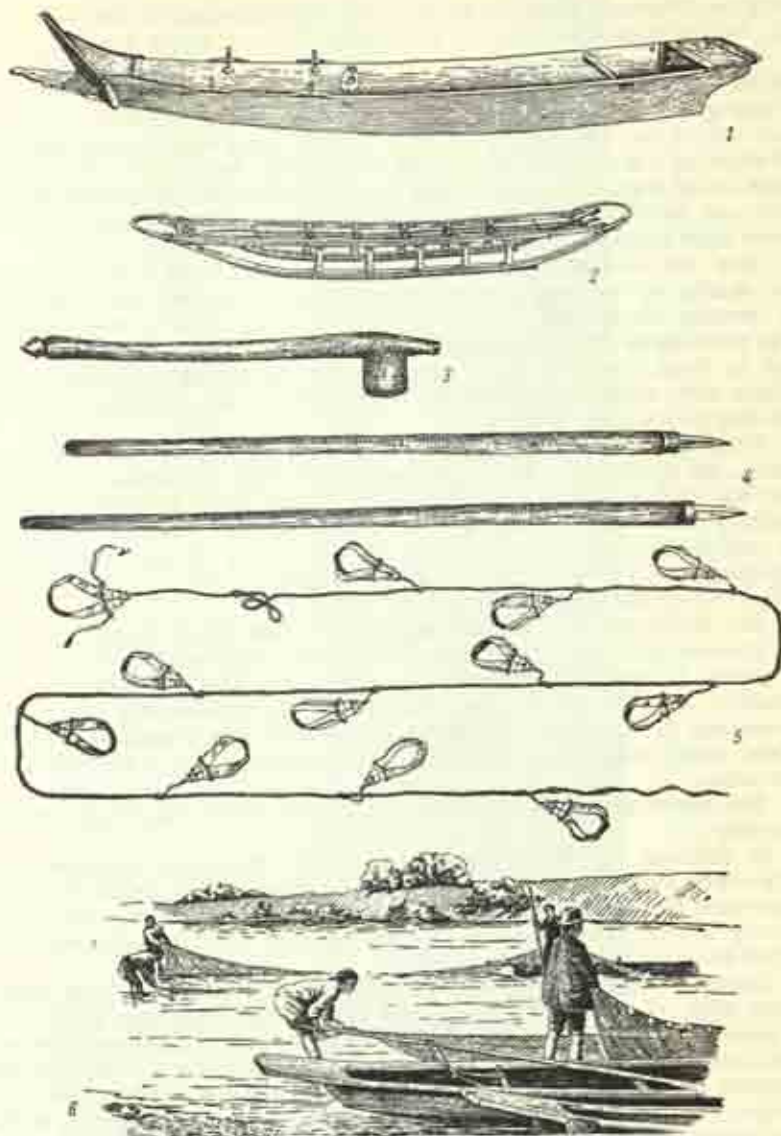
The Nivkhi widely employed silver and copper inlay on spear-tips. The old men wove ropes from bast and nettle, built sleds and made dog-harness.

Men's work included fishing, hunting, making the tools required in these occupations, including tackle and means of transportation, the preparation and transportation of firewood, and blacksmithery. The women processed the skins of fish, seal and dogs, prepared birchbark for various uses, sewed and ornamented clothing, made birchbark utensils, gathered plant products, did the housework and took care of the dogs.

By the time the Far East was Sovietized, commodity relations were quite strongly developed among the continental Nivkhi. The old forms of collective production and distribution had almost entirely disappeared under the impact of the increasing property differentiation. Many fishermen and hunters who lacked the necessary gear were compelled to hire out as lumberjacks and other hired laborers, transport goods, etc. The smallness of the income from fishing made the Nivkhi turn to agriculture. Fur-hunting played an insignificant role among the Amur Nivkhi. The catch of seal, white whale and sea lion went mainly to fill the needs of the hunters and their families. Fishing was done by cooperative parties usually consisting of 3 to 7 persons. Workers were also hired, on a half-share basis. Some Nivkhi worked during the fishing as hired laborers, processing the fish.

Fishing was also highly important among the Sakhalin Nivkhi; but in addition, they widely engaged in hunting sea animals, bears, sable, etc.

The food staple of the Nivkhi was always fish, most often jerked; yukola took the place of bread. Meat was eaten rarely. Food was prepared with



Means of transportation and hunting:

- 1—river boat made of boards; 2—old dogsled; 3—club for killing seal; 4—brake poles used in steering sled; 5—old dog-harness; 6—fishing with seines.

fish-oil or seal-fat. A favorite delicacy was mos', prepared with fishskins, seal-fat, berries, rice, and sometimes crumbled yukola. Another favorite dish was talkk—a salad of raw fish, garnished with wild garlic. The Nivkhi became acquainted with rice, millet and tea from the time when they traded

with the Chinese. After the appearance of the Russians in the Amur region, the Nivkhi began to use small quantities of bread, sugar and salt.

The immemorial, and until recently the only, domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog. It served as a draught animal and provided for fur clothing and meat for food; it was widely used as a medium of exchange and played an important part in religious ideas and rituals. The number of dogs in a household was an index of wealth. As a rule, every household kept 30-40 dogs, which demanded considerable care. They were fed chiefly fish and seal-fat; feed had to be stocked for the whole winter, when dogs were used most as draught animals.

The old sled of the Nivkhi, which was still found in use by Shrenk in the middle of the last century, was so narrow that the driver sat astride it, resting his feet on small skis; sometimes he raised himself and ran in this position on skis. The runners of this sled were curved both in the back and in front. The dogs were harnessed to the towing strap alternately on either side, rather than in pairs. The harness was a simple collar, so that the dog pulled with the neck.

Until quite recently, dog races were still a part of the bear festival; in these, the Nivkhi used the old sled and the old type of harness. The harness and the sled which appeared among the Nivkhi in the beginning of the 20th century were considerably different from the old type. They were of the so-called Eastern Siberian type; the sled was of greater capacity and equipped with a vertical shaft-bow and paired harness, not in collars but in yokes, which the dogs pulled with the chest.

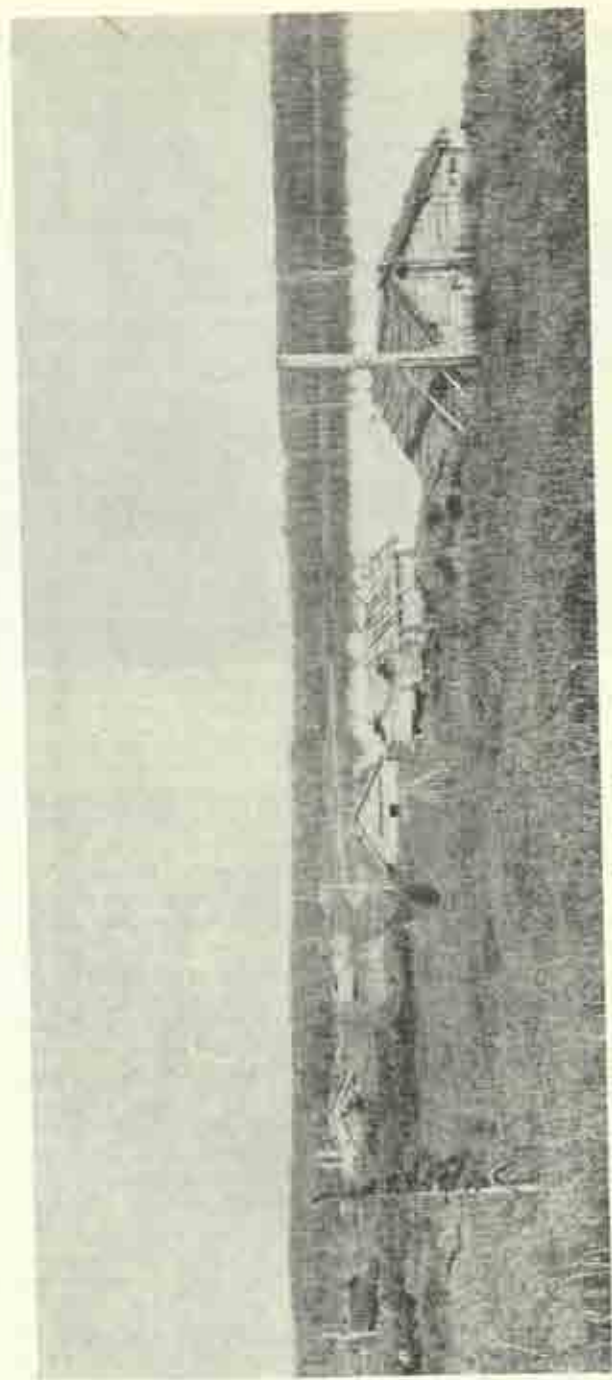
The development of the carting trade brought with it a new type of sled. Its greater size and stability permitted the transportation of up to 200 kg of goods. It was usually drawn by 9 to 11 dogs. The best trained and most valuable dog was the leader. The driver—kayur—usually called out his directions to this dog. The dogs were stopped with a shouted order and a brake pole. Dogs were sometimes also harnessed to a boat on a longer tow strap.

The horse as a draught animal appeared among the Nivkhi relatively recently.

In addition to dog transportation, winter travel on land was done by skis—bare skis without fur lining, or skis lined with seal fur. The former were used for short trips; the latter, for distant expeditions during the fur-hunting season. The Nivkhi skis were distinguished by the wooden strips nailed over the fur.

Travel along the rivers (particularly in Sakhalin) was in light hollowed boats made of poplar. These dugouts were so light that they were carried by hand across barriers (shallows and isthmuses). They were propelled with oars or poles (usually employed for upstream travel). For long-distance travel, the Nivkhi had a large boat similar to that of the Ul'chi, Nanays and Orochi. It was made of three wide cedar boards, of which the bottom one was bent upward in front, projecting like a spade. It was rowed with 2 to 4 pairs of oars, by lifting alternately the right and the left ones.

The Nivkhi villages were usually situated near the mouths of spawning-rivers, and seldom exceeded 20 dwellings. Until recently, the dwellings of kinsmen were set side by side. Some 40 to 50 years ago, the Sakhalin Nivkhi still widely used the dugout house. It was made by digging a pit some 1.25 meters deep, over which a wooden framework was built of thin logs, and covered on the outside with earth. The smoke vent served as a window as well; the hearth was built in the center, and plank beds were set around the walls. At the end of the 19th century,



View of a village.



Mud hut.

the entrance to the hut was no longer from the roof, but through a long low corridor.

From about the period of the Ming dynasty, the Nivkhi dugouts began to give way to Manchu fanzas of the frame type, which spread over the entire Nanay territory and were taken over by the Nivkhi. The structure and layout of the winter dwelling were similar to those of the Ul'chi. In summertime, the Nivkhi usually lived in summer dwellings built on piles some 1.5 m high. They usually consisted of two parts: the rear part, which served as living quarters and was lighted by an opening in the roof, and the front part, which served as a warehouse. The summer house was usually surrounded by racks for jerking fish and storehouses on piles for storing various products. The general appearance of the Nivkhi summer dwelling was similar to the Ul'chi summer storehouse.

The old summer dress of the Nivkhi men was similar in many features to that of the Nanays. It consisted of trousers (varsh), a robe, reaching to the knees and closing from left to right, footwear of sealskin, and a conical birchbark hat (kh'ifkh'akk). The trousers and robe were made of blue or gray cotton cloth. The women's summer robe of fishskin or fabric was longer, and was decorated along the edge with copper disks. In winter, an outer garment of dark fur, with the fur outside, was worn above the robe. During sled trips, the men wore a kilt of sealskin above the fur garment, to save it from wear (sealskin was not used for dressing the dead). The head was protected by earmuffs and a fur hat. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliques, and was made of a greater variety of materials (silk, cloth, lynx-fur on the hat).

Formerly, the Nivkhi obtained material for their clothes from Chinese and Russian merchants. Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of

specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc.

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids.

Social Relations and Religion

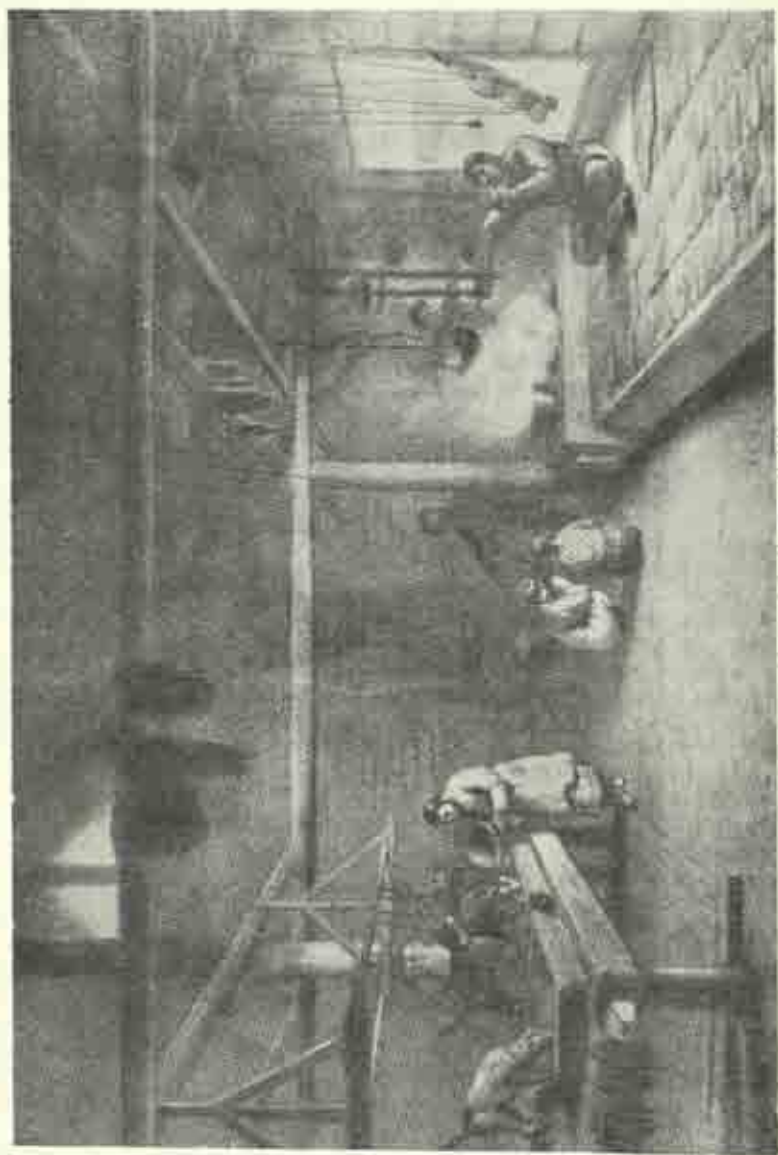
Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed description of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State").

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs.

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilineal marriage.

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykling, and the latter from the Khyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."



Interior of an old winter dwelling.



Child's cradle.

The Nivkhi clans could split up and settle in different places; they could also accept (adopt) people of other clans and tribes. When a clan divided, the Nivkhi broke the flint which was kept by the eldest in the clan (the flint was used to obtain ritual fire, such as the fire for cooking bear meat), and gave a piece to the part that split off.

Long ago, the Nivkhi had the institution of vendetta. All members of a clan were bound to avenge a murder upon all the men of the murderer's clan. Later, vendetta began to be replaced by blood-money (*tkhusind*). In reconciling clans through the payment of blood-money, the principal role was played by intermediaries of a neutral clan (*khlay-nivkh*). It was their duty to negotiate the size of the blood-money and to persuade the enemy

parties to agree. When agreement was reached, the khlay-nivkh came to the offending clan with men of the victim clan, fully armed, and a duel was enacted between the representatives of the two clans. Then each clan representative killed a dog, and peace was considered established. After that, the ransom was paid. It consisted of coats of mail, spears, silk materials and other valuable objects.

The Nivkhi had a classificatory system of kinship. But, in distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian system, the specific term of kinship among them applied always to persons of one, rather than different generations. As Shternberg showed, the classificatory system of the Nivkhi reflected even in his time the existing marriage norms. The Nivkhi retained until the end of the 19th century some remnants of group marriage. These relations were possible only for persons of the same generation, and were categorically forbidden among persons of different generations.

All the members of a clan were divided into four age groups: 1) grandfathers and great-grandfather (atak); 2) fathers (ytyk), their brothers (tuvng), the husbands of the mother's sisters and the brothers of the husbands of the mother's sisters; 3) brothers and sisters (tuvng); and 4) children (ola).

Trade ties with China and the transformation of fur-hunting, and later of fishing, into economic activities directed to commercial ends stimulated the disintegration of the clan order among the Nivkhi, which occurred first among the Amur Nivkhi. The latter had early begun to trade with the Manchus. Nivkhi merchants sailed up the Sungari to San-hsing, and bartered furs and beluga backbones for tea, tobacco, fabrics and metal articles. They also bartered with the Ainu, the Japanese and with other neighbors. Members of the Tvabing clan, for instance, were for a long time the middlemen between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Ainu. Thus, long before Russian colonization, the Nivkhi began to be divided into rich and poor. The rich could have several wives and 3-5 slaves. The rich man's bride-price always included large quantities of imported valuables. But commodity relations developed slowly, since exchange was only in the medium of furs and, to a lesser extent, fish. The mass of the Nivkhi continued in a subsistence economy.

Slaves did only housework. They could set up their own households and marry free women. The slave's descendants of the fifth generation were considered free. On the whole, slavery was not widespread among the Nivkhi and was of a patriarchal character.

At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the Manchus established among the Nivkhi, as well as the Nanays, the posts of khalada—clan elders, and gasyanda—village elders.

After the middle of the last century, the disintegration of the Nivkhi subsistence economy proceeded more rapidly. After the Nivkhi had finally become a part of Russia, slavery disappeared; a new form of exploitation appeared, in the institution of "half-shares." Nivkhi who lacked the implements of production fell into the position of "half-sharers." The catch was divided according to the number of participants, but those who used the implements of others had to yield half of their share to the owner.

Before the Revolution, the Nivkhi were officially considered Orthodox Christians, but their views remained animistic. They thought of the island of Sakhalin as an anthropomorphic creature; similar ideas were held about trees, mountains, rivers, water, earth and cliffs. The killer whale was in their thinking an yz'—a "master" of other animals. Almost every natural phenomenon had its yz'. The chief of these were Pal-yz'—the "master" of the mountains and the taiga, and Taymadz, or Tol'yz'—the "master" of



Feeding a bear.

the sea. Both the Nivkhi dwelling and every river had its *yz'*, who took care of man. The sky was thought to be inhabited by "sky people." The sky people—the sun and moon—had no close relations with man, but the Nivkhi were always in close relations with the *yz'*. "Receiving" from them fish, sea animals, etc., the Nivkhi had to "give" them in return—to sacrifice to them. The cult connected with the "masters" of nature was of pronounced clan character.

The "mountain man," the "sea man" and the bear, in the Nivkhi thinking, were common to the clan. And the bear festival (*chkhyf-lekherno*—"bear game") was a clan festival. The clan which celebrated the festival assumed the expense and work of arranging it. This festival was connected with the cult of the dead, since it was usually held in memory of a dead clan kinsman. A bear cub was caught in the taiga or bought and placed in a special frame building. The cub was reared by members of the given clan. On specific days it was taken out and led on a chain through the encampment. The bear was reared for several years. Before the festival, all the clan members gave the bear's master products and money. The master's family prepared food for the holiday (usually held in February), built a platform—a shooting ground with one or several pairs of trees—poles hung with ritual shavings (*inau*) and covered with carving. The bear was tied between them. The honorary duty of killing the bear was given the *narkha*—people of the clan in the relationship of "son-in-law" to the clan holding the festival. The festivities sometimes lasted several days and consisted of a complex ceremony of killing the bear with a bow and arrow, ritual feasting on the bear meat, the sacrifice of dogs, and so on. The bearskin with the head was lowered into the yurt through the smoke vent on a high pole. In the intervals between eating, there were dog races, shooting matches with bow and arrow, fencing with sticks, and dancing. After the festival the head and bones of the bear, the ritual utensils et cetera were put away in the special clan storehouse. Wherever a Nivkhi lived, he retained his contact with his clan storehouse, where he always brought the skulls of the bears he killed.

The burial rites of the Nivkhi differed sharply from those of the Tunguso-Manchurians of the Amur regions. The Nivkhi characteristically

burned their dead, but they also buried them in the earth. During the burning, they broke the sled on which they had brought the corpse and killed dogs. Their meat was cooked in large cauldrons and eaten on the spot. The "sendoff of the soul" took place several days later, on the day of the "lifting the tree," as the cemetery was called. There they built a raf—a little hut for the figurine which represented the dead.

At the cemetery more dogs were killed on this day. The women sewed clothing for the figurines. Models of hunting and fishing gear were attached to the figurine, and a variety of household articles were laid with it. The real gun, kettle, teapot and other articles were broken nearby. It was held that on this day the soul migrated in a sled into the world of the dead, situated underground. The dead were buried only by members of their clan.

A variety of taboos were connected with the fire, whose "master" spirit was an old woman. The shaman's duties among the Nivkhi were connected with "healing" and with the constant struggle with the evil spirits, milk and kinr, which caused illness and death. The shamans had their own helping spirits (kekhn). However, shamanism was not greatly developed among the Nivkhi. It is interesting that the shamans did not take any part in the clan cults.

Folk Arts

The traditional poetic works of the Nivkhi are varied. There are songs of various kinds, tales, proverbs and sayings, and also myths, reflecting the most ancient ideas about the origin of the world, of nature, of various natural phenomena, and of spirits. There are also epic and historical tales (tyl'ugd), describing hunting feats, wars between clans, etc. The Nivkhi myths also include the Tunguso-Manchurian myth about the three suns. According to one of the Nivkhi myths, people descended from trees: the Nivkhi descended from the larch, the Orochi, from the birch.

Among the decorative arts, the most developed were carving on wood and bone, embroidery and appliqué on robes made of fabrics and fishskins. Most of the articles of daily use—wooden troughs, spoons, dippers, birchbark boxes, knife handles, spear-tips, pillows, blankets, robes, hats and mittens—were covered with spiral-ribbon designs, executed with great taste and skill. Wood-carvings also decorated barns, burial huts and dwellings. In motif and style, the Nivkhi design is related to the design of the Ul'chi and Nanays. The principal motifs of the ornamentation of clothing and birchbark utensils were symmetrical combinations of bent lines, often almost spiral, and stylized representations of birds. Appliqués from fishskin, fabrics and birchbark were cut out according to birchbark or leather patterns, transmitted from generation to generation. Robes, birchbark boxes and hats, and other articles had standard combinations of ornamental motifs, reproduced on articles of specific groups. The main colors in appliqués of birchbark, fishskin and fabric were black, white, red and blue. Appliqué on birchbark, fabric and fishskin was women's work; carving on wood and bone was done by men. Many women were famed for their skill and craftsmanship.

The origin of the Nivkhi ornamental art, as well as the art of other Amur peoples, has not yet been sufficiently established. Some of the motifs (such as roosters, dragons and monster-serpents) were unquestionably suggested by Chinese art and mythology, but underwent considerable local transformation; others (spirals) probably date back to neolithic times.



Playing a wooden percussion instrument.

The wooden religious sculpture was akin to that of the Orochi, Ul'ochi and Nanay. The figurines of bears on dippers and spoons used in the bear festival were finely made and realistic in style. The bear dippers were often remarkable in their craftsmanship. Some of them were carved with pictographs, relating the history of the hunt or rearing of a given bear. The carvings on the dipper handles were also symbolic; they indicated by a variety of symbols whether the bear was killed in a hunt or reared in captivity, whether it was killed in the summer; and so forth.

The musical culture of the Nivkhi was very poor. They played a primitive one-string instrument (t'yngryng) and a lip jew's-harp (kkangga). During the bear festivals they used, instead of musical instruments, an ordinary log, which the women struck with sticks.

Education was entirely lacking among the Nivkhi before the Revolution. The Nivkhi-Nanay alphabet written in the 1880's by the missionary, Protod'yakov, was not used by the Nivkhi.

In 1895 an elementary school was opened in the city of Mariinsk; two others were opened in 1899. By 1905 they were closed for lack of funds. Only a few individual Nivkhi attended Russian schools.

Contemporary Life of the Nivkhi

In 1918, soon after the establishment of the Soviet government in the Far East, this area, and especially the Amur Basin and Sakhalin, became the scene of civil war and intervention. Guerrilla units were organized to fight the White Guards and interventionists. The bitter fighting lasted several years.

In the beginning of 1920, the laboring people of Sakhalin overthrew General Kolchak's appointees and reestablished the Soviet regime, which immediately began to organize contacts between the Russian revolutionary workers and peasants and the Nivkhi and other peoples of Sakhalin. However, the Soviets lasted only three months in Sakhalin. In April 1920, the Japanese landed on the island and seized the city of Aleksandrovsk. The poorly armed Red Guard units were compelled to retreat and withdraw to the taiga. They became guerrillas and, joined by men who escaped from the interventionists, they engaged in a stubborn fight against the invaders. The Nivkhi took part in the struggle side by side with the Russians, rendering substantial aid to the guerrillas by transporting their units in dogsleds from district to district. The occupants, afraid of the guerrilla movement, initiated brutal retaliation against the population. Many fighters for the Revolution were executed. The terror and violence went on for 5 years. It was not until January 1925, after the Japanese troops were expelled from the Far East, that Japan signed an agreement ceding the northern part of Sakhalin to Russia. By May 15, the Red guerrillas mopped up the last remnants of the interventionists in northern Sakhalin; since then, the Soviet government has been firmly in control of the area.

In August 1945, the Soviet Army liberated southern Sakhalin from the Japanese invaders, and Soviet people came to the immemorably Russian lands. Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk developed on the site of the former Vladimirovka.

The period of Japanese intervention brought great suffering to the Nivkhi. Their economy was completely disrupted. The Japanese shamelessly took away their fishing areas, fostered drunkenness, sowed dissension among Nivkhi clans. Drunken sailors raped Nivkhi women and beat up their husbands. The Nivkhi endured extreme poverty and entire villages died out from hunger and diseases. The Japanese also made serious inroads into the natural resources of Sakhalin. They carelessly exterminated sable, musk deer, and wild reindeer; they devastated fishing waters, bays and small rivers. They chopped down forests without any plan and did nothing to combat forest enemies. A great deal of forest was destroyed by fires. Coal and oil resources were also plundered.

In 1929, native village soviets and two native Rayon Executive Committees were established, replacing the initial village and rayon committees—revkoms (revolutionary committees). In 1933, 63 Nivkhi were elected to native and Russian village soviets, 30 Nivkhi were elected to the two native Rayon Executive Committees, and 5 to the Sakhalinskaya Oblast Executive Committee. The Nivkhi were equally active in the village soviets on the continent.

Formerly illiterate and extremely backward economically and culturally, the Nivkhi were gradually drawn into the work of various Soviet organizations—becoming a part of a new, hitherto unknown, culture. Their political activity also expanded and developed. The former distrust of Russians, resulting from the arbitrary rule of the tsarist administration and, later, from the conduct of the Whites who worked with the Japanese interventionists on the island and along the Lower Amur, began to disappear. We must not forget the vast initial gulf between the Nivkhi and Soviet cultures. Of all the Amur peoples, the Nivkhi, particularly on Sakhalin, were the most deprived. They were people who depended wholly on the harsh nature surrounding them, who were isolated in the narrow circle of family and clan interests, who fearfully shunned new and unknown people. The socialist reorganization of Nivkhi life on the continent proceeded along the same patterns as that of the other peoples of the Lower Amur region, akin to the Nivkhi in their life and culture such as the Negidals, Ul'chi and Nanays.

Among the Sakhalin Nivkhi, who differed in their economy and material culture from the above peoples, socialist reconstruction followed a somewhat different pattern. Many Nivkhi went to work in fishing and lumbering enterprises. The first Primary Productive Organizations were organized among the Nivkhi in 1927. Subsequently, the Nivkhi began to socialize the instruments and means of production—nets, boats, dogs, etc., and went on to a more advanced form of social production—the agricultural cooperative. A part of the Nivkhi population joined Russian collective farms, situated near Nivkhi villages.

As they learned new methods of conducting their economic activities and mastered new techniques of production in the collectives, the Nivkhi began to develop new economic activities, formerly unknown to them; tillage, gardening and cattle-breeding. At first, the work of the Primary Productive Organizations, particularly on the eastern coast, where villages lie at considerable distances from one another, was seasonal in character. The Nivkhi gathered at the fishing camp from several nearby villages and fished cooperatively for 3-4 months, after which they dispersed. In winter, they engaged in carting, using dogs as draught animals. Later the cooperatives became permanent. As a rule a collective farm was first made up of the inhabitants of one village. But larger collectives also developed, such as the "Chir-Unvd" ("New Life") collective, which united the economies of three villages along the middle course of the Tym' River (Kirovskiy Rayon). An important role in the organization of collectives was played by the Nivkhi youth, particularly by members of the Komsomol.

The organization of collectives and their successful development were openly resisted by the rich Nivkhi and former elders. The greatest resistance was to the building of new collective-farm villages and the resettlement of the members in new sites. The resettlement was necessitated by the need to enlarge the villages, which had often consisted of two or three houses, and to transfer them to more convenient places, nearer to good fishing areas. The Soviet government spent large sums on this. Most of the collective members left their old smoky dwellings and moved to new, bright homes.

At present, fishing occupies an important place in the Nivkhi economy. The former primitive fishing methods have been abandoned. Along with seines, the fishermen set up more efficient zayezdki; manually worked scoops have given way to winches; fish is transported on Amur sailboats (kungasy) and cutters; and Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS) provide extensive aid to the collective fishermen.

Many Nivkhi collective members participate today in fishing expeditions. To do so, they travel to Okhotsk and other districts. Expedition fishing usually lasts from April to August. It is also carried on in Sakhalin, where the continental Nivkhi also come to work. In spring, the members of the fishing collectives hunt seal in the estuary and on Sakhalin. In winter, they hunt fur-animals.

Agriculture is a new branch of economic activity among the Sakhalin Nivkhi. The first Nivkhi agricultural collective, "Chir-Unvd," was organized in 1930 along the basin of the Tym' River in northern Sakhalin. In 1937, the collective already consisted of some 50 households. Its acreage under cultivation rose from 1.5 hectares in the first year of its existence to 61 hectares in 1937. The main crop was potatoes. The collective farm has its own skilled agricultural personnel—brigadiers and team leaders—although there was a time when the Nivkhi considered agriculture a great sin. As the old men used to say, "He who digs or plants will die."

In 1951, the Nivkhi collective "Chir-Unvd" collected 200 tsentners of potatoes and cabbage per hectare. In the course of only 3 years, from 1949 to 1951, the cultivated area increased by 30%.

Along with agriculture, the "Chir-Unvd" collective engages in animal husbandry. Since the war, it has substantially increased its herd of cattle and established a sheep-breeding farm. Other Nivkhi collectives have also progressed.

An essential prerequisite for the successful organization and development of collective farms was the unification of small villages, formerly scattered over large distances. Before the Revolution, Nivkhi villages often consisted of no more than 3-5 households. But even in the larger villages, the houses were scattered without plan. The enlargement of old villages and the construction of new populated centers made rapid strides after the collectivization of the Nivkhi economy. The modern Nivkhi villages are comfortable, well planned, and laid out in streets. In the building of new villages, particular attention is given to selecting convenient and wholesome sites. Before the Revolution, most of the Sakhalin Nivkhi lived in dugouts, and most of the continental Nivkhi lived in frame huts resembling the Manchukinese fanza.

The most widespread of the new dwellings is the warm Russian log house. Near the houses of the collective members are various barns, sheds, etc. Every collective-farm village has a number of public buildings; a school, a reading room, a club, an administrative building, and buildings devoted to economic uses (a collective-farm garage, a smithy, a vegetable storehouse, cattle-yards, etc.). Almost every collective-farm village has a bathhouse—something the Nivkhi never used in the past. Today, many individual collective-farm families build their own private bathhouses.

The internal furnishings of the Nivkhi home have also changed, and are today similar to those of Russian homes. Some collective-farm villages have electricity and radio. In the Nivkhi homes, especially on the continent, one often sees plastered and whitewashed walls, or walls covered with wallpaper, and a variety of bought furniture, as well as curtains and flowers in the windows. The Nivkhi are very fond of pictures, and adorn the walls of their homes with illustrations, placards and photographs.

Today, the Nivkhi widely wear bought clothing of the Russian type. They also use underwear, which was entirely unknown in the past. In winter, the continental Nivkhi wear city-type coats, felt boots, high overshoes, and also footwear of elk or seal skins. The Sakhalin Nivkhi prefer clothing made of reindeer or seal skins. They obtain the reindeer skins from Oroch collective-farm members. The fur clothing and headdress remain of the traditional cut and materials. Many Nivkhi women make their own clothing of factory-made fabrics, bought in stores opened in collective-farm villages. Here and there, one encounters the ancient national costume. On holidays, the young people love to wear robes made of fabric and richly ornamented. Such robes are made even today. Clothing of fishskin is almost discontinued, as are the old conical birchbark hats.

Substantial changes have taken place in the Nivkhi diet. There is greater use of vegetables, bread, butter, tea, sugar and other purchased products. The incidence of illness, and particularly of tuberculosis, which had been widespread in the past, has dropped sharply as a result of radically improved sanitary conditions and the wide network of medical institutions. Already during the early years of the Soviet regime, hospitals and medical and maternity centers were opened for the Nivkhi, but wide educational work was needed to accustom the Nivkhi to use these institutions for medical aid. Soviet medicine rapidly won the confidence of the Nivkhi.



Ch. Taksami, student at Leningrad University,
at a student ball in the Kremlin palace.

Today the Nivkhi are served by an extensive network of diverse medical institutions; in addition, specialist physicians visit the most remote collective-farm villages. One of the initial tasks of the Soviet government was to bring the children into the schools and to liquidate illiteracy among the adults. Schools were opened in Sakhalin during the very first years after the establishment of the Soviet government there. A group of Nivkhi young people were sent to school on the continent, and adults were taught at centers for the liquidation of illiteracy.

A Nivkhi alphabet was created in 1931. In 1932, the first schoolbooks were published. During the 1933-34 school year, some 300 children were already at school in the Sakhalinskaya Oblast, which meant 86% of all Nivkhi children of school age. It was possible to assure daily attendance only after the establishment of dormitories. Today all children attend school. In the village of Kal'ma there is an elementary seven-year school; in Nogliki there is a ten-year school. A part of the Nivkhi youth (boys) attend trade schools in Komosol'sk and factory schools in Komsomol'sk and Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Many Nivkhi with secondary schooling enter higher educational institutions. In 1953, 2 Nivkhi attended Leningrad State University, and 10 studied at the A. I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute. At present, 16 Nivkhi are attending the institute. Among the students there are also women. In 1953, Liza Dekhal' of the village of Pad on the Amur graduated successfully from the A. I. Herzen Institute in Leningrad. The Nivkhi Chuner Taksami of the village of Kal'ma is today doing graduate work at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nivkhi with special training are working today as captains, enginemen on cutters, teachers, librarians and club directors.

The political activity of Nivkhi workers has grown tremendously. Many have risen to leading posts on collective farms and in various institutions; many work as instructors with rayon Party committees and executive committees.

Wide educational work among the Nivkhi has been conducted and is conducted today by the cultural bases established on their territory. The first of these was founded in 1928-29 in the village of Nogliki, at the mouth of the Tym' River in Vostochno-Sakhalinskiy Rayon. The second cultural base of the peoples of the North was founded on Sakhalin in 1946, in the village of Yukovo. These bases have libraries, reading rooms, clubs, seven-year schools for Nivkhi and Evenk children, and also dormitories and boarding schools.

At the amateur concerts on the collective farms, both men and women entertain, singing and performing native and Russian dances. Frequently the songs are created on the spot, impromptu. The collective-farm youth also participate in regional Olympic games.

Theatre arts are also developing among the Nivkhi. In the beginning, the Nivkhi, who had never seen a theatre before the Revolution, were merely spectators at performances organized by Russians. Soon, however, dramatic clubs were organized in the collective-farm clubhouses, and the Nivkhi began to present plays in their own language.

The Nivkhi are great lovers of sports. In former times they did not know how to swim and feared the water. Today the Nivkhi young people enthusiastically engage in water sports. There are now special sports omorochki (canoes) with a single oar, in which young men and women hold speed races.

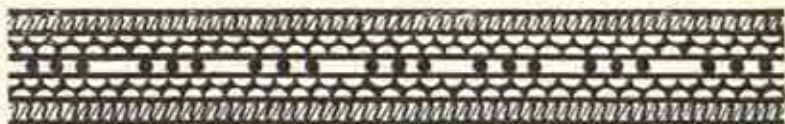
The Nivkhi have also preserved native sports, such as rope-jumping.

The changed working, living and cultural conditions of Nivkhi life—the collectivization of their economy, their participation in industry, the unification in collective-farm villages of people who had formerly belonged to different clans, and the general rise in their cultural level—all these factors have completely destroyed the old ties and rules, based on the numerous remnants of clan relations which had survived until the Revolution. The old religious ideas, holidays and rituals have lost all their meaning. The greatest change has occurred in the position of women. In former times, the Nivkhi woman was timid and oppressed, and knew only the narrow circle of her domestic duties. She could be bought and sold, or turned out of the house. When she met men, she had to cover her face and turn her back to them. During the early post-Revolutionary years, a great deal of effort had to be applied toward the elimination of survivals of the past. When they attempted to study, many young women and girls were ridiculed by their fathers, husbands and mothers. Some were unable to withstand the pressure and discontinued their studies. It proved especially difficult to overcome the ancient custom of placing a woman in childbed in a special hut, built near the dwelling. This tent was usually cold and damp. The woman had to remain under these conditions for several days without any help.

endangering her own health and that of the child. The force of tradition was so strong that even in 1932 some of the women stubbornly refused to have their babies in hospitals, despite the good care and the free clothing and blankets which were given to the infants. It was only after wide medical-educational work that women began to turn to maternity hospitals. The new understanding of the role and importance of medical institutions has also led many Nivkhi women to go to work in them as attendants and later as nurses, educated at the medical school in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur.

Today the Nivkhi woman manages her own life and does not enter into forced marriage. Polygamy, the levirate and remnants of the old group marriage have become things of the past.





THE YUKAGIRS

M. V. STEPANOVA, I. S. GURVICH and V. V. KHRAMOVA

General Information

Territorially, the Yukagirs are divided into two parts. One part lives along the tributaries of the Kolyma—Korkodon, Balygychan and Yasachnaya—and in the foothills of the Arga-Tas. Administratively, this territory belongs to the Sredne-Kanskiy Rayon of the Magadanskaya Oblast and the Verkhne-Kolymskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR. The other part of the Yukagirs lives along "the forest edge," between the lower reaches of the Kolyma and Alazeya, in the basin of the Chukochev River. The Yukagirs are also encountered in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy, Allaikhovskiy and Ust'-Yanskiy Rayons of the Yakut ASSR, where they have almost entirely assimilated with the Evens. Individual Yukagir families, which had formerly lived along the Great and Little Anyuy and the tributaries of the Omolon, now live a sedentary life in the village of Omolon.

Today, the Yukagirs do not constitute an ethnic entity in the areas of their habitation. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs live side by side with Yakuts. The tundra Yukagirs live among the Evens, Chukchi, Yakuts and old Russian inhabitants.

The census of 1926-27 recorded altogether 443 Yukagirs. However, even in the 1630's, the Yukagirs occupied wide expanses, from the lower reaches of the Lena in the west to the Anadyr' Basin in the east, inclusive, and from the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the north to the upper reaches of the Yana, Indigirka and Kolyma Rivers in the south. There is reason to think that in the remote past Yukagirs lived west of the Lena and in the more southerly areas of the present Yakut ASSR, and that they were later pushed out or assimilated by Tungusic tribes and the ancestors of the Yakuts. Yukagir legends relate that once upon a time the Yukagirs were as numerous as the stars in the darkness of the polar night. The smoke rising from Yukagir hearths was so thick that a bird flying past was hidden in it. One of the legends says that the raven became black as he flew through this smoke. The northern lights were regarded as the reflection of the fires of Yukagir encampments. The Yakuts still call the northern lights yukagir-uot, which means "Yukagir fire."

When the Russians arrived, the Yukagirs consisted of a large number of separate tribes: Chuvantsy (also called Sheigas), Khodyntsy, and others. Certain extinct groups, such as the Anauls and Omoks, were also Yukagirs (some of these tribes were formerly mistakenly treated by ethnographic literature as separate peoples).

Numerous 18th- and 19th-century sources speak about the steady decline in the numbers of Yukagirs. In 1859, their number was set at 2350 persons; in 1897, they were estimated at 1500. In the beginning of the 20th century their population continued to decline until 1924, when it not only became stabilized but began to show an increase for the first time. The decline in the Yukagir population was to a great extent the result of their assimilation with their neighbors—the Evens and partly the Yakuts. Substantial groups of Yukagirs merged with the Russians.

The Yukagir language belongs to the so-called paleo-Asiatic group, in which, however, it occupies a special place. The Yukagir language has a number of dialects. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs do not understand the tundra ones. Today both groups are bilingual. The Upper Kolyma group speaks Yakut in addition to its own language; the tundra group speaks Even, and often also Chukchi and Yakut. Many Yukagirs have a good knowledge of Russian.

The name "Yukagir" was borrowed by the Russians from the Yakuts, but its origin is probably Tungusic. Its meaning is not established. The tundra Yukagirs call themselves *Odul*, translating the word as "mighty" or "strong." The rest of the Yukagirs call themselves by their clan terms.

The Yukagirs assimilated to the Evens, and living between the Indigirka and Yana Rivers, call themselves in Even, *Ilkonbey* ("local man") or *Dyutkil'* ("fearless"). The Yukagirs assimilated with the Yakuts and living in the Yana Basin call themselves Yukagirs. The Yukagir-Chuvantsy living in the Anadyr' Basin and assimilated with the Chukchi call themselves *Etel*. The Russified Yukagirs on the Kolyma River were formerly called Yukagirs and Chuvantsy, but now consider themselves Russians. The Yukagirs living in the tundra between the lower reaches of the Kolyma and Indigirka were also called Tungus by the Russian inhabitants of the Kolyma. Today they are often called Evens, since their manner of life is indeed entirely similar to that of the Evens.

The history of the Yukagirs has not yet been sufficiently studied. The excavations carried out in recent years along the lower Lena River by A. P. Okladnikov, and his reconnaissance on the Kolyma, have led to his discovery here of a special area of Eastern Siberian neolithic culture. This culture of hunters and lake and river fishermen can be regarded as the culture of the forebears of the Yukagirs. The main type of dwelling of this neolithic population was the dugout. Among the articles found in abandoned dwellings were ceramic utensils lacking among the Yukagirs of the 19th century, but, according to archeological data, widely used in the past on the territory of Yukagir habitation.

The period prior to the advent of Russians in "Yukagir land" was one of armed conflicts between the Yukagirs and the Tungus groups spreading toward the north and northeast, as well as of fusion of a number of Yukagir and Tungus groups. This process was tied in the closest fashion to the formation of the Evens and the transmission of a large number of cultural phenomena from the Tungus to the Yukagirs. Reindeer-breeding was evidently one of these.

The first contacts of the Yukagirs with Russians date to the initial period of Russian penetration into the northeastern borderlands of Asia. The Yakutsk Cossack Ivan Rebrov was the first to encounter Yukagir tribes on the Yana and Indigirka in 1633; "Before me," he wrote in his petition, "nobody has been to the Yanga and Sobach'ya Rivers." We must also note the expedition of the Yenisey Cossack, Yelisey Buzs, who reached the Yana by sled and sailed down to the mouth of the river in 1639, subsequently reaching the mouth of the Chendon River. Information about the tribes

of the Indigirka Basin is found in the report of the Lena voyevod, Petr Golovin: "The Yukagir land, Sire, has many people, and the Indigir River has many fish, and many rivers, Sire, flow into the Indigirka. And along all those rivers live large numbers of men, both those who walk on foot, and those who ride reindeer. Sable and other beasts abound in all these lands, and the Yukagirs have silver." Descriptions of the great wealth of fur animals and fish "on the great and broad" Kolyma, and the abundance of precious walrus tusks "beyond the Kovyma River" and at the mouth of the Anadyr' River are encountered repeatedly in the instructions and reports of Yakutsk voyevods in the 17th century.

The Russians, bartering with the native population, supplied it with ironware, copper utensils, iron for arrowheads, and tools. The demand for these Russian goods was very great. The Yukagirs, interested in obtaining these goods, did not resist the first Cossack units which penetrated their lands and voluntarily agreed to pay the fur-tax.

Yukagirs served as guides to Russian merchants and Cossacks. Thus, the land road to the Anadyr' was shown to Semen Motora by Anyuy Yukagirs. They also brought M. Stadukhin to the Penzhina River.

As attested by archive documents, in the 17th-18th centuries the Yukagirs warred with the Evens and were often attacked by the Chukchi. In this struggle, the Russian Cossacks came to the defense of the taxpaying Yukagirs who were subject to Russia. However, the Cossack campaigns against the Chukchi were unsuccessful, and a large proportion of the Yukagirs (the Chuvantsy and Khodyntsy) was pillaged and scattered by the Chukchi in the middle of the 18th century.

At the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, the condition of the Yukagirs in the Lower Kolyma region deteriorated sharply as a result of the cessation of wild reindeer migrations across the Kolyma, Little and Great Anyuy and Omolon Rivers. Annual famines forced the Yukagirs to leave their native districts and settle near Russian villages along the Kolyma. However, the cessation of the wild reindeer migrations coincided with a number of years when fish-runs had been very small and the Russians themselves were starving. In the latter half of the 19th century, the Yukagirs were visited by a number of other misfortunes. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs had become impoverished due to a reindeer plague. At the end of the 19th century, epidemics of smallpox and measles broke out among the Yukagirs. The Yukagir population dropped sharply. The press and public opinion became concerned with the disastrous situation among the Yukagirs.

In 1903 the Ministry of Internal Affairs dispatched its official, S. A. Buturlin, to the Kolyma. His report revealed shocking pictures of suffering and want among the Yukagirs and Evens along the upper reaches of the Kolyma. According to Buturlin, there was, on the average, only one gun and one net at the disposal of three Yukagir families. They had neither reindeer, nor dogs. A hunter departing to hunt had to be outfitted in warm suede clothing, or without any. The steps taken by the local government were inadequate and placed the Yukagirs in a position of dependence on the Yakut upper classes, which already held the Yukagirs in a state of debt peonage.

At the end of the 19th century—the period for which we have the largest quantity of ethnological materials on the Yukagirs—the tundra Yukagirs, who lived between the Indigirka and Kolyma, kept reindeer and nomadized. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs no longer had any reindeer and lived sedentary lives in winter. In connection with these factors, as well as differences

in geographic conditions of the territories they inhabited, the two groups also developed differences in their material cultures (as evidenced, for example, in their dwellings), social organization, and other fields.

Occupations and Everyday Life

Early sources describe the Yukagirs as hunters and lake and river fishermen. Reindeer-breeding existed in the 17th century, but was evidently to a certain extent an innovation, borrowed from the Tungus tribes. The most important economic activity was wild reindeer hunting. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs set crossbows along reindeer paths. Another method was the noose. They also hunted wild reindeer with the help of a decoy deer. In hunting, they widely used bows and arrows; at the end of the 18th century they began to use flintlock guns. The tundra Yukagirs hunted "swimming" wild reindeer. In the spring, wild reindeer migrated in large herds northward, to the Arctic Ocean. At the end of summer and in autumn, they returned south, to the forests. During the seasonal reindeer crossings in spring and autumn, the Yukagirs organized collective hunts. When the reindeer herd entered the water, the hunters, who waited for them in boats, surrounded and slaughtered them. In such hunts, which gradually lost their importance by the middle of the 19th century, the hunters used special iron spears and pikes.

In spring, the Yukagirs also hunted wild reindeer by building corrals. They selected a site somewhere on a wooded hill and surrounded it with a loosely woven net of leather strips some two meters high, leaving an opening through which the reindeer herd was to be driven in. The hunters split up into three groups. One group surrounded the corral to prevent the reindeer from scattering. Another group drove the reindeer into the area fenced off with the net, while the third and largest group of hunters ran after the reindeer and slaughtered them. Many families took part collectively in these hunts, since the net fence was put together of many parts, owned by individual households. In winter, wild reindeer were hunted with a trained decoy reindeer, behind which a hunter in clothing of white deer-skin stole up close to a herd of wild deer.

At the turn of the 20th century, fur animals became the most important quarry, in place of the wild reindeer and the elk farther south, which had been hunted for their meat. Sable, which in the 17th century had been the object of lively barter and sale, had been carelessly exterminated by mid-19th century. In the 19th century, various fox furs were obtained from the Yukagir areas—red, silver and black as well as the furs of white and blue polar foxes.

The tundra Yukagirs have until recently hunted foxes and polar foxes by chasing them in reindeer sleds and killing them with cudgels. When the snow was not deep, dogs were often used in fox hunts. In summer, the tundra Yukagirs dug up polar fox dens and collected the cubs. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs hunted ermine and squirrel, killing them with blunt arrows which did not spoil the fur.

Of considerable importance was bird hunting. The tundra Yukagirs hunted geese and ducks on lakeshores in autumn, during the moulting season. The hunting teams would divide into two groups: one group surrounded a part of the lake with fishing nets, while the other, in boats, drove the birds, which were then unable to fly, into the nets.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Yukagirs living at the mouth of the Kolyma still used their ancient weapons in hunting sea birds: a dart

and a bola—a throwing weapon consisting of leather thongs with stones at the ends. They also preserved the bow and arrow as a hunting weapon. Among the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs, the flintlock gun replaced the bow and arrow by the middle of the 19th century. This gun was still in use at the beginning of the 20th century.

In spring, an essential part of the hunter's outfit was "snow glasses" of leather, wood, birchbark, or silver, forged by Even craftsmen ("snow glasses" with a narrow slit protect the eyes from the dazzling snow).

The Yukagirs made wide use of various traps and snares. The well-known Russian traveler of the 1820's, F. P. Vrangeli, wrote that "the shores of both Anyuys were covered with endless numbers of snares and traps of every variety for sables, wolverines, foxes, squirrels and ermine." Every industrious Yukagir set up to 500 traps annually in various places after the first snow, and examined them 5-6 times in the course of the winter.

Along with hunting, fishing was an important activity both among the tundra and the taiga (Upper Kolyma) Yukagirs. They caught white salmon, omul, muksun, and other fish. In mountain rivers they set up zayerzki, i.e., they barred the stream with a fence of stakes and willow branches, in which they left a gate for fish baskets. An ancient fishing implement was a rod with a bone hook, used in spring fishing on icefloes. During heavy fish-runs upstream for spawning, the Yukagirs fished in shallow water with boathooks. Nets were usually made of horsehair, which the Yukagirs obtained from the Yakuts. They also engaged in ice fishing.



Ice fishing on Yasachnaya River.

The principal diet of the Yukagirs consisted of fish and the meat of wild reindeer. From fish caught in the summer, they made yukola. In winter, they ate frozen fish in the form of stroganina. Reindeer meat was preserved by jerking on racks and by freezing. Berries and various roots supplemented the diet according to season. A favorite berry was blueberry, which was called odun leevyeydi—"odul berry."

In the 17th-18th centuries, the Yukagirs used fly-agaric mushrooms as a narcotic. After the arrival of the Russians, the Yukagirs began to use tea,

bread, flour, sugar, and, particularly, tobacco, which became a necessity to them.

During famines, which were a frequent condition in Yukagir encampments in the past, they ate tree bark and larch sapwood, and cooked old strips of leather.

According to the Russian ethnographer V. I. Iokhel'son, the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs migrated seasonally in the latter 19th century. They lived in their permanent homes only during the four winter months, eating the fish stocked up beforehand. At the end of the winter, they split up into groups and migrated to the upper reaches of the Kolyma or its tributaries, where they hunted elk and deer. When the rivers opened, the scattered groups reunited and sailed down in boats and rafts to the Yasachnaya and Korkodon Rivers. Here they spent the summer, living in suede tents and engaging in hunting and fishing. With the first snow, they withdrew into the mountains to hunt squirrel; later, with the coming of heavy frosts, they returned to their permanent winter camp.

By the end of the 19th century, only the Yukagirs who lived in the basin of the Kolyma and Anadyr' Rivers used dogs for transportation. The number of dogs in the Yukagir households of the upper Kolyma did not exceed an average of 6-7; hence, in migrating, several households combined to transport their tents, clothing and food stocks. Similarly, hunters combined into groups to bring their gear to the hunting sites. Women and children often had to harness themselves to help the dogs. When the snow was deep, the man walked ahead of the dogs on skis, clearing a path. The dogs were harnessed tandem to light sleds. The Yukagir dogsled served exclusively for transporting loads and was wider and shorter than the usual dogsled of northeastern Siberia.

In the latter 19th century, the average number of reindeer owned by a Yukagir household in the region between the Kolyma and Indigirka was 10-20. This number was insufficient not only to supply the family with meat, but even for transportation. During migrations, several households had to pool their reindeer to transport their belongings. The reindeer were used both in harness and for riding. The reindeer sled used by the tundra Yukagirs was similar to that of the Chukchi and Koryaks.

An ancient method of river transportation was the raft. It was triangle-shaped, with one corner serving as the prow, and the base as the stern, and was made of logs, tied with willow branches. It carried the Yukagir family and all its household belongings. The men sailed before the raft in light boats.

The old hunting boat was a hollowed canoe made of a poplar trunk. Another type of boat the Yukagirs borrowed from the Russians was made of three thin aspen boards (two sides and the bottom) sewed together with thread made of gut. The seams were sealed with larch resin. When going upstream, the boats were towed by dogs. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs also learned from the Russians to build large boats—*karbasy* (river scow). Until recently, they even supplied such boats to Russian fishermen of the Lower Kolyma.

The tundra Yukagirs used so-called rocket skis, similar to those used by the Chukchi. The Yukagirs also used skis of the Tungus type. The Upper Kolyma Yukagirs preferred Tungus-type skis. The size of these skis made it possible to use them as improvised drag frames for carrying loads.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the winter dwelling of the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs was a yurt of the Yakut type (*yanakh-numeu*—"Yakut dwelling"). The flat log roof was covered with a layer of bark and

earth. To make the dwelling winter-proof, wet snow was heaped against the lower part of the wall and also packed into the grooves of the rafters. Pieces of ice were set into the windows. Such huts were heated by a hearth of the Yakut type, set left of the entrance. The entire furnishings of the Yukagir hut consisted of a low table and several plank benches along the walls.



A village.

From March to September, the Yukagirs lived in conical tents, covered with reindeer skins or (among the reindeerless Yukagirs) with larch bark. The tundra Yukagirs lived in dwellings similar to the Chukchi yaranga or the Even charamo-dyu.

To store winter stocks of food and clothing, the Yukagirs built small log barns on one or two tall piles.

Yukagir legends preserve memories of pottery, although clay utensils had long given way to wooden and birchbark articles. Wooden plates, birchbark vessels, square or round, and of different sizes, sacks of deer or fishskin, spoons of deer horn and a stone hammer for breaking bones and pounding fat, berries and larch sapwood constituted the principal household articles of the Yukagirs.

The preparation of hot food and the melting of fish fat were done as late as the beginning of the 19th century in troughlike wooden vessels, with the aid of heated stones.

Bone and horn were used more widely than stone in the ancient articles made by the Yukagirs. Spears and knives were made of the ribs of elk; scrapers for working skins and arrowheads were made of reindeer bone. Even in the 20th century, the Yukagirs still used bone skewers for jerked meat. The metal cauldron which was suspended on sticks from the tentpoles and the teakettle, often replaced by a gunpowder tin, were sometimes, even at the end of the 19th century, the only utensils brought in from outside.

Metalwork among the Yukagirs was much more primitive than that of the neighboring Evenks and Yakuts. The Yukagirs learned from the Evens to cast metal ornaments. Iron forging was borrowed from the Yakuts, apparently in the 17th century. Yukagir legends, recorded by F. F. Matyushkin, a member of the F. P. Vrangeli' expedition (in the 1820's), suggest the blacksmithery was known to the Yukagirs even before the advent of the Russians. At any rate, in the mid-17th century the Yukagirs owned a variety of iron articles. In the 19th century, Yukagir smiths sometimes worked for Evens as well.

The clothing of the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs was similar to Even clothing; the men's attire of the tundra Yukagirs was nearer in type to Chukchi-Koryak dress.

A valuable and honored possession, handed on from generation to generation, was a silver or bronze disk, which was attached to the clothing on the chest—the so-called "chest sun." Along with other motifs, it often bore the representation of a winged centaur, while the background was filled in with conventional plant motifs.



Women's and men's dress.

Available data indicate that the attire of the ancient Yukagir warrior consisted of a battle helmet and armor of horn plates, fastened together with thread of elk gut.

Social Relations

The social order of the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs at the end of the 19th century, when they were closely studied by V. I. Iokhel'son, is described

as follows. All the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs, numbering some 180 persons, were a group composed of remnants of once considerably more numerous Yukagir clans and tribes and the Even clans which had merged with them. The basic unit of Yukagir society of that time was the encampment or village, consisting of several families, sometimes not even related. Within the encampment there were many survivals of primitive-communal relations. Thus, the hunter's quarry—the carcass of the meat animal he killed—was distributed among all the residents. The hunter's family received an equal share, and only the pelt went to the man who killed the animal as additional booty. In fishing, this collective element was less pronounced, and every family fished in the area allotted to it.

All the authors who wrote about the Yukagirs in the 19th century insistently stressed the absence of clan exogamy among them, regarding this as a distinguishing feature of Yukagir social organization. The question, however, is more complex.

As we know, throughout the 17th–19th centuries, the number of Yukagirs underwent a sharp decline. The individual surviving groups, while officially regarded as Yukagir "clans," included people of diverse origin. Marriages within such "clans" cannot be viewed as violations of the norms of clan exogamy. At the same time, it is possible that, in view of the smallness and dispersion of individual Yukagir groups, they were indeed compelled to give up the exogamic rules in relations between persons of formerly taboo categories. According to archive data, Yukagir marriages in the 18th century were as a rule between representatives of different clans.

Survivals of matriarchy were prominent in the family and marriage relations of the Yukagirs even at the end of the 19th century. The most significant of these was matrilocality—the husband came to live with the wife's parents. Bride-price did not exist among the Upper Kolyma Yukagirs. The bridegroom worked for a certain time for the bride's family. This period, which preceded the marriage, varied in length. However, in view of the premarital sexual freedom for girls among the Yukagirs, the future husband and wife were in fact living together even before marriage. Having secured the consent of the bride's parents to the marriage, the groom brought his belongings, consisting only of hunting gear, to his father-in-law's house and continued to live there. No special ceremonies were necessary. According to observers, the son-in-law was in a position of dependence in relation to the elder members of his wife's family. However, despite the matrilocality of marriage, inheritance followed the paternal line. According to legends, a special order existed in the past, representing a transitional form between matriarchy and patriarchy; under this order, the older son and daughter belonged to the mother's clan, while subsequent children belonged to the father's clan. Among the tundra Yukagirs, marriage was patrilocal. They had matchmaking and marriage rituals. But on the whole the differences between the family-marital norms of the tundra and Upper Kolyma Yukagirs were small.

Although the Yukagirs' material culture and art show such a long and close association with the Evens that the distinctions between the two groups were quite obliterated, their religion and folklore retained their own characteristic features. Shamanism existed among the Yukagirs in the characteristic form of clan shamanism. Dead shamans themselves became objects of worship. Their bodies were dismembered, and the parts were kept as relics. Sacrifices were made to them, and they were considered the patrons of the clan. Later, Yukagir shamanism lost its specific character and developed forms closer to those of typical Tungus shamanism. The costume, the tam-

bourine and the other attributes of the Yukagir shaman were of the Tungus type.

The cult of the elk was the most important of Yukagir animal cults. There were a number of rituals and taboos connected with the hunting of elk and wild reindeer.

An interesting record of Yukagir culture is found in their pictographs. The Yukagirs practiced pictographic writing on pieces of birchbark. They wrote with dots, cuts and straight lines with the tip of a sharp knife on freshly peeled bark. There were two types of writing. One was a sketch of a route, which may be regarded as an embryonic geographic map. This was used mainly by men. During the spring migrations, when the Yukagirs scattered along various rivers, those who went ahead left such messages at camps they were leaving for those who came later. The second type of pictography, a letter with conventional representations of people—men and women, was used principally by young women. Such letters usually expressed the girl's affections.

The Yukagir folklore has not been studied adequately. Their legends preserve an ancient world of giant elk hunters, in which the elk is represented as the adversary who fights them and in the end is subdued by them. These ancient people were divided into men of the woods and men of the sea. Their true image is hidden behind fantastic features. They were so tall and strong that they tied the elk they killed to the fastenings of their coats; they used iron skis, and so forth. The Yukagirs conquered these giants, since the latter were not very clever.

The Yukagirs also have little tales about animals. An important part in these is played by the raven; however, he is not presented as the world-maker and great raven of other northern legends, but is invested with satirical traits. On the other hand, the clever and cunning hare is shown as the hero. It is the hare who kills the "ancient old man" hostile to the Yukagirs.

Historic tales describe the first encounters with Russians, Yukagir-Koryak wars, and relations between individual clans. Very characteristic too are short tales about daily life, picturing the isolated existence of small nomadic Yukagir groups in the past. Many of the tales have tragic endings, with the common theme of the fire going out in the hearth and the death of the Yukagir family.

The Yukagirs After the October Revolution

Soviet construction among the Yukagirs began in 1928, some time after the liquidation of the anti-Soviet bands which had fled from Red Army units sent from Vladivostok to the outer northern regions. Frightened by the looting of the Whites, the Yukagirs who lived at the mouths of the Yasa-chnaya and Korkodon Rivers withdrew deep into the taiga and did not learn about the formation of the first soviet in Sredne-Kolymsk until 1928, when they met the first trading agents of the Yakut Trading Agency ("Yakutorg"). At the end of 1929, when representatives of the Sredne-Kolymskiy Rayon Executive Committee arrived at the Nelemnoye encampment, the hunters elected deputies to the first Yukagir village soviet.

In 1929 Yukagir nomads asked the Northern Committee of the All-Russian Executive Committee to help them start a settled existence and build for them two large houses for 90 persons in the Nelemnoye area. The government met their request, allowing a special loan for this purpose.

In 1930, agriculture was organized with the help of the land agencies, and a plan was formed for the construction of necessary farm buildings. Two collective farms were organized at this time: "A Bright Life" in Nelemnoye, and "New Road" on the Korkodon. The Yukagirs were also issued a government loan for the purchase of reindeer and necessary implements.

November 7, 1936, was a particularly joyous day in Nelemnoye. This was the day, according to observers, when the Yukagirs dismantled their last tents, burned the smoke-blackened poles, and moved to their comfortable houses. The general type of dwelling today is the Russian log house. A new Yukagir village has sprung up on the banks of the Yasachnaya. It has a store, a school, a health station, and a reading room, with which a radio network is connected.

In 1937, the Nelemnoye and Korkodon Yukagirs first began to cultivate gardens. Their daily diet was enriched with vegetable dishes. And yet, as recently as 1935, they still did not know what potatoes were, and, when occasionally treated to potatoes, discarded them as inedible.

Fishing has developed to a great extent. Fisheries have been organized on the fishing waters assigned to the collective farms. Side by side with old methods, the Yukagirs have begun to use casting seines.

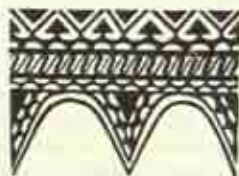
Fur-hunting also brings the Yukagirs a high income. Brigades of hunters going deep into the taiga are provided with special gear, tents, small stoves and stocks of provisions.

New Yukagir villages have come into being. The village of Balygychan was founded not far from the large vegetable-growing State Farm "Lower Seymohan." The Korkodon Yukagirs living in it work together with Yakuts.

In 1931 Yukagir children first sat down to study the alphabet, and the printed word for the first time reached the hunters. Today many Yukagir boys and girls attend schools and tekhnikums in the new city of Magadan, which arose in 1932 on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur, and in other cities.

The life of the tundra Yukagirs has also changed radically. Before the collectivization, in 1929, the tundra Yukagirs suffered a great disaster. The herds of wild reindeer, the principal object of Yukagir hunting, migrated from the Lower Kolyma (Khalerchinskaya) tundra. The tundra Yukagirs were faced with famine, since most of their households owned a very small number of reindeer, used for transportation. The Soviet government helped the Yukagirs, who organized into associations, to change to new forms of economic activity—reindeer-breeding for meat and skins, and fur-hunting.

Most of the tundra Yukagirs today belong to the Stalin collective farm and the "Turvaugin" collective in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR. Both of these are millionaire collectives. Their principal activity is reindeer-breeding for meat and skins. This is combined with fur-hunting and fishing. In both collectives Yukagirs work side by side with Chukchi, Evens, and Yakuts. There are, in both collectives, comfortable, well-planned villages with model dwellings, numerous cultural organizations and power stations. Yukagir children attend school, where instruction is in Yakut and in Russian.





THE CHUKCHI

V. V. ANTROPOVA and V. G. KUZNETSOVA

(based on pre-Revolutionary data by G. I. Mel'nikov)

General Information

The Chukchi are the largest people of the northeastern paleo-Asiatic group, which also includes the Koryaks and Itel'mens. The close kinship of the Chukchi (and the Koryaks) with the Itel'mens manifests itself almost solely in language. The Chukchi and the Koryaks are similar not only in language, but also in various aspects of their material and spiritual culture. Both the Chukchi and the Koryaks were divided into coastal hunters and reindeer-breeding tundra inhabitants. It should be noted that, in their economy, life and culture, there were more similarities between the reindeer-breeding Chukchi and Koryaks than between the reindeer-breeding Chukchi and the coastal Chukchi.

The coastal Chukchi call themselves An'kalyn (pl. — An'kalym) — "seaside resident." The reindeer-breeding tundra Chukchi call themselves, as do the reindeer-breeding Koryaks, Chavchu (pl. — Chavchuvat). In addition, both the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Chukchi call themselves Lyg'oravetlyan (pl. — Lyg'oravetlyat), which means "real man."

The Russian term, "Chukcha" or "Chukchi," derives from "Chavchu." In 1929-1930, when the question of names for the small northern peoples was being decided, the general term chosen for the Chukchi was "Lyg'oravetlyan," which was transformed into the Russian "Luoravetlan."

However, statistics and all official documents (passports, etc.) use the term "Chukcha" (fem. — "Chukchanka"). The Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR is the only place where "Luoravetlan" is used in official statistics, but even there it is never used in ordinary speech.

The neighboring Koryaks call the Chukchi Lygitann'ytan — "true outlander." The same ancient name for the Koryaks exists in the Chukchi language.

In both languages the original meaning of "tann'ytan" was "enemy," "outlander."

The Chukchi language belongs to the group of incorporating or including languages. The incorporation expresses itself in the complex word, consisting of two or three roots. The main root (either a verbal predicate or a defined noun) assumes all changes in number, case, person, declension and time. There are no dialects in the Chukchi language, but there are morphological differences between the languages of the western, reindeer-breeding

and eastern, coastal Chukchi. The former has retained a larger degree of incorporation.

One of the special features of the Chukchi language is the difference between male and female pronunciation. The women say "ts" where the men say "r." For instance, k'rym—ktsym ("no"). Many ancient lexical elements of the Eskimo language may also be discerned in Chukchi.

The counting system in Chukchi and Koryak is based on 20—the number of fingers and toes; hence to count means literally "to finger," 20 means literally "20 fingers," and 40—"two hands and two feet." [sic.]

According to the 1926-27 census, the Chukchi numbered 12,364 persons, of whom 70% were nomads, and 30% settled. The Chukchi live solely within the boundaries of the USSR. Their principal mass is concentrated in the Chukchi National Okrug of Magadanskaya Oblast (the okrug center is the workers' settlement, Anadyr'). The okrug consists of six rayons: Anadyr'skiy, Vostochnoy Tundry, Markovskiy, Chaunskiy, Chukotskiy and Iul'tinskiy. Some 300 Chukchi (according to the 1926-1927 census) lived in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR. Some 1000 Chukchi lived in the Koryak National Okrug, mainly in the area of Parapol'skiy Dale in the northern part of the Olyutorskiy Rayon.

The neighbors of the Chukchi include Eskimos, along the coast of the Bering Sea, Koryaks in the south, Yakuts and individual Yukagir families west of the Kolyma. The Chukchi meet Evens in the Kolyma and Anadyr' Basins. Another neighboring people are the Chuvantsy, who were in the past a subdivision of the Yukagirs. The Chukchi and Koryaks called them, as they did the Yukagirs, Etel (Atal).

The reindeer Chuvantsy, who speak Chukchi, live on the upper reaches of the Anadyr', in Markovskiy Rayon of the Chukchi National Okrug, and may at present be considered as part of the Chukchi people. Descendants of settled Chuvantsy, who speak Russian, live in a number of villages in the Chukchi and Koryak National Okrugs (Markovo, Penzhino, and others). They may now be considered Russians.

The territory of the Chukchi Okrug is some 660,000 square kilometers. The natural conditions of various parts of this large territory differ. Among the general features common to the entire or virtually the entire area is the harsh climate. Despite the relatively southerly location of a considerable part of the okrug, its climate is far more severe than the climate of the Kola Peninsula, which lies entirely beyond the Arctic Circle. The temperatures are low both winter and summer, due to the influence of nearby seas, particularly the Chukchi Sea, where ice is abundant throughout the summer.

The northern part of the Chukchi Okrug, which includes the watersheds and the northern slope of the Anadyr' Range, stretching from Shelag'skiy Cape to Kresta Bay, as well as the mountainous Chukchi Peninsula and the coastal regions to Medvezhiy Cape at Kolyma Bay are all in the tundra zone. The climate of this area is marked by dampness, fog and extremely low temperatures. In another large part of the okrug—the basin of its largest river, the Anadyr'—the climate becomes more and more continental as one moves west, away from the Bering Sea.

The flora of the Anadyr' Basin consists mainly of shrub thickets (dwarf cedar and alder). In the mountains there are stretches of rock and lichen-tundra; in the valleys—meadows and bogs. Along the river valleys, with the exception of the middle and lower reaches of the Anadyr', one even encounters deciduous woods (poplar, birch). Coniferous woods (larch) are encountered both along the upper course of the Anadyr' and on the Mayn River. Thus, it may be somewhat provisionally considered that

the area belongs to the forest-tundra zone, with the exception of the regions north of the Anadyr' Estuary, where only tundra is found.

The territory west of the Gydan Range and the Anadyr' Plateau, consisting of mountainous regions in the basin of the right-hand tributaries of the Kolyma (Omolon, and the Great and Little Anyuy), is still more continental in climate and belongs principally to the forest-tundra zone and the mountainous taiga belt of the forest zone.

The land fauna of the area is represented not only by tundra animals and birds, such as the white and, less frequently, blue polar fox, the polar wolf, the reindeer, the partridge (the last two are also found in the forest zone), but also by forest animals: squirrel, ermine, elk, fox, the brown bear, which comes out into the tundra, and the wolverine, which lives principally in forest-tundra but also makes forays into the tundra and the taiga. There are also occasional representatives of mountain fauna (sheep, now almost entirely exterminated) and living fossils of the steppe (yevrashka-hamster). Sea mammals are richly represented: the whale, white whale, killer whale, walrus (Pacific), various species of seal (common and bearded), sea lion. Along the coast there are polar bears. Marine fish include cod and migrant salmon, although the large salmon-runs occur only in the Anadyr' and farther south. Most important among the freshwater fish are salmon species (lake salmon, white salmon and others in the Kolyma Basin; grayling, in the rivers and lakes of the eastern regions).

In their economic activities and way of life, the Chukchi have until very recently consisted of two basic groups: the reindeer-breeding Chauchu (Chavchu) and the coastal sea-animal hunters (An'kalyt).

They were also subdivided into several territorial groups: 1) the western tundra Chukchi, living in the Nizhne-Kolymskiy Rayon of the Yakut ASSR; 2) the Little Anyuy Chukchi, who nomadized between the Anyuy and the Arctic Ocean, and moved to the coast in summer; 3) the Omolon Chukchi, who nomadized along the shores of the Omolon River and its right-hand tributaries below the Molonda River, and never came down to the sea; 4) the Chaun Chukchi, who nomadized near the Chaun Bay and Cape Shmidt; 5) the Amguema Chukchi, who nomadized along the Amguema River; 6) the Chukchi of the Chukchi Peninsula, who lived in the territory to the east of the line connecting Kresta Bay and Kolyuchin Bay; this group had greater connections than the rest with the coastal Chukchi; 7) the Onmylen (interior) Chukchi, who nomadized along the left tributaries of the Anadyr': Belaya, Tanyurer and Kanchalan, and also along the upper Anadyr', where the Chukchi merged with the Chuvantsy assimilated to them; 8) the Tuman or Vilyuney Chukchi, who lived along the Velikaya River and the sea-coast south of the mouth of the Anadyr'. This group also included the Chukchi who lived on predominantly Koryak territory, as well as the small group in the Mayn River Basin.

The villages of the coastal Chukchi on the Bering Sea coast were situated between Cape Dezhnev and the Khatyrka River. Somewhat farther west of Providence Bay, from the village of Serinek (the Russian pronunciation is Sireniki) to Senyavin Strait, Chukchi villages were intermingled with Eskimo villages. In a number of villages the population was mixed, Chukchi-Eskimo. On the coast of the Arctic Ocean, the Chukchi lived between the village of Uelen and Cape Shelag'skiy (Erri), with interruptions between the mouths of the Vankarem and Amguema Rivers. As a rule, the coastal villages were situated on capes and spits projecting into the sea (Yandagay, Nunyamo, Uelen, etc.), where large sea animals were most abundant. In the past, these villages were very small, consisting of 2 to 20 yarangas (dwellings). In recent times the villages have

grown in size, thanks to collectivization. This process is particularly intensive in the Chukotskiy Rayon.

Historical Background

The problem of Chukchi origin is linked with that of Eskimo origin. The theory most widely held in ethnographic literature, and developed most fully by the Russian investigator V. G. Bogoraz, holds that there was once a direct link between the paleo-Asiatic tribes of northeastern Asia and the Indians of northwestern America. According to this theory, the Eskimos are relatively recent arrivals in the region of the Bering Sea, who seem to have wedged themselves in between the paleo-Asiatics and the Indians. This theory of the "Eskimo wedge" calls forth a number of objections. Archeological, historical and linguistic materials suggest a more widespread population, which did not know reindeer-breeding, lived a settled existence in semiunderground dwellings, and engaged principally in hunting sea animals. These people can be regarded as the forebears of the Eskimos.

In the culture of the Chukchi, and particularly those of the coast, we find many elements characteristic of the Eskimos. We have already pointed out the similarities between the Eskimo and Chukchi languages. Anthropological data also attest to a common basis in the formation of the Chukchi and Eskimos, and thus contradict the theory of the "Eskimo wedge."

If we take into account the great similarity between the Chukchi and Koryaks both culturally and linguistically, we may assume that the region of formation of the Chukchi-Koryak group lay to the south of their present territory. From here, the ancestors of the Chukchi spread north, assimilating the Eskimos and in turn being influenced by Eskimo language and culture.

The Chukchi folklore reflects clashes between the Chukchi and the Asiatic Eskimos, as well as between Chukchi and Koryaks. Although it is difficult to date the Chukchi tales even approximately, V. G. Bogoraz nevertheless considers the stories of Chukchi-Eskimo clashes older than those of Chukchi-Koryak wars: the former are less clear and vivid, and lack proper names. The Chukchi appear in them most often as reindeer-breeders. They make raids upon the Eskimos, returning with loot—sea animals, and captives, whom they force to herd their reindeer.

Archeological excavations done by S. I. Rudenko on the coast in 1945 and A. P. Okladnikov's excavations around Cape Baranov in 1946, as well as toponymics, indicate that the territory from Cape Shmidt to Cape Dezhnev was occupied in ancient times by the Eskimos. Today most of this territory is occupied in ancient times by the Eskimos. Today most of this territory is occupied by the Chukchi. Evidently, the two groups underwent a process of fusion, with the Chukchi language winning out over Eskimo. This resulted in the formation of the contemporary coastal Chukchi, whose economy, culture and life bear traces of Eskimo influence.

It may be assumed that the methods of hunting sea animals, and the weapons used, were borrowed by the Chukchi from the Eskimos. In the area of religious beliefs, it is important to note the coincidence of many rituals and festivals formerly prevalent among the coastal Chukchi and the Eskimos. These include sacrifices to the sea to insure success in the hunt, the festival of Keretkun'a the master spirit of the sea (the Eskimos

called him *Kachak's*, or "great woman"), the "baydar [whaleboat] festival," the "festival of the heads," the whale festival, etc.

From numerous Chukchi tales about conflicts with Koryaks, it may be seen that the object of Chukchi raids on the latter was to seize their reindeer herds. The frequent conflicts between the Chukchi and Koryaks are confirmed also by historical documents of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The relations between the Chukchi and neighboring peoples were not confined to conflicts. Intertribal barter was also important. According to legends, Chukchi and Eskimos met in Uelen and Naukan to barter. Both sides came fully armed and offered each other articles for exchange at the tips of their spears, or else exchanged them with bared knives in their hands. Barter took place between Eskimos of Alaska and St. Lawrence Island, on the one hand, and coastal Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos, on the other. The American Eskimos needed deerskins and furs clothing. Through the Asiatic Eskimos, the reindeer Chukchi obtained from the American Eskimos blubber oil and the skins of walrus, bearded seal and river beaver, as well as leather straps. In the tundra, the Chukchi bartered widely with Koryaks, Yukagirs and Evens.

Russians first encountered Chukchi in the middle of the 17th century. In 1642, the Cossack Ivan Yerastov and his comrades met Chukchi west of the Kolyma on the Alazeya River.

In 1644, the Russians established the fort of Nizhnekolymsk, and in 1649, that of Anadyr'. From here, the Cossacks later came into direct contact with the Chukchi. Along with soldiers and officials, the northeast was penetrated also by tradesmen and hunters.

Attempts to impose the fur-tax on the Chukchi failed, since the territory inhabited by them was poor in furs, and the collection of taxes from the nomads in the tundra was too difficult. In the second half of the 18th century, the government abandoned any attempt at compulsory fur levies; campaigns into areas of Chukchi habitation, in completely unknown and almost inaccessible tundras, were extremely expensive and did not justify themselves economically. In 1770, the government liquidated the Anadyr' Fortress, on the maintenance of which it had spent 1,381,000 rubles from 1710 to 1764, while the tribute collected by it was worth altogether some 29,000 rubles. With the opening of the sea route to Kamchatka the Anadyr' Fort also lost its role as a way-station.

The end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries were marked by the establishment of trade relations between the Russians and the Chukchi, in which the Chukchi themselves had an interest. Russian goods (especially cauldrons and other iron articles) and tobacco were in great demand. Archive sources attest that the western reindeer-breeding Chukchi repeatedly requested the local administration to expand trade.

The end of the 18th century witnessed the emergence of the first Russian-Chukchi fairs, which existed until the Revolution. In 1788, the first steps were made to establish the Anyuy market (on the Anyuy River, in the village of Ostrovnoye), which was to play an important part in the development of trade relations throughout the northeast. The rapid growth of its trade turnover, which had reached the figure of 200,000 rubles by 1822, was due to the fact that the trading involved not only the reindeer-breeding Chukchi, but also the sedentary population of the Chukchi Peninsula—the coastal Chukchi and Eskimos, and, through them, also the Alaska Eskimos. Thus, the population of a vast territory of several thousand kilometers was drawn into the trading activities. Several other Russian-Chukchi fairs (or markets) developed later: the Tuman fair (on the Mayn River, a tributary of the Anadyr'), the Markovo fair (on the Anadyr'), the Chukchi

(east of the village of Penzhino), etc. The chief media of exchange in Russo-Chukchi trade were tobacco and kettles, on the Russian side, and red fox on the Chukchi side. The value of all the other goods was computed in terms of these.

Simultaneously with the organization of trade, the tsarist administration tried to levy taxes from the Chukchi and thereby to subject them completely to itself. However, wishing to draw the Chukchi to its side, the local administration acted with great caution. The tax was paid on a voluntary basis, and its payment was encouraged by presents. The treasury assigned certain sums to the local authorities every year for the purchase of various goods (tobacco, kettles, knives). These were brought to the fair and distributed to Chukchi who voluntarily paid tribute in furs.

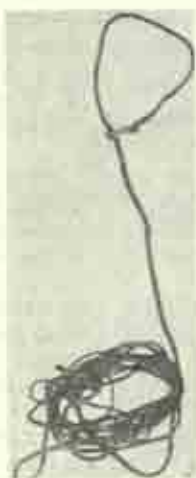
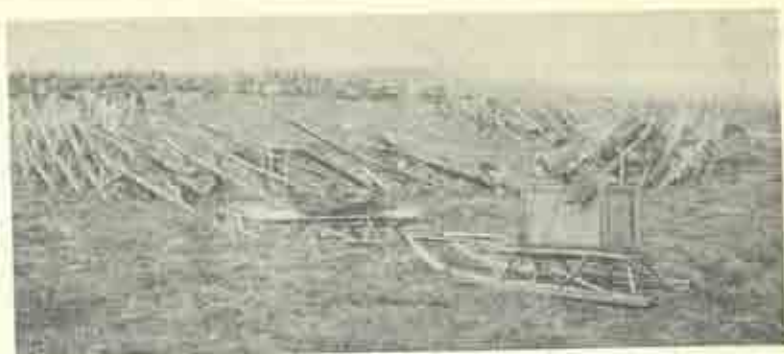
After the establishment of good relations with the Russians, the Chukchi were no longer subjected to restrictions in broadening the territories of their wanderings. As a result, in the early years of the 19th century, the Chukchi gradually began to spread west and southwest, to territories formerly inhabited by Yukagirs. This was necessitated by the great expansion of Chukchi reindeer-breeding, which required new grazing lands.

Under the "Native Code" issued in 1822, the Chukchi were classed with the special group of "natives who were not completely dependent on the government," who were "governed and tried according to their own customs and rituals" and who paid tribute "according to their own will, both as to quantity and as to quality."

A "clan administration" was organized among the Chukchi in the later 1850's. The Kolyma police chief G. Maydel', who later became known as a student of the Chukchi, divided them into "clans" and appointed a princeling in each "clan," seeking in this way to utilize the well-to-do upper strata of the Chukchi for the collection of taxes. In the early 20th century, the descendants of these princelings still preserved the dirks, medals and similar marks of distinction issued to their ancestors. However, these measures did not yield the desired results. The Chukchi did not recognize the authority of the appointed princelings and paid no tribute.

The coastal Chukchi are known according to historical documents since 1648, the date of Semen Dezhev's sea journey. In the 18th and 19th centuries they were repeatedly visited by Russian Cossacks, sent from the Anadyr' Fort, as well as Russian travelers, navigators, topographers, merchants, etc. In the 1850's, American traders and whalers appeared in the seas around the Chukchi Peninsula; in addition to hunting, they also traded with the natives (coastal Chukchi and Eskimos). The penetration of Americans on the Chukchi Peninsula had a disruptive effect on the economy of the coastal population. The large-scale trading in alcohol, and the mass extermination of the most valuable animals—whales and walrus—were ruinous to the economic well-being of the coastal Chukchi and Eskimos.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the tsarist government took some steps to expel the foreigners. In 1889, the special Mariinskii Administrative Post was set up on the Anadyr'. Encouragement was given to Russian trade on the Chukchi Peninsula, and Russian merchants began to engage in successful competition with the foreigners. Coal mining, chiefly for the needs of steamships, was also developed. This went on until World War I. The war years saw an influx of petty traders, mainly foreign, on the Chukchi Peninsula. English, American, Norwegian and other whalers and traders came to the coastal areas along the Arctic Ocean and Bering Strait. They got the natives drunk, and then proceeded to cheat and plunder them. These traders were eliminated only after the establishment of the Soviet government on the Chukchi Peninsula.



Reindeer-breeding and hunting:
 1—corral for reindeer; 2—lasso for catching reindeer; 3—device for
 pulling out killed animals from the water; 4—throwing device for
 bird hunting.

Economy

We have pointed out earlier that the Chukchi consisted of two very different and economically separate groups: the coastal ("sedentary") hunters, whose basic occupation was hunting sea animals, and the nomadic reindeer-breeders in the tundra. The two groups were bound by barter in kind. In addition to economic ties, they were also linked by ancient ties of kinship. Among the reindeer-breeders, one could always encounter Chukchi who traced their origin to "the coast," and vice versa. There were also changes from one type of economic activity to the other. A coastal Chukchi might acquire reindeer and become a reindeer-breeder; a reindeer-breeder who lost his reindeer might move to the coast and become a hunter.

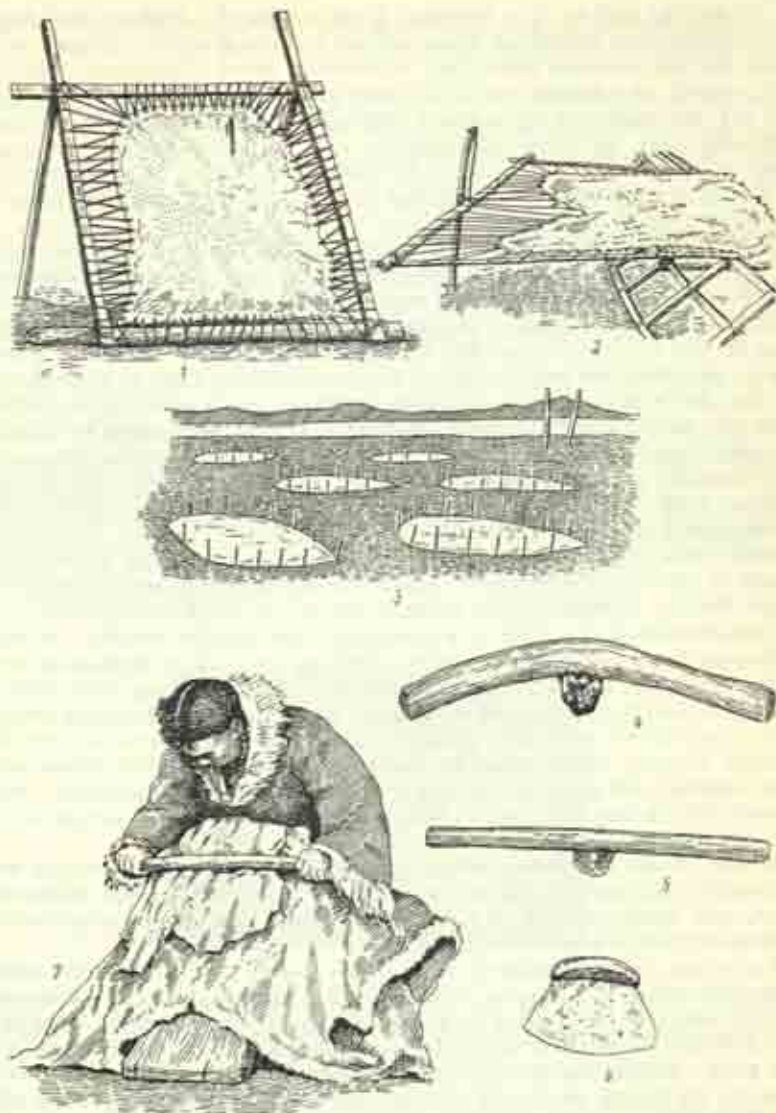
Besides the two distinct types of economy—reindeer-breeding and sea hunting—there were also some mixed ones. Thus, the owners of a small reindeer herd (50-150 head), which could not provide them with sufficient meat and skins, were also compelled to hunt sea animals. Territorially, such households were situated, not deep in the tundra, but nearer to the coast.

Chukchi reindeer-breeding, as compared with that of other northern peoples, was the largest both in the total number of reindeer, and in the size of the individual herds. At the same time, it was the most archaic in the entire Asiatic North. The reindeer were herded only by the herdsmen, without the aid of dogs, which none of the eastern Siberian peoples used for reindeer-herding. The herdsman was compelled to keep watch by himself on every reindeer, chasing those which separated from the herd. It was particularly difficult to keep the herd together in summer, during the "gnat period," as well as during winter storms, due to frequent attacks by wolves. Some of the reindeer were killed by predators, others scattered in panic, and the herdsmen had to wander for a long time over the tundra, gathering up the herd; often they were unable to find all the reindeer. The Chukchi reindeer were not very tame, and even the draught reindeer could be caught only with a lariat or decoyed with the smell of urine; every herdsman wore on his belt a small leather vessel for urine, to be used in case of need. Sometimes, when it was necessary to separate the draught reindeer from the herd, the Chukchi constructed primitive corrals of sleds. The primitive character of Chukchi reindeer-breeding methods was also evident in their manner of castrating reindeer. The male was caught with a lariat and thrown down; two men held him, while a third crushed its testicles with his teeth, after which the animal was released.

The entire existence of the reindeer-breeding Chukchi depended on the condition of their herd, since the reindeer provided the population with all its needs: meat for food, pelts for clothing, footwear and their housing needs, and so on. The reindeer-breeding Chukchi also bartered with the coastal population, giving them reindeer products in exchange for the fat of the sea animals (used for fuel, lighting and food), leather thongs, and summer clothing and footwear of sealskin. The reindeer also served as a draught animal, but it was used in this capacity only for the Chukchi's own needs.

One tent, for the use of the herdsmen, was moved along with the herd. The basic camp population—women, old men, children and invalids—usually migrated several times a year.

Sea hunting held a place among the coastal Chukchi analogous to that of reindeer-breeding among the tundra Chukchi. The principal animals hunted



Processing of skins:

1—stretched walrus skin; 2—drying the skin of a polar bear on the frame of a baydar; 3—drying sealskins on the ground; 4—scraping tool with a stone tip; 5—scraping tool with an iron tip; 6—a woman's knife; 7—working a pelt with a scraper.

were the walrus, the whale and several species of seal (chiefly the common and bearded varieties).

Until the advent of firearms, the main weapon in sea hunting was a harpoon, similar to the one used by Eskimos. In winter and spring, the common seal was hunted near so-called blowholes—holes in the ice made by

the animal to enable it to breathe. With the aid of a trained sled dog, the hunter found such breathing holes and set into them cradle-shaped nets, in which the seal became entangled. In another, more widespread, variant of this method, the hunter would sit down near the hole, on the lee side, and wait for the animal's appearance. When he heard the breathing of the approaching seal, he threw his harpoon at it, pulled it out onto the ice, and killed it with a blow on the nose. In addition to hunting at breathing holes, the Chukchi rode out with their dogs to the edge of the ice, and harpooned seal appearing in open water.

In spring, when the sun became warm and the seals climbed out through the breathing hole to warm themselves in the sun, the hunters crawled up to the animals and killed them with harpoons. It required great skill to approach the seals without frightening them off. The hunter used camouflage in the form of a sealskin hat shaped like a seal's head. He crawled slowly, imitating the movements of the seal and from time to time scratching the ice with a special scraper to which seal's claws were fastened. When the seal raised its head, the hunter stopped still; then he continued his crawl until he reached within harpoon-throwing distance. In summer, the Chukchi hunted seal with similar harpoons from a small baydar (leather boat), or with a net woven of thin, strong leather strips made of bearded-seal skins.

Seal were hunted individually, but walrus and, especially, whale were hunted in parties. Walrus were hunted chiefly in spring and summer (from early May to October). The hunters sailed out on a baydar, with one or two harpooners in the prow, 5-6 oarsmen in the middle, and the "master of the baydar" (its owner) in the stern. Sighting the walrus swimming among the ice floes, the hunters chased it and the harpooners flung their harpoons at it. Attached to the harpoon strap was a float made of a sealskin removed whole and filled with air (buyek). This impeded the movement of the wounded walrus, which tried to escape; it also prevented a killed animal from sinking and marked the place for the approaching hunters. The exhausted walrus was finished off with a spear, towed to the nearest safe ice floe, and dressed.

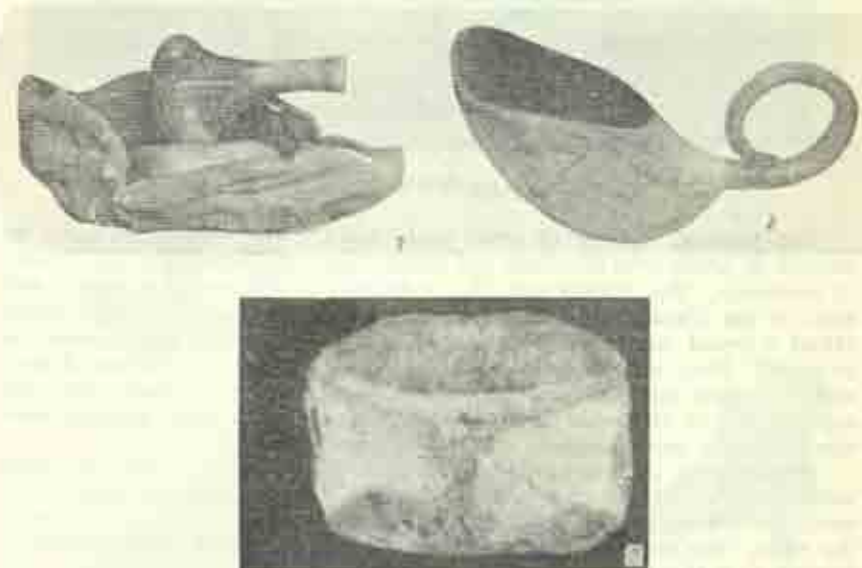
Whale hunts required several baydars. Rowing up to the whale cautiously, the hunters threw harpoons at it—longer than the walrus harpoons, and equipped with 2-3 pairs of floats. The exhausted animal was finished off with a special long spear and towed ashore.

Firearms became widespread in the latter half of the 19th century (magazine-rifles and special whaling guns). Their use led to the abandonment of some of the hunting methods described above, and the simplification of others. In summer and spring, seal were killed at the breathing holes with guns. During the spring hunt, it was no longer necessary to crawl up close to the dozing seal; this obviated the need for camouflage with all its accoutrements (special clothing and scrapers). Sometimes the hunt was conducted directly from the sled. Sensing the animal, the dog team raced so fast that the seal did not have time enough to slip under the ice, and the hunter jumped off the sled and shot it. Riding out with dogs to the edge of the ice, the hunters took along a little baydar in the sledge. The shot seal was pulled out with a vybroska [see illustration p. 805, no. 3—Ed.]—a special device with hooks on a long strap.

When hunting walrus with firearms, the hunters in the baydar (or whale boat) tried first to wound the animal. When the wounded animal began to fail, the hunters came nearer and killed it with a shot in the head. Together with the last shot, they threw a harpoon at the walrus and cast the float overboard to prevent its sinking. When a group of walrus was pursued, the

hunters chased the others after killing the first, securing each killed animal with a float. Later they towed them to the nearest ice floe and skinned them.

The catch was enormously important to the coastal Chukchi. The meat of the animals constituted their basic diet. It was also used to feed the dogs. Sealskins were used for summer clothing and footwear; walrus skins were used in covering the yaranga (hut) in summer and as floor covering; they were also used in making baydars, and so on. Bearded-seal skins provided soles and leather strips of various widths and thicknesses for household and hunting needs. Dog harness was made entirely of the skins of sea animals. Small articles were made of walrus tusks. Whalebone was used for lining sled runners, and so on. Thus, the well-being of the coastal population depended entirely on successful hunting of sea animals.



Utensils:

- 1—leather vessel, stone stand, and stone mallet for breaking bones;
- 2—dipper, made from the horn of a mountain sheep; 3—vessel made of a whale vertebra.

With the exception of those who lived in the Anadyr' and Kolyma Basins, and to some extent in the Chaun Basin, the Chukchi did little fishing. In the summer, the coastal Chukchi caught navaga [*Eliginus navaga*] with small weighted nets. The net was lowered on a cord from the baydar over passing shoals of fish. Cod and halibut were also caught in summer. In fishing with a rod, the line was attached to a short stick. Artificial bait was used, consisting of a piece of red material or a lure of walrus tusk in the form of a tiny fish. Similar rods were used in fishing for navaga and bullhead in the bays—in winter, through ice-holes, in spring, in cracks in the ice. The Chukchi net, used in summer fishing in bays, rivers and lakes for loach and humpback salmon, was very narrow and short. It was set from the shore with the aid of a long pole. The catch did not provide the Chukchi with sufficient food even during the brief summer season.



Packing meat in a bag of sealskin.

Fur-hunting, chiefly of white polar fox and fox, developed under the impact of trade with Russians and Americans. Fur was the basic medium of exchange. The implements of fur-hunting were iron springtraps and, west of the Chaun, traps of the crushing type. Every winter the Chukchi killed a small number of polar bears, but only when they encountered the animals. They did not hunt them. In former times, the hunting of meat animals—wild reindeer and mountain sheep—was important; after the appearance of firearms on the Chukchi Peninsula, these animals were almost totally exterminated.

Before guns were available, birds were hunted with a special throwing weapon. It consisted of 5-6 thick cords, woven of reindeer tendon, with small stones or pieces, usually round, of walrus tusk or wood attached to the ends. The other ends of the cords were tied together. Such a missile, thrown at a flying flock, entangled the bird, and it fell to the ground. Sea birds and partridge were caught in noose-traps of reindeer tendon or whale barbs. The old method of hunting birds with a small throwing board and a dart disappeared by the end of the 19th century. Elder were hunted in late July, when they swam close to the shore. The Chukchi surrounded them in baydars and killed them with sticks. They usually returned from such hunts with baydars full of elder. These hunts were therefore of great value in supplementing the economic needs of the Chukchi.

Wild edible plants were also important. They were gathered by women and children. Roots were dug up with a special hoe, which was formerly made of a curved horn, tied to a wooden handle; later the horn was replaced by a piece of iron. Many roots were obtained by the women from mouse-burrows.

Food

The principal food of the reindeer-breeding Chukchi was reindeer meat. The Chukchi ate not only the meat, fat and brain, but also the blood, intestines and contents of the reindeer's stomach (ril'keil'), and even the meat



Men's clothing:

- 1—winter garb of the reindeer Chukchi; 2—headdress;
3—fur shirt; 4—fur footwear.

of dead reindeer. Ril'kell' consists of a mass of small plant fibers, resembling a greenish pulp. It was squeezed, mixed with blood, fat and small pieces of the thin intestines of the deer, and cooked. Ril'kell' was prepared and stored up during mass reindeer slaughtering. It was the usual breakfast of the reindeer-breeding Chukchi.



Women's and children's clothing:
1—kerker; 2—a child's garment; 3—a woman's boot of sealskin;
4—women's boots of reindeer skin.

The principal food of the coastal Chukchi was the meat and fat of walrus, common and bearded seal. Only the meat of large animals—white whale, whale and walrus—was prepared and stocked up. Walrus meat was prepared very simply: the carcass was cut into large pieces together with the skin (up to 80 kg each), sewed into the skin, frozen, and heaped in special pits dug for this purpose. The low temperature in the pit prevented decay, but was not sufficient to fully preserve the meat, which was not salted, since the Chukchi generally used no salt. The result was a fermented walrus meat (*kopal'gyn*), which was eaten all winter. The meat of reindeer and sea animals was eaten cooked, jerked and raw. Fish was eaten raw; in the Anadyr' and Kolyma Basins it was made into *yukola*.



Waterproof garment of gut.

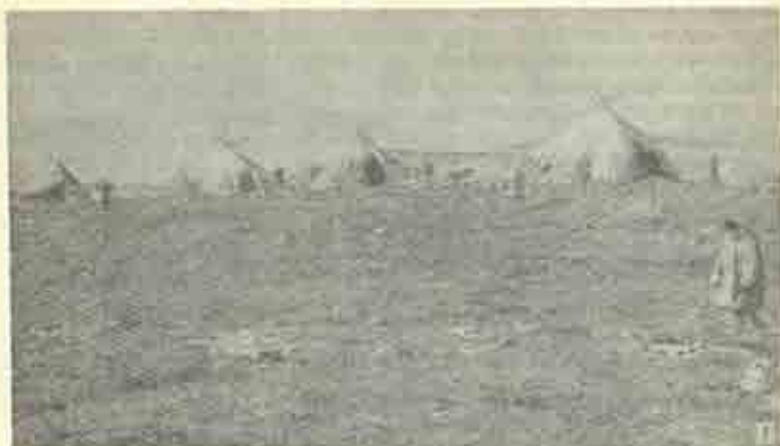
The Chukchi also ate the leaves of dwarf-willow and wild sorrel and various edible roots, which were usually stocked up. Willow leaves were mixed with *ril'keil'* and used as a garnish with meat or seal fat, or were eaten, most frequently in a frozen state, with reindeer blood. Roots were also mixed with reindeer blood and fat. The coastal Chukchi fermented leaves and grasses, but without mixing them with *ril'keil'*, and ate them as a garnish with meat. In summer, they ate seaweed with fat, raw and cooked. Loaves of ground roots mixed with meat and fat were considered a delicacy. Coastal Chukchi usually brought them as gifts to reindeer-breeding Chukchi.

The consumption of imported products—flour, zwieback, biscuits, tea and sugar—was insignificant, especially deeper in the tundra. Flour was made into unleavened flatcakes and fried in seal fat; flour gruel was also made.

The Chukchi utensils consisted of various plates, wooden, bone and leather vessels; spoons of wood, bone and sheep's horns; vessels of whale vertebra; bags made from whole sealskins. In the bags, the Chukchi kept seal fat, *ril'keil'*, meat, vegetable foods, etc. In the latter half of the 19th century, Russian utensils (kettles, teapots, glasses and cups) came into wide use.

Clothing

Chukchi dress was closed, that is, without a lengthwise opening in front or back. Both the coastal and the reindeer-breeding Chukchi made their



Dwellings:

1—reindeer-breeders' encampment; 2—yaranga.

clothing of the skins of young reindeer and seal. The men wore a double fur shirt (the Russians called it a kukhlyanka or kukashka) on their bare bodies; the shirt reached to the knees, or higher. The inner shirt was worn with the fur inside; the upper one, with the fur outside. It was so wide that it was easy to pull the hand out of the sleeve inside the shirt. The hem, sleeves, and often the collar were edged with dog or wolverine fur. The trousers were also double (the upper ones of reindeer fur, soft leather or sealskin; the inside ones, usually of deerskin); they were narrow, and sheathed the leg closely down to the ankle. Footwear was short, with a fur stocking. The soles were usually made of bearded-seal skin or reindeer brush (the coarse-furred skin under the deer's hooves). The kukhlyanka was belted with a strap, so that the upper part was bloused. A knife, a tobacco pouch and other articles were hung from the strap. Headdress was worn rarely;

even in winter the Chukchi went about bareheaded, wearing a hat only when journeying. The most widespread head-covering was shaped like a hood; on the road, during snowstorms or great frosts, the Chukchi wore a hat with a capelet which covered the neck and chest. Sometimes they wore a boa of squirrel tails. There was also a little hat with ear muffs, which covered the forehead and back of the head, but left the crown open. During snowfall or storms, they wore a fabric or suede robe, coming down to the knees and equipped with a cowl. Summer clothing and footwear were made of suede and sealskins. In rainy weather, the coastal Chukchi wore clothing made of walrus intestines.



Stone oil lamp with a saucer.

Women's dress consisted of knee-length fur overalls (kerker), with wide sleeves and collar. In winter, the overalls were double; in summer they were single, worn with the fur inside. Women's footwear was of the same cut as the men's, but higher, up to the knees.

There were no special differences in cut in the clothing of reindeer-breeding and coastal Chukchi.

Children to the age of 4 or 5 wore special overalls. The sleeves and pants of infants were sewed up for warmth. The pants had an opening, covered with a special flap, lined with dry moss or reindeer wool.

In the past, the Chukchi practiced tattooing. Despite their close association with Eskimos, whose tattooing was extensive and complicated, the Chukchi tattooing was very simple: it usually consisted of small circles at the edge of the mouth for men, two straight lines on the nose and forehead and several lines on the chin for women. Complex tattooing was exceptional. The purpose of the tattoo-marks was religious and magical—defense against evil spirits. Childless women made three curved lines at equal distance from each other on both cheeks against infertility. Tattooing was done with a needle and a fine thread, rubbed with soot or gunpowder, which were drawn through the skin.

The Chukchi adornments consisted of bracelets and bead necklaces. Bracelets were made of narrow leather strips with a bead tied at the end.

The men wore their hair in various ways. As a rule, the Chukchi shaved the crown, leaving a circle of hair running from the forehead to the back of the head; sometimes a similar circle was left around the crown. The women wore their hair in two tightly plaited braids, the ends of which were tied together with a leather thong; sometimes, beads or bead ornaments were woven into the braid.

Dwellings

The encampments of reindeer-breeding Chukchi consisted of 2 to 10 tents (yarangas), usually running in a line from east to west, one behind the other, according to the wealth of the owners. The first yaranga, in the east, belonging to the owner of the camp; the last belonged to the poorest member of the group.

The villages of the coastal Chukchi usually consisted of 2 to 20 (and sometimes more) yarangas, scattered at some distance from one another. The size of the village was determined by the hunting resources of the given region.

The Chukchi yaranga was a large tent, cylindrical at the base and conical in its upper part. The skeleton of the tent was made of poles, inserted into the ground vertically in a circle. On top of these were laid horizontal poles, to which still others were tied at an angle so that they met above, forming a cone-shaped roof. At the center stood three poles, tripod fashion, and the upper ends of the roof-poles rested on these. The frame was then covered. The reindeer-breeding Chukchi sewed the tent cover of old deer-skins with the fur cut off; the coastal ones used tarpaulins or walrus skins. To prevent its being blown over by the violent winds raging on the Chukchi Peninsula, the yaranga was tied round with straps, to which large stones were attached; the reindeer-breeding Chukchi also propped their freight-carrying sleds against it. Because of the frequent need to move, the reindeer-breeders' yaranga was smaller and lighter than that of the coastal Chukchi. A fur canopy was usually attached inside the yaranga to one of the horizontal cross-poles (usually at the rear wall) with the aid of more poles. This was a characteristic feature of the dwelling of the Chukchi, Koryaks and Asiatic Eskimos. In shape, the canopy resembled a box turned upside down. There were usually from 1 to 3, occasionally 4 such canopies in a yaranga. Within them there was room for several persons, who entered by lifting up the front wall and crawling in. Inside, it became so hot that the people sat there naked to the waist, and sometimes entirely nude. They were lighted and heated by an oil lamp—a stone, clay or wooden bowl with a wick of moss, floating in seal fat. On this fire the coastal Chukchi cooked their food, suspending the pot from a stake or a hook. When firewood was available, a small fire was laid in the cold part of the yaranga for cooking food.

Inside the yaranga the Chukchi sat on skins laid out on the ground. They also used low three-legged stools and tree roots. Sometimes they made stools of deer horns, cut off with the top of the skull.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the coastal Chukchi still lived in the ancient type of dwelling—the semidugouts, of which their ruins can be found to this day. The round skeleton of the semidugout was made of the jaws and ribs of the whale (hence the Chukchi designation, *valkaran*—"house of whale jaws"); it was then covered with sod and an outer layer of earth. Sometimes the bone frame was set into a hollow, so that the dwelling was partly underground, with its roof above ground. The semidugout had two entrances: a long corridor, used only in winter, since in summer-time it was flooded with water; and a round opening on the top, closed with a whale's shoulder blade and used only in summer. The floor of the hut, or, at any rate, the middle of it, was covered with large bones. In the center stood a large blubber lamp which burned day and night. Raised platforms were built on four sides of the hut, on which 2 to 4 canopies of the usual type were set, depending on the number of families occupying the hut.

The replacement of the semidugouts by yarangas greatly improved the housing conditions of the coastal Chukchi. However, the lack of windows, the crowding inside the canopies, the constant soot from the burner, and the presence of dogs in the yaranga made cleanliness impossible. The reindeer-breeding Chukchi kept their canopies cleaner than the coastal ones; thanks to the frequent migrations, the canopies were taken out and beaten clean. The coastal Chukchi did this only twice a year—in spring and in autumn. The beating of the yaranga covers was one of the hard jobs of the Chukchi women. For this purpose, they had special bats—sticks of reindeer horns or wood, curved slightly at one end and 50 to 70 centimeters long.



Means of transportation:

1—reindeer transport; 2—dog team; 3—baydar.

In summertime during their journeys along the coast, some of the coastal Chukchi lived in tents, as did some of the reindeer-breeders during their wanderings in the tundra. When they had no tent, the coastal Chukchi constructed a tent-like dwelling of three oars and a sail, or else they slept under an overturned baydar.

The reindeer-breeding Chukchi had no buildings for economic purposes. They kept all supplementary things and food stocks inside the yaranga; in summertime, they packed all the unnecessary things into freight-hauling sleds, set near the dwelling, and covered them with suede for protection against rain.

The coastal Chukchi usually set four whale ribs into the ground near the yaranga, with crossbars some two meters above ground. In the summer, they kept their sleds on them, and in winter, the baydars, to prevent the dogs from eating the leather fastenings of the former and the covering of the latter. The rest of the Chukchi belongings were kept inside the yaranga.

Means of Transportation

The principal means of transportation of the reindeer-breeding Chukchi were reindeer; coastal Chukchi traveled by dogs. The reindeer were used only in harness; the Chukchi did not practice riding on the animal's back. The reindeer sleighs, similar to those of the Koryaks, were of two types: for traveling and for freight-hauling. The former was made of slender poles and sticks, fastened with straps, and had narrow runners, curved in front. Several bent staves were attached to the runners, one end to the right runner, and the other, to the left. Three lengthwise and several crosswise poles were then made into a frame (the seat), resting on the arc of the supporting poles. The rear of the seat was equipped with something like a backrest, made of thin, bent sticks. All the parts of the sled were fastened with thongs, without the use of pins or nails. The traveling sled was drawn by a team of two reindeer, managed with the aid of a long rein, attached to the halter on the right side; the reindeer were urged on with a long switch. As a rule, only one man rode on such a sled, sitting astride it and balancing with his feet. The women's riding sledge was larger and stronger than the men's.

Freight sleds, clumsier and heavier, were used in migrating for transporting belongings and small children. In the latter case, a wooden frame was set up on the sled and covered with fur. When the entire encampment was moved, there was a train of several dozen sleds for transporting the dwellings and household goods. The men led the way, clearing the road and cutting openings in thickets. The train itself was led by the women, each managing 10-15 sleds, traveling single file.

Dog travel underwent substantial changes among the coastal Chukchi after the middle of the 19th century. The fan-like method of harnessing the dogs and the arc-based sled of the reindeer type were replaced by the so-called Eastern Siberian sled and tandem harness. These were strongly influenced by the Russians. The Eastern Siberian sled was long and narrow, on straight staves and with a shaft-bow in front, to which a long strap was attached. Up to 12 dogs were harnessed to this strap in pairs. Dogs were used both for freight-hauling and for travel. They were also used in winter hunting on the sea. They were fed on fermented walrus meat (kopal'gyn).

Over water, the Chukchi, like the Eskimos, traveled in leather boats—baydars, made of walrus leather stretched over wood frames. The baydar was propelled with the aid of a lateen sail or oars. It varied in size, the small ones carrying one man, the larger ones up to 20 or 30. The average baydar carried 7-10 persons. Shortly before the Revolution, the well-to-do Chukchi began to acquire European-type whaleboats.

In summer, the Chukchi could travel in the tundra only on foot; in winter, they used reindeer and dog teams, as well as snowshoes of the walking type.

These snowshoes were made in the shape of an oval frame, interwoven with a network of leather thongs. In the Kolyma Basin, fur-lined gliding skis were used; these were borrowed from the Evenks.

Social Order and Religious Beliefs

The extensive materials collected by V. G. Bogoraz at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries attest to the survival among the Chukchi of remnants of primitive-communal relations (collective forms of production and distribution, customs of mutual aid, hospitality, etc.). However, views on the level of development of Chukchi society at that time differ. Some students have asserted that Chukchi society was in the preclan stage; other have thought that, having passed the matriarchal stage, it had lost its clan organization. Still others inclined to the view that it was a patriarchal society, but in such an extreme state of disintegration that it had lost all traces of clan organization. The reason for these disagreements was the presence in Chukchi society of phenomena belonging to different stages of social development. On the one hand, there were remnants of primitive-communal relations, on the other—property and social differentiation. The idea that Chukchi society was in the preclan stage was based on the absence of exogamy, clan names and clan self-government. But this view is so devoid of proof that it does not deserve serious consideration.

The presence of a number of survivals (marriage by working for the bride, the ideal of female mistress-spirits) indicates that the Chukchi went through the matriarchal stage in their development. In order to answer the question of whether the Chukchi had developed patriarchal clans, and to determine the stage of development in which the Russians found them, it is important to analyze the Chukchi's social production and to study the character of their socioeconomic relations.

The basic socioeconomic unit of the coastal Chukchi in the early years of the 20th century was the so-called baydar party or team—the *etvetyryyn* ("the contents of the baydar"), which united 3-5 related families. The head of this party was the owner of the baydar—the helmsman. Members of a baydar party (not less than 8 persons) hunted together, and divided the spoils according to set rules. In whale hunts, several parties banded together.

The basic nucleus of the baydar party consisted of relatives, but it also frequently included men who were simply neighbors. This suggests that, by the beginning of the 20th century, the baydar party was a territorial association. The members of the party usually lived in the same part of the village. The larger social unit of the coastal Chukchi was the village, which was also a territorial association of related and unrelated families, although in the late 19th and early 20th centuries there were still villages consisting entirely of relatives.

The economic unit of the reindeer Chukchi was the encampment. As a rule, it consisted of 4-5 families, living in several yarangas and herding their reindeer in common. The presence in the encampments of persons and families not tied by kinship—so-called *nyntumgyt* (literally, "encampment comrades," "neighbors")—attests to the fact that elements of the neighborhood community were to a large extent characteristic of the reindeer Chukchi at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Along with the encampment, V. G. Bogoraz observed among the reindeer Chukchi associations based purely on kinship as well—the family groups (varat). Members of the varat were bound among themselves by a number of common duties and ceremonies. The custom of vendetta was a particularly strong tie; hence the family group was also called chinyyryn—"group of participants in vendetta." Every family had its fire, obtained from the sacred wooden fire-stick. Fire could be handed over only to relatives along the father's line. Persons belonging to the paternal kinship line were called people of "one fire." There were also special marks, painted on the face with reindeer blood during the autumn sacrifices; families bound by kinship along the paternal line used the same marks, transmitted from generation to generation. Hence another name for the family group—"people of one blood." Fifteen to twenty encampments were united in territorial groups, bound by mutual-aid ties.

In old times, the Chukchi practiced patriarchal slavery. Slaves, both men and women, were captured during the wars which the Chukchi waged with their neighbors—the Koryaks, Yukagir-Chuvantsy and Eskimos—until the middle of the 18th century. The slaves lived in their master's yaranga, herded his reindeer and performed other tasks. Sometimes, a murderer or a member of the murderer's family was turned over to the relatives of the murdered man, and became a slave. Such a man came to live with the family of the murdered man and had to do all his work, replacing the husband to the widow and the father to the children. The consolidation of Russian rule on the Chukchi Peninsula gradually led to the abolition of slavery among the Chukchi.



Fire-making device.

In the area of family and marriage relations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Chukchi practiced predominantly individual marriage, but observers found among them distinct survivals of group marriage. By custom, the Chukchi could enter into "exchange marriage," i.e., enjoy the rights of a husband in relation to the wives of his comrades by marriage. According to V. G. Bogoraz, exchange marriage was entered into most often by cousins or other relatives. The individual marriage was easily dissolved. Only the rich Chukchi, especially among the reindeer-breeders, practiced polygamy.

The usual terms of the marriage involved working for the bride. The intended groom herded his future father-in-law's reindeer for a specified period; among the coastal Chukchi, he performed various domestic duties (preparation of firewood, etc.) for 2 or 3 years. The institution of bride-price was absent. There was also marriage by stealing or by exchanging women. The wedding ceremony consisted in anointment with the blood of a reindeer, sacrificed for the occasion; the marks of the groom's family were painted on the face of the bride. After the wedding, the wife came to live with her husband's family.

By the time of the Revolution, there was already considerable social stratification among the Chukchi. The process of property and social differentiation was hastened under the impact of trade with Russians and Americans, which resulted in the appearance of new means of production (firearms, European whaleboats, etc.) and increased commodity value of the products of hunting and fishing (walrus skins and tusks, whalebone, etc.). In social and economic relations, this trade led to the appearance of middlemen, large-scale reindeer-breeders and reindeerless herdsman, owners of baydars and baydar-less hunters. The herdsman were compelled to herd the reindeer of the large-scale breeders, the hunters—to hunt in

another's baydars. The herdsmen were most often relatives; the master fed the herder and his family, in return for which the latter watched his herd and performed all the heavy labor. If a rich reindeer-breeder gave the herdsman products of sea hunting (blubber, skins, straps), which he had obtained by barter from coastal Chukchi, the herdsman had to turn over all the fur he had obtained by hunting. Thus, the family and neighborly relations concealed a good deal of exploitation.

The historically evolved social division of labor between the reindeer-breeding and coastal Chukchi has long produced barter between them. The reindeer-breeders needed the fat of sea animals for fuel and lighting, and skins for footwear, and straps made of these skins. The coastal Chukchi, in turn, needed meat and deerskins for winter clothing and footwear, as well as for making canopies. In time, in connection with the development of trade with Russians and later with Americans, this barter expanded to include imported goods and food products. Russian goods came to the area from the west and reached the American coast, whence American goods came in turn. The first middlemen in this exchange were the western (Kolyma) reindeer-breeding Chukchi, and later, coastal Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos. As it developed, this exchange through middlemen increasingly lost its initial patriarchal character; real tradesmen emerged from among the middlemen, although money was not yet involved in the trade. The reindeer-breeding Chukchi deep in the tundra were far from trading points; usually, therefore, one of the members of an encampment collected the products of reindeer-breeding from his closest neighbors and went to the coast to barter them. After 3-4 months he reached the goal of his journey—Cape Dezhnev or one of the adjacent villages. During the summer he remained on the coast, hunting together with the coastal residents and receiving his share of the catch. After bartering the products brought from the tundra for sealskins, straps, guns, cartridges, tobacco and alcohol, he returned home in the winter. As a result of such a system of middlemen, special people emerged among the Chukchi, known as *kavralyt* (singular in Chukchi—*kavralyn*) or "turners," whose occupation consisted of the bartering operations.

Chukchi beliefs, like those of other Siberian peoples, were characteristically animistic. The entire universe, they held, was inhabited by spirits (*kelet*). They believed that the spirits were invisible, extremely mobile and capable of changing their size and appearance. The life of the spirits was similar to human life. The Chukchi believed that the spirits owned reindeer, lived in encampments, married, quarreled among themselves, hunted, etc. The evil spirits hunted human souls, which they cut up and devoured. A man's illness and death were attributed to the stealing of his soul by spirits. For protection against illness and misfortunes and to guarantee success in hunting and fishing, the Chukchi resorted to various amulets, incantations and rituals. Amulets were considered to be invested with special powers, protecting their owners against evil spirits. They were fastened to clothing, hung on the dwelling and hunting and fishing implements, and painted on the dwelling and hunting and fishing implements, and painted on baydars and household articles.

A special place in Chukchi life was held by sacred objects, connected with the "protection" of the herd among the reindeer-breeders and with the "assuring" of success in fishing and hunting among the coastal Chukchi. These included a wooden device for making fire (the wooden fire-stick), bundles of family "protectors" (amulets) and family tambourines. The wooden fire-stick consisted of a board with hollows in which a bow-drill was twirled; it was crudely anthropomorphic in form (usually, only the

head and shoulders were carved out). The hollows resulting in the board from the drilling were considered the "eyes" of the board, and the sounds of the drilling, its voice. The fire obtained with such a device was regarded as sacred. Its transfer to another family could, in Chukchi belief, lead first of all to failure in economic life. The purpose of incantations was also to ensure success in economic undertakings (such as attracting animals in the hunt) or to protect the welfare of the herd. The same was true of seasonal festivals, which were held with the aid of securing the patronage and protection of spirits and thus assuring the safety of the herds and success in hunting. The chief festivals among the reindeer-breeders were connected with the autumn and winter slaughtering of deer and the festival of horns. The principal festivals of the coastal Chukchi were sacrifices to the sea, the festival of the baydar, the festival of heads, and the festival of Keretkun.

The most important feature of the festivals was the sacrificial ritual. The reindeer-breeders sacrificed reindeer to the spirits; the coastal Chukchi sacrificed dogs. In addition, they made offerings of little figures of reindeer made of fat, roots, snow, etc. These figurines took the place of real reindeer. Other objects of sacrifice were the blood, meat, entrails, fat, and bone marrow of reindeer and sea animals. In the sacrifice, the Chukchi used, in addition to the usual utensils, also a special one, consisting of a piece of wood with hollows carved into it. There are also indications suggesting that the sacrificial vessels were once made of snow. The meat of the sacrificed reindeer was, in most cases, eaten.

The first and second autumn slaughtering of reindeer were the reindeer-breeders' chief festivals. On these days the herdsmen drove the herd to the summer camp and the women made a fire. The herd was met with loud shouts and shots, which were to frighten off the evil spirits. This was followed by a sacrificial ceremony, in which bits of food were scattered. The men separated reindeer from the herd and killed them, selecting mainly young calves. After that came the ritual of anointment of people and sleds with blood. The meat was brought into the cold part of the yaranga and cooked. After eating, all members of the family took turns for the rest of the day in striking the tambourine. Such holidays were often attended by coastal Chukchi and Eskimos, who brought the reindeer-breeders products of sea hunting in exchange for reindeer skins and meat. The number of reindeer killed and bartered and the number of guests from the coast depended entirely on the degree of the reindeer-breeder's wealth. Races were usually held during such festivals.

The festival of sacrifices to the sea was held by the coastal Chukchi at the end of summer or in autumn. Accompanied by a woman, the best hunter of the family came to the sea, carrying his hunting gear. The woman made the sacrifice, offering a gruel of blood and pieces of sausage made of deer intestines, while the man "showed" the sea his gear and asked for success and safety in the hunt.

In the early spring, every baydar party celebrated the festival of the baydar. In the morning the baydar was taken off the rack, and meat food was sacrificed to the sea. Afterwards, the baydar was brought to the yaranga, and another sacrifice was offered. All participants in the celebration walked around the yaranga. First came the eldest woman in the family, after her the owner of the baydar, the helmsman, the oarsmen, and the rest. On the following morning the baydar was carried to the sea and placed on special racks which had been set up there. After offering a sacrifice to the sea, the baydar was lowered into the water, and the men departed on their first hunting expedition.



Cutting up a walrus carcass. Village of Inchoun.

In summer, after the end of seal-hunting on ice floes, the festival of heads was celebrated. The heads of walrus and bearded seals were taken from the meat pit and laid on a skin in the center of the yaranga. A strap was tied to the largest head, and the men reenacted the dragging of the carcass of a walrus from the water.

The Keretkun festival was held in honor of the "owner" of all the sea animals. It took place in late autumn and lasted 2-3 days and nights, depending on the wealth of the given family. It was celebrated inside the yaranga. The objects used in the celebration included a special net of reindeer tendons ("Keretkun's net"), painted oars, statuettes of birds, and an image of Keretkun in the form of a small manlike figure made of wood. The family celebrating the festival dressed in clothing of walrus intestines and special headdresses. Among other holiday dishes, there was always a gruel of ground roots with seal fat and deer meat. At the end of the festival the image of Keretkun was burned in the oil lamp, the floor was swept, the refuse and remains of the sacrifices were gathered and thrown into the sea, thereby—it was believed—returning all the killed animals to the sea.

During rituals, the Chukchi customarily used the tambourine which every family owned. The Chukchi tambourine was narrow-rimmed, round, 40-50 centimeters in diameter, with a handle attached. The stick was made of whale-barb or wood.

The shamans did not have special costumes, but could be distinguished only by the large number of amulets and tassels sewn to their clothing. A distinguishing feature of shamanistic performance among the Chukchi was ventriloquism; the shaman also performed various tricks (such as piercing himself with a knife, etc.).

The Chukchi had many taboos, most of which had a deleterious effect on their reindeer-breeding and hunting. Thus, despite the enormous harm wreaked on their reindeer herds by polar wolves, the Chukchi killed them only in case of direct attack; but usually they allowed them to wander unmolested in the tundra, since a wolf was considered to be a changeling. Because of obligatory mourning for a dead wife, a coastal hunter sometimes did not go out hunting for 40 days, missing the walrus run and so remaining without food stocks for his family and dogs for the entire winter.

Chukchi practiced two methods of burial: they cremated the corpse on a bonfire, and left it in the tundra. The dead were dressed in burial clothes, most often of white skins. When the corpse was left in the tundra, the reindeer Chukchi killed reindeer and the coastal ones killed dogs, on which the deceased was to make his journey to the land of the dead. Funerals were attended by numerous magical rituals.

In Chukchi belief, the best places in the land of the dead were given to people who died a voluntary death. This was widespread among the Chukchi. The man who wished to die announced it to a relative, whose duty it was to fulfill his request by strangling him or killing him with a spear. Most often, such a death was chosen by the old, but sometimes it was prompted by grave illness, grief or a serious insult.

The Chukchi were converted to Christianity only in the vicinity of Russian villages (Anadyr', Nizhne-Kolymsk), but even there the conversion merely meant the adoption of some of the simplest Christian rituals.

Folk Arts

V. G. Bogoraz classified Chukchi folklore, according to content, into cosmogonic myths ("stories of the creation"), tales about the adventures of shamans and stories of daily life ("real stories"), and tales about intertribal clashes ("stories of times of discord"). Many Chukchi myths are similar to those of the Koryaks, Itel'mens, Eskimos, and North American Indians. In Chukchi myths about the creation of the world we encounter the image of the Raven Kurkyl' (analogous to the Koryak Kuykynnyaku and the Itel'men Kutkh). Kurkyl' pecked a hole in the sky, through which light seeped down. He also stole from the evil spirit the balls in which the sun, moon and stars were sewn, then, pecking through the covering of the balls, he liberated the heavenly bodies. In doing so, he scorched his white feathers and became black. Along with these myths, there are many tales in which Kurkyl' appears in ridiculous and foolish situations, and is often hoodwinked.

Many tales speak of evil spirits called kelet, of monsters, chiefly in the sea, of the terrible Kochatko—the white bear with the body of bone and six paws, and others.

There are a great many stories about animals, birds and insects. In them, the brown bear is always shown as stupid and clumsy, and forever getting the worst of a situation. His greatest fear is of partridges, suddenly flying out of bushes. The fox (its name in the tales is Nuteneut—"field woman") is cunning and treacherous. The wolverine is thievish.

"Stories of times of discord" tell about clashes with reindeer-breeding Koryaks, and American Eskimos.

Chukchi folklore has no riddles and very few proverbs, but abounds in tongue twisters.

In comparison to the wealth of oral poetic lore, the Chukchi had few dances and songs, except those employed in rituals. Ritual melodies were handed on from generation to generation within the family.



In a new house, Stalin collective farm, Anadyrskiy Rayon.

The Chukchi After the Revolution

The Soviet government was proclaimed on the Chukchi Peninsula on December 16, 1919, by the Anadyr' Underground Revolutionary Committee. Kolchak's appointees were arrested, the fishing rights of the American Swensen Company and of local merchants were revoked, steps were taken to improve trade, and so forth. In January 1920 the Kolchak followers who remained at large carried out a counterrevolutionary coup and executed the members of the Revolutionary Committee. In July 1920, a Red Guard detachment restored Soviet power in Anadyr'. The Chukchi participated in the civil war by organizing, together with Eskimos of the Naukan village, the Uelen partisan unit. In 1923, the Chukotskiy Rayon Revolutionary Committee was organized in Uelen, and the Soviet government was firmly established on the entire peninsula. Soon after that, soviets were organized throughout the Chukchi territory; at first called camp committees, they were later replaced by national soviets, and then by village soviets.

The Chukchi National Okrug was organized in 1930. National districting stimulated the economic and cultural development of the Chukchi.

During the 25 years of existence of the National Okrug, the basic branches of Chukchi economy—reindeer breeding and sea hunting—underwent considerable change. Auxiliary occupations, such as fur-hunting and fishing, developed extensively. The transformation of the economic life of the coastal and reindeer-breeding Chukchi followed different patterns. Moreover, among the reindeer-breeders deep in the tundra, it began later and progressed less rapidly than it did in regions with large Russian populations.

The first new forms of economic organization were associations for the common herding of reindeer, which began to be formed in the early 1930's. Under this system, the reindeer remained the property of their owners, but were herded in common. The formation of the first associations was

resisted by the wealthy reindeer-breeders. The history of the early years of collectivization on the Chukchi Peninsula abounds in incidents of sabotage and wrecking on the part of large-scale breeders.

The economic successes of the first associations prompted transition to a higher form of organization—the cooperative, which meant combination into large economic units. The transition of associations for joint herding of reindeer to the agricultural cooperative charter took place simultaneously with their enlargement. Within a short time, there sprang up large collective farms, with herds of many thousands of reindeer. In the Chaunskiy Rayon, the socially owned reindeer herd was doubled following the establishment of an agricultural cooperative.

The unification of sea hunting collectives with reindeer-breeding ones deserves special note. As a rule, small associations for the common herding of reindeer which nomadized along the coast, as well as individual reindeer-breeders, joined the coastal collectives. We have spoken earlier of the lively barter between the coastal population and the deer-breeders, which existed from times immemorial. The reindeer-breeders needed products of seahunting, and the coastal dwellers needed products of reindeer-breeding. Under socialist conditions, this relationship found a new expression—in the organization of complex collective units. The Lenin collective farm, the largest in the Chukotskiy Rayon, was organized in 1940. At first its socialized economy consisted of 4 baydars and 300 head of reindeer. In 1952, after its enlargement, it had 8 baydars and whaleboats and more than 15,000 reindeer.

The proper management of pasturelands in the collectives has led to a substantial broadening of the feed base, the establishment of new pastures and a more rational utilization of the old ones. The collective management assigns pastures to the various herding brigades and works out the exact routes of the herd movements. Pastures are changed frequently. This has helped to improve the feeding of the reindeer and has resulted in healthier and fatter deer. The reindeer-breeding techniques are augmented with new methods, either borrowed from the experience of other regions, or developed on the basis of the experience of leading Chukchi breeders. Some of the practices of the more advanced Nennish reindeer-breeding were introduced into the Chukchi collectives, and reindeer-herding dogs were brought in to help the herdsmen.

Among the technical improvements is the use of a new type of corral in place of the old, primitive one, constructed of sleds whenever it was necessary to separate the draught reindeer from the herd. Side by side with such old corrals, the modern collectives are beginning to use corrals of cord netting, wire, and fabric (portable), or of stakes (stationary). Within them is done all the zootechnical and veterinary work, the counting of the herd, branding, selection of reindeer for slaughter, selection of stud animals, etc.

The reindeer-breeding collectives are establishing way-stations, or intermediate bases—auxiliary huts along the reindeer-herding routes, where the herdsmen can leave gear which is unnecessary at the given season, food products, reserve materials, and so on.

The veterinary servicing of the herds is also improving. Zooveterinary workers regularly examine the herds and carry out prophylactic measures. A great deal of work is done to improve the breeds. The collectives exchange stud animals and purchase reindeer of the Lamut breed. The Lamut taiga reindeer is larger, stronger and hardier than the Chukchi reindeer, and crossbreeding produces a stronger stock. The Anadyr' school for training leading collective-farm personnel is turning out skilled reindeer technicians. A large percentage of its graduates consists of Chukchi.



Engraving on walrus tusks:
 1—at the trading post; 2—elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
 February 10, 1946, in the village of Uelen.



Engraving on walrus tusks (cont'd):
3—cutting up a whale carcass.

Especially important for the expansion of the herd is the preservation of the calves. A great deal of attention is therefore paid to the care of the herd during the calving period. After the separation of the breeding females from the nonproducing part of the herd, they are driven out in March to fresh pastures with little snow and with natural protection against the weather. They are cared for by the most experienced herdsmen, aided by other collective members.

The basic unit of labor organization in the reindeer-breeding collectives of the Chukchi Peninsula is the herding brigade. Every brigade is assigned a specific herd, the necessary implements, means of transportation, and the requisite structures (corrals, intermediate bases). The brigadier plans the pasturing of the herds along the route established for them, and examines the pastures and waterways. At zootechnical courses and in clubs, the Chukchi herdsmen acquire the technical knowledge necessary in caring for the herds and fighting diseases among the reindeer. The Party organizations of the okrug regularly convene rayon and okrug conferences of leading reindeer-breeders. Herdsmen and brigadiers tell of their work experience in the local press.

The socialized herds of reindeer in the Chukchi National Okrug have grown considerably. By the end of 1952, the total number of deer had increased by 2.5 times as compared with 1945, and more than 7 times as compared with 1940.

Great changes have also taken place in another important branch of Chukchi activity—sea hunting, which formerly provided the basis of existence both for the coastal Chukchi and the Eskimos. As said above, these have lived side by side from time immemorial in a number of villages, and are very close to one another in their culture and way of life. Their hunting methods were virtually the same. Today, there are mixed Chukchi-Eskimo collectives in the Chukotskiy Rayon.

In addition to the Chukotskiy Rayon, other rayons of the Chukchi National Okrug engage to a greater or lesser extent in sea hunting, with the sole exception of the Markovskiy and Vostochnaya Tundra Rayons. The coastal collectives are provided with new equipment. Along with the harpoon, the collective brigades today make use of special rifles and nets.

The productivity of the hunt is increasing. The hunters going out in motor-driven whaling boats are able to hunt far from the coast, where there is a greater abundance of quarry. The number of hunting expeditions has also increased, since a baydar demanded 10-12 men, while a motor-driven whaleboat requires only 6-7.

The coastal collectives of the Chukotskiy Rayon are serviced by two Motor-Hunting Stations (MZS), which supply means of transportation—schooners, seiners, cutters, transport and two boats, etc. Attached to the stations are mechanical workshops for the repair of hunting weapons and collective floating equipment. The MZS supply the coastal collectives with ammunition, spare parts, lubricants; they also conduct courses for training motormen, radio men, mechanics, captains, and hunting brigadiers.¹

Auxiliary economic activities are developing unevenly in the collectives of the Chukchi National Okrug, and their importance differs from rayon to rayon, and even from one collective to another. This is due not only to geographic, but also to historical reasons.

¹In 1955 the MZS of the Chukotskiy Rayon were reorganized into integrated motor-hunting factories, whose functions include also the marketing of the output.



Graduate student of the Institute of Linguistics, the USSR Academy of Sciences, P. Inenlikey, at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In recent years, fishing has developed a great deal in the collectives of the Anadyrskiy and Markovskiy Rayons. This was prompted by favorable conditions—the presence of fish resources and proximity to the fishing enterprises, as well as the historically formed way of life in these districts. A large percentage of the population consists of local Russians and Chuvantsy, who have long engaged in fishing. The Chukchi learned fishing methods from them. Today, the fishing in these rayons is becoming more and more commercial.

The hunting of fur-animals (polar fox, fox and wolverine) is developed to some extent in all the collectives of the okrug. This is the only Chukchi occupation which even before the Revolution had substantial commercial importance; today this importance has increased manifold. In every collective there are hunting brigades, which are assigned specific areas. The hunters scout new places of animal habitation and practice the feeding of

polar fox. Animal-farms are now being established on the collectives of the okrug, breeding silver fox, blue fox and mink.



Deer. Bone sculpture.

The collective incomes are also augmented by other auxiliary activities, such as the manufacture of clothing, transportation, and other work which has no income value in the past.

The auxiliary activities are most widely developed in the Anadyrskiy and Markovskiy Rayons. A new element in the economic life of the Chukchi Peninsula is the emergence of gardening and animal husbandry.

With the growth of socialized economy and the increase of its commodity value, the collective revenues are increasing. Within a short time, a number of enlarged and consolidated collectives have become millionaires. These include the Turvaugin collective (Vostochnaya Tundra Rayon), Pioneer (Iul'tinskiy Rayon), the Lenin collective farm (Chukotskiy Rayon), the Stalin Collective (Anadyrskiy Rayon), and Turvaugin of the Yakut ASSR, outside the Chukchi National Okrug, a collective where Chukchi account for more than 50% of the membership. Millionaire collectives are found both in the most economically developed rayon of the okrug—the Anadyrskiy Rayon—and in the depths of the tundra, such as the Pioneer collective.

The collective-farm system undermines the age-old traditions of nomad life among the reindeer Chukchi and creates conditions for sedentary living. Whenever a collective is organized, a stationary center is usually organized to direct its economic activities. As time goes on, the population gradually settles around it. At first this is done by collective-farm members who have little connection with reindeer-breeding, the invalids, and so forth. A village thus grows up around the central farm, as the center is usually called in the okrug. The transition to settled life entails great difficulties. The population, accustomed to the specific conditions of nomadism, finds it difficult to abandon the old way of life (especially the nomad yaranga), and to learn new occupations and activities connected with settled existence.

The tundra villages of the Chukchi are most often situated along riverbanks, where there is sufficient wood fuel, since the heating problem arises immediately upon settling in one place. The new village of Ryrkaypiy, of the leading Pioneer collective (Iul'tinskiy Rayon), in no way resembles the old encampment. In addition to the houses of the collective-farm members, it has a school, a medical center, a club, a bathhouse, a store, a savings bank and a post office. Like many other villages in the okrug, Ryrkaypiy has electricity and radio.



Chukchi writer Yu. Rytkeu.

New construction has developed most intensively since 1951. An important innovation is the building of bathhouses, which the Chukchi have never known before. New villages are built by the reindeer-breeders and hunters themselves, who are learning to build—a skill entirely unknown to them in the past. New branches of activity are developing in the collectives in connection with the construction: the manufacture of bricks, lumbering, and so forth.

The villages of coastal Chukchi and Eskimos are also changing. Small scattered villages merge into large collective settlements, with well-built, comfortable houses, heated with anthracite brought in from outside.

Along with the new houses, the old Chukchi dwelling, the yaranga, is still in use. However, many new features have been introduced into it, improving sanitary-hygienic conditions. In the coastal villages, the yarangas are now provided with floors and windows, as well as stoves for heating. They are also being furnished with beds, chairs, tables, etc.

The trade network of the okrug is expanding. A large part in the development of trade is played by the traditional fairs, held every year in the various rayons. The collectives and collective-farm members bring to these fairs their surplus products—meat, fish, skins and other fur articles, and buy foodstuffs and manufactured goods. In great demand among the collective-farm members is clothing of urban type, especially summer clothing (cloth trousers, jackets, coats, leather and rubber boots).

The Chukchi national dress is well adapted to the harsh local weather and remains in use, although with substantial changes. Many coastal Chukchi now use underwear under the fur clothes they formerly wore directly on the body. The unhygienic and uncomfortable women's fur overall (kerker) is gradually being abandoned. Women wear a fur shirt of the same cut as the men's, and sometimes use urban-type clothing. They have learned to sew underwear and dresses.

With the economic development of the Chukchi National Okrug, the age-old isolation of individual districts is gradually disappearing. The local

dog and reindeer transportation retains its place in communication with the inland rayons of the okrug.

Side by side with dog and reindeer teams, wide use is made in winter of halftracks and helisleighs. In summer, villages along the coast and on rivers are reached by mechanized water transportation—whaleboats and baydars with outboard motors. Aviation has linked the remote Chukchi Peninsula with the centers of the country. Airmail regularly delivers newspapers, magazines and letters to remote tundra villages. Arctic pilots have emerged from among Chukchi youth. This was begun in 1939, when the Komsomols Yelkov and Tymnetagyn passed tests in the theory of flight and made the first parachute jumps from a plane; later they became pilots in their native Chukchi Peninsula.

Great successes have been achieved in the area of public health. As a result of the general insanitary conditions in both housing and dress, skin diseases (mange, eczema, ringworm) were widely prevalent among the Chukchi in the past. Epidemics of measles, German measles, influenza and particularly smallpox took a high toll. Medical services were absent in the past. In the course of the last 30 pre-Revolutionary years, the Chukchi Peninsula was visited only 9 times by a doctor or medical assistant. The only hospital in Sredne-Kolymsk did not provide services for Chukchi, whose only "healers" were the shamans. Today there are hospitals in all the rayon centers of the okrug; almost every village has a health station; in addition, there are medical assistants working with the Red Yarangas. In 1952, the okrug had 11 hospitals, 5 village clinics, 42 medical-assistant stations. In 1952, the public health budget was 3 times that of 1940. Medicines are dispensed to the local population free. In the beginning, influenced by the shamans, the Chukchi refused medical aid. It took long and persistent persuasion to convince the sick to take medicine or go to the hospital, and frequently it was without result. Today, the Chukchi readily turn to the medical personnel for help. This testifies to the high prestige won by Soviet medicine. The Chukchi woman, who was formerly obliged to give birth to her child in the unsanitary canopy, today goes to the hospital. Child mortality has declined substantially.

Before the Revolution, the Chukchi were almost totally illiterate. Even in 1926, there were only 72 literate Chukchi (62 men and 10 women). Cultural work was launched on a wide scale after the formation of the okrug in 1930. In the mobile schools organized at the time, the teachers not only taught the children, but also had to train them in the habits of personal hygiene and teach them to use fabric clothing and dishes, and so forth. An important role in the first stages of this work was played by the cultural bases (Vilyuney, Chukchi and Chaun). These were set up at points which permitted the widest access both to the sedentary and the nomad populations. Along with the schoolwork and sanitary-educational activity, the cultural bases worked extensively to acquaint the natives with Soviet laws, teach them the harm of religious prejudices, etc.

The creation of a script for the Chukchi language in 1931 was an important step forward.

By 1951, the okrug already had 84 secondary, seven-year, and primary schools, attended by several thousand children. More than 1200 of these were in boarding schools at full state expense. While before the Revolution only a handful of Chukchi children studied at the only school in Uelen, there is now general seven-year schooling in the Chukchi National Okrug, as well as wide activity to eliminate illiteracy among the adults.

Teachers for the Chukchi schools are trained in the Anadyr' Teachers' School of the Northern Peoples. Almost half of its students are Chukchi men

and women. Teaching personnel for the Chukchi Peninsula is also trained at the Khabarovsk Pedagogical Institute and the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad. In 1953, 5 Chukchi attended Leningrad University. The Komsomol member Ryntyrgin was graduated from secondary school with a silver medal, and went on to the Leningrad State University. Today he is working as a chemical engineer on the Chukchi Peninsula. Petr Inenlikey was graduated from the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad in 1955, and was accepted as a postgraduate student at the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The young specialists are actively aiding the development of literature in Chukchi. They take part in the preparation of textbooks, and translate political literature, belles-lettres and children's books into their native language. The number of titles translated into Chukchi adds up to many dozens. Seven newspapers are published in the okrug today. The okrug newspaper, Sovetskaya Chukotka, and also Bloknot Agitatora are published in both Russian and Chukchi.

A great change has taken place in the position of the Chukchi woman. The women's soviets organized on the collective farms work with the active leadership to raise the general educational and political level of the women, to bring civilized habits into daily life, to teach the semiliterate and organize lectures and discussions on political, popular-scientific and general topics bearing on daily life. Special sanitary committees enforce cleanliness in the homes.

At present, many women in the collectives work in reindeer-breeding brigades, participate in fur-hunting and fishing, work in the sewing workshops and serve as bookkeepers, stockkeepers, etc. Among the Chukchi women there are many cultural workers, medical assistants, trained nurses and teachers. Many occupy leading posts in Party, Soviet and economic institutions of the okrug.

The rise in the economic, political and cultural level of the Chukchi has furthered the development of their national arts. The coastal Chukchi, like the Eskimos, have long been famous for their bone-carving. From walrus tusks, they carved figurines of animals, schooners and various articles of daily use (pipes, buckles, etc.). The Chukchi also practiced engraving. They engraved walrus tusks and scenes of the hunt, reindeer herds, villages, etc. Under the Soviet regime, the Chukchi bone-carving has reached a high artistic level, while retaining its specific character. The sculptured animals are striking in their realism, careful detail, variety of poses, and so on. The development of engraving is especially indicative. Its technique has been perfected during the Soviet period, and colored engravings have become popular. In the tusk drawings, instead of the former piling up of unrelated figures, there is now a central theme; the formerly schematic character of the drawing is giving way to realistic images of animals and men. The smallest details are patiently, finely and skilfully carved out by the craftsman. A new form of carving has been developed—bas-relief. Engraving has been enriched by new sociopolitical themes. At the Lenin Museum there is an engraved tusk done by the Chukchi bone-carver Vukvol on the theme "Chukchi legends about Lenin."

There are carved tusks with representations of elections to the Supreme Soviet in the Chukchi Peninsula, the celebration of Victory Day on May 9, episodes of collective-farm life, etc.

Talented craftsmen have emerged from among the younger generation. Talented carvers have appeared among the women—an entirely unprecedented phenomenon, since bone-carving was formerly a specifically masculine craft. The works of Chukchi bone-carvers have been shown many times at All-Union and international exhibitions.

The rich traditional oral lore of the Chukchi has been given a further impetus during the Soviet period, which is witnessing the birth of the young Chukchi literature. In 1940 the first original work in Chukchi was published—a collection of tales by the Komsomol writer Tinetev (Tyn'-etegyn), beautifully illustrated by Vukvol. Reflection of the past is not the sole theme of the nascent Chukchi literature; truthful representation of Soviet reality and the new life on the Chukchi Peninsula increasingly inspire young writers. In 1950, the young Soviet writer Yu. Rytkeu made his first appearance in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Chukotka*. His first poems were published in the collection, "Chychetkin Vetgav" ("Our Native Word"). At the same time, Rytkeu's stories began to appear in central magazines—*Novyy Mir*, *Oktyabr'*, *Ogonek*, etc. In 1953, a collection of his stories was published under the title, "People of Our Shore." Rytkeu's stories continue to appear both in magazines and in books. The high praise given his stories attests to the young writer's great talent. The first poems of the young Chukchi poet, V. Keul'kut, have also met a warm reception.

Under the rights granted by the Constitution of the USSR, the Chukchi, like the other peoples of the Soviet Union, are represented in the highest legislative body of the Soviet Union—the Supreme Soviet.





THE ESKIMOS

G. A. MENOVSCHIKOV

(based on data by N. B. Shnakenburg)

General Information

In the Soviet Union, the Eskimos live along the coast of the Chukch Peninsula, from Bering Strait in the north to Kresta Bay in the west, as well as on Vrangeli Island. According to the census of 1926-27, they numbered 1292 persons. The principal mass of the Eskimos lives along the Arctic coast of America, from Alaska in the west to Labrador in the east, as well as in Greenland (a total of some 38,000 persons).

The Asiatic Eskimos call themselves Yugyt, Yupigyt ("people," "real people"). In the literature they are known under different names. In the 17th century they were confused with the coastal Chukchi, to whom they are related, and were sometimes called "sedentary Chukchi" or "walking Chukchi." Some investigators of the early 19th century called the Eskimos "Onkilon" (F. Vrangeli), "Namolily" (F. Litke). These names are distortions of the Chukchi word ankalyñ—"coastal dwellers" and the Koryak nymylgyn—"settler."

The term "Asiatic Eskimos" came into use in the late 19th century. In 1931, it was replaced by "Yuity," but this new term did not gain acceptance, and in 1938 the old name, "Eskimos," was restored.

The largest points of Eskimo settlement are the villages of Naukan, Chaplino, and Sireniki. The westernmost Eskimo village is Uel'kal'.

Today, the Eskimos live intermixed or in close proximity with the coastal Chukchi, but in the above villages they are in the majority.

Most of the adult Eskimos in these villages speak Chukchi as well as their own language. In 1926, a small group of Eskimos moved to Vrangeli Island. Wider distribution of Eskimos in the past, extending west up to the Anadyr' and north up to Chaun Bay, is indicated by numerous data: toponymics, remnants of underground dwellings, archeological objects, and so on.

Archeological, ethnographic and linguistic data attest to the close ties between the history of the Asiatic Eskimos and that of the Chukchi. Archeological remains on the Chukchi Peninsula suggest that the ancient Eskimo coastal culture of sedentary sea hunters existed in Asia both on the eastern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula (from Cape Dezhnev to the Anadyr', and even farther east) and on the northern coast, up to the mouth of the Kolyma. The earliest findings are known as Ueleno-Okvik.

The next stage of the ancient Bering Sea culture is marked by harpoon points and domestic articles of walrus tusk, richly ornamented in a special style, characterized by a combination of flowing curved lines, circles and ellipses. Some thousand years ago, the Old Bering Sea culture gave way to the Punuk culture. Among the remains of this culture, we find implements with small iron points—drills and chisels. The difference between the two stages may be traced in the technique of making stone implements. In the Old Bering Sea culture there was a predominance of chipped and, less frequently, polished articles, such as knives, spear tips and arrowheads of slate, etc. The implements of the Punuk culture are mostly polished. There are also many new, hitherto unknown articles: a bone device for protecting the wrist when releasing the bowstring, bird bolas, armor of bone plates. The rich and fine ornamentation of the Old Bering Sea culture is replaced by simpler patterns, consisting of combinations of crudely executed dots, circles and ellipses.

Substantial changes also occurred in the dwellings. The earlier stage was characterized by semiunderground dwellings of rectangular shape, with a stone floor, wooden walls made of driftwood and a long tunnel-like corridor. During the Punuk period it remained the same, but became larger, and the walls were built of stones, whalebones, and turf.

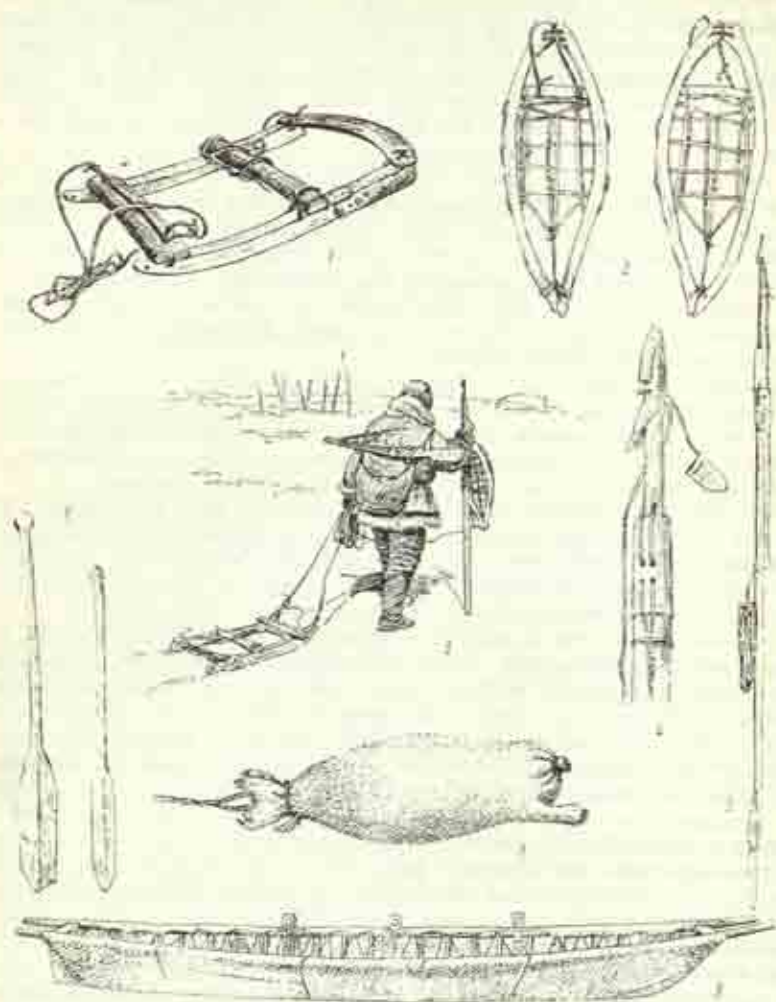
The basic occupation, as in earlier stages, was sea hunting. The Eskimos hunted walrus, whales and seal with harpoons equipped with bone and stone tips. Among other household articles, we find flat clay lamps, pots with pressed-in ornamentation, heavy runners of hand sleds and hoes of walrus tusk, and vessels, armor and seal nets of whale-barb.

The end of the Punuk period is characterized by crudely made, unornamented harpoon points. These points are convincingly dated by the glass beads and pieces of iron found with them and received from the Russians (17th century). Thus, the bearers of the Punuk culture are directly linked with the coastal population, known in Russian sources as "walking" or "sedentary" Chukchi, which also included the Eskimos.

The first historic data about the Asiatic Eskimos date to the middle 17th century (the petition of Semen Dezhnev and others). Reports on Eskimos are also found in the descriptions of travelers and scholars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Sarychev, Litke, Vrangeli, etc.). From these, we may conclude that the process of Eskimo interfusion with the Chukchi continued during this period. The culture of the coastal population preserved the basic features characteristic of the latter part of the Punuk stage. Hunting implements and household articles were made of wood, bone and stone. There was primitive pottery (the making of flat dishes and oil lamps of clay). The Eskimos knew no blacksmithery, although iron articles obtained from the Russians were already gaining in importance.

The historic destinies of the Chukchi and Eskimos after the annexation of the Chukchi Peninsula to Russia followed a common course. Like the Chukchi, the Eskimos entered into the orbit of Russia's administrative system and the influence of its commercial capital later than other peoples. They paid no tribute. The decree of 1822 concerning "natives incompletely dependent on the government" applied to both Eskimos and Chukchi. Until the middle of the 19th century, the Eskimos, who had little contact with Russians, experienced little of their cultural influence.

In the latter half of the 19th century, whale hunting declined, thanks to the predatory extermination of whales by American whalers. This resulted in frequent famines among the coastal dwellers, especially Eskimos. The coastal Chukchi, bound by kinship with the reindeer-breeders, suffered less from the shortage of food. At the end of the 19th century,



Tools and weapons of sea hunting:

- 1—sled with runners of walrus tusk; 2—snowshoes; 3—a hunter in full gear; 4—harpoon tip with an iron blade; 5—harpoon; 6—oars; 7—harpoon float; 8—baydar.

trade with the Russians developed along the coast, competing successfully with American trade.

With the increase in the commodity value of their catch in the latter part of the 19th century, the Eskimos began to acquire new equipment. Firearms became the principal hunting weapon, and whaleboats began to come into use. Instead of the almost vanished whales they now concentrated on hunting walrus and seal.

The social life of the Eskimos was also undergoing great change. There was a beginning of social differentiation. An upper group had emerged,

which dealt with American traders and exploited the property less population. This was the stage at which the October Revolution found the Eskimos.

Economy and Everyday Life

By this time, the most important economic activity of the Eskimos, as well as of the coastal Chukchi, was sea hunting, chiefly of seal and walrus. Whale hunting had declined so sharply by the beginning of the 20th century that the annual catch consisted of no more than a few whales.

The products of sea hunting satisfied all the needs of the Eskimo subsistence economy and life. Meat and fat were used as food for people and dogs. Skins were used for clothing and footwear, as well as for housing needs and the manufacture of hunting gear and household utensils. The fat of the sea animals was also used for lighting and heating the dwelling.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the principal hunting weapons were the spear and the harpoon (a throwing weapon with a detachable point of bone, or, much more rarely, of iron), and nets of leather strips.

The most important quarry was the walrus. There were several methods of hunting it, depending on conditions. In early spring, when the ice floes with the animals drifted along the coast, the Eskimos hunted walrus on ice floes. When the ice disappeared, they hunted them on the water. In leather boats (baydars), they rowed out into the sea and watched the surface of the water. As soon as a walrus appeared, they threw a harpoon at it, equipped with a float (air-filled sealskin) to prevent the killed animal from sinking. Other methods included the so-called "otgon" (drive) and hunting with spears along coastal rookeries. The latter consisted of killing large numbers of walrus with spears on the land, where the animal is clumsy and slow. In drive hunting, the Eskimos used a special clapper of whale-barb. When the clapper was struck on the surface of the water, the sound produced resembled that of the enemy of the walrus—the predatory killer whale. The hunters surrounded the frightened walrus in baydars and drove them on to the shore, where they killed them with spears.

After the appearance of firearms, harpoons became an auxiliary weapon in walrus hunting. The animals were shot, but so as to wound rather than kill them. Then harpoons with floats were thrown at them, and the dead animals were towed to an ice floe or to the shore. Firearms increased the productivity of the hunt substantially.

In the late 19th century, one of the methods of seal hunting was the winter hunt at the edge of the ice. Coming to the edge of the coastal strip of ice, the hunters scattered, selecting convenient places under cover of heaped icepacks, set their guns on supports and waited for the animals to surface. In early winter, when the ice was still thin, seals were caught in nets of leather strips, set out for them. The nets were lowered through holes made in the ice, and the holes were covered with pieces of ice. By the end of the 19th century, the old methods of seal hunting had almost entirely disappeared. These methods had included the throwing of darts and harpoons from leather canoes (kayaks), harpooning from the shore, crawling up camouflaged with a sealskin to the animals lying on the ice, and watching for the seal with a harpoon at ice holes.

After the mass extermination of whales by American whalers during the second half of the 19th century, whale hunting had declined, although it was still very important to the coastal people. One whale supplied an entire village with meat and blubber for a whole year, and yielded a great

deal of valuable salable goods (whale-barb, blubber). The killing of a whale was therefore a great holiday for the entire village. Whales were always hunted collectively, usually in several baydars or whaleboats with harpoons, and later with a harpoon "cannon" and whale-gun.

Auxiliary occupations of the Eskimos included hunting fur animals, fishing and collecting. Fishing was primitive; small fish were caught with a fishing rod and nets of whale-barb.

Reindeer and mountain sheep were hunted with bows and arrows with stone and bone heads. In the second half of the 19th century, the commodity value of fur-hunting increased (especially of fox and polar fox).

Bird-hunting methods were virtually the same as those of the Chukchi.

The principal diet of the Eskimos consisted of the products of sea hunting. Meat was used jerked (walrus, seal), frozen (seal), and boiled (fermented meat of walrus and whale). A great delicacy was the black, elastic, rubber-like whale-skin, with a layer of pink blubber; it was eaten raw. Reindeer meat was also liked; it was called "the sweet food of the reindeer-breeders." An important place in the diet was held by plant food, used as garnish with meat and fat, as were seaweeds, chiefly sea-kale. Mollusks were also eaten raw.

After the development of trade, the Eskimo diet was augmented by imported products. The most widespread of these was tea, which Eskimos learned to use from Russians.

Like other coastal dwellers, the Eskimos had various types of boats. For coastal navigation they used kayaks, baydars and whaleboats (from the latter half of the 19th century).

The kayak is a one-man closed canoe. Its latticed frame was closely covered with a bearded-seal skin, with a single round opening in the middle. The hunter, in fur clothes and a waterproof cloak of walrus intestines, sat down in this opening, which was then drawn together with a sealskin strap.

The baydar (an'yapik) is an open, flat-bottomed leather boat. Its wooden latticed frame was tied together with leather strips and covered with walrus skins. Baydars varied in size (the largest could carry up to 4 tons). They were propelled with oars and sails. Despite its simple construction and primitive materials, a baydar is very convenient for sailing among ice floes; its sides yield under the impact of the ice, but do not break. It is extremely light and can easily be pulled out of the water and even carried for considerable distances.

Land transportation was by dog team and sled. Until the middle of the 19th century, the Eskimos used arch-staved dog sleds and fan-like harness, similar to those of the coastal Chukchi. Later, they changed to the usual Eastern Siberian sled (like those of the Chukchi, Koryaks and Itel'mens).

The Eskimos had yet another type of sled (kanrak), very short, without staves, with runners of walrus tusks. These were used to transport baydars to the water and to bring in the catch. They were drawn by the hunter himself. This ancient type of sled has been known since the period of the Old Bering Sea culture.

For walking on snow, they used snowshoes (like those of the Chukchi), and, on ice, special plates of bone.

In winter, the Eskimos lived in tents (myn'tyg'ak'), similar in construction to the Chukchi yaranga. This type of dwelling replaced the semi-dugout (nyn'lyu), used until the middle of the 19th century. The Eskimos piled turf against the tent more often than the Chukchi did; they also built the walls of the tent of turf and stones, and built yarangas of boards, covered with tarpaulin.



Dwellings:
1—winter dwelling; 2—summer dwelling.

The old summer dwelling was rectangular, with a skeleton of wood and a roof sloping to the rear wall. The skeleton was covered with walrus skins or tarpaulin. The average size of the summer dwelling was 3.5 x 5.5 meters; the height of the front wall was approximately 3 m, and the rear wall, 1.5 m. Inside the dwelling, there was usually a small canopy, often

simply hung on straps. Some families spent the summers in tarpaulin tents.

In the early 19th century, there were still community dwellings among the Eskimos—large dugouts housing several families, and also serving as places for meetings, religious ceremonies, dances, etc.

In the 1890's, well-to-do Eskimos began to use light houses of boards, with a twin-sloped roof and windows. Such houses were bought from American traders, and usually served only as summer dwellings, or, more frequently, for storage of goods.

Eskimos wore clothing and footwear of sea-animal skins and reindeer fur. Only a few of the richest Eskimos wore underwear and owned cotton or woolen clothing of the urban type.

Men's clothing consisted of narrow trunks of sealskin, a shirt of reindeer fur (atkuk), similar to that of the Chukchi, fur trousers and boots. The summer shirt was made of a single layer, fur inside; the winter shirt was double, with fur inside and out. The shirt was belted across the hips with a belt (taksi) of sealskin, embroidered with white reindeer hair.

On their feet, over the fur stockings, the Eskimos wore sealskin boots (kamgyk) of different heights (usually to the middle of the calf).

During long winter journeys, a wide, knee-long hooded parka of deer-skin was worn over the usual shirt.

Women wore leather trunks on the bare body, and over them a fur overall similar to that of the Chukchi. Women's footwear differed from the men's only in that it was higher, reaching to the knee. Winter boots were often made of suede, obtained from the reindeer Chukchi.

As late as the end of the 19th century, and occasionally even later, Eskimos wore long parkas of birdskins, which were later, with the development of barter with reindeer-breeding Chukchi, replaced by deerskin clothing. In the past, the sleeping canopy and bedding were also made of birdskins.

Fur hats and mittens were worn only on journeys. The rest of the time, even in great frosts and wind, Eskimos went bareheaded.

All the women wore their hair in the same way—in two braids, with a center part. Men's hair dos were more varied. As a rule, the hair was cut, leaving long strands on the crown; sometimes, the crown was closely shaved, leaving a "fringe" around the head.

In the early 20th century, the Eskimos still tattooed themselves. The men limited the tattooing to circles at the corners of the mouth (1.5-2 cm in diameter), which unquestionably was a relic of the earlier custom of wearing a lip plug. Women's faces were tattooed with straight or slightly curved parallel lines, covering a part of the forehead, the nose and chin. The cheeks were adorned with a more complicated geometric design. Especially complex and varied were the designs on the wrist and forearm.

Social Relations

The social order of the Eskimos in the past has not been sufficiently studied. There are various fragmentary data, interpreted differently by different investigators. Ethnographic and folklore data indicate that the Eskimos have gone through an epoch of matriarchy, traces of which were preserved to the 20th century. Observers have noted the important role of the women in Eskimo social life, particularly in rituals.

There is no record of the most important institution of the clan system—exogamy, although traces of exogamic norms which existed in the past may

be seen in the different terms to designate kinship on the side of the mother and father, particularly in relation to uncles. Thus, the maternal uncle was called an'ak', and the paternal one atata (Unazik dialect).

A survival of general clan names may be found in the long-preserved general names by which groups of families distinguished themselves from others. In the village of Chaplino, for instance, there were groups of families calling themselves by the common names of Nynlyuvak, Lyakag'mit, Pagag'mit, etc.; in Sireniki, we find such names as Sig'inig'mit, Silyakag'mit, etc.; in Naukan Mamroph'pag'mit, Sitkomag'mit, Tugrag'mit, Imtug'mit, etc. Evidence of the existence of clan organization in the past may also be found in the preponderant form of marriage-paired marriage, with the groom working for the bride, as among the Chukchi. All of this suggests that the Eskimos had also gone through a matriarchal stage in their development.

In the beginning of the 20th century, patriarchal relations predominated—including patrilineal inheritance, reckoning of kinship in the paternal line, and patrilocal marriage. Vivid traces of matriarchy and incomplete patriarchal relations attest to the fact that the Eskimos were evidently in a transitional stage from one to the other. For a number of reasons, this transition was not completed, and the emerging patriarchal order disintegrated.

In economic relations, traces of the primitive-communal order were found in the "baydar party" (an'yam ima—"the contents of the baydar"). The baydar party among the Eskimos was organized along the same principle as among the coastal Chukchi. The members of the party were in most cases the nearest relatives of the owner of the baydar—his brothers, sons and nephews. The owner was a hunter who had built it with the aid of his family, or had received it by inheritance. According to tradition, each baydar party had once occupied a separate round dugout with a common hearth, but individual canopies. At the end of the 19th century, the families belonging to a baydar party had already separated. Each family conducted its life individually, uniting only in the hunt.

The catch was divided as follows: the meat of the walrus was divided equally among all the members of the party and all present at the division. Skins were received in turn by all the hunters, beginning with the owner of the baydar. In addition, he received the heads with the tusks. Bearded seals were divided in the same manner. A whale was divided not only among all the residents of the village, but among all present. The owner of the baydar enjoyed certain privileges; he received the best layers of whale-barb. A common seal belonged to the hunter who killed it.

Thus, the system of division (the owner's right to the first share of the catch) which existed even under the conditions of subsistence economy created a basis for the emergence of property inequality. This inequality increased when sea hunting acquired commercial value. A new system of division of the catch was instituted. This applied particularly to whale-barb, half of which went to the hunters who killed the whale, while the rest was divided among the other participants in the hunt. The share of the owner of the means of the hunt (whaleboats and baydars) was increased. He concentrated in his hands the main portion of all salable products. The rest of the hunters, lacking the means for conducting the hunt, received a negligible share of the salable products and became dependent on the owner of the baydar. Thus, among the Eskimos, as among the coastal Chukchi, the remnants of ancient communal relations were a cover for exploitation.



Return of whaling boats with catch.



Preparation of whale carcass for cutting.

The tradesmen also formed an exploiting upper stratum. This was connected with the development of barter. The coastal dwellers had long engaged in lively barter with the reindeer-breeders and the American Eskimos. The role of the Asiatic Eskimos in the barter operations with the American Eskimos was considerably greater than the role of the Chukchi. The Asiatic Eskimos journeyed to St. Lawrence Island and the coast of Alaska. This barter continued until the beginning of the 20th century.

The development of barter trade with Russian merchants and American traders reduced the importance of this primitive barter and enhanced the role of individual Eskimos as middlemen in the American trade with reindeer-breeding Chukchi. Some households among the coastal dwellers began to engage almost exclusively in trade. The process of emergence of middlemen was more rapid among the Eskimos than among the coastal Chukchi. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, 14 Eskimo traders established their own stores. They sold whaleboats, mechanical motors, whale-guns, ammunition and other goods. Sometimes the tradesmen, utilizing their economic advantage, headed villages as so-called "masters of the land," i.e., chiefs of the village, directing the entire social and productive life of their fellow villagers. The "master of the land" opened and closed the hunting season, decided the time for journeys to the reindeer-breeders for barter, etc. Together with the old men of the village, he mediated quarrels and litigations among the villagers. The functions of the "master of the land" went down along the male line, usually from father to son.

Beliefs and Rituals

The religious ideas of the Eskimos had a good deal in common with the Chukchi ideas. Eskimos believed in friendly and harmful spirits. The latter (*tug'nyg'at*) were considered dangerous to man. Various misfortunes, especially illness, came from them.

Eskimos honored certain animals and birds, whose killing was forbidden. These included the killer whale, the wolf and the raven. The cult of the killer whale was very important. Eskimos believed that the killer whale protected sea hunters; in the winter it turned into a wolf and punished stingy reindeer-breeders, devouring their reindeer if they did not give the meat and skins of reindeer to the coastal dwellers. Eskimos carried wooden images of the killer whale at their belts. The killer whale was also represented on baydars and whaleboats.

For protection against evil spirits, Eskimos used amulets and painted lines on their faces with red ochre or graphite—marks of anointment. The latter was done especially often during illness. Sometimes the faces of the sick were tattooed with schematized human figures.

The Eskimos' ritual celebrations were attended, more often than those of the Chukchi, by dramatic performances and dances. These celebrations were chiefly connected with the cult of hunted animals. Their purpose was, on the one hand, to elicit a large catch in the following year, and, on the other, to give thanks for successful hunting. At the whale festival, organized by members of the baydar associations, various ritual acts performed at the time were invested with magical powers, assuring success in future hunts as well. The holiday was concluded with casting the remnants of the ritual meal—pieces of whale meat—into the sea. The Eskimos believed that by doing this they returned life to the killed whales, which would again become the hunters' catch in the future.

The so-called festival of heads, held in summer, had a similar meaning. During this festival, the participants reenacted a symbolic walrus hunt. The entire ritual was supervised by the eldest woman of the family.

Each village had its chief shaman. These were usually men, but "mighty women shamans" were also known. Generally, the woman played an important role in religious rituals, particularly in incantations and magical acts. Women had charge of sacred amulets (guardians); they prepared the ritual food; the eldest woman in the family performed the tattooing, painted the marks of anointment, and so on.

Eskimo shamans did not have a special costume, but pendants, fringes and tassels attached to his clothing marked the shaman. Shamans were recompensed for their work.

The religious beliefs of the Eskimos were reflected in their art and mythology. They had wooden sculptured representations of protective spirits. Some objects of ritual dress were decorated with special ornaments. A variety of myths existed.

Contemporary Life

The first measures of the Soviet government were aimed at protecting the population against exploitation by the traders and at liquidation of cultural backwardness. The first schools were opened in 1925. Wide cultural and health work was done among the Eskimos by the Chukchi cultural base, organized in 1928 on the coast of the Lavrenty Bay. These years also witnessed the birth of the consumers' cooperative, which organized trade, seasonal hunting groups and women's sewing cooperatives. The seasonal hunting associations were the embryos of the future collective farms. The first Eskimo collective, "New Life," was organized in 1931 in the village of Chaplino. The same year marked the formation of the "Lenin's Path" collective in the village of Naukan, and "Shock Worker" in Sireniki.

After the organization of the Chukchi National Okrug in 1930, Eskimos and Chukchi began to take direct part in government administration. In 1932, at the first Okrug Congress of the Chukchi National Okrug, Eskimo deputies were elected for the first time to the Okrug Executive Committee.

Great changes in the economy and life of the Eskimos have taken place during the years of the Soviet regime. Reconstruction of the economy was carried out on the basis of sea hunting, as it was among the coastal Chukchi. Already by the middle of 1938, the Eskimo households were 95% collectivized.

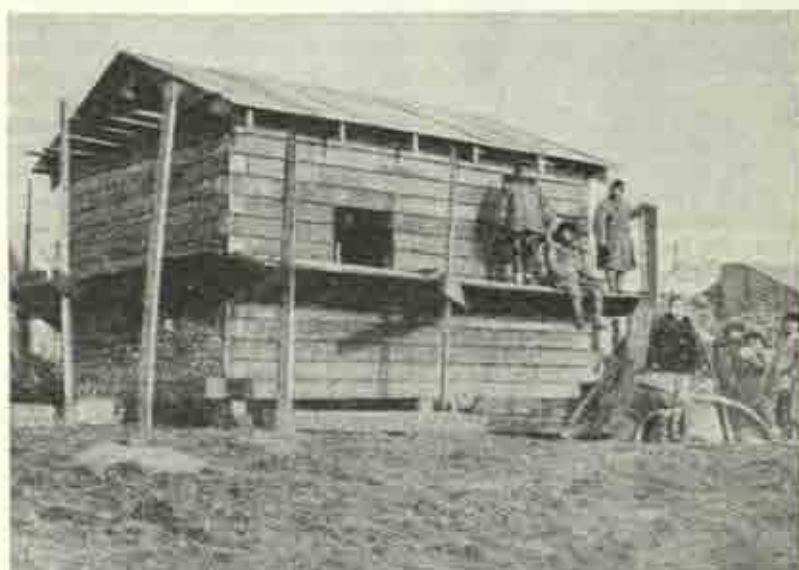
The state motor-hunting stations render wide help to the collectives, providing them with improved hunting gear, transportation, ammunition and auxiliary materials. The motor-hunting stations train skilled hunters from among the local collective-farm members.

Technical equipment has increased the productivity of the hunt by many times. For instance, in former times it took 2-3 days in a baydar to bring in a whale killed far from shore; today, with the aid of motorized transport, it takes only 3-4 hours. The increase in technical equipment and the new organization of labor have made possible the simultaneous development of sea hunting, fishing, fur-hunting (especially on Vrangeli Island), and reindeer-breeding. New occupations have appeared in the coastal collectives: the processing of the product of sea hunting, such as trying out the blubber and sewing clothes from the skins of sea animals and reindeer. Women's sewing brigades manufacture waterproof footwear and trousers of sealskins, which are in demand, not only among the reindeer-breeding collective-farm members, but also beyond the boundaries of the Chukchi National Okrug. Today the Eskimos of the southern villages of Uel'kal', Sireniki and Chaplino, cooperating with the geographically nearest reindeer-breeding farms of the Chukchi, are establishing mixed hunting and reindeer-breeding collectives. Thus, in recent years, individual Chukchi households of Kurupkanskaya Tundra, which owned only small herds of reindeer, have joined the Eskimo "Shock Worker" collective in Sireniki. The collective was allotted extensive pastureland by the state for reindeer pasturing. It organized several reindeer-breeding brigades, headed by experienced Chukchi herdsmen.

Thanks to the proper management of the pasturing and the constant veterinary supervision, the collective herd was almost doubled in several years.

In 1954 it consisted of some 10,000 head. A considerable proportion of the reindeer are the private property of the collective-farm members. The first attempts at transition to a multiple-branched economy have already produced palpable results: the collective-farm incomes have been augmented by reindeer-breeding (in which the Eskimos did not engage in the past) and by mechanized sea-animal hunting, raising the living standard of the members. The undivided funds of the collectives of Chukotskiy Rayon—the principal area of Eskimo habitation—had risen fourfold from 1940 to 1954, and the personal incomes of the collective-farm members from labor in the collective sector had tripled.

Housing construction is expanding today on Chukchi and Eskimo territory. In all the large settlements along the coast there is wide construction of model wooden one-family houses. Many Eskimo families have already moved from yarangas to bright and comfortable new homes.



Building a house. Sireniki, Chukotskiy Rayon.

Cultural work has been especially intensive since the 1930's. By 1937 all school-age children were attending schools, and illiteracy was being actively eradicated among the adults. Today there is universal seven-year schooling. The first two grades in Eskimo schools are taught in Eskimo, the subsequent grades in Russian. Eskimo youth attends higher educational institutions—the Khabarovsk Medical and Pedagogical Institutes, the Chukotsk Medical and Pedagogical Schools, and the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad.

A number of Eskimos who were graduated from secondary schools at home are now studying at the Herzen Institute. The Eskimo girl Valentina Kagak has completed the Pedagogical School for the Peoples of the North in Anadyr' and worked for more than ten years as a teacher in her native region. Today she is continuing her education in Leningrad. Another



Eskimo girl, Galya Uksuvun, fifth-year pupil. Providence Bay.

Eskimo girl studying together with her, L. Aynana, also received her secondary education on the Chukchi Peninsula. V. A. Anal'kvasak, a graduate of the Herzen Institute, is now teaching the Eskimo and Russian languages at the Pedagogical School for the Peoples of the North in Anadyr'. She has also translated and written a number of textbooks for Eskimo schools.

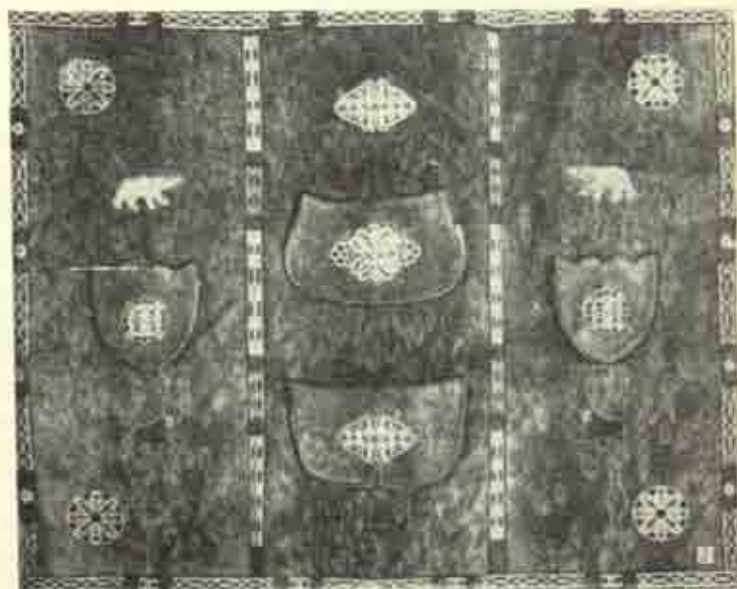
Various courses are given in the Chukchi Okrug itself, training specialists in hunting and reindeer-breeding, as well as leading personnel for collective farms and Party and Soviet institutions. Eskimo graduates of these courses work as motormen, chiefs of local hunting and fishing ships, radio operators, zootechnicians and collective-farm chairmen. The former hunter of the Chaplino "New Life" collective, Kalya, worked as a Party organizer on graduation

from the courses for leading personnel; at present he is one of the secretaries of the Chukotskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party and a deputy to the Rayon and Oblast Executive Committees.

The medical centers, which exist in almost every village, and the three hospitals which serve the coastal population include many Eskimos on their



Eskimo dance, "The Raven." Amateur circle at the Anadyr' School for leading collective-farm personnel.



Bone-carving and fur articles:

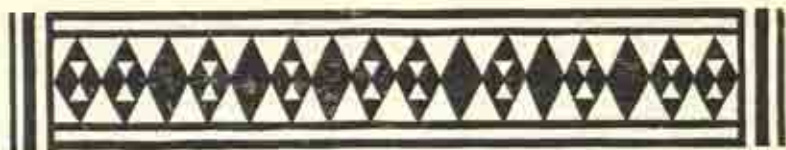
1—detail of a sculptured group, bone; 2—hare and bear, bone; 3—fur rug.

intermediate and lower-level staffs. The local staffs of medical workers are trained by the medical-assistant training school in Anadyr'.

The folk arts of the Eskimos are also developing.

Like the coastal Chukchi, the Eskimos have long been famed for their bone-carving. They have carved animal figures of walrus tusks, and also engraved tusks with various scenes of hunting and daily life. The basically realistic art of the Eskimos has developed further during the Soviet period, particularly in overcoming schematism and stylization. The sculptured articles of the 1940's and 1950's no longer impress the viewer with naive realism, but with the realism of the entire figure, the excellently conveyed movements, the absence of stock forms. The craftsmen create entire groups, in which all the figures are compositionally connected with one another. Engraving on tusks, rather undeveloped in the past, is being enriched with new themes, while retaining its national characteristics. Women's crafts are also developing; they include embroidery of belts, gloves, rugs and slippers with reindeer hair and colored thread.





THE KORYAKS

V. V. ANTROPOVA

(based on data by S. N. Stebnitskiy and N. B. Shnakenburg)

General Information

The Koryaks are the nearest southern neighbors of the Chukchi. The name "Koryaks," given this people in the second half of the 17th century, stems from the Koryak root kor—"reindeer." The basis for this name was probably the locative case of this root—korak, or "those who are around reindeer." In former times, Koryaks had no general name for themselves. The reindeer-breeding Koryaks called themselves Chavchyvav (Chavchyv); they were also known by this name among various groups of sedentary Koryaks. In ethnographic literature they are known as Chavchuvens. The coastal Koryaks called themselves Nymyl'u, the singular of which was Nymyl'yn. This was derived from the root nym, nymnym—"village," "place of residence"—and thus means "residents" or "villagers." This designation gave rise to the name "Nymylany," which is widely used in the Soviet press. However, this name is evidently not the real self-designation of the entire people.

Today, in connection with the process of consolidation of dispersed Koryak groups, the term "Koryak" is beginning to acquire general usage. It is already being accepted as the name and the self-designation of the entire people, but along with it the term "Nymylan" may also be encountered, as applied to the entire people, both orally and in the local press.

The Chukchi who live in the northern part of the Koryak National Okrug sometimes call the Koryaks Tann'o (sing. Tann'ytan). The same name is occasionally used by Koryaks for the Chukchi. At the time of the Chukchi-Koryak wars, the word "tann'ytan" meant "foreigner," "alien," "enemy." Today it has lost its original meaning and is used merely as the name of a people: in the Koryak language it describes the Chukchi, and in Chukchi, the Koryaks. The Itel'mens call the Koryaks Ta luan.

In the past, the Koryaks were subdivided into the following 9 territorial groups: 1) Chavchuvens—reindeer-breeders (constituting approximately one-half of the entire people), living throughout the entire okrug, but principally in the interior; 2) Kamentsy—a group that was different economically, ethnographically and linguistically; they inhabited the larger part of the coast of Penzhina Bay; 3) Parentsy, who lived along the Paren' River, in the village of Paren', on the east coast of Taygonos Peninsula; 4) Itkantsey, who also lived on the east coast of the same peninsula, in three villages known by

the common name of Itkana (Upper, Middle and Lower); 5) Apukinty, who lived at the mouth of the Apuka River and farther north, along the coast of the Bering Sea; 6) Kereks—a small coastal group, living northeast of the Apukinty along the coast of the Bering Sea, from Natal'ya Bay in the southwest to Cape Navarin in the northeast; 7) Alyutortsy—the second largest group, inhabiting the large area of the Kamchatka Isthmus, from the village of Tymlaty in the south to the village of Olyutorka (Bering Sea coast) and Rekinniki and Podkagernoye (the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk); 8) Karaginty—a group close in language to the Alyutortsy, living from the village of Tymlaty in the north to Uka in the south (on the east coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula); 9) Palanty—distributed in 5 villages along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, from the village of Lesnaya in the north to that of Vayampolka in the south.

The census of 1926-1927 set the number of Koryaks at 7434 persons, of whom some 55% were nomads and some 45% settled.

At present almost all the Koryaks live within the bounds of the Koryak National Okrug of the Kamchatskaya Oblast. Only an insignificant number of Koryaks live outside the okrug—in the Chukchi National Okrug (the Kereks), and in the Bol'sheretskiy and Petropavlovskiy Rayons of the Kamchatskaya Oblast. The Koryak (National) Okrug is divided into 4 rayons: Penzhinskiy, with its center in the village of Kamenskoye (Vaykynan); Olyutorskii, with its center at the village of Tilichiki (Tylliran); Tigil'skiy, its center at the village of Tigil' (Vuyvyn); and Karaginskiy, its center at the village of Ossora. The center of the okrug is the village of Palana in the Tigil'skiy Rayon.

The Koryak National Okrug of the Kamchatskaya Oblast lies between 56°-55°N and 158°-174°E. The unfavorable average temperatures and the wide expanses of tundra and forest-tundra, despite the relatively southerly position of the okrug, lend a harsh quality to its environment. Nevertheless, the natural conditions of the territory, which extends almost from the Arctic Circle in the north to the latitude of Moscow in the south, are not homogeneous. Their diversity is intensified by the complex mountain relief of the area. The extreme northwestern corner of the okrug—the Upper Omolon Basin—is the highest spot, and most continental in climate. This area belongs to the forest zone, although coniferous forests occupy relatively small areas, while the predominant terrain consists of lichen-grown and other tundras, with scrub thickets in the mountains and river valleys. There are also grassy swamps and meadowlands.

The middle part of the Penzhina River Basin and adjacent areas on the Kamchatka Isthmus are characterized by a predominance of hills and low plains. The continental character of the climate lessens as one approaches the Sea of Okhotsk. Despite its more southerly position, this entire territory belongs to the forest-tundra zone. It has no coniferous forests, but abounds in scrub thickets, mountainside tundras and rocky areas in the mountains. There are even more mountain tundras in the east of the okrug—among the Koryak uplands and in the northeastern part of the Kamchatka Isthmus.

The rest of the territory of the okrug embraces the swampy unforested coastal lowlands of the northwestern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and the western slope of the middle part of the Middle Kamchatka Range. Stone-birch groves, thickets of cedar and alder, and dry moss and other tundras extend over the mountainsides and mountaintops; in the river valleys in the mountains and foothills, vegetation consists of tall deciduous forests (poplar, alder, willow, Korean cedar, and, farther south, birch) and meadows. In this part of the okrug, which lies in the temperate zone, the climate is moist and

relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyeke (*Mallotus villosus socialis*), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamohatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697-1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, readymade twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on. Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile goods. The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

Economy

In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June.

The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2 usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber, skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzie," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy (sailboats). The "muzzies" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished

with large nets sewn together from the smaller ones they owned individually.

Other methods of fishing included fishing with the aid of an iron hook (marik) and "dipper" nets. The fisherman stood up to his knees in water, holding in his hands an implement that looked like a large sack-net on a long pole. Sighting a fish, he quickly directed the net towards it, scooping it up and throwing it out on the gravel shore. This method was used in the beginning of the fish-run, before the cooperative set to work.

Most of the catch went into the making of yukola. The fish were disemboweled and hung to dry on special racks. The yukola (fish dried in the sun and the wind) was put away in storehouses—tents on high piles, covered with dry grass. Yukola was usually made by women, while fishing was done chiefly by men. The yukola was the principal food of the people all year; it was also used as feed for the dogs, in addition to "pickled fish"—freshly caught fish piled into a pit, covered with earth, and left to ferment until needed.

An important auxiliary occupation among both sedentary and nomad Koryaks was hunting, which was done solely by men. The fur animals hunted were fox, wolverine, otter, hare and ermine.

Fur-animal hunting was most important among the Palantay, who lived in a region abounding in Kamchatka sable. These were trapped in nets. Other animals were hunted with guns. Foxes and smaller animals—yev-razhka hamster and ermine—were caught in springtraps. The latter two were usually hunted by adolescent boys. Hares and partridges were caught with a noose. In early spring, many hunters took meat animals—bears, Siberian marmot, wild reindeer and mountain sheep. Tundra animals were usually hunted without the aid of hunting dogs, which were owned by relatively few hunters.

An important role in Koryak economy was taken by the gathering of wild plants. The gathering of edible roots, grasses and berries was women's work. Roots were obtained chiefly from mouse-nests. Searching out a mouse-nest, the woman dug it up with a special wooden hoe and took from it the store of edible roots prepared by the mice. The berries gathered were blueberry, cloudberry and crowberry.

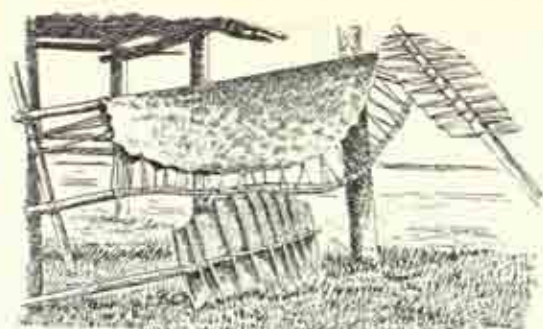
Grass was used to make inner lining for boots, and was also woven into mats, baskets, bags and purses. The weaving of variously shaped baskets, from those in the shape of bowls and trays down to small oval boxes with lids, and also bags of various shapes and sizes was especially developed among the Karagin and Alyutor women.

The men widely engaged in carving bone and the horns of wild sheep.

One of the villages of the northern coastal Koryaks—the village of Paren' on Taygonos Peninsula, was long known for blacksmithery. The Paren' blacksmiths reformed accidentally gotten pieces of iron into knives famed throughout the Koryak territory and beyond it. Even in the early years of the current century, the local Koryak population preferred them to imported Russian and American knives.

Housing

The dwelling of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks (yaranga) was a tent, similar to the Chukchi yaranga (called yayan'a in the Chavchuen dialect, and raran'a in the Alyutor dialect). Cylindrical at the base and conical at the top, it had a framework of poles and was covered with reindeer skins, with the fur outside. The pelts to be used for covering the yaranga were scraped a little; some of the flesh side was peeled off, then it was kneaded and smoked to make it waterproof. For summer dwellings, the hair was



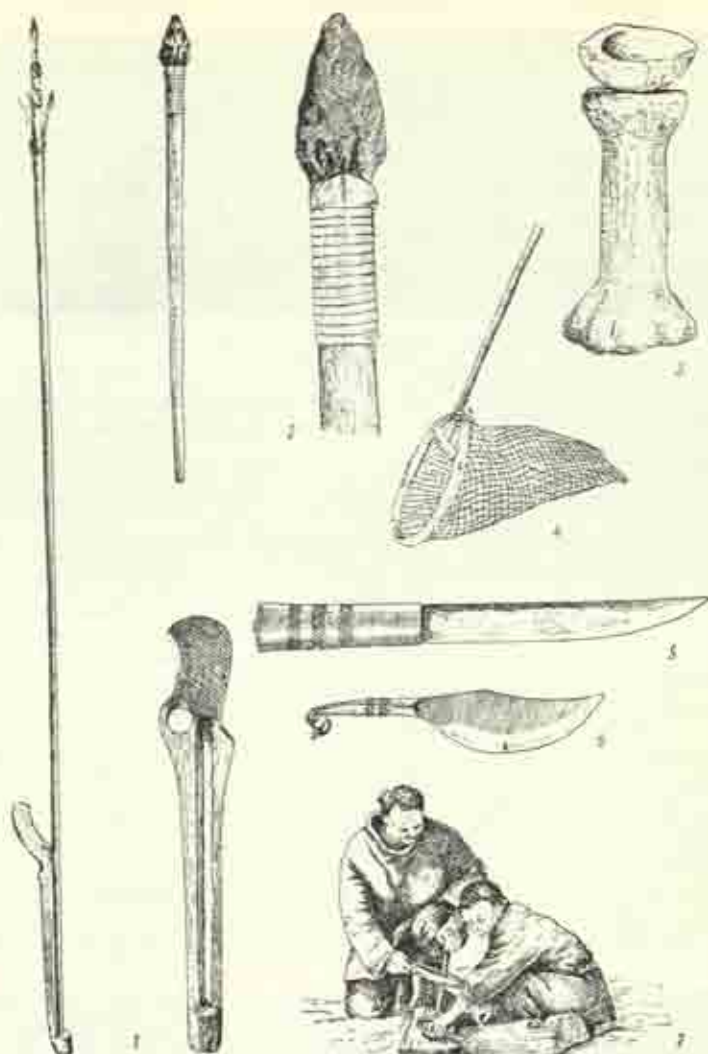
Drying skins.

removed, or else worn, old coverings were used. The main skeleton of the yaranga consisted of three thick poles, 3-4 meters long and inserted so as to form a large tripod. In a circle around them were set shorter vertical poles (1.5 to 2 m long) at a distance of one or two meters. These were connected at the top with horizontal beams, from which more poles ran to the top of the tripod. This frame was then covered with pelts. Light penetrated into the dwelling through the smoke-opening above and through the entrance, when the skin serving as a door was thrown back.

Inside the yaranga, 3-4 canopies were attached to the horizontal beams. These canopies, made of reindeer skins, were occupied by separate families. A canopy formed an enclosure of skins and was lighted by a lamp fueled with reindeer or seal fat. Inside the canopy, it was very warm, and during the day the front part was usually raised and left open.

Among the Koryaks who nomadized in southern Kamchatka, yarangas usually had from 3 to 6 canopies, which were high enough to stand in without touching the ceiling. The canopies were very often cleaned and beaten out. Yarangas were built by women, and their size depended on the wealth of the inhabitants.

Most of the coastal Koryaks lived in semidugouts. The base of such a dwelling consisted of a large pit, 1-1.5 meters deep. The walls of the pit were reinforced with a paling of vertical logs, which formed an octagon. Each corner of the octagon was joined on the top, by means of a beam, with the tops of four main posts set in the center of the pit. On these beams were laid flat planks, forming the roof. The frame was covered with sod. At one side of the semidugout was a corridor, 2-3 meters long, with small doors at either end; this served as the summer entrance (or, to be more precise, the spring and autumn entrance). Overhead, in the center of the roof, was a square opening (0.5×0.5 m), which was at the same time a smoke vent, a window, and a winter entrance. Instead of a ladder, the Koryaks used a thick log, grooved to form steps. Outside on the roof, around the entrance (smoke vent), they built a funnel of poles (on the coast of Penzhina Bay), or of woven twigs (on the eastern coast), to protect the entrance from snowdrifts. The funnel was supported by props. Inside the dwelling, low benches were built along three of the walls. These were covered with skins, and over them were hung sleeping canopies. A hearth was constructed at the wall on which the corridor opened. In winter, the corridor served as a storage room and a ventilator flue: there was a vent in its ceiling, and this was opened when a fire was going in the hearth. A semidugout usually housed several (2, 3 or more) related families (much like the reindeer-breeders' yaranga). Some of them held as many as 30-40 inhabitants. When spring came, the Koryaks moved to tall huts, set on stilts. Later they began to use fabric tents.



Weapons and utensils:

1—three-pronged spear with a throwing board for hunting birds; 2—spear with a stone tip, and detail of spear; 3—blubber lamp on a wooden stand; 4—sack-net for fishing; 5—a man's knife; 6—a woman's knife for cutting skins; 7—fire-making by means of friction.

Long ago, the villages of sedentary Koryaks were fortified. Some of the Koryak forts, such as the Olyutorskiy, were surrounded by an earth wall and looked like fortresses. The reindeer-breeders also surrounded their encampments with defensive walls of sleds, walrus skins and rocks.

The reindeer-breeders' encampments usually consisted of 3 or 4 tents. In winter they lived in mountain valleys shielded from the wind; in summer, at the mouths of rivers. The villages of the coastal Koryaks were comparatively populous and were situated near bays, convenient for hunting and



Reindeer-breeders' dwelling.

fishing, or at river deltas. Kerek villages were small, consisting of only one or two dwellings. In the past, however, as seen from the ruins, they consisted of 10 to 15 dwellings.

Russian influence led to the appearance in the villages of the sedentary Koryaks of wooden frame houses as long ago as the middle of the last century.

Means of Transportation

The nomad Koryaks traveled by reindeer, the sedentary ones by dog-transport. The reindeer were harnessed to the sled; the Koryaks did not know of riding on reindeer. The reindeer sleds were similar to the Chukchi sled in construction. The light ones were arch-staved, with bent runners and a frame for sitting. The freight sleds were built in the same fashion, but more massively. Depending on the purpose of the freight-hauling sled, it was either surmounted by a hood (as in the sleds used for transporting children), or simply by a platform on poles (for carrying loads). There was also a special sled for carrying the frame of the dwelling, and so forth.

The light traveling sleds were usually harnessed to two reindeer; the freight-hauling sled was pulled by one reindeer. The reindeer were harnessed, not in front of the traveling sled, but on the left, so that the driver sitting in the sled could see everything ahead of him. When going downhill,



Dwelling of coastal Koryaks.



Summer village.

the reindeer remained slightly behind the driver on the left, restraining the sled from slipping down too fast. The reindeer were managed with the help of reins and a whip with bone tips.

The coastal Koryaks and the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy kept sled dogs. A full team usually consisted of 10 to 12 animals. For dog-travel, the Koryaks used the four-staved sled, common throughout Eastern Siberia. It was 2-2.5 m long, and 0.5 m wide. Its parts were fastened with leather strips and sharpened pegs inserted into holes, made especially to receive them. The dogs were harnessed tandem, in pairs. They were directed by voice, and braked with the aid of a staff (about one meter long) with an iron tip. The standard load per sled was 150-160 kg in addition to the weight of the driver (kayur).

The Koryaks learned horse-breeding from the Russians. Sedentary Koryaks (Palantsy, Karagintsy and southern Alyutortsy) kept horses, but they were used only in summer, as pack animals. In winter, they were left to their own devices, foraging for green fodder and often perishing of starvation, blizzards, frosts and wolves. Often the horses became so wild that their owner found it easier to walk dozens of miles with heavy loads rather than try to capture the horse.

For water transportation, the Koryaks used skin boats (baydars and kayaks). The Koryak baydar was similar to the Chukchi, but was considerably shorter and wider; its prow and stern were rounded. It was used by the Koryaks chiefly for hunting and fishing.

During the summertime, river transportation was by bat-boats hollowed out of thick tree trunks. They are extremely unstable in the water and require great skill of the helmsman, who steer with a long pole. Despite their untrustworthiness, these boats were also used by the Koryaks on the sea. In such cases, they were joined: two boats were linked with thick crossbars, leaving a space between them which was approximately equal to the width of one boat. Sometimes



Light traveling sled and sled for transporting children.

boards were laid on top of the crossbars, and then the result resembled a raft.

Clothing

The Koryak dress is most similar to that of the Chukchi. All Koryaks used the skins of young reindeer for both summer and winter clothing. Other skins (dogs, foxes, wolves and wolverines) were used only to trim the upper clothing, and to make hats and mittens.

The basic clothing of men consisted of an almost knee-length fur shirt without a lengthwise opening and with wide sleeves; this was worn with fur trousers and footwear. The shirt was made with a cowl and a small breast-piece, or without a cowl, but with a wide collar, edged with a seam. A cord was pulled through the seam, drawing the shirt together at the neck. The collar was usually trimmed with dog fur; black fur was considered the most beautiful.

Travel garb was cut in the same fashion, but longer. It consisted of two separate fur shirts, of which one was worn with the fur inside, and the other, with the fur outside. It was usually made with a cowl and a small breast-piece.

The clothing was usually worn directly on the body; the coastal Koryaks were the only ones to wear it frequently over fabric shirts, acquired from the local Russians.

Trousers were sewn of reindeer skins. Footwear was made of suede.

Women's winter dress was a wide fur overall with sleeves. The trousers were tucked into the boots below the knee. Very often they were made of vertical strips of white and dark fur. Above the overall, the women usually wore a fur shirt. It was of the same cut as the men's shirts, but decorated with tassels and embroidery.

A characteristic feature of Koryak winter dress (men's and women's), which distinguished it from the Chukchi dress, was the patterned strip at the hem—the opuvan. This was usually made of reindeer fur, but of a different color from the rest of the garment; sometimes it was decorated with mosaic designs.



Making a hollowed boat.

The summer clothing of both the reindeer-breeders and the coastal Koryaks was of the same cut as the winter dress, but was made of soft leather. They also used worn winter clothing in summer. Until the age of 5 or 6, children wore fur overalls (shirts with a cowl, trousers and boots all sewn together). In the children's overall there was an opening at the bottom, covered with a flap, tied to the belt with thongs. In infants' clothing, this flap was lined with dry moss or fine willow shavings.

On their feet, both adults and children of 6 years or older wore short fur stockings, with the fur inside, and over them suede boots, made with the fur outside. The footwear was soled with deer "fetlocks," with bearded-seal skin, or more rarely, with bearskin.

On their heads, men and boys wore a fur hat in the shape of a hood. It was edged in front with dog fur, or the fur of otter or Siberian marmot. It was made in such a way that the ears and forehead could be tightly covered, or exposed, if the wearer chose to do so. Hats were usually adorned with beads and tassels. Often they were made of alternating strips of white and dark fur. Women wore hats more rarely than men. Among the reindeer-breeders, women wore hats under their cowls only during migrations; the rest of the time they went bareheaded, or with the hood raised over their heads.

In the southern areas, kerchiefs were worn. Mittens were made of deer suede, with the fur outside.

Girls and women wore their hair with a center part and two braids, which they intertwined with ribbons of soft leather, trimmed with beads. The men usually cut their hair, leaving only a circle around the head.

Women and girls wore earrings, which they made by threading bright-colored beads on sinew. Such earrings were sometimes long enough to reach the shoulder.

According to 18th-century sources, many coastal Koryaks wore clothing of sealskin. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was only



Kayak.

seldom that one could see trousers or footwear of sealskin. Eighteenth-century sources also state that "walking" Koryaks wore clothing of birdskins. We know nothing of the shape of such dress. The ethnographic literature of the 19th century does not mention it.



Man's traveling costume.

Koryak burial clothes (a fur shirt, trousers and boots) were quite distinct. They were made of the skins of white deer. The knee-length fur shirt ended in the back with an elongation (a "tail"). The burial clothes were richly adorned with tassels, fringes and pieces of dog fur. The hem of the shirt was decorated with a strip of geometric embroidery and an edging of wolverine fur.

Food

The basic diet of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks consisted of reindeer meat, usually boiled. Bone marrow, kidneys, gristle and leg tendons were also eaten raw. In winter, pounded and crushed frozen meat was eaten. The reindeer-breeders also obtained meat and fat of sea animals from coastal Koryaks by barter. Fish was used in small quantities—boiled in summer, and yukola in winter. The yukola was prepared in the summer or obtained from the coastal Koryaks.

The diet of the various sedentary groups depended on the character of their economic activities. The basic food was fish; boiled in summer, and in the form of yukola or fermented in winter. The upper part of the fish-head (brain, gristle, eyes) was eaten raw and considered a delicacy. Alyutortsy considered the heads of "sour" fish a great delicacy. Southern

Koryaks, who were most exposed to Russian influence, boiled fish with cereals, mainly with rice. The meat and fat of sea animals (seal and occasionally white whale) were the favorite food of the coastal Koryaks.

All Koryaks used plant food in large quantities. Lily-root, sedge, wild sorrel and willow-herb were used as seasonings with fish and meat. Crowberry and blueberry were used in making hash (tokusha)—a dish of grated reindeer or seal meat and fat with an admixture of edible roots and berries. The thick porridge prepared in this manner was a favorite food. Cloudberry and blueberry were eaten raw; the latter was also used in making an intoxicating drink.

Among imported products, the Koryaks used tea and sugar. The use of flour, of which they made flatcakes, was very limited. Baked bread and zwieback were known only to the sedentary southern Koryaks, who came into close contact with Russians. Widely used was leaf tobacco, which was smoked, but more often kept in the mouth, between the teeth and cheek. All sources, from the very earliest, speak of the use of fly-agaric by the Koryaks as a stimulant.

Social Relations and Religious Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, private ownership of the means of production predominated among the Koryaks. In the fields of production and distribution, however, there were numerous survivals of primitive-communal

relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks. Thus, related families of Alyutortsy combined in summertime for common fishing. The catch was divided equally among them. Their sea hunting was also collective. From seven to eight persons went out to hunt together. On returning to the village, they divided the meat and fat of the seals killed during the hunt in equal shares among all the residents of the village; only the skin of the bearded or common seal went to the man who killed it. Kamentsy also shared equally the meat and fat of the seal they hunted in common, but sometimes the owner of the boat took a larger share.

The reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy also combined into 4-6 kindred families, which nomadized and herded their deer in common. These were productive associations of a temporary nature, similar to the temporary associations of fishermen and sea hunters.

According to 18th-19th-century data, the coastal Koryak family was already economically self-sufficient at that time. Individual families owned boats, nets, and traps, which they were free to use at their own discretion, down to selling them to other families. But there were also cases where nets belonged collectively to related families.

Even by the time of the Revolution, social inequality was not sharply expressed among the coastal Koryaks. They lived predominantly in a subsistence, consumption economy, with fur as the only commodity for sale.

The situation among the Chavchuvens was quite different. Even in the early part of the 18th century, Krasheninnikov wrote about the wealth of individual reindeer-breeders. Thus, already there was sharp property differentiation among the reindeer-breeders at that time. The process of stratification became still more intensified in the 19th century in connection with the development of trade.

At the time of the Revolution, there were among the reindeer-breeders men of great wealth, who owned herds of thousands of reindeer. On the other hand, there were householders owning only 10-15 reindeer and therefore compelled to work for the rich as herdsmen. Very often, distant relatives of the owners also became herdsmen; in such cases, family relations served as a cover for the usual exploitation.

In exchange for his hard labor in tending the reindeer, the herdsman received from his master only meat for his food and skins for his clothing, with the quantity of the compensation dependent entirely on the will of the master. The encampment of the rich Koryak usually included several families of herdsmen entirely dependent on their master economically and subject to his will in everything. The herdsmen could not kill a reindeer for food without the master's permission, and therefore often went hungry. In addition to tending reindeer, they performed a variety of other tasks: prepared firewood, brought water, hunted fur animals. The rich reindeer-breeder disposed of the labor of the herdsman's family as well. The herdsman's wife and daughters processed the reindeer skins for the master, made thread of reindeer sinew, sewed clothing and boots of reindeer-skins, etc. It was difficult for a herdsman to leave his master. Although custom permitted the changing of masters (in the fall, when the season began), in reality this was difficult to accomplish. The chief obstacle was the "debts" which the herdsman had managed to incur with his master: during the year he obtained from the latter small quantities of tea, sugar, flour, cartridges, etc. The master was not bound to provide imported goods; he merely had to "feed" his herdsmen. For a year's work, the herdsman received a female reindeer. As a rule, each herdsman owned 5-6, and only occasionally 10 or more, reindeer, earned by several years of hard labor. Naturally, with such a small number of reindeer it was impossible to live independently.

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutorsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutorsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 80% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

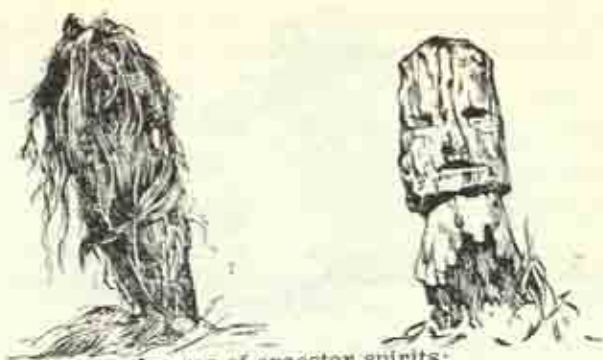
The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called *nym'elgen-an*—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a *nym'elgen-an* had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of *nym'elgen*, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride"; the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—*nin'vit's*. The *nin'vit's* were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the *nin'vit's* hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the *nin'vit's*, the Koryaks



Images of ancestor spirits:

1—having "descendants"; 2—one without living "descendants."

sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a *nin'vit'* had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by *nin'vit'*s were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a *nin'vit'*, that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (*kalak*), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of *kalaks*; every Koryak had his own *kalak*—his personal guardian.

The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over *nin'vit'*s. The shaman communicated with *nin'vit'*s in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family



Preparations for burning a corpse.

pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring *kil'vey*—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was *An'an'* or *Etyny*. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, *Nen'vetgyyn'yn*, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many *Alyutortsy* strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.

The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the *Chukchi* and *Itel'mens*, and similar to the *Eskimos'*. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, *Kuykynnyaku* or *Kutkynnyaku*) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the *Etyny*. But most

of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters.

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukinty, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called *enkhivyl'yn* (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyry").

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish.

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few.

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the *vanniyayar*—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator.

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women.

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins.

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares,



Samples of ornamentation on hems of fur clothing.

rectangles, triangles and circles), or representational (figures of reindeer, stylized animals and birds, fantastic plants).

Beads, silk and reindeer hair were used to decorate boots, mittens, matchboxes, and a variety of bags and pouches. Another craft practiced by women and particularly developed among the Karagintsy was the weaving of baskets, bags and boxes of dry grass.

Contemporary Life

In December 1917, the Soviet regime was established on Kamchatka. The civil war which soon broke out in the Far East did not allow the launching of economic and cultural work on the territory inhabited by the Koryaks. In the beginning of 1918, Kolchak's appointees took over Kamchatka. In 1920, an underground revolutionary committee organized an uprising in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, leading to the restoration of Soviet rule. In 1921, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Gizhiga and Nayakhan were occupied by a White Guard detachment under Captain Bochkarev. The Petropavlovsk Revolutionary Committee was compelled to withdraw into the mountains. Since

the White Guards occupied only the largest populated centers, the Soviet government in effect continued to exist in the uyezds. Representatives of the Revolutionary Committee directed the struggle of the local population against the White troops. Thus, a Red guerrilla unit was organized from among the Russians and natives (Koryaks and Itel'mens) of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. In pursuing the Whites, retreating to the Okhotsk coast, this unit crossed the entire territory of the present Koryak (National) Okrug by dog team in wintertime. Together with the Red Army unit which had occupied the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy by this time (1922), the Russian-Koryak guerrilla unit took part in mopping up the remnants of Bochkarev's gang near the village of Nayakhan. Individual Whites who managed to escape from Nayakhan and Gizhiga were finished off by the Red Army unit with the direct participation of Koryak reindeer-breeders in the area of Korfa Bay.

The winter of 1922-23 marked the final establishment of the Soviet government on Koryak territory. The short rule of the Whites had been attended by open looting of the population; the reindeer-breeding Koryaks of Taygonos Peninsula suffered most of all, since the White units confiscated their reindeer for transportation and food. The representative of the White government in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy granted Japanese capitalists the exclusive fishing rights within an area that included the present Koryak National Okrug. Japanese and American traders were also given the freedom to purchase furs from the natives.

During the early years of the Soviet regime (1923-1926), the uyezd, and later the rayon revolutionary committees had to do a great deal of work in order to overcome the grave effects of the civil war.

In 1930, after the First Congress of Soviets of Kamchatka, wide activity was launched in organizing local soviets, cooperatives and various socio-cultural institutions. Particular attention was given to the development of Soviet trade. New trading centers were established in a number of villages, where Koryaks were able to obtain essential provisions, hunting guns and ammunition. The establishment of fixed prices on furs and reindeer skins made it possible for the Koryaks to start improving their economic level.

A large role in raising the cultural level of the Koryak population was played by the cultural base opened on the Penzhina River in 1930 by the Committee to Assist the Peoples of the North. The establishment of an independent Koryak National Okrug (December 1930) stimulated the further successes of economic and cultural construction among the Koryaks.

Collectivization among the Koryaks, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders, was conducted under conditions of class struggle. The wealthy Chavchuchen reindeer-breeders destroyed large parts of their herds and did everything they could to interfere with the collective farms.

The remnants of primitive-communal relations which had masked exploitation at first impeded the unification of individual households into collective farms. The first forms of cooperative associations among the Koryaks were societies for the common herding of reindeer. Later, the principal form of association was the cooperative.

The development of collective farms entailed transition to sedentary life. The process of settling down was especially complex and difficult for the reindeer-breeders, both because of their traditionally nomadic existence, and because of the conditions of the reindeer-breeding industry itself; the change of pastures demanded frequent migrations. In the transition to sedentary life, this complex problem was solved as follows: pastures were assigned to individual collectives, and the tending and care of the herds were put in the hands of special brigades of herders, which accompanied the herds. The rest of the collective-farm

members lived permanently in the villages, engaging in fishing and other work.

The work and life of the herders has also been organized quite differently from what was the case in the past. Each herding brigade has a yaranga. The brigade usually consists of 4-5 herders, a brigadier, a time-keeper and a woman "tent worker," whose duties include preparation of hot meals, mending clothes, and keeping the tent clean.

There are also new elements in the technique of pasturing. Especial stress is laid today on cultivation of new pastures and planned utilization of the old. The collective herd is distributed among various pastures, and an exact itinerary and timetable are set for the herd's migrations. For the purpose of guarding the herd and preserving the young, as well as for the better organization of pasturing and saving of labor, the herders today use riding horses in summer, and reindeer dogs in winter—a method entirely unknown to the Koryaks in the past. Various new methods in the organization and technique of reindeer-breeding are combined with expanded veterinary services. Energetic struggle is waged with epizootics, measures are taken to improve the breed of the reindeer, and so forth.

In 1947 an agricultural school for leading collective-farm personnel was opened in the village of Palana. This school trains specialists in reindeer-breeding—brigadiers, timekeepers, etc.

The collectives of the Koryak National Okrug own herds of many thousands of reindeer, and the productivity of the reindeer-breeding farms is rising. Thus, the Kirov collective (Tigil'skiy Rayon) increased its reindeer herd several times over during the postwar years. The incomes of the collectives in this branch of their economy have risen correspondingly.

In the coastal collectives, the principal occupation is fishing. The development of fishing collectives is closely connected with the development of the fishing industry in the Koryak National Okrug. During the Five-Year Plans, a large, technically well-equipped socialist fishing industry of nationwide importance has been created in the Koryak National Okrug. The establishment of industrial fishing has greatly affected the development and consolidation of fishing collectives.

The fishing cooperatives are served by the Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS), which have charge of motorized and motorless fleets. The MRS conduct activities to improve the fishermen's skills, teaching the Koryak collective-farm members new skills as brigadiers, motormen, etc. The chief fishing tools today, in place of the old primitive nets, are new and improved stationary, sweep and bag nets. The skin baydar has been entirely supplanted by motored and special motorless boats.

Along with the principal branches of activity, such as fishing and reindeer-breeding, the Koryak collectives are developing gardening and livestock-raising. Attempts to expand agricultural activities were made before the Revolution as well, but even among the sedentary Koryaks they produced no substantial results. The poorly worked earth gave low yields, and the crops often were killed by early frosts. Besides, the Koryaks had very inadequate knowledge of tending gardens or the use of agricultural tools. Livestock-breeding fared no better; the maintenance of livestock on green fodder all year lowered the milk yield of the cows to a minimum.

Gardening and animal husbandry began to develop among the Koryaks after 1930. A large role in this was played by Russian workers and the local Soviet intelligentsia, who helped the collective livestock-breeders and gardeners both by personal example and by teaching them. Quite often, Russian women came to the collectives and demonstrated methods of planting and preparing vegetables; they also taught the Koryaks how to tend



Catching salmon with stationary seines. Molotov collective, Olyutorskiy Rayon, Kamchatskaya Oblast.

cattle. The most favorable conditions for the development of vegetable-gardening exist in the Tigil'skiy Rayon. Today, some of the collectives of this rayon not only produce enough vegetables to meet their own needs, but also grow them for sale.

The income of the collectives from auxiliary enterprises, and principally from fur-hunting, is also rising.

At present, there are several millionaire collectives in the Koryak National Okrug. On the leading collective of the Tigil'skiy Rayon, the Kirov collective, the capital fund reached the figure of 2,000,000 rubles in 1951. This collective was organized in 1941 on the basis of an association for the common pasturing of reindeer. The funds of other collectives are also rising. In 1951, the capital funds of the "Path of the North" and the "Beacon of the North" collectives of Penzhinskiy Rayon reached 1,500,000 rubles.

Simultaneously with the growth and consolidation of the collective farms, there is improvement in the life of the Koryak collective-farm members. The collective villages have become larger and more comfortable. The old semidugout has almost disappeared. Today the collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious wooden houses with glass windows. Many new villages have sprung up in the tundra as a result of the transition to sedentary life and the enlargement of collective farms. These include Sedanka Kochevaya (Tigil'skiy Rayon), Krestovoye (Penzhinskiy Rayon), the L. V. Stalin collective-farm village (Penzhinskiy Rayon), and others. In the Karaginskiy Rayon, at a spot where there was only one dugout in 1934, there is today a new rayon center—the large village of Ossora.

The modern Koryak village usually consists of several dozen dwellings and farm buildings, as well as buildings housing cultural and other institutions. Among the collective-farm buildings we must note the stables, which are an innovation among the Koryaks. In all the villages there are bath-houses, bakeries and stores. A great deal of attention is paid to the construction of cultural institutions. In every village there is a school (often with a dormitory), a club or a reading room with a library, a medical or a medical-assistant station, and a nursery. Many villages have been supplied with electricity and radio.

The former dispersion of individual areas of Koryak habitation is steadily being overcome. The means of local communication are being improved. Motorized transport (cutters, etc.) is widely used in



Preparation of seines. Korfa Motor-Fishing Station.

summertime. In winter, dog and reindeer transportation are still important.

The general rise in the material well-being of the collective-farm Koryaks has been reflected in increased consumption of bought food products and other commodities. In the present Koryak diet important places are held by such food products as flour, cereals, sugar and other commodities bought in the local store. In recent years, bought urban-type clothing has become increasingly widespread, but side by side with it the Koryaks retain their national dress, especially their winter dress, which is well adapted to the severe climate of the okrug.

Cultural construction, launched after the organization of the okrug, has achieved marked results. Before the Revolution, the Koryaks were illiterate. In the two parochial schools which existed in the area in 1916 there were only 13 Koryak children. Wide school construction began from the very first years of the Soviet regime. In 1925, schools were opened in a number of villages. The school in the village of Tilchiki was reorganized into a boarding school for children of the nomads.

Before World War II, there were 30 Koryak schools in the okrug; in 1951 there were already 97 primary, seven-year and secondary schools (27 of these were boarding schools).

The personnel for the national schools is trained in the pedagogic school in the village of Tigil'. In the course of its existence, the school has trained more than 100 teachers, including Koryaks. Young Koryak students receive advanced teachers' training in Khabarovsk. A number of graduates of the Khabarovsk Pedagogical Institute work in the schools of the Koryak National Okrug. Among the students of the Department of the Peoples of the Far North at the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad there are Koryak students who specialize in the languages, history and economics of the northern peoples.

Before the Revolution, the Koryaks did not have any writing. They had some beginnings of pictographic writing, but it was used on a very limited scale. In 1932, the first Koryak primer was published, based on the Latin alphabet adopted at the time. Koryak literary language was established on the basis of the Chavchhoven dialect. In 1937, a new Koryak alphabet was developed on the basis of Russian letters.

Textbooks for elementary schools are published in Koryak, as are political and literary works. The books published in Koryak include the works of Koryak writers. In addition to the okrug newspaper, Koryakskiy Kommunist, many rayon papers are published in the Koryak National Okrug.

Cultural work among the Koryaks is conducted by the village clubs, reading huts, libraries and houses of culture. The specific conditions of Koryak life have demanded special forms of cultural activity (especially in connection with the herders' brigades). This has been accomplished by the mobile Red Yarangas.

Wide political and cultural-educational work is being conducted among the Koryak women. Special departments have been set up at the Rayon Committees of the Communist Party to direct this work, and every collective farm has its own women's soviet. With the aid of the active leadership, the women's soviets organize classes for the semilliterate, read newspapers, draw women into active social life. The sanitary and other committees of the women's soviets help working Koryak women to keep the dwellings clean and hygienic, organize various circles (sanitary circles, cutting and sewing circles, etc.), advise women on various questions of culture and daily life, and help in the rearing of children.

During the years of socialist construction, a wide network of various medical institutions has developed on the territory of the okrug. In 1952 there were 5 hospitals and 14 health centers in the Karaginskiy Rayon alone.

Religious ideas and the rituals connected with them are receding into the past. Dances and games have lost all their ceremonial significance, and are now merely gay diversions and sports. The traditional reindeer and dog races are now the closing feature of all Soviet holidays.

The Party organization of the okrug includes in its ranks many Koryaks. Among them are propagandists, newspaper editors, and workers of the Rayon Committees of the CPSU.

Many Koryaks have acquired technical and other skills formerly unknown among them, and have become motormen, radio operators, accountants, bookkeepers, zootechnicians, and workers in public health and education.

Most of the deputies of local soviets, people's judges and assessors are members of the local nationalities. The Koryaks have their elected representatives in the Kamchatskaya Oblast Soviet of Workers' Deputies and in the supreme government organ—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.





THE ITEL'MENS

V. V. ANTROPOVA

General Information

The ancient population of Kamchatka—the Itel'mens—have preserved their language and sense of ethnic identity only in a few villages of the southern part of the Tigil'skiy Rayon of the Koryak National Okrug. By language, the Itel'mens belong, together with the Chukchi and Koryaks, to the northeastern group of paleo-Asiatic peoples. The census of 1926-27 set the number of Itel'mens at 814.

The term Itel'men means "resident," "living man." In the documents and literature of the 18th century and later, the Itel'mens were called Kamchadals.

With the exception of the residents of a few villages, the descendants of the Itel'mens have completely merged with the Russians. Officially, they are considered Russians, but the term "Kamchadals" is still used in colloquial speech. However, it is applied not only to the Russified descendants of the Itel'mens, but also to the descendants of Russian Cossacks and peasants settled in Kamchatka in the 18th century. Before the Revolution, these component elements of the Kamchadals belonged to different social classes (Russ. "sosloviya"), but in everything else the Russian-speaking Kamchadals constituted a homogeneous group.

The nearest neighbors of the Itel'mens—the reindeer Koryaks—called them by the same name as the coastal Koryaks: Nymlyn, or "village resident." In the 18th century, the reindeer Koryaks called the Itel'mens Khonchalo, from which some students trace the origin of "Kamchatka" and "Kamchadal."

In the early 18th century, the Itel'mens were scattered virtually over the entire peninsula, from its southern tip to 58° N. Interspersed in the north with the Koryaks. The largest concentration was in the valley of the Kamchatka River. At that time, a distinct group of Itel'mens, called "Near Kurilers," lived on Cape Lopatka and the first islands of the Kurile group. This group lived in direct contact with the Ainu (Kurilers) and assimilated with them to a large extent. In physical type, language and certain features of their way of life, the "Near Kurilers" were somewhat different from either the Ainu or the Itel'mens.

In the past, the Itel'mens were divided, according to language, into northern, southern and western. The former consisted of Itel'mens living along the Kamchatka River and the east coast, from the village of Uka in the

north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka-Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayryuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archaeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737-1742) and G. Steller (1740-44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

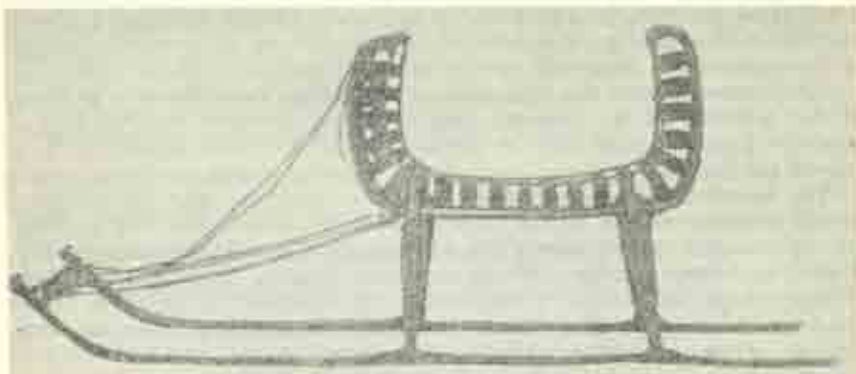
They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden



18th-century dogsled.

handle. Later the horn was replaced by an iron tip. Gathering plants was women's work. Fishing and hunting were men's occupations, but the preserving of fish was in the woman's domain, as were the spinning of thread for the nets from nettle, the weaving of mats, and sewing of clothes. Krashennnikov reports that preparing food, tending the dogs and all carpentry work were done by men.

The Russians found among the Itel'mens a highly developed neolithic technology. "The former Kamchatka metals, almost until the coming of the Russians, were bone and stones. They were used in the making of axes, knives, spears, arrows, lancets and needles," Krashennnikov writes about the Itel'mens. Rock crystal was also widely used for knives and tips. Fire was made with a wooden drill. Food, mainly fish and meat, was cooked even in the early 18th century in wooden troughs, into which red-hot stones were thrown.

The only domesticated animal of the Itel'mens was the dog. Later, harness dog-breeding of the so-called Eastern Siberian type developed in Kamchatka. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the Itel'mens used their ancient sled with two pairs of arched staves and a saddle-like seat. At the time of Krashennnikov's visit, the Itel'mens had gliding skis, but used mostly woven snowshoes. River navigation was by bat—narrow boats, hollowed out of whole poplar trunks. For stability and greater carrying capacity, two of these boats were sometimes tied together and covered to make a platform. Krashennnikov reports that it took the Itel'mens three years to make a bat with a stone adze.

The Russians called the Itel'men villages in the 18th century *ostrozhas*, or "little forts." They were situated along river banks and consisted of winter and summer dwellings. The winter dwelling was a semiunderground yurt, as it was then called by the Russians, with an entrance through the smoke-opening in the roof. The dwelling also had a side exit, but this was used only by women and children. The summer dwelling of the individual family was the so-called *balagan*—a pyramidal, grass-covered tent set on high platforms resting on piles. The ancient dress of the Itel'mens resembled Koryak and Chukchi dress.

Such, in its general features, was the material culture of the Itel'mens in the beginning of the 18th century. Analogous to the low level of material production were the primitive forms of social relations.



Village, 18th-century engraving.

At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position in every ostrozhka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy and life of the Itel'mens.

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest

spirits, the sea-spirit, Mitg, good protecting spirits, etc. Anthropomorphic images of the spirits were usually made of wood.

The central figure of Itel'men mythology was the raven-creator, Kutkh. But he was not held in esteem, and various comical and obscene stories were told about him.

The bodies of dead adults were given to the dogs to eat; children were buried in hollow trees. The Itel'men shamans did not have any special clothing or tambourines.

In the middle of the 18th century, the Itel'mens were converted to Christianity, but they continued to cling to their animistic ideas.

Information about the abundance of fur on Kamchatka received from Luka Morozko and Atlasov attracted the attention of the tsarist government and the Yakutian governors.

A special official—a prikashchik—was appointed to collect taxes. The Kamchatka prikashchiks, who were virtually the full masters of the peninsula, often abused their power. In addition to the fur-tax, they exacted from the population great quantities of furs for their own enrichment. The predatory extermination of fur animals, and most of all, sable, sharply reduced the catch, and the Itel'mens were often unable to pay the tax in full. The arbitrary extortion of cured fish, "sweet grass" for wine-making, lily tubers, berries, cedar nuts, seal blubber, skins, and even sleds, boats and clothing, for the benefit of the tax collectors became systematic. In addition to all this, the natives suffered from exploitative trading and its consequences—debt slavery.

The Itel'mens' struggle against extortions and oppression expressed itself at first in attacks on individual representatives of the tsarist government and raids on the tax treasury. Large uprisings broke out in 1706, 1711 and 1731.

The rebellion of 1731 involved nearly all the Itel'mens. After its suppression, a special "investigating office" was sent to the area to look into its causes. The leaders of the rebellion were executed. Some of the officials were also punished.

The quelling of rebellions by armed force and the arbitrary rule of the local officials reduced the Itel'men population. But the principal reason for the population decline was the epidemics of smallpox, typhus and other diseases which devastated entire districts. The remnants of the various clans could no longer exist independently and united into larger territorial units. Thus, instead of the former clan villages, new settlements sprang up, inhabited by members of various clans. New villages were also created by compulsory resettlement. Thus, after the rebellion of 1731, the inhabitants of the village of Klyuchi were resettled in Kozyrevsk; the inhabitants of Nachikl were moved there from the western coast of the peninsula.

The system of tax collection through the village elders and the development of barter with Russians resulted in the accumulation of private property in the hands of some individuals. As early as the 1730's, there were toyons (elders) who lent sables to their kinsmen to enable them to pay their tribute, in exchange for subsequent work.

The economic condition of the Itel'mens did not improve in the latter half of the 18th century. This was due above all to the system of tax collection and the tyranny of the local authorities. Taxes were collected, not from the present population, but according to lists, which included men long dead. The living thus had to pay taxes for dead relatives. Extremely onerous, too, was the imposition of the duty to transport numerous officials, as well as cargo, without compensation all over the peninsula. This took the men away from their occupations and condemned them to frequent periods of famine.



View of the village of Sedanka, early 20th century.

The development of trade gave rise to the exploitation of the Itel'mens by merchants. These gave the Itel'mens goods on credit, often against their will; then, if the debt was not paid in time, they doubled or tripled the sum. Often, an Itel'men would have to pay as long as he lived for some small article, such as a knife. This type of trade did not disappear even after the formation of the Russo-American Company (1799). The company sold its wares at prices 10 times higher than their actual value. By the 1860's, the indebtedness of the Itel'mens to this company had risen to the grandiose sum of 150,000 rubles.

The Itel'men economy remained essentially subsistence. The fishing catch went solely for the satisfaction of the fishermen's needs, and none of it was sold. The only articles that had commodity value were furs. Villages were governed by elders, elected by the villagers and approved by the Russian administration. Very often the post of elder was hereditary. Survivals of clan organization were preserved among the Itel'mens until the 20th century. These included elements of collective production and distribution of food products—collective fishing by means of fishtraps, collective seal hunting, division of the carcass of a whale cast up on the shore, the custom of mutual aid, etc.

The first efforts at introducing agriculture were made after the founding of a monastery (the Uspenskaya Pustyn') on Kamchatka, in the first quarter of the 18th century. In the 1740's the first group of Russian peasants was resettled in Kamchatka. Further groups of settlers followed, but agriculture enjoyed small success. The administrative method of introducing agriculture among the Itel'mens could yield no appreciable results with the primitive agricultural techniques of that time. The products of agriculture therefore held a small place in Itel'men economy. Gardening was more successful. In the second half of the 19th century, all Itel'men villages had small gardens, producing potatoes, turnips and horse-radish. But even this gardening was negligible in scope and extremely primitive. The natives were unskilled in tending plants; they dug the soil with wooden hoes, did not know about watering, and so on.

Cattle were first brought to Kamchatka in 1733, and again, from time to time, in succeeding years. The livestock was kept grazing all year; there was little preparation of hay. Horses were also left to their own devices, and became so wild that they were difficult to catch. They were used chiefly in autumn as riding and pack animals. Wheel transport, such as the cart,



Medical aerosleigh.

was unknown before the Revolution. For cattle, the Itel'mens built cold barns or sheds and provided some supplementary fodder in winter. However, the milk yield was very low, and livestock mortality was high.

From the Russians, the Itel'mens obtained improved means of production: firearms, nets, etc. Stone and bone implements were completely abandoned in favor of metal ones. Russian clothing and utensils began to come into use. The primitive semidugout was gradually (and by the beginning of the 19th century, completely) replaced by wooden board dwellings, and occasionally by log houses of the Russian type. Simultaneously with the absorption of Russian culture by the Itel'mens, a reverse process was also taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries. Soldiers, Cossacks and peasants, who were systematically being resettled on the peninsula after the middle of the 18th century, married Itel'men women and acquired some elements of their way of life and culture. The result was that peculiar population of the peninsula which became known, as we have pointed out earlier, under the name of Kamchadals and was often mistakenly classified as Itel'men.

In the early 20th century, the condition of the Itel'mens deteriorated in consequence of the development of the Japanese capitalist fishing industry in Kamchatka. Predatory industrial fishing at the mouths of rivers during spawning runs caused almost annual failures of the native catch and led to inevitable famines.

Contemporary Life of the Itel'mens

During the civil war in the Far East, the Itel'mens actively helped the guerrilla units, and later the Red Army troops, in liquidating the White bands. The guerrilla units included many residents of the villages of Napana, Utchholok, Kovran and Sedanka. In 1921, the Soviet government was firmly established on the peninsula, and the reconstruction of the economy was launched.

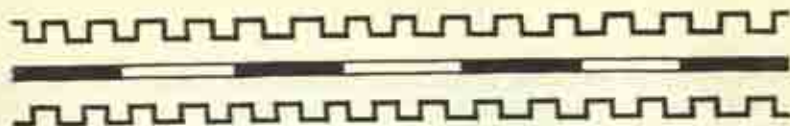
At present, the Itel'mens differ little in economy, culture and life from the neighboring Russian population of Kamchatka. They are united in fishing collectives which are well equipped with technical gear. A certain role in the Itel'men collectives is also played by sea hunting and the hunting of fur animals.

The land area devoted to gardening is growing yearly. Potatoes are grown everywhere in sufficient quantity to provide food until the next crop. The collectives have ploughs, harrows, haying-machines, and other agricultural implements. The ploughing is now done with horses. The stocks of cattle are gradually being improved; the preparation of hay is widely practiced, and warm barns have been built for the livestock. Some of the collectives, like the "Red Partisan," not only produce enough milk for their own needs, but also supply the workers and employees of the Tigil'skiy Rayon.

Today, Itel'men collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious, bright, with large glass windows and plastered walls. The house furnishings are the same as those of the Russian collective-farm members.

In all the Itel'men villages there are medical institutions, clubs and schools. The instruction is in Russian, since all Itel'mens know Russian as well as their native language. Various institutions are staffed with native personnel. Dozens of Itel'mens, both men and women, are working as teachers, accountants, and nurses in hospitals, and are also serving in elective Party and Soviet posts.





THE ALEUTS

V. V. ANTROPOVA

General Information

The majority of the Aleuts live outside the USSR, in the United States. In the USSR, the Aleuts live only on the Komandorskiy Islands (Bering Island and Medny Island), administratively designated as the Aleutskiy Rayon, belonging to Kamchatskaya Oblast. The census of 1926-27 set the number of Aleuts in this oblast at 345 persons: 117 men and 168 women. The Aleut language was used at that time by 332 persons.

The general name by which the Aleuts call themselves is Unangan (sing.—Unangakh).

Among the inhabitants of Medny Island, the term "Aleut" has long become a self-designation as well, although they also use another name—Sasignan.

In its phonetic and morphological characteristics and its grammatical structure, the Aleut language is close to Eskimo.

When the Russians came (in the middle of the 18th century), the Aleuts lived on the islands of the Aleutian chain and on the western coast of Alaska. Their principal occupation was hunting sea animals (sea-beaver, fur-seal, sea lion, common seal, walrus and whales). Sea-hunting was mainly collective. Fishing was relatively less important. Weapons and implements were made of wood, stone and bone. Iron was used rarely. There is reason to think that it came to the Aleuts from the Russians through the Eskimos. Transportation was by skin boats (kayaks and baydars). The winter dwelling was a large semidugout, holding up to 40 related families. In summertime, the Aleuts lived in huts, each family by itself.

At the time of the Russian arrival, the Aleuts lived under a system of clan organization. The members of a clan lived in the same village and had their clan hunting territories. The oldest and most respected member of the clan was the clan elder. His sons and nephews and the older members of the clan were a privileged group. Numerous interclan and intertribal wars were caused by the seizure of hunting and fishing grounds, clan vengeance, and so on. The principal trophies were slaves, which only the privileged upper group was permitted to own.

Such was the general economic and social life of the Aleuts at the time of the Russian discovery of the Aleutian Islands.

After the return of the Bering expedition (1741), parties of Russian hunters, attracted by the new fur resources, streamed into the Aleutian Islands, leading to the rapid opening of the entire chain. The newly discovered islands became the possessions of the Russian Empire, and fur-tax in beaver and fur-seal was imposed on the natives.

The next stage of the exploitation of the Aleutian Islands began in the 1780's, in connection with the activities of the Russo-American Company. According to the company rules, male Aleuts between the ages of 18 and 50 had to work for the company. Old men and adolescents were put to hunting birds, while the women gathered berries for the company, sewed clothing, etc. Instead of payment, they received goods at company-set rates.

When the Bering expedition discovered the Komandorskiy Islands, in 1741, they were uninhabited. They were settled only in 1825 or 1826 (the exact date has not been established) by Aleuts, transferred by the Russo-American Company from Aika and Attu Islands. The number of the first settlers is unknown, but it evidently did not exceed 50. The resettlement was aimed at establishing a constant supply of labor for the exploitation of the fur resources of the Komandorskiy Islands. In subsequent years, the population of the Komandorskiy Islands was supplemented by new parties of settlers—Aleuts from the Andreanof, Pribilof and Fox Islands, Eskimos from Kodiak Island, and others (Russians, Zyryan Komi, Gypsies). These diverse ethnic groups intermingled, so that the Komandorskiy Aleuts today are mostly of mixed stock.

After the dissolution of the Russo-American Company and the sale of the Aleutian Islands by the tsarist government to the United States (1867), the Komandorskiy Islands were subjected administratively to the Petropavlovsk police chief; in 1871, they were leased to an American trading company—Hutchinson, Cool & Co. Being a monopoly, this company sharply raised the prices of all goods, and the Aleuts' earnings could barely buy the most necessary products for existence. From 1891 to 1917, the Aleutian Islands were leased to various trading companies. As a result of the decline in their hunting and fishing, the condition of the Aleuts remained difficult throughout this period. After 1905, the income of the inhabitants of Bering Island fluctuated between 49 and 68 rubles a year, while the subsistence minimum was at least 70 rubles.

The Russo-Japanese War cut off the Komandorskiy Islands from Russia. Japanese schooners took advantage of this by ruthlessly exterminating the fur-seal rookeries, thus delivering the final blow to the economy of the islands. The Aleuts, with arms in hand, heroically defended the islands from the raids of Japanese schooners.

The years of civil war and intervention (1918-1922) hit the economy of the island population especially hard. During these years, the islands fell repeatedly into the hands of White bands, which seized the furs and left the natives to starve. The predatory hunting by foreign schooners, particularly Japanese, increased still further.

In 1923 the Whites were finally routed on the Komandorskiy Islands, village committees were organized, followed, in 1925, by the formation of village soviets. In 1932 the islands were designated as the Aleutskiy Rayon.

Economy and Everyday Life

From the time of their resettlement on the Komandorskiy Islands, the Aleuts were workers in the hunting trade. They hunted valuable fur animals—fur-seal, sea-beaver and polar fox. The fur-seals were killed

with clubs on special slaughtering grounds, to which they were driven from the rookery. Until the end of the 19th century, the favored method of hunting beaver was with harpoons; later, they were hunted with nets and guns. Polar foxes were gotten with various snares, springtraps and guns. For greater efficiency in the fur hunting, the islands were divided into sections (ukhozhi).

The seal, beaver and fox were hunted under the auspices of the trading companies. At the end of the 19th, and in the early 20th, century, the money for the animals was paid, not to the hunter, but to the village community, which then divided it. A hunter with a family and not more than two children received one share. Those with more children received an additional quarter or half share. Widows, orphans and old men also received a part of a share.

Sea lion and common seal were hunted purely for consumption. The meat was eaten, the skins were used in making boats and footwear. The intestines were made into kamleykas (short hooded shirts). The stomachs served as utensils, and so on. Additional means of sustenance among the Aleuts were bird hunting (with sack-nets and guns), fishing (with barriers, seines and rods), and certain other occupations.

Gardening played a negligible role. The need for vegetables was filled in considerable measure by gathering wild roots, seaweed and invertebrates.

Livestock-breeding, like gardening, was not indigenous among the Aleuts, and appeared on the islands during the period of the Russo-American Company. The islands bred cattle, pigs, and, after 1909, goats. The livestock was kept almost exclusively on a grazing diet; the preparation of hay was minimal.

The large semiunderground dwellings characteristic of the Aleuts until the early 19th century were considerably changed in the ensuing period. The settlers brought to the Komandorskiy Islands a later type of dwelling, incorrectly described in literature as "yurts." This dwelling was less deeply sunk into the ground than the earlier one, and was considerably smaller. The opening in the roof served solely as a smoke vent. The entrance was in one of the side walls, in the form of a narrow passage with a door. Small windows were cut in the walls and glazed with sea lion intestines. The frame of the dwelling was made of driftwood, and covered with sod and dry grass. The floor was earthen, but some boards were occasionally laid in the center. Such dwellings were heated with driftwood and lighted with oil lamps. Their furnishings consisted of sleeping benches, benches and tables. The walls were covered with woven mats.

In the 1870's, the American Hutchinson Company, which leased the Komandorskiy Islands, built for the Aleuts standard log cabins with tiled roofs. These cabins were ill adapted to the climatic conditions of the islands and required a great deal of fuel, straining the people's budget. In winter, the Aleuts often moved to their old dwellings to escape the cold.

The principal means of transportation until the 1870's was the closed skin boat (qayak). The large skin boat (baydar) was used to a small extent only on Medny Island. In the late 19th century, the skin boats were supplemented by whaleboats and launches.

Dog-breeding, probably borrowed in the late 19th century from continental dwellers, developed only on Bering Island, where, in view of the terrain, dogs were an excellent means of transportation. The harness and sleds were of the general Eastern Siberian type.

The ancient national clothing of the Aleuts was a parka of bird skins. It was cut in the shape of a long shirt with rather narrow sleeves and a standing collar. The hunting dress consisted of a kamleyka, boots and trousers. The kamleyka was made of sea-lion intestines, and the trousers, of sea lion or seal skins. The boots were made of sealskins with sea lion soles. The rest of the clothing (shirt, dresses, footwear, etc.) was of Russian cut, purchased from trading companies.

Clan organization, which had once existed among all the Aleuts, was not preserved by those resettled in the Komandorskiy Islands. Until the October Revolution, the inhabitants of every island constituted a peasant community and were considered workers for government enterprises. A general assembly elected an elder, village policemen, three judges and a clerk for a term of three years. One of the main functions of the assembly was to assign workers to various districts and to distribute the earnings of the hunt.

The Aleuts experienced the cultural influence of the Russians to a greater extent than any other northern people of the Far East, since most of them were workers in the hunting trade. As a result of this influence, various elements of Russian culture made their way into the life of the Aleuts—including clothing, food, and household objects, as well as livestock-breeding and gardening.

Literacy was relatively high among the Komandorskiy Aleuts. Even the first parties of settlers included men who could read and write. In 1909, the islands had two parish schools, with 23 pupils on Bering Island, and 34 on Medny Island. Instruction was in Russian, but was limited mostly to reading books in Church Slavonic. As a result of such instruction, the children learned only to read and write during their three years of schooling. Attempts to teach Aleuts in their own language did not succeed. The Aleuts were unable to understand the translations of the Church Slavonic texts into Aleut.

Before the Revolution, the Aleuts were constantly diminishing in numbers. This was caused by the reckless exploitation of the trading companies, which condemned them to an existence of semistarvation, as well as by the prevalent alcoholism and various epidemic and social diseases. All this explains the high mortality among the Aleuts, especially among children, the low birth rate, and the extremely brief lifespan. The total population declined by 19% from 1890 to 1909.

Contemporary Life

Since the establishment of the Soviet government on the Komandorskiy Islands, the condition of the Aleuts has changed radically. During the Five-Year Plans, the entire economy of the islands was reorganized; their material prosperity and cultural level have risen substantially.

At present, the Aleuts are workers and employees at the state fur-farm "Komandor." This State Farm delivers to the state large quantities of valuable export furs. The government has rewarded many of the State-Farm workers with orders and medals of the Soviet Union in appreciation of their dedicated labor.

Fishing, livestock-breeding and gardening are also developing today among the Aleuts. Fishing is done not only for domestic consumption (to provide food for the people and supplementary feed for the polar foxes), but also for export to the continent. Gardening is expanding both on the State Farm and in the individual households. The vegetables grown

locally include potatoes, turnips, radishes, cabbage, lettuce, horse-radish, beets, etc.

The communal economy has made great strides forward during the Soviet period.

The cabins built by the American company have been replaced by large houses of the Russian type, with iron roofs. The dwellings are lighted by electricity and heated with anthracite. The hunting huts—the yurtashkas—have also changed. Formerly, these were damp, dirty dugouts. Today they are clean, bright cabins, frequently plastered.

On Bering Island there is a hospital with a maternity ward and an outpatient clinic. On Medny Island there is a health station. On both islands there are nurseries and, in summertime, kindergartens. The increase in the number of medical and health institutions, the improvement in living conditions and diet, and the safeguarding of labor have produced significant results in the struggle against social diseases—tuberculosis and rheumatism. The natural population increase has grown considerably in recent years.

On the islands there are also clubs, a movie house and libraries. The rayon has its own newspaper, *Aleutskaya Zvezda*.

The Aleutskiy Rayon has long achieved universal literacy. Since 1938, it has had an elementary and a partial secondary school. The school on Bering Island has a dormitory; there is also a partial secondary school for adults. Young Aleuts attend pedagogical and medical schools in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Vladivostok and other cities in the Soviet Union.



APPENDICES



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GLOSSARY

(Local and Specialized Terms)

- Aarchy—dried curds
 Akhun—rank of senior mullah
 Alanchik, alachykh—cone-shaped hut covered with bark of birch or other trees
 Aragy, araki—liquor obtained from the distillation of milk; liquor from home-brewed barley beer (Arkhi—liquor made from milk)
 Argish—a caravan of reindeer drawing sledges for the transport of goods
 Arshan—spring of medicinal mineral water
 Aymak—village, district; in medieval Mongolia, a group of kindred families or clans headed by a feudal lord, roaming one territory
 Ayran—drink brewed from fermented milk
 Azyan—men's outer garment, similar in shape to a kaftan
 Balagan—summer and winter dwelling of the Yakuts, the walls being made of slanting poles.—Pyramid-shaped summer dwelling of the Itel'mens, placed on a high platform
 Balok—chum (q. v.) carried on a sled, but of smaller size, frequently without windows and without the iron stove
 Baran—Shaft-bow fastened horizontally to the front of sleds drawn by reindeer or dogs
 Bashlyk—head of a fishing cooperative
 Bat—canoe hollowed out of a whole tree trunk (usually poplar)
 Bay—representative of the class of large cattle-breeders and land-owners
 Baydar—boat with wooden frame covered with skins of sea animals
 Bekesha—men's outer garment with cut-off top and gathers in the waist
 Berestyanka—canoe with lightweight frame covered with birch-bark
 Beshmet—kaftan-type men's outer garment
 Brodni—high, soft leather boots
 Burduk—yeast-fermented wheat or rye bran jelly
 Burkhan—Buddhist deity
 Burkhanism—Altays' national-religious movement
 Chegedek—outer garment of married women, sleeveless jacket
 Chegen'—drink made of fermented cow's milk
 Chekmen'—men's outer garment, cloak made of cloth, nankeen or daba (q. v.)
 Choroos—goblet carved from a single piece of wood, usually used for drinking kumys (q. v.)
 Daba—blue Chinese cotton fabric
 Dalemba—Chinese fabric
 Datsan—Buddhist temple; monastery

- Dyuchina—group of families ruled by one zaysan (q. v.)
- Emiryachen'ye—Arctic hysteria
- Fanza—dwelling of the peoples of the Amur region, with a rectangular floor plan, a ridged roof and a flue under the sleeping benches
- Gimga—fish trap made of twigs
- Golomo—cone- or pyramid-shaped dwelling made of poles and boards covered with bark or turf
- Gus'—heavy men's garment with a hood
- Ilinka—a large, flat-bottomed boat with covered space for people and goods
- Inau—small board shaved off at one end, or a bunch of wood shavings; plays the role of intermediary between man and the spirits
- Izykh—domestic animals consecrated to deities and spirits
- Kamlaniye—religious rite performed by a chanting and dancing shaman
- Kamleya, kamleyka—heavy men's garment made of soft leather or commercial fabric, with or without hood (Dolgans)
- Kany—stove-couches heated by the flue running under them
- Karamo—ancient underground dwellings; in later times, semiunderground dwellings of the Sel'kups in the Narymskiy Kray
- Karbas—large, Russian-type boat made of boards
- Kavardak—thinly cut fried goose and loon meat
- Kaymak—cream skinned from boiled milk
- Kendyr—perennial plant (*Apocynum Venetum* L.). From its fibers cloth was woven
- Kereksury—burial-mounds of stone, with rectangular or circular fences
- Khoshun—large military and administrative territorial unit of Mongolia and Tuva under the Ching (Manchu) dynasty in China. Divided into sumony, the sumony into arbany
- Khural—here, Lamaist divine service
- Khure—Lamaist monastery
- Kishtyms—in Southern Siberia, tributaries of Kirgiz princes from Turkic-, Samoyedic- and Ketic-speaking ethnic groups
- Klunya—open floor for threshing grain
- Kochi—ancient Russian oceangoing, single-masted vessels
- Kukhlyanka, kukashka—tightly closing fur garment lined with fur
- Kulema—trap for fur-bearing animals and birds provided with a crushing device
- Kumys, kymys, koumiss—drink brewed from fermented mare's milk
- Kungas—flat-bottomed, Japanese-type barge
- Kurut—sour cheese made of fermented boiled milk
- Labaz—household structure on tall poles for summer storage of winter clothes and utensils
- Lapki—snowshoes for walking in deep snow
- Lebed'—string instrument similar to a harp
- Makhavka—wing of a partridge or goose tied to the end of a stick. Used during pokolki (q. v.) or when hunting reindeer with nets
- Malitsa—long, tightly closing, fur-lined men's garment, usually with hood
- Nasleg—in tsarist Russia, administrative territorial unit corresponding to a volost (small rural district)
- Nimat—custom according to which the meat of a killed animal is distributed among all the households of the camp
- Noyon—Mongolian princely title of Chinese origin; among the Tuvans during Chinese rule, small rulers
- Nyuk—tent cover made of fur or reindeer (elk) suede
- Okhlupen'—ornament of roof ridge
- Olunkho—epic of knights and heroes

- Omorochka—canoe of birchbark of the Tunguso-Manchurians in the Far East
- Ongon—for the shamanist Buryats, the image of spirits or ghosts, or the spirits inhabiting an image. Also, the souls of ancestors
- Panty—horns of young Siberian stags; used for the preparation of drugs
- Parma—joint reindeer-grazing
- Pimy—winter footwear made of reindeer suede
- Pokolki—deer-hunting technique: the animals are killed with spears from boats when large herds cross rivers
- Poli—round metal mirror of Chinese origin; pendant of a shaman garment
- Porsa—pounded dry fish
- Pyshtak—a kind of cheese
- Sabantuy—spring festivity to celebrate the end of sowing
- Salamat—gruel of the Shors made of talkan (q. v.)
- Seok—clan
- Shaytan—representation (image) of family spirits
- Shulenga—Mongolian feudal title; official, tax collector; person elected to head the five Tofalar clans
- Sokuy—men's garment with fur on the outside, or tightly closing one of cloth with a hood
- Stroganina—widely used Siberian dish: thinly sliced raw, frozen fish
- Suglan—convention, meeting
- Taikh—public prayers to heaven, the spirits of the mountains, etc.
- Tala—raw fish cut into small pieces
- Talkan—fried barley flour or crushed barley grains (also fried)
- Tarasun—liquor brewed from milk
- Targa—official in charge of tax collection and legal proceedings
- Taysha—feudal title of the Mongols, Chief of a tribe, head of a group of families of the Buryats of the 17th-19th centuries
- Tolkusha—dish of ground reindeer or seal meat and fat with herbs and berries
- Topshur—two-string musical instrument reminiscent of a Russian guitar
- Torbasa, sary, unty—soft leather footwear
- Toyon—gentleman, Russian official, official from clan nobility
- Tsam—religious holiday of the Lamaists
- Ukhozhi—districts (areas, zones) laid out on islands to facilitate the hunting of fur-bearing animals
- Uliger—popular heroic epic (Buryat)
- Ulus—1) clan of families or group of tribes under one chief, roaming a single area; 2) rural commune of the Western Buryats; 3) inhabited locality; 4) intsarist Russia, an administrative and territorial unit of the Yakuts, corresponding to an uyezd
- Urasa—cone-shaped dwelling covered with nyuks (q. v.) or birchbark strips
- Vargan, kabus, komys, khomus, khur—instrument of jew's-harp type made of iron or bone
- Volokusha—primitive device made of poles or animal skins for transporting loads; drag-frame
- Yaranga—dwelling of the Chukchi and the reindeer Koryaks. Cylinder-shaped tent with cone-shaped top; structure made of poles covered with reindeer or walrus skins
- Yasak—tribute levied from the peoples of Siberia in furs, later in money
- Yepancha—long women's cloak, fur cape
- Ysyakh—kumys festivity celebrated in the summer
- Yukola—fish, occasionally lightly smoked, spread out to dry in the sun
- Zaysan—Mongol feudal title of Chinese origin. Among the Buryats of the 17th to 19th century, clan chief, clan supervisor; among the Chinese, head of rural district
- Zegete-aba—a battue of the Western Buryats

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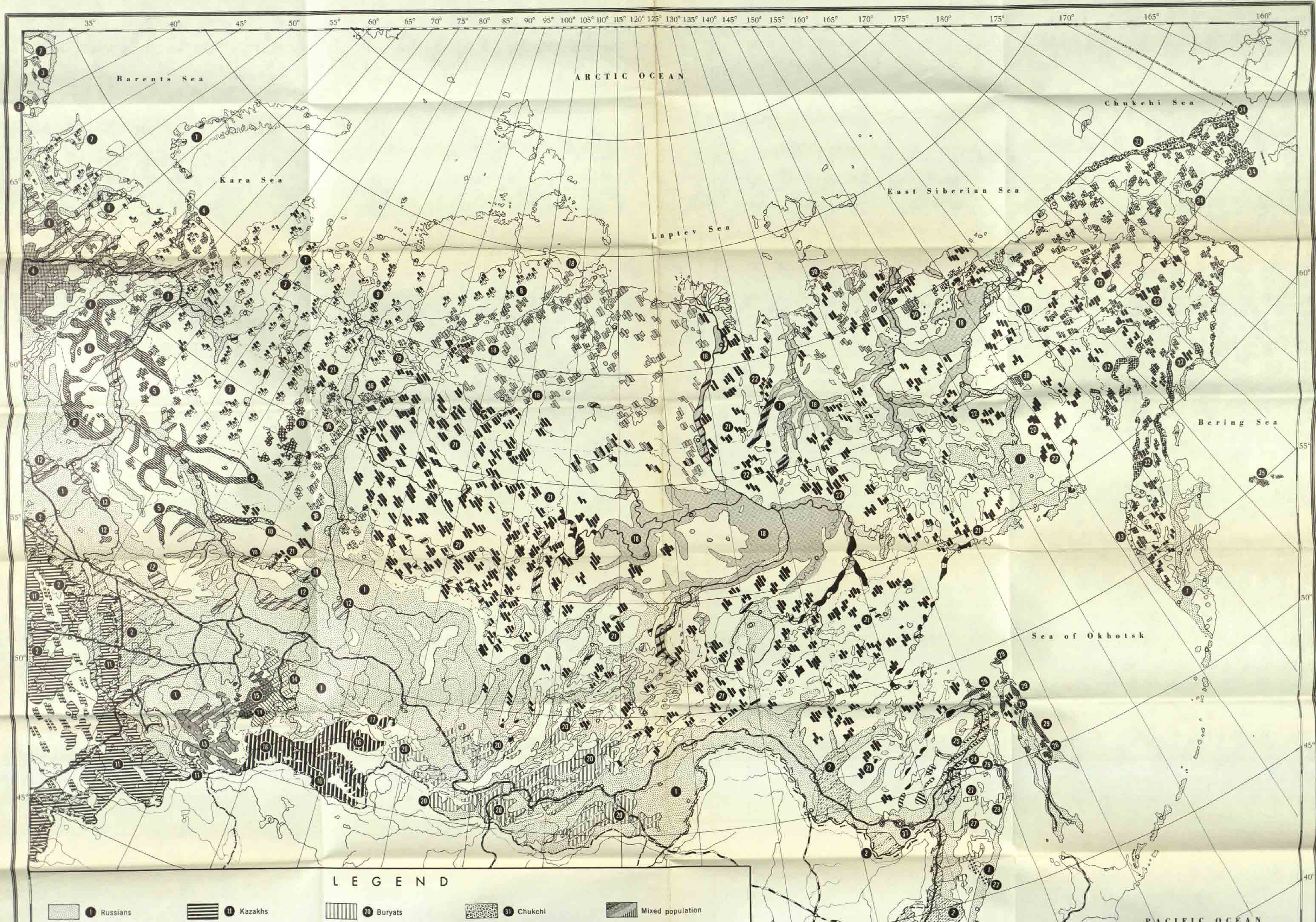
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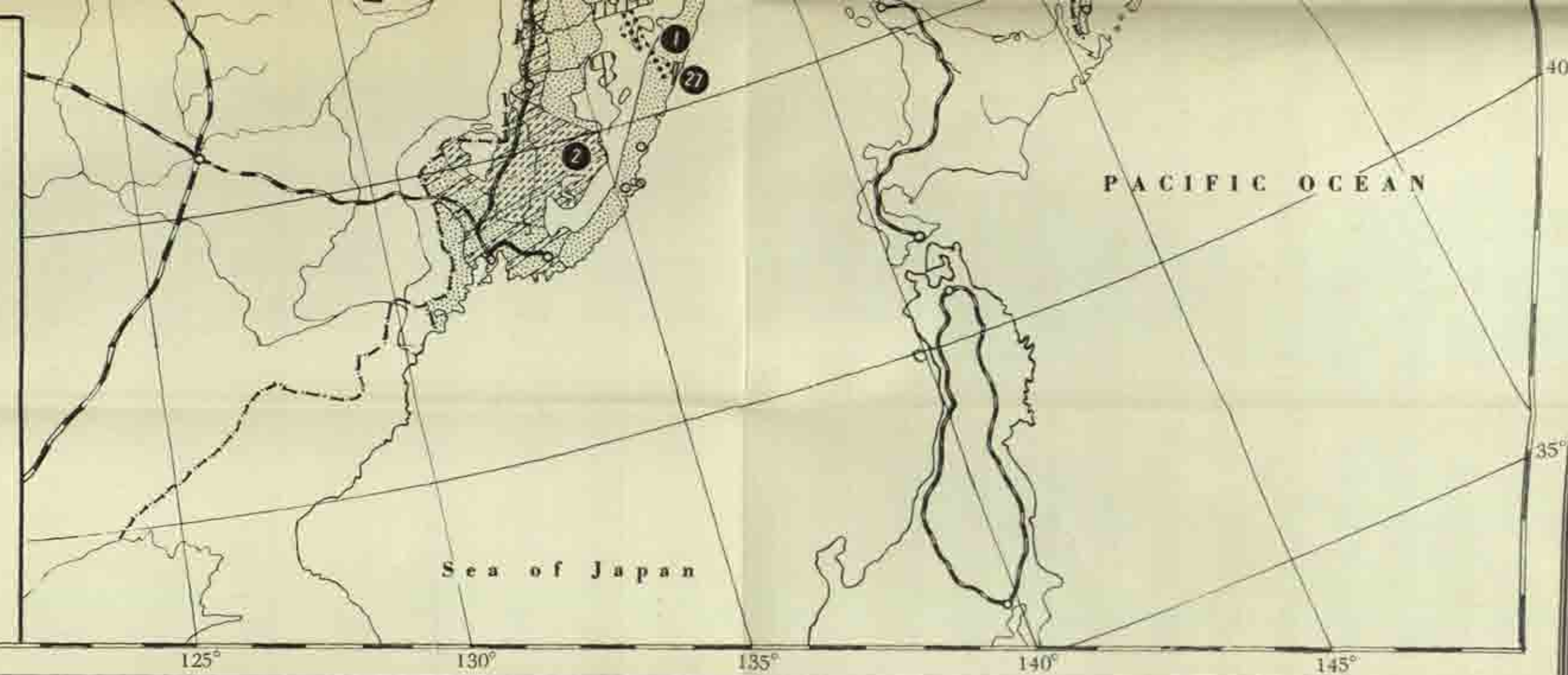
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|  2 Ukrainians |  12 Tatars |  21 Evenks |  32 Koryaks |
|  3 Lapps (Saams) |  13 Altays |  22 Evens |  33 Itel'mens |
|  4 Komi |  14 Khakasys |  23 Negidals |  34 Eskimos |
|  5 Khants |  15 Shors |  24 Nanays |  35 Aleuts |
|  6 Mansi |  16 Tuvans |  25 Ul'chi |  36 Kets |
|  7 Nentsy |  17 Tofalars |  26 Oroks |  37 Jews |
|  8 Nganasans |  18 Yakuts |  27 Udegeys | |
|  9 Entsy |  19 Dolgans |  28 Orochi | |
|  10 Sel'kups | |  29 Nivkhis | |
| | |  30 Yukagirs | |

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